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ETHNICITY IN THE ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN

EDITED BY JEREMY McINERNEY



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To give the contributors a clearer sense of the threads, themes, and motifs running through all of their chapters, we held a conference at the University of Pennsylvania in early 2012. Not every contributor was able to attend, but the event helped to develop some lines of common enquiry in ways that, I hope, have improved the volume as a whole. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the Center for Ancient Studies as well as the School of Arts and Sciences at the University of Pennsylvania for subventing the conference and to offer special thanks to Renée Campbell, whose administrative and organizational skills made both the conference and this volume possible. My colleagues participated in the conference and once again reminded me of what a blessing it is to work in a happy and productive department.

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CHAPTER 1

Ethnicity

An Introduction

Jeremy McInerney

"Unfortunately for us, the last 200 years have been the most mismanaged in the history of our race."

—Eve Mungwa D. Fesl

Large Gallic Ladies

The preceding epigraph comes from a short essay written by an Australian land rights activist addressing the sorry history of relations between the white settlers and Koori (indigenous) peoples. It may seem odd to begin a collection of chapters dealing with the question of ethnicity in the ancient Mediterranean with a reference to political conditions far removed in space and time, but Fesl's comments provide a number of vectors into the subject of ethnicity. To begin with, in many countries, discussions of "ethnicity" are a way of talking about a deeply unpopular and discredited concept—race—while for the most part avoiding that charged term. (On changes in the use of "race" as a category, see Brunsma and Rockquemore 2004 and McCoskey 2012.) Few white academics wish to write about race, preferring to observe that the term refers to a social construct, not a biological fact (Fields and Fields 2012). This is especially true in classical scholarship, where for many years there existed a broad consensus that racism was an anachronistic idea and that race was not a useful category in the analysis of ancient Mediterranean cultures, or, more simply, that Greek and Roman society was not racist (Snowden 1970, 1983; Hannaford 1996, but, more recently against this view, Isaac 2004; McCoskey 2006, 2012). Ironically, those who have suffered the most from the abuses masked by the term "race" have become those most likely to adopt it, either as part of formal critical discourse or, as in the preceding quote, more loosely. It is also worth noting that race, in

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its hortatory sense—*our* race—can conceal deeper complexities. At the time of first contact, indigenous Australians were not a single people, and if the term "koori" represents the emergence of a common identity, it is a commonality born of shared experience, primarily suffering, rather than a pre-existing sense of peoplehood. In this respect, we are reminded of two key features of ethnicity: the first is that there is a fuzziness at the heart of the concept. Can we say that ethnic identity is anything more than a sense of peoplehood? It *may* include an attachment to a territory, a common history, including its fictive and fictional elements; it *may* find expression in a shared language and customs; and it may be activated in response to oppression, but almost all of these elements are malleable. The one constant seems to be that some combination of these will result in a group identifying itself as a people.

The point worth remembering is that, as the subject of academic discourse, ethnicity is a concept with its own history, subject to the changing patterns—critics will say fads—that direct the flow of academic investigation. Without the cultural turn of the 1960s and 1970s and the move away from the positivism of earlier historical studies, it is hard to imagine an entire volume dedicated to the study of ethnic identities in the ancient world. However, in pursuing ethnicity as a way into the ancient world, we find ourselves in an uncomfortable place: at the point where externally generated studies of other people and communities intersect with their own, equally complicated views of themselves. Two cases, one ancient, one modern, will make the point: the first is an example of the ethnographic gaze, reflecting what anthropologists like to call the "etic perspective." In the fourth century AD, Ammianus Marcellinus produced this gem of cultural observation (15.12.1):

> Virtually all the Gauls are tall and fair. They have ruddy complexions, and a ferocious and terrible look in their eye. They love to quarrel, and are insufferably insolent. Indeed not even a whole band of foreigners could overcome one of them in a fight, if his wife were to join in, so much stronger than the man is she and with her glaring eyes, and most of all especially when, with her neck puffed out and her huge white arms at the ready she lets loose a hail of punches mixed with kicks, like bolts discharged by the twisted cords of a catapult.

Ammianus' description follows in a long line of Greek and Roman ethnographic treatises devoted to the strange, pale inhabitants of the north. Writers such as Posidonius, Timagenes, Strabo, and, of course, Julius Caesar, had produced works that explained the Celts to Mediterranean readers (Klotz 1910; Nash D. 1976; Malitz 1983). Certain features recur. The Gauls are afraid that the sky will fall on their heads, they are prone to drink ("*vini avidum genus*," Amm. Marc. 15.12.4), and they are redoubtable warriors ("*ad militandum omnis aetas aptissima*," Amm. Marc. 15.12.3). The tropes of ethnographic writing, endlessly repeated, produced a satisfyingly coherent picture of these noble savages. Whether it bore much relationship to reality hardly mattered. From Herodotus to Margaret Mead, the anthropologist distils the clumsy, inchoate phenomenon of the "Other" into a satisfactory, categorically distinct singularity: a "tribe," preferably remarkable for its exotic physique, sexual habits, or food practices. In such a discursive engagement through description, "ethnicity" is not just legitimate but necessary, since it is no less than the observer's tool for describing to his audience what we no longer are. Thus, Herodotus describes the murderous Scythians who lived on the edges of the Black Sea, killing shipwrecked Greeks and adorning their houses with the skulls of their unlucky victims. Their savagery was thrilling to Athenian audiences, who took great satisfaction in watching Euripides' depiction of the difference between Barbarians and Greeks in his *Iphigenia in Tauris*.

My second example is more simple: one of the largest Hispanic advocacy groups in the United States is called La Raza ("the Race"), despite the fact that the one thing that the Spanish-speaking communities of the United States do *not* have in common is a single racial background. The Hispanic community has roots in Spain, and in Central and South America. It amalgamates populations from Africa, Europe, and from indigenous people. It is anything but a race, in the sense of a neatly bounded, biologically distinct entity. In fact, in scholarly explorations of the Hispanic community (notice the easy use of the singular "community," since academic discourse opts for simple categories), a key component of investigation has been the phenomenon of *mestizaje* (the mixing of races, especially through intermarriage; compare French *métissage*). Yet, this notion of mixing has always had to wrestle with a stronger opponent, racial absolutism, which has a more powerful hold on the Anglo-American imagination. As a result, more recognizable are the utilitarian and all-encompassing terms "Latino" and "Hispanic." Behind this is what Gary Nash (1995) has called "the hidden history of Mestizo America," a rich cultural heritage that was largely written into oblivion. It has taken a president with an African father and a white mother to return the issue to the fore.

Ironically, it is the confidence of the dispossessed and the oppressed that has led to the appropriation of these labels to express cultural pride; yet even more ironic is the almost inevitable attraction of biological models of race to those for whom ethnicity demands expression. This is not to deny the legitimacy of La Raza, but rather to demonstrate that even the language of ethnicity can mean many different things, depending on your point of view. These complexities are nicely summed up by Attwood (1989: 149), discussing the psychological confrontation that occurred in 1788 on the shores of Botany Bay, and the mental categories used to frame those events for later audiences:

> The concept "the Aborigines" has generally been used as though such a self-consciously identified group had existed at first contact with the Europeans, but this is to prescribe, retrospectively, a definition to the aboriginal peoples at a period when they had no such sense of themselves. Before 1788 or even much later, they did not conceive of themselves as "Aborigines" any more than European invaders thought of themselves as "Australians."

One could add that it is unlikely that many of those who arrived, either as officers, soldiers, sailors, or convicts, thought of themselves as "Europeans" either. The labels and categories of ethnic identity are neither fixed nor unchanging, precisely because the identities and relationships to which ethnic labels apply are in constant flux. They fold recursively back on themselves, by turns ascribed, resisted, rejected, misunderstood, and (mis)appropriated. Ethnicity makes no sense outside a continuous dynamic of inclusion and exclusion. It is always inflected by power.

What ethnicity is emphatically not is a fixed biological entity based on primordial ties of kinship. Rejecting this, recent scholarship has been concerned with identifying the dynamic forces that shaped the emergence of ethnic identities in Mediterranean societies. Looming large over this work has been the scholarship of Jonathan Hall, whose 1997 study, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, powerfully made the case for ethnic identity as a contingent phenomenon, shaped in response to current needs but relying on fairly identifiable maneuvers. Hall emphasized territoriality and genealogy as the twin supports on which ethnic identities rested, but since his work first appeared other scholars have wished to deepen and extend the debate. Demetriou (2012), for example, in a study of five important emporia, or trade ports where Greeks were present in significant numbers—Emporion, Gravisca, Naukratis, Pisitiros, and

Piraeus—concludes that in diaspora and, we might say, cosmopolitan communities, "cultural phenomena like law, political institutions, and religion" were more significant than "mythical genealogies or claims to a common territory" (Demetriou 2012: 239). In part, this is because territorial claims expressed through genealogies were the mechanisms whereby Greeks on their mainland establish relations with each other, while in colonial and mercantile contexts abroad a different set of players determined how the game was played (on kinship, see Jones 1999.) As Adolfo Domínguez (2004: 451) puts it, "… relations with the natives are an essential part of the life of all the Greek colonies."

What's Bred in the Bone

So far, approaches to ethnicity outlined in the preceding text, and for the most part explored in this volume, have tended to emphasize the contingent quality of an ethnic identity. Fungible and protean, such identities are in continuous flux, depending on the social relations to which they give shape and expression. Jonathan Hall's definition is useful and now widely known: ethnic identity is "the operation of socially dynamic relationships which are constructed on the basis of a putative shared ancestral heritage." However, just as the use of "La Raza" shows that there is a persistent substratum of race in discussions of ethnicity, so too there has been an unusual development in the hard sciences, giving biological approaches to ethnicity a new lease of life. This is the tracking of mitochondrial DNA and the mapping of human migrations using DNA markers. An excellent example of this comes from the South Pacific, where the relatively small number of haplotypes in sequences among the Maori population of New Zealand has allowed researchers to estimate the number of females in the founding population (Murray-McIntosh et al. 1998). The number of women (70, which actually represents a more general figure between 50 and 100) is small enough to correlate with Maori oral history. Here, biology and oral culture serve to reinforce each other, combining to anchor ethnic identities to the firmer foundations of hard science. However, this approach is not without its dangers. The same type of analysis has been applied to castes in India, pointing toward "racial" distinctions within the population, distinctions that historically have been expressed in a system that perpetuated social inequality. The "scientific" analysis of caste fits all too comfortably into a narrative of conquest, remarkably enough, from Europe: "Our analysis of 40 autosomal markers indicates clearly that the upper castes have a higher affinity to Europeans than to Asians. The high affinity of caste Y chromosomes with those of Europeans suggests that the majority of immigrating West Eurasians may have been males" (Bamshad et al. 2001). So, even as scholars in the humanities want to treat "race" as a constructed category, scientists are reviving biological approaches that threaten to reify older, discredited categories.

The disjunction between a scientific search for ethnicity encoded in DNA, on the one hand, and a distrust of "ethnicity" as anything other than a constructed, social identity, on the other, is particularly illuminated by contrasting the work of the so-called Genographic Project, which since 2005 has been mapping historical migrations by sampling DNA from populations across the globe, with two chapters in this volume, those by Corinne Bonnet and Nancy de Grummond. In their study of modern Lebanese and

ancient Phoenician populations, Zalloua et al. (2008) express the confidence of the scientific approach:

> The Phoenicians were the dominant traders in the Mediterranean Sea two thousand to three thousand years ago and expanded from their homeland in the Levant to establish colonies and trading posts throughout the Mediterranean, but then they disappeared from history. We wished to identify their male genetic traces in modern populations. Therefore, we chose Phoenician-influenced sites on the basis of well-documented historical records and collected new Y-chromosomal data from 1330 men from six such sites, as well as comparative data from the literature. We then developed an analytical strategy to distinguish between lineages specifically associated with the Phoenicians and those spread by geographically similar but historically distinct events, such as the Neolithic, Greek, and Jewish expansions. This involved comparing historically documented Phoenician sites with neighbouring non-Phoenician sites for the identification of weak but systematic signatures shared by the Phoenician sites that could not readily be explained by chance or by other expansions. From these comparisons, we found that haplogroup J2, in general, and six Y-STR haplotypes, in particular, exhibited a Phoenician signature that contributed >6% to the modern Phoenician-influenced populations examined. Our methodology can be applied to any historically documented expansion in which contact and noncontact sites can be identified.

It is salutary to juxtapose this with remarks from Bonnet's chapter: "A consensus has emerged over the last decade or so to avoid using the term 'Phoenico-Punic', an expression that only serves to mask the difficulty experienced by specialists trying to establish a line of demarcation between what may be 'Phoenician' and what 'Punic', whether in purely chronological or geographic terms, or in cultural and linguistic terms." The differences could not be more apparent. The scientist takes historical events and processes as fixed points from which to begin an analysis of measurable, hard data, resulting in a study that finds a clear genetic link between past and present groups. Other studies, building on this, have further refined the genetic profile of the Lebanese population, finding two groups, one associated with Europeans and Central Asians, the other with Africans and other Middle Eastern populations. The distinction is then equated with religious differences, giving us a genetic map according to which the arrival of Islam and the Crusades are supposed to have left an imprint on the contemporary population (Haber et al. 2013). However, as de Grummond notes, tying DNA to historical events is highly problematic. In the case of the Etruscans, the genetic correspondence between Tuscan and Turkish cattle (!) has been cited in support of ancient literary traditions that the Etruscans were descended from the Lydians, whose territory lay in what is now Turkey. Hence, the discussion of ethnicity is at a peculiar juncture: the people who deal primarily with historical processes and events, namely professional historians, are increasingly uncomfortable using the very labels the scientists take for granted. Science identifies Phoenician DNA, while historians grow uncomfortable even speaking of "Phoenicians."

Clearly then, ethnicity remains a problematic issue, pitting observer against observed, and observers against each other. The very search for ethnicity implicates scholarship in a discourse whose categories and trajectories are bound up with the construction of power and identity in our own world as much as that of the ancient Mediterranean (Benn Michaels 1992). The recent abuse of the term in such bloody conflicts as the Rwandan and Bosnian wars, with their bouts of ethnic cleansing, is a sobering reminder that

"ethnicity" is a term to be used cautiously, and that in many settings it cannot be divorced from deep-seated political and religious antagonisms. If ethnicity is a mode of human discourse, characterized as a response to political forces that require group cohesion, it can equally serve as the vector along which social breakdown occurs. That aspect of ethnicity is explored in this volume by Nino Luraghi, who once again emphasizes boundaries and power as essential ingredients of the matrix in which ethnicity functions. Given the fraught history of ethnicity, one obvious tactic would be to dismiss the notion of ethnicity as hopelessly compromised. If it is nothing more than race repackaged, then that may not be such a bad idea. It may be possible, however, to exploit the term usefully as a way not only of gauging what ancient peoples thought about themselves but also as a way of addressing a series of related issues: the conditions under which ethnic identities were formulated, the ways in which these found expression, and the means by which such dynamic processes have been understood (and misunderstood) by writers from antiquity to the present. The chapters in this book have been written with these issues in mind, and the variety of the approaches on display here is a fair indication of the many possible ways into the matter of ethnicity. No single approach is completely definitive and no single example is wholly paradigmatic, but taken together they demonstrate that, by drawing on the rich smorgasbord of modern theories and methodologies, the study of the ancient Mediterranean is capable of generating compelling and provocative ways of understanding those complex cultures.

Theorizing Ethnicity

A number of the contributions pose big questions that situate the study of the ancient Mediterranean within a broader set of issues and avenues for investigation. Harald Haarmann, for example, adopts a phenomenological approach, locating ethnic identity on a continuum that moves from intentionality to language and which proceeds by an ever-increasing process of differentiation that distinguishes groups, such as Paleo-Europeans and Proto-Indo-Europeans, from one another. Citing a series of test cases from Greece and early Italy, he focuses on writing and language as indicators of ethnicity, not a simple phenomenon but a process he describes as "a continuum negotiated by different actors." However, such an approach almost immediately raises questions of the material record on which many reconstructions of early societies depend, an issue central to Bernard Knapp's contribution. Using Cyprus and the Philistines as his test cases, Knapp finds the material evidence for the large-scale migration of clearly bounded ethnic groups to be problematic at best. His chapter notes the competing and divergent approaches to ethnicity taken by historians and archaeologists. Drawing on Homi Bhabha's notion of third space, Knapp once again emphasizes the negotiated quality of ethnic identities. A third contribution that places ethnicity within a broader conceptual framework is Thomas Hall's chapter on World-System Analysis (WSA). Based on the theoretical work of Immanuel Wallerstein, WSA is an attempt to explain the processes that sustain the functioning of self-contained systems. Hall argues that all forms of identification "occur within a world-systemic context, and are part and parcel of the dialectic between local social groups in the complex relations of production and exchange within the overall system." Adding to Haarmann and Knapp's fundamental notion of negotiated identities, Hall uses WSA to identify the key components in that negotiation as the players' positions in relation to core, peripheral, or semi-peripheral

parts of the world-system. A chapter that rounds out the portion of the volume devoted to broad approaches is Johannes Siapkas' concise overview of modern interpretive models of ethnicity. Siapkas distinguishes between essentializing models, which take ethnicity as fixed, and dynamic models, which emphasize change. Particularly helpful are his suggestions for further work, notably in the area of the subjective internalization of ethnic identity and the challenges of interpreting material culture. In this respect, Siapkas is reflecting an awareness of the criticisms that have been leveled, fairly, against those who either exploit historical linguistics uncritically to support archaeology or cite archaeology naively to bolster claims based on linguistics (Anthony 1995). In this respect, his work is in line with a newer trend in archaeology toward avoiding essentializing readings of material culture and ethnic identity (e.g., see Gómez Peña 2012).

Some chapters take up the challenge of material culture more or less explicitly. Kristian Kristiansen, for example, offers an analysis of ethnicity in the European Bronze Age, focusing on the non-literate societies of northern Europe, and argues that cairns and rock-art, taken in conjunction with other distinctive articles of material culture such as swords, permit the identification of distinct ethnic groups, at least at regional if not international levels. Kristiansen sees the sea as constituting the setting for a maritime network, a notion that has recently been applied by other Bronze Age scholars to the Aegean world as well (Broodbank 2000; Tartaron 2013). The idea of the network has, in fact, recently emerged as a useful way of approaching the ancient world in which wide-ranging domination from a single, centralized power was the exception and not the norm. In a recent volume, Irad Malkin, Christy Constantakopoulou, and Katerina Panagopoulou (2009) used this approach to show how the Greek and Roman worlds could be read as networks, and in this volume Anna Collar both explains the methodology behind network theory and offers three test cases to demonstrate its applicability: archaic Greece, the network of the Jewish diaspora in the early Roman period, and the development of a German ethnic identity in Late Antiquity. Each of these is a promising line of inquiry, and, indeed, other chapters in this book, by Munson, Kemezis and Pohl in particular, can be read in tandem with Collar's.

If Collar's examples point toward the construction of connections through networks of similarity and common interest, Gary Reger's chapter on hybridity demonstrates that ethnicity was also shaped by other dynamic processes. Borderlands and boundaries are especially fertile areas for ethnogenesis, yet even here the trajectories are not straightforward or predictable. Ethnic identity is rarely characterized by a simple oppositional dynamic, and since such identities must finally be expressed by an individual as well as a community, the phenomenon is complicated by the availability of different social identities for individual actors. Amalgamation, layering, and multiplicity are more true of ethnic identities than fixity.

With ethnicity displaying such polyvalence, the question of how one narrates the political history of a region characterized by different ethnic groups becomes more pressing. In this respect, it is worth juxtaposing a group of chapters that deal with the region loosely defined as the eastern Mediterranean, but in different periods. Trevor Bryce presents Late Bronze Age Anatolia as a patchwork of states and kingdoms in which different ethnic groups vied for power, some indigenous and others exogenous. However, unlike older treatments that would have treated each of the boundaries between these units as impermeable, Bryce recognizes different tools being employed to reach different audiences: Hittites using the language of the Luwian subjects, for example, on their monuments. In the history of Israel during the same period, recent archaeological work has shed some

light on the Philistines but has also generated a heated debate over the very emergence of a coherent Israelite ethnic identity. Ann Killebrew synthesizes the debate on this, both recognizing the particular episodes of fragmentation that occurred and yet placing the emergence of Israel within a broader eastern Mediterranean context in which its history was not unique. Geoff Emberling treats another of the great powers of the eastern Mediterranean, the Assyrians, and employs ethnic diversity as a lens through which to see the imperial state. He finds an imperial state so willing to adopt Babylonian literary culture and Hittite architectural style that, as he notes, "the final result of Assyrian hegemony was the dissolution of Assyrian identity itself." In studies of the Greek and Roman worlds, where acculturation has often been presented simplistically as a one-way street ("Hellenizing" or "Romanization" being the preferred terms), Emberling's work is a reminder that ethnicity and imperial power are by no means interchangeable.

Two other chapters outside the orbit of the Greek and Roman worlds also demonstrate the wide variety of ways in which ethnicity actively functioned in the Mediterranean world. One is Stuart Tyson's chapter on Egypt and Nubia; the other is Jennifer Gates-Foster's treatment of the Achaemenid Empire. Both offer rich, if very different, insights into the place of ethnic discourse in imperial settings. For example, in the Persian Empire, Gates-Foster sees ethnic diversity as an ideological claim used to reinforce the power of the center. As she says, it is a "message … formulated and dispersed through textual and visual media, … closely and programmatically controlled." However, the practice is characterized by an unusual degree of fluidity. Persian tribes are mentioned near the heartland, but farther afield ethnic terms are employed that may point to identification by language or geography. Here, ethnicity resides on a continuum in which variations occur depending on whether one self-ascribes an ethnic identity or has it ascribed by others. This complexity—my label or yours—mirrors the problems identified by Bernard Knapp in imputing ethnic characteristics or meaning to objects that may represent trade but not necessarily ethnicity: taste is not identity.

In almost a complete inverse of the claim of diversity central to Achaemenid ideology, Smith finds a fundamental assertion of self and other in the Egyptian portrayal of the Libyan as "other." However, to complicate an otherwise overly simple dichotomy, individual players within the political realm, men such as the Nubian pharaoh Piankhi, might blend elements of traditional Egyptian dress and practice while also asserting Nubian custom. Appropriately, the term used to convey that this quality of ethnic identity is entanglement.

The Greeks and their Neighbors

The chapters dealing with the Greek world also reflect some of the diversity of approaches that characterize the study of ethnicity. Indeed, the decision to present these chapters in a section devoted to the Greeks reflects only a weak organizational principle: readers will, I hope, find many of the methods and analytical approaches employed in these chapters equally applicable to other societies and times. We have already noted Nino Luraghi's explicit use of modern ethnic conflicts to illuminate the ways that social breakdown could exploit ethnic division, often manufactured, in both modern and ancient settings. In a similar way, one could apply many of the results of Angela Ganter's discussion of local

myth in Boiotia to understand the importance of storytelling in shaping not only ethnic identity but the political drama that finds expression in the stories we tell ourselves and others regarding our supposed ethnic origins. Ganter's treatment of the role of myth and genealogy in the forging of Boiotian identities reminds us of Homi Bhabha's understanding of the nation as an exercise in narration (Bhabha 1990). As Jim Roy shows, an integral part of that storytelling involves the claim of autochthony, the notion that we have always been in our land. Both chapters address the question of how such stories were circulated, and the rich traditions of storytelling and the recording myths by writers such as Pausanias emerge as powerful components in the fashioning and circulating of ethnic identities. An especially important venue for this exploration of shared traditions was the stage, but Efi Papadodima's contribution goes well beyond the familiar opposition of Greek and Barbarian (see Hall 1989) and explores both intra-Hellenic rivalries as well as the intersection of ethnic identity discourse with other vectors of identity, such as sex and social class.

Two other features of the Greek experience demand our attention if we are to grasp the nuances of the discourse on ethnicity. One is that the Greeks experienced not only the development of ethic identities in the close confines of the Greek mainland but also as part of a complex diasporic experience that included the founding of colonies, the establishment of trade emporia, and service as foreign mercenaries. The former of these conditions, which resulted in the formulation of ethnic identities within the close proximity of small, closely connected regions, is the subject of Emily Mackil's detailed study. Mackil investigates three test cases, the Boiotians, Phokians, and Achaeans, and demonstrates how claims of a shared ethnic identity supported the establishment of political federations. At the same time, however, Mackil also shows how such claims were not enough on their own to guarantee the survival of such *koina*. In a similar test case, Alex Thein examines the well-known case of the Messenians, neighbors of the Spartans. Thein argues that the Messenians, who, as helots, asserted their independence from their Spartan masters at the time of the Great Revolt in about 460 BC, following the earthquake that rocked Sparta, asserted a Messenian identity. It was, in Thein's words, "a rebel identity." A better illustration of the importance of power and boundaries could not be found. The opposite of such tight, regionally bounded federations were those Greek communities located away from the mainland and usually living in close proximity to an indigenous, non-Greek population. These dispersed communities are treated in Phil Kaplan's study, in which he finds that the ties to the land from which and to which they came were subject to broad manipulation. Just as autochthony took different shapes, so too mobility and charter myths could be adapted quite easily in the traditions the Greeks told themselves. To return to the Australian experience with which we began this overview, one generation's convict "stain" is another generation's badge of honor.

Mackil, Thein, and Kaplan's chapters can be usefully read in conjunction with Gocha Tsetskhladze and Corinne Bonnet's contributions, dealing respectively with the Black Sea and the western Mediterranean. Tsetskhladze, whose chapter synthesizes much of the archaeological research of a region only recently becoming known to a wider audience, is wary of the systems created by Greek writers in antiquity and draws attention to the limits of our knowledge and the dangers of beginning with labels and categories created by the ancient literary tradition. Pointedly, he asks the question, "How do we excavate ethnicity?" There are no easy answers, although Tsetskhladze cautiously offers

evidence to see collaboration rather than antagonism as the basic tendency of the indigenous populations' relations with the Greeks. Bonnet's contribution is similarly cautious. We have already noted Bonnet's comments on the labeling of Punic–Phoenician culture. In her investigation of Greek, Phoenician, and indigenous relations in the western Mediterranean, she consistently finds evidence that each of these collectives in fact contains a myriad of different groups, and that trade, prestige, appropriation, and cultural exchange are all phenomena that percolate continuously through the relationships of different groups, while ruptures, confrontations, and violence are, if anything, the aberrations, and not the norm. A further feature that distinguishes the Greeks from other, earlier cultures of the Mediterranean is that they are the first to produce a self-conscious discourse on the question of ethnicity, not only on the stage, as Papadodima explores in her chapter, but in a rich tradition of ethnographic writing, at the head of which stands Herodotus. Treatments of Herodotean ethnography have added to our appreciation of his subtlety, notably those of Hartog (1988) and Thomas (2000), but have tended to focus on his choices as a narrator. In her chapter, Rosaria Munson goes much further and reveals a thinker skeptical of mythical traditions and ancestral claims, the very stuff of ethnic identity. Grappling with relativism, her Herodotus faces the same dilemma as we moderns: a respect for cultural difference often at odds with universal values. When Herodotus, who famously proclaimed that custom is king, reports that Babylonian women must serve once in their lives as temple prostitutes, he is not merely reporting on ethic differences between Greeks and Babylonians; he is offering a considered judgment. The practice is *aischistos* (most shameful).

Three chapters that also treat Greek material but from very different perspectives complete this section of the volume. Becky Martin's chapter concerns representation, but does not simply treat graphic depictions of ethnicity. As with Gates-Foster and Papadodima, she finds that cultural representations of ethnicity actually convey deeply complex meanings. In fact, representation is an area of cultural production in which meaning is as fluid as in ethnicity. This she demonstrates through a series of examples, the notorious "Slipper Slapper" being perhaps the starkest. Aphrodite or Astarte? Model of assimilation or assertion of difference? Are we even capable of recovering an emic understanding of one of the most famous pieces of Hellenistic statuary? From this aporetic stance, Martin offers an eloquent comparison between representation and ethnicity that bears repeating: "In this way ethnicity, too, is not about discovery and isolation of objective models (i.e., true ethnicities). Ethnicity's value as a fluid theory is that it deepens our understanding of the basic question of "who"—who is represented by an image, text, or built environment—with the potential to challenge monolithic, normative identities."

If Martin moves the inquiry into a world in which Greek culture (and ethnicity) finds itself no longer dominant or unchallenged, the first centuries of the Common Era would see fresh developments attesting to the vitality of ethnic discourse as a mode for expressing cultural relations and identities. One of these occurred with the growth of Christianity, which, as Aaron Johnson demonstrates, positioned itself as a radically new *ethnos*. Concentrating on the polemic between Celsus and Origen, Johnson shows that conversion was not conceived as a movement from ethnicity to a transcendent non-ethnicity, as some have imagined, but as a movement from one ethnicity to another. Triangulating between Greeks and Jews, early Christians created a new *genos* (tribe) and *politeia* (commonwealth). Here, we find ethnicity as more than a deliberately fashioned and



Map 1.1 The Mediterranean.

self-ascribed identity. It becomes a basic mode of argument in which history and religion are polemically blended. Similarly turbulent conditions of cultural reformation took place once Greece came under the political domination of Rome. However, Greece was neither a new ethnicity, nor one seeking a way of expressing legitimacy. Instead, as Adam Kemezis, demonstrates, the literary movement labeled the "Second Sophistic" drew on the traditions of a high literary culture and afforded the elites of the Greek world an opportunity to reformulate Greek ethnicity largely in terms of a cultural inheritance. Once again, this fluid and dynamic process was driven by considerations of power and its pale twin, "status."

Urbis et Orbis

The remaining contributions to this volume deal with the Roman world, although, once again, overlaps and continuities between these chapters and those that come before are to be expected. Nancy de Grummond's chapter on the Etruscans uses a familiar set of criteria to help identify a group whose self-representation was subject to ruthless distortion and manipulation by others. Exploring language, religion, and appearance, de Grummond contrasts the self-representation of the Etruscans with the conflicting traditions surrounding them in Greek and Roman sources, neither of which was disinterested. How exactly does one distinguish between a culture of deep religious temperament and a Roman description of Etruria as the mother of superstition? Similar jibes were directed at the Jews in the Roman period, but, as Erich Gruen demonstrates, such remarks do not amount to a coherent dichotomy, with Jews and Romans standing implacably on opposite sides of the divide. As in other places and instances, entanglement complicates the picture: "Godfearers," gentiles drawn to Jewish practices, and manumitted Jewish slaves bequeathing Roman citizenship to their children are examples of the nuance and complexity that was at the heart of the relationship between Jews and Romans.

Even closer to home, in the Italy of the late Republic, the contingent quality of ethnicity—not a fixed category but a mode of negotiation between communities—emerges very clearly in both Gary Farney and Parshia Lee-Stecum's treatments of Italian and Roman identities. The Roman identity of the Republic involved the positioning of different elite elements constantly adjusting their positions in relation to each other and in relation to a hortatory fiction: Rome. Sometimes even double and triple identities coexisted, at one time emphasizing the place of origin and at other times emphasizing a kind of bifocality involving the Etruscans or the Sabines. Farney charts the transformation of the latter's credentials among the Romans: "The central Apennine people, and ultimately the elite of the rest of Italy, managed to change their reputation from untrustworthy savages, to marginal figures put to Rome's use, and finally to paragons of old-fashioned rusticity and virtue." Lee-Stecum examines the same phenomenon from the point of view of the Italian people and finds that, even as Romans and Italians fought each other in the Social War, ethnicity provided less a line of demarcation than a shared set of assumptions and aspirations. He notes: "The Romans represented their own identity as encompassing multiple, largely Italian, genealogies and traditions. The Italian allies might aspire to full incorporation within Rome, and even to identify themselves as Romans, without compromising their ethnocultural distinctiveness." Yet,

even these two chapters, approaching Romans and Italians but from different points of view, barely scratch the surface. (See Roselaar [2012] for other essays on the same period.) Jörg Rüpke, for example, also juxtaposes the Romans with their neighbors (Greek, Sabine, and especially Etruscan), but primarily from the point of view of the Roman understanding of what we would call religion. Ethnicity, or more accurately a Roman awareness of ethnic diversity, emerges in Rüpke's analysis, not, as we might expect, as a reaffirmation of Roman superiority but as an unusual means toward asserting a set of universal ideas and assumptions about our relations to the gods. In the setting of empire, such a tendency helped bridge the gap between separate elite families and between widely disparate subject groups. Ethnic diversity was a useful backdrop against which to set the emergence of a universal Roman power, culminating in the figure of the emperor. Reading these three chapters in tandem reveals the range of cultural work that thinking about ethnicity made possible. It provided often unexpected ways of reconciling similarity and difference.

If the chapters on Republican Rome alert us to the fact that the valence of an ethnic association can undergo a complete reversal from denigration to proud assertion, Kathryn Lomas' contribution, an examination of the intersection of ethnicity and gender, is a powerful reminder than regional variation undercuts many easy generalizations. Contrasting both Archaic Italy with the Empire, and northern and southern Italy, Lomas recognizes a strong correlation between ethnic distinctions, dress, and the position of women in north Italian communities, a correlation that cannot be attested in the south and which was largely effaced by the spread of Roman power. Regional variation is also a key theme in Ursula Rothe's chapter, in which she looks at the response of four different tribal groups in the provinces to the domination of Rome. As she notes, "Empires produce complex ethnic configurations." However, the trajectories of ethnically oriented changes stimulated by the pressure to assimilate were not predictable or uniform. Armies, cities, and trade may have made their appearance in all Roman provinces, but the responses of the Batavi, the Treveri, and the Ubii, on the one hand, and the inhabitants of Pannonia, on the other, were entirely different.

In many of these chapters, ethnicity proves to be a fluid mode of discourse between spreading Roman power and local responses (whether characterized by confrontation, hybridity, entanglement, or negotiation in the middle ground). Yet, this fluidity is often masked by a tendency in ancient literary sources to prefer broad ethnic categories, a mistake frequently repeated by modern scholars. John Wonder, for example, surveys the uses of the ethnonym "Lucanian" used of the inhabitants of southern Italy, and finds that the label was largely an ascription of Greek and Roman writers, that the people so named primarily identified with smaller local groups, and that it was only in the wake of the Second Punic War that the term was adopted by the people of southern Italy to express a collective identity. To speak, then, of the "Lucanians" as a monolithic group and ignore the complex history of the various subgroups that were eventually subsumed under the broader descriptor is to make precisely the mistake that Richard White (1978: 343) warned against a generation ago, when discussing the tribes of the American southwest: "Without an understanding of tribal and intertribal histories, and an appreciation that, like all history, they are dynamic, not static, the actions of Indians when they come into conflict with whites can be easily and fatally distorted." This is not to say that recuperating the details of local communities and their response to change is easy. Here, as

elsewhere, we remain prey to the paucity of evidence from the ancient world, but, as Brent Shaw's chapter demonstrates, it is occasionally possible to turn prevailing narratives of the ancient world on their head. His chapter on the inhabitants of the Maghrib in Roman times uses approaches drawn from Ibn Khaldûn and, later, Soviet ethnography to suggest that the development of ethnic identities should be interpreted as the response of small local communities to external pressures by asserting group solidarity. Shaw asks: "Was there any generally shared identity among the indigenous populations of Roman Africa?" His answer: "Probably. But it is rather difficult to unearth." The answer may seem overly cautious, but in the process he has restored to the Afri, Masaesyli, Zegrenses, and others some, at least, of their own agency and identity.

The Afterlife of Ethnicity

To encounter a monolithic Roman identity, we must wait until we come upon the Roman-ness (*romanitas*) (re)activated under Mussolini, the subject of Valentina Follo's chapter. Follo charts the stages by which Mussolini moved from an early disparaging of Roman culture to a wholehearted embracing of the Roman model. She situates this in the context of the formation of an Italian nation from the late nineteenth century on, and demonstrates how both the education system and archaeology contributed to the creation of a collective memory, especially serviceable for a nation late to join the imperial program of the European states. The role of ancient ethnicities in the (continuing) development of the modern nation-state is a subject of interesting recent investigation (see, e.g., Dietler 1994 and 1998 on the Celtic past and Tai 2001 on Nora's work on *lieux de mémoire*), and Follo's chapter points toward the possibility of fruitful collaboration between ancient and modern historians. And if the monuments of Rome provided fixed points in the creation of cultural memory and ethnic identity for modern Italians, the same process was clearly at work in the ancient world, as Emily Baragwanath (2012) has demonstrated with regard to the speeches, histories, and monuments of fifth-century Athens, which fashioned a shared identity out of the Greek victory in the Persian Wars.

The bridge between ancient ethnicities and their modern reassertions may be provided by an analytical approach to ethnicity, as discussed in Walter Pohl's contribution on the Goths and Huns. Pohl deals with the concept of the *Traditionskerne* ("kernels of tradition"), a well-established principle of German scholarship according to which essential, traditional features of an ethnic group remained intact and were passed on by small elites within larger ethnic groups. In many respects, the debate about this crucial notion is at the heart of contemporary discussions of ethnicity. Is an ethnic identity chiefly characterized by continuities with the past, an essentializing view, or by the changes that occur as new situations arise, an instrumentalist approach? Even if scholarly opinion has swung toward the latter view, the hold of ethnicity in the stories that communities continue to tell themselves about themselves, their past, and their place in the world suggests that our fascination with ethnicity remains a powerful response to the emergence of globalism as the dominant feature of contemporary life. In a recent contribution on Asian ethnicities in the contemporary world, Kolig, Wong, and Angeles (2009) refer to "bricolage identities," while a similar volume on the ancient world refers to "the role of power and tradition" (Dirks and Roymans 2009). These seem mutually exclusive tendencies, and

yet it is the ability of ethnicity to link these apparent polarities that makes it so marked a feature of both the ancient world and the modern.

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CHAPTER 2

Ethnicity and Language in the Ancient Mediterranean

Harald Haarmann

Introduction

The relationship of ethnicity and language and their significance for the understanding of historical processes in antiquity have long been underestimated or marginalized. Historians still speak about "the Greeks," "the Romans," and "the Scythians"—a projection of nineteenth-century conceptualizations—and identify them as "ancient peoples," as if these concepts represented homogeneous entities, such as the labels that were given to the peoples of Europe in the era of nationalism. Already in antiquity, people were aware of ethnic distinctions between local tribes and within language communities (e.g., Athenians versus Spartans, Scythian nomads versus *Hellenes Skuthai*, the bilingual offspring of Scythians and Greeks living in the Greek colonies on the shores of the Black Sea). Recent research on the complex issue of identity and ethnicity calls for a fresh study of the relationship of language to ethnic identity in antiquity.

From earliest times, people have been aware of language and cultural traditions as markers of ethnicity (Haarmann 1986). The marking of a collective ethnic identity has always been linked to a name for the group (i.e., an ethnonym) and to the language of its members (Smith 1986). Paradoxically, the best proof of the validity of language as a marker of ethnicity in antiquity is the Greek, specifically Athenian, concept of the "barbarian," a designation that equated the inferiority of others with their inability to speak comprehensible Greek. The prestige of Greek culture was thus tied to mastery of the Greek language. The relationship of language to ethnicity has always been of significance for classical studies, but until recently was rarely studied systematically. It seems that, during the past decade, ethnicity-related research has been attracting ever-growing attention (see Graves-Brown, Jones, and Gamble 1996; Hall 1997, 2002; Insoll 2007; Derks and Roymans 2009; Lape 2010).

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Language as a Marker of Ethnic Identity

As a major marker of ethnicity, language occupies a crucial role in the formation of ancient civilizations and in the relations between the various populations in the Mediterranean. We should begin, however, by considering the dynamic role of language in processes of ethnic identification. Humans have been labeled "man the toolmaker" (Oakley 1961). For a long time, this reflected a prevailing view among scholars with an interest in human evolution. Much later, the image of "woman the gatherer" was added to complete the picture (Cashdan 1989: 28 ff.). And yet, there is still another essential characteristic of the human capacity for culture: symbol-making. "The symbol-making function is one of man's primary activities, like eating, looking, or moving about. It is the fundamental process of his mind, and goes on all the time" (Langer 1942: 32).

There are many symbolic systems that have served human beings in their need to perceive and conceptualize the world and their living conditions. Humans have devised many sign systems for constructing their cultural environment and for facilitating interactions in a network of social relations. These sign systems may be related to language, or they may function independently without the participation of language (Haarmann 2007: 88–89). Examples of the latter category range from the very elementary, such as communicating with gestures and poses forming a gestural code, to the very specialized, such as the digital processing of information in computers. Language appears in two major manifestations, as a system of auditive signs (spoken language) and as a system of visual signs (written language). These manifestations are perhaps the most effective and powerful symbolic system that human beings have created for themselves to construct culture, this being the most essential manifestation of human agency. In human history, language has assumed an extraordinary variety of functions.

The evolutionary leap that occurred with the elaboration of cultural and linguistic skills in modern humans (*Homo sapiens sapiens*) cannot be explained by the working of a simple adaptation mechanism. It is inconceivable that the necessity for modern humans to adapt, some 45,000 years ago, to the harsh climatic conditions in Ice Age Europe could be solely responsible for the triggering of the creative outburst that has been termed the "Upper Paleolithic revolution," the explosion of figurative art, both fixed (as in the paintings and carvings in the caves) and mobile (in the form of sculptures and decorated artifacts), and the advancement of the lithic industry, when the Mousterian gave way to the Aurignacian horizon between 37,000 and 35,000 BP (Gamble 1999: 272 ff.).

Modern humans are capable of constructing complex cultures, whereas other primates (and earlier hominid species such as *Homo sapiens Neanderthalensis* or *Homo erectus*) only reached the level of elementary culture. Knowledge construction is a prerequisite for the organization of any culture. The acquisition of knowledge in the human mind relies on cognitive capacities that are innate in hominid species. There is a mental force in human beings that made the evolutionary leap from elementary to complex culture possible, and this is identity, to be understood as a continuously evolving process. The process

of identification in its broadest sense is equal to the mental construction of the Self in contrast or relation to the Other(s). The extent to which the Others share with the individual Self patterns of social interaction, common systems of communication, and the motivation to act as a group enhances the elaboration of an overarching frame for group activities: culture.

Modern humans' adaptation to their environment is not the result of a plan laid down by some individuals in the remote past. Rather, it results from identity as an inner force, promoting the entire cultural enterprise. Identity is a complex mechanism that provides an individual with the capacity to make choices in decision-making. It is not a phenomenon that, once achieved, continues unchanged. Rather, identity has the character of a dynamic process that is reactivated in everyday interactions, and it is subject to potential changes (Haarmann 1996). Human beings may adopt many social and cultural roles during their lifetimes, and the values as well as the priorities of cultural activities change from childhood to an older age. This dynamic property of identity—arising from the constant accretion of mental responses to the pressures of keeping a balance with the natural environment—is responsible for the manifold impulses that have led, throughout the cultural history of modern humans, to the elaboration of ever new technologies and symbolic systems, designed for a wide variety of purposes. Identity, the mental strategy of distinguishing the Self from the Other, is so elementary as to function as a motor for all kinds of interaction and cultural activities. Identity works in modern humans in a way that it did not work in other hominid species. Individuality and self-awareness were much less developed in archaic humans (Neanderthals). Identity enhances intentionality (Lyons 1995). Intentionality is fairly weak in primates, although it is present on a rudimentary level. A vestige of this rudimentary stage of intentionality is still discernible in modern humans, namely in the somewhat diffuse, prelinguistic intentionality in infants.

The mechanism by which this force called identity could crystallize was language. Without complex language (Carstairs-McCarthy 1999), culture-construction among modern humans would have remained an endeavor *in nuce*. Complex language originated out of the dynamics of the process of identification among human beings when confronted with the challenges of reconciling their cultural activities with the conditions of their natural habitat. Complex language made the construction of complex culture possible. In discussions of cultural evolution, however, identity has been largely overlooked. Here, an attempt is made to highlight its significance.

The crucial issue in culture evolution is not the mental capacity to manipulate symbols but rather the incentive that drives one species to elaborate and use sophisticated symbol systems, and others not. Chimpanzees do not need language in their natural environment. Therefore, they have not activated their brain capacities for this end. On the other hand, modern humans would not be able to construct their cultural environment without the verbal skills they possess. Modern humans' need for language is intrinsically associated with the challenges of their identification process. The recent discovery of a so-called architect gene that is responsible for cerebral asymmetry and language (Crow 2002) may contribute to the understanding of the dynamics inherent in the identification process. If identity is central to the culture process, then "the theory

of identity has to be regarded as the basic theory of all the humanities, on which the more specialized ethnological and other anthropological disciplines … would have to be based and elaborated" (Müller 1987: 391). If the identification process and the driving force of intentionality are much stronger in modern humans than in early hominids, then one must also expect that the most important vehicle for articulating intentionality, language, is much more elaborate in modern humans than in their predecessors.

In the dynamic process of identification, the relationships between the major constitutive components may be specified in the following way:

Ecological adaptation ≫	Identification process ≫	Intentionality ⋙	Symbol making and knowledge construction ⋙	Technological development

Symbol making proliferates in a such a way that microsystems of signs, such as language, play the role of instruments in constructing macrosystems of symbols, such as culture at its most extensive.

If the process of identification is always a matter of finding a balance between consciousness both of the Self as an individual and of the role played by the individual in group relations, then constructing one's identity is naturally related to a person's kinship relations (identifying with one's descent), to specific local conditions of community life (identifying with cultural traditions), to a related worldview, and to a culturally specific value system (identifying with a local group's phenomenology) (Haarmann 1996, 1999). Consequently, such processes are subject to cultural diversity and ethnic boundary-marking, and "ethnic categories are reproduced and transformed in the ongoing processes of social life" (Jones 1997: 84).

Human social existence is characterized by manifold group memberships. The first of these are in-groups such as the family and kinship clusters. Networks of such in-groups, at the most elementary level, have boundaries marked ethnically, labeled in various ways, often rendered in English by terms such as "tribes" (in historical accounts) or "ethnic groups" (in contemporary treatments of social breakdown; see Luraghi in this volume). Ethnicity can be regarded as the most foundational dimension of identity in the construction of human society, regardless of the degree to which ethnic markers play an active role in the individual's behavior or are manipulated by outside factors—that is, regardless of whether ethnicity is actively professed and stabilizes consciousness (witness the boisterous behavior of fans at the Olympics) or internalized as an unconscious ingredient of a person's group membership. A key ingredient of an ethnic group is its cohesion: membership is stable as long as the network of sociocultural relations within the group functions without disturbances or impediments. "Ethnic cohesion is achieved through interaction between members of intimate networks like close family and friends, effective networks such as kinship or occupation, and the extended networks of neighborhood or social group" (Henson 2006: 19).

In an overall scheme for comprehending the collective identity of populations in prehistory and antiquity, the following elementary parameters can be distinguished:

(a) Descent
Genomic profiles may offer the opportunity of specifying those anthropological features as markers of ethnicity by which local populations distinguish themselves (although this remains controversial and runs the risk of creating a new reductionism, according to which researchers might produce the very communities they seek to identify genetically; see Reardon 2001: 378)

(b) Constituents of human ecology
  (i) The relationship of natural environment and cultural space ("landscape")
  (ii) Types and styles of dwellings
  (iii) Layout of settlements
  (iv) Architecture
  (v) Technologies (e.g., tool industry, pottery, weaving, metalworking, construction work, etc.)
  (vi) Trading networks (i.e., local versus long-distance trade relations, raw material versus manufactured goods)
  (vii) Imagery (i.e., genres of representational art: rock carving or painting, mobile art, ornaments, and decorative motifs)

(c) Sociocultural markers of ethnicity
  (i) Kinship (i.e., nuclear family, extended family, lineages)
  (ii) Behavioral constituents (i.e., customs and traditions: dress, organization of daily life, etc.)
  (iii) Formal activities sustaining community life (i.e., chanting, dancing, rites of passage, etc.)
  (iv) Enculturation (i.e., socialization of the young generation under the auspices of specific cultural traditions)
  (v) Instructive activities (i.e., division of labor, professional training and specialization, etc.)

(d) Communication systems
  (i) Visual communication (i.e., body painting or tattooing, emblemic and heraldic systems, notational systems for measuring time, space, and weight)
  (ii) Language (i.e., constructing culture by wording human ecology)
  (iii) Ethnonym (i.e., origin and structure of the peer group's name)
  (iv) Knowledge construction (i.e., accumulating, sharing, and applying knowledge for enhancing the sustainability of the community)
  (v) Language-related visual communication (i.e., writing technology)

(e) Interaction and social behavior
  (i) Interactional strategies (i.e., behavioral conventions in social contact, in-group and out-group interaction, customs of interethnic contacts)
  (ii) Language-related behavior (i.e., ethnic styles in discourse, oral tradition: chanting, myths, storytelling, etc.)

(f) Phenomenological markers of ethnicity
  (i) Parameters of self-identification (i.e., attitudes toward myths of origin and the local mythic tradition in general)
  (ii) Identification with and boundary-marking of the socioeconomic and cultural space (i.e., territoriality)
  (iii) Parameters of the categorization of Others (i.e., cultural stereotypes about other populations)
  (iv) Religion and worldview (i.e., parameters of a spirituality and systems of belief, relationship to the ancestors, polytheism versus henotheism)
  (v) Enhancing social relationships, celebrating group cohesion (i.e., communal ceremonies and rituals: initiation, gift exchange, thanksgiving, etc.)
  (vi) Symbols enhancing group cohesion (i.e., symbolic values crystallizing in the ethnonym, significance of symbols of authority and power, etc.)
  (vii) Value system (i.e., parameters of prestige values attributed to the peer group, social equality versus the marking of gender difference, assigning authority versus the marking of social status and elite power)

This scheme serves as a theoretical construct. Each of the features may be of significance for shaping a group's identity, but not all the features of the scheme will have equal significance in each instance. To give a simple example: the relevance of writing as a system of visual communication is valid only in a community such as fifth-century Athens, where this technology is developed. In Iberian societies of the same period, without writing, other systems of visual communication may be more prominent.

Languages and Interethnic Relations in Prehistory

The configurations of ethnic groups and languages as we know them from antiquity are the product of ethnic processes that unfolded in prehistory (see the chapter by Kristiansen in this volume). Significant changes in the linguistic landscape were effected by the process of Indo-Europeanization, which is the spread of Indo-European cultures and languages in Eurasia and Anatolia. Nowadays, the great majority of the populations in Europe speak Indo-European languages. Until the Bronze Age, the proportions of non-Indo-European and Indo-European languages in Europe were the opposite of modern times, with Paleo-European languages of non-Indo-European affiliation dominating the linguistic landscape (Haarmann 2011a: 62–63).

The Paleo-European languages that can be identified as individual linguistic complexes were scattered in the northern region of the Mediterranean. These are the following: Old European (the language associated with the Danube civilization) in southeastern Europe; Minoan in ancient Crete; Lemnian on the island of Lemnos in the eastern Aegean (closely affiliated to Etruscan); Etruscan in Etruria (Tuscany); remnants of pre-Greek (= non-Indo-European) languages in Sicily; Paleo-Sardinian in Sardinia; Camunic in the Alpine region of northern Italy; Rhaetic in the Swiss Alps; Ligurian

in the region of Genoa; Aquitanian in southwestern France; Basque in southwestern France and northern Spain; Iberian in northeastern Spain; Cantabrian in northern Spain; Tartessian in southern Spain; and Lusitanian in southern Portugal. The speakers of these languages gradually assimilated into speech communities with a dominance of languages of Indo-European affiliation. With the exception of Basque, the Paleo-European languages declined under the pressure of Indo-Europeanization and became extinct (Haarmann 2005: 194–195).

The process of Indo-Europeanization is marked by a cluster of features—ethnic, cultural, and linguistic—which, taken together, offer a distinctive profile, with an ethnodemographic epicenter in the Pontic-Caspian region (see map in Anthony 2007: 84). The historical trajectory of the Proto-Indo-Europeans, their economy, social structures, culture, and language did not unfold in isolation, but rather is characterized by contacts between Indo-Europeans and neighboring populations (i.e., Uralians, Caucasians, and Paleo-Europeans in the northwestern Pontic region), and by the conflict of interests between the steppe people and the agriculturalists in the west. However, untangling the story of these contacts and changes is not straightforward. Take, for example, explanations offered for the so-called agricultural revolution at the end of the Neolithic period. The spread of agriculture to different regions is usually assumed to have been linked to large-scale migrations of agriculturalists from western Anatolia who swept over Europe in a wave, bringing with them agrarian technology. Accordingly, in a simplistic combination of two independent matrices—the spread of agriculture and the spread of people belonging to a distinct ethnic stock—the movements of the Indo-Europeans have been identified as the migrations of early agriculturalists from western Anatolia into Europe. If, however, agriculture had been brought to Europe by migrants from Asia, their gene pool would have decisively influenced the genomic structures of modern Europeans. This is not the case. Already in the 1990s, human geneticists had emphasized that, for the spread of agriculture, it is not necessary to assume a movement of people on a large scale. The "wave of advance" model to explain the spread of agriculture "requires no migratory movement" (Cavalli-Sforza et al. 1994: 257).

Furthermore, decisive evidence that the spread of agriculture and genomic diffusion were unrelated has recently been produced. It is now clear that the great majority of the genes of modern Europeans derive from the indigenous hunting–gathering populations (Budja 2005; Haak et al. 2005). There is ample evidence to show that assumptions about large-scale migrations during the Early Neolithic Age, as the diffusionists would have it (see Bellwood and Renfrew 2002 for implications), directed from Anatolia to southeastern Europe and beyond, are untenable. There were no large-scale or long-distance migrations into Europe from outside during the Neolithic period. Since agrarian technology and life style spread during that period, it follows that this spread is due to the dynamics of the spread of trade goods, technologies, and ideas. In the course of this process of change, the indigenous hunters and gatherers underwent large-scale acculturation, eventually culminating in the adoption of an agrarian way of living. Yet, at the same time, a recent archeological survey (Séfériadès 2007) has documented a high degree of

continuity of economic and cultural development for the period from the Mesolithic to the Neolithic in southeastern Europe.

The history of the spread of Indo-European cultures and languages is multifaceted, in the sense that the fabric of Indo-European identity underwent changes in the process of spreading. Those Indo-Europeans who left the steppes of southern Russia to move westward into Europe and eastward into Central Asia were pastoralists (Gimbutas 1991: 351 ff.). Those who migrated later into western Europe were also Indo-Europeans, however, with a fundamentally different foundation for their socioeconomic outlook. They were agriculturalists, the offspring of pastoralist ancestors who, during several generations of acculturation, had experienced a shift in their way of life. The key concepts "Indo-European" and "Indo-Europeanness" are used here as blanket terms for describing ethnic, cultural, and linguistic agglomerations of features that do not apply to other groups of differing affiliation.

The pre-Indo-European populations of southeastern Europe experienced an early shift to agriculture through processes of acculturation and, from c. 6500 BCE onward, the pace of cultural development was swifter when compared with that in Anatolia. With regard to symbolic activity and visual communication, the Paleo-Europeans (or pre-Indo-Europeans) are to be credited with the earliest experiments with writing technology in the Old World, and the beginnings of a vivid use of signs and symbols in southeastern Europe (starting around 5300 BCE) predate the emergence of ancient Sumerian writing by 2,000 years (Merlini 2009; Haarmann 2011b). There are other achievements of the ancient civilization of southeastern Europe in which the inventiveness of the pre-Indo-European population is manifested, among them an advanced pyrotechnology (for the production of high-quality pottery and ceramics) and the invention of the potter's turning device (preceding the actual wheel), which is first documented around the middle of the fifth millennium BCE. Early metalworking (of copper since the sixth millennium BCE, of gold since the fifth millennium BCE) is also known from the Balkan region. Certain smelting techniques have a longer history in Europe than in the Near East. The oldest gold treasure of the world was retrieved from a Copper Age necropolis near Varna in Bulgaria, and is dated to c. 4500 BCE (Slavchev 2009).

The history of Indo-Europeanization in the European Southeast is not the story of the advent of civilization to the region. On the contrary, the Indo-Europeans who entered southeastern Europe absorbed much of the essence of the Old European civilization that had flourished before the arrival of the steppe people. They did not only integrate cultural patterns of the early agriculturalists but also thousands of lexical elements from the language of Old Europeans into their own. The quality of pre-Indo-European borrowings differs markedly from hunter–gatherer vocabulary. In fact, the substratum in ancient Greek stems from the language of a sedentary population with agrarian lifestyles and advanced technological skills. Among the borrowed names for plants are those for cultivated plants (e.g., *elaia* "olive" and *oinos* "wine"). In the domain of handicraft and technology, the Greeks learned many things from their skilled predecessors. The ancient Greeks adopted terms for pottery (e.g., *keramos* "clay") and for metalworking (e.g., *kaminos* "furnace," *khalkos* "copper"). Contrary to the diffusionists' belief,

the pre-Indo-Europeans could build bridges (*gephura*), used bread ovens (*klibanos*) and practiced weaving (see Barber 1991: 278 ff., for cognates and borrowings in the Greek terminology for weaving).

The religious traditions of the pre-Indo-European communities in southeastern Europe must have impressed the Indo-European intruders, because a number of key concepts of their religious life entered the ancient Greek lexicon (e.g., *bretas* "wooden image of a divinity," *megaron* "the oracular chamber in the temple," and *thiasos* "ritual procession"). If the indigenous population in the Balkan region had been simply replaced by the Indo-European migrants, then hardly any such expressions would have been adopted. Moreover, terms such as *thiasos* and especially *megaron* not only retained their original, pre-Greek importance but became even more significant in the religious life of the Greeks in the classical period.

It is noteworthy that people in antiquity were aware of language shift and fusion processes of the languages involved. In the works of ancient authors, we find accounts of the relationship between older and more recent populations. The earliest such accounts are found in Herodotus' *Histories*, written in the second half of the fifth century BC. Herodotus elaborates on the process of acculturation among the pre-Greek population, known to contemporaries as the Pelasgians, and their assimilation into the Greek speech community. With special reference to the situation in the region of Attica, Herodotus explains: "If therefore all the Pelasgians (spoke) this way, then the Attic people (*to Attikon ethnos*), being Pelasgic, must have changed their language too at the time when they became part of the Hellenes" (*Histories* 1.57.3). Herodotus' comments reflect an awareness of linguistic change, but they also demonstrate the shortcomings of an analysis that was not equipped to define that change precisely. To better understand the implications of shifting language patterns and the discourse on ethnicity, we must turn to the Romans and their neighbors, especially the Etruscans.

Ethnicity and Language Shift in the Roman Empire

Romanization made steady progress among the various peoples in Italy, proceeding at a specific pace under varying local conditions of contact. The spread of Latin among the Faliscans, ethnically closely akin with the Romans, developed swiftly, more swiftly than among the Venetians, Oscans, or Messapians (Marchesini 2009). Their languages vanished almost entirely, leaving traces only in local place-names or scattered loanwords in Latin. There was one exception to this general observation, and this is Etruscan (Facchetti 2000). The process of assimilation of the Etruscan language into the Latin speech community was prolonged, as is evidenced by the abundance of bilingual inscriptions (in Etruscan and Latin) that are recorded over a span of several centuries into the first century BCE (Hadas-Lebel 2004). Toward the end of Roman rule in Italy, the Etruscan population had completely assimilated into the Latin speech community, although there is evidence from the early fifth century AD that Etruscan was still preserved for some ritualistic purposes. And yet, Latin did not simply overform Etruscan

and eventually replace it. In fact, Latin is saturated with elements of Etruscan. Etruscan was the vehicle of a sophisticated and influential civilization that had flourished even before the Romans became civilized. This instance of non-Indo-European language overshadowing an Indo-European language makes the Etruscan–Roman contacts in ancient Italy unique.

An indication of the fusion that took place is the fact that Etruscan not only infiltrated the Latin lexicon but also penetrated its grammatical structures. In the cultural vocabulary of Latin, many Etruscan expressions are preserved, as lexical borrowings. A selection of direct borrowings, by no means complete, would include: *Aprilis* "April," *atrium* "forecourt," *autumnus* "autumn," *bura* "plough beam," *caelum* "sky," *caerimonia* "ceremony," *calceus* "shoe," *calpar* "wine jar," *cisterna* "cistern," *coleus* "testicle," *columna* "column," *fenestra* "window," *genista* "broom," *lamina* "blade," *lanius* "butcher," *lucerna* "lamp," *miles* "soldier," *mundus* "world," *obscenus* "ominous," *populus* "people," *pulcher* "pretty," *puteus* "well," *taberna* "inn, shop," *tellus* "earth," *titulus* "label," *triumphus* "triumph," *tuba* "trumpet," *turris* "tower," *tutulus* "priest's cap," *urceus* "pitcher," *urna* "urn," *vagina* "vagina," *voltur* "vulture" (Ostler 2007: 323). Etruscan also left traces in the linguistic architecture of Latin. Latin numbering, for example, reflects Etruscan influence. As with the Etruscans, the Romans expressed 18 as "two less than 20" (Latin: *duodeviginti*; Etruscan: *esl-em zathrum*), and 19 as "one less than 20" (Latin: *undeviginti*; Etruscan: *thu-em zathrum*) (see Haarmann 2008: 106 ff., for Etruscan calques in Latin).

Another area of Etruscan influence is to be found in Roman nomenclature. The Roman system for naming individuals deviates markedly from the conventions in other Indo-European languages, and it has been suggested that the Romans adopted their threefold system from the Etruscans. This system is characterized by the combination of a praenomen ("forename"), a nomen ("name") or gentilicium, and a cognomen "nickname; additional name." The praenomen was the individual's personal name, the nomen represented the name of the clan or lineage to which a person belonged, and the cognomen made reference to a specific family within the clan. The *trianomina* marked its bearer as a free Roman citizen (Ostler 2007: 41). In addition to the system of name-giving and its infrastructure, the Romans also adopted name forms of Etruscan origin. Among such names are those of famous Roman citizens such as Caesar and Cicero. Caesar's name is associated with the town of Caere (Etruscan Caisr). This association was established at the times of the Punic wars when one of Caesar's ancestors entertained political ties with the city as an ally against the Carthaginians.

Among the words that Latin borrowed from Etruscan are key terms relating to various institutions of the Roman state. One was political power, and its organization and manifestation in the legal system. In addition to direct borrowings, Latin absorbed many Etruscan elements in translation. The most visible icon of the early Roman state seems to be an adaptation of Etruscan terminology: Latin *res publica* "republic," translation of Etruscan *mekh rasnal* "league of the people" (Rix 1984: 466). The Romans learned the business of administration from the Etruscans. The magistrate (Latin *magister populi*) derived from the office of the Etruscan *macstarna*, and the Romans also adopted the

symbol of the magistrate's authority, the rod bundle (*fasces*). The rods symbolized light punishment, flogging, while the ax was the symbol for execution. It is noteworthy that the fasces are closely associated with another symbol of state organization, with the office of the priestesses of the goddess Vesta, the patron divinity of the Roman state.

Etruscan–Roman Rivalry in the Light of the Foundation Myth

Roman culture was permeated by Etruscan influence, yet in the charged area of mythic origins the Romans looked to the heroic world of the Greeks, and claimed that they were the descendants of Aeneas, the last Trojan to leave the burning city. According to various accounts, Aeneas was of divine descent, being the offspring of the goddess Aphrodite and the mortal Anchises. After the fall of his hometown Troy, Aeneas was entrusted with a divine mission, as Virgil presents it, to lay the foundations for civilization and statehood in Italy. The story of Dido emphasized the personal cost to Aeneas of this mandate, but when set against the local stories of Romulus and Remus, the foundation story centered on Aeneas demonstrates that, for the Romans, who were increasingly engaged in a Mediterranean world, heroic descent played a more important role than aboriginality (Gruen 1992: 28–9). Among the Romans and other Italic tribes, aboriginality assumed a quality that differed markedly from the role it played for the Athenians' identity (see Capuis 1993: 26 ff., on the situation of the Veneti). For the Romans, aboriginality was equated with a barbarian way of life, not unlike the associations of indigeneity with primitiveness among European colonialists in the age of imperialism. In order to raise the prestige of their descent, the Romans rejected the idea of aboriginality for themselves but claimed it for the Etruscans, who were considered less valorous. Out of the context of sociocultural rivalry with the Etruscans emerged the political ideology of the Roman myth of origin (Bonfante and Bonfante 1983: 41).

According to Roman myth and literary rhetoric, the legitimation of the Roman state lay in the fact that Aeneas had followed his destiny and settled down in Latium. Originally, Latium was under Etruscan supremacy into the fifth century BCE. Lavinium (Laurentum) was the main religious center in Latium. The main mythical symbol of heroic origin, a landmark, for the Etruscans was a tumulus grave that, according to popular belief going back to the sixth century BCE, had been considered to be Aeneas' grave. After the Romans established their power in Latium, they adopted the Trojan myth for themselves, and Lavinium's fame continued in Roman disguise. This myth of origin assumed political significance for the Romans when they were at war with Carthage, and perhaps as early as their domination of the Latin League in the fourth century BC.

The first literary version of the Aeneas myth was created by Gnaeus Naevius toward the end of the Second Punic War (218–201 BCE). In his epic poem, the *Bellum poenicum*, Naevius told the story of the recent war with Carthage, but appears to have preceded his description of the war with an account of Aeneas' travels to North Africa and eventually to Italy. In the second century BCE, Quintus Ennius composed his epic about the history

of Rome (the *Annales*). The heroic ancestry and Aeneas' founding of kingship in Italy are the themes of the first three books. Ennius was called the Roman Homer, because he deliberately tried to follow the Greek epic tradition. Ennius' work remained influential for 150 years before it was surpassed by Virgil's *Aeneid*, on which the poet worked for 12 years until his death in 19 BCE. In each of these works, Rome's foundation is inextricably tied to the aftermath of the Trojan War, and thus connects Rome to the heroic cycle of stories, known as the *Nostoi*, that dealt with the return of the heroes from Troy. However, while most other heroes were Achaeans (Greeks) who returned to betrayal and death, Aeneas survives the threat of Carthage to found a new dynasty in Italy. In terms of origin myths, then, the Romans elected to adopt a story that set them apart from the Latins, the Etruscans, and especially the Carthaginians.

Virgil's version, in particular, would establish the story of Aeneas at the heart of Roman imperial ideology. Julius Caesar, who declared himself a descendant of Aeneas, established the cult of Venus Genetrix, giving a Roman face to the Greek goddess, Aphrodite, the mother of Aeneas. His adopted son Augustus expanded this into a cult of the so-called "Julio-Claudian gens," which in time merged both ancestor worship and imperial cult into a single entity. The idea of divine ancestry stemming from Aeneas was attractive enough to last well beyond the Julian gens. Indeed, with passing of the Julio-Claudians, at the time of Nero's death in AD 69, the following dynasty of the Flavians picked up the same theme of Trojan ancestry. In fact, whatever the dynasty, the genealogy of each subsequent ruling family included this Trojan component. As Tanner (1993) observes, "Whatever form the genealogies took in the following centuries—and they were updated to accommodate Constantine, Theodosius, Charlemagne, and each subsequent emperor of Rome—one factor remained constant to the genre: the Trojan descent" (69).

What we find then, in an examination of Roman relations with the other communities of Italy and the central Mediterranean, is that a study of language often reveals connections and relationships that are markedly at odds with the official discourse on ethnicity. Claims made through literature, by genealogy, and in cult will reflect shifting contemporary political conditions, and will often be deployed to define the uniqueness claimed by an ethnic group, but language tells another story entirely, of borrowings, of interconnectedness. Ethnicity, which so often asserts distinctness, equally as often betrays the fictions on which it relies.

Trade Relations and Issues of Ethnicity and Language

If our investigation so far has revealed some of the complexity of ethnicity and its expressions, another sphere of activity will allow us to see ethnicity as a continuum negotiated by different actors. Although it may seem curious to claim trade as an aspect of ethnic identity, in many socioeconomic settings, trade networks, which rely as much on trust as on supply and demand, are organized by members of certain ethnic groups, and this ethnic component may show in the ways trade is conducted. A particularly revealing example of the nexus of trade and ethnicity is to be found in the amber trade across Europe.

In antiquity, amber was collected along the southern coast of the Baltic Sea. This area had been inhabited by Baltic tribes since the second millennium BCE. There were two routes on which amber was transported to the south. One was directed to the southeast and terminated on the northern shore of the Black Sea. The other route is better known, and is traditionally called the "amber route." This was directed to the southwest, and the terminal market for its goods was Rome.

Three groups of merchants with differing ethnic affiliations were engaged in the Baltic amber trade. The primary trading lay in the hands of Roman merchants who obtained amber, as raw material, in the region of western Prussia, in exchange for Roman luxury goods (i.e., bronze and silver coins, *terra sigillata* ceramics, iron ore, glass, fibulae, trinket beads, and precious cloth). The secondary trading was controlled by Germanic merchants who traded amber for lower-quality Roman goods from the Balts. The Balts in western Lithuania entertained a tertiary trading network with their kinfolks who exchanged amber, wax, and honey for Roman bronze coins and beads.

In the *Germania,* written at the end of the first century AD, Tacitus speaks of the Aestii as amber traders, who, for the most part, are astonished at the willingness of the Romans to pay gold for a substance that washes up on the Aesti's shores. Other ancient writers, such as Cassiodorus, also describe the Aestii as a Baltic tribe, and in the *Getica* (120), Jordanes describes them as "dwelling on the farthest shore of the German ocean" (Wolfram 1988: 86–88; Curta 1999). Scholarly discussion of the earliest evidence for amber trade has tended to focus on the different words for amber. Tacitus, for example, uses *glaesum*, which is related to Germanic *glaes* "clear, transparent" (cf. Old English "glaes"). However, the use of Germanic terminology raises questions. Why would the Romans adopt a Germanic term for an article that came from the land of the Balts? The words for amber in the Baltic languages are *gintaras* (Lithuanian), *dzintars* (Latvian), and *gentars* (Prussian) (Botjár 1999: 31). "Either Tacitus was relying on German informants who had substituted their own word, or, more likely, the Aestii had accepted a German loan word because it was Germanic middlemen who were their portal into the amber route and the distant Roman world to the south" (Sidrys 2001: 168). In fact, it is also possible that even the Baltic words were borrowed from either Hungarian or Finno-Ugrian tribes in the Oka basin. More significant is the fact that a persistent theme of the discussions in the Roman sources is ignorance of the Aesti. Cassiodorus (V.2) relates how an embassy of the Aesti came with offerings of amber as a mark of goodwill. They collect the amber on their shores but are unable to explain whence it comes there, whereupon Cassiodorus, citing Tacitus, is able to explain the origins of the amber—it is the sap from a tree in the middle of the ocean—back to the very people who have brought it to them. In the accounts of Tacitus, Cassiodorus, and Jordanes, amber serves as marker of ethnicity: it is associated exclusively with the Baltic people who produce it. Indeed, as Botjár shows, the transformation of the raw material into a luxury item serves to signify the superiority of the civilized Romans and the inferiority of the crude Aesti.

The example of the amber trade demonstrates that the discourse on ethnicity goes well beyond the findings from only one scientific discipline. Instead, it reveals a matrix of different threads from various disciplines: that is, archeology (surveying articles of trade from grave goods and findings in settlements; identifying trade routes), anthropology

(differentiating primary, secondary, and tertiary trading involving different articles), linguistics (identifying the origin of the various terms for amber), and the traditional close reading of texts practiced in classical studies (critically analyzing written sources from ancient authors, containing accounts about trading). Done in tandem, these reveal that even as prosaic an activity as the amber trade can shed light on ethnic identities.

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CHAPTER 3

Mediterranean Archaeology and Ethnicity

A. Bernard Knapp

> *… there is this matter of the Greek* ethnos, *our being of the same stock and the same speech, our common shrines of the gods and our rituals, our similar customs; the whole way of life we understand and share together.*
>
> —(Herodotos, *Histories* VIII: 44)

Introduction

Over the past two decades, archaeologists have increasingly sought to engage with concepts of ethnicity and identity in their research. Several recent studies provide overviews of these concepts, and discuss their origins in the social sciences as well as their applications to archaeology (e.g., Emberling 1997; Hall 1997: 17–33; Jenkins 1997; Jones 1997: 40–105; Siapkas 2003: 11–17). Other recent publications—not all even in their treatment—deal specifically with ethnicity and/or identity in the Mediterranean or ancient Near East (e.g., Malkin 2001; Hall 2002; Anfinset 2000; Lomas 2004; Forbes 2008; Langdon 2009; Burns 2010; McEnroe 2010; van Dommelen and Knapp 2010; Stoddart and Cifani 2011). In this chapter, I focus mainly on the concept of ethnicity, although inevitably that involves reference to the related concept of (social) identity (see Knapp 2008: 31–5). After introducing these concepts, I discuss the ways in which archaeologists, particularly Mediterranean archaeologists, have used (or abused) the concept of ethnicity. There follows a case study involving the eastern Mediterranean, and particularly Cyprus, at the transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age. I conclude on a less-than-optimistic note that the study of "ethnicity" continues to present several intractable problems for archaeologists, especially for prehistorians.

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Ethnicity

Ethnicity is widely seen as an intangible concept, multi-faceted and loosely defined. Even so, it continues to be widely used in several academic disciplines, and in multiple contemporary contexts. Ethnicity is expressed most often in the ways individuals feel themselves connected (or the way others see them to be connected) to discrete social groups or to a specific social milieu: such feelings and beliefs often reach almost mythological proportions. Indeed, myths related to kinship (Hall 1997) or collective memories (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003; Yoffee 2007; Boric 2010; Maran 2011) serve to reinforce these feelings. Although such self-ascribed features of ethnic identity may change along with social or historical circumstances, individuals as well as social groups regularly invoke ethnicity to legitimize political entities or economic systems, both ancient and modern.

Among the factors typically seen as underpinning or linking ethnic groups are a common name or ancestry; a particular territory or "homeland"; a shared language, religion, occupation, or historical memory; common cultural traditions, even a sense of solidarity. As with so many less scholarly terms that attempt to identify people, ethnicity—or ethnic group—occupies one side of a duality: familiarity and strangeness. It half-heartedly aspires to describe phenomena that involve everybody, yet has settled into the vocabulary as a marker of strangeness and unfamiliarity.

Social science opinions are quite mixed. For example, Goody (2001: 8) commented:

> The concept of ethnicity has been so widely taken up because it gets around the problem of defining what it is that makes a people—that is an ethnos—distinctive. Is the unity it possesses based on language, faith, descent, or culture in some vague sense? Ethnicity covers all as well as covering up all.

Comaroff and Comaroff (1992: 50, 54) are less pessimistic: "Ethnicity describes both a set of relations and a mode of consciousness; moreover, its meanings and practical salience varies [sic] for different social groupings according to their positions in the social order." I have discussed elsewhere the long-standing debate among anthropologists over *primordial* and *instrumental* approaches to the topic of ethnicity (Knapp 2008: 36–8). It must suffice here to say that ethnicity as primordial gives group members a deep-rooted, psychological sense of identity, whereas ethnicity as instrumental is motivated toward a specific end, to which its very existence and continuity are linked.

Barth (1969), who made ethnicity the core of his earliest ethnographic fieldwork in Kurdistan, viewed it as an individualizing strategy (Jones 1997: 74). He argued against conceptualizing ethnic identity in—largely Herodotian—terms of dress, food, language, blood, and culture, and instead suggested that we should consider the spatial, notional, and ideological *boundaries* of these features. Such boundaries effectively distinguish between self-ascription and ascription by others: people may choose distinctive social, spatial, and even material features to identify themselves and portray their status. While interest in the primordialist approach to ethnicity diminished after Barth's writings, in his later fieldwork in Oman, Barth (1983) himself found that a focus on ethnicity led to no meaningful conceptual resolution (Barth 2007: 13). The instrumentalist approach,

meanwhile, continues to characterize archaeological approaches to ethnicity (Jones 1997: 76–9). Some postmodernists have viewed ethnicity as "sliding" and without fixed meaning (Sarup 1996: 179); others have predicted its demise as an analytical term (Eriksen 1993: 156–60). In reaction, scholars such as Levine (1999: 177) argue that ethnicity, shaped by consciousness and interaction, is situated at the active interface between mind, society, and culture.

Ethnicity and Identity in the Material Record

> If identity in the present is difficult to capture, then it should be no surprise that identity in the past has proved a vexation. The travails of one meso-scale aspect of identity, ethnicity, are instructive. Not an individual, not a society, but a series of dynamic collective and intergenerational beliefs and practices, sometimes adaptive, sometimes decorative, ethnicity is always on the move. But archaeology has the misfortune to track its prey in a hapless fashion. When we get it in our sights, it turns and fires back with salvos of complexity, evasion and equivocation … (Joffe 2003: 80)

Before we can properly assess Joffe's trenchant views, and explore further the potential value of ethnicity to archaeology, we must have a working definition. The features emphasized by Herodotos (see quote at outset)—descent, language, religion and ritual, customs—form the basis for most definitions, to which we might add choice and self-perception. Diaz-Andreu's (1998: 205) definition has the virtue of brevity: "Ethnicity [is] … an aspect of a person's self-conceptualization, which results from identification with one or more broader groups in opposition to others on the basis of perceived cultural differentiation and/or common descent." Equally important, she maintains that material culture is one medium through which people both display and negotiate their ethnicity (Diaz-Andreu 1998: 212). Most archaeologists would probably agree that ethnicity revolves closely around perception, and is less concerned directly with material culture: the materialities of an ethnic identity often present intractable problems for archaeological interpretation. Ethnicity, however, in different forms at different times (Knapp 2001: 31–4), has long been integral to the discipline of archaeology, so it is important to decide just how we might best accommodate it.

Self-conceptualization, as well as choice and otherness, are clearly integral to any understanding of ethnicity. Such criteria, however, suffer from being vague or inconsistent, if not historically contingent: they do not really define ethnicity but rather serve as criteria for membership in an ethnic group (Just 1989: 76). Emberling (1997: 306) has even argued that ethnicity is not an inherent attribute of individuals or social groups, but is instead a process that involves identification and differentiation. If so, archaeologists surely will have more success in examining the ways that identity might be constructed than trying to define the (material, social, spatial) aspects of specific ethnic groups.

Emberling (1997: 300) also maintained: "If we are going to use the term 'ethnicity' to refer to social groups in the past, we must be prepared to accept its meanings in the present." Among many features that have been used in attempts to define ethnicity,

biology and physical differences are the least effective. Moreover, no single factor can be equated directly with ethnicity—neither language nor culture, nor technology, nor material culture. Some archaeologists seem to assume that documentary or inscriptional evidence constitutes an infallible pointer to ethnicity. Yet, such evidence typically reflects élite, centrist concerns, as is exemplified in the case study that follows.

Some other obstacles that archaeologists face in defining a specific ethnic group include: (1) distinguishing material culture complexes and delimiting their boundaries; (2) tracing variability in material or behavioral traits through time and space; and (3) isolating material factors that relate specifically to a group's ethnicity rather than its social, economic, or political circumstances (Bloch-Smith 2003: 406). This is not to say, however, that material culture plays no role in establishing ethnicity.

If the material indicators of ethnicity are difficult to isolate in the archaeological record, other material correlates of ethnically specific behavior may be more readily represented. Diaz-Andreu (1998: 212), for example, suggests that people use materiality to display their *perception* of ethnicity and/or to negotiate their identity. However, if ethnicity revolves so closely around perception, then identifying the material patterns that people use to negotiate their various identities poses another challenge to archaeologists. There is no one-to-one correlation, for example, between a stylistic group and an ethnic group (Hodder 1982: 13–36); moreover, the distribution of certain pottery types, weapons, or other material things may represent the boundaries of an exchange system or a political entity rather than an ethnic identity (Emberling 1997: 311). Some markers of ethnicity, however, seem to be more telling than others: cooking utensils and foodstuffs as well as household features and forms (Meskell 2001: 189–90; Twiss 2007).

Bentley (1987: 27–9) argued that ethnicity could be linked to Bourdieu's (1977, 1990) theory of practice, particularly to the concept of *habitus*. Put simply, *habitus* refers to the durable but unconscious dispositions that people hold toward certain common perceptions and practices (e.g., daily tasks, labor skills), which may generate patterned behavior. Of course, people's *habitus* is subject to change, from generation to generation, or when the material and economic conditions of life change. Nonetheless Bentley's views have impacted on various archaeological studies of ethnicity (e.g., Shennan 1989: 14–17; Jones 1997: 90–6). Mills (2004: 5), moreover, argues that unconscious habitual choices are more useful than intentional choices in distinguishing practices associated with social identities.

Constructing an ethnic identity might involve the intentional use of specific material features as identifying markers, which might be reflected in household organization, ritual or mortuary practices, cuisine (cooking pots, faunal data, organic residues analysis), weapons or jewelry, representations of clothing or bodily ornaments, and even utensils or tools (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992: 74–7; Emberling 1997: 325). Such shared material and social practices may be actively involved in signifying ethnic boundaries or creating social identities.

Discussions of materiality and identity have attracted further archaeological attention (e.g., Diaz-Andreu et al. 2005). Because archaeology involves the study of the long term, it is well suited to considering how people establish identity as something enduring, if not necessarily consistent (Rowlands 1994: 132). Many people's social lives and identities are

intimately connected to a particular place, whether at the village, community, or territorial level. This "sense of place" (Feld and Basso 1996) is deep and enduring: villages or communities become places of memory, where long-standing identities are confirmed or new ones imagined (Mills 2004: 11). Even so, identity cannot be "possessed" by social groups or individuals, nor can it be seen solely as the end result of belonging to a community. Rather, it is an unstable, often transitory relation of *difference*. An archaeological approach focusing on differences—in symbolism, representation, boundaries, etc.—may help to single out material practices shared between individuals or social groups, and thus may provide insights into people's social identities.

Given the complex and fragmented data sets with which archaeologists must work, they tend to treat identity in one-dimensional terms. They also tend to assume that visual representations (e.g., on painted pottery or frescoes, figurines) depict people displaying their identity. Such representations, however, might be concerned more with ideological or other constructs of identity than with actual lived experience (Pollock and Bernbeck 2000; Dipaolo Loren 2001). The way people dress and adorn their bodies also may form a significant aspect of representing their identity (but cf. Dipaolo Loren 2003). Other, shared social practices—visible materially as bodily ornaments, symbols, tools, or utensils—may be actively involved in signifying ethnicity or in creating and expressing social identities.

Questions of identity are fundamental to the material and social practices that link personal experience to collective action; in other words, identity is linked closely to the ways people perceive themselves as belonging to certain groups, and not to others (Diaz-Andreu et al. 2005: 1). Nonetheless, if social identity is situational and negotiated, then every social encounter has the potential to produce different material refractions of identity (Mills 2004: 6). Thus, it would seem that both ethnicity and identity continue to be difficult for archaeologists to pin down: as Joffe (2003: 88) exclaimed, "Capturing ancient identities is like trying to drive nails though blobs of mercury," but at least he acknowledged that " … we can corral most of the blobs." Let us see how all these caveats and conditions play out in a protohistoric case study.

Ethnicity and Archaeology in the Eastern Mediterranean

The Mediterranean region provides several classic examples of ethnicities as perceived in historical documents, from the epic ventures of the *Odyssey* or the *Aenead* to episodes featuring Phoenician, Greek, or Roman colonists and merchants (see Bonnet, Chapter 22, in this volume). Although "ethnic" groups are mentioned in historical documents, or portrayed in stereotyped representations on painted pottery, monuments, or wall paintings, it is quite difficult to link such groups to material culture distributions. For one thing, it is typically rulers or bureaucrats—not the people whose identity is involved—who provide such "ethnic attributions" (Brumfiel 1994: 96). For another, although archaeologists also often use collective terms such as "Phoenician" or "Etruscan," presumably based at least in part on the perceived use of a common language, we cannot assume that the speakers of a single language constitute a single ethnic group

(Emberling 1997: 313). And we certainly cannot assume that differences in various types of material culture, or the "boundaries" of their distribution, mark out distinctive ethnolinguistic groups (Terrell 2010). From the earliest stages of the Neolithic onward, the passage of people and things throughout the Mediterranean is well documented and richly represented in its materiality. Yet, as this volume clearly demonstrates, ethnicities in the ancient Mediterranean remain a source of contention, despite several admirable works already published (e.g., Hall 1997, 2002; Malkin 1998, 2001; Forbes 2008; Yasur-Landau 2010).

Any study of ethnicity (or identity) in the Mediterranean should take into account on some level the mobility of different kinds of peoples—migrants and colonists; armies and conquerors; pilgrims, raiders, and traders—and how these movements may or may not be related to an "ethnic" identity. One pertinent case to consider is the "Aegean colonization" of Cyprus, which forms one part of a flurry of "migrations" that took place in the twelfth–eleventh centuries BC: "Aramaeans" in the Levant, "neo-Hittites" in northern Syria, and "Philistines" and "Israelites" in the southern Levant. All these followed in the wake of a breakdown in the strongly centralized economies of the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean, and the attendant collapse of several towns, city-states, and kingdoms (summarized in Knapp 2009). In the coastal or near-coastal sites of the southern Levant, alongside indigenous "Canaanite" traditions, new and quite distinctive material assemblages are widely seen, as least by Israeli scholars, as marking the arrival and settlement of the "Philistines" (e.g., Bunimovitz 1998; Ben-Shlomo et al. 2008: 226–7; Yasur-Landau 2010), and perhaps other groups of Sea Peoples farther north (e.g., *Šikila* at Dor, *Sherden* at Akko—Gilboa 2005: 48–52; Yasur-Landau 2010: 170–1).

Several scholars have argued that similarities between Cypriot and Philistine pottery point to the common origin of "Aegean" settlers in Cyprus and in the southern Levant (e.g., Dothan 1983; Mazar 1985; Stager 1995; Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 1996; Bunimovitz 1998). Others present variations on this theme: Killebrew (2006–07), for example, suggests that the "Philistine" migration originated in Cyprus or in regions surrounding it (i.e., Cilicia). Sherratt (1998: 301–7), a prominent critic of the "Philistines" as an ethnic phenomenon, argues that Late Helladic IIIC:1b pottery (termed "Philistine" in Israel) was produced and distributed in the eastern Mediterranean by a loosely based confederation of maritime merchants based in or near Cyprus. In her view, the earliest Philistine pottery in Israel should be regarded as "… a functionally determined selection of the Cypriote White Painted Wheelmade III repertoire" (Sherratt 2003: 45, 1998: 298).

Barako (2000, 2003; also Killebrew 2006–07) disagreed with Sherratt, arguing that it is not only the Philistine pottery (i.e., the Late Helladic IIIC:1b or derivative wares) that points to the arrival of a new ethnic group in the southern Levant by sea, whether from the Aegean or perhaps via Cyprus. Barako lists other material goods and practices entirely foreign to local ("Canaanite") cultural traditions: Aegean-style loomweights, figurines, cooking pots, pebbled hearths and hearth rooms, incised scapulae, and the high percentage of pigs in faunal assemblages (see also Faust and Lev-Tov 2011: 14–16). The scapulae and seated Ashdoda figurines he cites are most likely Cypriot, not Aegean products (Sherratt 1998: 302, n.17; Russell 2009). Based on both material

and social practices, Yasur-Landau (2010: 227–81, 2011) expands the argument, focusing on cooking and storage wares, textile production, and the organization of domestic space.

All these efforts to establish the material markers of "Philistine" identity in sites of the Early Iron Age southern Levant are compelling, even if efforts to pinpoint that group's origin remain equivocal, a point made forcefully and convincingly by Maeir et al. (2013). Many of these materials—cooking and drinking utensils, foodstuffs, household features (loomweights), and forms (hearth-centered)—or their associated technologies represent some of the criteria noted earlier as prerequisites for identifying an ethnic group in the material record (e.g., distinguishing material culture complexes and their boundaries; isolating goods and materials associated specifically with a group's ethnicity rather than its political or economic circumstances). Quite why this "Philistine" phenomenon has to be seen as a large-scale migration (e.g., Stager 1995; Barako 2003; Yasur-Landau 2011: 252–3), however, is never made fully clear. On this point, moreover, the argument for a "Philistine" migration to the southern Levant becomes aligned with arguments made for the much more contentious "Aegean" migration to Cyprus (see also Hitchcock 2011).

In general, attempts to link either specific historical episodes or grand narratives to the archaeological record of Cyprus have been subject to much debate. Muhly (1984: 49), for example, insisted long ago that "… it is no longer possible … to find support for any theory that attempts to identify Philistines or any other group of the Sea Peoples in the archaeological record as known from Cyprus at the end of the Late Bronze Age." Muhly's reaction was directed against those who argued that the commonalities between Cypriot and Philistine pottery point to a single origin for "Aegean" settlers in Cyprus and in the southern Levant.

The so-called "Aegean colonization" was certainly not a case of colonization, and variations in all the relevant material culture involved indicate that it was not solely Aegean in origin or derivation (Voskos and Knapp 2008). The material basis for arguments surrounding an Aegean colonization of Cyprus has always been centered upon the Mycenaean pottery found in Cyprus: its origins, growth, and development, and the transition to local forms of production during the twelfth century BC (summarized in Steel 2004). There is a long-standing tension between Cypriot (and many other Mediterranean) archaeologists who see pottery as evidence for trade, and those who regard it as an ethnic or cultural marker of large-scale migrations or small-scale movements of individual potters, merchants, or refugees (Sherratt 1999: 164–8). Generally speaking, the former viewpoint (pottery as trade) tends to hold sway today, but the latter (pottery as people) still prevails in cases where the local production of previously imported wares can be demonstrated: this is precisely the situation for Aegean-style pottery found in Cyprus and the Levant during the late twelfth–thirteenth centuries BC.

It has also been argued that Aegean colonists introduced other types of material goods to Cyprus during the twelfth century BC. For example, Karageorghis (2001, 2002: 71–113) maintains that the use of a Mycenaean-type central hearth at Cypriot sites such as Enkomi, Alassa, Maa, and Hala Sultan Tekke is only explicable if Mycenaean colonists had settled the island. He has also suggested an Aegean origin or influence

for several other aspects of material culture seen in twelfth-century-BC sites in Cyprus: architecture (cyclopean walls, the "dog-leg" gate, ashlar masonry), coroplastic art, metallurgy (weaponry, fibulae), clay loomweights and torches, and household items (clay or limestone "bathtubs"). As argued at length elsewhere (Knapp 2008: 249–264; Voskos and Knapp 2008), most of the objects, features, technologies, or styles in question have very complex biographies. They reveal a fusion, or better, the hybridization of Cypriot, Aegean, and Levantine elements, and cannot be linked exclusively to the Aegean world (similarly Catling 1980: 23). Moreover, the failure to consider such goods and materials over the longer term undermines arguments based solely on "style" (Leriou 2011: 252–3). By 1200 BC, people from Cyprus and the Aegean had been in contact for at least half a millennium, so we might indeed expect to see diverse types of "Aegean" material culture appearing on the island, whether or not these involved some migrant groups.

At the end of the Bronze Age and into the Early Iron Age in Cyprus, there is a range of material evidence that might signal the presence of both "Phoenician" and "Aegean" peoples (fuller discussion in Knapp 2008: 264–90). Moreover, it is clear that, by the Cypro-Archaic period (ca. 750–475 BC), Cyprus had become a largely Greek-speaking island (Reyes 1994: 11–13; Iacovou 2005: 127). "History" thus informs us that this fundamental change took place, but it does not tell us how or when it happened. As Palaima (2005: 15) put it more broadly, " … how long did it take the people we now call the Greeks in all the areas we now call Greece to acknowledge Hellen as a common mythical ancestor, and what cultural phenomena and forces brought this about?" The key question for Cyprus is whether Greek-speaking people ("Aegean" colonists or migrants) were present during the twelfth–eleventh centuries BC, and if so to what extent they were instrumental in the material and social changes of that time.

Those who have argued for a specifically "Greek" migration to or colonization of Cyprus during the Early Iron Age point to a single object to anchor their views: an *obelos* (barbeque "spit") found in Tomb 49 from the *Skales* cemetery at Palaipaphos (Karageorghis 1983: 59–76, 2002: 125–7, Figure 263; Iacovou 1999a: 11–12). This object was inscribed with the earliest attested Greek personal name in Cyprus, *Opheltas* (see, most recently, Palaima 2005: 38). Some would maintain on the basis of this object that Greek-speaking people were not just present but politically and socially pre-eminent in Cyprus during the Early Iron Age (Snodgrass 1988: 12). In contrast, Sherratt (2003: 226) feels that the *obelos* is thoroughly Cypriot in type and design, and thus that *Opheltas* must have been " … a member of a Greek-speaking community whose culture generally is indistinguishable from that of other contemporary Cypriots, who is using a peculiarly Cypriot form of writing in a thoroughly Cypriot, or rather non-Greek manner."

Equally important for the present discussion is Iacovou's (2006: 324) observation:

> The introduction of a new language was not accompanied by a clearly visible Mycenaean–Greek migrant package. In fact, were it not for the Greek language, the material record left on its own could not defend the migration of Greek speakers to Cyprus at the end of the second millennium BC.

In my view, the materiality of twelfth–eleventh-century BC Cyprus offers reasonable evidence for a movement of people that eventually became of lasting historical significance for Cyprus. Memories of such a migration may generate myths and stories about origins and identities. Through hybridization practices (Voskos and Knapp 2008), the identities of migrants and the people with whom they settle typically become transformed, not least in learning to share a common language. Thus, Iacovou (2005: 132) notes: "It is not ethnicity, therefore, that produces a shared language; it is a shared language that may gradually create or contribute toward an ethnic bond."

We therefore return full circle to the issue of "ethnicity." Archaeologists, ancient historians, and philologists working on Early Iron Age Cyprus hold different views of ethnicity. Some have tried to demonstrate the presence or even the dominance of "Aegean," "Phoenician," or "Eteocypriote" ethnic groups on the island at this time (Iacovou 2005; see also Egetmeyer 2009). Gjerstad (1979: 232–3), and Karageorghis (2005) argued that at least some Phoenicians had settled on the island, in particular at Kition, by the mid-ninth century BC. It cannot be demonstrated, however, that any Phoenician polity held political or economic control over any part of Cyprus at this time, even though some of Kition's rulers in the ninth and earlier eighth centuries BC might have taken the title *mlk* ("king") to assert control in the face of increasing Phoenician contacts (Smith 2008: 265).

In the view of Reyes (1994: 11–21), by the Cypro-Archaic I period (ca. 750–600 BC), only two ethnic groups inhabited the island: "Cypriotes" (including former migrants from Greece) and "Phoenicians." Egetmeyer (2009: 88–90), however, maintains that—at least at Amathus—"Eteocypriote" people and their language continued to exist into the fourth century BC. Many archaeologists working in the eastern Mediterranean still assume that ethnic groups can be readily identified in the material record, through artistic and architectural styles or in figural representations. As argued in the preceding text, however, the material symbols of ethnicity are difficult to isolate in prehistoric contexts. These difficulties are compounded when, as here, archaeologists are trying to identify two or three distinctive ethnic groups based on a material repertoire that, by the Cypro-Geometric (CG) period (ca. 1050–750 BC), is largely homogeneous islandwide (even if a mixture of distinctive elements is evident).

To take but one example: LC IIIB tombs from the *Skales* cemetery at Palaipaphos, like those from some surrounding cemeteries of CG I date, are for the most part chamber tombs with very similar mortuary goods (summarized in Leriou 2002: 175). Iacovou (2005: 129) has criticized attempts to see an ethnic mosaic in the necropolis at *Skales*, arguing that the early CG mortuary deposits around Palaipaphos (and elsewhere) were "… the well-cared-for burial plots of securely established, culturally homogeneous and quite prosperous communities." Moreover, many material features of Early Iron Age Cyprus—Proto-White Painted pottery, scepters and mace heads, mortuary practices and grave goods, human and zoomorphic representations, and the use of a Cypriot syllabary for writing Greek—reveal clearly the hybridization of Cypriot, Levantine, and Aegean elements: none can be taken as final proof for a specific ethnic origin (Knapp 2008: 286–90).

Taking all these factors into account, it may be suggested that, during the twelfth–eleventh centuries BC, some migrants from the Aegean became established in Cyprus.

This cannot have been a large-scale migration of people who established dominance over the Cypriotes, as the material culture tells a very different story, one punctuated by the mixing and "inbetweenness" so characteristic of hybridization practices (similarly, Leriou 2011). Indeed, as Sherratt (1992: 325) stated: those Aegean peoples who came to Cyprus:

> … were more in the nature of economic and cultural migrants moving from the periphery to the core, from the Provinces to Versailles … for them acculturation and integration to the cosmopolitan society of Cyprus … was a desired and desirable process, and there is every reason to believe from the archaeological record that—assuming they were there at all—this is what they achieved.

Beyond insisting that this was a comparatively small, low-key migration, we cannot define or explain it any more clearly. Even if we accept an "Aegean" ethnic background for the people involved, their identity became as thoroughly altered as the material that represented it. In time, after negotiations and realignments among all those living on the island, a new identity emerged, one that had meaning for all Early Iron Age Cypriots. Some of those people were speakers of Greek, and ultimately their entanglement with local Cypriotes led to the "pan-Cyprian *koiné* culture" of the eleventh–tenth centuries BC (Iacovou 1999b: 150).

Conclusion

In my view, all such meetings and mixings of people and things are better treated in the trajectory of "third space" (Bhabha 1994: 53–5), one aspect of hybridization practices. People involved in such practices renegotiate their identities at least in part by revamping their material culture. Thinking about migration or colonization in terms of hybridization practices, rather than the movements of problematic "ethnic" groups, enables us to understand better the dynamics involved in the collapse of Late Bronze Age cultures in the eastern Mediterranean, and the emergence of Early Iron Age polities in the region, in most ways distinctively different from everything that preceded them in both material and social terms. Establishing viable cases for ethnicity and social identity will continue to challenge archaeological thinking and interpretation, but as the case of the "Philistines" discussed briefly here shows, it may well be a challenge worth meeting.

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CHAPTER 4

Ethnicity and World-Systems Analysis

Thomas D. Hall

Introduction

In the early 1970s, sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein started writing about world-system analysis to account for the origins and processes of modern capitalism and the interconnections of what were then labeled the First, Second, and Third Worlds (2004, 2011 [1974]). The modern world-system arose in western Europe about 500 years ago, during the "long sixteenth century" (1450–1640), based on capitalist trade networks that transcended state boundaries. Wallerstein called this the capitalist world-economy. The drive to accumulate capital via production for exchange led to increasing competition among producers for markets, materials, and labor. Repeated crises of overproduction led to expansion and incorporation of further regions into the expanding world-economy.

The system differentiated between three interrelated types of societies. "Core" societies specialized in relatively technical industrial production, distribution, and administrative services, and had relatively strong states, a strong bourgeoisie, and a large labor class. Core states became heavily involved in the affairs of non-core societies. At the other extreme, in the periphery, were societies that concentrated on the production of raw materials or simpler industries; had weak states, a small bourgeoisie, and a large peasant class; and were heavily influenced by core states. The remaining societies constituted a semiperiphery, which shared some characteristics of the core and periphery. Semiperipheral societies often were rising peripheral societies, or declining core societies.

A major claim in world-system analysis is that the system must be studied as a whole. Social change (encompassing political, economic, and cultural changes) in any component of the system—nations, states, regions, ethnic groups, classes—must begin with the context of that component within the system. Equally important, changes in components impact the overall system. Thus, there is a dual research agenda in world-system

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analysis: study of the consequences of changes in its components for change in the system as a whole, and study of the consequences of changes in the system for the dynamics and structure of its components. Study of the interplay of bottom-up and top-down processes is vital to understanding the system.

World-system researchers have gone beyond this original agenda. They have studied the roles of women, households, gender, race, ethnicity, and culture in the world-economy. Case studies address these issues as well as slavery, agrarian capitalism, and the incorporation of indigenous populations into the world-economy. Many case studies focus on how various actors have sought to limit world-systemic effects. Most germane to this collection is the burgeoning world-system research on pre-capitalist world-systems. On the one hand, archaeologists and others have used world-systems analysis to study processes of interaction between societies. Debates focus on whether there has been one growing world-system since the origin of states some five millennia ago, or several different kinds of world-systems. On the other hand, this extension of world-system analysis has led to reexamination of many of its founding assumptions, derived from the study of the modern world-system, and to refinements in its terminology.

This has generated a variety of terms for these approaches. Originally called "world-system theory," it first morphed to "world-system perspective" in the 1980s, and then into "world-systems analysis" in the 1990s. The latter terms underscore that this was a collection of sometimes competing theories, and not a single unified theory. The current convention is that, when world-systems analysis (WSA) derives from Wallerstein's work, the term is hyphenated, whereas other versions omit the hyphen (see Denemark et al. 2000). The term "world" means a more-or-less self-contained system, and *not* necessarily a "global" system. Only the contemporary world-system is planetary. There are many other approaches to long-term social change that overlap with WSA. The most useful are Beaujard, Berger, and Norel (2009), Bennet, Sherratt, and Wilkinson (2011), Denemark et al. (2000), Hornborg and Crumley (2007), Hornborg, McNeill, and Martinez-Alier (2007), Manning and Gills (2011), Parkinson and Galaty (2010), and Turchin (2003). All these approaches are grounded in empirical evidence.

A key point from WSA is that globalization processes are actually quite old (Jennings 2011), and that contemporary globalization is a culmination of older processes. World-system studies have encouraged social scientists to embed their research in historical and inter-relational contexts. World-system studies of gender relations and households, for example, explain why development has generally led to improved status for women in core areas, but often decreased status in peripheral areas, albeit with immense variation between peripheral areas. There are analogous differences in labor processes, social movements, relations with indigenous peoples, and, especially germane here, in ethnic relations and conflicts. In short, there is no universal sociology of ethnicity, gender, labor, households, social movements, or relations with indigenous peoples. All have salient world-systemic contexts.

Placing ethnicity in such a world-systemic context means recognizing, to begin with, that all forms of identification—ethnicity, nationality, race, sexualities, etc.—occur within a world-systemic context, and are part and parcel of the dialectic between local social groups in the complex relations of production and exchange within the overall system (Hall 1998; Wallerstein 2000a [1960], 2000b [1987], Balibar and Wallerstein 2011 [1992]). Furthermore, the ways in which these forms of identification arise, persist,

change, or disappear are shaped by their position within the world-system: core, semiperiphery, or periphery. One application of such an approach can be seen in Stein's claim that Uruk constituted a world-system (1999). He suggests that Uruk colonists in southern Anatolia had minimal influence on the local residents. This is as one would expect, since the outsiders were a distinct minority at a great distance from their homeland. Furthermore, he implies that the colonists were there at the sufferance of the locals, who selectively adopted only those foreign elements they found particularly useful. This assessment rings true. This is a region where ethnic identities and the political-economy interact intensely.

In pre-capitalist world-systems, the congruence between position in the world-system and geographical location typically was stronger than in contemporary times, but often changed significantly over time (Smith 2005). This raises the question of timescale. When a social relation changes relatively very slowly, as often occurs in the ancient world, it does, indeed, seem constant. However, when viewed from a longer timescale, it will often be seen to be changing continuously (Hall 1998, 2004), as in the case of Greece and Egypt, for example. Contemporary globalization processes in the global world-system have produced such rapid changes in identities that their impermanence and fluidity are readily apparent. Hence, there is widespread contemporary concern with the social construction of race, ethnicity, nationality, and sexual identity. Closely connected to the question of timescale is the recursive relation between subparts and the overall system. An analysis that examines *only* system-to-subpart relations, or *only* subpart-to-system relations, misses many of the complex processes of change and stability. In short, a major contribution of world-systems analysis is its insistence that all social analyses must simultaneously attend to historical and inter-relational contexts.

Ethnicity and other forms of identity are quite complex (Caliendo and McIlwain 2011). Fortunately, readers will find an excellent overview of ethnicity and identity in Bernard Knapp's and Johannes Siapkas's chapters (Chapters 3 and 5, respectively). I want to add two points that complement and extend Knapp's discussion. First, the concept of ethnicity must be historicized. The referents of ethnicity—in both contemporary and ancient settings—are not constant, but in fact vary considerably. Timescale considerations crosscut this variation. This adds some insight to the debates about instrumental or socially constructed versus primordial concepts of ethnicity. The primordial approach views ethnicity as something deeply embedded, nearly immutable, and socially prior to all other social relations. The instrumental or social construction approach views ethnicity as built from social interactions. This view is an extension of Fredrik Barth's (1969) ethnographic demonstration that ethnicity is fluid and mutable. In some instances, individuals or families may change their ethnic identity once or more in one lifetime. The two concepts are often seen as complete opposites. I argue they are poles of a continuum. A key difference is timescale (Hall 2004). When the social processes that construct ethnicity take place over many generations, ethnicity does *seem* to be primordial. When the processes occur over years or decades, social construction becomes more obvious. As a rule of thumb, in ancient times these processes were slow, whereas in the recent centuries they have been more rapid (with exceptions in either setting). The problem, or "error," with the primordial view is that when it is taken as "normal," it renders ethnic change unexpected and problematic rather than typical.

Second, I argue that a major aspect of the context for construction and reconstruction of ethnicity is the world-system within which it is embedded (Hall 1998, 2004). That is, ethnicity cannot be understood in isolation from the larger—systemic—context within which it exists. As noted, the ethnicity–system relation is recursive—changes in one entity shape changes in the other.

World-systems analysis has grown vastly in recent decades. When scholars refer only to Wallerstein's early writing, they often repeat inaccurate critiques (many of which Wallerstein answers in the preface to the 2011 republication of the *Modern World-System*). Much of the new work has been summarized in Babones and Chase-Dunn (2012), Chase-Dunn and Babones (2006), Galaty (2011), Hall, Kardulias, and Chase-Dunn (2011), and Kardulias (1999, 2010). In this second generation of WSA, one question that has received more attention is the place of all forms of identity, such as race, ethnicity, gender, class, and so on, within the modern world-system (Balibar and Wallerstein 2011; Dunaway 2001, 2003). There are also many discussions of relations with indigenous or non-state peoples in pre-capitalist settings, but summary statements too often emphasize the system-to-component relations over the components-to-system relations, because that exposition is more concise. There has been much bottom-up writing, which entails extensive descriptions and detailed discussions, both of which make concise summary difficult. This has led to a false impression that WSA is only top-down, which is not only incorrect but quite unfortunate, since much of the most incisive insights in WSA have emerged from bottom-up analyses. This, of course is where the evidence is. It is also one of several possibilities where scholars from outside WSA can make important contributions to the discussion.

World-Systems Analysis: Developments, Critiques, Revisions

WSA shares with other accounts of inter-societal interactions a basic tenet—that past cultures did not exist in isolation. Rather, contacts, direct or indirect, affected groups involved in larger networks. WSA differs from other interaction models in its emphasis on systematic interactions, a broader geographic view, stress on the problematic hierarchical aspects of systems, and attempts to outline long-term cycles of expansion and contraction in world-systems.

What exactly does WSA advocate? This section focuses on the most recent scholarship. WSA suggests that: (1) societies do not now, nor did they at any time, exist in splendid isolation; (2) societal trends follow cycles or patterns; (3) interactions within a system are important in all social changes; and (4) the system itself is a key component of social evolution. The search for regularities in the historical record does *not* mean that WSA ignores idiosyncrasies. Rather, WSA forces examination of external links in which individual areas are embedded. For instance, Bruce Batten (2003) presents a very instructive example in his examination of ethnic minorities in Japanese history.

These insights notwithstanding, there have been several cogent critiques of WSA. Many of them gave rise to important extensions or revisions. Jane Schneider (1977) objected that luxury items formed an important part of the trade between cores and peripheries, whereas Wallerstein focused on bulk goods (also see Smith 2005). The classifications of

Strength of Incorporation	**None**	**Weak**	**Moderate**	**Strong**
				
Impact of Core on Periphery	None	Strong	Stronger	Strongest
Impact of Periphery on Core	None	Low	Moderate	Significant
Type of Periphery	External Arena	Contact Periphery	Marginal Periphery or Region of Refuge	Full-Blown Periphery or Dependent Periphery
World-System Terminology		External Arena	Incorporation	Peripheralization

Figure 4.1 The Continuum of Incorporation (from Kardulias 2010: 59). Reprinted by permission of William Parkinson.

"luxury items" and "bulk goods" are more a consequence of its economic and technological context, than a property of the goods themselves. Allen (2005) suggests that these are really poles of a continuum rather than opposites. This is an issue worthy of further investigation (see, e.g., Kepecs 2005).

Wallerstein originally treated incorporation into a world-economy as one-sided, but one must study the local conditions in each of the specific peripheral areas as well as the capitalist economy in core states in order to understand the nature of incorporation. Hall (1989) noted that incorporation into a world-economy is a matter of degree, and that non-state societies in peripheral areas often play active roles in resisting and shaping incorporation. This effect was particularly strong in antiquity when complete domination of any peripheral area often was technologically and politically impossible (see Figure 4.1; Kardulias 2010: 59). Others note that people in a peripheral area can at times negotiate effectively, because they control access to a key resource (Kardulias 2007).

A major issue for archaeologists is the degree to which WSA applies to antiquity. Unlike many modern technologies, ancient ones were often portable and could be moved easily from core to periphery. This made it possible for some peripheral areas to retain considerable autonomy and precluded some of the exploitation and underdevelopment characteristic of the modern world-system. "Barbarian" peripheries often had a significant impact on how core regions developed. For instance, the dramatic increase in tin bronzes in Transcaucasia between the Early and Late Bronze Age suggests that the region had access to substantial amounts of tin from several sources, some at great distances.

Chase-Dunn and Hall (1997) argued that change occurs not only within individual societies, but in entire world-systems. They sought to provide a comparative matrix within which to study contacts for all societies, even stateless foraging groups. They define two kinds of core–periphery relationships: (1) *core–periphery differentiation*, which involves groups of varying sociopolitical complexity engaged in active interchange; and (2) *core–periphery hierarchy*, which refers to the situation in which one or more groups dominates other groups in the system. They argued that this distinction is necessary, because exploitation does not necessarily characterize all interactions between cores and peripheries. The issue is when and how core–periphery differentiation—which is quite common in pre-capitalist settings—becomes core–periphery hierarchy, which is somewhat less common.

For Chase-Dunn and Hall, world-systems typically have four sets of boundaries, marked by sharp fall-offs in density of exchanges of:

- Low value to weight goods, labeled bulk goods network (BGN)
- Regularized military or political interactions, labeled political–military network (PMN)
- More or less regular exchanges of high value to weight goods, labeled prestige or luxury goods network (PGN)
- Information on all kinds of, including cultural and ideological, labeled information network (IN).

The sharp lines in Figure 4.2 may give a false sense of precision. Rather, they should be imagined as a contour map where the isoclines of the density of exchanges are bunched together (Smith 2005). Such sharp fall-offs would be the "boundary" of a network. They are frontiers internal to a world-system (Hall 2009).

Change may also occur because of a contested periphery, a region with certain key resources or a strategic location that lies between major states and is a prize over which they contend (Allen 2005). Peripheral areas, especially when contested, can be key areas for economic, political, social, and religious competition and exchange. This is an issue where historians of ancient times could shed a great deal of light. Conversely, the concept, and the underlying relations of a contested periphery could help make sense of a region that remains nearly autonomous from surrounding states or world-systems (Hornborg and Hill 2011 and Killebrew 2005).

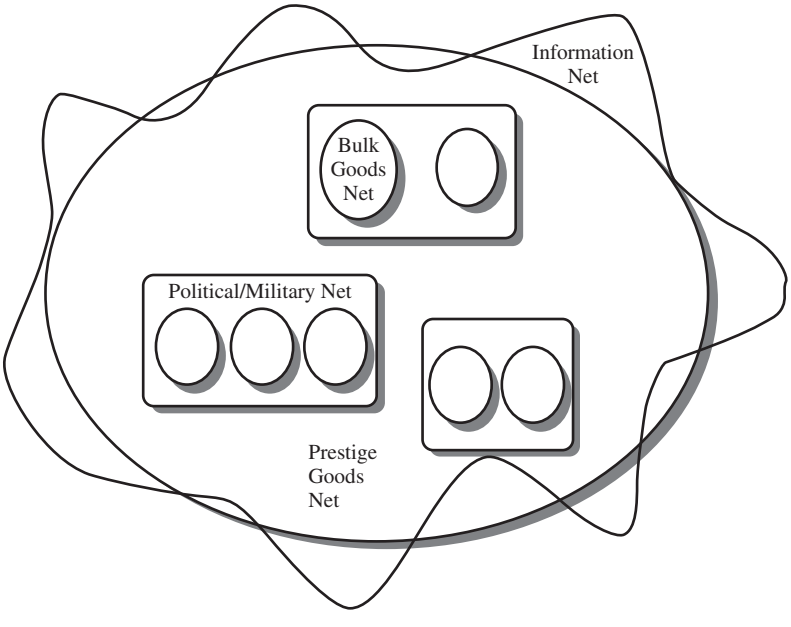


Figure 4.2 Schematic of world-system boundaries (from Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997: 54). Reprinted by permission of Westview Press.

Applications to European Prehistory

A number of scholars have utilized WSA explicitly in their analyses of societal interaction in prehistoric Europe. Kristiansen (Chapter 6 in this volume, and 1998; Kristiansen and Larsson 2005) has discussed developments in Europe from the second to the first millennium BCE in the context of an emerging world-system. He posits several key components in this system. First, he argues that the Mycenaeans served "as transmitters and receivers of new influences between the east Mediterranean and Central Europe. We propose that they rose to power through their ability to provide useful goods to both parties, and thereby created a new competitive niche" (Kristiansen 1998: 360). Kristiansen also argues that the Mycenaeans forged connections between the Aegean and the Black Sea, with extensions up the Danube to the Carpathian region, which created "the cultural *koine* of the Aegean/eastern Europe" (361). Trade contacts expanded to the central and western Mediterranean in the period 1500–1200 BCE. In all, the "historical sequence reflects a development from small-scale luxury trade in the early phase (tin, amber, and gold) towards large-scale bulk trade in commodities—including copper—in the late period" (364). He identifies two other key factors in this process: the rise of metallurgical centers, from ca. 1900 BCE on, and the emergence of warrior elites as part of "indirect centre–periphery dynamics" (378). Subsequent research suggests that trade in metals was in large quantities over significant distances.

Kristiansen sees the development of a regional exchange system in the Late Bronze Age in which there was a "closer periphery … integrated into the Mycenaean economy" demonstrated in the distribution of Mycenaean pottery from western Anatolia to Italy, and a "secondary periphery, where Mycenaean body armour and skill in metal craftsmanship were adopted" (1998: 389). He concludes that a world-system emerged from the interaction between the Near East, the Mediterranean, and central Europe ca. 2000 BCE, which was reflected in social, cultural, and economic "regularities" (394, 418). The relationships between centers and peripheries changed over time between two forms, with elite control of sedentary loci of metal production and dispersal at one pole, and decentralized warrior societies at the other (412–15, Figure 225). Chase-Dunn and Hall (1997) refer to this process as "pulsation."

The Aegean

Kardulias (1999) has used WSA to explain general trade in the Bronze Age Aegean and the production and distribution of flaked stone tools during the same period, and to analyze the results of a survey in Cyprus (Kardulias 2007, 2010). Initially, he suggested that the Aegean system consisted of multiple levels (internal, intermediate, and long-distance) that linked local, regional, and international communities. The materials exchanged varied, with low-to-medium-value bulk goods (e.g., obsidian for tool production) concentrated in the internal and intermediate levels, and high-value luxury goods being the focus of trade between the Aegean and the Near East, including Egypt. The account emphasized the interaction of different communities on Crete that in one sense formed their own insular "world," but that also were connected to other Aegean islands

and the greater Near Eastern world-system by means of the shipping routes to the south and east.

Another instance of the application of WSA to the Mediterranean world is Sherratt's (1993) discussion of world-systems linkages between central Europe, the Aegean, and the Near East. He used the term "margin" to refer to a zone that does not interact directly with a core, but provides materials that are critical to the operation of the system. He pointed to the role of amber from the Baltic and various metals from central Europe in the Mediterranean trade. The urban core of the Near East and the Aegean in the Bronze Age stimulated the exchange of many commodities through multiple links without direct contact between members from either geographical location. Sherratt suggested that parts of this system existed in the Neolithic and continued down into historic times. This is congruent with Chase-Dunn and Hall's (1997) argument that an Afroeurasian world-system originated about 10,000 years ago. They do not claim that there was only one system. Rather, they claim that world-systems, or better world-system-like structures, appeared at least that long ago. From that point, they began growing and merging, developing into the systems we find around the time of Ur. In the Bronze Age, the trade in metals, especially bronze, was particularly significant. Bronze made possible the integration of "regional exchange cycles." Sherratt suggests that the Bronze Age is aptly named, not simply because of the artifacts, but because this metal alloy fueled the economic expansion on which many early states depended.

Of particular importance is Sherratt's concept of the margin "as the area of 'escaped' technologies and long-distance contacts based on directional exchange-cycles" (1993: 44). His margin corresponds to contact periphery in Figure 4.1. He described the Aegean as one of several linked maritime-exchange cycles in the Mediterranean, which in the Bronze Age witnessed the shift from "'luxuries' to 'commodities' in the context of the emergence of palatial organisation" (45). The relatively rapid development of production centers and the concomitant supporting organizational structures moved the peoples of the Aegean from the status of periphery to "more equal participation in inter-regional trade" (45). This process fostered the growth of trade in bulk materials. More recently, he has advocated a "return to the global perspective that prevailed before the 1960s." He urged his colleagues to think about interaction on a continent-wide scale. Grand reconstructions can be seen as "the outcome of human actions—distant from our own experience but nevertheless comprehensible in terms of common human motivations, propensities, and acts of will" (Sherratt 2006: 53). Indeed, Kardulias (1999: 70) argues, "In reply to Sherratt's (1993) query, 'What would a Bronze-Age world system look like?', the Mycenaean world system was multi-tiered, with some central elements and activities, while others were decentralized." This is an example of precisely the kinds of questions and issues that WSA helps to address, providing a number of hypotheses and putative mechanisms driving such changes. Further study of such changes could help us achieve a better assessment of the range and variation of these processes and relations. This also would allow further questions about how and the degree to which peripheral or marginal areas shaped the overall system and core areas.

Ina Berg (1999) discusses the Aegean exchange network in WSA terms. She uses the number of contacts between regions to indicate the relative position of each in the exchange system. Pottery is the key artifact type used to determine presence and strength of contact, with metals and other objects used when available. She argues that a

non-hierarchical core/semiperiphery relationship characterized the Middle Bronze Age, with peer polities involved in active trade. Beginning in the Late Bronze Age, the relationships tended to become more unequal as a "battle between the two strongest powers [Crete and the mainland] resulted in the marginalisation of most other islands in the Aegean" (481). Berg suggests that other islands still engaged in the system. Because there was an ongoing competition between the major players, the smaller partners maintained the ability to actively shape their relations with them.

This is an instance where a specific kind of world-system gave more autonomy to peripheral areas. What remains unclear is how common this sort of relationship was, and if there are others ways by which such autonomy is both generated and maintained. There are also questions about how cores eventually began to exert more control and curtail peripheral autonomy.

I now turn to some recent examples of the various disconnects between archaeology and WSA, and how those affect the treatment of ethnicity.

WSA and the Ancient World: Opportunities and Challenges

In two papers and a book, Alan Greaves (2007a, 2007b, 2010) makes some use of WSA. He notes that the metaphor of an Anatolian bridge between East and West implies a divide to be overcome, rather than a zone of interaction. He argues, "Ancient Anatolia is now recognised, not as a passive conduit for communications between the East and the West, but as a region of great diversity that was an active participant in such communications" (2007a: 1–2). He later notes that this notional divide is exacerbated by the often real divide between classical archaeologists focusing on "great traditions" and "new archaeologists." He says:

> In both regions, scholars apparently look to areas outside Anatolia: on the Aegean coast they look west towards the Aegean, while in the Euphrates Valley they look southeast towards Mesopotamia. Such attitudes served to de-value the study of Anatolia and the recognition of its own rich regional diversity (10).

Greaves argues that this academic discourse fails to recognize that social practices in eastern and western Turkey have served to bridge the periphery and core located beyond Turkey—i.e., Mesopotamia and the Aegean.

He comments further that this bridging had often been ignored because "Aegean prehistorians are retrojecting the contemporary fault-line created by the modern Greek–Turkish border onto … the past … " (2007a: 4). This divide began with the Persian wars (499–477 BCE), and "became enshrined in the creation of 'Greek' and 'Barbarian' as diametrically opposed ideals" (Greaves 2007a: 4). This is an instance of "ethnographic upstreaming"—that is, projecting the present into the past, especially in the form of modern identities assumed for the ancient world. This problem is not limited to ancient Anatolia, but is a common occurrence.

WSA can help span such gaps and studies that are too localized. First, it addresses the forces and factors that shape and reshape the modern divide within a larger context

of systemic interactions. Second, the concepts of contested peripheries (Allen 2005) and negotiated peripheries (Kardulias 2007; Parkinson and Galaty 2007) are useful in understanding how and why ancient Anatolia links regions. This underscores how close examination of Anatolia offers a potential for testing hypotheses about contested peripheries and negotiated peripherality, and thus to refine, emend, and further develop WSA.

Greaves's discussions of Milesian colonies on the Black Sea suggest how this might be done (2010). He notes that the term "colony" carries much baggage and that much trade is invisible in the archaeological record. He argues that the case for trade, rather than lack of land (i.e., population pressure), is difficult to make since many trade goods can only be inferred from the remains of the vessels presumably used to carry them. He also notes that oracles helped individuals decide to leave and justified their doing so. Implicit in this argument is an assumption that trade had brought knowledge of suitable sites. Still, WSA must be used cautiously. Indeed, one can readily argue that cases such as this could develop a richer understanding of the expansion of world-systems. The linkage to individual or family decisions based on consultations with oracles points to links between migration, politics, and trade that focus both on individual agency and on ideology.

William Parkinson and Michael Galaty (2007) extend WSA in their analyses of secondary state formation in the prehistoric Aegean (see also their introductory chapter to Parkinson and Galaty 2010). Secondary states develop from non-state societies through interaction with existing states. Pristine states, in contrast, develop in the absence of contact with previously existing states. Pristine states have been rare, whereas secondary states have been quite common. New states sometime succeed older core states that engendered their formation. This is the "marcher state," semiperipheral development process (see Chase-Dunn and Hall 1997, Chapter 5). Parkinson and Galaty also argue that secondary states were typically different from surrounding pristine states:

> From a world-systems perspective, the organizational changes that occurred during the Neopalatial period accompany a shift in Crete's position in the eastern Mediterranean interaction sphere. In the Protopalatial period, Crete operated on the periphery of the Near Eastern and Egyptian cores, but in the Neopalatial period, the island filled a semiperipheral position between the Near East and Egypt and the emergent centers on the Greek mainland. During this transition, the Minoan states established themselves as local cores that extended their influence to the southern Aegean . . . .
>
> Nick Kardulias's concept of "negotiated peripherality" is particularly useful for understanding the changing nature of the relationship between Minoan and Mycenaean states and their Near Eastern and Egyptian counterparts … the concept of "negotiated peripherality" captures the active roles played by people living outside the core (Parkinson and Galaty 2007: 121).

This new semiperipherality was built on trade, reversing the usual account wherein states developed and then pursued trade. They also find that: "Secondary states formed in two basic manners: as remnants of larger entities that broke up after an initial fluorescence or as competing polities that developed at the edge of more mature complex societies" (124).

Overall then, this is an excellent example of how WSA and study of the ancient world can benefit each other. Parkinson and Galaty note (119) that Aegean states were unusual in developing in the absence of competing chiefdoms, the more common process. That the Aegean follows a less common pattern creates, in and of itself, an empirical and theoretical puzzle that might best be solved by comparisons with secondary state formation processes elsewhere. Also, they note that the specific organizations of those "entities" that became states shaped the kind of states they formed. In short, there is an intense interaction between local and world-systemic processes—the negotiated peripherality—underscoring that world-systemic processes often work from the bottom up.

The role of semiperipheral areas within a world-system is major topic in WSA. Chase-Dunn and Hall (1997, Chapter 5) argued that there are many possible kinds of semiperipheries:

- Regions that mix core and peripheral forms of organization
- Regions spatially located between core and peripheral regions
- Regions located between two or more competing core regions (contested semiperipheries)
- Regions in which mediating activities linking core and peripheral areas take place
- Regions in which institutional features are intermediate in form between those found in adjacent core and peripheral areas

The number of, kinds of, and variations among semiperipheries are empirical and theoretical issues that need further investigation. Semiperipheral areas, especially marcher states, are frequent sites of system change. A marcher state located on the fringe of a system might take over the system, and become a new core and shift the core both politically and geographically. Such semiperipheral areas have distinct advantages. First, because they are on the edge of a system, they need defense from only one direction. Second, their contact with core areas often yields a solid command of core technologies and social processes; yet, their elites are not heavily invested in them, so they are freer to experiment, and to develop new forms of social organization. This is why semiperipheral areas are frequently seedbeds of change.

A related problem is when and how core–periphery differentiation (wherein different kinds of societies are in interaction) might become hierarchically related, a core–periphery hierarchy. Not all instances of core–periphery differentiation become core–periphery hierarchies. How, why, and when such transitions do occur are open questions, empirically and theoretically.

State formation is a system process that is closely connected to processes of incorporation of new areas and new peoples into world-systems. Hall (1989) argued that incorporation is a complex continuum that has empirically fuzzy beginnings and is somewhat reversible, but does tend toward increased incorporation over time (see Figure 4.1). This is a process where local peoples are able to resist or shape the process. Zones of incorporation are frontiers (Hall 2009, 2013) where all social relations are, to some extent, up for grabs. Thus, it is on frontiers that active resistance, occasionally successful, of people in peripheral areas is most visible. Among social relations that are most fluid in areas of incorporation or frontier zones are ethnic and racial identities. That early English writers

considered the Irish a separate race illustrates how cultural differences can be construed as biological. Frontiers are also where peoples mix, interbreed, and intermarry, giving rise to myriad processes of ethnic change and ethnogenesis. While some scholars have treated such changes as local, it is clear that world-systemic processes—incorporation, expansion, frontier and state formation—play a considerable role, albeit not always the dominant one.

Kardulias developed a concept of "negotiated peripherality":

> … the willingness and ability of individuals in peripheries to determine the conditions under which they will engage in trade, ceremonial exchange, intermarriage, adoption of outside religions and political ideologies, etc. with representatives of expanding states (Kardulias 2007: 55).

That is, people in peripheral areas can at times selectively adopt or reject a variety of symbols, artifacts, foodstuffs, and behaviors. Such negotiations have both short-term and long-term goals. Many short-term consequences of a choice may be judged with some degree of certainty. However, unintended or unforeseen long-term consequences are far from clear. Even a decision that brings immediate benefits may in the long run prove costly to a group on the periphery. For example, many Native American groups initially benefited from the European objects gained through the fur trade. Yet, over a longer period, they became dependent on the new technologies over which they had little control. Adoption of metal artifacts, firearms, and other goods typically reduce autonomy and the ability to continue to negotiate terms of incorporation. Finally, negotiation can be conducted at the individual or corporate level. In the former, each person might be responsible for determining the acceptability of a transaction; in the latter, someone (or a restricted group) acts as the spokesperson for those on one side or the other (and occasionally both sides) of a negotiation. Both approaches can lead to changes in ethnic identity, albeit in very different ways.

One creative way to employ WSA is as a corrective to potentially misleading historical records (Greaves 2007b: 19). In *War in the Tribal Zone*, Ferguson and Whitehead (1992) argue that such distortions are typical consequences of state or world-system expansion and incorporation. The "tribal zone" is a transition zone just beyond the boundary of state expansion into non-state territories. When states (or world-systems) expand, they either absorb or displace non-state peoples. In either case, the contact ripples out far beyond the region of direct contact. This is fueled by trade and efforts of indigenous leaders to use access to state goods as a way to garner followers. Those further away often try to bypass the middlemen and thus come into conflict with those closer to the state boundary. In the modern world-system, war could be generated by the slave trade (see Hall 1989 for a detailed account), but the consequences are varied: the spread of diseases, and new technologies too, such as the spread of horses from northeastern New Spain or guns from northeastern North America. The contributors to *War in the Tribal Zone* show that these developments occurred in both ancient and modern times, and accompany the expansion of any state, an important correction to the common assumption that it is only capitalism that does this.

WSA forces scholars to address scalar context, which can be either geographical or chronological. Some changes originate far from the frontier; others are extremely

localized. Again, the local needs to be understood in its larger context. This is an especially fruitful way of approaching such regions as the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, where the tendency to look for events, particularly those that occur in both the archaeological record and the literary sources, may blind us to the broader patterns of continuity and change over a vast area (Horden and Purcell 2000). WSA raises many useful questions, that is, questions that when answered empirically increase our understanding. Such findings are opportunities for emending WSA and for making contributions to the cycle of theory → evidence → revised theory → new evidence, and so on. WSA also provides one way of making inter-regional comparisons (see too, Jennings 2011). In these ways, WSA scholars and scholars of the ancient Mediterranean can benefit from mutual exchanges.

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CHAPTER 5

Ancient Ethnicity and Modern Identity

Johannes Siapkas

Introduction

Every generation rewrites history. This truism serves as a point of departure for this chapter, since it succinctly captures the constructivist perspective that became widespread with the cultural turn in the humanities during the 1990s and 2000s. According to constructivism, scholars do not only record a reality, but also construct, sustain, and reify it. Classical antiquity does not exist independently of us, but is constructed and maintained by our engagements with it in the present. This is not to deny that we are constrained by the available evidence. Rather, with constructivism, the effects of other factors, such as academic structures, political and national ideologies, and assumptions about how societies and cultures function, are viewed to have profound effects on what, why, and how we conceptualize antiquity. In this chapter, I will elaborate on how modern, scholarly assumptions, ideas, and discourses concerning ethnicity have informed our conceptualizations of classical antiquity.

Modern conceptualizations of ethnicity can be divided into a couple of theoretical perspectives, each emphasizing different aspects. In my opinion, we need to consider race theories, nationalism, and cultural identities in studies on ethnicity. In anthropology, ethnicity was introduced as an alternative that emphasized the dynamic aspects of identities, in order to solve the intrinsic problems with essentialism in preceding race theories (Leach 1954). However, within studies on ethnicity, the primordial perspective reiterates the essentialism of race theories. This stands in contrast to instrumentalism, the dominating perspective in ethnic studies. Instrumentalists argue that ethnic identities are dynamic and mutable. The dynamic perspective was further reinforced through the adoption of practice theories in the 1990s. In Classical Studies, the intense focus on ethnicity that we have witnessed since the mid-1990s has resulted in the redefinition of ancient ethnicities

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as mutable. In the following text, I will present an overview of these models and assess them as well as their impact within Classical Studies.

A Note on Terminology and Definitions

Ethnicity, like culture, is a notoriously elusive and contested concept. It is invested with a wide variety of meanings. We elaborate on ethnicity by interpreting cultural traits such as: (1) a collective name; (2) a common myth of descent; (3) a shared history; (4) a distinctive shared culture (which may be articulated through language, religion, customs, institutions, laws, folklore, architecture, dress, food, music, or art); (5) an association with a specific territory; and (6) a sense of solidarity (Smith 1986: 22–30). However, none of the traits are universal. That is, not one of them is always invested with ethnic sentiments. Ethnicity is articulated through different channels in different contexts. Propositions for definitions of ethnicity are, therefore, easily invalidated. Consequently, defining ethnicity has a very limited heuristic value and calls for more exact definitions of ethnicity are problematic (see the debate between Hall 1998a and Jones 1998).

The modern terminology derives from the ancient Greek word *ethnos*, which had various meanings: for instance, in Homer (*The Illiad* 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." It is also hard to present a clear definition for the ancient *ethnos*. Ancient and modern terms are occasionally conflated in elaborations on classical antiquity. It is not my intention to establish the exact relation between the two, and as the title suggests I will focus on modern conceptualizations, meanings, and uses of "ethnicity." For me, this cluster of terms denotes phenomena, processes, and discourses associated with the articulation of an identity based on a perceived notion of a common past.

Primordial Legacies and Race Theories

Ethnic sentiments can be strong. For some people, the affiliation with their ethnic group is stronger than other social ties. Ethnic groups have, therefore, been likened to extended families. Ethnic identity is viewed as a given, primordial dimension of our lives. Ethnic identity has a determining quality. These discursive assumptions are the foundations of the primordial perspective, which is an offspring of the race theories that flourished in Western intellectual life c. 1850–1950. During the nineteenth century, the past was increasingly conceptualized as consisting of monolithic, bounded, and immutable nations. According to this view, a people retains a core of essential traits throughout history. The notion of origins was of fundamental importance in these discourses. Not only was it important to establish the origins of a people, but also to push the origins of it as far back as possible. The length of continuity that a people laid claim to had a direct influence on the levels of credibility which others attributed to their claims on a history or land. Accordingly, in nineteenth-century scientific discourses, the notion of origins was imbued with explanatory powers. That is, a feature was often explained with reference to the origin. For instance, the inner traits of a people, which

in essence were considered immutable, were believed to have been molded by the environment in the original habitat of a people. For instance, Robert Knox argued that the emergence of the classical Greek race—which, of course, was the only one that could produce classical Greek culture—was dependent on the Scandinavian and Celtic elements that had been molded in the north and had mixed with the aboriginal inhabitants of Greece (Knox 1862; see Leoussi 1998: 12–16; Challis 2010). These assumptions were further enforced during the mid-nineteenth century by influential works of Charles Darwin (1859) and Count Gobineau (1853), for instance, which contributed to the establishment of scientific racism. In scientific racism, the biological variation of humans were mapped and inscribed with an explanatory value. Physical external attributes were believed to correspond to inner mental capacities. For instance, the ratio between two measurements on the skull was used to sort human races as round- or long-skulled (e.g., Gobineau 1853). Different qualities were then attributed to each type. Exactly which physical attributes were relevant and what meaning they had, were open to long and heated scholarly debates. The intrinsic qualities of a race were considered as determining the social organization and cultural life of a people.

There is also a political side to scientific racism. As a theoretical complex, it mirrored the colonial political world-order of the time. There was a conceptual hierarchization between the races. White, Germanic, or Nordic races were considered to be at the top of the evolutionary scale, and other races were judged by their degree of affiliation to them. The development of eugenics in the early twentieth century is another articulation of the political implications of race theories (for an introduction to race theories, see Banton 1998).

Primordial Ethnicity

With the turn to ethnicity, ethnic identities were redefined as dynamic and mutable, but a considerable minority who followed the primordial perspective (see Shils 1957 and Geertz 1963 for the introduction of the term) continued to subscribe to the conceptual foundations of race theories. Among the primordialists, ethnic groups are conceptualized as extended families (Isaacs 1974). Furthermore, primordialists regard ethnic identity as determining human behavior and culture universally, regardless of context. In the sociobiological theory of van den Berghe, race and ethnicity are explained by a gene that regulates our kin selection (van den Berghe 1978: 403–5). From the primordial perspective, ethnicity is viewed as biologically hereditary. Primordialists argue that ethnic identities are founded on attachments "given" at birth. Ethnic identities are, therefore, more natural and stronger than other social identities (e.g., Isaacs 1974; Keyes 1976; Connor 1978).

From the primordial perspective, the cultural repertoire through which ethnic identities are expressed receives a good deal of attention. An analytical focus for primordialists is to define the cultural repertoire of an ethnic group. A problem for primordialism, however, is the essentializing tendency to equate the existence of ethnic groups with the distribution of cultural traits. Furthermore, the cultural manifestations used to identify and define the ethnic group are often viewed as being diachronically relevant. Primordialism tends to account for the strong sentiments better than instrumentalism, but on

the other hand it romanticizes and obscures the dynamics of this relationship (see Eller and Coughlan 1993 for a critique of primordialism).

Essentialized Antiquity

Race theories and the primordial perspective have informed Classical Studies in various ways. The following text will examine them as one continuous discourse since they both rest on essentialistic foundations. There are many examples where the term "race" was replaced with other terms, but this was not accompanied with a conceptual redefinition (Hall 1997: 13). This is not the place for a comprehensive treatment of the permeation of race theories in Classical Studies. Suffice to say that there are countless examples of classical antiquity being conceptualized through race theories. There is a growing body of studies that have elaborated on various convergences between Classical Studies and race theories (see Herzfeld 1982; Hall 1997: 5–9; Leoussi 1998, 2009; Vick 2002: 490–1; Hamilakis 2007). The race theories developed in northwestern Europe have received considerable attention by now. It is perhaps less well known that the Mediterranean states also developed racial doctrines and eugenic practices (see Trubeta 2006 for Greece; D'Agostino 2002 for Italy; Özkirimli and Sofos 2008 for Turkey).

The same elements appear in archaeological discourse. A foundational principle in late-nineteenth–early-twentieth-century culture–historical archaeology was that the spatial and chronological distribution of an archaeological culture reflected the distribution of a people (e.g., Kossina 1911; Childe 1925, 1926, 1929; Kossina 1928; see Jones 1997: 15–25). The scholarly debates concerned which people should be identified with each archaeological culture, not the assumption that this was a valid association to make. The culture–historical principle influenced the interpretation of the rich prehistoric archeological finds from Troy, Mycenae, Knossos, and other places excavated from the 1870s onward. In the late nineteenth century, these archaeological cultures were often perceived as non-Greek, for example, Phoenician, North Syrian, or Carian, due to the large stylistic differences between them and the finds from the Classical Period (see Myres 1933; Siapkas 2014). Greek archaeologists had a different view, and argued for the Greekness of Aegean Prehistory (Tsountas and Manatt 1897; Voutsaki 2002: 117–21). This position became widely accepted during the twentieth century (e.g., Wace and Blegen 1916).

We should, however, be careful not to confine theoretical perspectives in the humanities to a particular period. The culture–historical assumption that the distribution of archaeological cultures reflects the distribution of a people continues to be made (see Siapkas 2003: 46–59). Contributions such as Jacob-Felsch (1988), Foley (1988), Eder (1990), and Parker (1995) elaborate on the Dorians by assuming that the distribution of cultural traits reflects the distribution of a people. In seminal publications such as Bernal (1987), Burkert (1992), and West (1997), cultures and ethnic groups are conceptualized as homogeneous, monolithic, and immutable entities. I would argue that Susan Lape's preference for race in her study of fifth-century-BC Athenian citizen identity is another example of the tenacity of the race discourse in Classical Studies (Lape 2010). In other words, the essentialistic foundations of race discourses, culture–historical archaeology, and primordial ethnicity continue to shape our conceptualizations of classical antiquity.

Dynamic Ethnicities and Instrumentalism

Ethnicity was reconceptualized as dynamic and mutable from the 1960s onward. Ethnic identity and ethnic group affiliation were conceptualized as sociopolitical vehicles mobilized in certain situations in order to maximize the interests of a person or group. The instrumentalist perspective questions the foundational assumption of the essentializing discourses—that the cultural repertoire mirrors the inner traits of a people. From the instrumentalist perspective, cultural expressions of ethnicity differ considerably. Parts of the cultural repertoire are invested with meanings on a contextual basis. For instance, in some contexts, dress indicates ethnic sentiments, for example, the contested meanings of the fez in nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire (Quataert 2000), whereas in many other contexts dress is not invested with any ethnic sentiments (cf. the section entitled A Note on Terminology and Definitions). However, the cultural domain was of secondary interest for the instrumentalists. Their focus shifted to the sociopolitical domain. One major contribution of the instrumentalist perspective was that it aimed to establish the subjective self-ascriptive understandings of ethnic identities, which stands in contrast to the categorization of people into ethnic groups. In anthropological terminology, the instrumentalist method is also called the emic perspective, in contrast to the etic perspective, according to which people are categorized. This resulted in the realization that both ethnic identities and the cultural expressions utilized to express them are highly mutable. Furthermore, the instrumentalists concluded that ethnic identities are expressed primarily through behavior rather than the cultural repertoire; to have an identity is to do things in a certain way (Barth 1969: 119). Since ethnicity is mutable, persons can also shift identities. The instrumentalists considered ethnicity, when mobilized, as intertwined with all aspects of life. The social, economic, and political organization of a group permeated ethnic identities. Accordingly, if a pastoralist settled as a farmer he might also shift ethnic identity (Haaland 1969; Galatay 1982). A general shortcoming for the instrumentalist model is the inability to explain why people have such strong sentiments for their ethnic group. The notion of stigmatized ethnicity was an attempt to address this. A stigmatized identity is suppressed in selected, often public, contexts while articulated in other, often private, contexts. Stigmatized identities are often associated with minorities and social and political disadvantages (Eidheim 1969).

Fredrik Barth's ethnicity studies proved to be very influential, and the instrumentalist perspective is occasionally equated with him. However, the situational and mutable character of ethnicity was also emphasized by other groups of scholars. The so-called Manchester school focused on organizational and political aspects of ethnic mobilization. They maintained the etic perspective and focused on how ethnicity was mobilized as a sociopolitical resource by groups. Scholars in the Manchester school paid attention to the dynamic processes of culture manipulation (Cohen 1974). The instrumentalist perspective was also developed by social scientists in the United States. They focused on the contemporary social situation in the United States and tried to comprehend how and why ethnic identities persisted beyond the melting pot (Glazer and Moynihan 1975).

Epistemologically, the most crucial difference between the essentializing discourses and the instrumentalist perspective resides in the conceptualization of how identities are

constructed. In essentializing discourses, identities are viewed as fixed and given. This is inverted in instrumentalism, at least in theory. Thus, identities are conceptualized as mutable, and are considered to be shaped through the relations with others. Identities are constructed through a process that involves a conceptual distinction between "Us" and "Them." This process also involves the creation of symbolic boundaries that are permeable. Ethnicity is, furthermore, articulated more acutely in boundary areas, since the need to express it is weaker in the core area of an ethnic group. In other words, ethnic identities are not universally salient, but mobilized when we interact with "Others" who differ from "Us" (Eriksen 1993). Anthropological studies, including instrumentalism, are often criticized for being ahistorical. These discourses are not sensitive to diachronic developments. The instrumentalist perspective embraces a contradiction since ethnic identities are often based on a putative notion of primordiality. People fail to recognize that their own ethnic identity is mutable. Another problem for archaeologists and historians is the emic perspective, since the fragmented evidence available to us often lacks information about subjective notions of identities (see the section entitled The Dynamics of Ancient Ethnicities).

Historical Constructions of Ethnicities

Ethnicity was also redefined as a mutable phenomenon by historians during the 1960s. The historian Reinhard Wenskus coined the term ethnogenesis (Wenskus 1961). He argued that ethnic groups and ethnic identities are constructed by the elite, and that they trickle down the social hierarchy. In the European Middle Ages, ethnicity was articulated primarily through fictive genealogies. Ethnic identities and group affiliations were created through the very process of constructing the genealogies. A Trojan hero was often portrayed as the original forefather. This discourse emulates a practice established by the Romans, as in Vergil's Aeneid (see Leyser 1992; Wood 1995; Benes 2011). Wenskus' publication, and the so-called Vienna School, continues to be influential for ethnic studies of premodern Europe and Late Antiquity (Pohl and Reimitz 1998). The fundamental issue for ethnic studies of Late Antiquity concerns the encounters between the Romans and "barbarian" ethnic groups (see Curta 2007; Derks and Roymans 2009). It should also be noted that the Vienna School has received considerable criticism, not least from their antagonists, the so-called Toronto School (see Gillett 2002). The heated debate between these schools has mainly concerned how textual evidence should be evaluated; both schools regard ethnicity as a mutable phenomenon (see Curta 2007).

The historical models have had a limited impact on Classical Studies. Classicists have paid more attention to archaeological and anthropological models. The early-twentieth-century archaeological culture–historical paradigm shared the conceptual foundations with contemporary race theories (see the section entitled Essentialized Antiquity). In the subsequent processual perspective, ethnic, racial, or cultural identities were issues of secondary importance. As a consequence of this, archaeologists continued to conceptualize ethnicity in accordance with the culture–historical foundations (Fotiadis 1997). A dynamic view on ethnicity was introduced in archaeology with post-processualism in the 1980s. A heated debate concerning whether stylistic variations

in material culture merely reflect identities, or if it was used to actively construct and express identities, contributed to the development of the post-processual perspective (see Sackett 1991). Another important contribution was made by Ian Hodder. He confirmed several features of the instrumentalist perspective. One of these features was that ethnic identities are expressed more acutely around the symbolic boundaries (Hodder 1977, 1979). In the post-processual perspective, archaeologists began to pay attention to how material culture was used to articulate identities, and also how the experiences of material culture contributes to shape identities (see Shennan 1989; Olsen and Kobylinski 1991; Jones 1997: 112–27).

Another area that received much attention was the contribution of archaeological discourses to the construction of modern identities. Archaeology is embedded in the modern nation-states, and has contributed to construct and sustain modern identities not least by providing tangible evidence for the existence of a people in the past (e.g., Diaz-Andreu and Champion 1995; Graves-Brown, Jones, and Gamble 1996; Meskell 1998; Galaty and Watkinson 2004; Hamilakis 2007). In many cases, these two fields of interest were combined. In several of the previously mentioned publications, there is an emphasis on both the historiographical aspects of identities and the development of ethnicity in the past.

Embodied Ethnicities

The discursive relationship between ethnicity and culture is a fundamental issue in ethnicity studies. The dynamic perspective questioned the straight one-to-one correlation between cultural manifestations and ethnic identities. However, the instrumentalists failed to produce viable alternative models for this complex issue. Anthropologists turned, therefore, to Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice (Bourdieu 1977), and particularly to the concept of *habitus*, in order to comprehend the relationship between ethnicity and culture, and also to bridge the polarization between primordialism and instrumentalism. In essence, theories of practice emphasize that we are shaped by our experiences, which in turn are influenced by the social and cultural context that we live in. Mundane everyday practices, in particular, are viewed as the most natural, or even authentic, articulation of ourselves. Thus, ourselves and our identities are never fixed but are instead in a perpetual state of development. Material culture and other structures, ideologies, and discourses in our social and cultural milieu become embodied experiences that constitute an integrated part of our identity. However, here lies the novelty of the theories of practice in relation to earlier theories: through our actions we influence the experiences and practices of other agents. There is a constant dialectic exchange of practices between us and our surroundings. We identify, ethnically, with other persons with similar practices, and make a conceptual distinction between "Us" and "Others" with different practices (Bentley 1987, 1991; Yelvington 1991; Eriksen 1993). Accordingly, archaeological cultures are conceptualized as manifestations of identities. Material culture is used by agents, more of less consciously, to articulate identities, and is also a constituent element of the social context that structures our experiences and identities. In such an approach to interpreting culture, it is not the distribution of archaeological artifacts that is considered, but the multiple symbolic meanings of material culture (Jones 1997: 116–44).

The Dynamics of Ancient Ethnicities

It was not until the mid-1990s that ancient ethnicities were conceptualized as dynamic on a more general level in Classical Studies. In his groundbreaking publications, Jonathan Hall established the view that ancient Greek ethnic identities were also constructed within, and according to contextual discursive frameworks (Hall 1997, 2002). He resurrects Weber's definition of ethnic groups that posits the notion of fictive genealogies as the defining trait of ethnic discourses in ancient Greece (Hall 2002: 10; compare the section entitled Historical Constructions of Ethnicities; Hall's call for strong definitions is another legacy from Weber, see the section entitled A Note on Terminology and Definitions). Typically, in the genealogies, a mythological hero or demi-god was portrayed as the founding father of an ethnic group. Relationships between groups, including those with non-Greeks, were articulated through the construction of fictive kinships in the genealogical trees (Hall 2002: 24–9). Hall also identifies a conceptual development in the Greek perceptions of ethnicity. Greek ethnicity was initially aggregative, and changed into oppositional mode after the Persian Wars in the early fifth century BC. In the oppositional discourse, the Greeks emphasized the differences and divisions between ethnic groups (this argument was also put forward by Edith Hall 1989). According to Jonathan Hall, a common Hellenic identity emerged only after the Persian Wars (Hall 1997: 47; this part of his model has been debated, see Hall 1998b; Sourvinou-Inwood 2005: 24–63).

Studies that consider ethnic identities in classical antiquity as mutable, and analyze an ethnogenesis process, for instance, or explicate how cultural traits have been invested with ethnic sentiments, or explore the subjective perceptions of identities and "Others," are by now common in Classical Studies (e.g., Malkin 2001; Luraghi 2008; Funke and Luraghi 2009; Gruen 2010). The religious domain, in particular, is often thought of as a part of ancient societies that was used to channel ethnic sentiments. In this respect, there is no major difference between the essentializing and dynamic perspectives. Particularities of specific cults, and/or mythological narratives, including the fictive genealogies, were used to confirm the existence of ethnic groups in the essentializing perspective (e.g., Eder 1990; Strid 1999), whereas, in the dynamic perspective, they are considered as social channels through which mutable identities were constructed and reaffirmed (Hall 1997; Malkin 1998; Sourvinou-Inwood 2005).

Another topic that has been explored from a dynamic perspective is the relationship between different peoples around the Mediterranean on a more general level—that is, Greek views on the Jews, Roman interactions with the Gauls, Germans, etc. These publications exhibit a sensitivity toward the development and changes of the perspectives, as well as toward the dynamics of appropriations and constructions of ethnic stereotypes (Hartog 1988). It is primarily the Greeks, the Romans, and the Jews who have left us with a literary record containing relevant information, and, therefore, their point of views are most frequently presented (Gruen 2005, 2010, 2011). Gruen's emphasis is on the connections and links between the ancient peoples, rather than on the distinctiveness that is emphasized in the discourses of the "Other," in his view (Gruen 2011: 352; see also Chapter 28 in this volume). Despite the comprehensive treatment of the ancient sources and the detailed account of the literary records, I find Gruen's dismissal of the "Other" to be based on a misunderstanding of this foundational notion for identity

studies. In his emphasis on the alternative inclusive model, Gruen shies away from issues raised by post-colonial studies. The biased nature of our sources is an issue that was acknowledged by Greg Woolf, who is critical of the notion of Romanization (Woolf 1998, 2011). Woolf turns to post-colonial notions of hybridity and creolization in order to emphasize the mixture of local, indigenous practices and Roman influences in the cultures and identities in the provincial Roman Empire. This questions and complicates the established view of Romanization as a uni-directional top-down process (e.g., Haverfield and Macdonald 1923; see Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 9–14, for a summary of the Romanization debate). Other elaborations that are influenced by post-colonial theories of hybridity and creolization are Malkin (2002), van Dommelen (2002), and Wallace-Hadrill (2008).

Another feature of the dynamic view on culture is the deconstruction of cultures as monolithic and homogenous entities. Cultures and cultural identities are, in contrast, considered negotiable, and are arenas with inherent conflicts. They encompass tensions and opposing views. In other words, the conceptualization of the past as consisting of clear-cut, bounded, and different cultures is called into question (see, in particular, Dougherty and Kurke 1993, 2003; but also Malkin 2004).

A consequence of the emic perspective is the reinforcement of the discursive hegemony of textual evidence in Classical Studies. The fragmentary nature of the archaeological and historical record hampers our search for subjective notions of identities. On account of this, archaeological studies of ethnicity are often dismissed as futile endeavors (e.g., Hall 2002: 19–29; Brather 2004; Curta 2007: 162; Funke and Luraghi 2009; MacSweeney 2009: 101–6). In my view, this questioning is founded on the false assumption that archaeological and historical studies of ethnicity primarily aim to verify the existence of certain ethnic groups in the past (see also Antonaccio 2010). This does not account for the recent attempts by archaeologists to shift their focus toward the complex processes and discourses that are involved in the articulation of identities through material culture. For instance, Feuer's recent article includes an exhaustive account of primordialism and instrumentalism, as well as the etic and emic perspectives, but ignores the archaeological attempts to implement practice theories (Feuer 2011). However, it is not my intention to lament over the theoretical naiveté of Classical Studies. There are also elaborations on ancient ethnicities that contribute to push Classical Studies forward. Irad Malkin has persistently emphasized the fluidity and mutability of ancient ethnicities (Malkin 1994, 1998). His endeavor has been guided by post-colonial concepts (e.g., Malkin 2004), but he has also introduced and developed a network model for the conceptualization of ancient Greek civilization, identities, and ethnicity (Malkin 2003, 2011). The basic dynamic notion that identities develop through encounters with "Others" is framed by a conceptualization of the encounters in non-hierarchical structures or networks, and particular attention is paid to distance and travel as a constituent part of identities. The emphasis on the multiplicity of the encounters is, in a sense, a development of the cultural turn (see Siapkas forthcoming).

Modern Discourses of Ancient Ethnicities

In this chapter, I have emphasized the effects of theoretical assumptions on our conceptualizations of ancient ethnicities. Despite, or perhaps because of, their elusive nature,

identities remain a core issue in Classical Studies. Modern conceptualizations of identities have changed dramatically during the last century. Our understandings of identities today and views from the nineteenth or even the early twentieth century are irreconcilable in some respects. The emphasis on origins, and the assumption that archaeological artifacts actually reflect not only the distribution of a people but also their essential and immutable characteristic traits are dissonant to many of us. Yet, old habits die hard. Essentialist assumptions, such as the idea that culture mirrors the inner capacities of a people, continue to influence Classical Studies even today.

A dynamic view on ethnicity was introduced independently in the 1960s by anthropologists and historians, but it remained, on the whole, unnoticed in Classical Studies until the 1990s. The dynamic perspective emphasizes the mutability of ethnic identities and affiliations. Ethnic identities are considered as constructions that developed in response to certain needs. Initially, the instrumentalists focused on how ethnicities were mobilized and framed by sociopolitical contexts. The complex relation between ethnicity and culture was an Achilles heel for the instrumentalists. It remained under-theorized until scholars turned to practice theories. These provide us with a tool for understanding the embodiment, or subjective internalization, of the external objective structures. This area of ethnicity studies has not received wider attention in Classical Studies of ethnicity. In Classical Studies, the major contribution of the dynamic perspective has been to map processes of ethnogenesis, redefinition, and the decline of ethnic groups. The dynamic perspective has advanced our sensibility toward the substantial variation of ethnic expressions in classical antiquity. Nevertheless, it is important to realize that the dynamic perspectives have not replaced the essentializing discourses in either Classical Studies or in ethnicity studies. Scholarship does not develop in a straight line in which one theoretical perspective is replaced by a new one.

In Classical Studies, as I see it from a theoretical point of view, we face two immediate challenges pertaining to ethnicity. First, I think that we need to utilize archaeological interpretative models in order to explore how material culture in antiquity contributed to frame ethnicities. I think that we still tend to view archaeological discourses as auxiliary to discourses based on textual evidence. The positivist fallacy will continue to haunt Classical Studies as long as we do not challenge our discursive frameworks and entertain the possibility that there were also mute ethnic groups, that is, ethnic groups who are not accounted for in the literary records. Secondly, the relational perspective, not only in the guise of Malkin, but also founded on Bruno Latour's actor–network theory (Latour 2005), is promising, since it provides us with a new conceptual framework that challenges our conceptions of identities.

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CHAPTER 6

Bronze Age Identities

From Social to Cultural and Ethnic Identity

Kristian Kristiansen

Situating Bronze Age Identities—The Dialectics of Social, Cultural, and Ethnic Identities

In this chapter, I wish to propose that, by the Bronze Age, we see, for the first time in European history, the formation of larger cultural and—perhaps—ethnic traditions that were to remain a distinctive feature of later history (See Figure 6.1). In this, the Bronze Age presents itself as a historical epoch with a distinctive identity of its own, part of which was carried on in later history. We can illuminate this distinctiveness by contrasting it with the preceding Neolithic period, which is characterized by a plethora of different cultural and ethnic traditions. By the Bronze Age, however, they are replaced by the formation of larger cultural traditions, such as Nordic, Atlantic, and Tumulus, which by the Iron Age can be shown also to correspond to language groups, such as Norse, Celtic and Germanic, again subdivided into regional groups. These larger regional cultural traditions also distinguished themselves by differences in house architecture and domestic life. The Atlantic tradition held to circular houses and farmsteads, the Nordic to three-aisled longhouses of individual farmsteads spread in the landscape, whereas the east-central European tradition was organized in fortified tell settlements comprising larger groups of people. These traditions were thus based on a distinct organization of landscapes, including land divisions and roads. All settlements throughout Europe, though, were nodal points in open, connected landscapes that facilitated travel and trade also over land. These open, organized landscapes and their corresponding traditions emerged with the mature Bronze Age.

Inside these larger cultural traditions, we can also identify smaller local, political configurations in the archaeological record. Thus, by the Bronze Age, we are presented with

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Map 6.1 The new regional traditions of the developed Bronze Age. From Kristiansen (1998, Figure 26). Reproduced by permission of Kristian Kristiansen.

more complex, ranked societies with a corresponding complexity of identities. From this follows that we need first to understand the nature of social organization, in order to see how various types of identities are linked to different social institutions. Identity and ethnicity thus emerge from the nature of social organization and the institutions that make up society. In a similar way, language is also a secondary product of social organization, and represents a more generalized form of identity, supporting a specific social and cosmological organization of society.

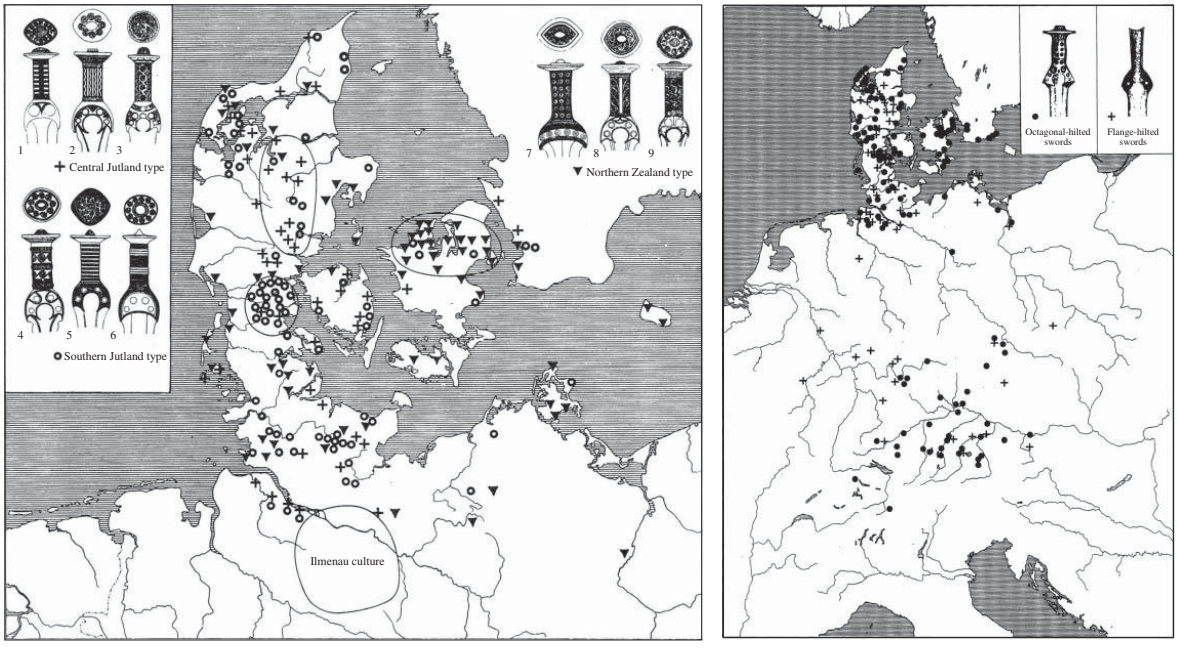


Figure 6.1 Distribution of foreign swords connecting south Germany and Denmark, versus the distribution of Nordic full-hilted swords. From Kristiansen 1987. © Kristian Kristiansen.

Two general observations may serve to explain the formation of larger and more complex forms of cultural traditions in the Bronze Age:

- The distribution of metal from a few source areas to all European societies demanded new forms of long-distance interaction that were both more regular and frequent than in the Neolithic period.
- This led to technological innovations in transport, most notably in the maritime sector where new seagoing ships enabled long-distance maritime trade.

A new, globalized world of interconnectivity took shape, and, as a result, new forms of regional identities appeared, as well as new forms of interregional identities (for a comparative case, see Hornborg 2005). These new regional identities were very much linked to specific social institutions with a cosmological or religious symbolic language. They established clear-cut borders to other regional traditions (Kristiansen 1998, Figure 40), but at the same time new forms of interregional identities that served to keep the metal flowing crosscut such regional traditions. Bronze Age identities were thus evolving around a dialectic relationship between cultural closure and openness, much as in our own globalized world of today.

What we observe here is the historical emergence of the dialectic processes of "globalization" and identity formation, which reached their historical climax during the expansion of capitalism and the formation of a modern world system with the resurgence of identity formation, now labeled "nationalism" (see Hall, Chapter 4 in this volume). Cultural identities and ethnicities are always formed in relation to and sometimes in opposition to other such identities (Barth 1969; Sahlins 2010). From this arises the theoretical paradox that, while cultures are seemingly autonomous and often studied as such, they are derived from larger "global" processes of interlinked political economies, which fuel a process of identification with certain cultural and cosmological values and material expressions. They are part of a process of elite formation and elite control in need of boundaries to exert its control by establishing a system of shared values. Over time, cultural identity may come to include other forms of identification; for example, language may lend to it a certain degree of relative autonomy. While nationalism may have taken on more sophisticated and penetrating means of identity formation during the late modern period, it is shaped by the very same processes that led to the emergence of new regional identities in the Bronze Age. They need therefore to be studied with due respect to these larger historical processes.

We begin by specifying these new forms of identity in the Bronze Age, and then discuss their meaning. From a methodological point of view, boundary formation of various forms can often be demonstrated in the archaeological record, which defines "us" and "them" (Hodder 1982). We may assume that complex societies produced more boundaries than less complex societies, internal as well as external. The definition of such boundaries in the archaeological record, however, is only a first step. Next follows the theoretical interpretation of the social and economic processes leading to such divisions in the material record. If they carry any weight, it must be possible to link them to the formation and reproduction of institutions. While ethnicity undoubtedly played a central role in all human societies, arising from traditions of common origin and shared historical identity (Jones 1997), its material expressions have been an underdeveloped field of

study (but see Bürmeister and Müller-Scheessel 2007; Fuhrholt 2008; Fernandez Götz 2013). I propose that it is possible to delimit various forms of social and ultimately ethnic identity, through a careful analysis of the geographical distribution of social institutions and the symbolic meaning of their material culture (Vandkilde 1998; Kristiansen 2004). By identifying the relevant institutional frameworks in the archaeological record, it is possible to delimit various types of identities from local to global that helped to uphold and reproduce these very same institutions over shorter or longer periods of time.

Coexisting "National" and "International" Identities. Northern and Central Europe 1500–1300 BC

In the Nordic realm, we can distinguish between two recurring types of male warrior graves, which I will term "ritual chiefs" and "warrior chiefs." The ritual chief is characterized by a special package of objects, such as campstools, and drinking vessels with sun symbols at the bottom, so that the sun would rise when lifting the cup that contained mead. Also, the razor and tweeter are often linked to this group of ritual chiefs, which share the exclusive use of spiral decoration, the symbol of sun cult and of Nordic identity. The sword would often be full hilted and rather used for parade than warfare, rarely sharp, and rarely damaged (Kristiansen 1984 for an empirical documentation of the use of different sword types).

The warrior chief, on the contrary, would have a highly functional, undecorated flange hilted sword, an international type distributed from south-central Europe and the Aegean to Scandinavia. It was the sword of the professional warrior, always sharp-edged and often re-sharpened from damage in combat (Kristiansen 1984). The warrior chiefs would rarely have any of the ritualized symbolic objects of ritual chiefs, which suggest that they were deprived of access to this office. With ritual chiefs, they shared burial in an oak coffin under a barrow, and a chiefly dress consisting of cape and round cap, both costly and socially distinctive of the free man of chiefly lineage. They also shared burial in a barrow, which is the corresponding ritual definition of "free men," who owned cattle and farms, in opposition to those who had smaller houses without stalling for cattle (Kristiansen 2006).

Finally, we have a third group with octagonal hilted swords of south German origin, but also produced in Denmark by migrant smiths, as they employed a specific casting method different from the Nordic smiths (Quillfeldt 1995; Bunnefeld and Schwenzer 2011). As with the warriors, they do not have any of the paraphernalia of the ritual chiefs, and they share some of the same international distribution as the flange hilted sword. They represent a group of people who might be linked to elite trade and smithing (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005).

These three groups are represented by several hundred burials, and they serve as a prime example of Ian Hodder's dictum that material culture is meaningfully constituted. In a rather straightforward way, they demonstrate that different sword types in the Bronze Age were meaningfully linked to different social and ritual institutions, and

that membership of these created personal and social identities. I propose that these institutions carried further meaning by constituting two different forms of cultural identity that was shared and acknowledged by all members of society: the ritual chiefs represented a specific "national" Nordic identity with a shared cosmological origin and religion, perhaps also language, while the international warrior swords defined their members as "foreign" as well as members of society: they shared on acknowledged identity of being international and linked to a larger transnational community of warriors and traders.

Thus, the two institutions of ritual chiefs and warrior chiefs have radically different distributions, and this informs us about their different roles in the reproduction of a complex set of regional and interregional identities, some of which formed a collective ethnicity and some of which formed a political identity. The ritual chiefs maintained the ritual and cosmological order of society, defined by a symbolic package of objects, and by the spiral decoration. It signaled Nordic identity and a shared religious cosmology, and probably also a shared cosmological origin. They were in charge of rituals, and controlled the huge corpus of religious and legal texts vital to the correct performance in rituals and vital to the maintenance of order. Therefore, Nordic ritual chiefs never, or rarely, moved outside the cultural boundaries defining this "national" ethnic identity. I here define *ethnic identity* as a shared symbolic world of cosmological origin (Jones 1997). However, the Nordic identity displayed in the spiral style of chiefly objects refers back to a distant Mycenaean template of high culture that was not shared with other central European Bronze Age groups.

The warrior chiefs, on the contrary, were culturally defined as "foreign," which allowed them to travel and maintain political connections outside the symbolically defined ethnic world of Nordic Culture. Therefore, they maintained and carried the interregional networks that constituted the flow of bronze and of foreign relations. They were part of a central European/north European international network, with a shared material culture of central European origin, for the flange-hilted sword was also shared with Mycenaean warriors.

Ethnohistorical evidence of warrior cultures supports such an interpretation of warriors and traders on the move. Warriors often formed special group identities (sodalities) that linked them in a spatial network defined by rules of special behavior and etiquette. This could be employed both for recruiting war bands, and for travelling to more distant chiefs to earn fame and foreign prestige good, as evidenced in Africa among the Masaai, among the Japanese Samurai. This is a recurring feature in the literature on warriors and warfare.

In this way, institutions existed that took care of separate needs that were vital to Bronze Age societies: the internal maintenance of a shared cultural and cosmological world, and the external maintenance of political and commercial relations. If we return to the question of personhood and social identity, then the sheer number of sword burials and the regularity they display in burial rituals and burial goods suggest that we are dealing with well-defined bounded institutions and social identities. Although small-scale variation exists, there is nothing to support Joanna Brück's suggestion of a divided, relational personhood in the Bronze Age. Social relations were imperative, but they operated within a well-defined set of normative rules linked to the long-term reproduction

of political institutions with their own blueprints for social actions and heroic deeds (Kristiansen 2008, 2012). We are far beyond a New Guinean perception of personhood and "dividuals," whose relevance for any prehistoric period may indeed be questioned (Spriggs 2008).

It should also be observed that the relationship between ritual chiefs and warrior chiefs could become strained and competitive if foreign relations collapsed. Also, in periods of warfare, the war chiefs would be able to amass more power. However, if warrior chiefs, through their deeds, could aspire to become ritual/political leaders, that would certainly ease the strain. However, it would also be dependent upon the numerical relationship between the two groups. During the centuries from 1300 to 1100 BC, flange-hilted swords become more numerous, whereas Nordic full-hilted swords become less numerous. It suggests that the warrior group could threaten the role of ritual chiefs. However, it may also indicate that ritual chiefs had strengthened their power and created larger political entities with lesser opportunities for warriors to achieve high office as ritual leaders. However, this double institution also represented a clever division of power that we meet in many societies, both in anthropological literature and in early historical texts (Dumezil 1988). The later Spartan double kingship may be taken to represent an inheritance from the Bronze Age, where it was widespread, as my example from northern Europe suggests. During Mycenaean times, this dual leadership was designated by the term "wanax" (the political/ritual leader), and "lawagetas" (the war leader). In the *Iliad*'s Catalogue of Ships, two leaders represent each kingdom/ethnic group. Neither in Greece nor in Scandinavia, however, is there any doubt that the ritual/political leader was over and above the war leader, but that did not imply that tensions could not arise between them, as indeed is exemplified in Homer's *Iliad* by the opposition between Agamemnon and Achilles, although that relationship operates at a higher level of royalty.

What kind of identity did the new regional or "national" cultural traditions provide for its member communities? In his review of Jonathan Hall's first book, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, Colin Renfrew raised this question by proposing that there already existed a shared Greek ethnicity above the local, which forged a shared identity for all Greek city-states (Renfrew 1998). Our findings lend support to this proposition, as it is clear that such supra-local "national" identities already existed in the mature Bronze Age. I further propose that such regional "national" identities/ethnicities over time might develop into semi-autonomous long-term traditions. This can be observed in the Nordic tradition, which remained a more or less stable feature into historic times, when we know that a shared early Germanic, Norse language accompanied it. It makes sense as such larger, shared cultural traditions presuppose regular and frequent interaction. Once instituted, the shared cultural and perhaps language identity of the Nordic realm in the Bronze Age became so deeply embedded that it took on a life of its own and became a structuring force also in subsequent social transformations, although it also changed in the process. In this, it resembles what anthropologists have called "great traditions" (Odner 2000; Rowlands 2003). One of the forces in forging the Nordic cultural tradition from the early Bronze Age onward was the emergence of highly improved technologies in boat building, which allowed regular, and more safe, sea journeys with large boats that

could carry bulk goods, such as metal (Rowlands and Ling 2013). However, inside such larger regional identities (Nordic or Greek), we can often identify the contours of smaller polities/chiefdoms, whose meaning I shall now discuss.

Polities and Local Identities: Ethnic Groups and Political Boundaries

The nature of local groups as defined in historical texts and in the archaeological record corresponds most closely to what, in ethnographic research by Barth (1969) and others, are termed "ethnic groups." They are rather localized, and they represent the limits of political power, eventually under a single king or chief, alternating with periods of coexisting chiefs or confederations. The materialization of such ethnic polities can take many forms, but is mostly constituted by an association between objects and groups of people that represent local power.

In south-central Europe, during the period 1500–1300 BC, small variations in the material culture of female ornaments help to identify local groups and demarcate areas under the political power or authority of leading chiefly clans (Wiegel 1992–1994; Wels-Weyrauch 2011), much in the same way as coinage in later historic times would assert the economic control of local kings. The fact that female ornaments served this function suggests the importance of controlling marriage strategies inside the territory. Also, local pottery produced by women may show similar distributions (Nebelsick 2005), in opposition to commercially produced pottery of later periods. It is interesting to note that, although female ornaments are used to demarcate local boundaries of polities, they are rich in religious and cosmological symbols that were shared throughout the Bronze Age world (Müller-Karpe 2004). Women were thus bearers of two important messages: a shared world of Bronze Age cosmology, and a localized world of the political/ethnic group. Their increasing visibility through bodily adornment and dress (Sørensen and Rebay 2008) corresponds to their rising social status in burial rituals and later in hoards, which was a global trend in the Late Bronze Age, as demonstrated by Müller-Karpe (Müller-Karpe 1985).

We are here encountering the social processes of consolidating political power through the exercise of control of women and their power of reproduction. It suggests that marriage between endogamous clans were now predominating, while exogamous marriage outside the territory were used to establish and maintain political alliances to allow the flow of goods and people between polities, including warriors and traders. In this way, new forms of revenue from trade emerged that helped to consolidate political power. The control of women was reinforced in the subsequent period, when widow burning often accompanied the burial of chiefly warriors with swords (Sperber 1999).

It has also been suggested that the formation of bounded political and ethnic territories coincides with a process of early state formation, as we know from early Iron Age proto-states or complex chiefdoms throughout south and central Europe and the Mediterranean. Here, select forms of material culture are used to demarcate the limits of the polity, thereby also creating an internal identity in opposition to neighboring

groups. One of the best documented instances is the case of the Vettones in central Spain. Here, more than 400 bull statues in combination with a specific form of pottery demarcated the kingdom of the ethnic group (Alvarez-Sanchís 1999, 2002). It corresponded to the rise of fortified oppida and a ranked warrior society. From the early Iron Age onward, such ethnic polities were identified with a founding hero/king throughout Celtic Europe (Almagro-Gorbea and Lorrio 2011). Similar processes of territorial demarcation accompanied other early state formations in the Mediterranean (examples in Cifani and Stoddart 2012). This use of material culture and rituals by select groups in the formation of early states has much in common with what we can observe from the Middle Bronze Age onward in Europe, with the exception of urbanization.

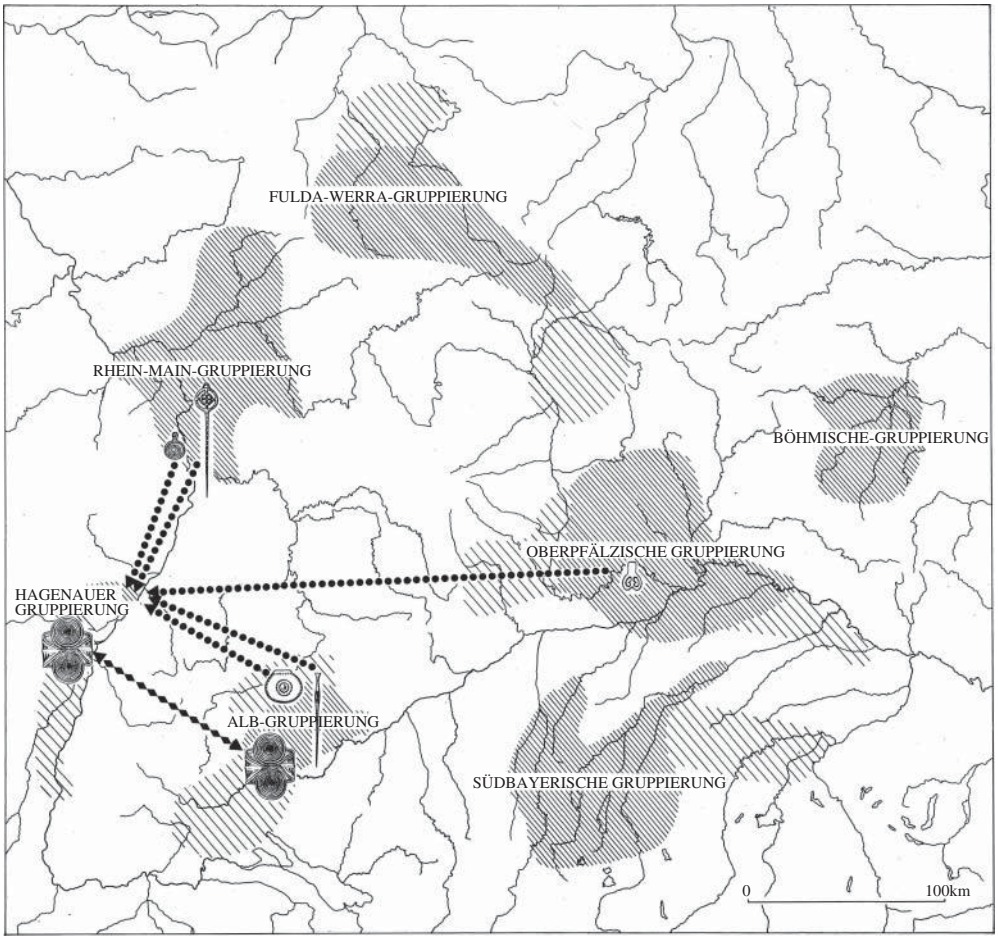


Figure 6.2 Map showing the core areas of local cultural groups, in south-central Europe and the way they were connected through intermarriage, defined by the appearance of female burials with a foreign set of ornaments from a neighboring group (from Wels-Weyrauch 2011). Reproduced by permission of Ulrike Wels.

We should therefore allow for some variation in the use of material culture in the demarcation of political power. The Bronze Age examples suggest that we are dealing with processes of establishing some form of local territorial power, which we may even encounter in pre-state ranked societies of the chiefdom type. It all comes down to definitions, but what remains important is that already by the Bronze Age we see new forms of ranked political power that implied some form of control over producers and the formation of long-distance political alliances to ensure safe travels for traders, warriors, and other groups of people.

Coping with Complexity: The Role of "Local," "National," and "International" Identities

To conclude: identities in the Bronze Age were socially constructed and linked to institutions with different roles in society. What we see therefore are the dominant elite identities, although we may assume that the cultural border of the Nordic identity was also a language border, based on its continuation as a combined cultural and language border during the Iron Age into historical times. Likewise, the regional tradition of the Tumulus Culture was probably also identical with a Proto-Germanic language. Both traditions shared the use of tumuli or barrows for local chiefly elites. However, both during the Bronze Age and in later periods, such borders changed, expanded, or contracted, and were thus subject to social and economic forces of change. In this respect, language was a secondary product of social and political processes, and probably used in much the same way as material culture to demarcate and express a dominant identity or ethnic tradition.

Inside the regional traditions, we find politically constructed ethnic identities, corresponding to local polities such as chiefdoms and petty kingdoms. Parallel with this, there existed international warrior identities or sodalities that allowed warriors to travel and trade. Also, a new maritime economic sector defined itself ritually as a separate social and economic institution. However, these new institutionalized sectors of travels and trade were dependent on the maintenance of stable political alliances between local kingdoms/chiefdoms, and we saw how these were, among other things, forged through marriage relations, documented by "foreign wives." Compared to the number of male burials with international "foreign" swords, the number of "foreign" female objects is in the minority. It suggests that we are dealing with a complex system of social exchanges, where males more often than women would take service at foreign chiefly courts, an interpretation now also supported by recent strontium isotope analyses (Wahl and Price 2013). We may here see the social mechanisms operating behind "stranger kings," a concept introduced by Marshall Sahlins some 40 years ago, which he revived in a recent conference paper (Sahlins 2010). Here, the foreign "warrior prince" either marries the local princess or the widow queen, eventually after killing the king. It would also correspond with recent interpretations of Greek and Hittite kingship (Finkelberg 2005). Here was an additional career strategy, which also corresponds well with the notion of the power of foreign relations and prestige goods as a motor in the rise and expansion of Bronze Age societies (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005).

The European Bronze Age thus demonstrates how social and economic complexity was materially and ritually defined by separate institution with separate identities that allowed Bronze Age societies to interact and trade in a regular and systematic way, even while maintaining more closed cultural and, probably, language identities linked to a cosmological identity. These societies were highly complex, with a capacity to maintain parallel, coexisting forms of identity, some linked to a larger "foreign" political world, and some linked to a more ethnic and ritual world of "national" identity. We must envisage these institutionalized identities as interchangeable according to a set of social rules—a career strategy might see young warriors travel south and earn fame, and upon their return later in life become ritual chiefs, or marry into the local foreign court. In this complexity of identities, the Bronze Age is not vastly different from what we know from slightly later periods, such as Archaic Greece, which exhibits similar developed forms of identity and ethnicity, also reflected in written sources (Hall 1997, 2002; Renfrew 1998; Finkelberg 2005). Although the jury is still out as to the existence of larger, shared ethnic identities in the past, our example suggests that, by the Bronze Age, we see the emergence of new forms of more bounded ethnic commonalities. They were based upon a shared cosmology and shared institutions, which would in all probability also imply some measure of a shared language. However, we must assume that many people, and most surely the travelling warriors, were bilingual and even multilingual. These regional identities span distances from 500 to 1,000 km. Within these regional identities, we find smaller polities 100–150 km across, most probably also with ethnic names, as in the Iron Age. There is a further lesson from this analysis: a representative archaeological database informs us more precisely and objectively than written sources about processes of identity formation based on the political power of institutions through the construction of symbolic fields of identity.

The Bronze Age thus exemplifies a sophisticated, institutionalized solution to a complex world of metal production and distribution that integrated all local communities in a globalized economy. In Figure 6.3, I present a scalar model of this complexity of identities. However, to fully understand and evaluate the historical implications of these results from the Bronze Age, we need to put them into comparative perspective. Right now, a panorama of such studies is emerging, some even as this chapter is being written (Fernandez Götz and Zapatero 2011; Hornborg and Hill 2011; Cifani and Stoddart 2012). While covering different historical epochs and areas, they suggest that some of my observations from Bronze Age Europe may form part of larger historical–evolutionary regularities in the way societies use identity formation to support the rise, consolidation, and decline of dominant social groups and even larger social formations. In my case studies, I have mainly covered periods of more stable social formations, and it can therefore be expected that the picture may look different in periods of change. Here, experimentation and hybridity may rather be the norm. Migrations represent yet another variation of movable identities that I have not covered here. However, to understand periods of transition and change, we must first be able to characterize and explain the materiality of identities and their corresponding institutions through stable periods that provide the necessary regularity in the material record. This article is a small contribution toward such an objective.

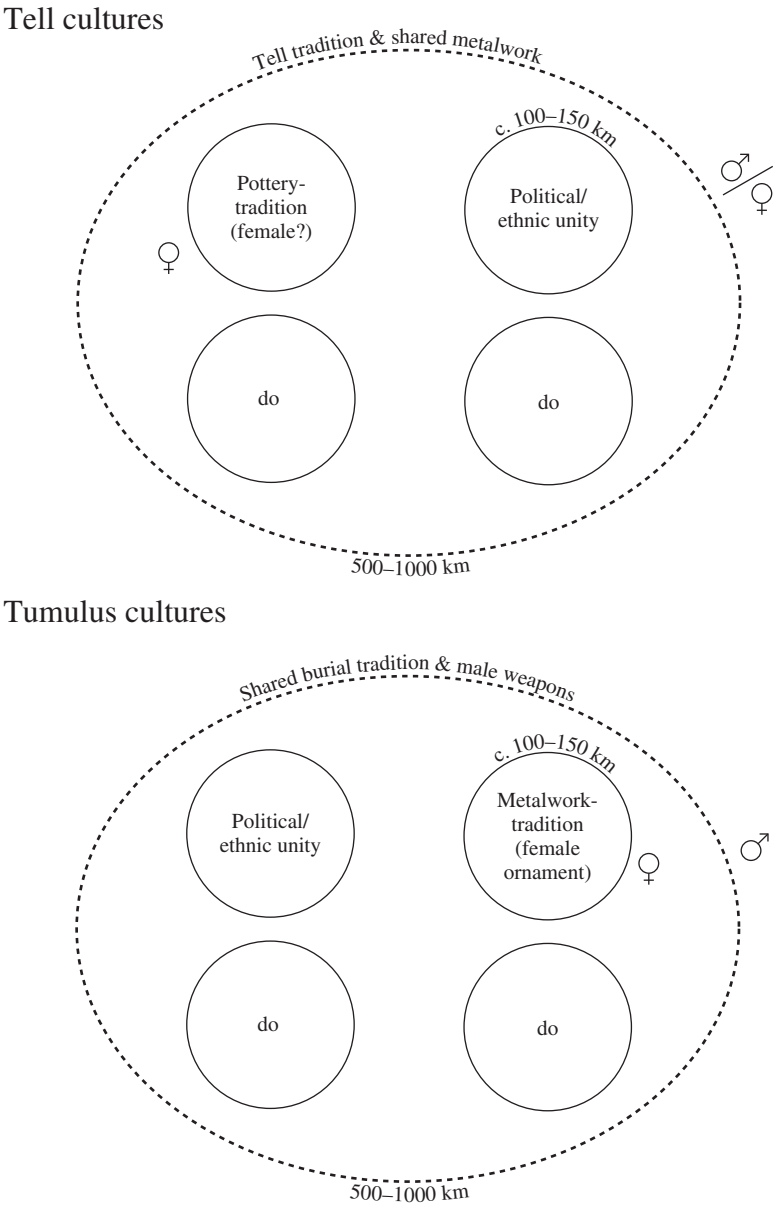


Figure 6.3 Model of the Bronze Age world of institutionalization and identity formation. © Kristian Kristiansen.

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CHAPTER 7

Networks and Ethnogenesis

Anna C. F. Collar

Introduction

Using the methodological frame of the "network" to study the ancient world has become increasingly popular over the last decade or so. The concept of the network offers us the opportunity to approach antiquity from a different perspective: for example, we can see social and technological change as a distributed process with multiple causes; we can reconsider ancient physical topography as punctuated by places that have "network centrality"; we can re-conceptualize the flows and migrations of groups of people; and we can see the spread of ideas and innovation as products of social network connections, rather than necessarily as inevitable "progress." Network methods are rapidly becoming essential tools for analyzing the transmission of such diverse entities as genes, technologies, diseases, and ideas in the modern world, and the same is true of antiquity. In this volume dedicated to ethnicity in the ancient Mediterranean, it is also pertinent to consider how a reflexive understanding of ethnic selfhood and ethnic group can be formed and maintained by interactions across social networks.

In this chapter, we examine some of the central tenets and intellectual value of theorizing networks, and briefly explore how various network methodologies have been used to study the ancient world, and the exciting new findings their use enables. We then look at the concept of ethnogenesis and how it can be considered as a process that operates through social networks. To situate the discussion within the ancient Mediterranean, we look at three case studies: the coming into being of the Greeks in the Archaic period, the re-creation of Jewish ethnic selfhood in the Imperial Roman period, and the debate about Germanic ethnic identity in Late Antiquity. Each of these case studies has controversial aspects, and each is explored in depth elsewhere in this volume. In this chapter, therefore, I consider the role that networks, both directly through social interconnections,

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and indirectly through abstract rhetorical avenues, may have played in the dissemination of ideas and ideologies connected with an understanding of ethnic identity. In this way, I hope to demonstrate the value of using a network approach, and to show how discussions of ethnic identity can be enriched by thinking through the metaphor of the network.

Network Methodologies and Antiquity

Network is an increasingly popular term in both the academic and non-academic worlds. The phrase "social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter" is heard almost daily on the UK's premier radio news broadcasting channel, BBC Radio 4, and the past few years have seen an unprecedented and real social power enacted through such democratizing networked Internet sites: the green almost-revolution in Iran in 2009 was driven in large part by Twitter (*Washington Times*, June 16 2009), and the events of the "Arab spring" in 2011 were fuelled and spread by messages, photographs, videos, and organization through social media. With the advent of the use and discussion of networks and their power to foster change in our daily lives, it is no surprise then that the academic community is also starting to ride the current network wave: theories exploring the properties and power of various different types of network are being developed by researchers working across a number of fields, including mathematics, physics, sociology, and computer science. These advances in network analysis are based on a long tradition of research in many disciplines, but, with the increasing ubiquity of powerful computing technology, network perspectives and methodologies are now becoming understood and used more broadly across the sciences and humanities.

These huge advances in computing over the last decade or so means that, in recent years in archaeology and ancient history, much research has been done on the power of networks in antiquity. Network methodologies are being used to try to understand social relationships in the past, interactions across geographical regions, as well as technical relationships in large and complex datasets. The problems and potential inherent in these datasets have stimulated the use of various techniques from network analysis as a tool for exploring these data, and such applications are already proving to be innovative and fruitful approaches to topics such as cognitive and social material networks (Knappett 2005; 2011); interregional interactions (Graham 2006; Isaksen 2008); human evolution (Coward 2010); the spread of belief systems (Collar 2011; 2013a; 2013b); the emergence of towns through the prism of trade (Sindbæk 2007); the creation of identity (Malkin 2003, 2011); and maritime connectivity and settlement (Broodbank 2000).

Although applications of networks to ancient data have been very heterogeneous and often somewhat loose and metaphorical, "differences in method are not necessarily problematic as network analysis itself is a collective term, combining a number of ideas and quantitative tools from several disciplines" (Brughmans 2010: 2).

The development of the theories and their applications to antiquity are moving forward at an ever-increasing rate. The following introduction therefore aims to provide a brief overview rather than an exhaustive guide to how researchers have used these different ideas and tools to think about the past, exploring some key concepts and areas of research.

Network methodologies

Because of the heterogeneity of the applications of networks to antiquity, there is no one set method that is used. Broadly speaking, network thinking examines the character and quality of *interactions* and *links* as a dynamic process, as opposed to static entities. A network essentially comprises nodes interconnected by lines, or "vertices" and "edges." Edges form the channels across which information can pass from one vertex to another. Because of these connections, what happens to one node in one area of the network must affect what happens to nearby nodes and areas. The structure and pattern of these connections—which nodes are connected to which others at a localized level—has a profound impact on events at a larger scale, that is, how change occurs at a global level. There can be differences in how far ideas or changes spread across a network, depending on how the network is structured—but the key concept is that information travels across the network as a result of the *connections* between nodes, not simply as a result of individual nodal identities.

Different aspects of this intellectual framework have been used to discuss a variety of subjects and contexts in antiquity. Here, I will outline some of the most important concepts and techniques that have been used: the *small world* network, *scale-free* networks, *centrality* (as measured by degree of *closeness* and *betweenness*), *relational space*, *material networks* and *relational space*, and *social network analysis*. We must of course remember that these approaches yield imperfect results: missing data is a problem in our disciplines, and network configurations can change radically with the introduction of new finds.

Small Worlds

"It's a small world." We say it all the time—it describes a situation where we unexpectedly find out that we share a common acquaintance with a stranger. Watts and Strogatz coined the formal expression for this phenomenon, labeling it the "small-world" network in 1998, and they found it applied to anything from power grids to neural pathways. Localized groups or clusters of nodes—neighbors, family, friends, etc.—regular acquaintances considered to be *strong ties* (the sociological term used to describe people with whom an individual has regular interaction, see Granovetter 1973: 1361) are intersected by a few long-distance links, or *weak ties*. These ties provide shortcuts to nodes that are not regularly involved with our strong-tie local network, and so make important

connections between local clusters that would otherwise remain separate. This combination of local clustering and long-distance links creates the "small-world" (Watts and Strogatz 1998).

Because weak ties connect their clusters, the distance between two individual nodes, even though they may be in remote clusters, is never very great: the network has a *short path length* between nodes. Furthermore, the weak ties can have the effect of joining up each small, separate cluster into one, enormous, fully interconnected cluster—known in physics as the *giant component* (Watts 2003: 45–6). When this level of interconnection is present, events on one side of the network will eventually percolate across to the other side—in other words, there is the potential for full network diffusion. Granovetter found that weak ties in a social network were instrumental in spreading information of which our local network is not already aware. This is because strong ties have a highly localized quality—these are our closest neighbors. Information that requires a higher degree of trust in order to be adopted and spread further is better diffused through strong ties (Shi, Adamic, and Strauss 2006; Collar 2013b; see Rogers 1995 for a full discussion of innovations). We must remember too that *everybody* is both a weak and a strong tie, that identification as such depends on perspective, and that classifications are subject to change.

Applied to past scenarios, the small-world network has been used as a metaphor to describe the changing configurations between close-knit kin groups and the use of codified material culture between the Epipaleolithic and Neolithic periods, as well as primate societies and human evolution (Coward 2010). Malkin sees the Archaic Greek world of colonies and *metropoleis* as a small world (2003, 2011). This network structure is particularly robust—because nodes are often directly connected to one another, the removal of a node at random is likely not to have too great an effect on the connectivity of the network as a whole.

Scale-Free Networks

An important development resulted from the discovery by Albert and Barabási, that the connectivity of many real-world networks is very skewed (1999). This means that the majority of nodes are poorly connected, while a few are massively so—the network features, for example, people who know "everybody" or airports central to global flight patterns. Through the mechanism of preferential attachment (where a node receives connections because it already possesses connections), certain nodes grow to be much larger. This results in a *power law*, the graphic representation of many small nodes coexisting with a few very large ones. Power law networks have "hubs," nodes that are disproportionately well connected—and form what are known as *scale-free* networks.

Because they possess a much higher number of links, hubs are incredibly powerful. They are in control of the channels of information diffusion—whether this is characterized as positive or negative. A hub can be central to the spread of a disease or an

idea because it comes into contact with so many others; or if subject to attack, then the destruction of the hub is central to the disintegration of an entire system. "Such a specific topology has direct implications for the processes underlying it, like the transportation of materials, the spread of religious ideas or the enforcement of political power. These processes would largely take place between the highly connected nodes, and they would only reach the larger number of less connected nodes through these vertices" (Brughmans 2010: 4).

In archaeological application, Bentley discovered a scale-free network and a power law configuration in the length of long barrows in Neolithic Europe and southern England. When he plotted the lengths of the barrows as a mathematical graph, they followed a "normal distribution" (i.e., they formed a bell curve, indicating that most barrows clustered around a mean average length)—however, the curve had a characteristic tail of a power law, meaning that a small number of the barrows were much larger than the average, which Bentley used to identify the emergence of hierarchy. He argues that this shows that "over time, the rich seem to become richer with these Neolithic long barrows, which suggest that status in Neolithic Wessex accumulated within a scale-free network" (Bentley and Maschner 2003: 41). Sindbæk also used the framework in his examination of the hierarchy of towns and villages in early Viking Scandinavia. In his data, he saw a few towns that participated in long-distance trade, with the majority of villages operating at a localized market level. This he characterized as a scale-free network (Sindbæk 2007)—which places emphasis on the importance of hub nodes and geographical hierarchy in the network; however, Brughmans has argued that Sindbæk's data could also be considered a small world (Brughmans 2010: 3), which would emphasize the weak ties in an otherwise fairly egalitarian network. The point that Brughmans makes is that, although the network metaphor is useful and often revealing, caution must be exercised with the models that are adopted, and we must remain critical of our data and the results we observe.

Centrality, Texts, and Relational Space

Networks have been used to calculate centrality. *Closeness* and *betweenness* centrality are defined, respectively, as the "ease with which a node can reach, or be reached by, any other node on the network. It is an index of how easily accessible a node is to all the other nodes in the network" and as "the probability that a node will be passed by traffic traveling along the shortest route between two other nodes on the network. The index indicates, not how easy it is to reach other nodes, but the likelihood of it being en route when taking the shortest path between other vectors" (Isaksen 2008: 10). High betweenness centrality indicates a bottleneck or focal point in a system, a node which may exert control over the network; whereas high closeness centrality means that node will be connected by short paths to many other nodes—making them very important in the spread of information, and possibly hubs.

This potential for exploring relational space has been investigated by scholars working with topological data in ancient texts. Isaksen (2008) used information about transport routes in the Antonine Itineraries and the Ravenna Cosmography to explore the positioning of towns in southern Spain as nodes in a network. Using these documents, which are essentially linear descriptions of how to move through the Roman world, allows the archaeologist to "get inside the heads" of how the Romans viewed their world. Isaksen demonstrates the potential of a relational database, alongside GIS and network analysis software, "to make a spatial argument about the relative importance of key towns within a transport network and expose the constituent elements of that argument in a visual manner" (Isaksen 2008: 2).

More recently, Barker et al. have been using networks to explore spatial data contained within Herodotus' *Histories*. Their project involved the digital mark-up of the text being fed into a database, allowing them to reconstruct the world of Herodotus as a system of interconnections and relationships. "[…] every step of the way through the narrative points of contact are made between different places in a variety of ways […] By seeking to lift these connections out of the text, we hope to counter the conventional emphasis on topography, which appears all too evident from our contemporary viewpoint of the world afforded by satellite imaging, and refocus attention instead on the *topological* relationships between places—the links that depend on human agency and the associative clusters that certain places form over the course of the narrative" (Barker et al. 2010: 5).

Material Networks and Relational Space

The network framework has also been used to understand relational space as encoded in material culture. Analyzing the distribution patterns of ceramics, artifacts, or settlements as a relational network enables archaeologists to build a picture of site interactions and reconceptualize such phenomena as the spread of technological skills, adoption of decorative styles, or the growth and decline of settlements as a result of network interactions. Proximal Point Analysis (PPA), a technique developed in anthropological studies in Oceania (Terrell 1977), was used by Broodbank (2000) to analyze interactions of islands and the growth of settlements, centrality, and interaction in the Early Bronze Age Cyclades.

PPA is a simple gravity model that predicts interactions between distributed nodes. It begins from the assumption that each node interacts most intensely with its three closest neighbors. Because of their geographical position, some nodes collect more than three links—so becoming centers in the resulting network. PPA shows relative degrees of connection, rather than absolute links, and has been used to reevaluate centrality and isolation—couched as the degree of influence that a node exerts on regional interactions—by highlighting the most well-connected nodes and the most active routes. By factoring in distance, inter-island visibility, and means of travel, Broodbank revealed that population size and network connectivity were linked: as populations on larger islands grew, so did their self-sufficiency and the introspection of sub-clusters,

whereas on smaller islands, the need for networked relationships was increased. At this time, treating islands as individual entities is meaningless, and "the establishment of populations is better assessed in terms of networks of mutually sustaining communities" (Broodbank 2000: 187) which transcended insular boundaries.

Knappett, Evans, and Rivers developed their analysis of Bronze Age sites of the Aegean from Broodbank's PPA, incorporating into their model variables to account for asymmetry, directionality, and costs of maintaining interactions, so simulating different social conditions and measuring the effects that these factors had on site size and influence. Recognizing that "humans create space through social practices, while also acknowledging that physical parameters are not entirely redundant in this process" (Evans, Knappett, and Rivers 2009: 2), they used a network model to take account of both physical and relational space. The computer program they built allowed them to change parameters and simulate expansion and collapse in the Aegean basin. They found that the site interactions affect site size and status, inverting localized, "site-centrist" explanations that focus on surplus and exchange, by treating sites as secondary and the *interactions between them* as primary.

Social Network Analysis

Use of social network analysis in studies of the ancient world has also increased in the last two decades. An important point is the difference between "whole-network studies," which examine the properties of a network at the global level, and "egocentric" network studies, which look at the network from the position of an actor located within it. The methods explored in the preceding text have mostly examined material relationships in antiquity and often have "whole-network" aims. Although they can be complementary, in practice it is difficult to move from the structure of the network to the individuals who form it (Marsden 2005: 8). Moreover, the egocentric network of individuals in archaeology can often be difficult to find, but when it is possible, social network analysis offers unprecedented opportunity to humanize networks in the past.

Graham's work explicitly does this. He views past space as an itinerary located within a perceptual sphere, and this extends to his work with networks: "networks do not exist independently of the people within them, and it is not enough that mere interconnections should exist. Individuals matter. Individuals must make something of these interconnections, for the networks to work" (Graham 2009: 675). Graham used stamps on bricks to reveal a small-world network configuration in the imperial Roman brick industry: and discovered that Domitia Lucilla, mother of Marcus Aurelius, occupied a position that allowed her control over the flow of information in the brick trade. As a function of her network position, Lucilla knew about clay sources, building contracts, profit margins, and distance of trade, and was able to exploit the discrepancy between the local and the global to achieve her own ends (Graham 2009). A word of caution, however, about misusing social network analysis: "only when the interactions between people are analyzed directly, can social network analysis with its specific quantitative tools and interpretations be applied" (Brughmans 2010: 7).

Ethnogenesis and the Creation of Ethnic Identity in Antiquity

Having seen how a variety of methodologies are being used to explore different aspects of the ancient world, we shall now examine how networks might influence the creation of ethnic identity. A key question here is "how does individual behavior aggregate to collective behavior?" (Watts 2003: 24). The change in perspective afforded by conceptualizing societies as networks is the emphasis placed on the *dynamics* of interaction in influencing the transfer, adoption, and failure of ideas, information, and material things. These connections can also result in the creation (and dissolution) of a notion of group ethnicity.

"At its most basic level, an ethnic group is a named human population that shares a sense of solidarity. Ethnicity is a presumed identity, and unlike kinship, it is not based on blood ties or concrete social interaction. A number of features commonly mark ethnic groups: a proper name, a mythic common ancestry (including an origin story), shared memory of a past both mythical and historical, a link to a homeland, and common cultural elements, such as language, religion, and kinship systems" (Smoak 2006: 5). In the Oxford English Dictionary, *ethnogenesis*—from the Greek *ethnos*, "a company, body of men," "a race or tribe," "a nation or people," and *genesis*, "an origin, source," "a birth, race, descent"— is described as follows: "the formation or emergence of an ethnic group within a larger community." This can be a highly contingent process, one enacted through both self-definition and collective attribution (Nagel 1996: 21), and initiated by external factors—such as social, political, or economic change.

Ethnicity is a socially constructed and subjective aspect of identity, which can be reconstructed, adopted, and redefined by different people in different environments. Without textual help, and even with, it can be extremely hard to distinguish ethnic groups in antiquity, and much controversy has surrounded the equation of ethnicities with artifacts. Whichever way it is conceptualized and formed, and however we choose to find it in the archaeological record, ethnicity essentially entails identification (whether self-defined or attributed) as a member of a *group*. Although such a group can be widely dispersed, there remains fundamental common ground that connects those members.

Any group that self-identifies as such can be seen as a *cluster* in network terms—made up of strong-tie connections. Granovetter suggests that the strength of a tie is marked by "a combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and reciprocal services" between two nodes (Granovetter 1973: 1361). Although strong ties usually form what is known in sociology as a "closed triad"—the structural situation describing three individuals who are all likely to know each other—they can also possess other markers of strength, such as frequency or length of contact (Shi et al. 2006: 1).

Strong ties form close-knit communities, and occur more frequently than long-distance links. Long-distance links transgress local cluster boundaries, forming shortcuts to other clusters: the "small world" is a global network phenomenon that arises from local network interactions. Although weak ties are useful for "simple" diffusion that does not require frequent contact or trust, these links do not exert great influence on people

where fundamental issues of change or adoption of new ideas are concerned. Because they are marked by closeness and trust, strong ties do: these people form the core of our social network, and influence us most powerfully in the transmission of new ideas or information that requires us to invest ourselves. When it comes to identifying oneself as part of a wider ethnicity, an individual's strong-tie social network, with which they interact most frequently and trust most deeply, is key: these are the people and the network connections we must focus on when thinking about ethnogenesis (see also, Chapter 15, "Ethnicity and Local Myth," and Chapter 20, "Ethnicity and Geography").

The Archaic Greeks

Perhaps the most striking use of a network methodology to examine the process of ethnogenesis is Malkin's discussion of the formation of Greek self-understanding during the Archaic period. Malkin theorized interactions between Greek mother cities and their colonies as a network, challenging assumptions of center and periphery in his analysis of the creation of Greek identity (2003, 2011). During early Archaic colonization, what was "Greek" was still fluid and in the process of being defined. He suggests that many different aspects of social identity were involved in the creation of Greekness—linguistic, religious, regional, and colonial relations to the mother city—but that the confrontation between the colonizers and the people, cultures, and religions they encountered in the places they colonized prompted the Greeks to begin to articulate how they saw themselves, and drove the formation of collective "Greek" ethnic identity.

Difference from an "other" as a mechanism for group self-definition is frequently used as a model in colonization theory (see Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002). Malkin goes beyond these to argue the case for the co-creation of "self" with that of "other" with regard to the Archaic period: "awareness of 'sameness' occurs not when people are close to each other (in fact, that is when they pay particular attention to their differences) but when they are far apart. It is distance that creates the virtual centre. The more the connecting cables are stretched, the stronger they become" (Malkin 2003: 59).

The different experiences of colonists in their new landscapes and environments, and the contact with new people and languages led to the definition of what it was to be a colonist through the recreation of known sacred landmarks and reproduction of certain monuments in particular places. Through this cross-colonial process, "Greekness" began to be exemplified, and only at this stage did it begin slowly to percolate back to the "old so-called 'center'" (Malkin 2003: 71), informing the creation of what and who was Greek and what and who was non-Greek. Malkin argues that these self- and other- definitions were needed to express the new, linguistically universal ethnic identity that came into being through the colonization process, supported by the use of founding mythology to create an intellectual network that began to view itself as of equivalent "oldness" in the colonies as in the *metropoleis*.

In this examination of the creation of the Greeks, the network Malkin envisages is theoretical, metaphorical, and "virtual": consisting of personal, reactive notions of self that

collectively formed a new "national" identity. Malkin points out that the directional flow forming this virtual network could and did change over time. Initially, the interactions of the mother city and colony were "symbolically cast in 'kinship' terms," but this changed, and "in reality the multidirectional, accumulating links are more significant than the true origins" (Malkin 2003: 67). This is the key point in this example of ethnogenesis—the dynamic interactions of this dispersed social network built—and dissolved—the identity of the nodes themselves.

The Roman Jewish Diaspora

A social network framework has also been used to investigate the re-affirmation of Jewish ethnic identity in the Imperial Roman period (Collar 2013a; 2013b). By this time, Jews lived in cities and towns across the Roman Empire—and notions of Jewish ethnicity and the attendant aspects of what it meant to be a part of the Jewish nation were fairly solidified—including monotheism, Sabbath observance, and abstinence from certain foods. Jews possessed all that Smoak suggests an ethnic group should: a proper name (whether Judeans or Hebrews), a mythic common ancestry and origin story, shared mythic and historical memory, a link to the Judean homeland, a shared religion, and a clear kinship system.

However, Diaspora Jews lived in close proximity to other people, with different languages, gods, and customs. It appears from the epigraphic evidence and the literature that there were varying degrees of interaction and assimilation with the Hellenized environment—with most Diaspora Jews speaking (or at least writing) in Greek, some taking part in Greco-Roman institutions such as the gymnasium, some being given Greek names, and some intermarrying with Gentiles (see Schürer 1986). This suggests that notions of Jewish ethnic identity in the Hellenistic–early Imperial Roman period were somewhat contingent, and flexible enough to incorporate behaviors different from conventionally understood Jewish practice. In the epigraphy, those who chose to define themselves as Jewish are understood to be part of the Jewish *ethnos*, and indicators of Jewishness are understood to have been used for the purpose of self-definition: mention of synagogue, use of Hebrew, Jewish names, and so on. However, the epigraphic evidence pertaining to the Jewish Diaspora at this time is limited: although the Hellenistic–Roman Diaspora was considerable, there is little evidence for Jews self-identifying, and where there is, it is limited to particular contexts such as manumission, or the collective dedications of Egyptian prayer houses. It seems that Jews at this stage were comfortable with their integration with the societies they lived in—they did not need to separate themselves explicitly.

This changed after the Jewish Wars, the destruction of the Temple by the Romans in AD 70, and the subsequent rebellions, which left Judaism in tatters. From this time onward, the epigraphic evidence for the Jewish Diaspora increases enormously, and becomes a largely funerary phenomenon. It shows the widespread dissemination and adoption of explicitly Jewish names, symbols, and language across the western Diaspora. Jews were powerfully expressing their ethnic identity in a way they had not done before.

In response to the destruction in Judea, Judaism underwent a series of reforms, initiated by the rabbis in Palestine and Babylon, which entailed stricter adherence to Jewish laws and moral codes—the halakhah recorded in the Mishnah (Schürer 1986: 513). Equally, following the cataclysms in Judea and the uprisings across the Empire, the Roman state imposed a "Jewish tax," the *fiscus Judaicus*, on Diaspora Jews. Combined, these elements—shock and mourning for the destruction of the Temple and the deaths of so many Jews, the gradual adoption of new moral codes and laws, and the transformation of the Temple tax into the *fiscus Judaicus*, payable to their Roman overlords—caused Jews to experience social tension with their Greco-Roman environment. This tension strengthened interpersonal bonds between communities, re-activating a dispersed "strong-tie" network built on a new understanding of their shared ethnicity. I suggest that these reforms were gradually transmitted across this social network of the Jewish Diaspora—an ethnic network that had been strengthened and *renewed* as a result of the destruction in Judea (Collar 2013a; 2013b). By interpreting this trend in the epigraphy as evidence of the impact of new universalized halakhah of the rabbinic reforms on the lives of ordinary Jews, we may consider the phenomenon as a demonstration of how the Jewish community re-created themselves across a dynamic network based on strong-tie "familial" ethnic connections.

Although the communities were widely dispersed, communications were strong enough to enable first the organization of a number of broadly simultaneous revolts, and then the gradual adoption of renewed Jewish halakhah. This suggests that the network structure of the Diaspora was akin to a small world: news of the rebellions and the subsequent rabbinic reforms possibly came to the communities through long-distance weak-tie connections, and the communities then were strengthened by this network structure and so passed on the changes in Jewish identity that were required by the Mishnah across these renewed strong-tie bonds (see also, Chapter 25, "Ethnicity: Greeks, Jews, and Christians," and Chapter 28, "Romans and Jews").

The Germanic Tribes

The final case study is the ethnogenesis of the Germanic tribes in the late Roman period. It appears at first that we know much about the various groups that made up the "Germans": they were the topics of histories, with both Caesar and Tacitus contributing important works. However, the evidence used (mythological, linguistic, archaeological, literary) to build a picture of ancient Germanic tribal society is open to interpretation.

Early German ethnic identity was a controversial and political topic in twentieth-century scholarship, largely because the foundations of National Socialism were based on the idea that the modern Germans were the direct racial descendants of an ancient and unified ethnic group (Liebeshuetz 2007). However, after the Second World War, the picture was radically changed by Wenskus (1961). Using anthropological studies of modern tribes, he concluded that, even though they were described and described themselves using terms implying kinship, the various peoples who formed the complex picture of ancient German tribes were not kinship organizations. Instead, he argued

that the tribes were historically contingent groupings, which, although they changed and reformed, had a core of tradition—*Traditionskern*—that maintained the group's identity and ensured the continuity of customs (Wenskus 1961).

However, Wenskus' notion of *Traditionskern* has been discredited by some as nationalistic, and a generation of scholars argues that tribal groupings did not possess core-cultures, and that groups reinvented their own pasts to meet the needs of their present (see papers presented in Gillett 2002). Mythology of common descent, migrations, and historical legends are all considered to be too late or too untrustworthy; linguistic evidence cannot be used to distinguish ethnicities; Roman historical writings are too distorted; and archaeology cannot reconstruct peoples and their movements. Germanic customs can only be understood in the context of their contact with the Roman world.

Liebeschuetz disagrees. He argues that these criticisms "deprive the ancient Germans and their constituent tribes of any continuous identity" (2007: 346). He defends *Traditionskern*: although it is unclear from the evidence whether the tribes had myths of common origin or a traditional religion, this does not mean they did *not*. The same may be said of historical legends. Although they are too late to be used to reconstruct details of earlier Germanic culture, we should be wary of assuming that third–fifth-century legends did not exist. The Roman histories of the Germans are considered by Goffart (2002) to require such deconstruction that they appear tantamount to fiction; however, although Liebeschuetz agrees they contain elements of propaganda, since the German tribes were neighbors of the Romans, "it is reasonable to assume that men like Tacitus or Ammianus had quite a lot of genuine information" (2007: 349) about them. He argues that the spread of artifacts can be used to trace migration and conquest as well as trade or "cultural diffusion," and that shared language must aid the process of ethnogenesis. Finally, he uses legal evidence transmitted via the Roman histories to illustrate the kinship nexuses that were in existence in Germanic society, and the concept of the blood feud to show how different these were from Roman judicial systems (Liebeshuetz 2007: 352). His key point is that Germanic ethnic identity comes into focus in situations of war—when a tribal name is used to describe a group invading the Roman Empire, or the origin of soldiers in the army: "the identity of a major tribe was also activated when individuals left their homelands to enter the service of the Empire" (2007: 354).

This is similar to Malkin's argument with regard to the Greeks: ethnic identity was clarified when it came into contact with a distinct "other." In other words, the social networks of tribal people who shared aspects of identity—language, religion, customs, and so on—were strengthened outside of their tribal home. Although the skepticism concerning the evidence as detailed in the arguments of Gifford, Goffart, and others must be taken into account, we should not throw the baby out with the bathwater. Cultural traditions are passed through strong-tie familial networks, inherited as part of the environment an individual grows up in—and, moreover, the rhetoric of Germanic tribal kinship in Roman works reminds us that ethnicity can be attributed as well as self-defined. The ethnogenesis and definitions of the Germanic *gentes* in Late Antiquity will continue to be the subject of debate, but approaching the problem from a network perspective may help (see also, Chapter 37, "Goths and Huns").

Future Developments

This brief chapter has shown that network methodologies can be used in a variety of ways to reveal interesting and innovative approaches to ancient ethnicities. However, ethnogenesis is a controversial topic and an extremely complex process, with multiple factors contributing to a people's sense of themselves—migration, language, religion, shared history, and so on. We must be careful in our application of networks to the past; we must avoid skimming over issues such as data incompleteness, and we must consider different factors of identity as separate network aspects, which may help us to avoid masking the subtleties of ancient ethnogenetic processes and the multiplicity of perspectives that ethnic identity shelters. Network methodologies are still at an early stage of application in archaeology and ancient history—and deeper understanding of network properties and problems and further case studies to test the methods are necessary to reveal new and illuminating insights about past social networks, and past social phenomena.

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CHAPTER 8

Ethnic Identities, Borderlands, and Hybridity

Gary Reger

Varieties of Amalgamation

The publication in 1969 of *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, a set of essays framed by Frederik Barth's programmatic introduction, marked a watershed in the study of ethnicity and identity. Barth rejected culture- and language-based definitions of ethnicity in favor of a self-consciously social approach. For Barth and his co-authors, the study of ethnicity depended on four main guiding principles: (1) that ethnic identity is "a feature of social organization"; (2) that the locus of study must be the boundary and the means whereby people are recruited into the identity, rather than the content of culture (what Barth called the "cultural stuff"); (3) that fundamental to membership in an ethnic group are self-ascription and ascription, that is to say the sense of belonging moving individuals to claim membership, or of outsiders to assign membership to others, in an ethnic group; and (4) that the cultural differences that matter are those marking the boundary, and not those an anthropologist might specify as the distinguishing features of a given group. Barth's reframing of ethnicity as a social construct with an emphasis on boundary making and patrolling has remained the intellectual structure within which subsequent work on ethnicity in anthropology, sociology, history, and other fields has operated (Curta 2005 and Barth 1994: 12, summarizing Barth 1998; see also Vermeulen and Govers 1994: 1; Anthias 2001: 629; Van der Spek 2009: 102; Whittaker 2009: 189; also, see Chapter 3 by Knapp in this volume), although refinements and additions, notably as proposed by Anthony Smith (1986), have modified aspects of Barth's model (see, for a very useful summary, Luraghi 2008: 1–14).

Barth did not explicitly address the question of hybridization of ethnic identity. He did, however, consider situations, which he referred to as ethnic interdependencies in a sort of "cultural ecology," in which different ethnic groups come into contact. He outlined

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several possible ecological relations between such groups, including, "very commonly," a situation "where two or more interspersed groups are in fact in at least partial competition within the same niche. With time, one would expect one such group to displace the other, or an accommodation involving an increasing complementarity and interdependence to develop" (Barth 1998: 20; cf. Anthias 2001: 629). This sounds like a sketch of circumstances from which hybridity might emerge.

Another early, less well-known contribution to this literature appeared in 1975. Donald Horowitz was interested in the processes by which ethnic identities expand and contract, are replaced by new ones, and can be held as multiples by one individual at one time. In doing so, he elaborated a typology of change, divided (perhaps rather mechanically) into two chief processes, of *differentiation* and *assimilation*. The second exhibited two forms: *incorporation*, in which one ethnic group simply swallows the other, and *amalgamation*, in which "[t]wo or more groups … unite to form a new group, larger and different from any of the component parts" (Horowitz 1975: 115). Following Barth, Horowitz placed great emphasis on the role of boundaries and the ascriptive nature of ethnic identity. His process of amalgamation, then, might contribute to a more general model of ethnic hybridity because of its focus on merging rather than, as Barth put it, competition and accommodation.

Central to Barth's account of the ecology of interacting ethnic groups is his notion of boundary, for it is the marked boundary—those features that separate one ethnic group from all others—that establishes the interface where the groups meet and separate. In the Barthian model, such circumstances where identity may be challenged by prolonged and intimate intercourse between ethnic groups may serve precisely as the trigger for sharpening those boundaries as well as the opportunity for mixture. And the conceptual sphere of the ethnic "boundary" can likewise easily be mapped onto a physical space, if it so happens that the ethnic groups occupy adjacent or overlapping spaces; and that physical space may become to be seen as a "borderland."

Since Barth's seminal essay, much has been written about hybridity and borderlands. Some recent studies have identified both determinative features of these concepts and offered a critique (see Alvarez 1995; Anthias 2001; Lamont and Molnár 2002; Hutnyk 2005; St. John 2011). Hybridity has found a place in the analysis of several phenomena. It is used in discussions of diaspora, "as the process of cultural mixing where the diasporic arrivals adopt aspects of the host culture and rework, reform, and reconfigure this in production of a new hybrid culture or 'hybrid identities'." Hybridity has also been identified as the result of cultural exchange in contact zones, a usage that both depends on Barth's formulation just cited and diverges when the emphasis is placed on "culture" (Hutnyk 2005: 81, 83–4). This application has seen wide popularity in the notion of the "middle ground," a contact zone between different societies where none is dominant, and so a culture of interaction develops that borrows from and reconfigures practices from both (White 1991; Woolf 2009, 2011: 17–19, for a briefer and more nuanced statement; Bonnet, Chapter 22). Whether the middle ground is also a spawning ground for a hybrid ethnic identity is a matter for debate. Urbanization, that social space where many different groups may be thrown together, is also often regarded as a driver and promoter of confecting hybrid ethnic identities; this was a central argument of Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan's influential 1963 book *Beyond the Melting Pot*, in which case studies of immigrant groups in New York City—including

Irish, Jews, and blacks—were deployed to support the general claim that the urban experience forged new mixed identities such as Irish-American (Hutnyk 2005: 92–5; Glazer and Moynihan 1970). Glazer and Moynihan tended to impute essentializing characteristics to different ethnic groups in ways that few studies would now do, but their recognition that ethnic identities are mutable remains an important contribution. Finally, a number of scholars have looked to colonialism's impact on subjugated populations as fertile ground for the growth of hybrid ethnic identities (Anthias 2001: 629–31). Interests of the ruling power, pressures on the colonized, and competition for resource control (back to Barth) may conspire to promote the creation of new, hybridized identities.

However, hybridity is not a neutral concept. It originates as a metaphor borrowed from animal breeding and agronomy. Agronomists seeking to improve aspects of a cultivar's performance—resistance to disease, yield in less-than-ideal conditions, and so on—may try to blend the genomes of different strains of the same species with different characteristics; the result may be a new strain of the same cultivar but better adapted to specific conditions. Such a new strain is a hybrid. This process was the basis, for example, of the so-called Green Revolution of the 1960s, which began with hybridization experiments in northern Mexico on various strains of wheat, initially in the hope of improving yield under arid conditions. Success in hybridization occurs not only when the new strain displays the characteristics desired, but also when it "breeds true," that is to say that offspring of the hybridized cultivar preserve and exhibit those characteristics. (See Hutnyk [2005]. In his otherwise very useful guide to hybridity as a social sciences concept, Hutnyk [2005: 82] deploys grafting in plants as the model for creating hybrids. Grafts, however, are not hybrids, but one species of cultivar connected to another so as to receive nutrients from it.)

The cognitive framework within which this conceptualization of hybridity exists carries several important presuppositions. First, the ability to create a hybrid out of pre-existing, separate strains implies that these strains exhibit a sort of "purity"—that is, that they are themselves true breeding and identifiable as separate strains (Hutnyk 2005: 81–3). Second, the hybrid is a new thing, distinct from its forebears. Third, ancestry is a central component of the process; everything depends on the features of the parent generation. Finally, the characteristics of both parent and hybrid offspring inhere in their genetic makeups. It is the inherited characteristics that are fundamental to the identity of the hybrid and the measure of success of the breeding program.

It should be obvious that the hybridization metaphor lends itself with ease to racist or racialist applications. For example, a central theme of certain racist fiction produced in the post-Civil-War United States rested on the supposed characteristics of racial hybrids. Thomas Dixon's notorious novel *The Sins of the Father*, originally published in 1912, features a mixed-blood ("hybrid") woman named Cleo, who exhibits the worst characteristics of her black and white parents. Anxiety about "racial purity" fueled by horror (and fascination) at sexual "mixing" helped to drive this dread of the hybrid, whose loyalty was seen as belonging to neither of the races from which she derived (Hodes 1997; Paulin 2012).

This notion of the hybrid intersects on several important dimensions with the defining characteristics of ethnicity. First, boundaries and boundary markers are crucial. In early wheat-breeding experiments seeking resistance to wheat rust, Edgar McFadden

sorted wheat varieties simply by resistance, not by any other characteristics—including poor yield and discolored flour, which would seem to be much more important for measuring a variety's desirability (Vietmeyer 2009: 61–3). Second, descent is crucial: hybrid wheats share common ancestors, just as ethnic identities are built on the notion of shared common descent. Finally, hybridity can be seen as a kind of adaptation to changed circumstances, in which the hybrid performs better—secures resources more successfully—than the parents. These shared features may help explain the appeal of the hybridity metaphor in the historical investigation of transformation of old and creation of new ethnic identities. (Later we will consider another possible metaphor.)

Borderlands, Boundaries, and Frontiers

"Borderland" is another freighted, difficult concept (Newman 2006; Truett 2006; and the essays in Zartman 2010). It is sometimes treated as if synonymous with—or as confused with—"boundary" or "frontier." This is particularly liable to happen when the concepts are being applied to a physical reality, such as the boundary between two states or ethnic groups. Consider that fraught space where Mexico and the United States meet. There is, on the one hand, a very specific but wholly artificial "line in the sand," a dimensionless boundary between two sovereign states, which both (but especially the United States) have spent much effort in locating, and which today is marked by yellow lines on the pavement at crossing zones or massive steel fences in the desert. The Mexican–United States borderland, on the other hand, is a zone that straddles the boundary, smeared out across the landscape and differing in scope and nature depending on whether it is seen through legal, social, cultural, historical, or linguistic lenses, "a space where categories [are] blurred and power [is] compromised" (St. John 2011: 5). Frontier, in contrast, may carry additionally a sense of the territory in which a more sophisticated (economically, politically, culturally) entity faces a less sophisticated one, and which seems to offer an invitation to invasion, incorporation, and domination. In Greco-Roman antiquity, a classic example is the frontier between the Roman imperial state and the German populations residing east of the Rhine and north of the Danube. This has often been seen as a space of cultural mixing, where identities may be labile, and so also a potential space for promoting hybrid ethnicities (see Lightfoot and Martinez 1995: 474, who call for seeing frontiers as "zones of crosscutting social networks"). A less commonly cited instance is the "frontier" between the Roman Empire and "Ethiopia" (Nubia), starting at the First Cataract of the Nile and extending at times through the Dodekaschoinos (Dijkstra 2005: 10–11). (The role of imperialism in this process may be important too; we will return to this later in the text.) As zones of confrontation, blending, and resistance, frontiers may be incubators of significant social change. Consider, for example, the famous "frontier thesis" of Frederick Jackson Turner, who argued that the emergence of an American identity—or, in the language of this volume, perhaps, an American ethnicity—was fundamentally dependent on the presence of a clear frontier between the settled, tamed world and an undomesticated, violent space needing to be controlled and subjugated before it could be incorporated into the United States.

However, borderlands, boundaries, and frontiers need not be physical. Barth's ethnic boundaries are marked by social practices, not physical space, and so, similar to the symbolic boundaries of anthropological and sociological study (Lamont and Molnár 2002: 167–9), a "borderland" too need not be a physical space; a number of other metaphoric spaces may also serve as borderlands where inter-ethnic contact, conflict, mixing, and perhaps articulation of a hybrid ethnicity might emerge. Some sociological literature on ethnic identity emphasizes this social space rather than the physical space where ethnicities meet and, by their interplay, create, define, and maintain identities: "The social spaces wherein cross-group interactions take place are the effective social boundaries between groups" (Sanders 2002: 328). It is in these social borderlands that hybridities can emerge, perhaps more often than at geographical borders.

Consider, for instance, the island of Delos in the later second and early first centuries BCE. Stripped of import–export duties in 167 BCE by the Romans and returned to Athenian authority, the island developed as an important central Aegean trading center with ties extending to the Levant in the East and Italy in the West. Merchants and traders from both ends of its economic catchment basin transited, sometimes staying for longer periods. With the withering away of Athenian authority, the different groups on the island created a local identity anchored in the notion that anyone there had a right to participate in the governance and social life of the island. Thus, we find people who, in an ordinary *polis*, would be stigmatized as foreigners serving on the council and participating in the ephebic organizations of the island. From a kind of social borderland, something new emerged. However, this tale also raises a deep question, for it is far from clear that what develops on Delos is anything like a new, hybrid *ethnic* identity. It rather resembles the hybridized social identity created in a middle ground for specific purposes; we will return to this question in the text that follows.

Hybrid Ethnicity and Borderlands in the Greco-Roman World

These preliminaries aside, I would now like to take a look at examples from Greco-Roman antiquity where one or more of the features of hybridity and ethnicity on the one hand, and borderland phenomena, on the other, have been proposed or might be suggested. The examples are in no particular order, but let us begin with the matter of common descent.

One place where common descent operated in a way suggestive of, or implying (if taken seriously), a hybridization of ethnic identity is in claims by non-Greek cities or peoples to common descent with the Greeks as a whole, or more specifically with a particular Greek *polis*. Olivier Curty has collected a corpus of inscriptions illustrating this practice (Curty 1995). In the later second century BCE, the city of Tyre in Phoenicia wrote to the citizens of Delphi as "relatives" (*syngeneis*) in the desire to "increase the blending (*synkrasis*) that exists with you" (Curty 1995: 27–8 no. 12; Jacquemin, Mulliez, and Rougemont 2012: 314–15 no. 173). The Tyrians do not expatiate in the preserved text on the nature of the relationship, although the description of it as involving "blending" is certainly provocative. The citizens of Mylasa in Karia evidently claimed a relationship to the Kretans on the basis of shared descent from Minos (Chaniotis 1988, summarized by

Curty 1995: 162–3). A very explicit example working in the other direction, that is, from a Greek city to an originally non-Greek one, involves an appeal from Kytenion in Doris in Greece to the Xanthians in Lycia. Begging for financial assistance after an earthquake, fire, and invasion, the citizens of Kytenion, as the Xanthians say in their reply, "summon us to recall the relationship that exists with them … for Leto, who was the founder of our city, gave birth to Artemis and Apollo among us; and from Apollo and Koronis, daughter of Phlegyos from Doris, was born Asklepios, in Doris"; the Kytenians went on to provide additional evidence of the relationship through Homeric heroes and other connections (Curty 1995: 183–91 no. 75).

Xanthos, and the Lycians generally, offer food for thought. Xanthos hosted a renowned sanctuary of Leto and competed with Delos for the honor of being the birthplace of her twins. However, Xanthos was a Lycian city, a member of the Lycian federation. The Lycians clearly had their own ethnic identity that went back well beyond the arrival of Greeks along the Lycian coast; this identity was expressed in their language, which was used (unlike most other indigenous, pre-Greek languages in Asia Minor) to inscribe public and private texts in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE (see Bryce, this volume). However, Greek-derived practices penetrated the Lycian world, at the latest from the days in the fifth century when the Athenians claimed sovereignty over some of the coastal Lycian cities. A Lycian contingent fought, on the Trojan side, in the Trojan war, and Homer accorded their leader a vignette of death (Hom., *Il.* 16.419–505; cf. 2.963–964). A Lycian expansionist drive in the fourth century occurred under the leadership of a dynast named Perikles. And the Lycians quite early came to use Greek as well as Lycian for their inscriptions, most famously in the so-called Trilingual Inscription of the Letoon, set up in Aramaic (the ruling language of the Persian Empire, at that time sovereign over Lycia), Lycian, and Greek. A chamber tomb of archaic date found in northern Lycia contained wall paintings with Greek and Lycian mythological elements (Mellink 1998, especially 57–64), reminiscent of the mixed markers found in tombs in Apulia (see the text that follows).

Hybridity and Syncretism

Syncretism has a long history in the study of Greco-Roman religion. In its clearest form, syncretism is precisely hybridization: the bringing together of two or more religious traditions or practices to create something quite new. It is not simply the introduction of new gods, although such actions may lead to syncretism. For instance, the introduction in the late fifth century BCE of the worship of Asklepeios to Athens brought a new god, but he enjoyed an impeccable Greek ancestry; his novelty required no adjustments in self-ascription. Sarapis, who was established in Athens in the Hellenistic period, was a different matter; he was indeed a "foreign god," whose presence on Attic soil provoked some anxiety. However, his worshippers, at least initially, were not good Athenians but foreigners. Sarapis' arrival on Delos, well-known thanks to a detailed inscription, was the result of a private action, but eventually he was incorporated into the sacred landscape of the island, enjoying a prominent sanctuary, several temples, and a wealth of dedications (Moyer 2011: 142–207). None of this is syncretism in the classical sense.

The landscape looks rather different in third-century-CE rural Egypt. There we can see traditional local religious festivals transmogrified by the incorporation of "outside" elements. An account of the late third century from Oxyrhynchos or the Arsinoite nome lists a series of payments for a Serapia (festival for Serapis). The comedians, pancreatic wrestlers, and reciters of Homer to whom payments were made were certainly not components of a "traditional" local Serapia, but other texts tell us that this festival was not unique in incorporating such "entertainment" (*SB* 4.7336; see Frankfurter 1998: 52–65). However, for the matter of identity and hybridity, the real question is, how did the local inhabitants regard the festival with comedians, wrestlers, and Homeric reciters? These were obviously Greek in origin. Were they seen as "add-ons," not really part of the traditional religious celebration? Or were they seen, instead, as nativized components? And why were they added? Because of local demand? By imitation of other festivals? And did these changes in what was surely an important local festival impose changes on how the villagers understood themselves and their identity?

We must also look at ethnicity from the other direction: through the optic of the state. State interests in the identity of their subjects can easily push toward the assignment of a unitary ethnic identity to serve state purposes, with more or less—or no—regard for the feelings the subjects may have about themselves. There may result deep, irresolvable tensions between state ethnic labels and a more labile personal identity. (Debates over the US census illustrate this tension in a contemporary setting. See Lee 1993.) Benedict Anderson traced out some of this in his exploration of the ways that European colonial powers fixed, for their own ends, ethnicities in the territories they ruled in the nineteenth and early twentieth century; some consequent "ethnicities" look absurd from the outside, but these sometimes came to be embraced by the subjects, who exploited them as foundations for nation-building (Anderson 2006). States, especially imperial states, in the ancient Mediterranean world shared many of the same fundamental interests as much later European colonial powers, especially the profound need to identify and fix subjects for the crucial purposes of tax collection and military service.

Let us consider two examples of the articulation of an ethnic identity in the interests of the state. The first is the development of a Batavian identity on the northwestern frontier of the Roman state in the second half of the first century BCE. The Batavians did not exist as an identifiable group before around 50 BCE, but by the Roman imperial period they had emerged as a clearly defined ethnic group whose particular importance to the Roman state lay in their contribution of about 5,000 soldiers to the army. (For a comparable phenomenon within Italy involving the Lucanians, see Chapter 34 in this volume, by John Wonder.) Fundamental to the shaping of this ethnic identity was the fashioning of a myth of descent, which depended first on the appropriation of a "Trojan" ancestor for the Batavians and second on Hercules and the syncretism of him with an indigenous god called Magusanus. The resultant deity displayed strongly masculine and military features well matched to the Batavians' commitment to the Roman army. Hercules, of course, also had a strong connection to cattle, which featured prominently in Batavian lifeways and helped make the fit especially good (on Hercules, cattle, and the western Mediterranean, see McInerney 2010: 106–12). However, the Batavian ethnic identity fundamentally emerged following an amalgamation—probably orchestrated by Rome—of a small but dominant *Traditionskern* ("core of tradition"; see Chapter 7

in this volume, by Anna Collar) of Chattian origin from the east of the Rhine, and an older indigenous population, who were probably remnants of the Eburones whom Caesar had destroyed. Participation in the cult of Hercules, with its strong political and military associations, was undoubtedly a powerful integrating force among warriors who came from different subgroups of the emerging Batavian community. The social function of genesis stories was to symbolically express the identity and cohesion of the new group.

Studies of Roman auxiliary units such as the Batavians have emphasized the importance of a shared ethnic identity for unit cohesion. This suggests an interest the Romans might have had in promoting this newly confected Batavian ethnicity, although their role as quasi-civilized occupants of a border region was also of deep interest to the Roman state (Roymans 2009). Some recent work on grave goods in "princely" graves in Germania reinforces the centrality of Roman connections to the articulation of self-identity in this world:

> The *habitus* of the elite seems to have found its material correlate in Roman, that is, "foreign," luxury goods and was expressed in an overwhelmingly symbolic language. Consequently, barbarian representation was inconceivable without permanent links to the Empire.(Brather 2005: 148)

In other words, Germanic groups such as the Batavians were not simple recipients of Roman decisions that, in this case, seem to have confected a new ethnic group; their elites played an active role that also fundamentally looked toward enhancing status within their own peoples (for more discussion and a somewhat different view, see Willems and van Enckevort 2009: 111–12, with further references).

The second example comes from the North African kingdom of Juba I and II. The elder Juba can be seen appropriating various ethnic markers, including the image of the god Ammon and elephant headdresses on his coins; he asserted an ancestral claim to authority over the Libyan tribes in Tripolitania. His son's work on constructing a hybrid ethnicity is perhaps even clearer; Juba II traced his ancestry back to a syncretized Hercules-Melqart (the latter being an important Carthaginian god) and adorned his coins with images of Hercules and the emblematic African animals, lions and elephants. He was able to exploit this mixed ethnic recipe to support authority over groups well beyond the Numidian heartland, including the Mauri of present-day Morocco and the Garamantes and Gaetulians who occupied the Saharan oases of present-day Algeria and Libya (Whittaker 2009: 191–2; Roller 2003 on Juba II). For the two Jubas, then, the conjuring of a mixed ethnic identity enabled them to assemble a kingdom out of otherwise disparate populations.

This may be an appropriate moment to revert to the problem of the middle ground. The paradigmatic work for historians on this concept is Richard White's 1991 study of colonial–indigenous interaction in North America, particularly in the Great Lakes region, broadly understood. Because no group could assert complete sovereignty over this territory (which is not to say that no group enjoyed advantages, sometimes decisive ones, over the others), interaction came to be mediated through new social rules and behaviors—partly borrowed and reconfigured from those of the participating groups, partly invented to serve the purposes of the middle ground itself. The chief driver working

in the interests of all groups was the desire to trade; one space where the rules were worked out was in the sexual relationships between colonial men and indigenous women. This congeries of characteristics lends support to the view of the existence of "many colonial locales in history where complex local arrangements have been made and endured sometimes for centuries. These middle grounds were by definition places of creative hybridization" (Woolf 2009: 209). Be that as it may, caution is called for. For the middle ground, as so understood, is not *ipso facto* a space for the production of a hybridized *ethnic* identity. Participants in the world of the middle ground do not necessarily undergo a qualitative shift in their ethnicity; rather, they learn, and participate in the creation of, a set of rules allowing them to interact successfully for well-defined purposes with the other. Viewed through this lens, the middle ground may appear rather as a space where ethnic boundaries are protected and strengthened precisely by figuring out ways to interact without contamination (see the clear statement in Malkin 2011: 39, 45–8, with explicit rejection of the notion of hybridity). Perhaps we might regard such a middle ground as just a grand elaboration of the "silent bartering" that Herodotus and other Greco-Roman writers report as the barest way for the civilized and the barbarian to trade.

In the Bedroom

Parents are crucial to agronomic hybridization, and so it is no surprise that a possible context for the emergence of a hybrid ethnicity occurs in inter-marriage between different ethnic groups. If exogamy, as has been said, is the best way to destroy ethnic boundaries (Whittaker 2009: 189, paraphrasing Barth), then surely it might also play a role in hybridizing them. In the Greco-Roman world, this practice has a claim to being especially widespread in colonial situations. Surely the most familiar story is the kidnapping of the Sabine women by the Romans, but the theme can be found repeatedly in colonization/foundation stories (see, for instance, Dougherty 1993: 67–8). Historical evidence for ethnic intermarriage has been sought in the practices of Roman troops stationed throughout the empire in the first through third centuries CE. Troops were often stationed at great distances from their homelands, so that access to women of the same ethnicity for long-term, childbearing relations was extremely difficult, if not impossible. (It should be remembered that the Roman prohibition on soldiers' marrying, lifted finally under Septimius Severus, did nothing to stop troops from establishing relationships resulting in children but not formal marriage; see Phang 2001.) It has thus been argued that soldiers were likely to have found partners among local, non-Roman women; their children, then, would be good candidates for a pool of people among whom a hybrid ethnic identity might emerge. Examples might include Carteia in Spain and Lugdunum Convenarum in France, both said to be populated by children of Roman soldiers and local women (Woolf 2011: 18). However, in the case of North Africa, such evidence as we have for such relationships—typically commemorative epitaphs—shows virtually no such mixing; in fact, the chief pool of women to whom soldiers had recourse were the daughters of their comrades or predecessors (Cherry 1998: 101–40). Perhaps local women were more often exploited as short-term sexual slaves, as

in the corps of prostitutes operated as a large-scale business in the forts along the roads of the Eastern Desert in Egypt (Cuvigny 2003: 2, 374–95; but see the important effort to periodize sexual relations between Romans and locals on the frontier in Whittaker 2004: 132–8).

Mixture or Compound?

I had promised to canvass another metaphor for hybridity, and I would now like to turn to it—a metaphor borrowed in this case from chemistry. A chemical mixture consists of two or more entities mixed together but not bound to one another chemically. Salt and pepper may be poured into the same container, shaken up, and mixed; but they can be separated—if with some tediousness—by simple mechanical means. The salt in this mixture, however, consists of bound atoms of sodium and chloride—a compound whose chemical properties are different from those of the compositional elements, which cannot be separated by simple mechanical means. In the same general way, there seem to be cases of "multiple ethnic identities" that, as with mixtures, consist of separate identities that can be deployed together or separately, as circumstances dictate. A genuinely hybrid ethnicity, in contrast, will be like a compound: something new confected by the creative conjunction of constituent elements, which can no longer be so easily separated out.

Multiple ethnic mixtures are easy to find in the Greco-Roman world. By the third century BCE, the southeastern Italian district of Apulia had been brought under Roman domination, marked, among other things, by the implantation of a Latin colony at Brindisium in 244 BCE. The regional elite, at the least, learned Latin, and a number of locals proved their loyalty to Rome during the war against Hannibal. However, the Apulian district had a more complicated past. On the one hand, Greek colonial settlements had been implanted by the eighth century BCE at Tarentum and other sites. On the other, the territory had been occupied by non-Latin, non-Greek groups with their own culture and language, Oscan. This district produced the first great Latin writer, the poet Ennius. According to a later account, "Quintus Ennius used to say that he had three hearts, because he could speak Greek, Oscan, and Latin" (Gell., *N.A.* 17.17.1). A recent review of the literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence from Ennius' world suggests that he, and the members of the regional elite from which he emerged, deployed these three identities under different circumstances, as appropriate—Greek in relations with the Greek world, as for instance when interacting with the great sanctuary at Delphi; Apulian (or Oscan) when operating in the local sphere; and Latin (or Roman) when dealing with the Roman world. In their graves, the Apulian elite placed objects redolent of all three identities. However, their movement among these identities did not result in their amalgamation, in the creation of a hybrid. Rather, they kept the three separate: three hearts, not one (see Yntema 2009). This labile multiplicity of ethnic identities has been described as "situationalism" (see Verdery 1994: 35–9).

The availability of multiple, distinct identities among which a person can shift as necessary carries particular advantages in an imperial/colonial context. It has long been

noticed, for instance, that indigenous Egyptians under Ptolemaic and Roman authority often bore two names, one Greek and one Egyptian, used depending on whether they were dealing with the ruling bureaucracy or with other Egyptians (Goudriaan 1988). This practice becomes especially clear in the context of the Roman imperial world. In a recent study of Herodes Atticus' self-advertisement of his identities, Maude Gleason shows in detail how a negotiation of multiple, non-amalgamated identities might work for someone born Greek, belonging to the highest elite of the Roman world, and married to a woman descended from a high-ranking Italian family:

> How did this unusual man construct his identity? Clearly there was no single identity paradigm in which he could seamlessly immerse himself, achieving, in Stuart Hall's phrase, a "fantasy of incorporation," a merger that erases difference. To the extent that identification "operates across difference, it entails discursive work," particularly the making and marking of symbolic boundaries … Herodes was actively engaged in identity-negotiation, and … his multiple cross-cultural foci of identification entailed a huge amount of discursive work.(Gleason 2010: 160)

Gleason reads this "discursive work" in Herodes' building projects in Attica and the Italian countryside, arguing that he attempted to advertise yet keep separate his distinct identities, one "ethnic" at least in the sense of the Second Sophistic, as a direct descendant of Greeks, the other consequent on his marriage and his role in the Roman imperial world.

Now let us turn to some examples of ethnic identity as a compound—that is, hybridity in the classic sense. During the reign of the emperor Hadrian, a league called the Panhellenion was created. Membership and representation on the Panhellenic Council depended on proof of descent from one or more of the three groups that made up the original Greeks: Ionians, Dorians, and Aiolians. The Panhellenion was conceived, then, as an expression of one of the fundamental properties of ethnic identity—argued by some to be *the* reigning feature (so Roosens 1994)—common descent. (See Chapter 26 in this volume, by Adam Kemezis.) This comes out clearly in an inscription recording a decision imposed on members by the Panhellenion from the town of Kibyra, situated in the interior of Asia Minor: "The *polis* of the Kibyratai," the text proclaims at the very start, was a "colony of the Lakedaimonians and relative of the Athenians and friend to the Romans" (*OGIS* 497; Curty 1995: 204–5 no. 81). The situation was much less clear-cut for another member city, probably Ptolemais-Barke in the Cyrenaica in North Africa. In a dispute, settled by Hadrian himself, with its neighbor Kyrene over the legitimacy of membership in the Panhellenion, Kyrene claimed a purity of Greek descent, whereas Ptolemais-Barke, although admitted to the Panhellenion, was awarded fewer votes because its identity as a Greek colony had been watered down, so to speak, by the introduction of Makedonian colonists (Romeo 2002: 26–7). This is a very good example of outside ascription of a hybrid ethnicity. The citizens of Ptolemais-Barke saw themselves (at least for the purpose of petitioning for full admission to the Panhellenion) as "authentic Greeks," as the inscription recording Hadrian's decision remarks, but outsiders regarded them rather as hybridized, thanks to the introduction of Makedonian "blood."

No doubt, the underlying motivation behind the dispute flowed from long-standing regional rivalry between the two neighbors, but it is telling that the argument of the Kyrenians carried enough weight with Hadrian to scuttle a claim for equal standing for Ptolemais-Barke in the Panhellenion.

Where does this leave us? I would draw I think three broad inferences from the ground we have explored. First, hybrid ethnic identities did indeed exist in the Greco-Roman world. They seem, at least in some cases, to emerge not from a process controlled largely by the pre-existing ethnicities, but rather driven by interests of a greater, often imperial, power. At least one of the clearer cases, that of the Batavians, seems to point in this direction. Second, multiple identities deployed at different times for different purposes seem quite common, again especially in colonial situations, in which subordinated populations must find ways to accommodate the ruling power. Third, we must be alive to the powers of the metaphors we use. Hybridity carries baggage that may distort the ways we think about amalgamated ethnicities. The middle ground may not be the space where amalgamation takes place. In any case, we need to be alert to instances of multiple or confected identities actuated by specific circumstances as opposed to hybrid ethnicities actually taken on as a basic identity by actual people. This returns us to one of the persistent problems of the study of the Greco-Roman world: getting at the personal attitudes of ordinary people. For a hybrid ethnicity to take hold, people must feel it to be "true." Since virtually every occasion in which an ethnicity is deployed may be seen as a display, a performance, it is a real challenge to get down to these attitudes.

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CHAPTER 9

Hittites and Anatolian Ethnic Diversity

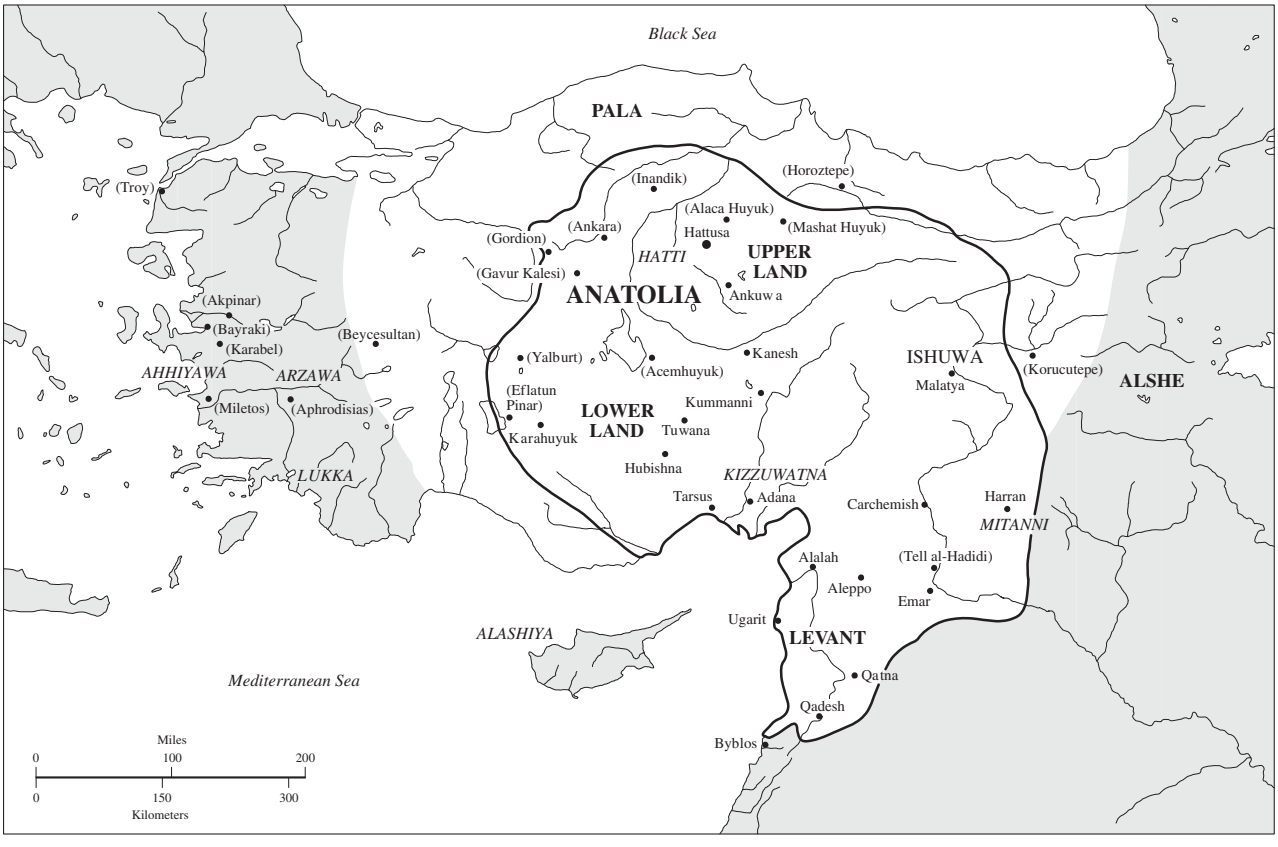
Trevor R. Bryce

Hatti and the Hittites

The kingdom of Hatti, of the people we call the Hittites, spanned the period known as the Late Bronze Age. It emerged in the early decades of the seventeenth century and ended 500 years later in the early decades of the twelfth. Hatti's power and influence in the Near Eastern world waxed and waned frequently throughout its history, but at its height in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, it controlled an empire of administrative regions and vassal states stretching through Anatolia and northern Syria, from the Aegean coast in the west to the fringes of Mesopotamia in the east. Southward, in Syria, it extended to the northern borders of Damascus, a vassal state of Egypt. The rulers of Hatti ranked among the Great Kings of the Near Eastern world, a status they shared with their "royal brothers," the kings of Egypt, Babylon, and Assyria. Their royal seat was located at Hattusa (modern Boğazköy/Boğazkale) in north-central Anatolia about 160 km east of Ankara. Hatti's core region, commonly referred to now as the Hittite homeland, lay within the curve of the Kızıl Irmak ("Red River"), called the Marassantiya in Hittite texts, the Classical Halys.

The term "Hittite" has been adopted by modern scholars from biblical tradition, where it refers to persons and peoples who lived in Palestine during the Iron Age, in the centuries following the collapse of the Late Bronze Age kingdoms. Whether or not there is any connection, ethnic or cultural, between the biblical Hittites and the Late Bronze Age people(s) now called by this name is still debated. What clearly influenced the adoption of the name in modern scholarship was the fact that the Late Bronze Age kingdom's core region was called Hatti in contemporary sources, a name eventually applied to all regions subject to Hattusa, and later used of many parts of Syria and southeastern Anatolia during the Iron Age. The question of whether or not the similarity of the biblical

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Map 9.1 Late Bronze Age Anatolia and northern Syria.

terms referring to the "Hittites"—*Het*, *ha-hittî*, *hitti* (singular forms), *hittîm* (plural), *hittiyyot*—and the historically attested term "Hatti" is purely coincidental has yet to be satisfactorily answered.

Forerunners of the Hittite Kingdom

It is, however, clear that the name "Hatti," applied originally to the region in north-central Anatolia that became the Hittite homeland, was in use centuries before the Hittite kingdom was established. We use the term "Hattian" to refer to the indigenous, or at least the pre-Hittite occupants of this land. Historical evidence for their existence dates back to the Akkadian king Naram-Sin (ca. 2380–2325), who lists a king of Hatti called Pamba in a rebellion of 17 rulers against him (Bryce 2005: 10). During the Assyrian colony period, when Assyrian merchant colonies were established through eastern and central Anatolia (twentieth–eighteenth century), Hatti was one of the several kingdoms that dominated north-central Anatolia.

Subsequently, a new regime of apparently foreign origin imposed itself upon the region, and laid there the foundations of what we call the kingdom of the Hittites. Already during the colony period, an Indo-European dynasty had established its power base in a city called Nesa (Kanesh in the merchant texts), which lay just south of the Marassantiya/Halys River. From this base, Anitta, second member of the dynasty, built the first Anatolian Empire, which extended through much of the territory within the river's confines—the land of Hatti—and a number of regions to the south of it. Though Anitta's kingdom did not, apparently, survive his death, it was in a sense a forerunner of the Hittite kingdom. For the kingdom's official language—what we call the Hittite language—was the same Indo-European language spoken by Anitta. In Hittite texts, it was designated by the terms *nešili*, *našili*, or *nišili*—"(written) in the language of Nesa."

Ethnic Diversity within the Kingdom

We do not know whether there was any direct link between Anitta's dynasty and the Hittite royal line that emerged several decades later, founded probably by a king called Labarna. However, there is little doubt that the Hittite kingdom was established by a group of Indo-European origin, which had achieved political dominance in the region by the early seventeenth century. Most scholars believe that the Indo-European-speaking peoples were intrusive to Anatolia, though they are uncertain about when they arrived—a migration during the third millennium seems most likely—or the manner of their dispersal after arrival. However, we know for certain that there was an Indo-European presence in Anatolia by the early second millennium—on the basis, primarily, of Indo-European names in the Assyrian merchant texts. Subsequently, three Indo-European-speaking population groups can be identified from references to them in the Hittite texts: (1) a group speaking a language called Palaic, located in the region of later Paphlagonia on the southern shore of the Black Sea; in the Late Bronze Age, the region was known as Pala. A number of liturgical texts written in Palaic are identified by the term *palaumnili* ("[written] in the language of Pala"). (2) A group that became widely dispersed

though central, southern, and western Anatolia during the second millennium, called the Luwians, so identified by passages in the Hittite texts designated by the term *luwili* ("[written] in the language of Luwiya"). (3) A group called the speakers of the Nesite language. By modern convention, we call this language "Hittite." From the Nesite-speaking population group, the royal Hittite dynasty emerged.

A remarkable feature of this dynasty is that, throughout its 500-year history, the succession remained the prerogative of a small group of families. There were occasional coups, when a king was removed by a usurper. However, most contests for the throne arose from rival claims by members of the original royal line, or by those linked to it by marriage. This means that the blood of the founder of the Hittite dynasty still ran in the veins of its last member five centuries later. Indeed, many of the rulers of the Iron Age Neo-Hittite kingdoms may have had genetic links with the earliest kings of Late Bronze Age Hatti.

However, the Indo-European element from which the Hittite kingdom's ruling class came may never have been a majority in the kingdom. Quite possibly, its population was mostly of Hattian origin, at least in its early years. Elements of Hattian culture, including remnants of the Hattian language, survive in a small number of passages in texts from the Hittite archives. The language is identified by the term *hattili* ("in the language of Hatti"), and we are provided with the names of Hattian deities and a number of personal and place names. Also preserved in the small corpus of Hittite mythological texts are myths of Hattian origin. The Hattian language may have died out early in the Hittite period, but many Hattian traditions and customs became integral features of Hittite society. Of course, one of the most important of the Hattians' legacies to their Hittite successors is the name of their land—Hatti. The Hittites never used a specific ethnic term to identify themselves. They simply referred to themselves as the people of the Land of Hatti. That is, they identified themselves by reference to the region in which they lived, adopting a name that probably went back long before written records began. The population of the capital, the homeland, and the Hittite realm at large was so diverse in its composition that it would have been impossible to use a single, all-embracing term to designate it.

The Luwians, Luwiya, and Arzawa

Let us consider some of the main aspects of this ethnic diversity. We should begin with the peoples identified in Hittite texts as those who spoke "in the language of Luwiya." The Luwians, as we call them, were the most populous and widespread of all Late Bronze Age Anatolia's inhabitants. As with the other Indo-European-speaking populations, they may have entered the Anatolian peninsula during the third millennium from an unknown homeland, perhaps somewhere north of the Black Sea (but there are other possibilities). We do not know whether they came in a series of waves, or as a single large movement, initially perhaps undifferentiated from other Indo-European groups. However, during the early centuries of the second millennium, they dispersed widely through many parts of Anatolia. Most scholars believe that large numbers of Luwian-speaking groups had occupied substantial areas of western Anatolia by the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. One of the main reasons for locating Luwians in the west has to do with references to

a land of Luwiya in early versions of the Hittite laws (laws §§5, 19–21, 23a; Hallo and Younger 2003: 107, 108). The name "Luwiya" is replaced by "Arzawa" in later versions, and "Luwiya" as a geographical term disappears from our records—though the adverbial form *luwili* survived as a linguistic term.

Arzawa was the name in Hittite texts for a number of lands in western Anatolia. They evolved as a series of kingdoms, each with its own ruler, and perhaps initially under the hegemony of a king who ruled from Apasa, the Late Bronze Age forerunner of Ephesus on the Aegean coast. Consequent upon a 2-year western campaign conducted by the Hittite king Mursili II ca. 1319–1318, the rulers of these states became subject to Hittite sovereignty. Five Arzawa states are identified in Hittite records—the kingdom sometimes called by scholars as Arzawa "Minor" or Arzawa "Proper" (to distinguish it from the Arzawa complex as a whole), which *may* have formed the political nucleus of the complex before its apparent dismemberment by Mursili; Seha River Land; Hapalla; Mira; and in the far northwest, in the region of the Classical Troad, Wilusa (though Wilusa's membership of the complex is sometimes disputed). The apparent replacement of "Luwiya" by "Arzawa" in the Hittite laws has led to the assumption of an equation between them. It is clear, however, that "Luwiya" was never used as a political term, in reference to a coherent political entity; it may have been purely an ethnogeographical term of convenience used by outsiders, such as the Hittites, and never by the inhabitants of Luwiya itself. Perhaps it was when political states evolved from the peoples of the region that the term "Arzawa" emerged, a term that, unlike "Luwiya," had clear political connotations.

In any case, a common inference derived from linking the names Luwiya and Arzawa is that the western Anatolian lands that bore the Arzawa label had, throughout the Late Bronze Age, a substantial Luwian-speaking population, from which the ruling class in each state arose. I. Yakubovich (2010) has recently challenged this view. He argues that, while there may have been a substantial Luwian presence in the west during the Late Bronze Age, this was not due to voluntary settlement in the region by Luwian speakers. Rather, it arose from forced deportations of Luwians to the west in the aftermath of Arzawan attacks on the region in south-central Anatolia called the Lower Land in Hittite texts, where Luwians had earlier settled. In Yakubovich's view, the core Luwian area lay in central Anatolia, in and around the Konya Plain, which included part of the Lower Land. He believes that the predominant population of the Arzawan region, at least before the alleged Luwian mass deportations, was what he refers to as "proto-Carian."

The region called Caria in Classical sources extended over much of southwestern Anatolia, and it is possible that the forerunners of the first-millennium Carians were of Anatolian Bronze Age origin. *Contra* this, Herodotus (1.171) reports a tradition that the Carians were immigrants into western Anatolia from the Aegean islands, displaced from their original homelands by Ionian and Dorian Greeks; they would thus have arrived in western Anatolia around the end of the second millennium, in the context of the widespread Greek migratory movements to the Anatolian coastlands in this period. However, Herodotus notes that the Carians themselves claimed they were native Anatolians, and had always been called Carians. There may be some truth in this, if we can link "Caria" with "Karkisa," the name of a Late Bronze Age country attested in Hittite texts, located somewhere in the west but clearly not a part of the Arzawa complex. Interestingly,

Homer in the *Iliad* (2.867) refers to the Carians as "speakers of a barbarian language"—a description that, for what it is worth, clearly distinguishes these Carians from immigrant Greeks.

Whether or not ancestors of the later Carians played a significant role, or any role, in the western populations of Hittite Anatolia, there is no doubt that Luwian-speaking groups had become a substantial component of these populations in the Late Bronze Age. Other groups yet to be found in either the written or archaeological records may have occupied the region as well, either within the Arzawa complex or beyond it.

We can, however, identify in the Hittite texts a sub-group, or sub-groups, belonging to the western Anatolian Luwian-speaking populations called the Lukka people, inhabitants of a region called Lukka or the Lukka Lands. Occasional references to Lukka are also found in Egyptian texts, and a late reference to it appears in a tablet from Ugarit in Syria. The scattered pieces of information we have about the Lukka people indicate that these nominal subjects of the Hittite crown were often rebellious, and apparently notorious for their buccaneering enterprises in the waters and against the coastal cities of the eastern Mediterranean. From reports of their activities in Hittite texts, groups of Lukka people seem to have scattered widely through western and southern Anatolia. However, the name Lukka (Lands) indicates that there was a specific Lukka region, a Lukka homeland, which included coastal territory. It lay in Anatolia's southwestern corner, extending from the western end of Pamphylia through Lycaonia, Pisidia, and Lycia (Classical names). We know of no political organization within Lukka, or any type of coherence, political or otherwise, among the people so called. Some may have settled temporarily, or permanently, in states with more formal political organizations. I. Singer (1983: 208) aptly describes Lukka as "a loose geographical designation for southwestern Anatolia, used for a group of ethnically and culturally related communities and clans."

Greeks in Anatolia

The country called Lycia in Classical sources occupied part of the Late Bronze Age Lukka Lands. Very likely, the Greek name "Lycia" preserves the old Bronze Age form "Lukka"—but unwittingly. The Greeks assigned various false etymologies to the name, all of them Greek, the best known of which derives the name from the wolves (Greek *lykoi*) who had guided the goddess Leto and her children Apollo and Artemis to the country in flight from the goddess Hera (Antoninus Liberalis 35.3). Migrants from the Greek and Aegean worlds had probably begun settling in Lycia by the end of the second millennium. There may well have been a Cretan component among the new settlers, to judge from Herodotus (1.173), who relates that Lycia was originally inhabited by immigrants from Crete called the Termilae. The fact that, in their own language, the Lycians called themselves **Trm̃mili** and their country **Trm̃misa** may give some credence to Herodotus' statement. However, native Anatolian elements almost certainly continued to make up a substantial proportion of Lycia's population in the first millennium, as evidenced by the Lycian language, which was closely akin to Bronze Age Luwian, by the Anatolian names of a number of Lycian cities, and by the Anatolian, more specifically Luwian, names of a number of their deities (such as Trqqas = Luwian Tarhunda, the Storm God).

(The Lycian language, attested from the late sixth to the late fourth century BC, is preserved in ca. 200 inscriptions on rock monuments, mainly tombs, and in coin legends and a few graffiti.) However, particularly from the late fifth century onward, Greeks settled in the country in increasing numbers, to the point where the Roman statesman Cicero, in the first century BC, called the Lycians "a Greek people" (*Verrine Orations* 4.10.21).

Already in the Late Bronze Age, a number of Greeks had settled in Anatolia, mainly on its western coast, particularly in and around the city of Miletos. Called Millawanda/Milawata in Hittite texts, Miletos lay on the southern Aegean coast near the mouth of the Maeander River. Archaeology indicates that many cities along Anatolia's western and southern coasts had trading links with the Late Bronze Age Greek/Mycenaean world. However, Miletos alone provides clear evidence of a Mycenaean settlement, particularly from the late fourteenth through much of the thirteenth century (see Niemeier 2005). From Hittite texts, we learn that a Mycenaean king held sovereignty over Millawanda/Miletos in this period, apparently using the city as a base for the extension of his influence through parts of the western Anatolian hinterland—into territories over which the Hittites claimed control—largely by means of local anti-Hittite agents. This is revealed in a small, often fragmentary, group of Hittite documents known as the Ahhiyawa texts (Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011), which include a number of letters, some exchanged between the Hittite king and his Mycenaean counterpart (most notably, the so-called "Tawagalawa letter"; translation by Beckman et al. 2011: 101–19). Almost all scholars agree that "Ahhiyawa" is the Hittite way of referring to the contemporary Mycenaean world, equating "Ahhiyawa" with "Achaia," and noting that "Achaian" is one of three names that Homer uses for the Greeks. Almost certainly, the name has a Greek Bronze Age pedigree. Collectively, the Ahhiyawa texts indicate that Mycenaean interests in western Anatolia were political and military as well as commercial. It is likely that this region attracted significant numbers of Greek settlers, including traders, craftsmen, soldiers, bureaucrats, and farmers, during the period of Mycenaean control over a relatively small but significant slice of western Anatolian territory.

This control was lost before the end of the thirteenth century, probably in the reign of the Hittite king Tudhaliya IV (ca. 1237–1209). Its loss must have resulted in significant shrinkage in the region's Greek population. However, some Greeks undoubtedly stayed on, and others may have come to the region as freebooters or mercenaries in search of foreign hire in the increasingly unstable last years of the Hittite Empire. A hint of this is provided in letters written by a Hittite king, almost certainly Tudhaliya, and one of his officials, Penti-Sharruma, to Ammurapi, king of Ugarit (see Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2005). The letters indicate that a group of persons called the Hiyawa-men were then located in Lukka. We can identify these persons as Ahhiyawans—Achaian/Mycenaean Greeks. Both letters reprimand Ammurapi for failing to send certain supplies to the Hiyawa-Men, and instruct him to dispatch them by ship without delay. The logogram "PAD.MEŠ" that designates these supplies almost certainly refers to metal ingots (thus, Singer 2006: 252–8) whose nature is not specified. They may have consisted of copper and tin, to be turned into bronze weapons by their recipients, or of silver or gold, if they were to be handed over as payment for services rendered or to be rendered. Either way, there is little doubt that this group of Greeks in Lukka were mercenaries in the Hittite king's service.

Tarhuntassa and Kizzuwatna

By the mid-second millennium, Luwian groups had occupied much of southern Anatolia from Pamphylia in the west to Cilicia in the east. In these regions, two kingdoms with apparently substantial Luwian populations emerged during the Hittite period. The more westerly was Tarhuntassa, probably created as a political entity by the Hittite king Muwatalli II early in the thirteenth century. For a time under Muwattalli, Tarhuntassa became the royal seat of the Hittite Empire, and after the capital was re-established at Hattusa by Muwattalli's successor Urhi-Teshub, its continuing importance is indicated by its status as an appanage kingdom of the empire, under the rule of a collateral member of the royal family. It covered the region of Pamphylia and western Cilicia, the latter called Cilicia Tracheia/Aspera ("Rough Cilicia") in Classical texts, and may have extended as far north as the Konya Plain. In the Iron Age, one of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms, Hilakku, lay in Rough Cilicia. In this period too, Luwian elements were probably predominant in the kingdom's population. Such elements persisted well into the Hellenistic period (fourth–first century BC)—to judge from the many Luwian names in Greek inscriptions of the period found in this region. Similar epigraphic evidence indicates the persistence of Luwian elements further to the west in Lycia during the Hellenistic period. (See Houwink ten Cate 1965.) We cannot, however, tell whether the preservation of Luwian names in Cilicia reflects an actual continuing Luwian presence there, or merely the continuation of an onomastic tradition that lasted long after the Luwian elements that had given rise to it had disappeared. The survival of the Luwian-related native language in Lycia until at least the late fourth century provides more substantive evidence for a continuing Luwian presence there in the Hellenistic period.

East of Tarhuntassa lay the country Kizzuwatna, probably established as a kingdom independent of Hatti during the turbulent reign of the Hittite Old Kingdom ruler Ammuna (sixteenth century). Later, Kizzuwatna fluctuated between Hatti and the Hurrian kingdom Mitanni until it was annexed by a Hittite king, probably Tudhaliya II in the early fourteenth century, remaining part of the Hittite Empire until the empire's fall. In the Iron Age, much of its former territory was occupied by the Neo-Hittite kingdom called Que in Assyrian texts and Adanawa and Hiyawa in Luwian texts. In Classical sources, the region in which the kingdom lay was called Cilicia Pedias/Campestris ("Smooth Cilicia"). Neo-Babylonian sources refer to the kingdom as "Hume."

Like its western neighbor Tarhuntassa, Kizzuwatna appears to have had a substantial Luwian population, with a strong admixture of Hurrian elements. Indeed, it seems that its culture was predominantly a Hurrian one, as reflected in the fact that its most important cities, including its capital Kummanni and the cult center Lawazantiya, were major centers of Hurrian religion. The Hurrians were a large group of peoples, of uncertain origin (perhaps from the Kura-Araxes region in Transcaucasia), who spread through northern Mesopotamia, northern Syria, and eastern Anatolia from the late third millennium onward. During the Hittite Old Kingdom, Hittites and Hurrians fiercely contested control over the territories of northern Syria and eastern Anatolia. The contest persisted, and indeed intensified, when by the end of the sixteenth century a number of the Hurrian states of Upper Mesopotamia coalesced to form the kingdom of Mitanni. Both sides sought control over Kizzuwatna because of its considerable strategic

importance, lying as it did astride major routes linking Anatolia with the kingdoms of northern Syria.

For a time, Kizzuwatna became subject to Mitanni, in the fifteenth century, and it was then no doubt that a strong Hurrian presence was established in the region. Hurrian elements were to persist in Kizzuwatna long after the Hittite king Suppiluliuma I (ca. 1350–1322) destroyed the Mitannian Empire, and indeed until the Hittite Empire's end. More generally, Hurrian elements came to permeate many aspects of Hittite culture, most notably in the fields of literature, mythology, art, and religion. The famous Kumarbi epic cycle was a Hurrian literary creation preserved in the archives of the Hittite capital, and many of the features of Hurrian religion were incorporated into Hittite religious cult practice, visually represented in Hurrian-style iconography. This is most evident in the sculptures of the Hittite rock sanctuary at Yazılıkaya, located a kilometer east of Hattusa. The walls of the sanctuary's rock-chambers were embellished with reliefs, the most important group of which consists of two files of deities, male on the left and female on the right (with one exception in each case), apparently approaching each other. It is clear from the arrangement of the figures and the names associated with them (written in Luwian hieroglyphs) that the Hurrian pantheon of deities is here represented. Hurrian influence on Hittite culture becomes particularly marked in the final century of the Late Bronze Age, following the marriage of the future king Hattusili III to a Hurrian woman Puduhepa, daughter of a priest in Lawazantiya. Already before Hattusili's reign, a number of royal family members had Hurrian alternative names—thus, the first Hittite viceroy at Carchemish, Piyassili, son of Suppiluliuma I, was also known by the Hurrian name Sharri-Kushuh; Hattusili's predecessor on the Hittite throne, Mursili III, is most commonly referred to by his Hurrian name Urhi-Teshub; and the last clearly attested viceroy at Carchemish was called Talmi-Teshub.

The Homeland's Cultural and Ethnic Mix

The Hittites showed a great capacity for absorbing into their civilization a wide range of cultural elements from other lands. One of their most important foreign acquisitions was the technology of writing. Literacy in the Hittite world began with the introduction of the cuneiform script into the Hittite administration, probably initially by Syrian scribes hired or taken prisoner during one of the campaigns conducted into Syria by Hattusili I (ca. 1650–1620). Very likely, such scribes were instrumental in setting up a local scribal profession. Training for the profession involved learning Akkadian, the international *lingua franca* of the Late Bronze Age, and to a lesser extent the Sumerian language and perhaps other languages, as well as developing literacy in the "Hittite" (Nesite) language. A study of the classical Mesopotamian texts such as the Epic of Gilgamesh was incorporated into the scribal training program, thus providing one of the means by which the great works of Mesopotamian literature were introduced into the Hittite world.

The importation of doctors, ritualists, and sculptors from Egypt and Babylonia undoubtedly enriched the cultural and ethnic mix of the Hittite society, particularly in its upper echelons. However, by far the largest number of human imports into the Hittite world were the transportees—"booty-people" who became part of the spoils of Hittite military campaigns. Many of the victims of these campaigns were transplanted from their

own homelands and resettled in the Hittite capital, other parts of the homeland, and sometimes in more remote frontier areas of the kingdom. The numbers transported after each campaigns ranged from the hundreds to the thousands—and indeed sometimes to the tens of thousands—according to Mursili II's record of his conquests in the Arzawa lands. The booty-people were used to serve in the king's militia, to restock the military and agricultural personnel of the homeland, to populate sparsely inhabited or abandoned settlements in the homeland's peripheral regions, and for a range of other services, including temple duties and public works programs. To judge from the fact that there are almost no references to transportees in the Hittite Laws, these persons seem to have been fairly rapidly integrated into their new homeland, and soon became legally indistinguishable from its other inhabitants. All were now Hittites—the people who dwelt within the Land of Hatti. However, the impact of these new arrivals on the overall ethnic profile of the kingdom must have been enormous. The ethnic composition of the homeland population was in a constant state of flux, with the older established population groups of the region—first the Hattians and then the speakers of the Nesite language—becoming an increasingly smaller percentage of the total population.

The capital Hattusa provided a microcosm of all this. As I have commented elsewhere: "A veritable babel of languages must have echoed through the thoroughfares and byways of Hattusa—royal bureaucrats speaking the official Nesite language, Luwian-speaking descendants of booty people brought back to the homeland from Hittite campaigns in the west, Akkadian-speaking scribes and emissaries from the Babylonian king, merchants and representatives of vassal rulers from the Syrian states speaking a range of languages, Hurrian-speaking priests and diviners in the service of the city's many temples, Egyptian-speaking envoys and their retinues on business from the pharaoh and awaiting an audience with the Hittite king. Even a few persistent echoes of the old Hattian language might also have been heard" (Bryce 2002: 252).

The Significance of the Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions

However, by the last century of the empire, the most widely spoken language in the Hittite homeland and in Anatolia at large was almost certainly Luwian. This explains an interesting phenomenon in the Hittites' written records. Throughout the empire's existence, the Nesite language, written in the cuneiform script, remained the official language of Hatti. It was used in administrative documents, in letters and treaties exchanged by Hittite kings with their Anatolian vassals, and in dispatches and bulletins exchanged by the kings with their officials in the kingdom's provincial centers. However, in the empire's last century, a new practice arose—the recording of a king's achievements in monumental form on rock or built stone surfaces, using the Luwian language written in a hieroglyphic script. Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions first appear on royal seals of late-sixteenth-century and early-fifteenth-century date. A number of hieroglyphic inscriptions have survived in the form of graffiti and inscriptions on small metal objects. However, the great majority of the inscriptions—about 80 in all—are monumental texts on stone surfaces. Found mostly in the Hittite capital, but also distributed widely throughout Anatolia, they record a king's military exploits or are attached as epigraphs,

that is, identification labels, to the figures of deities or Hittite kings or other members of Hittite royalty.

How do we explain this phenomenon—the use by Hittite royalty of the script and language of a subject population for their public monuments? Was the hieroglyphic script considered more appropriate than the official cuneiform script because it was visually more impressive, more suited to public display? That is a commonly held assumption. However, the explanation may be a more pragmatic one. Th. van den Hout (2007: 226–41) argues that, by the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries, Luwian speakers formed the majority of the population in and around the capital as well as in large parts of western, south-central, and southeastern Anatolia. He proposes that, while the ruling class considered it important to maintain the status of Nesite as the traditional and official language of power, its public inscriptions were aimed at the majority of the homeland's population—proclaiming the achievements of their royal authors in the language of this population.

This may help explain the survival of the hieroglyphic Luwian script in the centuries following the collapse of the Hittite Empire. In the empire's wake, a number of Iron Age kingdoms that we call "Neo-Hittite" emerged in northern Syria and southeastern Anatolia (Bryce 2012). The term implies that these new kingdoms maintained some of the most important features of Late Bronze Age Hittite culture. This is best illustrated by what may have been the first, and was certainly one of the most important, of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms, Carchemish on the Euphrates. The first king of Neo-Hittite Carchemish, Kuzi-Teshub, was the son of the last attested viceroy of Late Bronze Age Carchemish, Talmi-Teshub. Architectural and sculptural features of Carchemish and other Neo-Hittite cities reflect Hittite imperial architectural and artistic traditions. Some of the rulers of the new kingdoms had the same names as those of the old imperial line—for example, Larbarna, Suppiluliuma, Muwattalli, and Hattusili. Most significantly, the hieroglyphic Luwian epigraphic tradition is preserved in the official monumental inscriptions of a number of Neo-Hittite cities. On the other hand, the Hittite cuneiform tradition totally disappeared. There is no evidence that the cuneiform script was ever used in the Neo-Hittite world, or indeed that the Nesite language, the official language of the Late Bronze Age kingdom, survived the empire's fall.

The Hittites' Successors in Iron Age Anatolia

All this has led many scholars to believe that, after the fall, large numbers of peoples migrated from the Anatolian plateau to southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria where the Neo-Hittite kingdoms emerged. Such an assumption raises a wide range of questions and problems that cannot be dealt with here. However, there is no doubt that, after the empire's collapse, major changes occurred in the ethnopolitical character of Anatolia, associated with population shifts and the arrival of new population groups. In the west, following the disappearance of the Arzawa kingdoms and other Late Bronze Age states and communities, new populations began to settle the Aegean coastal regions and their hinterlands. Fresh waves of peoples from the Greek world migrated eastward in the last two centuries of the second millennium, and found new homelands along the coast and its offshore islands. Notable among these were (a) Aeolian Greeks, originating from

Boeotia and Thessaly on the Greek mainland, who occupied the islands Lesbos and Tenedos and then the coastal parts of the Troad in Anatolia's northwest corner; and (b) Ionian Greeks from many parts of the Greek mainland who settled further south along the central Aegean coast, between the bays of Izmir and Bargylia. We have noted the possibility that Aegean immigrants, including perhaps settlers from Crete, re-established themselves in the southwest corner of Anatolia, where they became an important component of the population of the country called Lycia by the Greeks.

East of Lycia, along Anatolia's southern plain, a country called Pamphylia had emerged by the early first millennium. The territory it covered had belonged to the kingdom called Tarhuntassa in the Late Bronze Age, and had then been inhabited primarily by a Luwian-speaking population. However, there are few indications of a continuing Luwian presence in the region in the post-Bronze Age era, in contrast to fairly strong epigraphic evidence for such a presence in Pampylia's neighbors Lycia and Cilicia. Pamphylia is a Greek name meaning "place of all tribes." It figures in Greek legendary tradition as a region settled by Greeks of mixed origin under the leaders Amphilochus, Calchas, and Mopsus some time after the Trojan War. The language spoken by the Pamphylians was a distinctive dialect of Greek, which was related to Cypriot and Arcadian and also contained an infusion of native Anatolian elements. The Pamphylian city of Perge, a Greek settlement according to Greek tradition, was almost certainly the successor of the Late Bronze Age city Parha, which lay just outside Tarhuntassa's western frontier. Aspendos, located on the Eurymedon River, was another important Pamphylian city, founded by Argive Greeks according to the Greek geographer Strabo (14.4.2). However, its native name "Estwediys," appearing on its fifth-century coin issues, was probably of Luwian origin, derived from the personal name Azatiwatas.

A man of this name was the founder in the eighth century of the city called Azatiwataya, on the site now known as Karatepe in eastern Cilicia. A famous bilingual inscription discovered here in 1946, written in Phoenician and hieroglyphic Luwian, has provided our most important key to the decipherment of the hieroglyphic Luwian language. From the inscription (edited and translated by Çambel 1999; Hawkins 2000: 45–68), we learn that Azatiwatas was a subordinate ruler of a man called Awarikus (Warikas, Assyrian Urikki), current ruler of the Neo-Hittite kingdom Adanawa (Que in Assyrian texts). Interestingly, Azatiwatas refers to his overlord as belonging to "the house of Muksas." In a bilingual inscription of his own (the so-called Çineköy inscription; see Tekoğlu and Lemaire 2000), Awarikus too identifies himself as "a descendant of Muk(a)sas." In the Phoenician versions of both inscriptions, the name appears as MPŠ. The precise correspondence between Muksas/MPŠ in these inscriptions with Moxus/Mopsus in Classical texts has led scholars to link Awarikus' ancestor with the legendary Greek seer and city-founder Mopsus.

An emigrant from western Anatolia to Cilicia, according to Greek tradition, Mopsus is associated with the founding of a number of cities in southern Anatolia. It is by no means impossible that the name which Warikas calls his ancestor in the Çineköy inscription indicates that Adanawa's ruling dynasty was founded by the leader of a Greek colonizing group. Further support for this may be found in the fact that, in the Luwian version of his Çineköy inscription, Awarikus calls his kingdom Hiyawa. As we have noted, Hiyawa is a shortened form of Ahhiyawa, the name commonly assumed to be the Hittite way of referring to the "Achaian"/Mycenaean world. Why Awarikus' kingdom should be called

by its Luwian name "Adanawa" in one text and "Hiyawa" in another (as well as by the name Que in Assyrian texts, which may in fact derive from Hiyawa) remains uncertain. However, it does raise the possibility that the royal house of a Neo-Hittite kingdom in the region later called Cilicia was founded by Greek immigrants. This would tie in well with Herodotos' claim (7.91) that the Cilicians were originally known as Hypachaians ("sub-Achaians").

The most important of the Hittites' Iron Age successors in Anatolia were a people called the Phrygians, immigrants from Macedon and Thrace. Homer has them already established in Anatolia at the time of the Trojan War (probably early thirteenth century, if there was such a war), listing them seven times in the *Iliad* among Troy's allies. However, more likely, the Phrygian migration to Anatolia took place during the widespread upheavals associated with the demise of the Bronze Age kingdoms. A Phrygian state, centered on the city of Gordion on the Sakarya River, had probably begun to evolve in the last decades of the second millennium, reaching its peak in the second half of the eighth century under the rule of a king called Midas in Greek sources, Mita in Assyrian. Strengthened by an amalgamation with an eastern Anatolian group called the Mushki in Assyrian records, the Phrygians at their peak held sway over an empire that extended through much of central and western Anatolia. Midas' reign, along with his kingdom, came to an end ca. 695, when the kingdom was attacked and destroyed by a group of northern invaders called the Cimmerians. From the two surviving groups of (only partly intelligible) Phrygian inscriptions, we know that the Phrygians, similar to their Hittite predecessors, spoke an Indo-European language. However, that seems to be all they had in common with those who preceded them as the overlords of Anatolia.

The most closely related Iron Age successors of the Late Bronze Age Hittites were almost certainly the inhabitants of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms of southeastern Anatolia. A number of these kingdoms belonged to the land called Tabal in Assyrian texts. The region encompassing these lands extended southward from the Halys River through what was called the Lower Land in Hittite texts into the eastern part of the Konya Plain. South of Tabal along the Mediterranean coast lay the kingdoms of Hilakku and Adanawa/Hiyawa/Que. Linked with the Late Bronze Age Hittites through their maintenance of the hieroglyphic Luwian tradition, the populations of southeast Anatolia almost certainly contained a significant Luwian component throughout the Neo-Hittite period (twelfth–late eighth century BC). Luwian elements may also have persisted in these lands through the Hellenistic and perhaps the Roman imperial periods. However, throughout the first millennium, Greek elements probably made up an increasing proportion of the populations in many traditional Luwian-speaking areas, particularly in the southern Anatolian coastal regions, and largely as a result of Greek colonizing enterprises. Indeed, the royal house of one of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms, Adanawa in eastern Cilicia, may well have been Greek in origin.

Concluding Comments

Throughout its history, the Anatolian peninsula has been a meeting place of many peoples and a melting pot of many civilizations and cultures. From its Late Bronze Age ethnic and cultural mix, the Hittite kingdom arose, a kingdom that achieved and maintained

political and military dominance in Anatolia for much of its 500-year existence. Though its royal family may have been of Indo-European origin, and preserved many elements of its Indo-European legacy until its last days, the peoples over which it held sway was made up of a large array of ethnic groups speaking different languages. Many had been forcibly transplanted to the Hittite homeland in the aftermath of Hittite military victories. However, they were rapidly absorbed into the population of their conquerors. Discrimination on ethnic grounds seems to have played no part in Hittite society. To be a Hittite was to be a dweller in the Land of Hatti, whose subjection to the occupant of the royal seat in Hattusa gave a sense of identity and coherence to all its inhabitants. By the last century of the empire, Luwian-speaking population groups constituted the largest and most widespread of all the empire's component peoples. Their language and hieroglyphic script were adopted by their overlords for their public monuments, for proclaiming their military achievements, and for honoring their gods. And their language and script survived the fall of the empire, to become one of the chief hallmarks of the Iron Age kingdoms that began to emerge shortly after the old kingdom fell. Luwian population groups are the only clearly distinguishable survivors of the peoples of Late Bronze Age Hatti. Their continuity is most clearly evident in various parts of southern Anatolia, as reflected particularly in the inscriptions of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera. Elsewhere throughout the Anatolia peninsula, other groups were establishing themselves, most notably the Phrygians in central and western Anatolia, who, similar to the Luwians and the Nesite-speaking Hittites, were of Indo-European origin. So too were the Greeks. "Achaian" Greeks had already established a foothold on western Anatolian soil in the Late Bronze Age, as indicated by the Ahhiyawa texts. In the centuries following the Hittite Empire's collapse, new waves of Greek immigrants came from the Greek mainland and Aegean region, Aeolians and Ionians who settled primarily along Anatolia's Aegean coast. Greeks also colonized Anatolia's southern coast. Here, they intermingled with and eventually absorbed the Luwian-speaking groups of the region, the last of the identifiable links with Anatolia's Hittite-dominated Late Bronze Age past.

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CHAPTER 10

Hybridity, *Hapiru*, and the Archaeology of Ethnicity in Second Millennium BCE Western Asia

Ann E. Killebrew

Introduction

Questions regarding the identity and ethnicity of the *hapiru* and other peoples known from second millennium BCE Near Eastern literature have been at the forefront of scholarly debate for well over a century. Western Asia, often considered to be the cradle of civilization, comprises the large landmasses of Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and the geographically fragmented Levant. The latter, forming the easternmost littoral of the eastern Mediterranean, served as a cross-cultural land bridge connecting the great empires of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia, and was incorporated into these imperial spheres of influence throughout much of its history. The abundance of textual and archaeological evidence for western Asia provides a particularly rich assemblage of primary sources for the study of peoples, ethnicity, and their material culture expressions of identity in the ancient world. Among the most challenging to define are groups such as the Amorites, *hapiru*, and Aramaeans, who are often described in Near Eastern texts as semi-nomadic entities or peoples residing outside the framework of settled second millennium BCE societies. They have proven to be especially difficult to identify in the archaeological record. Other peoples, including the Canaanites, Israelites, and Philistines, who also appear in contemporary Near Eastern texts but are best known from the biblical account, have left a more distinctive, though at times ambiguous, archaeological footprint.

Early studies of ethnicity in the ancient Near East attempted to equate material culture assemblages with specific peoples or races, often ascribing visible changes or disruptions in material culture to the arrival of outside population groups or large-scale ethnic migrations (Bahrani 2006: 50–1; see also Kamp and Yoffee 1980, especially 85–87, for a discussion and bibliography). These cultural-history-based versions of

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the past as expressed in the archaeological record were rooted in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century nationalistic notions of identity, which emphasized traits of culturally and racially homogeneous groups such as lineage, language, or religion. This approach is also reflected in the translation of the Greek word *ethnos*, as "nation," from which the modern term "ethnicity" is derived. In reaction to these primordial or kinship-based understandings of ethnicity, studies emphasizing the situational aspects of group identity, or even questioning the existence of ethnicity in the pre-modern past, dominated the scholarly literature during the later decades of the twentieth century. More recent anthropological and archaeological literature has tended to emphasize the fluid, contextual, and constructed nature of ethnicity and social identity, while recognizing its centrality in creating a sense of identity and potential as a powerful political tool (Emberling 1997; Jones 1997; Killebrew 2005a: 8–10 with references). During the past decade, post-colonial approaches, including hybridity and creolization that emphasize concepts of cultural mixture, have entered the archaeological dialogue on ethnicity (see, e.g., Gosden 2001; Stockhammer 2012; van Dommelen 2012). These concepts explore alternatives to unilinear models of assimilation and acculturation that dominated twentieth-century research on cultural change and identity, while also addressing issues regarding the fluidity of ethnicity. However, the application of these post-colonial theories to the archaeological record is being challenged. Other frameworks, such as transculturalism, are being proposed as more suitable models for understanding the formation and expression of some ethnically defined groups in this region (see, e.g., Hitchcock 2011).

What emerges from these studies is the multifarious nature of ethnicity, which develops within specific primordial, historical, cultural, socioeconomic, geographical, environmental, ideological, and chronological contexts. Most ethnically defined groups in the historical record are characterized by a common ancestry—actual or perceived—and a constructed past. Usually, members share a common language and are unified by ideology or a belief system, often reinforced by common enemies or threatening situations. However, no one definition, theoretical framework, model, or list of traits can be uniformly applied. As a result, ethnicity should be understood to be a very flexible category that must be examined on a case-by-case basis, keeping in mind the very dynamic and ever-changing nature of a group identity. In addition, ethnicity is not always clearly signaled or expressed in material culture, complicating efforts to identify peoples archaeologically. In what follows, I review the primary and secondary sources relevant to the study of ethnically defined peoples of western Asia, with a focus on Mesopotamia and the Levant, and examine attempts to locate these groups in the archaeological record.

Amorites, *Hapiru*, and Aramaeans

Scholarly literature on ethnicity in ancient Mesopotamia has traditionally highlighted the divide between nomadic/sedentary or rural/urban populations. This division was based in part on key ancient Near Eastern texts, such as the *Curse of Agade* and the "Weidner Chronicle," which depict pastoral nomadic groups as threats to sedentary society. More recent approaches to semi-nomadic/urban populations highlight the symbiotic and



Map 10.1 The Eastern Mediterranean.

interdependent relationships that typically exist between pastoral and sedentary lifestyles (Limet 2005). Especially influential were M. Rowton's landmark studies of a "dimorphic zone," an area where both pastoralism and agriculture was practiced, leading to "enclosed nomadism," which, in Rowton's opinion, characterized tribal and state interactions in third–second millennia Mesopotamia (e.g., Rowton 1976a–b, 1977). Within the past decade, scholars have proposed an even closer and more complex integration between nomadic and urban sectors, creating more ambiguity regarding the boundaries between pastoral nomadic groups and urban populations (e.g., Szuchman 2009). Three groups

often associated with second millennium nomadic or non-urban lifestyles in Near Eastern texts, the Amorites, *hapiru*, and Aramaeans, have been of special scholarly interest. Fascination with these three groups is due in part to presumed connections with biblical peoples and traditions.

The designation "Amorite" is the English rendering of the Akkadian *amurru*, the Sumerian MAR.TU, and the Hebrew *ʾēmorî*. The term *Amurru*, appearing in Near Eastern texts for nearly two millennia, can denote the direction west from a Mesopotamian perspective, a specific area, and/or a people. *Amurru* is usually understood to refer to the Syrian steppe and its inhabitants, who rose to prominence in the early second millennium BCE. Beginning in the second half of the third millennium, Amorites were sporadically mentioned in Mesopotamian texts, usually in reference to non-urban, nomadic contexts. During the Ur III period at the end of the third millennium BCE, the Amorites appeared in administrative texts and royal correspondence, the latter describing activities of Amorite groups where they were usually depicted as enemies of the state who spoke their own language. Following a gap of nearly two centuries, the Amorites reemerged in texts dating to the Old Babylonian period (ca. 1900–1600 BCE). These documents, many of which originate from Mari, mention Amorite kingdoms and dynasties, signifying dramatic changes that occurred during the early second millennium in the Mesopotamian political landscape. In some of the very early literary sources, the Amorites are portrayed as antagonists of the state, whereas administrative texts suggest that they were well integrated into urban society. By the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1550–1200 BCE), *amurru* continues to denote the cardinal direction west in Mesopotamian texts. However, in Ugaritic and Hittite literature of this same period, this term now referred to a kingdom located in the northern Levant, with Amorite dynasties documented at Ugarit and Byblos (Whiting 1995; Wossink 2009: 120–9). Despite this, there is no distinctly Amorite material culture, and thus they are not clearly identifiable in the archaeological record.

Designated as one of the groups that inhabited Canaan before the emergence of Israel, the biblical Amorites are described in the Table of Nations (Genesis 10–11) as descendants of Canaan, a son of Ham (Genesis 10:16). Due in part to parallels in the onomastics of Amorite and biblical names and the semi-nomadic pastoral lifestyle of the Patriarchs as described in the Book of Genesis, some scholars have been tempted to associate the patriarchal traditions in the Bible with the documented Amorite expansion during the early second millennium BCE. However, this equation remains quite problematic (see, e.g., Dever 1977; Kamp and Yoffee 1980). What can be concluded is that the Late Bronze Age Canaanites (see the following text), or inhabitants of the southern Levant, were closely related to the more northern Amorites, linguistically and culturally. The one distinction that does emerge from the biblical account is that the Amorites inhabited the "mountains" (e.g., Deuteronomy 1:44), traditionally a region that was less urban and more rural or pastoral in character than the coastal plains and valleys where most of the Late Bronze Age population of Canaan resided (Mendenhall 1992).

Amorite ethnicity has been explored in numerous publications of this archaeologically invisible group. Of special note is K. Kamp and N. Yoffee's groundbreaking study of ethnicity in western Asia (1980) that incorporates the textual, archaeological, and ethnographic evidence. They conclude that the Amorites "perceived themselves as having a common origin, were labeled 'Amorites' in texts, shared a belief system, had a distinct language, and respected the same leaders"—and thus should be considered an ethnic

group (Kamp and Yoffee 1980: 98). Building on these foundations, later studies have emphasized the notion of a socially constructed and shared identity, as reflected in the textual evidence. These ideologies of kinship were reinforced by flexible social and economic networks, which incorporated pastoral, agricultural, and urban economies that were particularly suited to the second millennium BCE Mesopotamian context (Porter 2009; Wossink 2009: 135–37).

The term *hapiru* (*habiru/ʿapiru* [Akkadian/West Semitic], *ʿpr.w* [Middle Egyptian], SA.GAZ [Sumerian]) appears in second millennium BCE Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite, Mitanni, Ugaritic, and Egyptian sources. In these texts, which span the nineteenth–twelfth centuries BCE, the *hapiru* are described as rebels, raiders, soldiers, mercenaries, slaves, outlaws, vagrants, or individuals living on the margins of society (Greenberg 1955). It is noteworthy that they are not mentioned as pastoralists or as members of tribes. In early Sumerian documents, the cuneiform logogram SA.GAZ is employed, which is translated as "one who smashes sinews," and often refers to small bands of soldiers, apparently employed locally as mercenaries. This term appears in association with the Akkadian *habbātu* ("plunderer" or "robber") or *šaqqāšu* ("murderer"). The *hapiru* appear as soldiers in nineteenth-century BCE administrative texts in southern Mesopotamia, where they are often equated with SA.GAZ. The later appearance of SA.GAZ and *hapiru* together in the Ugaritic texts confirms prior attempts to link the two terms (see Rainey 1995: 482, and the discussion therein). At Mari to the north, the *hapiru* are also soldiers, but never referred to as SA.GAZ. The sixteenth-century unprovenanced Tikunani Prism is one of the most important Akkadian texts mentioning the *hapiru*. This inscription lists the names of 438 *hapiru* soldiers of Tunip-Teššup, king of the central Mesopotamian city-state, Tikunani. Significantly, the majority of the names are Hurrian, one is Kassite, and the remaining names are Semitic (Salvini 1996).

From the late sixteenth century BCE, the term SA.GAZ appears sporadically in a number of Hittite texts. SA.GAZ troops are mentioned in several documents. Oaths from the reigns of Šuppiluliuma I and Mursili II refer to the *hapiru* gods, as well as to the gods and goddesses of *Amurru*. Other texts allude to a *hapiru* settlement and female SA.GAZ singers. In an autobiographical inscription on a fifteenth-century BCE statue from southeastern Anatolia, Idrimi describes his sojourn with the "*hapiru* people" in "Ammija in the land of Canaan" and his ultimate return to power as king of Alalakh with the assistance of the *hapiru* (Vidal 2012). Lists of SA.GAZ troops have also been found at Alalakh. The majority of names are Hurrian, leading some scholars to suggest a connection between the *hapiru* and Hurrians, a northern Mesopotamian group. Texts from Nuzi, a provincial town in northern Mesopotamia, describe *hapiru* who entered long-term service or received handouts of food and clothing. Most of the names are East Semitic. Tablets recovered in the northern Levantine city of Ugarit from the Late Bronze Age typically characterize the *hapiru* as untrustworthy (Greenberg 1955: 64–70, 78).

The *hapiru* feature prominently in New Kingdom Egyptian texts. Of particular note are the fourteenth-century Amarna letters, which contain the correspondence between the Egyptian Pharaohs Amenophis III and IV (Akhenaten) and various vassal rulers. Letters from the rulers of Canaan's city-states requesting military assistance from the pharaoh complain bitterly of attacks by armed raiders and plunders that they refer to as *hapiru* or SA.GAZ (see Greenberg 1955: 32–49, 55–6; Rainey 1995: 484–90).

Based on the textual evidence surveyed in the preceding text, it becomes clear that the *hapiru* were not an ethnic group. Rather, the term is used as a pejorative social marker, often denoting parasocial individuals such as refugees, fugitives, and individuals who have cut ties to settled communities and often took on a variety of roles such as mercenaries, slaves, servants, or brigands. *Hapiru* names are not from the same linguistic group, they did not share a common ancestry, and they did not speak a common language.

Due to perceived linguistic similarities between the West Semitic term *hapiru/habiru/ʿapiru* and the biblical gentilic *ʾibri* (Hebrew, e.g., Abraham is described as an *ʿibri* [Genesis 14:13]), it has been tempting to link the *hapiru* with the Hebrews of the Bible (Na'aman 1986 *contra* Rainey 1987). G. Mendenhall was the first to develop this linkage and propose the theory that early Israel emerged from Canaan as a result of internal revolts of disaffected peasants. In his view, there was no exodus and conquest of Canaanite cities as described in the Books of Exodus and Joshua. Rather, it was a sociopolitical upheaval against the Canaanite city-states by rebelling peasants, who were empowered and united by an ideology and the belief in the Hebrew deity, Yahweh. Mendenhall equated these unruly Yahweh believers, who formed the nucleus of early Israel, with the *hapiru* of the Amarna texts (for an overview, see Mendenhall 1992). N. Gottwald (1979) further developed Mendenhall's revolt model. Drawing from the theories of Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, and Karl Marx, he proposed that early or proto-Israel was an expansion of the *hapiru* movement. However, according to Gottwald, these underclass Canaanites (aka *hapiru*) were not motivated by ideological beliefs, but rather by a notion of sociopolitical egalitarianism. For both Mendenhall and Gottwald, proto-Israel and the *hapiru* were not ethnic groups; rather, the term referred to a social designation (see also Rowton 1976b and Doak 2011). In their view, one was not born a Hebrew or *hapiru*, but became one through choice. Due to lack of archaeological or textual evidence, the revolt model as the defining feature for the emergence of early Israel has been rejected by the majority of archaeologists and biblical scholars (see the following text and, e.g., Rainey 2008: 46–47).

A Northwest Semitic people, the Aramaeans emerge in late second millennium BCE textual evidence as tribal groups occupying the Jebel Bishri region in upper Mesopotamia of modern central Syria. The development from Late Bronze Age pastoral and village contexts to small, independent Iron Age kingdoms mainly situated in the northern Levant is documented in Mesopotamian sources and parallels the transformation and eventual sedentarization of other semi-nomadic western Asian tribal groups, such as the Amorites. However, suggestions that the Aramaeans are directly related to the Amorites are largely discredited.

Attempts to link the Aramaeans with appearances of the place name *aramu* or the term *ahlamu* (= "wanderers," i.e., nomadic pastoralists) in third- and second-millennia Mesopotamian texts are tentative at best (see, e.g., Lipiński 2000: 26–35). The possible exceptions are two New Kingdom Egyptian documents dating to the reigns of Amenophis III and Merneptah that refer to *ʾrm*, apparently a region in central Syria (Younger 2007: 134). The first undisputed reference to the Aramaeans (*ahlamu*-Aramaeans) is dated to the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (late twelfth/early eleventh centuries BCE). As becomes clear from these inscriptions, the Aramaeans are closely associated with the *ahlamu*; however, not every *ahlamu* was an Aramaean. Following the crisis of the Late Bronze Age, the Iron Age Aramaeans emerged as a

collection of small, but powerful, independent kingdoms in the northern Levant and Mesopotamia, including one centered at Damascus and reaching as far north as Sam'al (Zincirli). During the early centuries of the first millennium, they continued to be depicted as adversaries of the Neo-Assyrians. The Aramaeans were eventually subjugated and absorbed into the Assyrian Empire, where their language gradually becomes the *lingua franca* of the region (see Younger 2007: 134–7, 154–62 for a detailed discussion and summary of the textual evidence).

In the biblical account, the Aramaeans made their first appearance in the Book of Genesis when Abraham's servant traveled to Aram-Naharaim ("Aram between the rivers") of the Aramaeans to search for a wife for Isaac (e.g., Genesis 24:10; 25:20). Among the most well-known biblical references is Deuteronomy 26:5, which declares "my father was a wandering Aramaean." These verses tying the Aramaeans to the Patriarchal narratives are somewhat surprising, considering that they are generally portrayed in the Bible as enemies of Iron Age Israel (see, e.g., II Samuel 8, 10 and I Kings 11). Though most scholars consider references relating to pre-monarchic Israel as anachronistic, they do seem to preserve earlier traditions regarding previous Aramaean habitations in upper Mesopotamia (see, e.g., Millard 1980).

As with other second millennium semi-nomadic pastoral tribal groups, early scholarship depicted the Aramaeans as one of several waves of ethnic nomadic hoards emerging from the desert steppe that invaded sedentary population centers of the Fertile Crescent. More recent research emphasizes the diverse character of these tribes, who were later grouped together under the general rubric "Aramaic." Key to the formation of Iron Age Aramaic kingdoms were new socioeconomic conditions following the crisis that impacted New Kingdom Egypt and the Hittite Empire at the end of the Late Bronze Age (see Younger 2007: 131–2). By the Iron Age, these formerly semi-nomadic peoples were perceived in both Assyrian and biblical texts as constituting a specific population entity, unified by a common language and heritage, with shared kinship ties. No distinctive material culture can be associated with the Aramaeans. Their ethnogenesis, from an amorphous collection of tribes with a shared lifestyle to one of numerous first millennium BCE population groups who have often been ethnically defined, parallels the emergence of early Israel (see the following text).

Second Millennium BCE Peoples of the Levant

Late Bronze Age textual sources and the Hebrew Bible, the latter largely redacted during the second half of the first millennium BCE, provide the starting point regarding groups who inhabited the Levant during the second millennium BCE. Three peoples in particular—the Canaanites, Philistines, and Israelites—have been the focus of intense scholarly attention, including a plethora of studies addressing their historicity, origins, and ethnicity.

Akkadian, Egyptian, Ugaritic, Phoenician/Punic, and Hebrew texts mention individuals—Canaanites—who reside in a region they all refer to as Canaan. Among the most important of these second millennium documents are those from Mari, Alalakh, Ugarit, and Egypt, and later biblical traditions. Not surprisingly, the place name Canaan—encompassing much of the Levant under New Kingdom Egyptian imperial

administrative rule during the Late Bronze Age—or the ethnicon Canaanite (*Ki-na-ʿ-nu*) appears frequently in Egyptian inscriptions (Hasel 2009). These texts provide place names and details for the reconstruction of ancient Canaan's geographical borders, a region that corresponds roughly to the modern countries and territories of southern Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip (Na'aman 1994a and Rainey 1996 *contra* Lemche 1991). The etymology of the name "Canaan" is debated. Suggestions include that it derives from a Semitic root *knʿ* "to be low, humble," or "lowlands" in contrast with Aram, which has been translated as "highlands." Others tie it to the Hurrian word *Kinahhu*, usually translated as the color purple, thus referring to the famous royal purple dye produced along the Levantine coast from local Murex sea snails. In the case of the latter, the names Canaan and Phoenicia ("Land of Purple") would be synonyms. However, some argue that *Kinahhu* was simply the Hurrian rendition of the Semitic *knʿn* (see Lemche 1991: 25–27). Unfortunately, there is no indication regarding how the inhabitants of Canaan referred to themselves or to their region. What does emerge from the textual evidence, mainly the Amarna letters, is a Canaan that was not politically unified. Rather, it was composed of numerous city-states and local rulers, often at odds with each other. The imposition of Egyptian imperialism over this region during the fourteenth–mid-twelfth centuries succeeded in superimposing a relatively stable economic environment, which was conducive to elite control over international trade that characterized the Late Bronze Age in the eastern Mediterranean (see Killebrew 2005a, especially 51–92).

Canaan and the Canaanites figure prominently in the Hebrew Bible, where they are mentioned some 160 times as Israel's enemy. The majority of these references, dealing with genealogical relationships, the covenant, the exodus, and the conquest of Canaan by the tribes of Israel, appear in the first five books of the Bible (the Pentateuch) and in the Books of Joshua and Judges. Biblically, Canaan is derived from its eponymous ancestor, Canaan, who was the grandson of Noah and son of Ham (Genesis 9:18–23). Notably, the borders of Canaan are described in Numbers 34:1–12; Ezekiel 47:13–20; 48:1–7, 23–29; and Joshua 15:2–4; 19:24–31.

The region is also well documented archaeologically. Extensive excavations conducted at Late Bronze Age sites reveal elements of both homogeneity and heterogeneity in the material culture of Canaan. In particular, the rich variety of cultic structures and burial customs, often considered key indicators of identity, reflect long-term indigenous traditions together with the introduction of new outside practices. At the same time, homogeneous aspects of their material culture are not indicative of a unified group identity or single ethnicity. Rather, an externally imposed socioeconomic and political structure resulting from Egyptian imperialistic ambitions and the Late Bronze Age world system determined "Canaanite" social and cultural boundaries. This phenomenon is best exemplified in a relatively homogeneous assemblage of mass-produced pottery manufactured in professional potters' workshops, most likely under the control of local city-state vassal rulers (Killebrew 2005a: 93–148, 2005b).

Canaanites were not a cohesive ethnic group united by a common ideology or ancestry. Though sharing a common West Semitic language, both textual and archaeological evidence suggest that they comprised both indigenous peoples and newcomers from a mixed background whose kinship ties and local allegiances were most likely connected politically and economically to local city-states. Based on these sources, the peoples

who resided in the region defined as Canaan, and were referred to as Canaanites by their neighbors, can be characterized as multi-ethnic groups with diverse ancestries. Although one may speak of a cosmopolitan material culture or *koiné* in the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age of Internationalism, Egyptian imperialism in Canaan, as evidenced by Egyptian military strongholds and administrative centers, did not result in hybridity (i.e., a blending, or melting pot, of cultures and peoples). However, in other regions of the Levant such as Cyprus, which served as an economic hub connecting the Aegean and Levant, the "global economy" of the Late Bronze Age resulted in extensive cross-cultural connections, inspiring a hybrid Aegean-style culture that characterized the island beginning in the thirteenth century BCE and continuing into the twelfth and later centuries (see the subsection titled "The Philistines" in the following text). In this scenario, Cypriot identity was in a state of continuous renegotiation, which resulted in the hybridity that characterized the later centuries of the Late Cypriot period (see, e.g., Knapp 2008). In Canaan, with the withdrawal of New Kingdom Egypt from the southern Levant in the mid-twelfth century, this ethnic mosaic fractured, most likely along traditional tribal and/or "ethnic" lines. This is archaeologically illustrated in the development of regionally defined material culture assemblages and a dramatic change in settlement patterns (see the following subsection, titled "Emergence of Early Israel"). The result is the gradual emergence, over a period of centuries, of groups that were later known as Israel, Ammon, Moab, and Edom (Killebrew 2005b).

Emergence of Early Israel

The starting point for any discussion regarding a people known from the biblical account as Israel is the Hymn of Victory stela of the Nineteenth-Dynasty Egyptian pharaoh Merneptah. His account of a military campaign to Canaan during his fifth year appears on two stelae and dates to the late thirteenth century BCE, a period when Canaan was still under Egyptian imperial influence. This inscription, also known as the Israel Stela, is the earliest extra-biblical mention of a people that are referred to as *ysry3r/l*. The majority of Egyptologists have translated this term as "Israel," which is accompanied by the determinative that indicates a people (see, e.g., Hasel 1998: 194–204 *contra* Thompson 1997: 173–4). Four battle scenes incised on the western outer wall of Karnak's "Cour de la Cachette" have also been considered by some to be a depiction of "early Israel." Challenging the traditional attribution of these reliefs to Ramesses II, F. J. Yurco (1997) redates them to Merneptah. Comparing the campaign depicted in these reliefs to the one described in Merneptah's Stela, he suggests that a damaged battle scene depicting combatants in a hilly environment should be identified as representing the same Israel mentioned in the Israel Stela (Stager 1985 *contra* Redford 1986).

The biblical narrative of the emergence of Israel begins with the exodus, a tale of enslavement in Egypt, subsequent escape, and journey via the wilderness to the "Promised Land" under the leadership of Moses, as recorded in the Book of Exodus (see Redford 1987 for an Egyptological perspective). The account continues with the conquest of Canaan under the leadership of Joshua, which culminates in the Book of Judges with the settlement of the Israelite tribes. Even a casual reading of Joshua and

Judges, both of which belong to the Deuteronomistic History (DH) that includes the books of Deuteronomy (law), Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, and 1 and 2 Kings, reveals two very different and often contradictory accounts of the settlement of the Israelite tribes (regarding the DH, see Knoppers 2000). There is a consensus among most biblical scholars that the account in Joshua of a lightening campaign resulting in the conquest of much of Canaan holds little historical value *vis-à-vis* early Israel and most likely reflects realities of later historical times (see, e.g., Na'aman 1994b, especially 218–30, 249–50, and bibliography therein; *contra* Kitchen 1998). Thus, this multi-layered account of early Israel's settlement of the land was likely redacted from multiple sources, including oral histories and archival materials that spanned centuries. As an historical source for the emergence of early Israel, the biblical texts must be used with caution.

Although archaeological evidence provides invaluable information for the southern Levant following the crisis and decline of the great Late Bronze Age empires, attempts to identify early Israel in the twelfth- and eleventh-centuries' archaeological record are highly contested. The significant population shifts and changes in settlement patterns that occur following the mid-twelfth-century Egyptian retreat from Canaan, however, are undeniable. Numerous hamlets appear in the central hill country of the southern Levant, a region previously sparsely inhabited and described in later biblical traditions as the heartland of early Israel. These small, unfortified villages comprise clusters of four-room houses, accompanied by domestic installations. The ceramic assemblage is limited and utilitarian in function, but developed typologically out of the thirteenth century BCE repertoire of Canaan. Notable are open-air cultic sites, such as the Bull Site and Mt. Ebal, and the absence of pig bones from Iron I hill country settlements. Thus, a picture of both continuity and change emerges from the archaeological evidence (Killebrew 2005a: 149–96).

Questions regarding the identity, origins, and ethnicity of an early Israel have resulted in a large body of secondary literature. The majority of scholars agree that a well-defined Israelite ethnicity most likely crystalized only during the early centuries of the first millennium (Faust 2006: 20–29), although a minority of scholars termed the "minimalists" have questioned the very existence of an Israelite entity (Whitelam 1996 *contra* Dever 1998). Most intriguing, and the focus of the discussion here, is the proto-history and ethnogenesis of peoples that came to be known during the Iron II period as Israel. Building on textual and archaeological evidence, recent studies of early, or "proto," Israel have recognized the complexity of its origins and ethnicity (Bloch-Smith 2003; Dever 2003; Killebrew 2005a; Faust 2006). It most likely comprised diverse elements of the remnants of Late Bronze Age society, including the rural Canaanite population, displaced peasants and pastoralists, and lawless *hapiru* as well as semi-nomadic tribes such as the *Shasu* (see also Brett [2003], who considers Israelite ethnicity a "fissure within Levantine culture," which he terms "cultural hybridity"). Fugitive or runaway Semitic slaves from New Kingdom Egypt, a memory of which could be reflected in the exodus account, may have joined this "mixed multitude." The porous borders of these largely indigenous, tribal, and kin-based groups permitted penetration by small numbers from external groups, perhaps including Midianites, Kenites, and Amalekites, peoples mentioned in the biblical narrative. These groups most likely played a role in the ethnogenesis of what was later known as Israel, a people that shared a collective identity as expressed

in their belief in Yahweh and the saga of their unique relationship as his chosen people (Killebrew 2006).

When considered in its larger eastern Mediterranean and western Asian context, the gradual process of Israelite ethnogenesis is not unique. Parallel processes of breakdown, fragmentation, and transformation were occurring throughout much of the eastern Mediterranean during the twelfth and eleventh centuries BCE. The impact of the decline of New Kingdom Egypt, the collapse of the Hittite Empire, and disintegration of the Mycenaean palace system was a reordering of the spheres of influence and heralded the appearance of a new group of peoples who settled the southern coast of Canaan and entered biblical history: the Philistines.

The Philistines

Although best known as biblical Israel's implacable enemies, the earliest mention of the Philistines appears on the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. This Twentieth-Dynasty New Kingdom Egyptian pharaoh commemorates in text and pictorial reliefs two battles, one on land and one at sea, which took place during the eighth year of his reign (ca. 1175 CE). Enemy combatants are described as having originated from the "great green" (most likely referring to the Mediterranean Sea), groups that have been defined collectively as "Sea Peoples" in modern scholarly literature. The Peleset, or Philistines, are specifically mentioned as one of the peoples from the "great green" (see Cifola 1988, 1991). The Philistines appear in three additional New Kingdom Egyptian texts: the Rhetorical Stela (Chapel C at Deir el-Medineh from the time of Ramesses III), Papyrus Harris I (composed shortly after the death of Ramesses III), and the Onomasticon of Amenope (late twelfth or early eleventh century BCE). In the last text, three locations—Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Gaza—are mentioned in relationship to the Philistines. It is noteworthy that these are three of the Pentapolis cities associated with the Philistines in the biblical account (see Killebrew 2005a: 202–5; see also Machinist 2000 regarding the biblical traditions).

The Philistines are among the most visibly recognizable peoples in the archaeological record. Extensive excavations at the urban centers of Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gath, and especially Ekron have uncovered a distinctive, locally produced, Aegean-inspired material culture that departs dramatically from the preceding Late Bronze Age indigenous (Canaanite) cultural assemblages. The nonlocal origin of the Iron I inhabitants of these Pentapolis cities is reflected in all aspects of Philistine material culture, including their pottery assemblage, cultic practices, cuisine, architecture, and city-planning (see, e.g., Dothan 1982; Killebrew 2006–2007; Yasur-Landau 2010). The ceramic repertoire, the hallmark of Philistine culture, is particularly instructive. It is distinctive both typologically and technologically, reflecting influences from the west Aegean, Crete, and the east Aegean, with especially close ties to locally produced Mycenaean IIIC assemblages on Cyprus and Cilicia (see, e.g., Dothan and Zukerman 2004; Ben-Shlomo 2006; Killebrew 2013a). Especially noteworthy is the appearance of Aegean-style cooking pots that coincide with new dietary practices and the consumption of pork (e.g., Ben-Shlomo et al. 2008).

There is a scholarly consensus that the appearance of Aegean-style material culture in the southern coastal plain of Canaan marks the large-scale arrival, or colonization, of new groups of peoples, which can be identified as the biblical Philistines. However, much debate surrounds the ethnicity of these newcomers. Early studies of the Philistines emphasized Aegean connections, leading to somewhat simplistic notions of large-scale migrations from the west Aegean, specifically the Mycenaean Greek world. More recent analyses of the archaeological record, which include a myriad of new excavations in the eastern Mediterranean, reveal a far more complex and multi-directional cultural and socioeconomic interaction between east and west, with locally produced, Aegean-inspired assemblages appearing in the east Aegean, Cilicia, the Amuq Plain, Cyprus, and the Levant during the thirteenth and twelfth centuries BCE (see Killebrew 2014; Killebrew and Lehmann 2013 for a discussion of the various views).

The Philistine phenomenon is only one among the many expressions of change that resulted from the instability and fluidity that defined this period of time (Bachhuber and Roberts 2009). Approaches to understanding the development of regionally defined Aegean-style assemblages in the eastern Mediterranean include small- and large-scale migrations, stimulus and complex diffusion, creolization, hybridity, interculturality, transculturalism, and Levantinism (e.g., Killebrew 2005a: 197–246, 2013b; Knapp 2008; Hitchcock 2011; Maeir, Hitchcock and Kolska Horwitz 2013). Locally contextualized and considered on a case-by-case basis, these are all processes or factors that may have played a role in the individual ethnogenesis and formation of a multitude of new ethnicities, which emerge from the ruins of the Late Bronze Age during the final centuries of the late second millennium BCE.

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CHAPTER 11

Ethnicity in Empire

Assyrians and Others

Geoff Emberling

Empire and Ethnicity

Both "empire" and "ethnicity" have been the subject of extensive discussion in recent scholarship, and it is possible to provide brief definitions that do not stray far from consensus views. Empires are coercive forms of political organization that aim to control extensive areas through conquest, influence, and direct and indirect rule (Doyle 1986; Alcock et al. 2001). The most overt violence in empires is the conquest, destruction, torture, and killing of perceived enemies. Yet, empires have also sought to alter identities of the survivors, to impress upon their bodies and minds a new political order. To consider ethnicity in empire is to see political strategy and ideology in one of its most intrusive forms.

Empires have employed a range of strategies for balancing the costs and benefits of expansion and control, ranging from territorial expansion, to establishment of colonies and commercial outposts, to imposition of tribute obligations. Many of the benefits of empire accrue to elites at the center, while peripheries are usually sustained in extractive relationships that enhance productive capacity but impoverish those living there (Wallerstein 2004; see Chapter 4 in this volume, by Thomas Hall). Some subjects might argue for the benefits of being even a peripheral part of empires, because of improved infrastructure or access to technology and goods, but the experience of conquest and underdevelopment is more usual.

Ethnicity in anthropological terms has often been defined as a group identity based on a notion of kinship, however constructed or imagined, whose boundaries are established and maintained both from within the group and from outside (Barth 1969; Eriksen 1993; Hall 2002; Brubaker 2004). The differences that mark ethnic groups can be

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related to physical appearance, religious practice, language, and forms of material culture, and may have a link to a bounded territory. Archaeologists have looked to these differences to understand ethnicity in the past with varying success (Emberling 1997; Jones 1997, 2008; Meskell 2002). Some scholars emphasize the "primordial" nature of ethnicity—the sense in which it is seen as coming from ancestors and is thus considered unchanging—while others have seen it as being "instrumental" in developing in response to specific social or political needs. (See Chapter 5 in this volume, by Johannes Siapkas.) More recently, some have approached ethnicity as a form of practice (in the sense that Pierre Bourdieu or Anthony Giddens use this term), being established and negotiated in the recurrent practices of daily life (e.g., Jones 1997). These approaches underplay differences in power and the asymmetric conditions that are powerful influences in the formation and reshaping of ethnic identities.

The fluidity of ethnic identity in these anthropological discussions differs strikingly from ancient perspectives, in which power relations, both of political control and of control of writing itself, allowed the victors to tell a propagandistic history for their own ends. The Assyrian Empire did not consider ethnicity in all its cross-cultural and historical variability; rather, it identified territories as belonging to groups of people speaking particular languages, worshipping specific deities, and more importantly for their own purposes, as being ruled by particular kings who were potential allies or enemies. The fact that there were a number of political units whose rulers spoke Hittite, for example, and who may not have identified themselves as a coherent group united by a common language, history, and biological relationship, did not prevent Assyrian imperial texts from labeling them all as "people of the land of Hatti."

Imperial strategies for controlling ethnic difference vary. Empires may aim to construct and maintain an imperial ethnic identity, while subject groups may be acculturated to this identity, or are by contrast forced by geographic separation or social segregation to remain separate. Distinct groups that have been incorporated within empires are often used in military efforts to subjugate new groups, a strategy evident in the ancient empires of Egypt and Assyria as well as the European empires as late as the twentieth century, when for example the "British" army in Mesopotamia was composed largely of soldiers from India, and the "French" army in the Levant was made up largely of Senegalese. The expansion between ca. 900–600 BC of the Assyrian Empire from its core in northern Mesopotamia to territories beyond exemplifies the challenges to early empires posed by cultural differences and suggests solutions developed by imperial elites. Before discussing the politics of identity within the Assyrian Empire, however, we should consider the nature of our sources.

The most extensive representations of cultural difference in the Assyrian Empire come from the imperial centers. Royal inscriptions of Assyrian kings list conquered lands and peoples, along with the products acquired as booty or tribute. Later Assyrian art similarly depicts foreigners, each having distinctive and stereotyped hairstyle, clothing, and forms of tribute. The relentlessly ideological portrayal of ethnic others in these documents is somewhat more nuanced in administrative texts and letters, but even

these are part of Assyrian royal archives. Because our data come largely from the imperial center, the largest gaps in our understanding are knowledge of identity and its politics at local levels, both within the Assyrian heartland, in the provinces, and beyond imperial boundaries. Sustained archaeological study of these issues has begun only relatively recently.

From City to Empire: The Growth of Assyrian Identity

The early history of Assyrian identity is closely tied to the city of Ashur, located on a promontory on the west bank of the Tigris River. Poorly situated for agriculture, it was on a route leading east into the Zagros Mountains and west across the rain-fed agricultural plains of northern Mesopotamia. The site was certainly inhabited during the third millennium BC, when a significant temple to the goddess Ishtar was constructed, connecting the city to ritual practices throughout Mesopotamia. The city had political and economic relations with the Akkadian and Ur III empires (ca. 2200–2000 BC), but the extent of these connections is not yet fully understood (Neumann 1997; Michalowski 2009).

As an independent city after the fall of the Ur III Empire, Ashur had its own kings and city government, and its merchant families began to establish trading outposts in the cities of Anatolia (Larsen 2000; Veenhof 2008). As in other Mesopotamian cities, kings of Ashur referred to themselves as "governors" ruling on behalf of the city's god Ashur, whose main temple was in the city itself. During this Old Assyrian period, to be Assyrian was to be a resident of the city, and while this carried an implication of speaking the Assyrian dialect (rather than the Babylonian of southern Mesopotamia or languages such as Amorite to the west), it was not an ethnic identity.

The city was conquered by the Amorite king Samsi-Addu around 1800 BC and was a part of his kingdom of northern Mesopotamia extending from the Tigris to the Euphrates (Grayson 1987: 59). Ideologically, Samsi-Addu portrayed himself as a ruler carrying on long-standing Mesopotamian traditions. His building inscriptions in the temple of Ashur are dedicated to the southern god Enlil, suggesting that Samsi-Addu attempted to replace the city's god with the traditional chief god of Sumer. Scribes of Samsi-Addu also composed the Assyrian King List, a genealogy of Assyrian kings that originates with "kings living in tents," as Samsi-Addu's Amorite ancestors would have done (Yamada 1994). The Amorite roots of Assyrian kingship were contested by Puzur-Sin, who took the throne of Ashur several generations after Samsi-Addu, and who claimed to destroy the buildings of Samsi-Addu, who was not "of the flesh of the city Ashur" (Grayson 1987: 78). Nonetheless, the Assyrian king list with its Amorite roots became a legitimating charter for Assyrian kings and was updated and maintained for more than 1,000 years.

It was not, however, until more than 400 years later, during the Middle Assyrian period (Tenu 2009), that Ashur was identified as a territory rather than a city. In the intervening

years, the few preserved archaeological remains and texts suggest that Ashur had been ruled by independent rulers and was then incorporated into the Mittani kingdom of northern Syria, itself a culturally and linguistically complex state in which the Hurrian language was widely spoken. New levels of political interconnectedness developed in the fourteenth century BC, inspired in part by the development of chariots and by Egyptian imperial expansion along the Mediterranean coast. Letters written on clay tablets in cuneiform script found in the Egyptian capital city of Amarna demonstrate diplomatic exchanges of gifts between the great kings as well as the political maneuverings of Egyptian client kings along the Mediterranean coast (Liverani 1990; Moran 1992). A Mittani king, for example, sent a statue of the goddess Ishtar of Nineveh—a city located in what would become the Assyrian heartland—on a divine visit to the royal family of Egypt (Moran 1992: 61ff.). The Mittani, however, trapped between the expanding Hittite Empire in Anatolia and the invading Egyptian army, and weakened by struggles over royal succession, were unable to prevent Assyria under King Ashur-uballiṭ I (1363–1328 BC) from establishing an independent Assyria.

The titles used by Ashur-uballiṭ I in his own inscriptions show the development of a new Assyrian territorial identity. In his building inscriptions, he used the traditional form of royal title in the city of Ashur: ÉNSI ^{d}A-šur, or "governor of the god Ashur." By contrast, Ashur-uballiṭ I sent at least two letters to Egyptian kings as a part of the Amarna correspondence, and these letters are notable for being the first to use the title LUGAL KUR ^{d}A-šur, or "king of the land of the god Ashur." The royal cylinder seal of Ashur-uballiṭ, rolled on clay tablets and thus deployed in international correspondence, also used this title. The motivation for these changes is clear from the address formula of the letters, in which Ashur-uballiṭ addressed the Egyptian pharaoh as "brother"—a suggestion of equality in status in the conventional diplomatic language of the time. Objects of prestige made in Ashur during this time also make reference to international stylistic conventions, such as a set of ivory comb and cosmetic container with incised decoration found in the family tomb of a wealthy official (Feldman 2006).

A conflict with Assyria's Babylonian neighbors to the south further suggests the emergence of a notion of a defined territory. Ashur-uballiṭ I and his successors concluded multiple treaties with the kings of Babylon that included the provision for a boundary line between the states (Glassner 2004: 179, 279). The significance of these changes for the development of Assyrian identity has often been noted. While there had been some references to political boundaries in earlier Mesopotamian history—notably the well-documented conflict between the cities of Umma and Lagash over a disputed field in about 2400 BC—the Assyrian territorial self-definition quickly became the basis for empire. Yet, while there was a developing notion of Assyrian territory, there is little evidence for a concurrent idea of Assyrian ethnicity. There was a term for an "Assyrian" person in the Middle Assyrian laws—*ashuraiu*—but in keeping with the territorial focus of Assyrian ideology, the word refers to the geographical origin of a person rather than to language or ethnic identity (Lafont 2003: 531).

Other Assyrian imperial techniques are attested in a series of royal inscriptions from about 1350–1200 BC. The inscriptions of King Adad-nerari I (r. 1305–1274 BC) list numerous armies, lands, cities, and kings that he defeated—"defeat" in this context meaning anything from a military engagement to outright slaughter. Although the defeated enemies belong to a variety of different cultural and linguistic traditions, certainly including Kassite Babylonian, Hurrian, Hittite, Aramaean, and others, the cultural and ethnic differences are not of concern to Assyrian ideology. Rather, they are simply political rivals to be defeated and territories to be annexed by a king who is now titled "LUGAL KISH" or King of the Universe. Adad-nerari I also claimed to be an "extender of borders and boundaries" with the support of the gods of Assyria (Grayson 1987: 131). He conquered territory across the part of the kingdom of Mitanni that included the fertile land between the upper reaches of the Tigris and Euphrates, known then as Hanigalbat and more recently as the Jazira—and extended his rule to Carchemish on the bank of the Euphrates River, nearly 500 km to the west.

Shulmanu-ashared I (also known as Shalmaneser I, r. 1273–1244 BC) and Adad-nerari's son, continued the building projects and regular military campaigns that would become the important annual activities of Assyrian kings. He also introduced two new tools of empire: a system of provinces within the empire (Machinist 1982; Radner 2006), and forced resettlement (often called "deportation") of conquered people. The provinces (*pahete*) were mechanisms for expanding the land of Ashur—after submission of the local elite or outright conquest, a governor would be appointed, and the province would be responsible for sending goods annually to Ashur (Postgate 1992). Governors were normally appointed from among the elite families of the city of Ashur.

Deportation would come to be widely used in the later Assyrian Empire, and it is first clearly attested in the reign of Shulmanu-ashared I. In one campaign, the Assyrian army "blinded and carried off" 14,400 soldiers of Hanigalbat, a number derived from the Assyrian use of a sexagesimal system ($60 \times 60 \times 4 = 14{,}400$) and meaning "a lot" (Grayson 1987: 184). While we do not know where these people were taken, Middle Assyrian administrative texts note the presence of Subareans (people of Hanigalbat with Hurrian names), Kassites, and Elamites working in various capacities for Assyrian administrators both in the heartland and in provincial centers (Freydank 1980; Machinist 1982; C. Kühne 1996; H. Kühne 2000; Wiggerman 2000; Jakob 2005). There is no clear statement of Assyrian ideology or policy about the ethnic identity of these deportees. They were not made to become Assyrian, but it seems likely that they were gradually assimilated over the course of several generations.

During the reign of Shulmanu-ashared's successor Tukulti-Ninurta I (r. 1243–1207 BC), the Middle Assyrian provincial system continued to expand, and 28,800 deportees from the land of Hatti were led into the land of Ashur (Grayson 1987: 272). Tukulti-Ninurta's reign was marked by the clearest sign of a long-standing Assyrian struggle with Kassite Babylonia. The Assyrians had adopted aspects of Babylonian dialect and titulary in their royal inscriptions, and there had been attempts to invoke traditionally southern Mesopotamian deities including Enlil, the main god of the Sumerian city of Nippur and important in the older Sumerian pantheon (Machinist 1976). After more than a century of struggle over boundaries and adoption of Babylonian culture,

however, Tukulti-Ninurta sacked Babylon and removed the cult statue of the city's god Marduk. Since gods were considered to inhabit their cult statues, the capture of Marduk's statue was a powerful indication of the god's abandonment of Babylon and support of Assyria. The practice of capture of divine statues would be used at other times in the Assyrian Empire, although there is little indication of policies forcing captured people to worship Ashur. Rather, in this as in other aspects of Assyrian cultural policy, the emphasis was on political control over cultural identity and practice.

Tukulti-Ninurta was the first Assyrian king to propose moving the capital city from Ashur. His new city, called Kar Tukulti-Ninurta ("The Harbor of Tukulti-Ninurta"), was located immediately across the Tigris from Ashur itself, and was planned to be as much as 500 ha in area, or seven–eight times the size of the old capital. The city was built in part by captive Hurrian builders (Freydank 1980). Traditionally, this initiative has been seen as an attempt to disenfranchise the existing Assyrian elite, but it may also have had a more prosaic motivation: more irrigable land was available on the east side of the Tigris (Gilibert 2008). In any case, Kar Tukulti-Ninurta was also the scene of the king's demise—he was assassinated in the Ashur temple there by pro-Babylonian Assyrian officials.

The years around 1200 BC were calamitous for governments around the Eastern Mediterranean, with a period of drought and movement of people, including some raiders known in Egyptian texts as the "Sea Peoples." The Assyrian hegemony continued, however. During the reign of Tukul-apil-esharra I (r. 1114–1076 BC), often called Tiglath-pileser, but an earlier king than the monarch of that name in the Bible, Assyrian armies raided Hittite cities in Anatolia. In his royal annals, Tukul-apil-esharra I described building a palace whose royal entrance was guarded by stone carvings of animals and whose walls were lined with stone slabs (Grayson 1991b: 44). The annals of this king also mention new techniques of illustrating control of the known world, matching perhaps his title of "King of the Universe." During his reign, he gathered trees "from the lands over which I had gained dominion" and "planted (them) in the orchards of my land. I took rare orchard fruit which is not found in my land and filled the orchards of Assyria" (Grayson 1991b: 27). He also took distinctive animals and raw materials and offered them to temples of Assyrian gods. The ideological focus of these practices is on control over lands and products rather than over distinctive groups of people.

The timing of Tukul-apil-esharra's palace construction is also relevant for our understanding of Assyrian imperial identity. It is likely that, in diplomatic visits and raids on Neo-Hittite cities, the Assyrians would have encountered the Hittite style of palace decoration, in which stone guardian figures guarded major gateways and slabs of basalt with relief-decoration-lined important rooms (Winter 1982). This was probably part of the inspiration for what was to become the standard technique of Assyrian palace decoration during the Neo-Assyrian period. As Pittman (1996: 349) suggests, aspects of narrative may also have been derived from diplomatic contact with the Egyptian court, where reliefs on temple walls depicted Egyptian military victories—particularly against the Hittites in the battle of Qadesh, located in northern Syria, in 1285 BC. The striking aspect of these suggestions is the notion that Assyrians would so willingly adopt aspects of other imperial representations, rather than disdaining them as productions of culturally inferior groups. It is entirely consistent with their adoption of aspects of Babylonian literary

culture and royal ideology, and suggests that their own Assyrian identity was not strongly defined in these cultural terms.

The Assyrian expansion during the Middle Assyrian period has been subject to increasing scholarly attention. Liverani (1988) has suggested that its control resembled a network of strongholds more than it did a contiguous territory (an "oil stain," in his terms). More recently, Postgate (2010) has discussed the typological question of whether it should be called a state or an empire, and suggests that it is not truly imperial because it did not impose tribute obligations on surrounding client or vassal kingdoms or tribes, as was done in the Neo-Assyrian period of the first millennium BC (Postgate 1992). For the purposes of understanding ethnicity in the Assyrian expansion, however, the typological question is not as important as the imperial techniques that were increasingly in use, including conquest and subjugation of other cultural groups. Postgate (2010) rightly highlights the uniformity of some aspects of Middle Assyrian material culture, particularly written records and ceramics, and it remains of great interest to investigate the ways in which these objects were deployed by local communities in the newly annexed areas.

In the later eleventh century, Assyrian control across the Jazira gradually contracted to the area around Ashur and its neighboring provinces. Conquests and indeed the production of royal inscriptions diminished significantly, and while it was not a complete dark age (H. Kühne 2011), it was for the most part not a period of expansive growth either.

Ethnicity at the Height of Empire

After more than a century of relative calm, the Assyrian Empire began to re-establish its imperial practices and retake its former conquests. By the reign of Ashur-nasir-apli II (r. 883–859 BC), the empire returned to its fullest extent, in particular conquering Aramaean and (Neo-)Hittite groups to the west. The empire was bounded by Babylonian and Elamite polities to the south and the rising power of Urartu in the mountains to the north. In this context, the Neo-Assyrian Empire resumed and expanded the practices of its Middle Assyrian predecessors. Under Ashur-nasir-apli II, the center of the Assyrian state was moved away from Ashur to a new capital city of Nimrud (ancient Kalhu, biblical Calah), where a grand palace, now known as the Northwest Palace, was built (Oates and Oates 2001). This palace provides the first extensive Assyrian narrative art in the form of reliefs that lined the walls of the palace courtyard and throne-room (Winter 1981; Cifarelli 1998). Assyrian narrative reliefs depicted many of the themes that were expressed in writing in the royal inscriptions. The Assyrian army attacks enemy cities, tortures and deports enemies, and receives tribute, and a diversity of locations is indicated by vegetation, topography, and in features of enemy hairstyle and clothing. Commentators are divided on whether these reliefs indicate an interest in the specific cultural practices of Assyrian enemies (e.g., Reade 1979; Collon 2005), or whether they rather blur together into a generalized portrait of the enemy (Fales 1982; Zaccagnini 1982). There certainly is a sense in which the features of both Assyrians and foreigners are stereotyped (Wäfler 1975).

Beginning in the reign of Tukul-apil-esharra III (r. 744–727 BC)—known as Tiglath-pileser and as "Pul" in the Bible—the first groups of foreign soldiers served in the Assyrian army as spearmen, slingers, archers, and also horsemen and chariots (e.g.,



Figure 11.1 Relief from the palace of Sharrukin II at Dur-Sharrukin (modern Khorsabad), 717–707 BC. Eunuch (beardless) Assyrian soldier at right presenting foreign prisoner (in hooded cape, with bound hands) to Assyrian king in his chariot. Drawing from Botta and Flandin 1849 v. II, pl. 100 (lower half). Courtesy of Special Collections Library, University of Michigan.

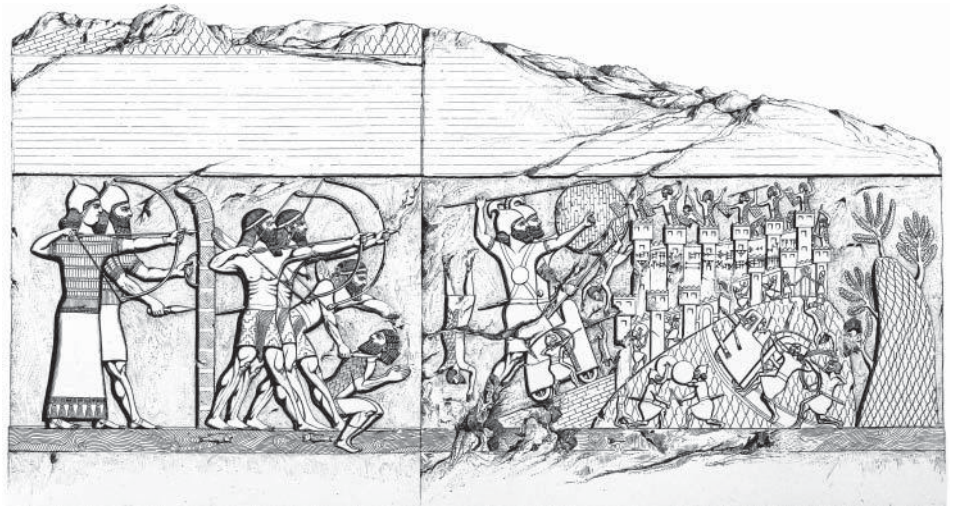


Figure 11.2 Relief from the palace of Sharrukin II at Dur-Sharrukin (modern Khorsabad), 717–707 BC. Siege of the city of Pazashi (in the Zagros Mountains of Iran). From left, Assyrian archer and shield-bearer, two non-Assyrian archers, enemy prisoner being beheaded, and two non-Assyrian spearmen attack the city. Defenders of the city wear animal skins on their backs, a generic reference to foreigners. Botta and Flandin 1849 v. II, pl. 145 (lower half). Courtesy of Special Collections Library, University of Michigan.

Reade 1972; Dalley 1985; Nadali 2005). Army chariots are mentioned in texts but not represented in reliefs, where only the king is depicted in a chariot (Figure 11.1). One group of foreign archers wears headbands and were probably from the Aramaean states, while spearmen with curving crests (Figure 11.2) may derive from the mountains north of Assyria (Reade 1972: 105).

The annual campaigns of the Assyrian army considerably expanded the territory of the empire. In the reign of Shulmanu-ashared III (r. 858–824 BC), Assyrians fought against states in the Jazira and west of the Euphrates, eventually defeating a coalition of Hittite and Aramaean kings near Damascus (Grayson 1996: 63ff.). They also encountered Arabs—tribal groups riding camels and living in tents along the desert margins of the Middle Euphrates (Grayson 1996: 23). After another period of rebellion and imperial weakness, the empire expanded again in the reign of Tukul-apil-esharra III (r. 744–727 BC), incorporating cities in the Levant from Hamath and Damascus to Gaza, as well as Phoenician cities along the Mediterranean coast (Grayson 1991a).

During the reign of Sharrukin II (Sargon, r. 721–705 BC), after initial rebellions, control over the Levant was expanded, and the Philistine cities were annexed. Campaigns against Phrygia in central Anatolia led to an encounter with Mita, king of Mushki, who is likely to be Midas of the golden touch celebrated in Greek accounts, and a particularly successful campaign against Urartu to the north seized the contents of the temple treasury of the Urartian state god Haldi at Musasir. Most significantly, Sharrukin captured Babylon and ruled as its king, which brought Assyrian armies into conflict with Chaldean tribes living in the marshes of southern Iraq, whose resistance to Assyrian control was led by Marduk-apla-iddina. Marking the increasing expanse of Assyrian territory—the land of the god Ashur—were reliefs carved into cliffs at particularly important locations in the landscape, such as the source of the Tigris River (Börker-Klähn 1982; Harmanşah 2007). Sargon's reign is also marked by the construction of another new capital city, Dur-Sharrukin ("The Fortress of Sharrukin," modern Khorsabad).

During the last century of the Assyrian Empire, under kings Sin-ahhe-eriba (Sennacherib, r. 704–681 BC), Ashur-iddina (Esarhaddon, r. 680–669 BC), and Ashur-bani-apli (r. 668–627 BC), the empire reached its largest extent and confronted its greatest diversity. The empire expanded into Egypt, conquering a Kushite dynasty that had ruled there, and waged a series of campaigns against Elam to the southeast. Conflicts and other contacts also continued with a wide variety of mostly tribal groups in the Zagros Mountains to the East.

As the empire expanded, the scale of linguistic diversity increased, as did the systematic use of forced relocation of populations. The practice of bringing the families of local elites back to the Assyrian capital began in the Middle Assyrian period, and we know from many sources that foreign royal women could serve in the palace and even become queens. The most dramatic example is certainly the rich tombs discovered under the palace of Kalhu (Oates and Oates 2001) in which were buried Assyrian queens with foreign names that identified them as being originally from the west (e.g., Dalley 2008).

According to Oded's (1979) study of large-scale deportations, the numbers of forcibly moved people rose from the Middle Assyrian figures of 14,400 and 28,800 cited above to over 450,000 during the reign of Sin-ahhe-eriba after 700 BC, a rate of nearly 20,000 people per year. Oded cautiously reconstructs the total population movement as over 4 million people during the Neo-Assyrian period. The motivations for this scale of deportation included simple punishment for rebellion, dismantling of communities to decrease the possibility of resistance, and perhaps to increase loyalty to the empire. The largest number of deportees came from Babylonia, but Medes and Elamites were also frequently

mentioned. The relocated people were a source of labor. Most were sent to the capital cities of Assyria; letters in the royal archive of Sharrukin that concern construction of his new capital, Dur-Sharrukin, mention groups of deportees that worked on the new city (Parpola 1995: 54ff.). Population movements on this scale had considerable impact on the shaping of ethnic identities across the empire. According to a royal inscription of Sharrukin, the Assyrian administration "settled deportees from the conquered countries [in Dur-Sharrukin], made them speak one language, and commissioned natives of Assyria, experts in all craft, as overseers and commanders over them to teach them correct behavior and the right reverence towards god and king" (Parpola 1995: 54). By the time of Sharrukin, Assyrians had begun to express some anxiety about the loss of their own identity. In an often-cited letter, Sharrukin admonished an official for writing in Aramaic on scrolls—the language of deportees from regions to the west—rather than in Assyrian cuneiform on clay tablets (Parpola 1987: XVI). The reality, however, was often depicted in what became a standard scene on Assyrian reliefs: two scribes counting enemy dead or spoils of war, one writing in cuneiform Assyrian on a clay tablet, and another writing Aramaic in ink on a scroll (cf. Beaulieu 2006).

Expansion and conquest meant an increase in tribute and a flow of goods brought back to Assyria, frequently represented on Assyrian monumental reliefs, and recovered in excavations of Assyrian palaces. Yet, the Assyrian attitudes to goods acquired in conquest is hard to pin down. Among the most distinctive of these products are the ivory furniture ornaments originally from palace workshops in areas to the west. Ivory was highly valued, a symbol of such wealth that biblical prophets castigated those who lay on "beds of ivory" (Amos 6:4). Provenance studies have made significant progress in identifying the larger stylistic areas of ivory carving and separate workshop styles within them (Scigliuzzo 2005; Winter 2005; Herrmann and Laidlaw 2009). Yet, although furniture adorned with ivory inlay is depicted on Assyrian palace reliefs—famously including a relief showing Ashur-bani-apli and his queen in their garden—the vast majority of these carved ivories were found not on display, but stacked in warehouses in a military palace at Kalḫu.

A similar puzzle concerns the Assyrian king's fondness for building a *bit ḫilani*, or "palace of the land of Hatti," built for the kings' pleasure (Tadmor 1994: 173). Assyrian kings from Tukul-apil-esharra III to Ashur-bani-apli (including also Sharrukin and Sin-ahhe-eriba) emphasized in their royal inscriptions that they had constructed a ḫilani in their own palaces. Earlier generations of scholars focused on identifying the structure in the archaeologically recovered remains of Assyrian palaces, and the general if not universal consensus is that it refers to a pillared portico (e.g., Winter 1982; Mazzoni 2006). Yet, why would Assyrian kings choose to highlight an architectural form distinctive of a foreign conquered culture?

Ethnicity in Empire: The Perspective of the Conquered

The complex negotiations of language, ethnicity, and politics are well expressed in Neo-Hittite and Aramaean states to the west of the Assyrian heartland. These states had

developed a distinctive style of carving stone reliefs and ivory furniture elements, and they had their own traditions of royal inscriptions written in Aramaic or Luwian. After the Assyrian conquest, stone carving continued, but more clearly imitating Assyrian styles, even if imperfectly. One set of reliefs from Tell Tayinat shows Assyrian soldiers carrying the severed heads of their enemies, but not carved with the care of the imperial style; rather, it may have been carved by local artisans who were forced under the Assyrian occupation to render the defeat of their own people. A number of multi-lingual inscriptions made by local rulers under Assyrian domination show political negotiations of language and identity (Galter 2004; Millard 2009). A statue found near Fekheriye in northeastern Syria, for example, depicts a ruler in broadly Neo-Hittite style. The bilingual inscription is written by Adad Yis'i, who calls himself "governor of Guzana" in the Assyrian cuneiform inscription, but "king of Guzana" in the Aramaic version.

Similarly, a site known today as Tell Ahmar on the Euphrates River in Syria, near the Turkish border, had a number of different ancient names: an Aramaic name (Til Barsip) and a Luwian name (Masuwari), both replaced after Assyrian conquest in the mid-nineteenth century BC with an Assyrian name (Kar-Shulmanu-ashared). The city was made a provincial capital. Its governor during the mid-eighth century BC had an Assyrian name (Ninurta-bel-usur), was very likely a eunuch—they served extensively in the Assyrian bureaucracy and military—but was also from a local elite family (Bunnens 2006: 97ff.). He was thus named in what would have been a foreign tradition, and was even castrated in order to function within the Assyrian system.

The most evocative account of Assyrian imperialism from the perspective of the conquered is undoubtedly the biblical versions of the siege of Jerusalem under the king Sin-ahhe-eriba in about 701 BC (Mitchell 1991). The siege and its aftermath is recorded as one of a series of Assyrian triumphs in Assyrian royal inscriptions:

> As for Hezekiah, the Jew, who had not submitted to my yoke, 46 of his strong, walled cities … I besieged, I captured, I plundered, as booty I counted them. Him, like a caged bird, in Jerusalem, his royal city, I shut up … Hezekiah—the terrifying splendor of my royalty overcame him … with 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver and all kinds of treasure from his palace, he sent his daughters, his palace women, his male and female singers, to Nineveh, and he dispatched his messengers to pay the tribute (Luckenbill 1927: 143, cf. Frahm 1991).

As is typical, the emphasis is on political resistance and the ultimate triumph of Assyria, expressed here not by conquest of the city (Jerusalem was never captured by the Assyrian Empire), but in the tribute sent from the city.

The biblical accounts (II Kings 18–19, Isaiah 36–37, II Chronicles 32) are considerably more detailed, depicting the arrival of the Assyrians as a test of Hezekiah's faith. One episode reveals a great deal about the politics of language and religion in this imperial interaction (cf. Holloway 2002). Assyrian officials including the Rab-shakeh spoke to Judean officials as Jerusalemites watched the discussion from the walls of the city. The Rab-shakeh said the people of Jerusalem could not rely on their god, on Hezekiah, or on their Egyptian allies to keep the city from being captured. The Judean officials then asked that the Rab-shakeh speak to them in Aramaic rather than the "language of Judah" (Hebrew), because the people on the wall would not understand Aramaic.

The Assyrian then said that he was sent to address the people on the wall, who would "eat their own dung and drink their own urine" if they did not surrender. He also questioned the ability of their god to defend them—"has any of the gods of the nations ever delivered his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria? Where are the gods of Hamath and Arpad?" (II Kings 19). Much more could be (and has been) said about this painful, but historically rich, episode. For the purposes of understanding ethnic dynamics in the Assyrian Empire, however, we should note that the Assyrian focus was on political control rather than on enforcing identity. Linguistic differences were apparently not difficult to overcome.

The resentment of captured populations is further expressed by biblical prophets, for whom Nineveh was a center of evil. Jonah was sent to prophesize in the city, and Nahum (3:1) called it "the bloody city, full of lies and plunder."

Conclusion

This brief review of ethnicity in the Assyrian Empire has suggested that, while Assyria encountered a great deal of linguistic and cultural diversity in its expansion, the focus of Assyrian ideology remained on territory (the land of Ashur), political control, and the economic benefits of conquest and tribute. There was only a weakly developed idea of Assyrian cultural identity, and it was continually modified by linguistic, cultural, and artistic practices of cultures encountered during imperial expansion.

This relative lack of attention to identity is comparatively unusual. Taking just two ancient Middle Eastern examples, Egypt was defined from the establishment of the pharaonic state as being a culturally unified and strongly bounded nation (e.g., Baines 1996; Schneider 2010). During its expansion into Kush during the New Kingdom, imposition of cultural forms, ranging from worship of the Egyptian state god Amun to forms of dress and burial practice, aimed to make Kush culturally like the homeland. The Achaemenid Persian Empire, as a successor of the Assyrian hegemony, adopted many stylistic aspects of Assyrian art, but had a very different and quite explicit idea of how ethnic diversity within the empire was managed (e.g., Lincoln 2007: 23ff.). The Apadana reliefs at Persepolis, for example, depict emissaries from the subject peoples of the empire (Root 1985). As in Assyrian reliefs, each has distinctive dress, hairstyle, and tribute practices. Yet, they are depicted as if showing the willing and peaceful participation in a multicultural empire. As a final contrast, it might be noted that the much-debated process of Romanization (e.g., Webster 2001) in areas conquered by the Roman Empire is a process scarcely visible in the record of the Assyrian Empire.

Assyrian ideology of ethnicity reduced cultural difference to an epiphenomenon. Actors were considered political, and motivations such as adhering to agreement and respecting the wishes of the gods are, or should be, universal (see Oded 1992). One consequence of this relative indifference may have been the collapse of the empire itself—after military setbacks toward the end of the seventh century, which included sacking of Assyrian capitals by armies from Babylon and Media, there was no Assyrian core that could easily be maintained (Yoffee 2010). And although Assyrian identity has persisted to the present day, it is as a Christian group whose liturgical language is Aramaic (Parpola 2004).

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CHAPTER 12

Achaemenids, Royal Power, and Persian Ethnicity

Jennifer Gates-Foster

Ethnicity, Cultural Identity, and Persian Imperialism

At its greatest extent under Darius the Great in the late sixth and early fifth centuries BCE, the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE) stretched from the Indus River Valley to Northern Greece, and encompassed parts of the Balkans, all of Egypt and Libya, as well as the many islands of the Aegean. Named for Achaemenes (Haxāmaniš in Old Persian, Herodotus 1.125), the empire was ruled by a house that traced its origins to this eponymous ancestor, and they administered one of the Near East's mightiest empires. Achaemenid Persian rule ended in the late fourth century at the hands of Alexander the Great, who defeated the last of the Achaemenid kings, Darius III, and conquered much of the same territory before his own death in 323 BCE.

Over the almost 200 years of their rule, the Achaemenid kings administered an enormously varied, multiethnic, and multicultural empire composed of regions as dissimilar as Egypt, Anatolia, Bactria, and Armenia, among others, with remarkable success (see Map 12.1). The Achaemenid rulers responded to the diversity of their empire by leaving much as it had been, efficiently incorporating local governing traditions into a system of rule that allowed for variation while effectively connecting the satrapies, or provinces, to the center through a system of administration focused on regional capitals and local elites. Religious and social customs were left largely intact to the degree that they did not interfere with Achaemenid administration, and very little was imposed from the center in the way of cultural policy (Kuhrt 2001; Briant 2002; Brosius 2011).

Despite this largely sympathetic approach to local variability, one effect of Achaemenid conquest was the imposition of a new ruling class and the fundamental rearrangement of the economic and social order (Tuplin 2011b). In practice, the presence of Persian officials in the satrapies and the privileges associated with Persian identity were critical new

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Map 12.1 The Persian Empire. Courtesy of Elspeth R. M. Dusinberre, adapted from Dusinberre 2013, Figure 4.

aspects of life in communities throughout the empire. It is through this lens of differential access to economic and social power that we must approach the question of ethnicity in the Achaemenid Empire. To what degree was ethnicity, as currently understood by archaeologists and historians, a salient factor in the administration of the Achaemenid Empire? How did local communities view themselves in relation to their Achaemenid Persian overlords? Was a cohesive ethnic identity part of how these communities defined themselves in relation to other groups, and if so, how was this ethnic discourse expressed? Was there such a thing as a distinct *Persian* ethnicity?

Each of these questions relies on our ability to access notions of group identity through the material and textual information left behind both in the imperial heartland and in the satrapies, and from sources outside the empire, primarily Greek writers (Kuhrt 2007b; Harrison 2011). While much is known from the imperial capitals of Persepolis, Susa, and Pasargadae and other sites in the region of southern Iran known as Fars (*Parsa* in Old Persian, *Persis* in Greek), our sources for understanding cultural dynamics in the satrapies are both more varied in character and more uneven, making it difficult to compare these two perspectives. Nevertheless, it is clear from the point of view of the Achaemenid administration that ethnic and cultural variation was an integral aspect of the empire in practice as well as a critical component of the ideological character of the empire.

The diversity of the many constituent peoples and languages of the empire was a vehicle for the expression of imperial power, an ideological tool with which to craft an image of a universal empire controlled by the king. This message was dispersed through textual and visual media, and was closely controlled—consumed by viewers and subjects throughout the empire, but especially in the imperial centers at Susa, Persepolis, and Pasargadae (Root 1979, 1990). At Persepolis, archival evidence also confirms the categorization of laborers by place of origin as a critical part of the administrative functioning of the state apparatus (Henkelman and Stolper 2009). Awareness of cultural and linguistic variation can also be observed in many regions beyond the heartland, such as Lydia and Egypt, where local religious, political and cultural practices show considerable continuity under Persian hegemony, even as Achaemenid artistic styles and architectural forms exerted their influence (Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Kuhrt 1990, 1991; Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Kuhrt, and Root 1994; Kuhrt 2001; Dusinberre 2003). This raises the question of the response of local groups and individuals to Persian influence, and how this can be accessed by modern scholars through the analysis of material patterns and the limited textual evidence.

Given the importance of ethnic categories to the ideological structures of the Achaemenid state, the evidence for these practices will be a primary focus of this chapter. It will also explore the many contexts in which the practice of referencing, both visually and textually, the subject peoples of the empire was deployed as an expression of kingly power and universal rule. I will then briefly turn to the much more difficult problem of how ethnic or cultural identity and the negotiation of subject status worked at the local level in the Achaemenid Empire. In the case of Egypt and Lydia, connections to local traditions, broadly construed, were clearly of paramount importance, both for

individuals of local extraction who were engaging with Persian power as well as for Persian officials in place as representatives of imperial interests. To what degree this represents a historical dialogue about ethnicity in the Achaemenid provinces remains an open question, but the importance of these issues for modern scholarship on the Achaemenid Empire is indisputable.

To the degree that it is possible to define ethnicity, scholars working with the concept agree that ethnicity is a social construct, distinguished from other vectors of identity by its reliance on notions of shared descent or kinship, whether real or constructed (Shennan 1989; Jones 1997, 2008; Hall 2002; Lucy 2005). Recent work has also emphasized the subjective and discursive nature of ethnic identifications, as well as the emic and etic perspectives involved in their maintenance (Emberling 1997; Meskell 2001; Lucy 2005). Many scholars emphasize that ethnicity, as a distinct axis of identity, is activated in particular contexts, especially at times of contact resulting in awareness, opposition, or assimilation, when contact between different groups stimulates the formulation of a group identity on the basis of a shared, if fictional, kinship (Lucy 2005; Antonaccio 2010). This is not a simple process. As Meskell (2001: 189) observes:

> Ethnic identity is only one social determinate that can be cut across by status, occupation, gender, etc., that allows contact between groups. But it involves the negotiation of difference and sameness, and it often entails larger tensions between individuals, the group and the state.

The role of material culture in this dialogue is highly controversial, as some historians have concluded that an ethnic discourse can only be read through an explicit engagement with aspects of ethnic identity (descent, kinship) as defined via the written record (e.g., Hall 1997, 2002). In this view, material culture traits are ambiguous and cannot clearly signal *ethnicity*, as opposed to other kinds of cultural or social identity. Some archaeologists reject this privileging of the historical record and point out the importance of material culture as a critical "symbolic resource" in the articulation of ethnic identity—whether or not it exists alongside an explicit ethnic discourse—while acknowledging the challenges of understanding what is articulated by material patterns (Jones 1997, 2008; see also Chapter 3 in this volume, by Bernard Knapp, for a critical discussion; Lucy 2005). Gunter has recently argued that "the construction of ethnic identity may also involve the active and self-conscious deployment of particular cultural features, which could include cultural forms and artifacts. In this way, distinctive forms of material culture may serve as indicia of ethnicity" (2009: 92). Others have emphasized the active role that material culture plays in *shaping* ethnic identity through its involvement in social interactions (Antonaccio 2010).

While ethnic strategies in the context of empire are an acknowledged, sometimes explicit, aspect in the modern world (Gosden 2004; Stein 2005), the direct relevance of ethnicity, per se, as a meaningful category in ancient imperial contexts is not always clear (see Emberling, Tyson Smith in this volume). Racial categories that underpinned many modern imperial projects were not present in antiquity, for example. Empires are,

however, inherently about the management of difference (Barfield 2001), and the Achaemenid Persian policy was quite clearly to construct definitions of ethnic and cultural identity both for themselves—what it meant to be Persian—and to project essentialized ethnic identities onto the landscape of the empire as a way of organizing and controlling their subject peoples.

From Cyrus to Darius: Formulating a Persian Identity

The formation of Persian ethnic identity can be accessed through the lens of royal self-presentation and the writings of outsiders, including a number of sources (Xenophon, Herodotus, and others) that belong to the Classical tradition. The problem of cultural identity is, to a certain extent, embedded in the mythic origins of the Persian Empire and the tensions revealed at moments of crisis, particularly the succession of Darius I. The founder of the empire, Cyrus (II) the Great (620–590 BCE), was (according to the tradition as recorded by Herodotus 1.107–108) a figure born of a Median mother and Persian father. His identity was hidden, and he was raised by a shepherd, only to emerge as the ruler of the Persians and conqueror of the Medes, uniting the two peoples of his birth under his rule. Although there were many versions of the "Cyrus saga" (with its echoes of the Sargon legend; see Kuhrt 2003) in the Classical and Near Eastern traditions, Herodotus clearly thought of Cyrus as a Persian, even though he was closely associated with the Medes (Frye 2010; Waters 2010).

Although Herodotus casts Cyrus in the role of a unifying figure, the picture offered by the available non-Classical sources is quite different. Cyrus himself did not, at least in the few extant sources, insist on his Persian (as opposed to Median or other) ethnicity, but rather presents himself in terms designed to justify his rule across a range of cultural traditions (Lanfranchi, Roaf, and Rollinger 2003; Kuhrt 2007a; Waters 2010; Henkelman 2011). The most famous example of this ethnic code-switching is the text of the so-called Cyrus Cylinder (539 BCE), on which Cyrus is portrayed in terms that link him to Babylonian and Elamite political traditions:

> I am Cyrus, king of the world, great king, mighty king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters, the son of Cambyses, great king, king of Anshan, grandson of Cyrus, great king, king of Anshan, descendant of Teispes, great king, king of Anshan, of an eternal line of kingship, whose rule Bel and Nabu love, whose kingship they desire for their hearts' pleasure. When I entered Babylon in a peaceful manner … (CB 21–22, translation from Hallo et al. 1997).[1]

In this document, Cyrus clearly emphasizes his connection to Anshan, an Elamite polity with obscure and controversial connotations in this context (Kuhrt 1995; Waters 2004; Potts 2005). This aspect of this text and other Babylonian examples including the Nabonidus Chronicle highlight how little is known about the ethnogenesis of

the Persians, and in particular the problem of the relationship between Iranian and Elamite traditions in the era immediately before the emergence of the empire under Cyrus (Henkelman 2003). Whatever it reveals about this intractable problem, this text indicates an early willingness on the part of Achaemenid Persian rulers to take on concepts and vocabulary from conquered peoples, as well as to craft their political personas around existing connections with older political and cultural traditions (Briant 2002; Fowler and Hekster 2005; Beaulieu 2006).

The explicit engagement with an Achaemenid Persian identity appears as a full-throated insistence only in the reign of Darius I (522–486 BCE), who actively worked to retrofit Cyrus into a narrative of rule that included a much greater focus on Achaemenid identity as part of royal ideology. For example, three inscriptions were recorded on buildings at Cyrus' royal city at Pasargadae (Building S and P and Gate R), each of which explicitly connects Cyrus to the Achaemenid line by naming him "Cyrus the king, an Achaemenid" or some variation of this phrase (C/DMa, b, c). These inscriptions are trilingual, but the Old Persian script in which it is written is thought to have been invented later specifically for use in imperial monuments under Darius I (Stronach 1990; Schaudig 2001; Briant 2002). This makes it clear that these were later additions to buildings and reliefs known to be associated with Cyrus, effectively co-opting him into a later conceptualization of the empire that incorporated a specific Achaemenid Persian identity as an integral part of the legitimacy of a ruler's position (Lecoq 1997 and Vallat 2011 have argued that these are original to Cyrus' reign).

Darius' interest in depicting Cyrus as an ethnic Achaemenid can be explained by his own precarious position. During the reign of Cambyses, Cyrus' son, the empire faced its first serious challenge of leadership, although the details of this conflict are not entirely clear except that the murder of Cambyses' brother Bardiya (Smerdis in Herodotus) plays an important part. Darius' own account of the events that led to his rule is contained in the Behistun (or Bisitun) Inscription (DB), part of a large rock-cut monument located along an important route in Fars (Figure 12.1). In his telling, after Cambyses' death, the succession was threatened by a pretender to the throne, Gaumata, who impersonated the dead Bardiya. Darius was responsible for his defeat as well as the suppression of several subsequent revolts (see Herodotus 3.30; 61–67 for a slightly different version). Given the way he came to power, it is no surprise that Darius is at pains to connect himself to the royal lineage in order to legitimize his new position:

> I am Darius, the great king, king of kings, king of all kinds of peoples, a king in this great earth far and wide, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid, a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan, having Aryan lineage (DNa 8–14).

It is only from Darius' reign that the empire can properly be characterized as the Achaemenid Persian Empire, and his singular achievement in unifying both the court and the disparate provinces at such a moment was almost certainly facilitated by his strategy of creating a (fictional) but persuasive link between his own family and that of Cyrus. In doing so, he elides explicit association with Elam, which served to legitimize

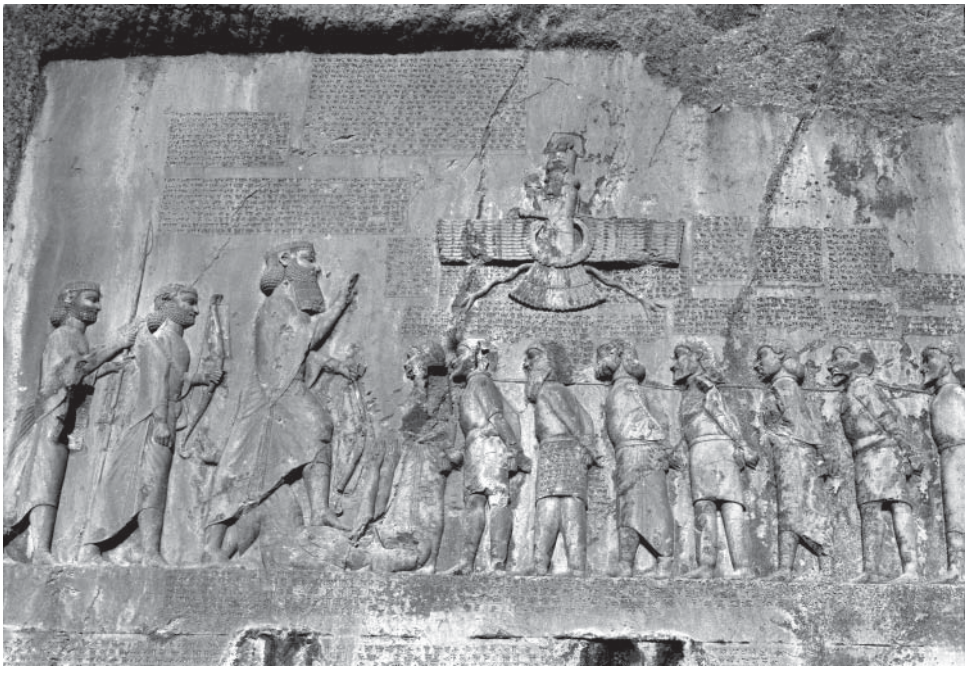


Figure 12.1 Behistun Inscription. © German Archaeological Institute, Tehran Branch Photographic Archive. Photograph by the Bisotun Expedition, 1964.

Cyrus' reign, demonstrating the continued effectiveness of an ethnic argument similar in spirit if not in detail.

In each of these examples, the context of the text is critical to understanding the saliency of ethnic categories, and the association of the ruler with particular groups. For Cyrus, his Elamite heritage was essential in creating a past for the new empire he founded, while for Darius, Cyrus himself had to be remade into an ancestor in order to demonstrate continuity and stability for the reconfigured empire. However, to what degree was Persian, Elamite, or Median identity relevant outside the confines of this imperial dialogue? Until very recently, it was very difficult to assess the use of ethnic designations outside the monumental sphere, but in recent years work on written archives from Fars has made it possible to consider how these categories were deployed in a non-monumental context.

The Persepolis Fortification Archive (509–493 BCE) was excavated in 1933–1934 on the terrace at Persepolis, and it represents some portion of an archive on clay tablets related to the movement and distribution of foodstuffs and related commodities between Fars and neighboring satrapies during the reign of Darius I. Between 15,000 and 30,000 tablets were recovered, and many thousands have thus far been published (Hallock 1969; Lewis 1990; Briant, Henkelman, and Stolper 2008; Henkelman 2008). Although only about 5,000 of the around 12,000 texts have been edited or studied, the range of languages represented in the archive is already remarkable; the majority of the texts are in

Elamite, with substantial numbers of Aramaic texts. Akkadian, Greek, Old Persian, and Phrygian are also present, albeit in very small numbers (Briant 2002; Henkelman and Stolper 2009).

According to a recent study by Henkelman and Stolper (2009), 26 "ethnonyms" (for the authors, names associated with groups based on their territorial homeland and/or language, such as Egyptians or Skudrians) appear in the edited texts, the range and significance of which we will return to in a moment. The very small number of ethnonyms associated with the heartland, however, says much about the formation or existence of a functional Persian ethnicity. Persian, as a generic ethnic designation, is used on only four texts, Medes on one, and Elamite, as an ethnic designation, is not used at all in the archive. The authors see this as evidence that "from an institutional perspective, speakers of Elamite, Median or Persian were all considered to be 'us'" (278). Surprisingly, on many of the monumental inscriptions that list the subject peoples of the empire, Persians, Medes, and Elamites are often listed among the conquered peoples (see the following section).

The use of "tribal" (as opposed to geographically framed) designations to describe some individuals and groups in the archive reinforces this interpretation, since it suggests that meaningful group identities for these individuals were tribal, not ethnic, given the fundamentally Persian point of view of the archive's authors (Henkelman and Stolper 2009: 284–6). Hence, in this respect, we see that the archive reflects a tendency to designate residents of the Persian heartland with more specific identifiers related to local tribal networks, while people from other parts of the empire are categorized by ethnonyms related to their place of origin or language, although the precise criteria for these "ethnic" designations are unclear. Indeed, it is not always clear why an ethnonym is provided, and, in many cases, work groups (*kurtâs*) are discussed and no identifier is used. Even with these complexities, the archive reveals what was almost certainly a much more nuanced, fluid system of cultural identities in place among the residents of the Persian heartland that was not explored in the royal monuments and remains largely inaccessible, given our present state of knowledge. The larger point made by Henkelman and Stolper is that, at least at Persepolis, groups of foreigners were kept functionally separate for administrative and bureaucratic purposes. This observation is particularly critical when viewed alongside the "ethnic" rhetoric deployed in monumental contexts.

Ethnicity and Empire: "The King of the Lands of all Tongues"

Persian kings deployed ethnic or cultural categories as a means for articulating a vision of an inclusive empire, while at the same time emphasizing the variety of subject peoples and the wide sweep of Persian dominance (Briant 2002). The use of essentialized ethnic categories in the depiction of subject communities as well as the incorporation of artistic traditions and styles associated with conquered peoples were powerful components of Achaemenid imperial ideology. These categories were emphasized in the programmatic representation of the empire through a visual presentation of the diversity of subject peoples, lists of conquered and subdued lands, and an emphasis on multilingualism in royal inscriptions (Root 1979, 1990; Calmeyer 1982, 1983, 1987).

This aspect of imperial art and architecture was already in place under Cyrus the Great, who founded a new city, Pasargadae, as a showcase for his imperial vision (Stronach 1978; Curtis 2005). Palaces, monumental gates, and large gardens were all part of this new royal capital, which demonstrated in material form the diversity of resources controlled by the king, as well as his power to command them (Stronach 1978; Root 1990). Ionian stonemasons may have been brought in to help craft the new stone buildings (Nylander 1970), and the influence of Assyrian and Egyptian iconography are evident in the remains of the sculptural reliefs that decorated the palaces and gates, as well as the immediate influences of traditions from the region, especially Elamite (Kuhrt 2007a). Cyrus' gabled tomb, also located at Pasargadae, draws on Anatolian tomb types and makes a clear connection between the king and his imperial subjects, while at the same time evoking the Elamite ziggurats that were part of the local landscape (Boardman 2000; Kuhrt 2007a).

This aspect of Achaemenid imperial art has, in some circles, led to an assessment of Persian art and architecture as derivative and an artificial pastiche of adopted parts (Boardman 1994, 2000). Rather than seeing this recombination and reformulation as a creative act, some scholars continue to trace and privilege "borrowed" (i.e., non-local) elements as evidence of emulation (in particular of Classical styles and technologies), without considering the immediate context of the relationship, and the complex meanings invoked through the engagement with foreign styles and iconographic traditions (for a critique of this approach, see Gates 2002). In this respect, the analysis of style as a marker of ethnicity has had a strong presence in Achaemenid studies, with the generally negative result of essentializing relationships between culture traditions in overly simplistic, often oppositional, terms (Root 1990). This has also had the effect of blurring the connections between local Near Eastern (especially Assyrian) stylistic traditions and Achaemenid forms, while over-emphasizing elements potentially incorporated from western sources.

The worldview that is suggested by the construction of the royal center at Pasargadae and developed in later constructions emphatically places the king at the center of the universe and positions Persia at the center of a universal empire (Kuhrt 2002), with its many subordinate lands arrayed around hierarchically. One of the inscriptions on the tomb of Darius at Naqsh-i Rustam stands as an example of the geographic formulation of this universal rule (Figure 12.2):

> Says Darius the King: By the favor of Ahuramazda, these are the peoples/countries which I seized; I ruled over them; they bore me tribute; what was said to them by me, that they did; my law held them. Media, Elam, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdia, Chorasmia, Drangiana, Arachosia, Sattagydia, Gandara, India, the haoma-drinking Scythians, the Scythians with pointed caps, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Lydia, the Greeks, the Scythians across the sea, Thrace, the sun hat-wearing Greeks, the Libyans, the Nubians, the men of Maka and the Carians (DNa).

The "empire lists," as they are known, are part of royal monuments or inscriptions and list the names of the peoples and regions under the king's control (Root 1979; Briant 2002). The foundation charters recovered at Susa, Persepolis, and other sites also prominently feature a detailed list of subject peoples, with the addition of further information about the contributions that these groups made to the wealth and splendor of the royal court through actual materials, skilled labor, or both (e.g., DSf/DSz). In all of these cases, the

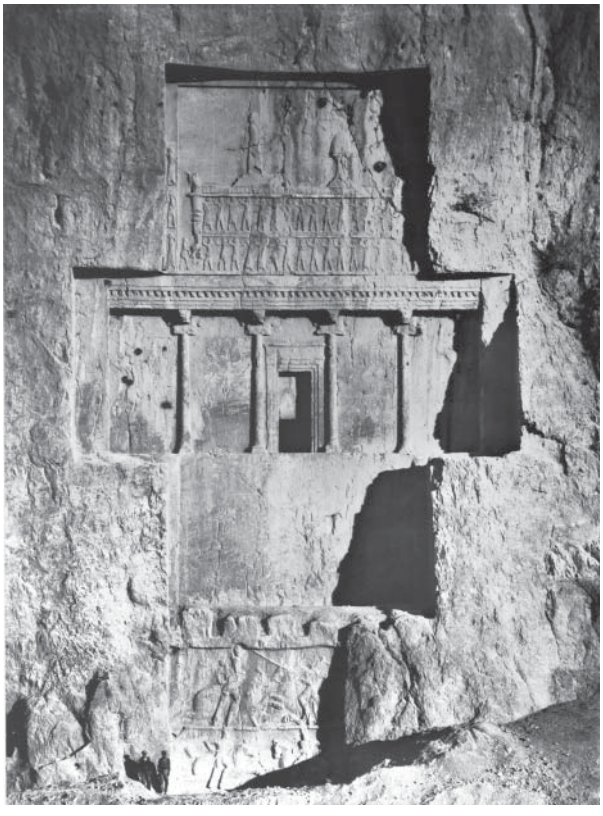


Figure 12.2 Tomb of Darius I at Naqshi-I Rustam. © The Oriental Institute Museum.

multiplicity and variety of the subject peoples are emphasized as a way of stressing the achievement of a king who could bring them together and to underscore the scope of the king's cosmic achievement (Root 1979).

These lists have a visual parallel in the tribute friezes that were a prominent feature of the north and east staircases of the Apadana, or audience hall, at Persepolis, which dates to the reigns of Darius and Xerxes (Schmidt 1953; Allen 2005). On each staircase, 23 separate delegations are represented, shown as groups, each led by a Persian escort who holds the hand of the leader and leads him toward the great king, who was enthroned at the center of the composition (Figure 12.3). Identifying the exact origin of each group is often difficult, but distinctions can be made on the basis of dress, the gifts carried by the delegation, and the animals accompanying them (Root 1979, 1990, 2007; Calmeyer 1982, 1983, 1987; Briant 2002). Persian courtiers are distinguished from these conquered groups by their role. Their garments are often described as Median or Persian, but there seems to be no overt attempt to distinguish ethnicity through these characteristics (Calmeyer 1987).

The delegations are likewise not individual portraits, but the repetition and massing of figures create a visually overwhelming and monumental enactment of actual processions



Figure 12.3 Apadana Tribute Procession at Persepolis, Bactrian Delegation. © The Oriental Institute Museum.

that took place at Persepolis and other imperial centers. On a metaphorical level, the "delegates bring not only themselves, but also the accumulated wealth of reestablished wholeness" (Root 1990: 121). Of importance here is the visual articulation of the ideal established on the empire lists and foundation inscriptions, with the empire articulated through the counting of ethnically articulated peoples and their diverse resources (Klinkott 2002).

This representation of harmonious subordination and co-option into the empire existed alongside more overt expressions of dominance expressed in ethnic and cultural terms. On royal tombs, palace doorways, and other sculptural monuments, conquered peoples are shown supporting the throne of the Great King (Briant 2002). On the tombs of Darius I (DNe) and Artaxerxes II (A2Pa) at Naqsh-i Rustam, the individual figures are labeled, making clear the association with the cultural group—"this is the Egyptian" (Schmidt 1970; Kuhrt 1995)—and the articulation of an ideology of rule resting, quite literally, on the existence of definite ethnocultural groups (Walser 1972).

This programmatic visual and textual emphasis on enumerating the conquered existed alongside a keen awareness of the multi-lingual nature of the empire, and indeed it is difficult to know to what degree language was a critical factor in distinguishing different ethnic or cultural groups from the point of view of the Achaemenid administration. A title given to Darius, the "king of the lands of all tongues" (DE 15–16, translation from Henkelman and Stolper 2009: 271), emphasizes linguistic diversity as a

facet of imperial ideology. This epithet is appropriately contained in a three-part monumental inscription that, like many of similar type, is multi-lingual. In this case, the text is written in Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian. In each example, the use of multiple languages was a symbolic engagement with many communities, both in terms of the Near Eastern past—multilingual inscriptions have a long history in the region—and contemporary audiences. Monumental texts such as these were sometimes translated into multiple languages and distributed to communities throughout the empire. Versions of the Behistun text, for example, have been recovered in Egypt (Greenfield and Porten 1982) and Babylon (von Voigtlander 1978) in the local vernacular.

Ethnicity and Responses to Persian Power: A View from the Satrapies

The inscriptions and artifacts discussed thus far all reveal much about the worldview constructed and disseminated at the highest levels of the Achaemenid Empire and the central role that ethnocultural constructs played in that formulation of empire. This final section of the chapter considers the vexed problem of how to assess the saliency of ethnicity from the opposite perspective by looking back at empire from the margins. Was ethnic or cultural identity part of how individuals or groups subject to Persian control or influence saw themselves? In what way did they respond to the ethnic and cultural categorizations that were such an important part of the Achaemenid imperial vision of empire, if they were aware of them at all? How might we access these patterns in the material and textual evidence from the satrapies?

Scholarship on the effects of Persian rule in the satrapies takes strikingly varied stances on whether the issue of identity is even relevant (or accessible) in the study of the Achaemenid past. Tuplin has been a particularly strong advocate of limiting "identity" discussions, arguing rather that the central fact of life under Persian rule was differential access to power, which was not intrinsically connected to ethnic or cultural identity beyond the undeniable supremacy of Persian hegemony. He sees "cultural adjacency" rather than interaction, and argues that "the way in which power was organized left a great deal of space for people to cleave to existing modes of behavior and issued few challenges to engage in serious reflection about cultural identity" (2009: 427). In a later essay, he softens his view slightly to say that "cultural engagement with imperial power was more a matter of choices made by subjects than requirements imposed by rulers, and in which the forms those choices took were diverse and not always instantly explicable" (2011a: 150).

The absence of an *imposed* ethnic dimension to Persian imperialism alongside the clearly demonstrated ethnic dimension in the Persian *ideology* of empire is certainly striking, but ethnocultural negotiation certainly existed under Achaemenid rule, even if never explicitly framed as such. Tuplin is perhaps, as others have been, frustrated by the ambiguity of the evidence we have for the response of individuals to Persian hegemony, particularly as it might have affected their own ethnic or cultural identification (see discussion of Hall and others in the preceding text). Others see a dialogue that incorporates strains from multiple traditions and work to untangle the possible valences of material style, iconographic elements, linguistic influences, and other traceable aspects of cultural contact set within

the differential power frame of empire (Root 1989; Dusinberre 1997, 2003; Brosius 2011). This is a stubborn problem that must be tackled in the particular context of specific evidence and culture contact situations (Gates 2002), but as a final brief illustration, I now turn to an object that encapsulates some of these complexities and offers a case study for the challenges of assessing the meaning of imagery, style, onomastics, and language in consideration of the saliency of ethnicity in the Achaemenid Empire from the perspective of the satrapies.

The stele of Djedherbes was recovered in 1994 at Saqqara in Egypt and has, ever since, attracted much attention due to its evocative combination of Egyptian and Achaemenid Persian iconography (Mathieson et al. 1995). If names are to be taken as evidence of ethnic or cultural heritage, the individual whose burial it commemorates was apparently of mixed descent; his father was a Persian named Artam and his mother an Egyptian named Tanofrether, according to the details of his lineage, which are provided in hieroglyphic and demotic inscriptions (Figure 12.4). The date of the object is unclear, with some advocating a date in the first Persian domination of Egypt (525–404 BCE) (Mathieson et al. 1995; Vittman 2006), and others a date sometime in the first half of the fourth century BCE (Wasmuth 2010).

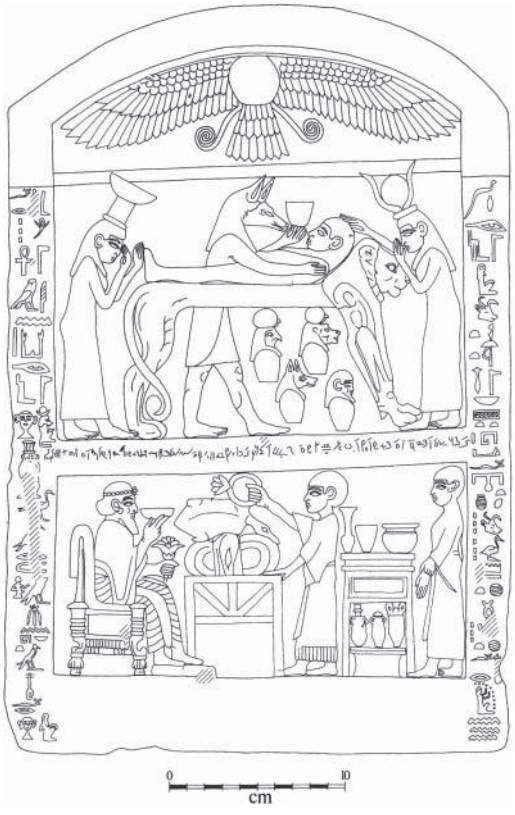


Figure 12.4 Image of Djedherbes stele from Saqqara. Adapted from Figure 3 in Mathieson, Bettles, Davies, and Smith (1995). Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

On this object, we are presented with the image of an Egyptian burial rite superimposed over an offering scene in an Achaemenid Persian style, conveying the same kind of duality as the deceased's parentage. The upper register contains a standard Egyptian funerary scene with the mummified dead lying on a lion-bier with Isis, Nephthys, and Anubis in attendance (Johnson 1999; Mathieson et al. 1995; Wasmuth 2010). In the lower register, a bearded, enthroned figure in Persian dress raises a phiale to his lips with one hand and holds a lotus in the other. He is seated before two offering tables and attendants wearing long tunics. The meaning and cultural origins of this scene are debated. Wasmuth (2009, 2010) argues that the enthroned figure is the deceased receiving offerings, a scene well known from Pharaonic and Late Period contexts, in this case fitted with details that suggest a Persian association for the deceased. Miller persuasively interprets the lower scene as having its roots in images of Near Eastern offering scenes derived from Assyrian types and attested in Persian glyptic (2011). Surely, though, there is more than cultural adjacency here, as this object evokes kinship and homeland(s) through a deliberate engagement with imagery that highlights the deceased's identification with meaningful ritual in both the Achaemenid Persian and Egyptian spheres. Notably, other kinds of evidence (language, priestly office, onomastics) for the use of ethnic categories in Persian-period Egypt suggests a kind of radical continuity under the Persians with the impact of Persian rule quite limited in many respects (Johnson 1999; Briant and Chauveau 2009). This disjuncture highlights the critical role of material culture in illuminating ethnic and cultural discourses, however ambiguous they might be, in communities impacted by the Achaemenid Persian Empire.

Conclusion

Assessing the saliency of concepts such as ethnicity or cultural identity in lands impacted by the Achaemenid Persian Empire remains a challenge. While we can observe a dialogue around identity, possibly ethnic or cultural identity, in the material record (e.g., through an object such as Djedherbes' stele), we can, at the same time, recognize the enormous challenges in assessing the specific and contextual meaning of elements that carried the symbolic capital of ethnic or cultural association. In the case of the Achaemenid Persian Empire, this difficulty is thrown in to stark relief by the consistent and ubiquitous references to the subject peoples of the empire in the ideological framing of the imperial project as a whole. The distance between these two spheres is not likely to be bridged, making it all the more important that we remain sensitive to the articulation and negotiation of identity at the local level while at the same time recognizing the incredible complexity of the ethnic explanation and enumeration of empire as articulated from the center.

NOTE

[1]The system used to denote Old Persian inscriptions uses standard designations developed by R. G. Kent (1961). Translations in this chapter are taken from Lecoq's recent edition of the inscriptions (1997) unless otherwise noted.

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CHAPTER 13

Nubian and Egyptian Ethnicity

Stuart Tyson Smith

Self and Other

Ethnic identities are defined through real or perceived commonalities of culture, history, and language, but others can also ascribe ethnicity. Egyptian ideology presented an ethnic stereotype of Nubians, Asiatics, and Libyans as cowardly barbarians in contrast to civilized Egyptians. Similar constructs were pursued by other imperial cultures, both ancient and modern, including the Assyrians, Romans, Chinese, and British. We might view this as an illegitimate imposition of an inauthentic ethic category for the purposes of hegemonic control, but I will argue here that the creation of an ethnic "other" is a fundamental part of the phenomenon of ethnicity itself. This chapter explores the intersection of ethnicity and politics in a specific archaeological and historical context, the interactions between ancient Nubians and Egyptians, through a multi-scalar approach that takes state ideology, elite expression, and everyday practices into account. I begin with a discussion some of the problems and potential of studying ethnicity in antiquity, and justify my assertion that ethnic "othering" must be considered a legitimate part of ethnic dynamics, however much we might deplore its specific manifestations. After a brief geographical and historical background, I will then take a practice approach drawing on the historical, artistic, and archaeological records of Nubia and Egypt during the period of colonization (ca. 2000–1000 BC) and the emergence of the Nubian Pharaohs during the Napatan period (ca. 850–300 BC).

Ethnic identities are constructed through a consciousness of difference with reference to the specific cultural practices of ethnic "others." Ethnic stereotypes, in particular those imposed by colonial regimes, are often derogatory and serve to create or reinforce existing power structures rooted in definitions of a civilized "self" and barbaric "other" (e.g., Daugé 1981; Eriksen 1992; see also, in this volume, Chapter 14 by Nino Luraghi, and Chapter 5 by Johannes Siapkas). Ancient Egypt was no exception, with state ideology

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portraying Nubians and other foreigners as barbaric, uncivilized, and likened to animals (see the text that follows, and also Loprieno 1988; Liverani 1990; Smith 2003). These ascribed constructs of ethnic "other" seem illegitimate to us, since they are imposed externally and do not necessarily conform to a group's self-identity. This idea springs ultimately from an essentialist view that sees ethnic groups as primordial and immutable, so that there can be only one "authentic" definition of an ethnic group. As Bernard Knapp (Chapter 3 in this volume) and others point out in this volume, ethnicity has been approached conceptually by scholars in various ways, ranging from very specific formulations to broad definitions that essentially conflate ethnicity with culture, something that has prompted Goody (2001) and others to question the utility of the concept. I prefer a definition that acknowledges ethnicity as rooted in a sense of common origins, real or invented, constructed ultimately by individuals and both self-ascribed and ascribed by others in order to create distinctions between people (see Chapter 3 in this volume by Bernard Knapp, and cf. Díaz-Andreau and Lucy 2005).

Archaeologists have generally sought ethnicity as a distinctive material assemblage, reflecting ethnicity's emphasis on primordial attachments, but under this essentialist definition ethnic groups have proven elusive in the archaeological record (see also, in this volume, Chapter 3 by Bernard Knapp, and Chapter 5 by Johannes Siapkas), causing some archaeologists to despair of ever identifying ethnicity (e.g., Díaz-Andreau 1996; Hides 1996; Hall 1997, 2002). Jones (1997) deploys practice theory as a solution to this conundrum, arguing that ethnicity is grounded in, but not directly equivalent to, Bourdieu's (1977) notion of *habitus*, as Bentley argues (1987: 27–9; *contra* Yelvington 1991: 168). Instead, she argues that a sense of ethnic identity is drawn from the *habitus* in specific social contexts in order to create a consciousness of difference (Jones 1997: 92–4). Since it is possible to connect material culture with social practices (Bentley 1987), this theoretical model can help us find individual expressions of ethnic identity in the more mundane archaeological record that reflects everyday encounters and activities while acknowledging the important influence of the particular social milieu of those actors. The tension between individuals and *habitus* is particularly heightened in situations of cultural contact that involve competition and conflict, as is the case with Nubia and Egypt (Spicer 1962; Isajiw 1974; Hodder 1979; Royce 1982; Comaroff and Comaroff 1992; Jones 1997; Smith 2003).

Ethnic Self and Other in Ancient Egyptian Ideology

Ancient Egyptian state ideology explicitly linked ethnic groups with territory (Loprieno 1988; Liverani 1990; Smith 2003), generally divided into four different ethnic groups. Asiatics and Libyans to the northwest and northeast and Nubians to the south surrounded the Egyptian *ethnos*. The depiction of the Egyptian and foreign *ethnê* in art and literature matches Akhenaton's description of the "peoples" created by the sun god Aton (Lichtheim 1976: 131–2): "You set every man in his place . . . . Their tongues differ in speech, their characters likewise; their skins are distinct, for you distinguished the peoples." Akhenaton, and Egyptian ideology in general, offers us a remarkably modern textual and visual construction of ethnicity, representing ethnic groups as essentialized, distinctive traditions, bounded in space and time (see also, in this volume, Chapter 5 by

Johannes Siapkas). In artwork, their skin color varies, with Nubians being the darkest, matching the clinal north-to-south darkening of skin color as one approaches the equator (Keita 1993). This was not an ancient expression of race or racism, as some have tried to argue (Sarich and Miele 2004; *contra* Keita and Kittles 1997). Since Nubians could fully integrate into Egyptian society and rise to prominent positions in the state bureaucracy, dark skin did not denote inferiority (Smith 2003; cf. Snowden 1983). Instead, distinctions in skin color and geographical origin implied a common ancestry that spoke to primordial ties, a key component of ethnic identity. Dress, jewelry, hairstyle, and tattooing reflect different cultural practices, also reinforcing a common category in constructions of ethnic identity. Textual evidence emphasized differences in speech and religious practice, again all features commonly used in constructing ethnicity. The elements selected to represent each ethnic group were not entirely arbitrary, but made up of genuinely observed cultural traits that were selected to create ethnic stereotypes.

When tied to power relations, however, the features selected to define the ethnic "other" are often negative and subordinating (Eriksen 1992). Ancient Egyptian and Near Eastern ideology created and manipulated a positive ethnic self juxtaposed to negative ethnic "others" in order to legitimize the power and authority of their kings (Liverani 1990; Loprieno 1988; Smith 2003). In each case, the king pacified

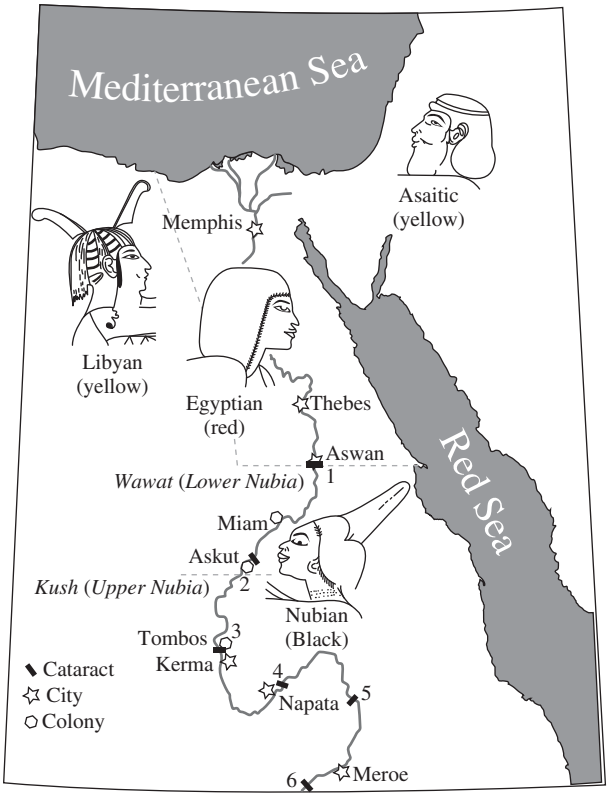


Figure 13.1 Map of Northeast Africa with the ethnic stereotypes and sites mentioned in text. Source: Adapted from Figure 16.1 in Smith (2007a).



Figure 13.2 Scene from Tutankhamen's painted box showing the king larger than life in his chariot, defeating a chaotic mass of Nubians. Source: Photo by author, Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

the "barbaric" foreigners, protecting the inner order and civilization represented by the ethnic self. In a military context, Nubians were cowards, instantly defeated by the king, if they even fought at all (Liverani 1990). For example, Tutankhamen's painted box shows the Nubian army in disarray, rushing in full flight before the might of an oversized Pharaoh (Figure 13.2; N. M. Davies and Gardiner 1962). On the Semna Stela, Middle Kingdom pharaoh Senwosret III asserts (Lichtheim 1973: 119): "Since the Nubian listens to rumors, to answer him is to make him retreat. Attack him, he will turn his back, retreat, he will start attacking. They are not people one respects, they are wretches, craven hearted." In keeping with this literary *topos*, the ethnic toponyms of Egypt's traditional enemies, Kush (Nubia), Palestine, and Libya, were always followed by the term "wretched" during the New Kingdom (Smith 2003).

The foreigner *topos* also likened the ethnic other to animals (Loprieno 1988), echoing the ambiguity of the term *ethnos*, which, as discussed by Siapkas in Chapter 5 in this volume, might be used to refer to animals as well as peoples (also Tonkin, McDonald and Malcom 1989; Hall 1997). For example, at the end of the New Kingdom text "The Instruction of Ani," the student complains that no one could possibly learn everything that Ani presents to him. Ani replies that animals can be trained, and that "one teaches the Nubian to speak Egyptian, the Syrian, and other strangers too. Say 'I shall do like all the beasts', listen and learn what they do" (Lichtheim 1976: 144). In a similar vein, Tutankhamen's box juxtaposes hunting scenes on the lid with the images of defeated ethnic enemies on the sides (N. M. Davies and Gardiner 1962). The Romans also created negative stereotypes of the groups who resisted them on the Egyptian frontier with Nubia. For example, to Pliny, the Nubian Blemmyes were headless people with eyes and

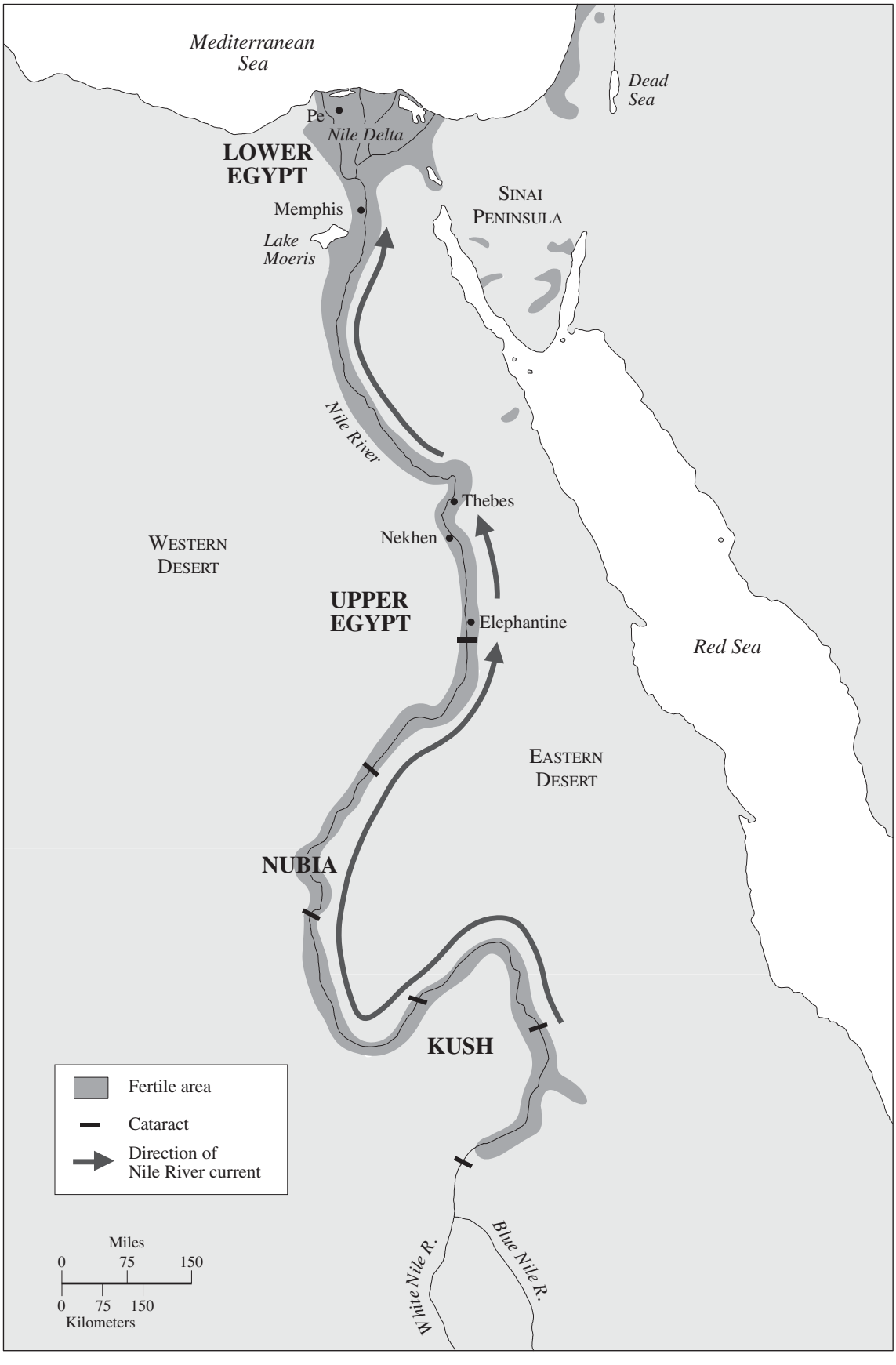
ears in their chests (Rackham 1938: 250–3). Solinus described them as barbaric savages who simply leaped upon their prey like an animal when hunting (Sidebotham, Hense, and Nouwens 2008: 365–8). We cannot know if the Nubians had similar characterizations for Romans or Egyptians, but the Tswana in South Africa retaliated to being called "skepsels" (creatures) by Afrikaner settlers by referring to them as "makgoa" (white bush lice) (Comaroff 1978; Crapanzano 1985).

In grand public settings and more intimate gatherings, the Egyptian king's surroundings and accoutrements emphasized the self–other opposition of superior ethnic Egyptian and inferior ethnic foreigner that, as a legitimizing ideology, tied the king to the cosmological struggle between order and chaos (Assmann 1990). For example, images of the king slaying enemies on both large-scale monuments, ritual objects, and regalia go back to Narmer, a generation or so before the official unification of Egypt (ca. 3100 BC), and continued in use into the Greco-Roman Period (ca. 332 BC to AD 400). On a more intimate level, Tutankhamen, for example, had a number of personal items and regalia that played on a similar theme. Four of his walking staves had *topical* images of a Nubian and/or Asiatic on their curved base (Malek 2000–2004)—not their handles as in the recent Tutankhamen exhibit (Hawass 2005: 188), a common mistake deriving from a superficial similarity to modern canes (e.g., Meskell 2004: 120–1, Figure 5.1; Shaw 2000: 320; Ritner 1993: 120). In the correct configuration, he would drag his enemies through the dust as he walked, a form of sympathetic magic that allowed him to constantly dominate Egypt's enemies. And just in case one missed that symbolism, a pair of sandals had similar images, as did his footstool, allowing the king to repeatedly trample his ethnic foes (Ritner 1993: 119–36).

Case Studies from Nubia

Five case studies drawn mainly from the New Kingdom and Napatan period will serve to illustrate the role that the integration of archaeology with textual and visual sources can play in understanding ethnic dynamics using a multi-scalar strategy. After a brief historical overview, the first examines how Nubian Prince Hekanefer negotiated his way between a self-ascribed identity as an Egyptian official and an ideological role as a member of the ethnic "other" of "Wretched Kush." This is followed by two case studies that examine the ethnic dynamics of life in Egyptian colonial communities. Ceramics provide insights into the role that foodways play in ethnic politics at the fortress of Askut, where Nubian women married into the Egyptian colonial community. A similar situation prevailed farther south at Tombos, which provides an example of how burial practice and religion reflect similar countervailing assertions of identity between colonized and colonizer. Finally, I will examine how Piankhi created fictive ethnic and divine ties as legitimate king through the revival and adaptation of the Egyptian ideology of self and other of Egyptian ethnic stereotypes, and return to the complex signaling of Egyptian and Nubian identities at Tombos, which remained an important center during this period.

Nubia consists of the southern third of Egypt, today inundated by the reservoir of the Aswan High Dam, and the northern half of the Sudan, stretching from the first to sixth cataract of the Nile (Figure 13.1). The granite of the cataracts created a navigational obstacle that also marked key cultural boundaries and political borders both



Map 13.1 Egypt.

between Egypt and Nubia and within Nubia itself (Trigger 1976; Adams 1977; Morkot 2001; O'Connor 1993; Smith 2003). During periods of Egyptian expansion, Nubia represented an external frontier, although in the south it was only marginally less complex than the Egyptian core.

During the Middle Kingdom (ca. 2050–1650 BC), Egypt conquered Lower Nubia, installing an elaborate group of fortresses and colonial communities from the first to the second cataract. This move secured direct access to the rich Wadi Allaqi gold fields and eliminated a middle man in the long-distance exchange of other exotic goods from farther south, such as ebony and ivory (Zibelius-Chen 1988; Smith 1995). At the same time, a polity known as the kingdom of Kush developed a highly sophisticated, centralized state at the site of Kerma in Upper Nubia just south of the third cataract (Edwards 2004; Bonnet and Valbelle 2006). In 1650 BC, they took control over Lower Nubia, dominating Egypt for 100 years (V. Davies 2003), but still working through the old Egyptian colonial communities, who now served the king of Kush instead of the Egyptian Pharaoh (Smith 1995).

Between 1550 and 1070 BC, the Egyptians reoccupied their old colony and conquered the kingdom of Kush, establishing control at least through the fourth, and perhaps the fifth cataract (Morkot 2001). New Kingdom colonial policy actively promoted assimilation in Lower Nubia, and the local C-Group culture had largely, but not completely, disappeared within a generation (Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991; Smith 1998). A new group of Nubian rulers turned the tables on their conquerors and became kings of the Egyptian Twenty-Fifth Dynasty with Piankhi's consolidation of power after his campaign of 727 BC. These Nubian Pharaohs ruled Egypt for about 100 years until the final defeat of the last Nubian to rule Egypt, Tanutamun, at the hands of Assyrian king Ashurbanipal. Although they lost control of Egypt, Tanutamun and his successors continued to rule an extensive state for nearly 1,000 years that stretched from the second to at least the sixth cataract, creating a vibrant new culture that blended elements from both Egyptian and Nubian traditions (Smith 1998; Morkot 2000; Edwards 2004; Török 2009).

Hekanefer, New Kingdom Nubian Prince

The tomb of the viceroy of Kush Huy, New Kingdom Egypt's chief colonial administrator in Nubia, contains a remarkable depiction of the ceremonial presentation of *Inu*, or tribute, to King Tutankhamen (ca. 1325 BC; N. Davies and Gardiner 1926: Pl. XXVII). The scene names one of the Lower Nubian princes who grovel before the viceroy and his pharaoh, a man named Hekanefer, prince of Miam (see Figure 13.3). Dark skinned, with a distinctive Nubian hairstyle that includes ostrich plumes, wearing Nubian jewelry and a leather belt and sash, he appears, along with his companions, as the embodiment of the Nubian ethnic *topos*. Yet, in his Nubian tomb, he appears completely Egyptian, and his grave goods are those of a member of the Egyptian elite who believed in all the intricacies of an Osirian afterlife (Simpson 1963). I have argued that Hekanefer's change from Egyptian official to Nubian prince represents an instrumental shift in ethnic identity made in order to meet the demands of an imperial ideology that required him to represent the *topical* Nubian "other" pacified by the pharaoh (Smith 2003).

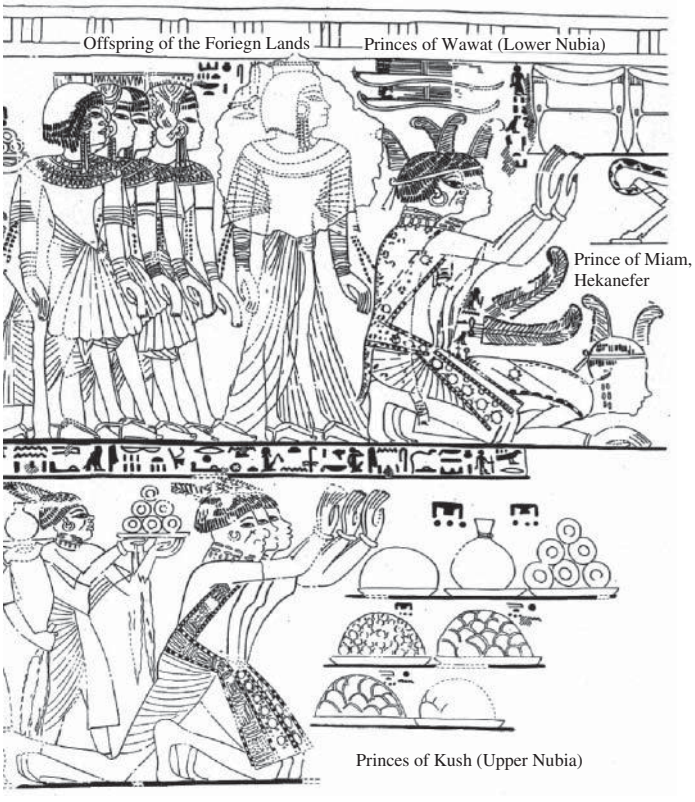


Figure 13.3 Hekanefer and the other princes of Lower and Upper Nubia pay homage to King Tutankhamen in the annual ceremony of presenting *Inu* (tribute) in the tomb of the viceroy of Kush Huy. Source: Plate XXVII from Davies and Gardiner (1926). Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

Darnell and Manassa (2007: 134) disagree with this interpretation, instead arguing that Hekanefer's appearance as Nubian in the tribute ceremony reflected the importance of his position in the colonial hierarchy rather than his "otherness." However, if Nubian-ness were an important part of their identity, then the Nubian princes would have represented themselves as such in their tombs, since the purpose of such tomb scenes was to commemorate and preserve the tomb owner's identity (Hartwig 2004: 41). Instead, we see a contradiction between their other-ascription as Nubian in the ceremony and their self-identification as Egyptian in their own tombs. By appearing as a *topical* Nubian at Thebes, Hekanefer and the other princes played a central role in the context of an impressive manifestation of royal power and authority. As pacified ethnic Nubians, they connected the king to the cosmological battle between order and chaos, *Maʿat* and *Isfet* (Assmann 1990). As noted earlier, this ideologically charged symbolism of the ethnic "other" surrounded the king, and the appearance of the princes would have resonated with this symbolism. For example, Akhenaton is shown at the "Window of Appearances" during the presentation of the "Gold of Praise" to a loyal official with bound *topical* ethnic prisoners rendered below the balustrade while individuals dressed in the ethnic

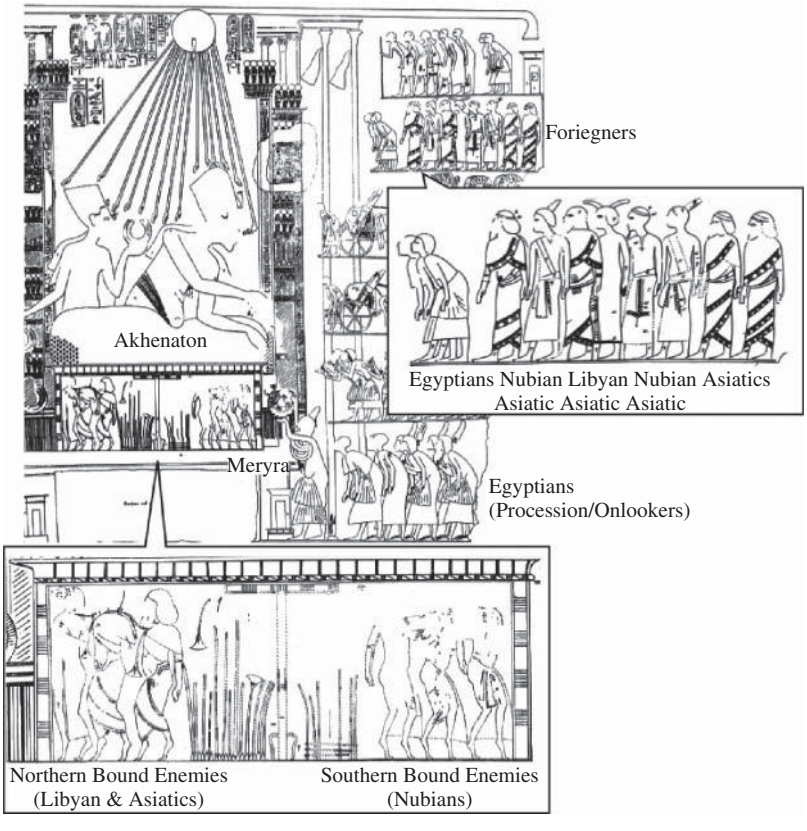


Figure 13.4 Foreigners and ethnic stereotypes at the rewards ceremony of Meryra II from his tomb at Amarna. After plates XXXIII to XXXV in Davies (1905). Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

topos look on (Figure 13.4; N. Davies 1905, Pls. XXXIII–XXXV). Hekanefer and the other princes appeared at such ceremonies as living icons for "Wretched Kush," presenting and/or abasing themselves in front of the pharaoh before all the assembled nobles, and in a procession of exotic peoples and goods to the pharaoh viewed by large numbers of people.

Foodways at New Kingdom Askut

Hekanefer was a member of the Nubian elite, but how did ordinary Egyptians and Nubians express their ethnic identity? At first glance, Egyptian colonists in Nubia apparently forged a society identical to the Egyptian core, unlike the northern empire in Syro-Palestine (Trigger 1976; Kemp 1978; Adams 1984; Higginbotham 2000). The fortress at Askut is no exception. Built in ca. 1850 BC, this small fortified settlement was occupied continuously through the initial period of Egyptian colonization in the Middle Kingdom (ca. 1850–1680 BC), through Nubian control in the Second Intermediate

Period (ca. 1680–1550 BC), down to the end of the New Kingdom Empire (ca. 1550–1070 BC), and on into the Napatan period when Nubians ruled as pharaohs (ca. 750–650 BC; Smith 1995, 2003). As is the case elsewhere in Lower Nubia, Askut's whitewashed walls would have provided a materialization of Egyptian dominance, and probably of Egyptian ethnicity as well. The community's houses and a small chapel also signaled the inhabitant's Egyptian identity. As with the other forts, Egyptian-style artifacts dominate the material assemblage. As a result, Egyptologists have emphasized the emulative character of these settlements, either characterizing them as a transplant of Egyptian culture through colonization, and/or a complete assimilative acculturation of native groups.

Nubian and Egyptian pottery differ dramatically in manufacture and decoration, so it is easy to separate even body sherds along cultural lines. Careful consideration of the social context of their use, therefore, makes it possible to use the ceramic evidence as a proxy for ethnic identity. The ceramics from Askut were broken down into three sub-assemblages—service, storage, and cooking pots. As is the case at the other forts, Nubian pottery appears consistently, but overall in small numbers (see Figure 13.5). When broken down into sub-assemblages, however, an interesting pattern emerges (Smith 2003). The percentage of Nubian pottery in the service sub-assemblage fluctuates, starting very low in the Middle Kingdom, increasing substantially in the Second Intermediate Period, when Nubians controlled the area, declining sharply in the New Kingdom, correlating with the new colonial policy of assimilation, and increasing again in the Napatan Period when Nubia conquered Egypt. Foodways vary both between and within cultures as a marker of status (Goody 1982). Thus, the spike in Nubian fine wares during the Second Intermediate Period and Napatan Period

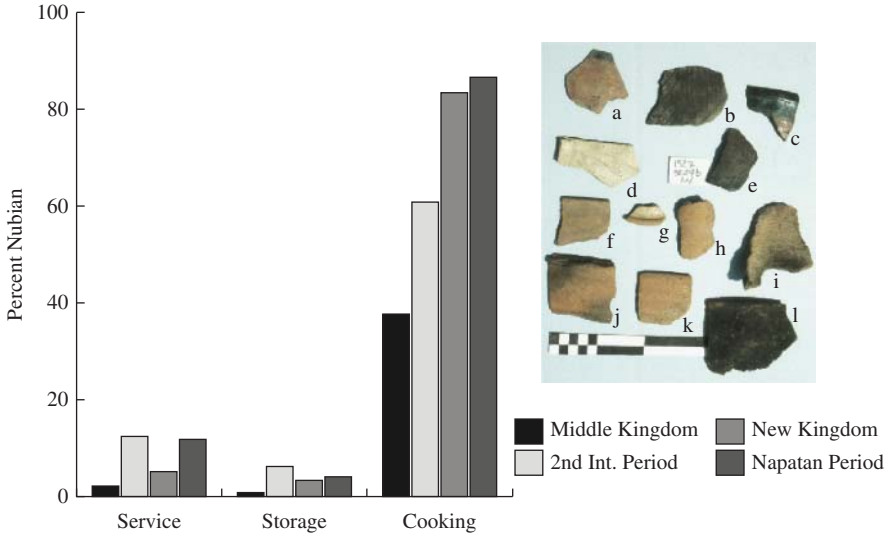


Figure 13.5 Percentage of Nubian sherds by sub-assemblage at Askut. Sherds from a Second Intermediate Period deposit at Askut, a–c and e are Nubian, d and f–l are Egyptian. Source: author, photograph of sherds by the author, Fowler Museum of Cultural History at the University of California, Los Angeles.

may reflect an instrumental assertion of ethnic ties demonstrating links between the community and their new Kushite overlords through display during feasting, perhaps driven by the men who helped manage the lucrative trade in luxuries. This might correspond to Goody's (1982: 151–2) notion that the elements of foodways that connect to larger political systems tend to be more changeable in order to meet political contingencies.

The pattern of cooking pottery, however, is very different from the serving assemblage. Nubian cook pots are over-represented at Askut, starting at nearly half of the cooking sub-assemblage, growing to two-thirds in the Second Intermediate Period, and dominating during the New Kingdom and Napatan Period. If we suppose, as Egyptian historical sources indicate, that women did most of the cooking, then Askut reflects a kind of counter-acculturation, with Nubian women transforming colonial foodways. Goody also observes that those culinary practices without external entanglements tend to be more conservative, and the prominence of Nubian cook pots and cuisine at Askut may thus reflect the less overt influence of Nubian women on the community's foodways. The fact that the proportion of Nubian cook pots, and presumably Nubian cuisine, increases steadily over time implies that this is more than just a passive retention of a Nubian *habitus*, but instead an active assertion of Nubian ethnic identity that eventually came to dominate this particular social context.

Although rooted in the *habitus*, foodways play an important role in engendering and negotiating social identities (Wood 1995). In a similar colonial context, native women in Spanish Saint Augustine used local pottery and maintained native foodways (Deagan 1983). Lightfoot and Martinez (1995) argue that native women in California's Russian colony at Fort Ross used cuisine and the organization of domestic space to assert their native identity. Foodways and burial practice allowed slaves on southern plantations to maintain a separate ethnic identity, and cuisine continues to play a key role in African-American ethnicity (McKee 1999: 235). Although Voss (2008) cautions that this model should be applied carefully, it nevertheless seems appropriate here. Nubian women within Egyptian colonial communities such as Askut may in a similar way have used foodways to provide an ethnic counterpoint against Egyptian political and cultural hegemony.

Burial Practice at New Kingdom Tombos

Located at the headwaters of the third cataract of the Nile, Tombos lay upon an important border, marked and explicitly indicated by a number of stelae carved to commemorate the defeat of Kush by King Thutmose I in 1502 BC. It lies only 10 kilometers from Kerma, the former capital of the kingdom of Kush. Preliminary evidence from three seasons of excavation indicates that the cemeteries there were used from ca. 1400 to 600 BC (Smith 2003, 2007b). Excavation of the nearby Egyptian colonial settlement has thus far proven problematic, so this section focuses on funerary practices.

Apart from small amounts of Nubian pottery, funerary architecture and grave goods overwhelmingly reflect Egyptian burial practices during the New Kingdom (ca. 1400–1070 BC). An elite area contained 10 or more large pyramid tombs of a type popular with high-level bureaucrats during the New Kingdom (Badawy 1968; Smith 2003).

One of these tombs was dedicated to Siamun, who held the title "Overseer of Foreign Lands." Siamun would have played a prominent role in the colonial administration, regulating traffic across this internal border and perhaps assembling the annual tribute in gold, cattle, slaves, ivory, and other precious goods from the conquered kingdom of Kush. In a nearby middle-class component of the cemetery, remains of decorated and inscribed coffins, evidence for mummification, and specialized items such as Ushabti figurines reflect an Egyptian belief system, while luxuries such as a rare Mycenaean juglet attest to the prosperity of the community (Smith 1992, 2003). The use of vaulted subterranean chambers as family crypts also reflects Egyptian practice, since Nubian tombs were usually made for only one person. Since Egyptian (and presumably also Nubian) funerals were public events, monuments, practices, and objects such as these on display during funerals would overtly signal and materialize an Egyptian identity to the participants, evoking primordial ethnic ties to Egypt.

During the second season of excavation, however, we found burials of four women in Nubian style, flexed and oriented head-to-the-east as opposed to the position of the Egyptian burials that lay above and around them, extended (i.e., mummified) on their back, oriented head-to-the-west. Looters had shoved one of these burials into an unusual position in order to steal valuable jewelry, but had missed a set of Egyptian amulets dedicated to the dwarf god Bes, who the Egyptians believed protected the household from both physical and spiritual dangers (Wilkinson 2003: 102–4). A Kerma-style cup was placed at the head of another set of two Nubian burials, but apart from the cup and a couple of shell beads, the grave goods associated with all four burials were Egyptian. This inconsistency shows the complexities and the long-term entanglements that often characterize colonial encounters and that complicate the recognition of ethnic identity. The amulets would, however, not necessarily have been visible during the funeral, and may therefore have been more a matter of personal choice. The burial of women in Nubian style, however, would make a very overt assertion of ethnic identity against the formalized Egyptian rituals of burial and monumentality of the elite cemetery's pyramids.

Piankhi, Pharaoh of Egypt

Upon their assumption of the Egyptian throne in 750 BC, the Nubian pharaohs of Egypt's Twenty-Fifth Dynasty appear to be more Egyptian than the Egyptians they conquered. Just 300 years earlier, these same people were the leaders of "Wretched Kush," subjects of Egypt's New Kingdom Empire (ca. 1500–1070 BC). Nubian kings adopted Egyptian regalia, worshiped Egyptian deities, and were buried under pyramids inscribed with Egyptian texts, their bodies mummified and furnished with Egyptian grave goods (see Figure 13.6; Morkot 2000; Edwards 2004; Bonnet and Valbelle 2006). They also consciously deployed the ancient Egyptian ideology of ethnic self–other in order to legitimate their claim as rightful kings, restorers of order after a period of fragmentation under multiple dynasties of Libyan descent. In his account of the final conquest and consolidation of Nubian control over Egypt, King Piankhi highlights his Egyptian-ness by stressing his piety, seeking the approval of Egypt's many gods in temples on his journey north, and protecting them from looting by his armies. When the rival princes of the north

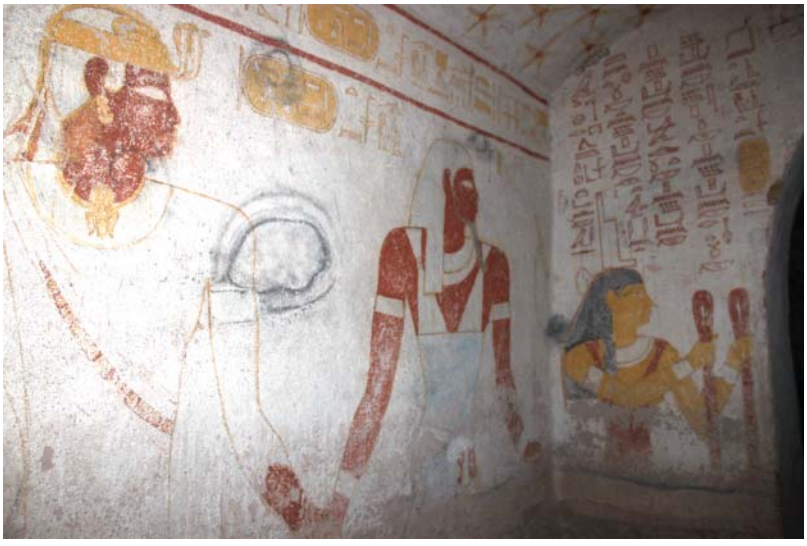


Figure 13.6 King Tanutamani of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty is led through the Netherworld by Om-Seti, one of the protective Four Sons of Horus, with the goddess Nepthys in the background. Note the distinctive Kushite ram amulets and cap crown with double uraei. Source: Photo by author, from the tomb at el-Kurru, Sudan.

finally assemble to submit to his authority, he sends most of them away (Breasted 1906: Part IV, 443):

> When the land brightened, very early in the morning these two rulers of the South and two rulers of the North, with serpent crests, came to sniff the ground before the fame of his majesty, while, as for these kings and princes of the Northland who came to behold the beauty of his majesty, their legs were as the legs of women. They entered not into the king's house, because they were unclean and eaters of fish; which is an abomination for the palace. Lo, King Namlot, he entered into the king's house, because he was pure, and he ate not fish. There stood three upon their feet, (but only) one entered the king's house.

In a classic example of political theater, Piankhi demonstrates his own proper sacred knowledge and Egyptian-ness against the Libyan "otherness" of his rivals, who do not know the proper religious protocols for approaching the king, the living incarnation of the god Horus, in his palace. The "other" princes are also described in terms that place them within the ethnic stereotype of the foreigner-*topos*, as princes from the Northlands (i.e., Syro-Palestine and Libya) and acting cowardly when approaching the king.

In monumental art, the Nubian pharaohs adopted the old imagery of ethnic self and other. For example, Piankhi's nephew Taharqa had himself portrayed as a sphinx trampling *topical* Asiatic enemies when he expanded the old New Kingdom colonial temple of Amun-Re at Kawa (Temple T; Macadam 1949, Pl. IX), imitating New Kingdom examples such as the painted box of Tutankhamen (cf., N. M. Davies and Gardiner 1962). This ideological strategy was a successful one, leading to 100 years of rule in Egypt, but while it is framed in primordial, essential terms, the Napatan ideology of kingship

represents a selective adaptation of Egyptian ideas rather than simple imitation (Smith 1998; Török 2008). As Gates-Foster (Chapter 12 in this volume) points out for Persia, Nubian rulers did not simply emulate Egyptian forms, but rather deployed and manipulated Egyptian iconography in a complex process of cultural and ethnic entanglement resulting in acceptance, rejection, and adaptation of different features from Egypt, transforming Nubian identity but filtered through an underlying Nubian sensibility (Smith 1998; Török 2008; cf. Dietler 2010). For example, Nubian rulers such as Tanutamani were represented with distinctly Kushite features and created new regalia based on Egyptian themes, such as the cap crown with its double Uraeus (cobra) and ram-head amulet representing Amun-Re (see Figure 13.6). Since they were modeled on the tombs of the elite New Kingdom nobles, the Napatan royal pyramid tombs are as much an innovation coming out of their colonial entanglement with Egypt as an imitation of any Egyptian royal monument. Nubian queens also played a more important political and ideological role than their Egyptian counterparts, as is evident in their interment in separate pyramid tombs on a par with those of their contemporary kings. This serves as a reminder that ethnic identities are not static, especially in the context of cultural interaction (see Chapter 3 in this volume, by Bernard Knapp), but change with the demands of new social contexts and, in our case, political contingencies, both internal and external.

Burial Practice at Napatan Tombos

Many of the Napatan elite followed the royal example by adopting Egyptian practices, but in contrast to models stressing Egyptianization based on the royal practices that provided an ethnic legitimacy to their claims to rule Egypt, the cemetery at Tombos continued in use through the Napatan period, with mixed elements that reflect a diversity of practices. On the one hand, the continuing construction of pyramid tombs and re-use of older Egyptian-style tombs for multiple burials commemorated ties to an Egyptian past and to the new Napatan social order. Decorated and inscribed coffins and high-quality grave goods such as the heart scarab of a scribe named Tuwy (perhaps the primary owner of the pyramid) would have been on display during funerals and signaled the owner's, and perhaps most importantly their relative's, affiliation with the new Napatan order, as well as their ties to an older Egyptian colonial identity. Evidence of mummification and the inhumation of large numbers of individuals in single tombs are other examples of very overt Egyptian practices.

In contrast, a new area made up of tumuli (circular burial mounds) appeared just to the southeast of the older cemetery, tying the owners to an older, Nubian past (see Figure 13.7a). Other traditional Nubian practices that would have evoked primordial ties include the placement of the deceased on beds (a practice that continues to this day) and the interment of only one or two individuals in each tomb. Although single inhumations are not uncommon in Egypt, the exclusive use of this traditionally Nubian practice among the tumuli contrasts to the common utilization of multiple burials in crypts in the more Egyptian part of the cemetery. At the same time, however, the burials are almost all supine, with the only exception a female who was buried in flexed position, and many showed evidence of mummification and/or had traces of coffins. Additionally, Egyptian amulets, including scarabs, were found in many of the tombs, but the range of deities

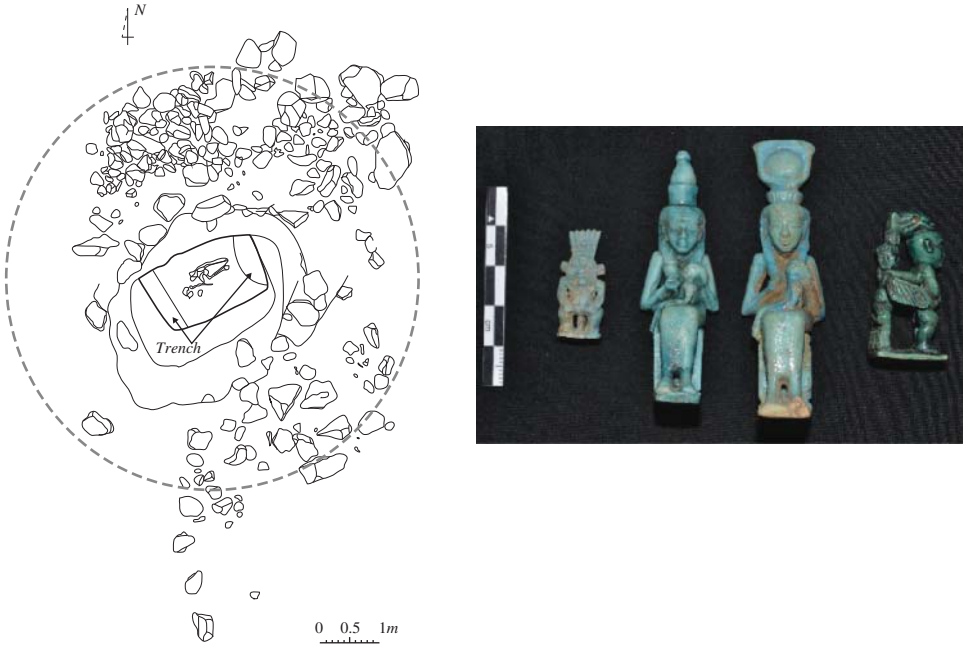


Figure 13.7 (a) A typical Nubian-style Tumulus at Tombos. The trench in the burial shaft was for the feet of a bed. (b) Egyptian amulets from another similar tomb from the early Napatan Period: from left to right, Bes, Isis suckling the infant Horus wearing different crowns, and Pataikos with a scarab on top and winged goddess behind. Source: Author, photograph by author, architectural drawing by Nadejda Reshetnikova, Tombos project surveyor.

seems to be rather selective, including the cow-goddess Hathor, Isis, the dwarf god Bes, and Pataikos, a child god with a similar role of magical protection (see Figure 13.7b; Wilkinson 2003: 123).

Conclusions

Ethnicity is only one of multiple identities that people assume in a given situation that might be reflected in both the textual and material records. At any particular time, other forms of identity, such as gender or social position, might play a more important role (Meskell 1994). In order to identify ethnicity in the past, we must think carefully about the social contexts in which ethnic identities might be particularly salient, and how that might manifest in the textual, artistic, and archaeological records. Colonial frontiers provide a fruitful location for an examination of the intersection of politics and ethnic dynamics, since ethnicity is often heightened in situations where cultures come in contact and conflict. Nubia and Egypt provide rich textual and artistic sources for the exploration of constructions of ethnic self and other, but they ultimately prove insufficient to the task because of their inherent biases toward the elite and the legitimating ideology of kingship (cf. Chapter 3 in this volume, by Bernard Knapp). Here, archaeology plays a vital role. In order to fully understand ethnic politics in the past, we must shift our focus from the

group to the individual, thinking in terms of how ethnic identities are generated through individual practice in specific social contexts—in our case, households and burials. Thinking in these terms can bring us closer to understanding the complexity of ancient ethnic dynamics. As Knapp (Chapter 3 in this volume) notes for Cyprus (cf. Chapter 12 in this volume, by Jennifer Gates-Foster), Bhabha's notion of a "third space," where identities are renegotiated, applies to Nubia and Egypt, but I favor Dietler's (2010) model of entanglement to hybridity (see Chapter 8 in this volume, by Gary Reger). We can only understand the social and political dimensions of ethnicity by recognizing that individuals fundamentally have choices in consumption and practice, even in situations where social and political constraints may limit their options. In our case, Nubian and Egyptian individuals interwove different cultural threads, producing new ethnic configurations as a result of their long history of interaction and colonization. Even in the context of the dramatic shift toward Egyptianization that characterizes the New Kingdom Empire and the Napatan kingdom that succeeded it, the material record reflects a complex mosaic of ethnic point and counterpoint. Individual men and women played a role in cultural and ethnic dynamics that transformed colonial society into a dynamic social field for negotiating cultural differences, not just producing a cultural hybrid. Even in a situation of apparent ethnic polarization coinciding with political borders and ideological boundaries, we can see the permeability of putative ethnic boundaries, and the socially contingent nature of both ethnic identities and cultural interaction.

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FURTHER READING

As an introduction, David O'Connor's (1993) *Ancient Nubia* is the most accessible examination of the relationship between Nubia and Egypt. For a more in-depth treatment, David Edwards's (2004) *The Nubian Past* provides the most up-to-date general review of Sudanese and Nubian archaeology, covering interaction between Egypt and Nubia. My own *Wretched Kush* (Smith 2003) provides the most substantial theoretical focus on ethnic dynamics in the context of Egypt's imperial expansion into Nubia during the second millennium BC. Although not explicitly theoretical, Mario Liverani's (1990) *Prestige and Interest* examines ideology and reality in constructions of ethnic stereotypes for ancient Egypt and the Near East during the Bronze Age. Along similar lines, Antonio Loprieno's (1988) *Topos und Mimesis* provides a detailed study of the ancient Egyptian ethnic stereotype (*topos)* of foreigners as chaotic enemies in the state ideology vs. their more positive and naturalistic representation (*mimesis)* in literary and more prosaic documents. Finally, László Török's (2009) *Between Two Worlds* is the most detailed examination available of the long history of interaction between ancient Egypt and Nubia, including a wide-ranging discussion of the dynamics of acculturation and syncretism, power, ideology, and political economy throughout Egypt and Nubia.

CHAPTER 14

The Study of Greek Ethnic Identities

Nino Luraghi

Framing the Study of Identity

The study of what the ancient Greeks thought of themselves and of how and why they considered themselves to be different from everybody else goes back quite a while before ethnicity and related terms became popular among Greek historians. After all, with all its various nuances, the dichotomy Greek-*barbaros*, as the Greeks called everybody else, is one of the most familiar facts about ancient Greek culture. Sure enough, similar systems of classification, which in the end develop out of an elementary opposition "us–them," are present in many other cultures, as for instance S. T. Smith's work shows in the case of ancient Egypt (see his contribution to this volume). However, the notion that this binary opposition was particularly central to the collective identity of the Greeks, while partly a product of the usual isolationism of classicists, can claim some intellectual respectability, if nothing else, because the Greeks constitute a striking example of a civilization that kept alive such binary worldview in spite of extraordinarily intense interaction with other cultures, and in spite of the fact that its carriers were spread discontinuously over a comparatively large tract of land around the Mediterranean and its hinterland, interspersed with people who were different from them in terms of religion, language, and culture. Although experience on the ground and theoretical reflection in different ways undermined the rigidness of the opposition (Skinner 2012), the Greeks had to be conquered by the Romans before they admitted any complication to the polarity. In classical studies, classics such as Momigliano's *Alien Wisdom* (1975) have confronted headlong the consequences of this mental attitude, offering cultural historians abundant food for thought.

Broadly speaking, the current of studies on what we would nowadays more likely call Greek collective identity developed mostly after the Second World War, taking in new

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directions the earlier concerns regarding the problem of political unity within the Greek world that reflected very clearly a nineteenth-century agenda dictated by nationalist ideology. Research has tended to cluster around two periods of time, the Persian Wars and the Hellenistic period. The Persians being the *barbaroi* par excellence, it should not surprise that the two turning points in the relationship between them and the Greeks should garner most attention. The two clusters had markedly different characteristics, which derived directly from the kinds of evidence available in each case and had a direct impact on the kind of research that emerged.

Sources for Hellenistic history do not include a continuous ancient narrative, except for Alexander's campaigns, and Hellenistic literature has mostly not survived beyond the Middle Ages, but on the other hand, inscriptions from all over the Greek world and Asia Minor and papyri from Egypt offer a wealth of documentary evidence that is unparalleled for previous periods of Greek history. This means that historians have a real possibility of observing interactions between speakers of Greek and local populations on the ground, but also that sweeping generalizations are more difficult to make—all the more difficult because of the inherent conservatism of fields of research that are heavily based on documentary evidence. This, however, is only one part of the story. By and large, in spite of the head start provided by Momigliano's study, Greek identity in the Hellenistic period has until recently lacked a true theoretical framework. The accumulation of studies on the role of local elites in the administration of the Hellenistic kingdoms makes this problem even more evident. Accordingly, broad questions of the articulation and transformation of Greek identity have remained anchored to the foundational moment of Alexander's conquest until the end of the last century.

For research clustering around the Persian Wars and their aftermath, the situation was entirely different. From very early on, Aeschylus' *Persians* and Herodotus' *Histories* formed the backbone of interpretations that have seen the Persian Wars as crucial to the rise among the Greeks of a sense of their distinct identity (Pugliese Carratelli 1966). Only at a much later stage did archaeological evidence enter the picture, complicating it in many ways and showing that, in fact, various aspects of Persian culture exerted a powerful attraction on the Athenians, supposedly the flag-bearers of Hellenocentrism (Miller 1997).

The dominance of highly sophisticated works of ancient literature meant that this branch of the study of Greek identity profited deeply from the linguistic turn in historical studies, which from the 1980s onward brought to a new level of subtlety the study of literary texts, and especially historiography, as historical evidence (Spiegel 1997). The picture that resulted, well summarized and nuanced in Paul Cartledge's 1993 *The Greeks: A Portrait of Self and Others*, showed the Greeks' image of the *barbaroi* as the product of a Foucaultian discourse of otherness, in which the *barbaroi* embodied the opposite of all that the Greeks (or perhaps the Athenians) thought of themselves. Most representative of this scholarly paradigm are François Hartog's 1980 *Le miroir d'Hérodote* and Edith Hall's 1989 *Inventing the Barbarian*. Apart from taking as their starting points two different sets of texts, Herodotus' *Histories*, and especially the ethnographic excursus on the Scythians and the story of Darius' campaign north of the Danube in

Book IV for Hartog, and Athenian tragedy, and especially Aeschylus' *Persians* for Hall, one could say that the main differences between these two studies derived directly from the anthropological methodologies that formed their intellectual paradigm. The influence of Lévy-Strauss' structural anthropology impregnates Hartog's book, and is in fact responsible for most of the criticism leveled at it, especially by Anglo-Saxon scholars (Munson 2001). On the other hand, in the way that Hall's approach presupposes a strong connection between the intellectual world of the Greeks and their social reality, one can easily spot the heritage of functionalist anthropology and especially of the work of Mary Douglas. Beyond this fundamental difference of paradigms, both books converge in seeing the way that Greeks created an imaginary portrait of the *barbaroi*, or of some *barbaroi*, as reflecting the formation and articulation of a Greek identity, an identity that included, besides many oppositions typical of any "us–them" dichotomy, the characteristic notion that political freedom, as conceived by the Greeks (Raaflaub 1985), was essentially the boundary between Greeks and non-Greeks (an idea developed in Meier 2009).

Reliance on very rich and complex literary artifacts, and of course authorial ingenuity, have provided these two books a very appealing texture, elegant arguments, and no loose ends, aspects that concurred in making them extremely influential. At the same time, both their methods and their conclusions begged several broad questions. Apart from the obvious fact that focus on self-definition and the construction of otherness could not but bring the authors to overemphasizing, albeit implicitly, the cultural importance of the patterns of thought they were illustrating and explaining, it is not at all clear to what extent such patterns of thought should be seen as typical of the Greeks, as opposed to the Athenians, or even only to some smaller group of which Herodotus and the tragedians were part. Furthermore, in both cases, what was really investigated was ideology, not social practice. However, this complex of problems has not really become central to scholarly concerns until very recently (Gruen 2011). The main reason of this delay is that, during the nineties, the debate on Greek identity was radically reoriented by the rather sudden bursting of ethnicity into the field of ancient history, brought about especially by the work of Jonathan Hall.

Foregrounding Ethnicity

A timely book if there ever was one, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* had a profound and undeniable impact on the methods and research agendas of Greek historians over the last decade or so, which is all the more interesting, since the book did not come from what was at that point the most obvious premise, the study of Greek identity. In fact, Hall's approach had almost nothing to do with Hartog and E. Hall. It originated from a set of questions to do with delimiting from one another political communities in the early archaic period, in particular in the Argolid. Hall, in other words, was interested in ethnic boundaries within the Greek world, an approach whose avatars had been discredited by Nazi German passion for the Dorians, to the point that, after World War II, various

scholars insisted on the irrelevance of the distinction between Dorians and Ionians (most influentially, Will 1956). In order to forge the intellectual tools he needed for his pursuit, Hall explored in depth the study of ethnicity in post–Word War II anthropology and its impact on modern history, bringing for the first time concepts such as instrumentalism and primordialism onto classicists' radars. One of many things that Hall learned from his comparative pursuit, which was destined to have a very important impact on his own investigation, was the notion of the arbitrariness of ethnic markers: while all sorts of cultural practices, including language, religion, kinship systems, dress, food preparation, and even consumption, can, in certain contexts, become associated with ethnic boundaries, there is no cross-cultural and trans-historical law that allows the scholar to predict which of them will. Interestingly, considering that he came from archaeology, Hall ended up concluding that, in the absence of ancient texts that tell us how to interpret it, material culture alone cannot provide evidence on ethnicity. A further, very important point that Hall imposed to the attention of classicists was the fact that, in social practice, ethnic difference is usually recognized by the actors based on elements that are different from those of which the actors themselves think it consists—a principle that could be formulated in Weberian terms: at the bottom, ethnicity always relies on the notion of blood relatedness.

The most important influence on Hall's methodology was the work of Anthony D. Smith (especially Smith 1986; see also Smith 2004, which of course Hall could not have read). In his influential *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Smith argued for ethnicity as the pre-modern ancestor of modern nationalism, thereby rejecting the views of his teacher Ernest Gellner, who had argued that nationalism is a purely modern phenomenon, with no real historical predecessor (Gellner 1983; also Anderson 1991). In spite of its modern agenda, Smith's work has become a mainstay of research on ethnicity in the pre-modern period, too, especially due to his persuasive analysis of the constitutive elements of the pre-national ethnic groups, which Smith calls *ethnie*. Such elements include a common language, a myth of common descent, a shared history, a distinct cultural pattern, and finally, a specific territory. Hall argued for the application of these categories to the study of ethnic identities in the Greek world, narrowing the list down to two indispensible elements, a myth of common descent and a specific territory. Thereby, the relevant evidence for identifying ethnic groups in Greek antiquity came to be represented mainly by myths of migration, foundation, and eponymy. For instance, Hall attributed particular importance to the genealogy of Hellen found in Hesiodic poetry as the foundation charter of Greek ethnicity and to the alternating Heraclid and Dorian myths of origins in the Argolid as representing the self-perception of distinct ethnic groups.

The aspect of Hall's work that received most criticism has been his assessment of the use of archaeological evidence for understanding ancient ethnicity—its use, not its value per se, on which Hall clearly has no doubt. The most sustained challenge has come from Sîan Lewis' *Archaeology of Ethnicity*, which came out at the same time as Hall's book. In hindsight, it seems obvious that Hall is right. While it is clear that ethnicity, grounded as it is in social practice, can profitably be conceptualized as a component

of Bourdieu's *habitus* (Bentley 1987; Eriksen 1991), and while it stands to reason that the objects used and manipulated by an individual are in many ways connected with his or her *habitus* and accordingly likely to express (also) that person's ethnic identity, there is no way to unpack such expressions if we do not posses statements coming from the actors themselves that tell us which specific items and patterns of behavior are loaded with an ethnic meaning. Not even invoking Bourdieu's magical name can eliminate this hurdle. Archaeologists need to resign themselves and look at the written sources: if we want to interpret archaeological evidence in relation to Greek ethnic identities, we need the voice of the Greeks to tell us where to look (Antonaccio 2003).

On the other hand, a different aspect of Hall's approach that has been much less controversial may look more problematic in view of current developments in the study of ethnicity. This has to do with the use of categories originally developed to study the role of ethnicity within modern nationalism. In order to see why this may be the case, we need to take a few steps back and look at the larger picture.

Ethnicity and Analysis

After their triumphal advance in the last quarter of the last century, ethnicity and ethnic identity have recently come under fire. Increasingly, scholars signal dissatisfaction with the insistence on boundaries and on cultural difference that is built into the study of ethnicity, and call for more attention to be devoted to phenomena that challenge the rigidity of ethnic description and ascription. A decisive factor in this development lies outside the world of the ivory tower. The fact that the concept of ethnicity started inspiring some diffidence has much to do with the historical experience of the last decade of the twentieth century, when the polarized world of the Cold War came to a rather sudden and unexpected end, leaving behind, instead of peace, an alarmingly high number of vicious regional and local conflicts. Among the most infamous inheritances of the 1990s, future historians will certainly count the Serbo-Croatian expression *etničko čišćenje*, or ethnic cleansing, used apparently by the actors themselves to describe the process that, between 1991 and 1999, separated the main components of what used to be the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, amidst an orgy of evictions, rape, and mass murder (Krieg-Planque 2003). In hindsight, it may seem rather paradoxical that ethnic identity should have functioned in public discourse as the discriminating criterion between the opposite sides, especially in the conflicts that involved the former republics of Croatia, Serbia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, considering that the only clear-cut divide was actually the religious one that separates from each other Bosniak Muslim, Croatian Catholic, and Serbian Orthodox. However, somehow, in the secular Republic of Yugoslavia, after 40 years of socialism, and more broadly in the secularized Western world of the late twentieth century, a religious war did not seem a viable option, whereas claiming ethnic difference as the basis for indiscriminate violence had a very high plausibility, as shown also by the ominous readiness of international observers to buy into the rhetoric of the conflict, evoking centuries-old

Balkan Ghosts, as in Robert Kaplan's influential and misguided 1993 book (cf. Mueller 2000). The fact that surveys conducted by Yugoslavian sociologists in the 1980s revealed lower levels of prejudice and hostility between Serbs and Croats than those characteristically found in studies of ethnic attitudes in the United States comes as a sobering reminder for those who get easily hypnotized by this rhetoric (references to the data in Mann 2005: 360).

The success of the term "ethnic cleansing" is more than a mere terminological curiosity. In post–World War II parlance, the eviction of minorities could not, as before, be described as "racial cleansing," because the whole etymologic area of "race" has become taboo, and for very good reasons. However, this is only one half of the story. While it is clearly the case that the vocabulary of ethnicity can be a euphemistic replacement for that of race, it is more than just that. First of all, the term "ethnicity" has the advantage over "race" of not implying naturalistic or biological claims that our dominant cultural discourse considers implausible. However, even more importantly, the term "ethnicity" has traditionally been open to the defining use of cultural difference, and is therefore a more flexible framework than race—a flexible framework for violence, among other things. The fact that "ethnic identity" has become an accepted category in public discourse, with a reputable scholarly pedigree, has the paradoxical consequence of making available a new system of inclusive and exclusive boundaries, which in turn lend plausibility to the concept of ethnic conflict, which, as Michael Mann has shown, is a creation of the twentieth century (Mann 2005; see also Wimmer 2002).

Of course, it would be ridiculous even to contemplate the notion that the study of ethnic identity may in any sense be held responsible for the so-called ethnic conflicts of the late twentieth century. However, a case may be made, and has been made in various ways by various scholars, that even the most sophisticated approach to ethnic identity runs the risk of reifying a cultural phenomenon, thereby affirming the perspective of some historical agents as if it were an objective fact. One factor that plays a role in making scholars less sensitive to the potential creation of factoids by ethnic rhetoric has to do with the habit, especially common in North America for historical reasons, of regarding ethnicity as the underpinning of the rightful claims of underprivileged groups. In this framework, any attempt at deconstructing ethnicity pointing to its constructed nature and to its frequent lack of roots in the past, as in the instrumentalist paradigm, can be seen as undermining those claims and promoting the agenda of the dominant group. One familiar example is provided by Susan Alcock's study of Greek identity in the Roman Empire and of Messenian identity under Spartan domination (Alcock 2002), with its emphasis, on the one hand, on the implicitly oppositional nature of the cultivation of Greek cultural heritage (see already Alcock 1993), and on the other on the early archaic roots of Messenian identity. In both cases, the rejection of an instrumentalist approach, which would emphasize the importance of the contexts in which both phenomena are actually observed rather than their presumed distant origins, appears to be a misguided expression of sympathy for what are perceived to be oppressed human communities. One is left to wonder why the supposed Spartan oppression of the once-free Messenians should provoke more outrage than the

sheer exploitation of human beings through slavery, which the Helot system clearly was. Nor should we ignore the fact that the recourse by the ruling elites of the province of Achaia to the symbolic capital constituted by the Greek cultural heritage was also a way of advancing careers in the imperial administration and of socializing their superiority over their fellow Greeks (Lafond 2006). For every wealthy descendant of Heracles and the Dioscuri, there were hundreds of common people who lacked a comparable pedigree. There is nothing surprising here: Fredrik Barth, the scholar who has done probably more than any other to advance our understanding of the instrumental side of ethnicity, already described it as the pursuit of political goals through the idiom of primordial relatedness (Barth 1969). In both the cases just mentioned, this description has clearly a very high explanatory potential, and we should soberly explore its implications before we start empathizing with cultural resistance, or we may end up barking up the wrong tree.

However, even Barth's instrumentalist approach, which focuses on ethnic boundaries as the social locus whence ethnic identity can best be observed, may set the scholars' agenda in a rather unilateral way. The nature of the ethnic group as a historical phenomenon is in need of an even deeper reassessment, in order to disentangle it from layers of scholarly discourse that have determined its shape in current social theory. Most urgently, two points require attention: firstly, it is necessary to look at how and why the concept of the ethnic group came to be defined within cultural anthropology, and secondly at its role within the study of nationalism. One of these lines of thought has implications especially for how we think about the Greeks and Greekness, the other for how we interpret ethnic identities within the Greek world. I will discuss them in reversed order.

Ethnicity and Nation

The fact that the nation-states that emerged after the French Revolution employed extensively the vocabulary of blood ties, primordial relatedness, and kinship more in general, is too well known to require comments (Smith 2009). More interesting for us is Anthony Smith's thesis, alluded to in the preceding text, which points to ethnicity as the pre-modern evolutionary progenitor of nationalist ideology. Much as Smith's categories can be extremely helpful, his approach involves two problems, one of which may not be immediately obvious but has very relevant consequences for his understanding of the ethnic group, and by extension, for the possibility of using his categories in other historical contexts. The first problem is that Smith shows an alarming propensity to regard the constitutive elements of his *ethnie* as factual realities, with the inevitable exception of the myth of common descent. Thereby, attention shifts away from the fact that each element, independent of its origin, needs to acquire a symbolic meaning in order to perform its function within an ethnic configuration. In this process, suppression of objective facts is the rule, not the exception. In other words, seeing the constitutive elements of *ethnie* as objective facts means, in many cases, taking ethnic rhetoric at face

value. This, however, is a relatively minor problem, one that does not seriously undermine the usefulness of the model. Carlo Tullio-Altan has shown how Smith's categories should be modified in order to avoid this danger, namely by building symbolic activation into the interpretation of the constitutive elements of any given ethnic configuration (Tullio-Altan 1995).

Less obviously, but more problematically, Smith's approach, with its insistence on the *mythomoteur* of ethnic groups, implicitly posits political sovereignty as the teleological cause of the *ethnie*, and thereby ends up being dangerously close to projecting into the past the nationalist rhetoric of the nineteenth century, which saw the ethnic group as an imperfect nation, or as a nation as yet without a state. In other words, this approach underplays the discontinuity brought about by the rise of the modern nation-state, sidestepping the question whether the institutional framework of the nation-state may not in itself be responsible for the mobilizing power of ethnicity. Why this is problematic may be clearer to ancient historians than it is to their modern colleagues.

If we look at it synchronically, the world of the Greek poleis appears to be structured according to tiers of identity, each with its own system of boundaries, some of which corresponded to the boundaries of political communities. In some cases, the active political boundary could as it were shift upward or downward among the tiers, as shown by Catherine Morgan's work on archaic Greek *ethne*: at different points in time, the politically significant border could be the one between Tegea and Mantineia or the one between Arcadia and Elis, and the shift happened so effortlessly that it is very often hard for modern scholars to tell which tier was the politically active one at any given time, as shown by the spotty history of Greek federal states (Morgan 2003). Essentially, every single one of these systems of boundaries could be depicted as delimiting ethnic groups according to Smith's definition: apart from larger groups such as Dorians or Boeotians or Arcadians, at the level of the single *polis*, the vocabulary of kinship and blood-relatedness featured prominently in the names of the subdivisions of the citizen body, and one only need to mention terms such as *phyle*, *phratria*, *patra*, and so on. The citizen body was, to all intents and purposes, a closed descent group: membership could only be inherited from one's father or parents, with very rare exceptions. For this reason, it was very rare for ethnic boundaries to cut across a political community, with interesting exceptions in the colonial areas that would deserve sustained attention.

Now, surely one reason why the kinship-based rhetoric of modern nationalism resembles the ideology of the *polis* is that the former was indeed formulated under partial influence of the latter. However, the differences between the two cases are by far more important, not to mention more interesting, than the similarities. The rhetorical construction of the modern nation as an imagined community bears only a superficial resemblance to that of a Greek citizen body: quite apart from issues of scale, one only needs to think of the pervasive projection of threatening otherness across the borders or the emotional attachment to an alleged historical destiny that characterize nineteenth-century nationalism and provide the foundations for its inclination toward violent action. The notion of an ethnic community as a polity waiting to happen is ostensibly foreign to Greek mentality, as shown by the case of the Messenians, who

provide the clearest evidence for the emergence of a new political community within the continuum of the world of the *polis*. For their claim to political independence to be acceptable, they needed to convince the rest of the Greek world that they had indeed been politically independent once in the past, before being conquered by the Spartans. They did such a good job of it that many modern scholars have taken their efforts seriously and accepted as historical fact the products of their creativity, as reflected most comprehensively in book IV of Pausanias (Luraghi 2008). Now, of course, one could come up with countless examples of how modern nations enlist various political entities of the distant past as their alleged predecessors, but there is one subtle and important difference: the purpose of no modern nationalist movement has ever been to bring back to life a polity that had existed in the past. In spite of its traditionalist rhetoric, modern nationalism is constantly projected toward the future in a way that would have been unthinkable for the Greeks, and its dynamism derives precisely from this orientation. In modern nationalism, ethnicity is a militant ideology, and this was not the case in ancient Greece.

It may be worth formulating this conclusion in more general terms: the analogies that emerge from comparing the logical structures of historical ethnic configurations may be misleading if we do not situate them within concrete historical processes, bringing out the differences. In spite of the inherently comparative nature of the study of ethnicities, only recently has sustained attention been devoted to this side of the problem. A very promising matrix for comparison has been developed by Andreas Wimmer, who has isolated four parameters that are general enough to make it possible to describe and compare individual ethnic configurations (Wimmer 2008). First is the political salience of an ethnic boundary, that is, the extent to which a perceived ethnic discontinuity functions as the organizing principle for political alliances and conflicts. Second is the level of "groupness" of an ethnic group, its level of closure to social interaction across the ethnic boundary. Third is the relevance and structure of cultural differentiation that opposes the two sides of an ethnic divide. Fourth and final is the stability over time of an ethnic boundary. The three factors that most clearly influence these parameters are the institutional framework in which ethnicity plays out, the distribution of power on both sides of an ethnic divide and within an ethnic group, and the extension of political networks in a given ethnic landscape. Conceptualizing Greek ethnicities along these lines may be extremely productive—we will come back to this.

Ethnological Reason

Interestingly, the call for more attention to be devoted to the historical dimension of ethnic groups has been articulated most eloquently from within cultural anthropology itself, in the framework of a radical criticism of the methodological core of the discipline—and this brings me to my second point. The French anthropologist Jean-Loup Amselle has formulated a sustained scrutiny of the shortcomings of what he calls "ethnological reason," a fundamental structure that underpins the approach to cultural difference throughout the history of the discipline and across what

anthropologists see as the divides that separate from one another the various dominant methodological paradigms such as evolutionism, functionalism, structuralism, and so on (Amselle 1990). The continuity of ethnological reason is expressed precisely by its ongoing fixation on boundaries and on cultural difference, which in its turn is made necessary by the inherently comparative nature of the anthropological approach. In Amselle's words (quoted from Amselle 1998: x), "[I]n order to be integrated within comparative processes, whether inductive or deductive, the contents of anthropological categories must be abstracted from their historical contexts. Comparativism assumes diversity, and thereby guarantees that diversity will be found." In this focus on cultural difference as opposed to cultural continuity, Amselle and other anthropologists see, not without reason, a heritage of the colonial system, for which it was necessary to find ways of subdividing the subjects in order to integrate them into the colonial administrative structures: "The invention of ethnic groups is the joint work of colonial administrators, professional ethnologists, and those who combine both qualifications" (Amselle 1998: 11).

With a striking feedback effect, the categories produced by the Western social sciences have been appropriated by the colonized themselves, who in some cases turned them into the foundation of their own political agenda, in a political framework typically derived from first-world nationalism. Perhaps the most striking case of this feedback effect is the emergence of ethnic boundaries in Rwanda (Newbury 1987). Before becoming part of German East Africa at the end of the nineteenth century, Rwanda was a highly centralized kingdom, homogeneous in terms of language and religion. Its population was roughly divided in three groups based on wealth and main occupation, the one being, as is often the case, a function of the other: the Twa, semi-nomadic hunter–gatherers inhabiting the mountainous areas; the Hutu, a Bantu name that means "the ruled, the subjects," who were peasants; and the Tutsi, the wealthier cattle-owners who formed the ruling elite of the kingdom. It is fairly clear that growing or declining economic fortunes and changes in life style could move families from one group to the other. In other words, the three groups are best described as social classes. Both the Germans and later the Belgians, who took over Rwanda from the Germans after World War I, exploited this social system by ruling the country vicariously by way of its indigenous elite. However, in order to make sense of the social stratification in the framework of their own episteme, the Germans and the Belgians started speculating that the Tutsi, who seemed to them more civilized than the Hutu, had to be of a different racial origin. As Amselle would put it, once ethnologists started looking for differences, they found them: phenotypical stereotypes were developed, in which the Tutsi scored high in all the features that distinguished the Europeans from the Africans, and theories were developed that made of them immigrants of Kamite stock, or even Aryans. When the Belgians moved from indirect control to direct colonial administration, they literally reified these ethnic speculations, treating Hutu and Tutsi as two discrete groups and enforcing the distinction: the Belgian census of 1930 classified the people of Rwanda according to their ethnic origin, distributing identity documents that defined them, once and for all, as Hutu or Tutsi, even though the criteria for ascription were so flimsy that, in the end, the colonial administrators, incapable of telling Hutu from Tutsi and not trusting the self-description of the actors, identified as Tutsi whoever owned more than 10 heads

of cattle. Ethnic speculation and the classificatory needs of the colonial bureaucracy were the origin of the mechanism that snowballed into the 1994 Rwanda civil war that claimed the lives of 800,000 human beings, according to the most conservative estimates (Mann 2005).

The story of the origin of Hutu and Tutsi offers one more case proving that ethnic boundaries are not necessarily a spontaneous cultural phenomenon, let alone a referential reality. They may be created by the claims of oppressed groups, but they may just as easily be the product of the structuring needs of a centralized political power. The impact of the Roman Empire on the rise of the Germanic peoples has been assessed by Patrick Geary in terms that remind one immediately of Amselle's observations on colonial administration in Africa (Geary 1988). Even if we follow a consistently constructivist approach, we still need to be aware of the different reasons why and ways in which an ethnic boundary, and correspondingly an ethnic group, may emerge. The Germanic ethnogenesis model originally advanced by Reinhard Wenskus and more recently developed by Walter Pohl, in which a small group functions as the tradition-kernel for a larger group, is just one possibility, one that applies to very specific historical contexts (Wenskus 1961; Pohl and Reimitz 1998). Ethnic ascription may just as easily be a residual phenomenon, as it were, emerging in a loosely interconnected region surrounded by expansive ethnic groups who are themselves bent on creating ethnic boundaries. Thomas Heine Nielsen has interpreted ethnicity in Arcadia along these lines, stressing that the Arcadians were originally defined, and ended up defining themselves, by what they were not, that is, Spartans, Eleians, Corinthians, and so forth, all groups that were developing strongly marked and cohesive ethnic configurations in the early archaic period (Nielsen 2002). A similar process appears to account for the emergence of ethnicity in Nuristan, formerly Kafiristan ("land of the heathens"), up in the Hindu Kush Mountains in modern-day Afghanistan (Fussman 1988). In other cases, ethnic cohesion can be the result of external conquest of a formerly non-homogenous region, as I think was the case in the region we call Messenia, which probably was unified for the first time by Spartan expansion during the archaic period (Luraghi 2008). Yet another model, devised by Irad Malkin to understand the emergence of a Greek ethnic identity in the archaic period, points to contexts of interaction in borderlands and the transmission of ideas and concepts through an interconnected colonial network (Malkin 2011). Additionally, if we do not want to fall victims to a special kind of genealogical fallacy, we need to remember that the parameters that define ethnic boundaries can change in time as a result of historical processes of a nature different from the one that generated them in the first place.

Conclusion

Summing up, the study of ethnicity in the twenty-first century resembles increasingly the airport of Sarajevo during the civil war in Bosnia: there seem to be more pitfalls than runways. If we posit an ethnic group as a discrete object of historical research, be that the Croats, the Tutsi, or the Messenians, we need to be alert to the risk of hypostatizing it, thereby unconsciously surrendering to ethnic rhetoric. Taking an ethnic

group, even implicitly, as an active force, as an entity that does things, disguises the fact that such role is in fact played by various sorts of organizations, be they national bureaucracies, armed forces units, irregular militias, and what not (Brubaker 2004). The inherently dynamic nature of ethnicity makes it difficult to isolate for analysis, and yet, if recent scholarship has taught us anything, it is that, rather than reduce the continuum of human experience to a series of discrete synchronic structural models, it is necessary to start from social and cultural history and to delay the comparative moment to a later stage of the interpretive process. Otherwise, typology will inevitably gain the upper hand over the concrete circumstances of the human agents. The result will be logically tidy but illusory.

On the other hand, the study of ethnicity within the social sciences has come a long way from Barth and his critics, and offers various new lines of thought for the comparatively minded ancient historian. A structured comparison of historical contexts based on transferable parameters, as in Wimmer's matrix outlined earlier, can open the way to important insights. The different political salience of ethnic boundaries, which is exactly the kind of phenomenon observed by Catherine Morgan, points to the perfect overlap between political community and ethnic group at the level of the *polis*, which accordingly generated rigid and unequivocal boundaries and usually a low level of ethnic conflict, precisely because the boundary in general left no grey areas, and also because ethnic boundaries within the Greek world were regularly associated with an extremely low degree of cultural differentiation: people on both sides of the border spoke different varieties of what they themselves considered one and the same language, worshipped the same gods, if with different epithets, and their social institutions were extremely similar. Grey areas did exist along the boundaries between *ethne*, and in those cases, conflict could flare up whenever the shared identity of the *ethnos* became politically salient, as in the case of the frontier between Elis and Arcadia studied by James Roy (Roy 2000). However, possibly the most important point is that the possibility to assess the factors and parameters identified by Wimmer is necessary if we want to make specific statements on any ethnic configuration, including ancient Greek ones. In other words, the comparative study of ethnicity by itself provides rather little in terms of predictive value in the absence of evidence. A genealogical myth found in archaic hexametric poetry, or worse, in some later erudite source, is poor evidence for an ethnic configuration, unless we are in a position to tell—for instance, thanks to archaeological evidence for worship of the relevant hero—that the myth did have relevance to the supposed descendants.

Observing the political salience of an ethnic boundary and the level of closeness of the group it is supposed to delimit can also help classicists to formulate realistic assessments of the historical meaning of Greek cultural and literary artifacts that appear to express Greek ethnic identity. Eric Gruen's reassessment of the polarity Greek/*barbaros*, which ends up strongly deemphasizing its salience in actual social practice, does just that, if with a more traditional methodology (Gruen 2011). On the other hand, Benjamin Isaac's highly political investigation of the ancient roots of racism seems to produce a sharp image of Greek and Roman racial chauvinism precisely by substituting statements by philosophers and other literati for an analysis of facts on the ground (Isaac 2004)—which in any case reminds us of the inescapable double nature of any engagement with the Greeks, which cannot but be an engagement with ourselves.

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FURTHER READING

The history and meaning of the Greek/*barbaros* juxtaposition is subjected to a thorough review in Skinner (2012), a stimulating reading whatever one thinks of the specific conclusions. The study of Herodotus has moved away from Hartog's mirror, as witnessed, for instance, by Thomas (2001). Malkin (2001) includes a number of contributions by the main voices in the debate on Greek ethnicity. Hall (1997) is still highly recommended. As an introduction to the study of ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages, see Geary (2003). Most recently, Wimmer (2012) offers a fresh perspective on ethnic conflict in the twentieth century.

CHAPTER 15

Ethnicity and Local Myth

Angela Ganter, née Kühr

Tell me where you come from, and I'll tell you who you are. The curiosity of getting to know someone else is universally shared by human beings of contemporary and bygone worlds. By questioning the other's origins, we get insights into the other's personality, we get a glimpse of his identity. This is equally true for processes of self-recognition, and this applies not only to individuals but also to societies looking back at their roots in order to see who they are. Conversely, stories about origins reveal a lot about self-perception. They hint at the identities of the storytellers, at their views of themselves and of the world. Being convinced that the first human beings and the first events related to a phenomenon are decisive for defining its essence, the Greeks were especially fond of telling foundation stories. If we decode their specific ways of describing the past, Greek foundation myths help us to understand better who the Greeks were and what they wanted to be.

How History Began: Approaches to Ethnicity in Local Myths

> The first to occupy the land of Thebes are said to have been the Ectenes, whose king was Ogygus, an aboriginal. From his name is derived Ogygian, which is an epithet of Thebes used by most of the poets. The Ectenes perished, they say, by pestilence, and after them there settled in the land the Hyantes and the Aones, who I think were Boeotian tribes and not foreigners. When the Phoenician army under Cadmus invaded the land these tribes were defeated; the Hyantes fled from the land when night came, but the Aones begged for mercy, and were allowed by Cadmus to remain and unite with the Phoenicians. The Aones still lived in village communities, but Cadmus built the city which even at the present day is called Cadmeia. (Paus. 9.5.1–2; translation by W. H. S. Jones)

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This is how Pausanias narrates the beginnings of Theban history, or, more precisely, the beginnings of history at the place where Thebes would lie. The story forms part of his book on Boiotia, a region of Central Greece including Thebes as one of its main centers. What we read in his *Periegesis* is the product of him travelling, reading, and listening to the accounts of local informants. The result is a book written in the second century AD describing the various regions of Greece in an attempt to preserve a venerable cultural heritage bound to places and monuments.

According to the version presented by Pausanias, Theban history began with human presence at the site where the famous Greek city would later be. There were several groups involved, some replacing others, some overlapping with their predecessors. Several epochs of human activity passed before the city was built. The first tribe, according to Pausanias, was the Ectenes with their king Ogygos. They died out, destroyed by plague, before the Hyantes and the Aones settled in the area. They, in turn, were defeated by invading Phoenicians under the command of Kadmos. While the Hyantes fled, the Aones were subjugated by the Phoenicians and continued living there in co-existence with them.

Who were these groups? Apart from the Phoenicians, for us these *ethne* are hardly more than names, and we may doubt that Pausanias or his local informants knew much more about them than we do today. After all, these events had occurred hundreds and hundreds years earlier and the memory of them was preserved without written records. What we can do, however, is observe typical narrative formulas. The first ethnic group stands out by its relation to King Ogygos, who is explicitly qualified as an aboriginal, an autochthonous hero. These native inhabitants contrast with other tribes invading the region in later times, first and foremost the Phoenicians. The Hyantes and the Aones, in contrast, seem to be something in between: neither aboriginals, nor "foreigners," but Boiotians. Apparently, this ethnic group, which gave the region its name, was considered to have been originally composed of sub-groups. In this division, one group was the Hyantes, who later settled in Phokis, where they are supposed to have founded a city known as either Hyas or Hyampolis (Ephoros FGrH 70 F 119 = Strab. 9.2.3 [C401]). They would thus represent a type of Boiotian identity formation, or ethnogenesis, via differentiation. By excluding the Hyantes from their ethnic group, the Boiotians would have drawn a boundary to define themselves (see, in this volume, Chapter 3, titled "Mediterranean Archaeology and Ethnicity," and Chapter 5, titled "Ancient Ethnicity and Modern Identity"). In opposition to them, the Aones were included into the Boiotian ethnos. Etymologically linked with the terrain close to Thebes, the so-called "Aonian" plain, their name alluded to autochthony. As autochthony implied original rights to the land and as the oldest rights were regarded to be the most serious ones, both the link to autochthony and the ancientness of these tribes could be understood as expressing a higher legitimacy than the later city population could claim (see James Roy in this volume, Chapter 16, "Autochthony in Ancient Greece"). Chronologically speaking, the Ectenes and the Aones preceded the later city-*ethnos* of Thebes, the Kadmeioi, who were named after the foundation hero of the *polis*, Kadmos.

However, again, who were the Ectenes, who were the Aones? Pausanias and his contemporaries or the local historians, who had written down the early history of the region, made use of a widespread model of explanation: etymology. Taking existing names as their point of departure, for example, the Ogygian gate at Thebes or the Aonian plain,

they named early tribes by spinning the ethnonyms out of toponyms, which had existed for a long time and which seemed to be relics attesting the former existence of these tribes. This is how history acquired a face. That does not mean that Pausanias or other historiographers invented these myths. It is very difficult to say how old specific layers of foundation stories are. In this case, however, mythographers of later times tried to bring into a chronological scheme what was circulating on the early history of the region. Who came first? Several versions may have existed. Sometimes there was only a name left, a linguistic ruin such as the byname "Ogygian" classifying Thebes as being a very old city. And then people tried to make sense out of this relic; they spun history out of a name.

From a modern point of view, such an account reflects less what really happened in the Bronze Age or during the Dark Ages than what people telling these foundation stories believed had happened at the dawn of local history. In the version presented by Pausanias, the early history of Thebes was defined by several ethnic groups succeeding or even fighting each other, a history of plagues extinguishing tribes, of which only names remained, and a history of invading groups, who enforced migration or permitted integration of defeated former inhabitants. What is more, Pausanias gives a cultural reading of the events by presenting them as progressive chapters in a story that will culminate in the foundation of the city. In contrast to the Aones, the former inhabitants still living in village communities, Kadmos founded a city, Pausanias concludes. The foundation hero of Thebes is thus characterized as a cultural hero lifting regional culture to a new level.

Apparently, the old contrast between *poleis* and *ethne* is lurking behind this interpretation. Thucydides (Thuc. 1.5.3; 1.47; 2.68; 2.81; 3.94.4–5) and Aristotle (Aristot. *Pol.* 1252b 19–20; 1257a 23–27; 1326b 4–26) had already, long before Pausanias, defined *poleis* as the most cultivated form of living together, the Greek contribution to human civilization, whereas *ethne*, in the sense of tribal communities, were regarded as deficient. What does Pausanias' teleological narrative, in which each stage progresses toward the final stage of the city, mean when investigating ethnicity in local myths? First and foremost, we have to take into account that Pausanias should be read within the context of his own time. Though he certainly relied on older local histories of the region, it is hard to know which kind of sources he used exactly. To a certain degree, he himself alludes to them when citing "poets," when mentioning local informants by interjections such as "they say" or "it is said," and when declaring a conclusion being his own by adding "I think," as in the passage cited earlier. However, if we are interested in discerning conceptions of *ethne* and ethnicity in local myths that preceded the second century AD, we should investigate the transmitted evidence systematically by choosing a generic approach. Changes in the manner of telling and re-telling myths may offer ways of charting changes in identity.

How can we uncover the stratigraphy, as it were, of the account as it is related by Pausanias? Regarding myths, we not only face the problem of corrupt written records but also have to know that usually they were transmitted orally. They are traditional stories of collective significance, which are in a constant flow and which coexist in many versions. The transmitted versions are singular manifestations out of a myriad of variants, of innumerable stories told within a stream of oral tradition extending over hundreds of years. Of course, there is no alternative to looking at the transmitted evidence. By establishing

a chronological sequence of the sources, we get at least an idea of certain tendencies prominent at specific times and places.

To return to the passage in Pausanias, several questions arise. If we imagine identity existing on a series of levels, almost similar to matryoshka dolls, extending from the very proximate—family, clan, village—up to tribal and regional levels, then which identities are depicted here, and at what levels do they operate? On the one hand, there are several *ethne* only preserved by their names. Given their later disappearance and their exiguous earlier existence, how do we calculate their impact on the various local identities operating in Boiotia? On the other hand, we can see one very clear dynamic at work in Boiotia, and that is a tension between the local city identity centered on Thebes, which was frequently at odds with the regional ethnicity of the Boiotians. The *polis* Thebes was a central locus of myth in the Greek world, but these myths focus on Thebes and have little to say about Boiotia, as if the regional identity was little more than a superstructure added to Theban foundations. Yet, in political terms, the Boiotians constituted a sophisticated state from the fifth century onward. By no later than the early fourth century, Thebes was the most powerful city in the region. This complicated history presents us with pressing questions: how did different levels of identity develop in this part of Greece; how did the identity levels of the Boiotian *ethnos* relate to Thebes as the dominant *polis* of the region?

Furthermore, Pausanias writes the book on Boiotia from a trans-regional perspective. How local is the version presented by him? Do we get inside views on regional identities at all? Can we distinguish internal (i.e., emic) from external (i.e., etic) views? Methodologically, therefore, not only is a generic approach necessary, but so too is a spatial one. The places conserving, or re-evoking, memory range from topographical phenomena to monuments and names. A close look at the sites that myths are related to and at spatial aspects conserved in myths may help us to get an idea of the localities where the stories took place and to grasp how local thinking was mirrored in myths.

To illustrate how much the landscapes of memory had changed over 900 years up to the time when Pausanias wrote down his version in the second century AD, it will be useful to begin by contrasting his section on Boiotia with the oldest description of the region we have: the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships*. Next, Theban and Boiotian foundation myths will be chronologically reviewed in order to bridge the divide between these temporally distant descriptions. Here, the focus will be on the *polis* Thebes because her double foundation in myths points to the interdependency of *polis*-bound and ethnic identity. Similarly, the foundation myths of the regional ethnos, the Boiotoi, will be examined more closely.

Mind the Gap: Two Very Different Descriptions of Boiotia

In book 9, Pausanias makes a sharp distinction between the city of Thebes, at the very core of the book, and only two other segments of the Boiotian territory: the region of Plataiai in the south and the region of Orchomenos in the north. While Plataiai represents the main opponent of Thebes in the decades around the Persian Wars, Orchomenos is the

other Boiotian super-power in the Bronze Ages and in early Archaic times. Apart from these two exceptions, the whole book is little more than a description of the Theban sphere of influence (Frazer 1898, Vol. I: xxiii–xxiv; Hutton 1995: 105–25). The history and the myths of the Boiotian *ethnos* are summarized in two sentences while the history, myths, and spaces of the Boiotian *poleis* occupy a whole book. Apparently, they and their relations to each other are the focus of interest, not the Boiotian ethnos. Altogether, Boiotia is depicted as an extension or annex of Thebes.

A different picture emerges in the *Catalogue of Ships*, the very first document we have concerning the social organization of the Greek world. The transmitted version was probably fixed during the seventh century BC and describes the Greek contingents participating in the War against Troy (Visser 1997). Concerning the later region of Boiotia, there are two contingents involved—the forces of the Boiotians and the forces of the Minyans, the mythical rulers of the Boiotian *polis* Orchomenos:

> Of the Boeotians Peneleos and Leïtus were captains,
> and Arcesilaus and Prothoënor and Clonius;
> these were they that dwelt in Hyria and rocky Aulis
> and Schoenus and Scolus and Eteonus with its many ridges,
> Thespeia, Graea, and spacious Mycalessus;
> and that dwelt about Harma and Eilesium and Erythrae;
> and that held Eleon and Hyle and Peteon,
> Ocalea and Medeon, the well-built citadel,
> Copae, Eutresis, and Thisbe, the haunt of doves;
> that dwelt in Coroneia and grassy Haliartus,
> and that held Plataea and dwelt in Glisas;
> that held lower Thebe, the well-built citadel,
> and holy Onchestus, the bright grove of Poseidon;
> and that held Arne, rich in vines, and Mideia
> and sacred Nisa and Anthedon on the seabord.
> Of these there came fifty ships, and on board of each
> went young men of the Boeotians an hundred and twenty.
> And they that dwelt in Aspledon and Orchomenus of the Minyae
> were led by Ascalaphus and Ialmenus, sons of Ares,
> whom, in the palace of Actor, son of Azeus, Astyoche,
> the honoured maiden, conceived of mighty Ares,
> when she had entered into her upper chamber;
> for he lay with her in secret.
> And with these were ranged thirty hollow ships.
>
> (Hom. Il. 2, 494–516; translation by A. T. Murray)

Evidently, the *ethnos* of the Boiotians was already well known at the beginning of the seventh century BC. In the *Catalogue of Ships*, they belong to the very few *ethne* who are introduced with their name emphatically put at the beginning of the verse, whereas many others do not even have a group name. In addition, the Boiotians stand out by the number of their leaders, and their *poleis*, thus, present a particular case concerning the relation between *ethnos* and *poleis*.

Apart from the fact that Orchomenos is not included in the contingent of the Boiotoi, their region is the same as they would inhabit centuries later. Geographically, the

Boiotoi of the *Catalogue of Ships* are grouped around Thebes. However, is the later center of Boiotia in fact the core of the Boiotian contingent? Significantly, the *polis* itself is not even named. Instead, we find the term "Hypothebai" (Hom. Il. 2.505). In contrast to Orchomenos, who leads a contingent on her own, Thebes or her substitute appears in the middle of a long enumeration of *poleis*. Was the *polis* not as important at the beginning of the seventh century as we might presume from the crucial role she later played in Boiotian history? Perhaps, but in the *Catalogue of Ships*, the *polis* stands out nevertheless. Only "Hypothebai" ("lower Thebe") and Onchestos, the cult-center of Boiotia, get a verse on their own. From that perspective, Thebes is not as unimportant in the *Catalogue of Ships* as one might think at first glance. Departing from the textual organization, Onchestos with its sanctuary of Poseidon and "Hypothebai" are the most important places in Boiotia. They are directly followed by Arne. Consequently, the later super-*polis* Thebes, Onchestos as the cult-center of the Boiotoi, and Arne, the mythical hometown of the Boiotoi, seem to define the core of Boiotia at this time.

The comparison of the seventh-century *Catalogue of Ships* with Pausanias' description in the second century AD illustrates that something had changed over the intervening centuries. What happened in between to bring about these different images of the same region? How could the history of Boiotia become almost equivalent to the history of Thebes, as it is in the description of Pausanias, unlike in the *Catalogue of Ships*, which takes *ethne* or tribes as the most important category for subdividing the Greek world, and in which Boiotia is characterized by an impressive number of different *poleis*? Tell me where you come from, and I'll tell you who you are. If we want to answer the question of how local and regional identities developed, we have to observe the emergence of different identity levels as expressed in the changing patterns of myth. Then we can bridge the divide between temporally distant descriptions.

The Double Foundation of Boiotian Thebes: The Interdependence of *Polis*-Bound and Ethnic Identity

Where do we come from? That is an essential question of humankind, even more in antiquity when etiology played a pre-eminent role. Whoever could point to powerful ancestors in their foundation stories was supposed to be powerful in actual politics as well. It was important, therefore, to know who had founded Thebes. Interestingly, two stories on the foundation of the *polis* exist: two heroes are regarded as the founders of Thebes. One is the well-known figure Kadmos, who came from Phoenicia while searching for his sister Europa. After a long journey, he arrived at Delphi, where he asked the Pythia how to find his sister. The oracle advised him to give up this quest and to follow a cow instead. Wherever the animal lay down, he was told, he should found a city. He did so, but at the spot where the cow fulfilled the prophecy, he also found a dragon. After defeating it, Kadmos sowed the teeth of the beast. In consequence, the first citizens of Thebes grew out of the earth, called "Spartoi" ("The Sown Ones") due to the fact that they had been sown.

That is the pre-eminent foundation myth of Thebes. If we look at the sources chronologically, an even more complex picture emerges. In the *Odyssey*, for example, the twins Amphion and Zethos are said to have founded Thebes:

> And after her I saw Antiope (…), who boasted that she had slept even in the arms of Zeus, and she bore two sons, Amphion and Zethus, who first established the seat of seven-gated Thebe, and fenced it in with walls, for they could not dwell in spacious Thebe unfenced, how mighty soever they were. (Hom. *Od.* 11.260–5; translation by A. T. Murray)

Who came first, Kadmos or the twins? Several explanations are possible (Berman 2004). Perhaps the stories are complementary ones that only had to fit together when mythographers of later ages tried to establish a coherent sequence of myths, or in Greek terms: of early historical periods. Sources of later provenience seem to confirm this assumption. In Pausanias, for instance, Kadmos and his men founded the acropolis, but are expelled after a period of time; later on, Amphion and Zethos re-founded the city. The oldest sources, however, give another impression. By stressing that the twins not only founded, but were the first who founded Thebes, the verses of the Odyssey cited in the preceding text seem to allude to a competing version, presumably the story of Kadmos as the hero after whom the Kadmeioi, the people living on the Theban acropolis called Kadmeia, were named.

Before discussing how to bring these conflicting myths of the Theban past together, we may find a concise overview on the chronological development of the stories instructive. Around 700 BC, at roughly the time as when the Homeric epics were written, Amphion and Zethos founded the city by constructing its walls. Kadmos, in contrast, is the head of the Theban royal house; nothing is said about his relations to Phoenicia, Europa, or Delphi. While the story of Amphion and Zethos stayed broadly the same over the following centuries and was locally bound, the myth of Kadmos began to develop in an extraordinary way. It included new elements and expanded all over the Mediterranean. Kadmos was so attractive that many other cities claimed to have been founded by him as well. From the fifth century BC onward, Kadmos was the Phoenician who came from the East in order to look for his sister and founded a city after consulting the oracle at Delphi. Being said to have been one of the very first human beings in the region and having brought the alphabet from Phoenicia, he became a Panhellenic civilization hero, a civilization hero fighting a monster, plowing the ground, installing cults, and sowing the first citizens of Thebes.

Though, from the fifth century onward, civilization was no longer equated with the construction of walls to protect an inhabited area, and though Amphion and Zethos represented an older model of civilization heroes, from Boiotian perspectives they had one advantage. Being the grandchildren of a Boiotian river, they were of autochthonous origins. And that was an important criterion for primordiality, a criterion with which the stranger Kadmos could not compete. Did that mean that *ethne* from southern parts of Boiotia could claim older rights than the Kadmeioi settling on the Theban citadel? Yes and no. In the long run, the Kadmeioi, or the Thebans, were in a stronger position when relying on their foundation hero, because the foundation myths that centered on Kadmos were so varied that they provided Thebes with both regional connections and international links. While the immigration from Phoenicia stood for an old cultural heritage,

the Spartoi as the earth-grown men represented the Theban element of autochthony. The adaptability of this myth guaranteed its success and the pre-eminence of the people, who defined themselves by telling stories of their ancestor Kadmos, the hero of the Theban citadel.

We do not know which *ethnos* selected Amphion and Zethos as its founding fathers. Perhaps the story hints at an early *synoikism* (union) taking place in the area of Thebes. A final answer to this question remains elusive. What the double foundation of Thebes does clearly depict, however, is the fact that early Greek history is a complex history of many ethnic groups emerging, fading, and mingling with each other, a complex history of *ethne*, which largely eludes us, apart from a pale shade preserved in local myths or names. Whether these *ethne* belong to the partly nomadic culture of the so-called Dark Ages or whether they can be traced back to the Bronze Age, they certainly represent earlier levels than the Boiotoi, the ethnic group related to the region which was named "Boiotia" from the Hesiod *Catalogue of Women* onward (Hes. F 218 Merkelbach/West).

The Boiotoi: Ethnicity on a Regional Level

Who were these Boiotoi? Sources proceeding from the Classical age give relatively simple answers by identifying them with the political organization of the Boiotian federal state and equating them with the Thebans, who predominated as head of the Boiotian League from the fourth century BC onward. If we go back further, we come across Pindar, who cites a proverb qualifying the Boiotians as "swine" (Pind. Ol. 6.89–90; Dithyr. F 83 Maehler). As a native Theban, Pindar dismisses the proverb by calling it an old prejudice. This attitude is significant because it demonstrates how the emic and the etic view, that is to say, the internal and the external perceptions of the Boiotian *ethnos*, differed from each other. Of course, a Boiotian such as Pindar could not accept that non-Boiotians dismissed his ethnic compatriots as rustic boors with no more than an agricultural background. He himself is the best example that Boiotia did produce famous poets, and that the region was much more than a cultural hinterland consisting of dumb farmers and warriors in contrast to Athenian cultural splendor. To prove the opposite of a prejudice is not the point here, though. What counts is that the prejudice itself sheds light on processes of ethnogenesis. The external perspective, the etic view, strengthened Boiotian identity by provoking mental resistance to this ascription. Rejecting ethnic characteristics applied from outside furthers the coherence of a group.

Our problem consists of getting to know Boiotian self-perception because most of the literary sources we have are of Athenian provenience, and the Athenians cultivated prejudices against their neighbor in the north by stylizing them as anti-Athenians, as a negative counter-image to everything they wanted to be themselves. How local, then, are local myths as we encounter them in the sources? We have to be very careful indeed.

Concerning the Boiotians, we do get at least some idea of how they defined themselves via foundation myths. The inside view revolves around the eponymous hero Boiotos as the common ancestor and Arne as the shared homeland. If there ever was a real place of that name, its geographical setting is unclear. The authors of our sources located Arne sometimes in Thessaly, sometimes in Boiotia. Apparently, they did not know any more and tried to reconstruct Boiotian pre-history as we try to do. However, our scholarly

methods and convictions differ from theirs. During the last decades, the commonly accepted view on ethnogenesis has undergone a fundamental shift. In contrast to the primordial view that the historically manifest tribes such as the Boiotians invaded the areas, where they settled later, during the Bronze Age or the Dark Ages, recent scholarship has emphasized the view that ethnogenesis took place within the later phases of settlement, and that ethnic group formation was bound to the growing consciousness of becoming or actually being a group (Wenskus 1961; Bourriot 1976; Roussel 1976; Funke 1993; Ulf 1996; Hall 1997; for Boiotia, see Kühr 2006; Larson 2007; Kowalzig 2007: 328–91; for primordial and instrumental approaches, see Chapter 3, "Mediterranean Archaeology and Ethnicity," and Chapter 5, "Ancient Ethnicity and Modern Identity" in this volume). Accordingly, foundation myths played a fundamental part in defining, that is to say, in constituting these groups. Ethnogenesis in this sense is what we can grasp from our sources. The sources mirror the process of defining the essence of *ethne* by telling tales of epic ancestry.

Nevertheless, ethnogenesis is more than a process of mere invented traditions. There were other elements, shared by various groups, that can contribute to the growing awareness of what we might call "ethnic commonness." For example, the participation in common cults or the geographical conditions of the region where the *ethnos* finds its homeland in historical times can foster the sense of peoplehood that is necessary for an ethnic identity. Furthermore, the foundation story of Boiotian immigration, set in a dimly remembered past—the past of "once upon a time"—is paralleled by cult traditions, other myths, and the Boiotian dialect, which in fact hint at ties with north-western Greece, mainly with Thessaly. This is a strong argument for supposing that there were indeed various and multiple ethnic groups entering the region during the Dark Ages or before. In fact, many Greek regions probably experienced a period of transhumance, a phase during which social groups remained on the move before they finally settled. However, these groups were not identical with the later *ethne* of historical times, who took shape in Archaic times. The tales of a common homeland, the stories of native *ethne*, and immigration as transmitted in Pausanias may reflect a remote memory of the epoch between the palace culture of the Bronze Age and the *polis* culture of historical times. However, they do not mirror what exactly happened. As with the ancients, we only have a hazy idea of this period of Greek history. We only vaguely know that there were several *ethne* emerging and fading, forming new groups, mingling with others, staying, or moving to form new groups until the regional *ethne* came into being as we know them from historically lighter periods of Greek history.

Significantly, the eponymous hero Boiotos as the common ancestor of the Boiotians is not attested before the sixth century BC, another indication confirming the theory that the historical Greek *ethne* took shape during the Archaic age. Boiotos always remained a pale figure in contrast to the widely known myths of the Minyai and the Kadmeioi, the *ethne* linked to Orchomenos and Thebes as the main palaces of the region during the Bronze Age and the main opponents in Archaic times. This opposition is evident in several myths and also appears in the *Catalogue of Ships*, where the contingent of the Boiotians excludes the Minyai from Orchomenos and Aspledon, as described in the preceding text. Though probably of later provenience, there are myths explicitly encoding this opposition, myths on the Orchomenian king Erginos and Heracles, who was a native Theban and the most prominent promoter of Theban expansionism. It is not

just coincidence that their conflict begins at the sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestos, one of the main centers of the Boiotian *ethnos* (Apollod. Bibl. 2.4.11; Paus. 9.37.1–3). Heracles finally defeats Erginos (Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 14.2; Eur. *HF* 48–50, 220–221, 560; Isoc. 14.10; Diod. Sic. 4.10.2–6; Strab. 9.2.40 [C414]; Apollod. Bibl. 2.4.11; Paus. 9.17.1–2, 25.4, 26.1, 37.2–3), secures Theban supremacy over Boiotia by clogging up the pipes of the Kopais drainage system, and thus floods the northern Boiotian basin, which was presided by Orchomenos. Consequently, he destroyed the economic base of Orchomenian power (Diod. Sic. 4.18.7; Paus. 9.38.7; Polyaenus, *Strat.* 1.3.5).

Of course, this is a foundation myth defending the hegemonic position of Thebes in Boiotia. However, it is much more than an account rooted in the sixth century BC, when Thebes began to promote her hegemonic position, or an account suitable for the fourth century BC illustrating Theban supremacy at the height of her power. It reveals that the growing regional identity of the Boiotian *ethnos* did not replace local identity patterns, which can be traced back to preceding centuries, and that Boiotian identity did not ever entirely displace the strong ties that bound individuals to their separate *poleis*. The regional *ethnos* rather provided another level of integration to be invoked in different situations, another level of integration that could become a foundation for political institutions on a regional base (see, in this volume, Chapter 18 by Emily Mackil, titled "Ethnos and Koinon").

To enforce regional cohesion by myths, the eponymous hero Boiotos had to play his part. Some authors declare him as being Poseidon's son (Korinna F 5 *PMG* Page; Eur., *TrGF* V.1 F 481; Hellanikos, *FGrH* 4 F 51; Nikokrates, *FGrH* 376 F 5; Diod. Sic. 4.67.2, 19.53.6; Hyg., *Fab.* 186), others as Arne's son (Hellanikos, *FGrH* 4 F 51; Nikokrates, *FGrH* 376 F 5; Diod. Sic. 4.67.2–4). Some declare him as being the son (Paus. 9.1.1; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Βοιωτία*) or the father (Diod. Sic. 4.67.7) of Itonos; others present him as the grandchild of Aiolos (Asios F 2 *PEG*; Eur., *TrGF* V.1 F 481; Strab. 6.1.15 [C265]; Diod. Sic. 19.53.6; Hyg., *Fab.* 186; Paus. 9.1.1). Sometimes, he is the father of Onchestos (Hes. F 219 Merkelbach/West). Genealogically, he is thus mainly linked to the panregional sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestos or to eponymous heroes such as Arne, Itonos, and Aiolos, representing Boiotian immigration.

To understand Boiotian identity, however, the myths directly linked to the eponymous hero Boiotos or to the myths of a common homeland are not enough. How complex ethnic identity was, how complex the attempt to describe ethnicity by investigating local myths really is, becomes evident when understanding the far-reaching implications of inconspicuous genealogical links. For instance Korinna, a poetess from Boiotian Tanagra writing in the first half of the fifth century or in the third century BC, proclaims that Ogygos was a son of Boiotos (Korinna F 18 *PMG*). Given that genealogies were one way of expressing hierarchical relations between several communities, and assuming that Ogygos is the Theban king we know from Pausanias, this genealogy demands Theban subordination to Boiotian affairs by declaring Boiotos more ancient and thus more legitimate than the first Theban king. The example clearly demonstrates that ethnic identity cannot be understood as simply superseding *polis* identities. We have to take into account the local myths of all the places and communities involved to understand regional identity. We have to observe how these myths changed over time, we have to keep in mind their variants and interconnections in order to get an idea of the regional web of myths, to understand the changing relations between the individual communities

and to understand which identity levels prevailed, whether *polis*-bound or ethnic identity, and whether these levels co-existed harmoniously or if they provoked tension and strife.

This is especially true for Boiotia. In the long run, Boiotia was equated with Thebes as its dominant center, at least from external points of view. Inside Boiotia, the perceptions differed. Boiotia was not Thebes, of course not, and Thebes did not dominate the region at every period of time. However, Theban myths became so prominent and so varied that other Boiotian poleis had to refer to Theban foundation stories, joining or rejecting Theban explanations of the world, in order to say who they were. Local myths defined the regional *ethnos.* The regional *ethnos* was defined in opposition to, or in accordance with, *poleis* identities, which themselves were constituted by several *ethne*, which sometimes were nothing more than names preserved in local myths.

Conclusion

Buxton (1994: 183) compares approaches to history via myths to a "peach theory of story-telling." By peeling the peach, scholars attempt to get closer to the stone symbolizing the very core of the story, thus to a nucleus of "real" history transmitted via myths. Unfortunately, he adds, there is also an analogy to the peeling of an onion: after taking off one layer after another, in the end one is left with nothing except tears.

Is he right? We certainly do not want to invest a great effort to be rewarded with tears. Of course there is much more to get. The message of the metaphor is not to stop investigating myths but to be aware of the dangers inherent in this fascinating material. A literal interpretation of foundation stories has been rightly rejected by the majority of scholars because we should refrain from assuming that myths describe real events at the dawn of history. The metaphor of the peach or the onion calls us to be methodologically aware of what we are doing. First, we should try to distinguish myths, which do have a core of historical events wrapped into layers of flesh and peel, from others, which do not. However, the latter do not have to make us cry, on the contrary. Rarely can we peel back the layers of a story to reach the historical event behind them. Often, we can do little more than guess. And sometimes it is even more interesting to examine the layers themselves, to observe the emergence and the changes of a mythical tradition, since these developments tell us a lot about ethnic identity understood as a continually changing phenomenon.

Methodologically, we should choose a generic approach to myths. We should take into account that the written version of a myth is only one variant out of many. We should keep in mind that the presentation of the myth very much depends on the circumstances of when, why, by whom, and for whom it was told. There are different layers of time, and there are different views we have to consider. Regarding local myths, we have to distinguish between emic and etic views in order to separate inside from outside perspectives on ethnic groups. Very often, it is hardly possible to distinguish stories of local provenience from those that were widely spread in the Greek world. Spatial approaches linking myths with the places they are bound to can help. In such cases, we can see through the tears and get a real opportunity to see Greek identities hovering between local, regional, and Panhellenic levels.

In the particular case of Boiotia, which we have examined here as a test case, we have to admit that we hardly know anything about ethnic groups living here before the Archaic era, and we hardly know anything about ethnic consciousness of local ethnic groups beyond regional *ethne* such as the Boiotians. In fact, we mostly know not much more than names. Local myths, however, give us a glimpse of the early history of regions. The later Greeks preserved the knowledge of a complex history of many ethnic groups emerging, fading, and mingling with each other. In the sixth century BC at the latest, regional ethnicity was enforced by telling stories of Boiotos as the common ancestor and of Arne as the mythical homeland. From then onward, the regional *ethnos* as we know it from later times of history took shape. However, regional identity did not simply replace local identity patterns going back to preceding centuries. And it did not replace identity patterns bound to the individual *poleis* of the region. To make it even more complicated, the *poleis* themselves were constituted by several groups with different ethnic backgrounds.

Tell me where you come from and I'll tell you who you are. In Archaic times, one could have answered the question by saying: "I am from Thebes, Orchomenos, or Tanagra," respectively, or: "I am from Boiotia." Later on, however, the answer: "I am a Boiotian" would be regarded as almost equivalent to the answer "I am a Theban," at least from an outside point of view. Tell me where you come from and I'll tell you who you are. If we want to get an idea of Greek ethnicity, we certainly have to know how complex it was, a web of identities constituted by several layers, which were interrelated with one another and changed continuously. Local myths open deep insights into this cosmos of ethnic mentalities and attitudes toward ethnicity.

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CHAPTER 16

Autochthony in Ancient Greece[1]

James Roy

"Autochthōn" and Autochthonos

Among ancient Greeks, there developed many collective identities, such as a common Greek identity, an identity as Dorians or Ionians, an *ethnos* identity as Boiotians or Phokians or Arkadians, and an identity as citizens of a *polis*: this list is not exhaustive (see Malkin 2001). These various forms of identity were not necessarily mutually exclusive, and a Greek could have identified himself in various ways in different contexts, as a Greek similar to other Greeks, an Ionian among Ionians, or an Athenian different from the citizens of other Greek cities. These identities were commonly rooted in an unhistorical past and expressed through mythical genealogy (though they could also be founded on more recent achievements and cultural values, as in Thucydides' funeral speech). Greek communities thus traced their existence back to a mythical founder or founders. Genealogical links also allowed communities to claim shared kinship, and even to locate non-Greek communities within the network of interlinked Greek identities (see Bickerman 1952). In Greek myth, geographical movement is common, and the majority of Greek communities traced their myth–history back to ancestors who came from elsewhere to the community's present homeland. In other cases, however, communities believed that they had always lived in the same territory—in other words, that they were autochthonous. Greeks were also willing to believe in the autochthony of non-Greek communities.

Aeschylus (*Agamemnon* 536) says that Priam caused the downfall of his ancestral house, "land and all," using *autochthonos* to express that idea (Blok 2009a: 253). The word is slightly odd, and did not gain a place in normal Greek vocabulary, unlike *autochthon*, which is found soon afterward and rapidly became an established term. Hermann suggested that Aeschylus chose the uncommon form because he wanted

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to express an idea different from the sense of the already well-known *autochthon*: the suggestion was accepted by Fraenkel in his commentary (Pelling 2009: 473–4). If correct, it would mean that *autochthon* was well established in the Greek vocabulary before the mid-fifth century. It is clearly a compound of the words *autos* (either "same" or "self") and *chthon* ("land," "earth"), which would give the meaning, depending on the sense of *autos*, of either "from the land itself" (i.e., earth-born) or "from the same land." Herodotus (8.73), using *autochthon* of the Arkadians and Kynourians, clearly means that they inhabit the same land that they have held since antiquity, and Rosivach (1987) showed by careful analysis that that was indeed the original meaning of the word.

However, Greek mythology knew of various figures "born from the earth" (*gegenes*). Many of these were monsters, but some Greek communities, including notably Athens, acknowledged such figures as their ancestors. Where the community concerned believed itself to be autochthonous, a connection could be made between the earth-born ancestor(s) and the community's continued residence in the same place: this connection was certainly made in Athens. The word *autochthon* thus extended its range of meaning to include "earth-born" (Rosivach 1987; see also Blok 2009a, suggesting that traces of this development are seen at the end of the fifth century). Certainly, the word had acquired that sense when the author of the Apollodoran *Bibliotheca* (2.1.1, 3.8.1) wrote that Hesiod had said that Pelasgos was *autochthon*, which could only mean "earth-born." Asius (fr. 8 K, quoted in Pausanias 2.1.4–2.2.1) did say that Pelasgos was born from the earth. Hesiod would scarcely have used the actual word *autochthon*, not found till the fifth century, and was evidently paraphrased (if indeed he did make such a statement: see Rosivach 1987: 305–6 for the suggestion that he did not). It is also interesting that, in the fifth century, the comic playwright Poliochus could refer, clearly jokingly, to autochthonous vegetables (fr. 2 Kassel-Austin, from Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 2.60C). The fragment is brief, and the point of the joke is obscure: Gulick (1927 Loeb edition of Athenaeus) translated "local vegetables" and Olson (2006 Loeb edition) "wild vegetables." Vegetables are, of course, earth-born.

Autochthons were frequently contrasted those who had migrated to a place, often referred to as *epeludes* (see Blok 2009a: 251–2). Sometimes, particularly when *autochthon* is applied to an individual, the most important point conveyed by the word is that the individual is a native, not an incomer. Thus, Herodotus (9.73) says that Titakos, an *autochthon*, betrayed Aphidnai in Attica to the Tyndaridai. Titakos, as an Athenian, could have been considered autochthonous (though Herodotus never uses the word of the Athenians): however, the point of the story is clearly that Titakos was on the spot in Aphidnai, available to betray it, and not that he was an autochthonous Athenian. Herodotus also says (4.45) that Libya took its name from a woman Libye, an *autochthon*, whereas Asia took its name from the wife of Prometheus. Herodotus believed that all the Libyan peoples were autochthonous (4.197), although he also described them as many and of all kinds (4.167). However, here again, the point is not particularly that the eponym Libye belonged to a people that had always lived in the same place, but rather that she was a native of Libya, whereas the wife of Prometheus was not a native of Asia. It therefore seems that, already in the fifth century, *autochthon* occasionally meant

simply "native." Later examples can be found, particularly in the work of Pausanias, who was fond of applying *autochthon* to individuals. At 6.20.15–19, he retails the different views held about Taraxippos, a structure resembling a round altar in the hippodrome at Olympia. One was that it was the tomb of an *autochthon* called Olenios. There was an Elean claim to autochthony (see the text that follows), but the point here is that Olenios was from Elis, whereas the other men supposedly connected with Taraxippos were from elsewhere. Pausanias reports several Greek communities who claimed that an *autochthon* was their founder or first inhabitant (e.g., Sikyon 2.5.6; Phlious 2.12.4; 7.18.2 Patrai; Pheneos 8.14.4; Phigalia 8.39.2; Alalkomenai 9.33.5), but does not describe these communities as autochthonous. These passages have been taken by scholars (including the present writer) to mean that the communities were indeed autochthonous, but it is at least possible that Pausanias means only that the individuals were natives of the various places, not incomers. Pausanias also has (3.1.1) the puzzling and, in the context, historically insignificant individual *autochthon* Lelex, first king of Lakonia (Calame 1987: 156–9; see also Descat [2001] on the Leleges): the reference would be easier to understand if Lelex were simply "local." Rosivach (1987: 305–6) suggested that, for authors earlier than Ephorus, *autochthon*, when applied to the Arkadians, meant simply "indigenous". His arguments have been countered by Nielsen (2002: 70–1), but in other contexts, the word may well mean "indigenous," particularly when applied to individuals.

Greek Interest in Autochthony

Some aspects of autochthony had been incorporated into Greek mythology before the fifth century. Earth-born Pelasgos, important for the myth–history of the autochthonous Arkadians ([Apollodorus] *Bibliotheca* 3.8.1, Paus. 8.1.4), was known to Asius in the sixth century, and possibly to Hesiod (see the preceding text). The early earth-born ancestors of the Athenians were equally known in the archaic period (see Parker 1987). Indeed, already in the *Iliad* (2. 546–8), the Athenians were the people of Erechtheus, whom Athena fostered when the Earth bore him. However, it is hard to tell whether interest in autochthony developed in the archaic period. It is clear, for instance, that belief in Arkadian autochthony was well established and widely known by Herodotus' day (8.73), but we have no means of tracing when it began. The Suda says that Pherecydes of Athens, writing in the earlier fifth century, produced a work titled *Autochthons* about the early history of Athens, and this, if true, would suggest that belief in Athenian autochthony was well developed by the mid-fifth century. It is not impossible that some interest was being shown in autochthony earlier, but on present evidence it first appears as a topic of widespread interest in the mid-fifth century, roughly at the time when the word *autochthon* appears in the surviving literature.

When such interest appeared, it took two forms. One was claims by Greek communities that they were autochthonous, and had always lived in the same place. Some of these will be considered in the text that follows, including notably the Athenian claim, for which the surviving evidence vastly outweighs that for any other community. The other form of

interest was enquiries by Greek intellectuals into whether communities, both Greek and non-Greek, could be considered autochthonous. Thucydides says (6.2.2) that, although the Sikans claimed to be autochthonous, he believed that they came from the area of the River Sikanos in Iberia. Such enquiries into autochthonous communities, Greek and non-Greek, continued for centuries. Briquel (1993: 90–4) has, however, noted that, whereas autochthony when claimed by a Greek community has a positive, prestigious, value, identifying a non-Greek community as autochthonous does not carry any such judgment.

Classical Athenian Autochthony

Modern research on claims by Greek communities of the classical period to be autochthonous have concentrated on Athens, because the available Athenian evidence is vastly richer than that of any other area (see, most recently, Isaac 2004: 114–24; Sebillotte-Cuchet 2006: 255–90; and Valdés Guía 2008a, b). Athenian autochthony appears in various literary settings: in Athenian tragedy, especially Euripides' *Erechtheus* (lost) and *Ion*; in comedy, Aristophanes jokes about autochthony; in philosophy, especially Plato; and in oratory, above all in the funeral speeches for the Athenian war-dead. It is also reflected in Athenian art (Shapiro 1998; Cohen 2001). There has been major work on the presentation of Athenian autochthony in particular genres. The funeral speeches delivered over the Athenian war-dead each year that Athens was at war offered a particularly suitable occasion to recall autochthony as a significant element of Athens' greatness, and autochthony figures prominently in all the surviving examples except the first, the speech put by Thucydides in the mouth of Perikles. Even there, it appears briefly: "the same people have always occupied this land, and each generation has kept it free till this day through their excellence" (Thuc. 2.36.1: translation by Pelling). In other cases, the theme of autochthony is developed at length, and the resultant wealth of material has been studied in depth by Nicole Loraux (especially 1990, 1993): her arguments form a major part of present understanding of how the Athenians viewed their autochthony. Work on autochthony in drama has concentrated on Euripides' *Ion* (see the text that follows) and what survives of his *Erechtheus*, but Nimis (2007) has analyzed a passage of the *Medea* in the light of notions of autochthony.

It is notable that the surviving historians of the period do not offer a positive endorsement of the Athenian autochthony myth, though both are clearly aware of it. Herodotus does not use the word "autochthony" about Athens. At 7.161, when ambassadors from Sparta and Athens were trying to persuade Gelon of Syracuse to join their alliance against Persia, and Gelon had offered men and ships, provided that he could command either the army or the navy, Herodotus has an Athenian reply—that the Athenians should command the ships because they are the most ancient *ethnos*, and alone among Greeks to have never migrated. This in effect was the Athenian claim to autochthony, expressed in other words. However, Herodotus has an enigmatic passage (1.56–7) about the

Athenians being originally of non-Greek Pelasgian stock. Thucydides acknowledges Athenian autochthony briefly in the funeral speech that he gives to Perikles (2.36.1), but earlier says that Attika was always occupied by the same people because the soil was thin (1.2.5). (He says much the same about Arkadia, another autochthonous region, at 1.2.3.) This explains autochthony by purely rational consideration of the environment.

Certain themes have emerged from the study of Athenian autochthony. It was a very positive feature of Athens' standing in the Greek world, linked to Athens' political, military, and cultural achievements. It was related to Athenian democracy, and indeed belief in autochthony developed in the fifth century at the same time as democracy. Pericles' citizenship law of 451/0 made two citizen parents necessary in order to inherit citizenship: all Athenians born from citizen marriages contracted after the passage of the law were thus of pure citizen descent, and all alike could share the now exclusive inheritance of autochthony. Blok and Lambert have recently developed this argument further, in relation to priesthoods of the Athenian *polis* (Blok and Lambert 2009; Lambert 2010). Priesthoods of cults existing before 451/0 were held for life by members of *gene*, descent groups that claimed pure Athenian descent from origins in the heroic and mythical past (Blok 2009b; see also Lambert [2008] on the Euenoridai, a *genos* recently discovered on a new inscription). For cults adopted after 451/0, however, priests were appointed annually from among the whole citizen body, that is, in the same manner as appointments to most other public offices in democratic Athens. The law of 451/0, Blok and Lambert argue, had given all Athenian citizens a pure Athenian descent from Athens' mythical and autochthonous ancestors, allowing democratic appointments to priesthoods.

By the later fifth century, at least, aristocratic virtues such as *arete* and *andreia* could be presented as virtues of the ordinary Athenian citizen. Aristophanes jokes about this (*Wasps* 1071–8 and *Lysistrata* 1082–4), linking these virtues not only with autochthony but also with blatant virility, but his jokes do not seek to undermine the value of autochthony (Blok 2009a: 255). Tragedy, too, could examine the belief in autochthony, and explore its complexities, and even problems. The clearest example is Euripides' *Ion* (Mastronarde 2003; Zacharia 2003). In it, Ion is the child borne by the Athenian Kreousa after being raped by Apollo; he has been exposed as a baby, but saved and taken to Delphi, where he has grown up in Apollo's sanctuary, unaware of his parents or his Athenian origin. Kreousa, having married the non-Athenian Xouthos, comes to Delphi with her husband because their marriage is childless: both are entirely unaware of Ion's identity. When Xouthos proposes to adopt Ion and take him back to Athens, Ion makes a long speech (ll. 585–647) about the difficulties that he would face as an outsider in autochthonous Athens. After misunderstandings, in the course of which Kreousa is persuaded to try to poison Ion and he reacts violently against her, the situation is resolved, though Xouthos does not learn of Ion's identity. Ion, recognized as an Athenian by birth, is to be king of Athens, and will have four sons, the eponyms of the four pre-Kleisthenic tribes in Athens; their later descendants will go to Ionia. Kreousa and Xouthos are to have as sons Doros and Achaios, ancestors of the Dorians and Achaians.

This bald summary does not do justice to the play, but it brings out some of its complexities. On the one hand, as portrayed by Ion, Athenian autochthony is bitterly exclusive, but on the other Athens must accept outsiders, notably Xouthos (Zacharia 2003: 100–2). The two clearly autochthonous Athenians in the play, Ion and Kreousa, behave very badly to each other. The play also raises the question of Athens' relationship to Ionia. It has been suggested that, in the earlier fifth century, Athens sought to distance itself from the Ionians, and that the autochthony myth provided a convenient alternative to an Ionian origin for Athens (Hall 1997: 53–6). Certainly, according to the play's dénouement, the descendants of Ion are to colonize Ionia, shifting Athens's relationship with Ionia from common Ionian identity to colonizer and colonies. Zacharia (2003: 45–6) argues, however, that this is not a complete denial of Athens' own Ionian identity, which is also shown in the play. Overall, the play, however its complexities are interpreted, seems to draw attention to the tensions inherent in autochthony without subverting Athens' autochthonous identity. In fact, Athenians thought in different ways about autochthony in different contexts, tragedy in particular allowing an examination of doubts or questions, while at other times autochthony was simply accepted or, in the funeral speeches, glorified (Pelling 2009: 475–6, 482–3).

Occasionally, difficulties were simply ignored. It was, for instance, generally believed that, in the late sixth century, Kleisthenes had enfranchised a significant number of non-Athenians who had entered Peisistratid Athens as immigrants (Aristotle *Pol.* 1275B34-9, on which see Rhodes 1981: 255–6), and of course Athens continued occasionally to grant citizenship to outsiders; however, the presence within the citizen body of such incomers had no visible effect on the belief in common autochthonous ancestry. The body of Athenian citizens was evidently conceived as a continuing hereditary group, regardless of known incomers (Blok 2009a: 263–4). Autochthony was also exclusive, marking the Athenians off from other Greeks: the citizenship law of 451/0 institutionalized the same difference. The recent study by Lape (2010) emphasizes this exclusiveness. (Also, see Gotteland [2001] on how the origins of other Greek cities were treated in Athenian oratory.) The degree of exclusiveness could, however, be varied to suit the occasion. One issue was the relationship between Athens and the Ionians, discussed in the preceding text, and related to that was the question of how reputable colonies could be since they were necessarily communities of immigrants, precisely what an autochthonous community prided itself on not being (see Orth 2006). Athenians continued to be Greeks in a Greek world and appealed to Panhellenism whenever they felt it appropriate, as did Isocrates in his *Panegyricus* (4). Athenians could also choose either to recognize or to ignore the autochthony of other Greek states. Thus, Isocrates in the *Panathenaicus* (12.124) says that the Athenians were "neither of mixed origin nor immigrants, but alone of the Greeks autochthonous." Demosthenes, in *De Falsa Legatione* (19.261), says that the Arkadians and the Athenians were the only autochthonous peoples in Greece, but in his *Funeral Speech* (60.4) claims that the Athenians are the autochthonous inhabitants of the shared fatherland and alone of all men have inhabited the land from which they were born and handed it down to their descendants. While the basic belief in Athens' autochthony was maintained, its expression could be adjusted to suit circumstances.

Greek Autochthony Outside Athens in the Classical Period

Athenian autochthony is known above all in the fifth and fourth centuries. The literary genres that provide the evidence for that period are not available in the same quantity for later years. Some later evidence does survive (see the text that follows), but modern interest in Greek autochthony has concentrated on Athens in the classical period. That has sometimes led to the assumption that what can be said about classical Athenian autochthony is also true for other autochthonous Greek communities, though scholars have protested against such a view; Blok (2009a: 252), for instance, points out that, while democracy and autochthony were linked in Athens, that link is not found in Thebes. Yet, a detailed study of all the known cases of autochthony outside Athens is lacking.

Other Greek communities of the classical period also claimed to be autochthonous, and such claims were accepted by other Greeks. Arkadian autochthony is probably the best-known case outside Athens. The claim to autochthony was evidently shared by the numerous communities who made up the Arkadians; Herodotus (8.73) clearly believed that all Arkadians were autochthonous. There is no evidence of an Arkadian confederacy or any other form of political union in Arkadia in the fifth century (Nielsen 2002: 120–157), and so in that period at least Arkadian autochthony, unlike Athenian, did not promote the shared ideology of a single political body. Also, there is no reason to believe that the numerous separate Arkadian communities had similar constitutions: the limited available evidence is mentioned in the coverage of the various cities in Nielsen (2004). Consequently, autochthony in Arkadia will not have served to promote democratic equality, or any other constitutional standard. Alongside the evidence for Arkadian autochthony is other evidence that the Arkadians saw themselves as a very ancient people, "older than the moon" (*proselenoi*) and "acorn-eating,"—that is, eating wild food rather than the cereals of civilized society (Roy 2011). These claims to antiquity were a selected self-image that marked off the Arkadians from other Greeks, just as Athenian autochthony marked off the Athenians, but with different emphases (on Arkadian identity, see Nielsen 1999, 2002: 52–88). The claim to be very ancient did not prevent the Arkadians from developing politically and socially in much the same ways as other Greeks (Roy 2011).

Unsurprisingly, Arkadian autochthony is attested in the 360s, when the Arkadians formed a confederacy and, briefly, played a leading role in Greek inter-state politics. According to Xenophon (*Hell.* 7.1.23), the leading Arkadian politician Lykomedes roused the enthusiasm and ambition of the Arkadians, telling them that the Peloponnese was a fatherland for them alone, for they were its only autochthonous inhabitants. This sentiment was clearly important to them, since they displayed it prominently on the Arkadian monument erected at Delphi to commemorate the devastation of Lakonia in 370/69 (Hansen 1989: 231–3, no. 824). The inscription on the monument makes no mention of the allies with whom the Arkadians invaded Lakonia, and appears as a purely Arkadian memorial of an Arkadian achievement. The opening couplet says: "Lord Pythian Apollo, the autochthonous people from holy Arkadia dedicated these statues

as gifts." The remaining eight lines identify the statues that stood on the monument: they include Arkas and his sons, who represent various areas of Arkadia. Strikingly, the sons include Triphylos, eponym and ancestor of the Triphylians, who had only just become Arkadian by joining the Arkadian confederacy. Their very recent Arkadian status nonetheless allowed them to share the autochthony of the people of holy Arkadia, and their place in the Arkadian genealogy was secured by Triphylos, son of Arkas. Arkadian autochthony clearly could be both exclusive and welcoming. Lykomedes, according to Xenophon, distinguished the Arkadians from their non-autochthonous neighbors; but Arkadia's boundaries shifted over time, with communities moving in and out of Arkadia (Roy 2000, 2009), and, when an Arkadian confederacy was created, previously non-Arkadian Triphylia was admitted. Yet, there were limits as to how far Arkadian identity could be extended: when, in the Arkadian–Elean war that began in 365, Arkadia overran Pisatis and detached it from Elis, it became an independent state, not a member of the Arkadian confederacy. According to the *Etymologicum Magnum* (623.16-17), Pisos, the eponymous hero of Pisatis, married Olympia, daughter of Arkas: this genealogical combination most probably reflects the brief period of an independent Pisatis supported by Arkadia. That is, however, as far as the attachment of Pisatis to Arkadia went, probably because Pisatan identity was so strongly linked to Olympia (on these events, see Nielsen 2002: 118–9).

Arkadian mythical genealogy, like Aitolian, is not part of the descent stemming from Hellen that lent the Greeks a Hellenic identity (see Hall 1997: 47), but there is no indication that the Arkadians were considered less Greek on that account. Certainly, there is no trace of any Arkadian attempt to find a balance between local autochthonous descent and Hellenic identity as sophisticated as the Athenian identity explored in Euripides' *Ion*, but there were numerous mythical connections between the Arkadians' ancestors and Greeks from other regions, as is evident in Pausanias' account (8.1.4–5.13) of Arkadian myth–history. It is also notable that numerous communities, Greek and non-Greek, developed myths of an Arkadian origin (Scheer 2010, 2011). Pausanias gives the fullest surviving version of the mythical genealogy of the Arkadians, beginning with Pelasgos, and immediately afterward writes: "The Arkadians recounted the genealogy to me in these terms when I was taking great care over the matters relating to the kings [of Arkadia]" (8.6.1). Clearly, belief in Arkadian autochthony was still alive in Arkadia when Pausanias visited the region in the second century AD.

Unlike the Arkadians, the Eleans were not generally recognized to be autochthonous, but they claimed autochthony at least once. Strabo (10.3.2) gives the texts of two inscriptions, both four-line epigrams—one at Thermos in Aitolia on the base of a statue of Aitolos, and the other in the agora of Elis on a statue of Oxylos. Strabo cites Ephorus (*BNJ* 70 F122a) as the source of his information. The inscription at Thermos ran: "The Aitolians set up this statue of Aitolos, child of Endymion and founder of the land, once reared beside the eddies of the Alpheios, neighbor of the race-tracks of Olympia, as a memorial to behold of his valor." At Elis, the inscription said: "Aitolos once left this autochthonous people and won the land of Kouretis, toiling greatly with his spear, and of the same family, the tenth offspring, Oxylos, son of Haimon, founded this ancient city." The Aitolian inscription thus records that Aitolos went from Elis to found Aitolia, while the inscription at Elis records both that Aitolos went to Aitolia

and that later his descendant Oxylos returned from Aitolia to found Elis. Mythological links between Elis and Aitolia are well known, and the complex double migration from Elis to Aitolia and back again was known already in the sixth century (Gehrke 2003: 11–13). The inscriptions are obviously early enough to be known to Ephorus, and so no later than the first half of the fourth century; Page (1981, no. 109) dates them to the fifth century. It is often assumed that the inscriptions were contemporaneous and put up by agreement of the Aitolians and Eleans. Sordi (1994) argues that they belong to the period of the Spartan–Elean war (to be dated 402–400), when Aitolian forces helped Elis (see also, Antonetti 1990: 60–1; and Parmeggiani 2011: especially 651–5).

The genealogical connection between Aitolia and Elis attested in the inscriptions is not new, but the claim to Elean autochthony is. Evidently, the claim that Oxylos, founder of Elis, who came from Aitolia, was a descendant of Aitolos, who had gone to Aitolia from Elis, allowed the further claim that the Eleans were autochthonous. It is attested only here, and so has no explanation beyond what can be deduced from the text at Elis. It is true that, when Pausanias (6.20.15–19) retails the different views held about Taraxippos at Olympia, one view is that it was the tomb of an *autochthon* called Olenios, while other explanations involved men from elsewhere. Pausanias may well simply mean that Olenios was a local man (see the preceding text): certainly, nothing else in Pausanias' text suggests an awareness of an Elean claim to autochthony, and Herodotus (8.73) did not include the Eleans among the autochthonous peoples of the Peloponnese. It is striking that, despite the strong interest in antiquity in the question of whether, and to what extent, the territory of Elis was protected by an Olympic truce, autochthony does not appear in such ancient discussions (see Lämmer 1982/3). Autochthony, always having lived in the same land, implied a right to that land, and a claim of autochthony was thus a statement of ownership of one's territory. All evidence suggests that the claim to autochthony presented in the epigram in the Elean agora was new, or at least recent, when it was inscribed. Elean territory was under threat during the Spartan–Elean war of 402–400, and again in the Arkadian–Elean war of 365–363/2. (The latter war is somewhat later than Page's date for the epigrams, and no Aitolian help for Elis is recorded during the war, but there is no surviving account of the course of the war after the Olympic Games of 364.) Such a time of threat would have been an appropriate occasion for the Eleans to claim autochthony.

At Delphi, there were two different traditions of the origins of the citizens of Delphi (Kyriakidis 2011). One, found first in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, was that the god led Cretans to Delphi and settled them there. The other, reported by Strabo (9.3.12), who names Ephorus (*FGrH* 70 F 31B) as his source, was that the original Delphians were autochthonous Parnassians, living on Mt. Parnassos. Apollo, arriving from Athens, with the encouragement of the Parnassians, killed Tityos and Python, and thus the Parnassians settled at Delphi. This second tradition is supported by a scholion to Euripides' *Orestes* 1094, though the scholion does not mention autochthony. The two traditions seem radically different, though Pausanias' fairly long summary (10.6.3–5) of what he learnt from the Delphians themselves may reflect attempts to reconcile opposing local traditions and to combine them with literary elements. Whether, in the archaic and classical periods, the disparate traditions existed side by side, or whether the autochthonous

tradition took over from the version of the *Homeric Hymn*, is unknown. In any case, a claim to autochthony would have allowed the Delphians to distinguish themselves from the other Phocians.

Autochthony in the Late Hellenistic and Roman Periods

From the first century BC into the Roman imperial period, there is much more evidence, though no other source offers the intense concentration of material found in classical Athens. Clearly, autochthony continued to be treated as it had been in the classical period, both in claims to autochthony by particular communities and as a theme of historical–ethnographic research. Indeed, Diodorus Siculus (1.9.3) declares: "Regarding the antiquity of the human race not only do Greeks make claims, but also many barbarians, saying that they are autochthonous and were the first of all men to discover the things of use in life." Isaac cites much literary evidence on autochthony (Isaac 2004: see "autochthony" in index). The ethnographic interest was also taken up by Roman writers, using terms such as *indigenae*. These did not include Favorinus, who was exceptional in his outright condemnation of claims to autochthony, observing that mice and other insignificant animals were also earth-born (Isaac 2004: 132–3). Peoples from a wide geographical range were regarded as autochthonous. Diodorus said that there were many peoples in India, all autochthonous (2.38.1), and also considered tribes in Britain autochthonous, apparently because they preserved an ancient way of life (5.21.5). Caesar (*BG* 5.12.1) had already said that the interior of Britain was inhabited by those who had originated there, unlike the coastal population. Tacitus (*Germania* 1) regarded the Germans as autochthonous (*indigenas*), a passage that has notoriously attracted enormous attention in modern times (Isaac 2004: 137–44). Examples could be multiplied, but the pattern is clear.

Greek cities continued to claim autochthony. Athens' claim, for instance, is recognized by Plutarch (*Theseus* 3.1.1), Pausanias (2.14.4), and Aelius Aristides (see the following text). However, the Athenians cannot have been pleased when, according to Tacitus *Annals* 2.55, on a visit in AD 18, Cn. Calpurnius Piso told them that the people of Athens had been exterminated by disasters and that the current inhabitants were a *conluvies*, a vile mixture; he thus simultaneously acknowledged the Athenian claim to autochthony and declared it outdated. Pausanias also recognizes the autochthony of the Arkadians (5.1.1), the Plataians (9.1.1), and, possibly, the Ozolian Lokrians (10.38.3). The fullest examination of any of these claims comes in the *Panathenaicus* of Aelius Aristides on Athens (see Loraux 1993: 268–72; Oudot 2001, 2006). While autochthony is an important part of his theme, his treatment is very different from that of the classical period: autochthonous Athens, no longer praised for military achievements or for exclusiveness, is now the home of culture for all mankind.

Epigraphy now also offers valuable evidence, from Greek cities of Asia Minor (see Heller 2006: 102–5). On a decree (*Inschriften von Stratonikeia* 15.2), Stratonikeia describes itself as "autochthonous and metropolis of Karia." In a letter from Tlos to Sidyma in Lycia (*SEG* 50.1356), the citizens of Tlos speak of the unity and harmony that have bound them to Sidyma from the time of "the gods and the autochthonous ancestors."

The inscription identifies the autochthonous ancestors as, respectively, Tlos and his son Sidymos. At Stratonikeia, autochthony would go back to the original Karian inhabitants, and at Tlos and Sidyma to Lycians: in both cases, besides obvious demonstrations of Hellenism, local mythology was used to claim autochthony. A similar claim was made at Sardis, famously the capital of the Lydian kingdom until the mid-sixth century. On a decree of Dionysiac technitai, probably of the time of Hadrian (*Inschriften von Sardis* 13), it was described as "autochthonous and very ancient." The titulature used on its own decrees then developed, apparently from the time of Septimius Severus, to the point that it could describe itself as "autochthonous [or protochthonous] and sacred to the gods, first of Hellas and metropolis of Asia and all Lydia, twice neokoros of the Augusti according to the decrees of the sacred Senate, friend and ally of the Romans, close to our Lord Emperor, the *polis* of Sardis" (*Inschriften von Sardis* 63: the reading "autochthonous" is uncertain, but similar titulature is preserved in the fragments *Inschriften von Sardis* 64–70, and "autochthonous" is clearly legible on no. 66). This remarkable self-description links Sardis to Lydia (where it had its autochthonous origin), Asia Minor, Hellas, and Rome. Heller (2006: 103) draws attention also to a speech of Aelius Aristides, seeking to reconcile Ephesos, Smyrna, and Pergamon. The orator (23.15 and 26) describes Pergamon as colonized by Arkadians under Telephos and also descended from a line of autochthonous men and heroes, while Ephesos and Smyrna were colonies of Athens. Heller sees here a desire to present Pergamon as comparable to Athens in its autochthony, and suggests that this may partly explain claims of autochthony by leading cities in Asia Minor. It is at any rate clear that the autochthony of cities such as Sardis and Pergamon was part of an elaborate and complex cultural self-definition.

Conclusion

We do not know when Greek belief in autochthony began, nor where. It need not have been in Athens. Elements that were later incorporated in myths of autochthony, such as earth-born ancestors, were certainly well known already in the archaic period, but widespread interest in autochthony seems to have developed in the fifth century, when the word itself appears in surviving literature. Interest took two forms: historical or ethnographic enquiry, and claims by particular communities to be autochthonous. The two forms will have fed off each other. Where autochthony was claimed, it was an element of the community's collective identity, and an individual was autochthonous only as a member of an autochthonous community (save for primordial ancestors). Audiences in the Athenian theatre saw autochthony examined in drama, which suggests that belief in it was widespread among the population. That was no doubt true also elsewhere—in Arkadia, for instance, where it was part of the political rhetoric of Lykomedes in the 360s and figured prominently on the monument set up by the Arkadian confederacy at Delphi. (The extent of popular belief in autochthony has not received much attention in recent scholarship: on popular belief in ethnic genealogy in general, see D'Ercole [2011] and Patterson [2010].) Where autochthony was claimed, it was presented as a very positive value, though obviously non-autochthonous states found other comparable values to suit their purposes. It was exclusive, marking

off the community from others, but highly adaptable, and could be combined with, for instance, the incorporation of Triphylia into the Arkadian confederacy. Belief in autochthony continued into the Roman imperial period, when it was adapted again to suit changed circumstances. In sum, autochthony was a concept that some Greek communities chose to combine with others to form a self-image that suited their aspirations.

NOTE

[1]I am grateful for comments made at the conference of contributors in January 2012, and also to Judith Mossman for allowing me to consult a text on autochthony delivered as lecture in Leuven but not otherwise published, and to Thierry Petit for sending me publications not available in Britain. Responsibility for views expressed here is entirely mine.

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Autochthony was one element by which a Greek community could create its identity. Such identities were usually expressed through mythical genealogy. On this, see:

Hall, Jonathan M. 1997. *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Patterson, Lee E. 2010. *Kinship Myth in Ancient Greece*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

There are good reviews of autochthony in the classical period by:

Blok, Josine H. 2009a. "Gentrifying Genealogy: On the Genesis of the Athenian Autochthony Myth." In Ueli Dill and Christine Walde, eds., *Antike Mythen: Medien, Transformationen und Konstruktionen*, 251–75. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.
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On the expression of autochthony in drama, an important medium, see:

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CHAPTER 17

Ethnicity and the Stage

Efi Papadodima

Greeks and Barbarians on Stage

Fifth-century Attic drama, and especially tragedy, frequently represents the interaction among characters of different ethnic backgrounds or offers more theoretical insights into the theme of ethnic differentiation. The major historical and intellectual developments of the fifth century—notably, the Persian Wars; the growth of Athenian democracy and hegemony; the Peloponnesian War; and the flourishing of ethnography, historiography, medicine, and philosophy—fostered the interest in issues of identity, including ethnicity. The Persian Wars, in particular, gave rise to an idea of Hellenic solidarity (even if for a short space), while the Peloponnesian War reinforced the reality of Hellenic fragmentation—a theme dominant in Euripides and Aristophanes. The inter-ethnic and intra-Hellenic confrontations as represented in drama are often intertwined in complex ways. Athenian drama's social function (including the interrelationship between the civic and the theatrical and the extent to which tragedy should be regarded as a specifically Athenian or democratic art form), itself a controversial question (Goldhill 1990: 97–129, but *contra* see Ober and Strauss 1990: 237–70; Cartledge 1997: 3–35; Easterling 1997: 21–37; Griffin 1998: 39–61; Carter 2007), is very pertinent to the formation and discussion of identity, and would certainly call for closer inspection.

Numerous extant and fragmentary plays, particularly by Aeschylus and Euripides, bring on stage mythical (or historical) barbarians, who are usually in conflict with Greeks, even though their particular statuses vary (e.g., monarchs–enemies, slaves or victims of war, mythical heroes), as does their precise relation to the Hellenic world. The spectrum includes Easterners, Northerners, semi-barbarians, and figures who pose as representatives of a specific ethnic group, such as the supposedly Lydian Dionysus in *Bacchants* and Aeschylus' *Edonians.* In Aristophanic comedy in particular, the boundaries between

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Greeks and barbarians are occasionally blurred through the element of disguise and faking of identities (e.g., Pseudartabas in *Acharnians*), but also through hints that well-known Athenian citizens are actually of foreign descent (see MacDowell 1993: 359–71).

Drama draws on a rich array of ethnographic materials (Bacon 1961; Long 1986), borrowing freely from Herodotus and the Ionian logographers (compare, e.g., *Oedipus at Colonus* 337–45 with *Histories* 2.35), to create effects of realism or "exoticism." In the case of language, non-Greek speech is commonly identified with unintelligibility, frequently expressed through the swallow metaphor (*Agamemnon* 1050–1, *Antigone* 999–1002, *Acharnians* 1011, *Birds* 199–200). In Aristophanic comedy, (real or fake) barbarians are distinguished by their failure to speak proper Attic (Friedrich 1919: 274–303), which commonly results in gibberish. Greeks from different regions are at the same time (actually or allegedly) distinguished in terms of language (e.g., *Libation Bearers* 560–4) (see further, Colvin 1999 and Willi 2003). Attic drama also makes frequent reference to the geography, physical appearance, distinctive habits, and dress of non-Greeks, all of which may be deployed to add weight to etiologies and mythography, while often encompassing cultural symbols charged with ideological implications.

A thorough study of ethnicity in theater should take into account each drama's date of composition, particular theme, and reception, as well as the ways in which the Greek–barbarian contrast intersects with other polarities (pertaining to gender, age, social status, conflicting values), which are themselves far from simple. Still, we could map out certain trends that mark the dramatic genres as a whole. Athenian drama has been commonly considered a vehicle of ethnocentric statements; in the light of recent historical events, and particularly the Persian invasions, the fifth-century barbarian (and especially the Easterner) is viewed as not simply the foreigner or the Other but the anti-Greek, someone by contrast with whom Greeks can identify themselves and assert their cultural superiority (Saïd 1978; Long 1986; E. Hall 1989, 1996 [cf. E. Hall 2010], Cartledge 1993; Harrison 2000). On the other hand, a fair part of recent scholarship (which mostly focuses on Euripides) opposes this tendency to overemphasize the Greek–barbarian polarity by highlighting the nuances, ambiguities, and complications involved in both the definition of ethnicity and its ideological implications (Vidal-Naquet 1997: 109–19; Saïd 2002: 62–100; Wright 2005).

Drama's exploration of Greek virtues in opposition to non-Greek vices may indeed, in several cases, straightforwardly reflect or promote (the popular belief in) the superiority of either Greek institutions and morality in general or of Greek heroes in particular. At the same time, however, the theme of ethnicity is, in many contexts, employed in ways that complicate this premise, an example of the Greek tendency both to invoke and to problematize polarities (Lloyd 1966). In part, the complexity of this problematizing of Greek–barbarian relations is due to the fact that the concept of ethnicity is itself fluid.

Ethnicity, Genealogy, Culture

Ethnicity is indeed treated as something variable in classical literature; several examples suggest that the ethnic status of a given group or individual can be defined on the basis of different qualifiers, such as descent, culture, language, or religion, on different occasions

(cf. Herodotus 8.144.2 and Plato's *Statesman* 262d–263a). Here, it is worth noting that cultural identity, following J. Hall's definition (2002: 17) of it as a "conscious reification of ideas, beliefs, values, attitudes, practices," is not exactly the same as ethnic identity. An ethnic group, again to use J. Hall's definition (2002: 9), is a "self-ascribing and self-nominating social collectivity that constitutes itself in opposition to other groups of a similar order," in which "the genetic reality of kinship is unimportant and often fictitious" (J. Hall 2002: 15). The former, cultural identity, seems to constitute the dominant mode in the self-identification of the Greeks in fifth-century drama. Still, several dramatic contexts explore and utilize the tension between descent and culture as potential qualifiers of one's status. (For other definitions, notably the concept of "aggregative" versus "oppositional" identities, see J. Hall 1997: 47, 2002: 198–220; *contra* Harrison 2002: 4, n. 19. See also McInerney 2001: 51–73 and Walbank 2002: 234–56.)

Mythic genealogy, commonly employed as a means for highlighting heroes' mixed (Greek–barbarian) lineage or ambivalent ethnic status, can be manipulated to different effects. The Danaïds in Aeschylus' *Suppliants* resort to their kinship with the Argives (through the two peoples' common descent from Io; cf. Pindar's *Nemean* 10.1–2 and Bacchylides 11.73–6) to pressure the Argive king, Pelasgus, who eventually acknowledges this close connection. The Egyptians, including the Danaïds themselves, are simultaneously depicted as non-Greeks with respect to their language, physical appearance (cf. Sophocles' *Prophets* fr. *395), and political mindset (e.g., 370–5)—against the anachronistically democratic Argos (see further, Mitchell 2006: 205–23). On the other hand, the Phoenician women's (regularly reinforced) ethnic "duality" in *Phoenician Women* (e.g., 214–19, 239–49) maximizes their ability to provide a full and, at the same time, more detached view on the play's past and present crisis (see further, Gould 1996: 217–43).

More subversively, Agamemnon's descent from Tantalus, which is not otherwise thematized in drama, is twice employed as a means of attack on the general's authority, in contexts in which Agamemnon himself denigrates people on the grounds of their non-Greek origin. In *Ajax*, the lineages of both Teucer and the Atreids, who enjoy good epic pedigrees, are employed as a charged argument in a heated debate. While attempting to hinder Teucer's struggle to defend a major religious law (burial), the Atreids accuse him of being a worthless foreign slave, who allegedly speaks a barbarian language (Finglass 2011 on ll. 1262–3 and Ebbott 2005: 368–70). The hero, however, manages to defend both his fighting merit (1288–9) and his background (1299–305), even reminding Agamemnon of his own descent from Pelops, "a Phrygian barbarian" (1291–2; cf. *IA* 952–4). (Also, see Heath 1987: 201–2 and Hesk 2003: 121.) Once having established that the descent of both heroes is evidently mixed, Teucer concentrates on proving that his ancestors were nobler (culturally superior) than those of Agamemnon on account of their social position, achievements, and morals (1293–305). Thus, whether constituting an *ad hominem* attack devoid of deeper implications or amounting to an admission that barbarian descent is indeed inferior, Teucer's response asserts that ethnic origin alone, rather than predetermining human value, may well prove secondary to other virtues (*contra* Long 1986: 191, n. 25).

Several other contexts, on the other hand, explore cases where one's conduct does not (allegedly) match or even "contradicts" one's ethnic origin. Tragic, and especially, Euripidean Greeks are accused of having become barbarian when they are thought to be transgressing cultural norms that are presented as Hellenic. In the *Agamemnon*, the king

rebukes his wife for pampering him as if he were a woman and for accepting him as if he were a barbarian when she prostrates herself, cries out, and strews the ground with fine garments, a hubristic act that may provoke divine envy (918–25). In reply to Clytemnestra's question, Agamemnon is sure that the Trojan king, Priam, would not hesitate to set foot upon the embroideries if so called upon (935–6). While the exchange reflects the stereotype of Oriental luxury and despotism, and thus contrasts Greek with barbarian civilization, Agamemnon's yielding to Clytemnestra's persuasion ultimately blurs this distinction (see further, Zeitlin 1996: 91–2). More strikingly, in *Orestes*, Tyndareus infers that Menelaus has been "barbarized" due to his long stay abroad (485 [cf. 349–51]; see Saïd 2002: 100, n. 219), since he is willing to assist Orestes, who is perceived (by Tyndareus) as a violator of a prominent Hellenic law (500–6). Even though condemnation of matricide is treated as a universal imperative in classical literature (cf. Hdt. 1.137.2, Xen. *Mem.* 4.4.19–20, and Eurip. *IT* 1173–4), Tyndareus suggests that the prevalence of prescribed legal customs over retributive justice defines and distinguishes the Hellenic world only. The Athenian king Demophon, in *Children of Heracles*, remarks that the Argive herald, who threatens to drag the suppliants from the altars, acts like a barbarian even though he is obviously Greek (130–1); in that respect, the Argive resembles the actually barbarian herald in Aeschylus' *Suppliants*. In both plays, the heralds' clothing and complexion serve as signifiers of their ethnic status.

In fact, the term "barbarian" reflects this slippage. βάρβαρος and its cognates are often used as mere ethnic designations (e.g., *Rhesus* 404–5, 833–5; see Skoda 1981 and Tuplin 1999: 47–75), but they can also be used in a broadly pejorative sense ("savage," "lawless," "crude"), describing a universal condition or aspect of human nature (e.g., *Helen* 501, *Hecuba* 1129; cf. *Birds* 1573), going well beyond the narrowly defined opposition of Greek and barbarian. The Trojan princess Andromache famously blames the Achaeans for having invented "barbarous" (βάρβαρα) evils as she denounces the killing of Astyanax (*Trojan Women* 764; cf. 775 with *Hecuba* 1070–4, 1125–6); her denunciation of the Greeks suggests that, given their brutality, "βάρβαρα" is a word that should be applied potentially to everyone (i.e., language ought to change). Not coincidentally, *Trojan Women* was presumably produced in the same year as the infamous massacre of Melos (Thucydides 5.84–116).

Furthermore, aside from the opposition of Greek and barbarian, whether seen as ingrained or treated with more nuance, the issue of Otherness is complicated by the exploration, also on the stage, of differences between the Greeks, measured in sociopolitical organization, myth, cult, and language, and played out in disputes and animosities. This discourse of internal Otherness manifests itself in various forms, including an emphasis on Athenian autochthony (*Ion* 670–5; cf. Plato's *Menexenus* 245c–e with Isaac 2004: 121–3) and the value of inclusion within the citizen body (*Phoenician Women* 387–442), but also extends to representing armed confrontation between Greek cities, conflicts capable of generating just as much fury and destruction among the Greeks as they face in wars against Trojans or Persians (*Seven against Thebes*, *Children of Heracles*, Eurip. *Suppliants*, *Phoenician Women*).

Internal conflict constitutes the core of Aristophanic comedy, since most plays are centered on the internal tensions of contemporary Athenian society (e.g., class conflict) and the effects of the Peloponnesian War on various parties. Even though comedy abounds in stereotypes concerning the non-Greek world and specific ethnic groups, such as the

Phrygians' and Lydians' cowardice (*Birds* 1244–5; cf. Men. *Shield* 241–3) and the Thracians' ferociousness (*Acharnians* 153–4, *Birds* 1367–71), it is also full of stereotypes about Greeks, as well as points of criticism against representative Athenian types of people (such as the informers and "new" thinkers)—points that are more central to the plays' concerns. Comic barbarians, though consistently ridiculed or disparaged, are in fact rarely the focus of the comedies, and are treated generally as part of the fabric of Athenian life; they are background characters rather than distinctive individuals. In this sense, ethnic humor draws on the same qualities as other aspects of the comic genre; its topical nature and intrinsically critical spirit include a tendency to stereotyping, but the humor is not necessarily genuinely hostile or ideological (see further, Halliwell 2008: Chapter 5). In addition to contemporary polarities or hostilities, the Greeks, and particularly the Athenians, are often juxtaposed to the Greeks of past generations, who selflessly served their country in the Persian Wars (*Acharnians* 599–606, *Knights* 573–80, *Wasps* 1075–121; cf. *Frogs* 1026–7). Such a contrast highlights the fluidity of an ethnic group's identity and self-perception, which is not necessarily inferred by (or based upon) its opposition to different ethnic groups. Just as easily, the point of contrast may be with the same ethnic group as it was once believed to be.

Drama's "Barbarian Rhetoric"

For all the complications pertaining to the perception and manipulation of ethnicity, dramatic barbarians are consistently associated with certain traits or vices, whether highlighted by their own status and behavior or, more usually, spoken of by the Greeks, some of which are at least partly rooted in historical reality. The most distinctive ones are their despotic regimes and slavishness (e.g., *Persians*, *IA*, Euripides fr. inc. 850); the decadent luxury, effeminacy, and emotionalism, but also criminality, of Eastern societies (e.g., *Persians*, *Bacchants*, *Orestes*, *Acharnians*); and the savagery and unsophistication, particularly of Northern tribes (e.g., Sophocles' *Tereus*, *Medea*, *IT*, *Women at the Thesmophoria*). (On Easterners and Northerners, see Thomas 2000.) These recurring properties may function as a foil for constituent ideals of Greek identity (free institutions, modesty, bravery, lawfulness, and reason). The tyranny–freedom contrast, in particular, as primarily explored in connection to the Persian, is commonly considered the catalyst in the invention of the fifth-century barbarian (Schwabl 1962: 23; Griffith 1998: 43; Rhodes 2007: 36).

Indeed, few barbarian individuals who appear on stage (especially in comedy) match their stereotypes. The Scythian archer in *Women at the Thesmophoria* is a highly unsophisticated brute who hardly resembles the intelligent and efficient Scythians of Herodotus (Book 4). He is unable to speak proper Greek, and even less to comprehend philosophical ideas (1128–32). He is clueless about Greek mythology and art (e.g., 1101–4, 1200–1; cf. *Orestes* 1520–1), and is driven exclusively by physical urges. The barbarian god Triballus in *Birds* is also caricatured (e.g., 1567–71), although he is not unlike his fellow-ambassador Heracles. Both barbarian figures are invested with ethnic-related denigratory markers, and, at the same time, represent a broader class that is mocked or attacked for reasons that transcend ethnicity. The Scythian's status as a state slave (see Plassart 1913: 151–213 and Jacob 1928: 53–78) maximizes the audience's amusement

at witnessing a stupid and aggressive figure, familiar to them from the actual social setting as a (non-sympathetic) symbol of authority, coming off the loser. (See also *Acharnians* 54–5, *Knights* 665, *Lysistrata* 426–66, and *Assembly-Women* 143.) In this light, viewing his character as a malicious joke about barbarian inferiority (Long 1986: 107) is perhaps going *too* far. The three divine envoys in *Birds*, on the other hand, are united by their common concerns, weaknesses, and limitations (against the men-birds), rather than distinguished by their particular position in the divine hierarchy or by their typical, mythological features.

The Phrygian slave in *Orestes*, responsible for assisting Helen, is strikingly dissimilar to the (male and female) Trojans of extant drama because of his status as an "unidentifiable" slave even before the war, and because of the comic flavor of the scene involving him (see Wolff 1968: 132–49 and Seidensticker 1982: 101–6). The Phrygian, probably a eunuch (1528), is an epitome of shamelessness and slavishness, and quite different from any other tragic slave or freeman. Furthermore, he himself repeatedly draws attention to his (actually or allegedly) barbarian features (language, gestures, attire), while proceeding to pass self-deprecatory remarks about his great cowardice, which contrasts him with not only the "masculine" Greek heroes (1349–52) but also his own noble compatriots (1478–82). The frequent use of such denigratory markers, merging slave and Easterner, suggests current Greek stereotypes (Long 1986: 132). At the same time, these dismissive racist slurs are incorporated into the play's sub-heroic world that seems to be distorted and degenerate in many directions (see Zeitlin 1980: 63 and Saïd 2002: 83).

On a more abstract and perhaps more crucial level, the ideals of Greek identity are expressed through aphorisms directed against the entire barbarian *genos*. This is particularly true of Euripides, although, as one might expect, his treatment of the barbarian is never straightforward. Both Aeschylus and Sophocles also offer glimpses into a discourse on ethnic identity that is complex, but it is Euripides most of all who displays an interest not only in the actual contact between Greeks and a variety of foreigners, at least judging by his extant productions, but also in the dual use of barbarism as an ethnic designation and a value term, and in whose work the complications of mutual self-definition culminate (see Bacon 1961: 171–2; Synodinou 1977: 58; E. Hall 1989: Chapter 5; Saïd 2002: 62–100). The influence of the escalating Peloponnesian War and of popular intellectual trends of the later fifth century are relevant in this regard. The Sophists in particular highlighted, among other things, the relativism of socially constructed distinctions and preconceptions pertaining to moral evaluations, while also emphasizing the power of rhetorical skill—aspects of central significance in the Euripidean corpus (see Conacher 1998).

Many of these aphorisms indeed end up problematizing the notion of a unified, culturally superior, or even profoundly different Hellas. Perhaps the clearest example comes from *Andromache*, a play that more broadly exploits the frailty of social boundaries (Greek–barbarian, free-slave, wife-concubine). The Spartan Hermione denounces Andromache as a scheming witch (29–35, 155–60) and accuses barbarians of being unrestrained by any law and practicing customs unacceptable to the Hellenic world. These transgressions include incest, murder of kin, and polygamy (173–80; cf. 215–20 and Menander fr. 794–5 Kassel-Austin). Her charges, however, are undermined by her own family's atrocious past (murder, adultery, incest, and cannibalism), Orestes' matricide, and Neoptolemus' decision to have two women in his house. The concept

of Greek lawfulness or superior morality is massively weakened by Hermione's overall conduct, notably her intention to deceive and harm a suppliant (160–2; cf. 246–8 and 427–9 with 567–71), and her luxurious lifestyle, which she associates with freedom of speech and authority (147–53, 166–8). In fact, she and other Greek characters such as Helen and Clytemnestra are presented as having adopted Troy's (often idealized or exaggerated) wealthy lifestyle (on which see Eurip. *Electra* 315–18, 998–1003, *Orestes* 1110–14, 1426–36, *Trojan Women* 993–7, 1021–5, 1107–9, and Miller 1997: 153–87, 193–8). As with her father, Hermione too is reluctant to settle the issue through trial, as Andromache requests (e.g., 567–8). At the same time, the play's anti-Spartan rhetoric and the conflict between Menelaus and Peleus about the very question of who Greece's enemy is significantly complicate a rigid dichotomy between Greece and Asia, as well as the notion of an inevitable mutual hostility between these two worlds (see also, Allan 2000: 270–1).

Even in subtler cases, anti-barbarian aphorisms frequently come across as ineffective and arbitrary. Odysseus in *Hecuba* responds to the queen's skilful arguments against the sacrifice of Polyxena by accusing barbarians of ingratitude and failure to honor their own ancestors and heroes (328–31) (see Buxton 1982: 175–6). Agamemnon in the same play treats the killing of guests as a barbarian trademark (1247–9) in connection to the Thracian Polymestor, who has violated fundamental values, such as respecting guests and honoring friends, common to both Achaeans and Trojans (Segal 1990: 109–31 and Konstan 2006: 61–5). In both cases, however, the Achaean leaders' sweeping denunciations are largely unsustainable. Hecuba's course of action is motivated precisely by her desire to protect and honor her daughter and dead son, respectively, while the Trojan female community frequently commemorates their dead heroes (cf. 383–7). Polymestor himself, though not expressing remorse and being on the whole very poorly depicted, appears fully aware of his misconduct (which is motivated by greed rather than an ethnic habit), and attempts to manipulate the enmity between Achaeans and Trojans as a means for justifying his crime (1175–7). Agamemnon, on the other hand, though seemingly shocked by the barbarian world's transgressions (see Mossman 1995: 132), has participated in an act of supreme cruelty, the sacrifice of a suppliant–captive of war (260–1), an act of human sacrifice for which no sufficient moral justification is offered and which is characterized by Hecuba as unheard of, and foreign to Trojan standards (cf. *Trojan Women* 39–40, 265–7, 628). Thus, there is an underlying correspondence between these two, otherwise significantly different, deeds (stealthy guest-killing and public human sacrifice), as suggested by the very way in which they are perceived and described (notice 260 with 1247).

Barbarians are also spoken of as subjects rather than free citizens on account of their despotic regimes (e.g., *Helen* 273–6, *Children of Heracles* 423–4; cf. Eurip. *Suppliants* 399–456). Less frequently, they are described as destined to being the Greeks' slaves (*IA* 1400–1; cf. Aristotle's *Politics* 1252b5–9, 1255a28–1255b4). The latter claim, however, is problematic. Agamemnon, who is the chief spokesperson of such views and who, moreover, presents himself as the liberator of Greece (*IA* 1273–5; cf. 1383–4), is repeatedly spoken of as, or compared to, a slave (450, 511–14, 1012, 1269–72; cf. 16–20 and *Hecuba* 864–9), while also being accused of immoderate love for authority, lack of sound judgment, and questionable motives with respect to the Trojan War (337–75, 1194–5). The polarity between slave and free is frequently not clear-cut (Ebbott 2005: 368).

Persians and Trojans

Dramatic Persians and dramatic Trojans hold an exceptional position on account of their identity as the historical and mythical enemies of the Hellenic world, respectively. The Trojan War has been viewed as the mythic precedent of the Greeks overcoming an Eastern army, thus placing the Persian Wars in the heroic realm. Accordingly, by virtue of their (supposedly) close connection to their Asian neighbors in Greek imagination, the fifth-century Trojans are said to have been "orientalized," as additionally suggested by the possibly ideological conflation of Troy and Phrygia or Asia (E. Hall 1989: 26–39, 68–74; Erskine 2001: 61; cf. Mattison 2009; Papadodima 2013). However, the two groups' geographic association and their common status as Hellas' defeated adversaries are largely overshadowed by crucial differences in their essential roles in the Greek imagination: one a (nearly) contemporary invader, the other a conquered enemy of the distant past, who lived on in rich mythological and literary tradition. Consequently, the ways in which the Greek world's confrontation with the two forces is used as part of the exploration of Greek identity are different in significant respects. A common denominator, when it comes to tragedy, is the *pathos* generated by the representation of the suffering of the victims of war.

The Persian invasion is the subject of Aeschylus' *Persians*, a unique and widely discussed play (most recently, see E. Hall 1996; Pelling 1997: 1–19; Harrison 2000; Rosenbloom 2006; Garvie 2009), which presents the recent Greek victory at Salamis from a Persian point of view. As a result, it rehearses numerous elements that stress the Persians' foreignness on a pragmatic level (e.g., setting, language, clothing) and convey a strong Oriental atmosphere—accentuated by displays of excessive emotionalism (198–9, 907–1077; cf. Hdt. 8.99–100.2; see E. Hall 1996: 168–9) and the invocation and appearance of Darius' ghost, possibly blasphemous to an Athenian audience (Harrison 2000: 89; but *contra* see Taplin 1977: 115 and Podlecki 1993: 56–7). More importantly, the drama elucidates three cardinal customs that differentiate Persian from Greek, and particularly Athenian, civilization (effectively encapsulated in 230–45): despotism, expansionism, and luxury, including great trust in numerical supremacy (Konstan 1987: 59–73). These deep-rooted traits, which are more extensively explored in Herodotus' *Histories*, are not irrelevant to the Persians' present destruction, if viewed in combination with one another. Inversely, and although the naval battle itself is rather briefly narrated (355–432), it is understood that Greek conventions and values (especially freedom and collectivity) played a part in the Greek victory (Goldhill 2002: 50–61).

At the same time, however, significant emphasis is placed on the particular way in which Xerxes made use of his community's customs. The royal family, and also the Chorus, who have a substantial involvement, view their defeat as being inextricably bound up with their king's conduct—disobeying his father's advice (780–6), bridging the Hellespont (e.g., 65–71, 744–5), and committing sacrilege (807–15; cf. 81–114). They actually blame Xerxes for (what they conceive as) the anticipated fall of their empire (e.g., 548–57; cf. 725, 753–8), even though this collective acknowledgment of his failure does not preclude his kin and subjects receiving him with pity and respect.

Darius, despite being a Persian king who had had his own share in expansionist, and occasionally unsuccessful, enterprises, highlights truths that are directly relevant but not

confined to his son's lot. The ghost suggests that Xerxes has overstepped the mark even by the standards of Persian tyrants and their warlike policy (808–31; cf. 785–6). He speaks of ὕβρις (Fisher 1992) and ἄτη, and contrasts his son, who attempted to transgress human limitations, with the single assessor of men, who is truly unaccountable, Zeus (827–8). What is indeed distinctively Persian (and radically different from the Athenian model) is that Xerxes will not suffer adverse political consequences, since he is not considered liable (ὑπεύθυνος) for the expedition's failure, according to Atossa (211–14). On a personal level, nevertheless, Xerxes partly assumes responsibility for the misfortunes he has brought upon his people and even wishes that he had perished together with his men (909–17, 931–4).

The play thus sets up key points of opposition between Persian and Greek civilization, which acquire a more immediate significance given the Persians' status as the potential rulers of the Hellenic world, and at the same time explores the meaning of Xerxes' individual misconduct, which is not presented as being causally linked to ethnic origin—even if it was facilitated by certain Persian customs. Indeed, what makes the Persian failure interesting and potentially a lesson for the Greeks (*contra* E. Hall 1989: 73 and Harrison 2000: 109), or even a warning to the Athenians of the dangers of their empire (see Rosenbloom 2006: Chapters 5, 6; *contra* Lloyd 2007: 46), is that it illuminates an all-embracing moral and religious framework shared by both cultures.

Just as the dramatic presentation of the Persians is influenced by their historical identity, the presentation of the Trojans is influenced by their mythical background. The tragic Trojans are distinguished from their epic counterparts most evidently when it comes to points of ethnography but also the degree of ethnic consciousness exhibited by both themselves and the Achaeans. This is particularly evident in the Sophoclean fragments, where the Trojans are largely portrayed as similar to Persians with respect to language (fr. 517–521 of *Shepherds*, fr. 56 of *Captive Women*, fr. 183 of *Helen's Marriage*) and with respect to certain habits (e.g., fr. 620 of *Troilus* [eunuchs in the royal court])—an aspect that differentiates them not only from the Greeks but also from most Trojans of extant tragedy. This discrepancy, however, does not crucially interfere with the broader Greek–Trojan interaction, at least not in ways that would make ethnic origin predominant. Instead, the two defining elements of the Trojans' image in our surviving plays are their epic heritage (cf. *Phoenician Women* 1509–14 and *Trojan Women* 475–8, 971–6) and their status as the enslaved (female) victims of war, who still have to struggle against their masters' threatening intentions.

The extant dramas concerned with the Trojan saga indeed thematize the Greek community's issues, conflicts, or transgressions, to which the Trojan victims attempt to resist or respond, as a rule through legitimate channels (e.g., persuasion, "trial," supplication). Regardless of whether their attempts are successful or not, eminent heroes of the Greek community meet or will meet a bad end as a result of the Greek world's internal animosities (*Agamemnon*, *Andromache*), or its transgressions against Troy in particular (*Hecuba*, *Trojan Women*, *Agamemnon* in part). In this way, the boundaries between victors and victims, friends and enemies, and Greeks and barbarians (understood as a charged distinction) are significantly blurred.

On the whole, and irrespective of each group's possible misconducts or failings, Achaeans and Trojans are represented as sharing traditional heroic values (friendship–enmity, reciprocity, honor) and cultural norms, some of which reflect fifth-century

Athenian traits and practices. Additionally, Euripidean Trojans touch upon popular issues among contemporary Greek intellectual circles (e.g., *Andromache* 244 about the universality of disgrace; *Hecuba* 798–801, 864–9 about νόμος ["convention, law"], justice, and the limitations of human freedom; the fragmentary *Alexander* about the role of birth, wealth, and νόμος; cf. fr. 591 of Sophocles' *Tereus*).

In contrast with epic, and to some extent lyric, poetry, fifth-century drama exhibits a strong interest in the theme of ethnicity and its various aspects or complications. This interest and the ways in which it is expressed are closely linked to both the particular historical context and drama's distinctive features (including the performance context). At the same time, and for all the fundamental continuities in the collective character of the genre, the heterogeneity of dramatic plays, composed over a wide chronological span that was marked by intense activity and changes, calls for a close reading of diverse contexts that are not necessarily consistent in their approach to ethnicity (even when speaking about plays of the same dramatist or the same play itself). Ethnicity does not in fact seem to be treated as an absolutely crystallized and strictly defined concept, and it certainly cannot be properly examined in isolation from other identity constituents.

Despite these variations, Attic drama extensively explores or reinforces ethnic stereotypes and often thematizes the Greek–barbarian polarity in ways that are or appear to be ideological, especially in the field of politics and ethics. This polarity is, in several cases, either explicitly or implicitly employed to the effect of Greek self-praise; yet, it is also often used in ways that complicate the very idea of fixed (both inter-ethnic and intra-Hellenic) boundaries—and moral judgments stemming from them—occasionally resulting in self-criticism or simply in the illumination of universal conditions and truths. While Euripidean tragedy exploits the theme of ethnicity more extensively and subversively, both Aeschylus and Sophocles offer subtle insights into its perplexities or relative importance. The possibility of a Greek self-definition through the dramatic contrast of Greeks with foreigners thus seems to be a nuanced and versatile procedure, one that challenges Greek complacency as much as reinforcing it—and may in fact do a complicated blend of the two. At the same time, drama's exploration of (real or speculative) differences between Greeks and foreigners may further particular artistic goals (e.g., comic effects) or contribute to the discussion about pertinent factual contrasts (e.g., tyranny–democracy/freedom) that are not necessarily or exclusively treated as narrow ethnic markers.

A comparative inquiry into the major aspects of ethnicity in other classical genres (see Chapter 23 in this volume, by Rosaria Vignolo Munson, titled "Herodotos and Ethnicity"), as well as in fourth-century tragedy and comedy, would prove very fertile for manifesting the wide range and flexibility of its functions, along with the way in which these genres interact in both mutually illuminating and mutually perplexing ways.

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FURTHER READING

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Hall, Edith. 2006. *The Theatrical Cast of Athens: Interactions between Ancient Greek Drama and Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199298891.001.0001. Composed of a set of wide-ranging papers and using a variety of methodological approaches, the book underlines and investigates the complex relationship between the world of the "stage" and that of its spectators.

Loraux, Nicole. 1993. *The Children of Athena: Athenian Ideas about Citizenship and the Division Between the Sexes*. Trans. C. Levine. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Explores a series of intricate questions about the relationship between the male-dominated Athenian society and the city's patroness, Athena, the Athenians' view of their autochthonous origins, and the way in which civic discourse attempts to imagine and represent the complete exclusion of women.

Mitchell, Lynette. 2007. *Panhellenism and the Barbarian in Archaic and Classical Greece*. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales. Examines in great depth the meaning and development of the notion of Panhellenism from a variety of angles, as well as the role that the war with the barbarians played in the formation of the Hellenic identity.

Sassi, Maria. 2001. *The Science of Man in Ancient Greece*. Trans. P. Tucker. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. A rich study on the Greeks' interest in human nature and especially differentiation (e.g., Greeks–barbarians, free men–slaves, men–women) from Homer to Late Antiquity, with particular reference to the way in which the prejudiced view of the free Greek male tailored the Greeks' observations.

Scodel, Ruth. 2010. *An Introduction to Greek Tragedy*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press. Provides an accessible and stimulating introduction to Greek tragedy (definition and context, interpretation of plays, scholarship on major issues, critical approach to widespread assumptions) for readers not necessarily familiar with the genre.

Silk, Michael. 1990. "The People of Aristophanes." In Christopher Pelling, ed., *Characterization and Individuality in Greek Literature*, 150–73. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Looks into the complex theme of comic characterization and the Aristophanic characters' inconsistency.

Tuplin, Christopher. 1996. *Achaemenid Studies*. Historia Einzelschriften 99. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. Relates in detail crucial facts and aspects of the history of the Persian Empire under the reign of the Achaemenid dynasty, including the depiction of Persia in Athenian literature.

Vidal-Naquet, Pierre. 1986. *The Black Hunter: Forms of Thought and Forms of Society in the Greek World*. Trans. P. Szegedy-Maszak. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Provides a bold and lively structuralist reading, analyzing the elaborate system of oppositions that pervade Greek culture (cultivated–wild, citizen–foreigner, real–imaginary, etc.) and the patterns that link literary works with social activities or phenomena (slavery, war, education, commemoration).

Zeitlin, Froma. 1990. "Thebes: Theater of Self and Society in Athenian Drama." In John Winkler and Froma Zeitlin, eds., *Nothing to Do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in Its Social Context*, 131–67. Princeton: Princeton University Press. A thought-provoking and controversial article, which sets up and exploits an absolute dichotomy between tragic Athens and Thebes.

CHAPTER 18

Ethnos and Koinon

Emily Mackil

Primordial versus Instrumental Identity

It is often said that the Greek world was a world of *poleis*. Yet, in some areas, widespread urbanization was slower to develop, and communities formed around clusters of settlements known as *ethnē*. If the urban *polis* and the less urbanized *ethnos* are often taken to be dichotomous, they nevertheless share an important characteristic: both became members of larger states called *koina* (singular: *koinon*), which are frequently dubbed "federal states." This phenomenon is widespread: by the late fourth century, nearly half of the *poleis* of mainland Greece and the Peloponnese had become members of one or another of 11 *koina*. While the non-autonomous or dependent *polis* has recently become a recognizable phenomenon (Hansen 1997; Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 87–94), the participation of a *polis* in a *koinon* raises a different specter, insofar as membership typically entailed a carefully delineated set of privileges and obligations that are not necessarily present in the relationship between a dependent *polis* and its autonomous master. This raises the question of motivation, for participation was rarely coerced (Mackil 2013): why were *poleis* and *ethnē* willing to enter into such arrangements? One of the standard answers has been shared ethnicity.

Scholars have taken two different views of the relationship between *ethnos* and *koinon*, between ethnic identity and the formation of what are usually called federal states in the Greek world, which map closely onto the two basic views of ethnicity, the primordial and the instrumental (see Siapkas, Chapter 5, in this volume). The primordialists explained the development of Greek federal states as a natural outgrowth of communities bound together by a shared identity. For Fritz Gschnitzer (1955), these communities were defined by the population group (*Stamm*, tribe) rather than a particular place, a distinction that made it possible to take ancient migration myths as largely accurate reports

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of the history of a population group. Jakob Larsen (1968) likewise postulated the existence of primordial tribal groups that morphed, by mysterious and largely uncharted processes, into states with institutions that we would recognize as essentially federal. He took the view, for example, that the Boeotians were in fact a single population group that occupied their territory in central Greece at the time of the Dorian migration, and that this same group formed what he called the "Boeotian League" in the sixth century (Larsen 1968: 26–8). Exactly how their "tribal unity" related to the formation of a state around the boundaries of the ethnic group is not clear in the ancient sources, and Larsen never attempted to address this crucial problem. This primordialist view persisted into the 1990s (e.g., Daverio Rocchi 1993; Grainger 1999).

However, in the intervening years, anthropologists and sociologists showed that ethnic identity was a highly dynamic and labile social construct, effected by negotiation rather than genetics, and frequently deployed to achieve particular ends (e.g., Barth 1969; Smith 1986). If the primordialist view of ethnicity has been largely replaced by the instrumentalist, and ancient historians have charted the degree to which such identities in ancient Greece were constructed and adapted to meet contemporary needs (e.g., Hall 1997; Morgan 2003), they have only begun to analyze the implications of this conceptual shift for the particular case of the *koinon*. In his work on Phocis, Jeremy McInerney observes that mythology, as a means of articulating an ethnic identity, "provided the necessary fiction out of which some form of political federation and statehood could evolve" (McInerney 1999: 148). This view is echoed by Hans Beck's remark, in an article surveying new developments in the study of ancient federalism, that the *ethnos* was "the fiction which made the creation of a political organism possible" (Beck 2003: 181). Both essentially see ethnic identity as necessary for the construction of federal political institutions. Angela Kühr has suggested that, in the case of Boeotia, the formation of the *koinon* strengthened a pre-existent but weak sense of Boeotian identity, articulated above all through myth (Kühr 2006: 301–6; cf. Ganter, Chapter 15 in this volume).

In what follows, I shall propose a slight adjustment to these views: however fictive it may have been, ethnic identity was an argument used to generate support for a politics of cooperation. The argument was made above all by assertions of a group identity articulated through myths of consanguinity and the possession of a common territory, which Hall (1997) isolates as the only two criteria of ethnic identity in the Greek world. The ethnic argument was particularly important when the *koinon* was still a real innovation in Classical mainland Greece. By the Hellenistic period, however, it had become possible to envision *koina* without ethnic origins, such as the *Koinon* of the Islanders, an instrument for Antigonid and later Ptolemaic control of the Aegean (Buraselis 1982: 60–87). Even in Classical mainland Greece, I will suggest, the efficacy of the ethnic argument was always limited, and it was only one argument among many. The *koinon* was something radically different from the *ethnos*, a complex, regional state with a careful and deliberate distribution of power among several interdependent scales (*polis*, district, and *koinon*), rather than a group of communities with loose and informal structures for cooperation (Morgan 2003). The former initially grew out of the latter, but is to be sharply distinguished from it. The politics of cooperation had in fact a great deal to offer its participants, and these advantages presented compelling arguments of a different kind, which may help us to understand why *koina* so quickly and so frequently overstepped their putative ethnic boundaries. I shall first address several cases (chosen for their richness, complexity, and

variety) in which ethnic identity was used as an argument in favor of political cooperation, and then turn to evidence for the limited efficacy of the argument and its relevance. I shall conclude with a few indications of alternative arguments in favor of the creation of a *koinon* or participation in one, and explain why I think analyses of ethnicity do so little to advance our understanding of the Greek *koinon*.

Ethnicity as Argument

The *koinon* was an innovation of the *ethnē* of mainland Greece. Communities that interacted intensely with one another, frequently but not always in a cooperative fashion, and conceived of themselves as being united by a shared ancestry and the occupation of a single, shared territory developed formal institutions that governed their interactions and ensured their cooperation. The result was a state that they called by a variety of names, frequently simply the plural ethnic name of the group, for example, "the Boeotians" or "the Phocians," but in technical and especially official contexts they often used the term "*koinon* of the Boeotians," *et cetera, mutatis mutandis. To koinon* is a substantive adjective meaning, simply, "the common thing." It is a word sometimes used to denote a public treasury (Thucydides 6.6.3) and sometimes "the people" in the general sense (e.g., Isocrates 10.36). When conjoined with the plural ethnic, however, it usually describes a specific form of state, one progenitor of modern federalism. It is, in other words, a state common to a group of people, and the definition and articulation of that group played an important role in persuading communities to participate. This work was done above all by means of religious myths and rituals; as a result, sanctuaries were important places for advancing the ethnic argument, and it was partly for this reason that they frequently served as political meeting places (Parker 1998).

The central Greek region of Boeotia is a place where this process can be detected in relatively good detail. In the late sixth century, the Thebans were apparently at the vanguard of an effort to coordinate the actions of the *poleis* of Boeotia. It is difficult to determine whether at this stage they appealed to a common identity as they tried to persuade their neighbors to join their effort. I do not say "to join the Boeotian *koinon*" because there is no evidence to support the view that there *was* a *koinon*, of the sort that is so familiar from the late fifth century, in Boeotia in this period (Hansen 1995; Mackil 2013). When the Plataeans were being "pressed" by the Thebans in 519 and the situation erupted into armed conflict, Corinthian arbitrators, accepted by both sides, prohibited the Thebans from trying to coerce "those of the Boeotians who were not willing to contribute to the Boeotians" (Herodotus 6.108.5). From Herodotos' skeletal report, can we conclude that the Thebans were using an ethnic argument to persuade the Plataeans to participate? The name they gave to the entity they were trying to create—whether it was a state or a military alliance is not clear—was evidently "the Boeotians."

A few years later, in 506, the Thebans and their allies launched a coordinated attack on the Athenians in support of the exiled Cleomenes. The Athenians commemorated their victorious counter-attack with the dedication of a bronze quadriga to Athena, accompanied by an inscription that boasts the "taming [of] the *ethnēa* of the Boeotians and Chalcidians" by the sons of the Athenians (Meiggs and Lewis 1988: no. 15; Herodotus 5.77). Clearly, outsiders could think of "the Boeotians" as an *ethnos*, but the Chalcidians,

who belonged to a single *polis*, are also described as an *ethnos*, so it is impossible to draw any firm conclusions from this intriguing text. However, Herodotus' continued narrative of the episode in 506 suggests that the Boeotians were a group of Boeotian *poleis*, including Thebes, Tanagra, Coronea, and Thespiae, that regularly and willingly fought together (Herodotus 5.79). The Boeotians in this political sense did not include all those *poleis* that could at the time have been described as ethnically Boeotian if, as most do, we allow the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* to be our guide to the ethnic dynamics of early Archaic Greece (see *Iliad* 2.494–510 for the Boeotian contingent and its constituent communities; see McInerney 1999: 120–7 and Morgan 2003: 104–5 for valuable cautionary remarks). We might think of the name of the alliance as being more normative than descriptive. And, in so doing, we can see the deployment of an ethnic argument in favor of participation as a real possibility.

The ethnic argument for participation in some kind of a larger political entity was built on a pre-existing set of practices that may have given the Boeotians some sense of belonging. In the sixth century, many Boeotians made dedications at the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios near Acraephia. The most prestigious took the form of *kouroi*, which adhered to a distinctive regional sculptural style, suggesting a consciously Boeotian way of representing the male body (Ducat 1971: 103–210; Stewart 1990: 112). At the very end of the sixth century, precisely the period in which the Thebans were putting so much energy behind the formation of a Boeotian entity with military and political purposes, two dedications were made at this important regional sanctuary in the name of the Boiotoi: a bronze statuette (Ducat 1971: no. 257) and an inscribed bronze vessel (Ducat 1971: no. 269a). However, they are strikingly unobtrusive in a sanctuary littered with monumental statues. The precise identity of these Boiotoi is unknown, but it is the act of dedicating in the name of the group that matters. These collective, shared practices appear to become more numerous and complex in tandem with efforts to increase the political coordination of the region.

By the mid-fifth century, we begin to have evidence for regional participation in what were previously local cults, such as that of Athena Itonia, who was described by Alcaeus (fragment 325) in the early sixth century as the "war-sustaining goddess [who] rul[es] over Coronea." The Boeotians achieved a major victory over the Athenians at Coronea in 446, a battle that was fought quite literally on the goddess' doorstep and that expelled the Athenians from the region, allowing the Boeotians to form a *koinon* for the first time, a regional state with formalized institutions and a delineation of powers for member *poleis* and the *koinon*. Shortly thereafter, Pindar composed a hymn (fragment 94b Maehler) for a Theban ritual that documents the participation of Theban elite families in rituals at Coronea and at the sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestus. In other words, what was evidently a local Coronean cult was now a regional cult in which Thebans—and certainly others—also participated. It is also in this period that we first have evidence for a mythic association of Athena Itonia with the Boeotian conquest of their territory (Thucydides 1.12.3; Armenidas *FGrHist* 378 F1; Pausanias 9.1.1). We can, then, see the ethnic argument for participation in the *koinon* being made quite vigorously in ritual contexts in this period (Kowalzig 2007: 352–91).

It also appears in the Theban attack on Plataea at the beginning of the Peloponneseian War. From Thucydides' account, it is clear that the Thebans made their appeal to Plataea on the grounds of *ta patria*, the ancestral customs of all the Boeotians (Thucydides 2.2.4,

3.61.2). The Plataeans, by refusing to rejoin the *koinon* in 431, implicitly rejected the Theban claim that ethnic identity ought to determine political allegiance. They did not, however, entirely disavow their Boeotian identity. The third-century travel-writer Heracleides Criticus reports that the Plataeans called themselves Athenian Boeotians (*BNJ* 369A Fragment 1.11). In doing so, they expressed their view that ethnic identity and political choices are not—or need not be—mutually determinative. Surprisingly enough, when Heracleides wrote his *Periegesis* in the 270s or 260s (Arenz 2006), the Plataeans were probably already members of the Hellenistic Boeotian *koinon* (e.g., *IG* VII.2723 line 3). By the early third century, they claimed a complex identity that was now separated from politics.

The dynamic may have been slightly different in Phocis, which lay just to the west of Boeotia. Archaeological evidence suggests that, in the Iron Age and early Archaic periods, the region known in the Classical period as Phocis was comprised of two distinct zones: the Cephisus Valley in the north and the region to the south of Mt. Parnassus, which divided the two. Each zone appears to have centered around a regional sanctuary, Kalapodi to the north and Delphi to the south (Morgan 2003: 24–5, 113–34). When Delphi came under the control of an amphictyony in the early sixth century, following the conflict known as the First Sacred War (Davies 1994; McInerney 1997: 165–72), the sanctuary at Kalapodi, probably belonging to Apollo and known in antiquity as Abai (*Arch. Rep.* 53 [2006–7] 41; 54 [2007–8] 47), received heavy investment, including a mid-sixth-century temple that has recently been excavated. Following the First Sacred War, Phocis was largely controlled by the Thessalians, and it was in opposition to this foreign rule that the Phocians began vigorously to formulate a single ethnic identity. Epichoric myths reflect claims to an unusual variety of origins by the various Phocian communities, who became connected to one another by the assertion of a common eponymous ancestor, Phokos (McInerney 1999: 127–49). If a single Phocian identity was forged in the crucible of Thessalian occupation, it lent support to a politics of cooperation only after the foreign rulers were expelled in the late sixth or early fifth century (Herodotus 8.27.2). They commemorated their victory with the dedication of Thessalian shields to Apollo at Abai/Kalapodi and at Delphi. In this period, the Phocians cooperated to produce a coinage emblazoned with the abbreviated collective ethnic and the head of a bull, perhaps the bull sacrificed to the hero Phokos himself (Head 1911: 338). They also appear to have built some kind of a structure to house political meetings, known in later sources as the *Phokikon* (McInerney 1997). However, we know nothing about how the Phocian communities were persuaded to participate in the *koinon*, or about the institutions by which they did so in this period. What is clear is that the exogenous pressure of foreign occupation encouraged the articulation of a shared identity, which then became the framework within which a politics of cooperation was situated after the liberation of the region from the Thessalians.

Elsewhere, the articulation of an ethnic identity seems to have facilitated the creation of a *koinon*, but was not oppositional in the same way. The Achaeans are an illuminating example. Archaeological evidence suggests that, before the fifth century, the territory known as Achaea, along the northern coast of the Peloponnese, was home to four distinct material zones. The material culture of the region becomes more homogeneous only in the fifth century, precisely the period in which a distinct Achaean identity began to be promulgated (Morgan and Hall 1996). The fifth-century Achaeans claimed to be the

descendants of the Homeric Achaeans who had migrated to the northern Peloponnese from Argos and Sparta under the leadership of Teisamenus, the son of Orestes, having been displaced by the arrival of the Heracleidae and displacing, in their turn, the Ionians who went to Asia Minor (Herodotus 1.145; Thucydides 3.92.5). A report about the bones of Teisamenus being taken from the Achaean city of Helike by the Spartans may justify the claim that the Achaeans were making assertions about their consanguinity and occupation of their territory as early as the sixth century (Pausanias 7.1.8; cf. Herodotus 1.67.2–68.6 for a similar episode, dated c. 560). All of these reports, made by non-Achaean authors, are confirmed by a dedication made at Olympia in the early fifth century. A group of statues depicting the Homeric Achaean heroes drawing lots for the duel with Hector was accompanied by an inscribed epigram on one of the statue bases: "The Achaeans dedicated these statues to Zeus, descendants of Pelops, son of Tantalus, rival to the gods" (Pausanias 5.25.6–8). Surviving bases in front of the temple of Zeus at Olympia confirm Pausanias' report (Eckstein 1969: 27–32). We do not know exactly who made this dedication; Pausanias asserts that it was dedicated "by the *ethnos* of the Achaeans in common," but this is certainly an inference from the epigram. Clearly, the Achaeans in the early Classical period were asserting the claim that they were the descendants of the Homeric Achaeans.

What role did this Achaean identity play in the formation of the Achaean *koinon*? Our answer to that crucial question is based entirely on inference. Olympia did not continue to be an important sanctuary for the Achaeans in the Classical period, and there has been much debate about the two that did. The sanctuary of Poseidon at Helice appears to have been of central importance to the Ionians who were driven out by the Achaeans, and there is some evidence that, in the early fourth century, the *koinon* made a claim to control of the sanctuary that was disputed by the *polis* of Helice (Strabo 8.7.2; Diodorus Siculus 15.49.2). However, the city, along with its venerable sanctuary, was destroyed by an earthquake and tsunami in 373. Although it has sometimes been inferred from a statement of Pausanias (7.7.2) that the Achaeans held their political meetings at this sanctuary before Helice was destroyed, there is no evidence to support the claim (Rizakis 2013). We know only that they met at the sanctuary of Zeus Homarios at nearby Aegium during the Hellenistic period. Epigraphic evidence (*SEG* 14.375 = Rizakis 2008: no. 120) strongly suggests that this sanctuary was of political importance to the Achaean *koinon* by the late fourth century. There is a problem with this god's epiklesis (Aymard 1935), which affects our ability to assess his connection with Achaean identity myths. The Zeus of Aegium was also known as Homagyrios, "the gatherer," explained by Pausanias (7.24.2) to commemorate Agamemnon's use of the sanctuary as a gathering place for the Achaeans to deliberate about the attack on Troy. We have no way of knowing whether this cult etiology was current among the Achaeans in the fourth century, when the *koinon* is first attested, or indeed before. If it was, it would be a clear indication of an attempt to embed the political unification of the region in a myth of ethnic unity that associated the historic with the Homeric Achaeans, and thereby with Pelops, grandfather of Agamemnon. Two variants of the epiklesis, Homarios (Polybius 5.93.10) and Amarios (Strabo 8.7.3, emended), nevertheless make the Zeus of Aegium a gathering god, quite appropriate as a patron of political assemblies for a regional state. The political significance of the cult of Zeus Homarios is retrojected by Polybius (2.39.5–6) to the late fifth century, but

his account is probably tendentious (Morgan and Hall 1996: 195–6; *contra* Walbank 1957: 224–6, 2000: 23–7; Larsen 1953), and while the sanctuary may have been of regional importance at that time, we have no evidence for an Achaean *koinon* before 389. The importance of Zeus to the early *koinon* is attested by his appearance on Achaean coins of the fourth century as well as the Hellenistic period (Kraay 1976: 101 with Figure 318).

An Achaean identity, articulated through claims of consanguinity and migration into a shared territory, was clearly forming in the sixth century and becoming more salient in the fifth. Achaea became politically unified, however, only by the early fourth century, and we cannot detect explicitly ethnic arguments being made in favor of participation at that time, as we can for the Boeotian *koinon* in the fifth century. However, there are hints. The first recorded act of the *koinon* was the annexation of Aetolian Calydon and Locrian Naupactus, across the Corinthian Gulf, by 389 (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 4.6.1, 14 with Diodorus Siculus 15.75.2), which placed them in direct hostility with the Aetolians. In precisely this period, Ephorus reports the Achaeans' claim to ancestral control of Olympia, before being driven out by the Elians, allies and kin of the Aetolians (Strabo 8.3.33). This claim must have been rooted in the myth of descent from Tantalus, father of the Olympian hero Pelops, and suggests that the Achaeans may have been advancing an ethnic argument for participation in their *koinon*, however incipient, and likewise couching their current dispute with the Aetolians in ethnic terms.

Although the specifics of each case vary considerably, in Boeotia, Phocis, and Achaea a sense of ethnic unity preceded political unification and played some role in encouraging potential member communities to perceive this new experiment in a positive light, as merely a formalization of strong existing ties. Indeed, the ethnic argument for participation in a *koinon* was so widespread that it appears to have had an effect on the language used to describe the state. While *koinon* appears most frequently in epigraphic sources, which are the most immediate reflection of the official language of the state, many well-informed authors use the term *ethnos* to describe what we would recognize as a Greek federal state. At the end of his famous description of the internal structure of the Boeotian *koinon*, replete with administrative details, the Oxyrhynchus Historian tells us that "in this way the whole *ethnos* governed itself" (*Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* 16.4 in McKechnie and Kern 1988). Polybius himself, once a high-ranking magistrate of the Achaean *koinon* and intimately familiar with the nature of the state and others like it, unambiguously uses *ethnos* to refer to the Achaean state (4.17.7; cf. Paus. 7.16.9), and, in his account of the dismantling of the Boeotian *koinon* by the Romans in 171, refers to that state as both a *koinē sympoliteia* and an *ethnos* (27.2.10).

In documents, *ethnos* also appears in conjunction with more straightforwardly political terms such as *koinon*, and it is tempting to suppose that *ethnos* was used to evoke sentiments of loyalty when praising individual benefactors. For example, a decree of the Thessalian *koinon* in the mid-to-late second century cites the goodwill of the Roman aedile Quintus Caecilius Metellus toward the *ethnos* of the Thessalians as one of the grounds for the decision of the *synedrion* to agree to export grain to Rome at his request (Garnsey, Gallant, and Rathbone 1984; *SEG* 34.558, with Bresson 2007–8: II.192–5 on the date). We have similar indications in a famous decree from the Lycian city of Araxa in the second century (*SEG* 18.570 with *SEG* 37.1218, 43.965, 49.1898 for debate about the date). The decree honors one Orthagoras of Araxa, a member *polis* of the Lycian *koinon* (on which see Behrwald 2000), for a long series of benefactions.



Map 18.1 Greece.

The general background is a series of conflicts between Araxa and several neighboring communities, which were in the hands of people described as tyrants. When the Araxans sought support from the Lycian *koinon* in these conflicts, they sent Orthagoras as ambassador, and the *koinon* in turn made him its ambassador. The decree (ll. 24–25, 59–60) praises Orthagoras for having acted worthily of the *demos* (i.e., Araxa) and of the *ethnos* (i.e., the Lykians). While one might suppose that this latter reference is not to the *koinon* of the Lykians but simply to the Lykians as a unified ethnic group, description of one of Orthagoras' deeds makes it clear that *ethnos* here certainly refers to the Lycian state. "The Orloandans … perceiving that the people [of Araxa] were eager

that they should be freed [from tyranny] and added to the *sympoliteia* of the *ethnos* of the Lycians, [Orthagoras] was sent by the *demos* as ambassador to the *poleis* in Lycia individually, and to the *koinon* of the Lycians … " (ll. 54–9). If *ethnos* and *koinon* were originally, as in fifth-century Boeotia, essentially coterminous but distinct, they had, by the second century, become synonymous, a testament to the success of the ethnic argument for participation in a *koinon*.

That argument became so prominent and widespread that it could also be used to attempt to rein in a *koinon* whose membership had become expansive. In 147, in the course of the diplomatic negotiations that ultimately failed and led to the Achaean War, the sack of Corinth, and the dismantling of the Achaean *koinon*, the Roman senate decreed that neither Sparta nor Corinth should belong to the Achaean *koinon*, and that Argos, Heraclea by Oeta, and Arcadian Orchomenus should immediately be separated from it (Pausanias 7.14.1). Yet, only the membership of Sparta had been contested. Pausanias reports the senate's reasoning, as explained by its legate L. Aurelius Orestes: "these cities were not at all a part of the Achaean *genos*, and they had joined the Achaean state later." The Achaeans rioted—and not only because the senate's argument was wholly specious (see Schwertfeger 1974: 8–10), but that is my interest here. In justifying their decision on ethnic grounds—that these cities were not ethnically Achaean—the Romans appealed to the traditional ethnic argument for participation in a *koinon*, implying that it was the principal justification for such an arrangement. However, Orestes and the Roman senate certainly knew that the Achaean *koinon* included many more non-Achaean *poleis* as members than the five listed by them. If ethnicity was a major tool of integration, how had this happened?

Beyond Ethnicity: The Limits of the Argument

Our first evidence for the integration of *poleis* into a *koinon* that did not belong to the same ethnic group comes from fourth-century Achaea. When the Achaeans annexed Aetolian Calydon and Locrian Naupactus sometime before 389, the cities became members of the Achaean *koinon*, and their inhabitants became Achaean citizens. This political expansion beyond ethnic boundaries occurred nearly a century and a half before the moment, usually described as a turning point, when Aratus of Sicyon persuaded his Dorian city to join the Achaean *koinon* in 251 (Plutarch, *Aratus* 9.6–7; Polybius 2.43.3). Shortly thereafter, Corinth, Argos, Epidaurus, Megara, and numerous Arcadian cities joined. Ethnicity clearly no longer mattered. Non-Achaean citizens had the same rights and position within the *koinon* as the original Achaean cities did, as is clearly demonstrated by the illustrious careers of leaders of the *koinon* from non-Achaean cities, including Aratus himself, as well as Philopoemen and Lycortas, the father of Polybius, both from Arcadian Megalopolis. The ethnic argument had clearly never been entirely compelling anyway (Freitag 2009): the Achaean city of Pellene remained independent of the *koinon* in the fourth century (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 7.1.15–18; Diodorus Siculus 15.68.2). We do not know what motives the Pelleneans had in avoiding participation in the *koinon* formed by their ethnic kin. They may or may not have been similar to the Plataeans' motives for staying out of the Boeotian *koinon*.

In the Hellenistic period, the Achaeans' rejection of the idea that *ethnos* and *koinon* should be coterminous became widespread. Although the Aetolian *koinon* appears to have been originally limited to ethnic Aetolians, and possibly organized by sub-groups within the *ethnos* (Thucydides 3.94.4–5; Arrian, *Aanabasis* 1.10.2), it was quickly expanded to include outsiders before the end of the fourth century. The Aetolians seized Acarnanian Oeniadae sometime before 323 and somehow incorporated the communities of Phocis into their polity before 301. If, then, a sense of ethnic identity had undergirded the federal experiment in early Classical Phocis, it imposed no strict limit on regional politics in the Hellenistic period. Much of Thessaly followed after 280 (Scholten 2000: 29–58). Even the Boeotians, who had played the ethnic card heavily in the sixth and fifth centuries, now incorporated outsiders in their *koinon*, including at least briefly Megara (Polybius 20.6.7), Locrian Opus (Petrakos 1997: no. 21 line 2; Etienne and Knoepfler 1976: 331–7; Scholten 2000: 259–60), and Euboean Chalcis (*IG* VII.2724b line 6 with Knoepfler 1998: 202–3, 207).

In each of these cases, the ethnic outsiders who became members of a *koinon* received rights and obligations equal to those of the original members who were ethnic insiders. This is most clearly documented for Hellenistic Achaea, where new members were promised internal autonomy and freedom from garrisons (Peek 1969: no. 25), and where Achaean officials and citizens of the new member *polis* together swore oaths to uphold agreements reached about the terms of incorporation (Thür and Taeuber 1994: no. 16). Assembly meetings were initially held in the sanctuary of Zeus at Aigion, central to Achaea proper but quite peripheral as the *koinon* grew to incorporate most of the Peloponnese. Under pressure from new member *poleis* complaining about their geographical disadvantage, the Achaeans agreed to hold assemblies in various member cities on a rotating basis (Liv. 38.30.3). Boards of federal magistrates were comprised of ethnic outsiders and insiders alike—Argives, Arcadians, and Achaeans (*IG* IV.1^2.73). Equal representation for ethnic outsiders in the Boeotian *koinon* is likewise attested (*IG* VII.2724b). The Aetolians may have come to such equity and openness only gradually, but they did soon grant non-Aetolians the same rights and privileges as Aetolian citizens, including holding high office (Scholten 2000: 44–5, 63–6, 90–1).

All of this suggests that if ethnicity provided an argument for participation in a regional politics of cooperation when such arrangements were still entirely novel, that argument became less relevant as other considerations became evident. Economic considerations were highly significant. *Koina* themselves might desire to expand beyond the boundaries of the original *ethnos* in order to acquire valuable resources. This was certainly a motivation for the Aetolian seizure of Acarnanian Oeniadae in the late fourth century (Diodorus Siculus 18.8.2–7; Plutarch, *Alexander* 49.14), a time when they had lost and were desperately trying to regain access to the Corinthian Gulf. And new potential members might enjoy significant economic advantages, as I have argued in greater detail elsewhere (Mackil 2013: 237–325).

Xenophon, deeply anxious about the threats posed by the *koinon* to traditional *polis* autonomy (Bearzot 2004: 45–56), imputes to an ambassador from the northern Greek city of Acanthus a speech about the sources of the rising power of the *koinon* of the Chalcideis under the leadership of Olynthus in 382. He cites a territory with rich and varied resources: plentiful shipbuilding timber; many harbors and ports, each generating significant revenues; an abundance of food sustaining a large population (Xenophon, *Hellenica*

5.2.16–19). The *koinon*, furthermore, established institutions to facilitate access to the varied but highly localized resources contained within its entire territory, granting all citizens *enktesis*, the right to own property throughout the *koinon*, rather than restricting such a right to the territory of their own *polis*, and granting rights of intermarriage (*epigamia*) throughout the *koinon*. The claim about regional property rights is probably supported by a remarkable series of inscribed deeds of sale from cities in the region (Hatzopoulos 1998; Game 2008: nos. 13–35, 38, though neither makes the connection to federal property rights as described by Xenophon). Regional property rights were also granted within the Boeotian and Achaean *koina*, and probably the Aetolian as well. This had the effect of significantly increasing economic mobility within the region and, with it, the variety of economic resources available to individuals. The logic of interdependence was extended, certainly by the Hellenistic period if not before, when both the Achaean and Boeotian *koina* undertook to protect limited local grain supplies from export during periods of shortage (Migeotte 1984: no. 10 lines 4–6; Thür and Taeuber 1994: no. 18 lines 15–16). In the Hellenistic period, the Thessalian *koinon*, too, was an instrument for coordinating responses to requests for large exports of grain from this fertile region (Garnsey, Gallant, and Rathbone 1984; Helly 2008: 87–91).

Pooling resources, however, practically invites predation and corruption, particularly when resources are not uniformly distributed across a landscape. This was, presumably, one of the fears of the Acanthians when they sent their ambassador to Sparta to ask for help in resisting incorporation into the *koinon* of the Chalcideis. Yet, *koina* were heavily involved in arbitrating disputes between member *poleis*, most of which arose over resources and land (Harter-Uibopuu 1998 on Achaean arbitration). The detailed account of Polybius shows us that when the Achaean *koinon*, at least, seemed to take from its member states without giving in return, it was held accountable by them (e.g., Polybius 4.60.1–10). Ultimately, *koina* were poor instruments for subordination or imperialism, but excellent instruments for the coordination and cooperation of multiple *poleis*.

In addition to the acquisition of resources beyond the boundaries of the individual *polis* and of the *ethnos*, enhanced security was a major argument for participation in a *koinon*. This was certainly the rationale behind Aratus' move to incorporate Sicyon in the Achaean *koinon*: having just ousted a tyrant, the city needed powerful friends, or at least a coalition of many friends who together represented a formidable challenge to their opponents. The central importance of the provision of defense by the *koinon* is highlighted by a negative example from Hellenistic Achaea. Several western Achaean *poleis* suffered repeated Aetolian invasions in 218 in the course of the Social War. When the federal army failed to come to their defense, even after a specific request was sent, they coordinated their refusal to pay their taxes to the *koinon* and used the money to hire a mercenary defense force instead (Polybius 4.60.1–10). The episode certainly shows that increased security was one major reason why *poleis* joined a *koinon*.

Conclusion

When the *poleis* and *ethnē* of mainland Greece were developing the *koinon* as a new form of state in the Classical period, they appealed to, and sometimes actively fostered, a sense

of ethnic belonging to encourage communities to join. However, from the beginning, the ethnic argument had only limited efficacy. Those who were opposed to membership could easily reject the claim that ethnic identity should on its own determine political alignments. Those who were in favor of participation but who belonged to another *ethnos* appear to have had no trouble whatsoever in making the case for their participation in a state that was at one time ethnically homogeneous. And *koina* that had reasons to overstep their putative ethnic boundaries by incorporating members beyond the *ethnos* had, in turn, evidently no qualms whatsoever about doing so. If rejection of the ethnic argument for political alignment by "kin" is already seen in sixth-century Boeotia in the case of Plataea, we do not have evidence for *koina* incorporating member *poleis* beyond the *ethnos* before the early fourth century. It may, then, be that ethnicity provided an important framework within which the innovation of the *koinon* itself became possible. However, to say that it did more would be to overstate the case for the relationship between ethnic identity and political behavior in ancient Greece.

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Parker, Robert. 1998. *Cleomenes on the Acropolis. An Inaugural Lecture Delivered before the University of Oxford on 12 May 1997*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. A thoughtful, wide-ranging, and provocative exploration of the role played by religion in the formation and articulation of group identities, with a valuable appendix that collects the evidence for *ethnos*-based cults in the Greek world.

CHAPTER 19

Messenia, Ethnic Identity, and Contingency

Alexander Thein

Introduction

In 469/8 or 465/4, Sparta was struck by a devastating earthquake that is said to have left the city in ruins and killed 20,000 people (Diod. 11.63.1–2, 15.66.4, Plut. *Cim.* 16.4; see Lewis 1992a: 110; Luraghi 2001: 280–5). The Spartans then faced an uprising of their helots and *perioeci*, some of whom established a stronghold on Mount Ithome in Messenia. The rebellion lasted 10 years, and it was only with military support from allied Greek states that Sparta reasserted control over its territories to the west of the Taygetus Mountains. It was a key moment in the history of Spartan Messenia, not least because the rebels laid claim to a Messenian ethnic identity that had been dormant or non-existent during the several centuries of Spartan rule over the region. This ethnic awakening lasted just over half a century. The Ithome rebels left the Peloponnese under a truce and settled in Naupactus, where they formed a garrison community of Messenians allied to the Athenians, which flourished until the end of the Peloponnesian War. At this time, there were also Messenians living on Cephallenia and Zacynthus. However, Sparta dissolved the Messenian diaspora on the western fringes of the Peloponnese, and the Messenian exiles soon disappeared from the historical record: only one group is attested, in Sicily in 396, 5 years after their expulsion to various places of exile in 401. Spartan dominance ended with the Theban victory at Leuctra in 371, and, in the winter of 370/69, Epaminondas led an invasion of Spartan territory that resulted in the liberation of Messenia and the foundation of a new Messenian *polis* at the foot of Mount Ithome. It was a fortified city populated by settlers drawn from the Peloponnese and overseas, not all of them ethnic Messenians. However, an official narrative emerged that allowed all the settlers to claim Messenian descent, specifically from the overseas diaspora. The *polis* of Messene prospered, and over time the ethnic identity of its citizens could be taken for granted.

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The emergence or at least the expression of Messenian ethnicity in the fifth and fourth centuries was contingent on external factors: the Spartan earthquake that led to the Ithome revolt, Athenian patronage in the Peloponnesian War, and the Theban victory at Leuctra. Ethnicity is not fixed or immutable, but it cannot be invented in a vacuum, and scholars have thus focused on the content, contexts, and origins of the Messenian ethnic narrative. Ethnicity can be defined by language and religion, by shared history and culture, and above all by an association with a specific territory and by a myth of common descent. The minimum criterion is the use of a name to define the ethnic group (Hall 1997: 25, cf. 32–3), and with the Messenians the evidence for ethnicity is often limited to the use of the ethnic label. Isolated references in Homer and Tyrtaeus do no more than attest the existence of the early Messenians. The name reappears in fifth-century sources, and in Thucydides it is used in opposition to the label "helot." Thus, the rejection of servile status in the Spartan system found its expression in an ethnic discourse. Thucydides is our best source for the resurgence of a Messenian identity after centuries of Spartan rule, and this chapter examines how his narrative traces its activation and reception in the half century following the Ithome revolt.

Old and New Messenians

Messenia is the name given by Classical and later authors to the southwest corner of the Peloponnese, south of the river Neda and west of the Taygetus Mountains. It came under Spartan control from the eighth century, and it remained part of the Spartan state until the early fourth century. During this period, it was culturally indistinguishable from Laconia, the region to the east of the Taygetus Mountains that formed the core of the Spartan state. Archaeological evidence from a series of sanctuary sites indicates that, in the sixth and fifth centuries, the inhabitants of Messenia spoke the same dialect and used the same alphabet as their neighbors in Laconia. They also used and produced the same kinds of pottery and bronzes, worshipped the same gods, and dedicated the same sorts of votives (Luraghi 2002a: 50–7, 2008: 134–6, 246). Messenia had no distinct cultural identity under Spartan rule, and before the conquest it was a heterogeneous geographical space (Luraghi 2002a: 48–50; Alcock 2002: 138; cf. Pearson 1962: 402–3; Cartledge 2001: 148). Indeed, it has been argued that "Messene" or "Messenia" first became the name of the region as a whole in an early-fifth-century Argive myth that described the division of the Peloponnese among the Heraclids in the distant mythological past (Luraghi 2008: 48–61, although Hans van Wees [lecture at Trinity College Dublin, February 23, 2012] proposes a much earlier chronology, arguing that the myth reflects an Argive alliance with Messenia during the Spartan wars of conquest). It is certain, however, that there had been a Messene and Messenians before Spartan rule.

Messene and the Messenians are attested in Homer in a series of passages (*Od.* 3.488–89, 21.15–16, 21.18) used by Pausanias to argue that there was no city called Messene in Messenia before 369; he concludes that the Messenians were an *ethnos* (4.1.3) and states that these "old Messenians" shared their land with the Dorians of Cresphontes (4.3.6). The seventh-century poet Tyrtaeus attests the Spartan conquest of "spacious Messene, good to plough and good to plant" in the times of his ancestors after a 20-year war that ended with the flight of the inhabitants from their fields and "from

the lofty mountains of Ithome" (fr. 5, cf. Diod. 16.66.3, Paus. 4.9–14, with 4.15–23 for the second phase of the Spartan conquest). Memories of an "old Messene" in the distant past were fundamental to Messenian identity in the fifth and fourth centuries. Thucydides states that most of the rebel helots on Mount Ithome were "descendants of the early Messenians who had been enslaved of old" (1.101.2, cf. Diod. 15.66.4, Paus. 3.11.8, 4.24.6), while the *polis* of Epaminondas was imagined as the restoration of the "old Messenians" from overseas exile to a liberated homeland (Paus. 4.26.5, 4.27.9–11, Diod. 15.66.6, Plut. *Ages.* 34.1, *Pelop.* 24.9, cf. Strabo 8.5.8). Some contemporary critics countered that the settlers were not "true" Messenians, but helots (Isoc. *Archid.* 28, 87–88, cf. Lycurg. *Leoc.* 62). However, it was later possible to argue that the settlement of ex-helot Messenians at Messene was universally acknowledged as a just and noble act (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 15.28). Messenian ethnicity was the antithesis of helot status, and it was constructed in terms of putative biological descent from the "old Messenians" of the distant past.

The citizens of the fourth-century *polis* created written accounts of the history of Messenia to lay claim to the Messenians of the pre-Spartan past and legitimate their own new existence as a city and as a people. However, before this time, Messenian ethnicity was not the focus of written discourse in the region. Some scholars thus cite oral traditions to support their conviction that the helots of Messenia had an identity based on historical consciousness throughout the period of Spartan rule (Shero 1938: 504; Treves 1944: 104; Chambers 1978: 275; with further examples cited by Ogden 2004: 20). Recent scholarship generally argues against continuity: ethnic difference did not define the Spartan rituals of repression, and it is difficult to attribute ethnic consciousness to the helots of either Messenia or Laconia (Figueira 1999: 221; Luraghi 2001: 295–6, 2008: 203; similarly, for helots of Laconia: Ducat 1990: 18; van Wees 2003: 49–50). It is no less difficult to discern ethnic differences between the Spartans and *perioeci*, and it may be that the *perioeci* of Messenia perceived themselves as Lacedaemonian by default (Luraghi 2002a: 67–8, 2008: 206; cf. Kennell 2010: 91). Messenian identity in the fifth and fourth centuries can thus be viewed as the product of ethnogenesis, although there are still dissenting voices (see van Wees 2003: 49 and Ogden 2004: xiii). Proponents of the ethnogenesis model emphasize the natural barrier of the Taygetus and the physical separation of Messenia from the rest of the *Lakonike* (Luraghi 2002a: 68, 2008: 207; cf. Alcock 2002: 154; Cartledge 2001: 148). Emphasis is also given to a shared sense of the past, but with terms such as "identity" or "tradition" now replacing earlier assumptions of a fully formed Messenian historical narrative. This trend is exemplified in the analysis of cult rituals at Bronze Age tombs in Messenia in the Archaic and Classical periods. Scholars speak of "social memories" (Alcock 1999: 336–7, 2002: 146–52) and "ancestralizing strategies" (Hall 2003: 160). Scholarship past and present has sought to give a voice to the enslaved and subject peoples of Messenia, and there is a renewed consensus that Messenian ethnic identity in the Peloponnese was forged by the local inhabitants. The importance of the Messenian diaspora in Italy and Sicily is acknowledged, and it is argued that the emergence of a Messenian identity in Italy and Sicily under the Anaxilads gave credibility to the ethnic claims of the Peloponnesian Messenians in the wider Greek world (Luraghi 2008: 207, cf. 147–72; this analysis supersedes the view that the western diaspora was able to maintain the continuity of Messenian ethnic identity throughout the centuries of Spartan rule: Shero 1938: 504; cf. Alcock 2002: 158–9). In contrast,

however, the contingency of the ethnogenesis of the Peloponnesian Messenians on the Spartan earthquake and Athenian and Theban patronage is downplayed (above all by Alcock 2002: 164–5, 173–4).

The origins of the Messenian ethnic identity attested on Mount Ithome remain obscure. Figueira argues that the ethnic identity of the pre-Spartan Messenians could not have survived, since there was "no regime of song, no rich ritual calendar, and no maturational and agonistic organization of time to set against the dominant ideology." Yet, his argument in favor of Messenian ethnogenesis in the fifth century relies on an appeal to folk memories, traditions, and customs in helot society (1999: 226–7, 235). Hodkinson discusses evidence for helot overseers working for Spartiate landowners, and he makes the case that they also provided leadership to the settled communities of helots identified in recent archaeological surveys in western Messenia. He avoids the term "ethnicity," but he does conclude that helot villages had a communal identity based on a well-defined sense of a shared past and an attachment to place (2003: 268–75; cf. Alcock 2002: 153–5). Luraghi has argued that the shared slave experience of the helots had the potential to develop into an ethnic identity (2002b: 239). However, he stresses elsewhere that there were no elites in helot society who could develop an ideology of resistance to Spartan rule, or even organize a mass uprising (2001: 296–7, 2002a: 67–8, 2008: 202–4; cf. Talbert 1989: 30). Therefore, in his analysis of Messenian ethnogenesis in the fifth century, he focuses on the *perioeci* and the archaeological evidence from sanctuaries in areas of probable perioecic settlement, and he concludes that they had a group identity, traditions, and the capacity to develop ethnic narratives (2001: 298, 2002a: 57–9, 2008: 204–5). He identifies the *perioeci* as the carriers of fifth-century Messenian ethnicity and argues that it was a separatist regional identity, the product of differentiation or fission in the years before the Ithome revolt. Some emphasis is given to the claims of putative descent from the "old Messenians" of the pre-Spartan past (2002a: 65–7), but more weight is placed on the conceptualization of "Messene" as a unified region with well-defined natural borders and a myth–history stretching back to the Heraclid division of the Peloponnese: separatists in the Spartan territories west of the Taygetus could call themselves "Messenians" because they lived in a region that had come to be called "Messene" (2008: 207: 334–5).

The model of differentiation is attractive, for it posits that ethnic consciousness can emerge when minority groups focus on the subtle differences that separate them from the dominant majority. This helps explain how a Messenian ethnic identity could emerge in a region which lacked the indicia that functioned as "icons of ethnic difference" in a Greek context, notably dialect, alphabet, and cults (Luraghi 2002a: 66, 2008: 246). However, Luraghi's application of this model privileges the *perioeci* to the exclusion of the helots and finds textual support only in Thucydides' testimony that the *perioeci* of Thuria and Aethaea joined the Ithome revolt (1.101.2). The model of aggregation is more versatile, and it can be applied in a conventional reading of the revolt as a helot uprising (the capacity of the helots to organize successful rebellions against Spartan rule has recently been re-emphasized by Urbainczyk 2008: 24–7, 73–4, 91–9). Thucydides states that most rebels were helots who claimed Messenian descent, and adds: "hence all of them were called Messenians" (1.101.2). The rebel helots who could not claim Messenian descent became Messenian by a process of aggregation. Thucydides is perhaps referring to rebel helots who lived in the region of Messenia (as defined in the myth of the

division of the Peloponnese) but outside the territory of Old Messene. Opinions differ on the location of the Messene of Tyrtaeus, but there is a consensus that it was considerably smaller than the territory of Spartan Messenia (Pearson 1962: 402, 406; Luraghi 2002a: 67, 2003: 111–2, 2008: 71–2; Hall 2003: 146–7). Alternatively, Thucydides' allusion to the heterogeneity of the helots of Messenia can be explained by a model of internal colonization by chattel slaves or dependent labor following the flight or desertion of at least part of the pre-conquest population (Figueira 2003: 221–2; Hodkinson 2003: 262; van Wees 2003: 36).

The *perioeci* formed a key stratum in the social structure of Spartan Messenia, and their role in the Ithome revolt should not be ignored. They had hoplite training, and it may be that this was decisive in the rebel successes in open warfare in the early stages of the revolt (Luraghi 2008: 205, cf. Hdt. 9.64.2). However, the hypothesis that the *perioeci* were the carriers of Messenian ethnic identity in the early fifth century is highly conjectural. Above all, it assumes that the Ithome revolt was a mass ethnic uprising.

Ethnogenesis on Mount Ithome

The first to rebel after the Spartan earthquake were local helots who made an abortive attack on the city of Sparta and withdrew to the countryside where they gained the support of several perioecic towns, apparently by persuasion but perhaps by coercion (Plut. *Cim.* 16.7, cf. Diod. 11.64.1). News of the earthquake spread west of the Taygetus, and this led to a separate uprising in Messenia, in which the ethnic dimension came to the fore (cf. Roobaert 1977: 147). Plutarch describes the rebels on Ithome as "Messenians and helots" (Plut. *Cim.* 17.3, cf. *Lyc.* 28.12), and Diodorus has the helots join a revolt initiated by "the remnants of the Messenians" (15.66.4, cf. 11.63.4–64.4), while Pausanias claims that all the rebel helots were ethnic Messenians (3.11.8, 4.24.6). Thucydides offers the most precise and reliable testimony: the rebels were helots, except for the *perioeci* of Thuria and Aethaea, and most but not all of the rebel helots were of Messenian descent (1.101.2, with Luraghi 2002c). Other sources of the period ignore the helot identity of the "Messenian" rebels (Hdt. 9.35.2, 9.64.2, ps.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 3.11, Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.33, cf. Ar. *Lys.* 1141–42).

The Messenian ethnic identity attested on Mount Ithome can be understood as the product of an ethnogenesis or ethnic reawakening that took place within Spartan Messenia in the years before the revolt. An alternative is to refocus on the decade of rebellion following the Spartan earthquake. The long duration of the siege on Mount Ithome indicates that the rebels had a strong social organization and an effective leadership. Paradoxically, the Spartans brought the rebels into close contact with the outside world, and this provided a context for the transmission of ideas: allied Greek states sent military aid to Sparta, among them the Athenians, whose contingent was famously dismissed and sent home on the suspicion that it might sympathize with the rebels and change sides (Thuc. 1.102.3, Paus. 4.24.6, Plut. *Cim.* 17.2). The Athenians had no conscious policy of subversion at Ithome, yet Sparta was clearly nervous that fraternization could lead to the transfer of ideas from its Greek allies to the besieged (Talbert 1989: 28; Figueira 1999: 233; cf. Lewis 1992a: 110; Raaflaub 2003: 184–5). Mount Ithome provides a context for Messenian ethnogenesis, and it was above all on Ithome, after the outbreak of the

rebellion, that a Messenian ethnic identity became a requirement. The ethnic claims of the rebels gave legitimacy to an uprising that could otherwise only be categorized as a servile revolt (noted by Luraghi 2002a: 60, 2008: 199–200). In my view, it is therefore best to assume a helot revolt that evolved into an ethnic uprising. It tends to be assumed by scholars that the rebel identity of Messenian ethnicity emerged in a period of unrest before the Spartan earthquake, and some ancient writers took a similar view. Plato, for example, states that *Messenian* unrest was constant (*Leg.* 777c, cf. 692d, 698e for a supposed revolt in the 490s, with Luraghi 2008: 173–82), while Aristotle speaks of endemic *helot* unrest (*Pol.* 1269a, 1272b, cf. Thuc. 4.80.3). However, case studies from modern history have shown that social, religious, or ethnic polarization is often the outcome rather than the cause of civil war (Kalyvas 2006: 74–81).

The Spartan narrative of the Ithome revolt as a helot uprising was accepted by the Greek states that sent military assistance (e.g. Thuc. 3.54.5 on the Plataeans), but at the end of the war the Delphic oracle adopted a rather less committed position when it pronounced that the rebels were "suppliants of Ithomaean Zeus" (Thuc. 1.103.2, Paus. 4.24.7). There is also a subtle shift in the terminology used by Thucydides. He opens his narrative of the revolt with a statement on the helot identity of the majority of the rebels. He also acknowledges the ethnic claims of the rebel helots (1.101.2). However, in the rest of his treatment of the revolt, he avoids the polarized labels "Messenians" and "helots" in favor of the neutral formula "those on Ithome" (1.101.3, 1.102.1, 1.103.2). This indicates his opinion that the rebels were no longer truly helots but not yet fully Messenians. It is not until the rebels leave Ithome for Naupactus that they appear in his narrative as true Messenians (2.9.4). Thucydides seems to describe a servile revolt that became an ethnic uprising, and on two later occasions he focuses on its origins and refers simply to the "helot revolt" at the time of the Spartan earthquake (2.27.2, 4.56.2).

In the tenth year of the Ithome revolt (probably 456/55), the rebels agreed to a truce with the Spartans, which stipulated that they leave the Peloponnese with their wives and children and never return; anyone found to have violated these terms was liable to become the personal slave of his captor (a fate worse than helotry). Thus, the "suppliants of Ithomaean Zeus" were spared but defined by the Spartans as helots (Thuc. 1.103.2). This definition denied the ethnic dimension that had become a reality of the revolt by its end. At the start of the revolt, Mount Ithome had perhaps been no more than an asylum for runaway helots with no group identity or unity of action (Figueira 1999: 234–5; cf. Ducat 1990: 137–40). However, once they were established on the mountain, the rebels could look to the past, to the Messenians whose expulsion from Ithome was recorded in a poem of Tyrtaeus (fr. 5). Potentially, it was by evoking the memory of this 20-year war against Sparta, during their own 10-year siege, that the Ithome rebels were able to reject their status as suppliant helots to become Messenians.

The Messenians of Naupactus

The Ithome rebels departed with their lives from the Peloponnese and were settled at Naupactus, a town on the northern side of the Gulf of Corinth recently acquired by the Athenians (Thuc. 1.103.3, cf. Diod. 12.44.3, Paus. 4.24.7). Here, they became the "Messenians in Naupactus." The label is attested in contemporary and later sources, and

it is applied to the military forces raised by the former rebels in support of Athens during the Peloponnesian War: the "Messenians of Naupactus" are listed as Athenian allies at the outbreak of the war in 431 (Thuc. 2.9.4, Diod. 12.42.5); they serve under the general Demosthenes in northwest Greece in 426 (Diod. 12.60.1–2); they form the core of the Athenian garrison at Pylos set up in 425 (Thuc. 4.41.1, Diod. 12.63.5); they appear as Athenian allies at the siege of Syracuse in 413 (Thuc. 7.31.2, 7.57.8); and they are chosen by Conon to form an Athenian garrison on Corcyra in 410 (Diod. 13.48.6). Neither Thucydides nor Diodorus were convinced that all the Ithome rebels were "true" descendants of the Messenians of old (Thuc. 1.101.2; Diod. 15.66.4), and Thucydides, in his narrative of the revolt, refers to the rebels as "those on Ithome" (1.101.3, 1.102.1, 1.103.2). However, no source comments on the ethnic heterogeneity of those who settled in Naupactus. Here, it would seem, they were all equally Messenian (Luraghi 2002c: 592; cf. Figueira 1999: 215–6).

Thucydides uses the term "Messenians in Naupactus," but for the most part he omits the locative qualifier, and in his narrative of the early years of the Archidamian War, he consistently refers to them simply as "Messenians" (2.25.4; 2.90.3–6; 2.102.1, 3.75.1; 3.81.2; 3.94.3; 3.95.2; 3.98.1, 3.107.1, 3.107.4; 3.108.1). In addition, the "Messenians" who assist the Athenians in the capture of Pylos and Sphacteria should also be identified with the Messenians of Naupactus; they are a well-armed military force who arrive by sea in a light warship and another vessel, arguably by prior arrangement (Thuc. 4.9.1, 4.32.2, 4.36, cf. Lewis 1992b: 414). Thucydides' narrative thus reveals a gradual shift in terminology as "those on Ithome" become "Messenians in Naupactus" or simply "Messenians," and this reflects his acceptance of the increasing strength of Messenian ethnic claims in Naupactus. Evidence of their ethnic self-assertiveness is provided by the tall pillar set up by the "Messenians" at Delphi to commemorate a victory in the Aetolian hinterland of Naupactus in the 420s. A second pillar was set up at Olympia by the "Messenians" and "Naupactians" as a monumental base for the famous Nike of Paionios (see Figueira 1999: 214–5; Luraghi 2008: 191, cf. 340–3). The Messenians linked this dedication with their decisive role in the defeat and surrender of the Spartans on Sphacteria during the Athenian capture of Pylos in 425 (Paus. 5.26.1, cf. 4.26.1; thus, it formed a pair with a bronze statue of Nike set up by the Athenians on the acropolis of Pylos: Paus. 4.36.6). The dedications of the Messenians at Delphi and Olympia document intense ethnic self-assertion in the generation following their arrival at Naupactus (Figueira 1999: 215; cf. Luraghi 2009: 113). It was by virtue of their battlefield success that they earned the right to proclaim their ethnic identity in the two premier sanctuaries of the Greek world. Victory in war thus legitimated Messenian ethnic claims. In this regard, it is worth noting that it may have been the Ithome rebels who dedicated two spear butts inscribed with the name "Methanioi" at Olympia and at the sanctuary of Apollo Korythos at Longà in Messenia (see Bauslaugh 1990; cf. Figueira 1999: 214; Alcock 2002: 144–5; Luraghi 2008: 186–7; with skepticism: Hall 2003: 152–5).

The ethnic self-assertiveness of the Messenians of Naupactus lets us infer that the Messenian identity claimed by the rebels on Ithome was self-ascribed (Luraghi 2002a: 60, 2008: 199). On Ithome, the rebels laid claim to an ethnic identity in order to legitimate a servile uprising. In exile, they maintained a strong ethnic consciousness and avoided assimilation with the citizens of Naupactus. A mid-fifth-century inscription documents the separate political existence of the two communities (*SEG* 51.642, with Luraghi 2008: 193). The

Messenians are not called colonial settlers, and Naupactus was not renamed Messene (Figueira 1999: 220; cf. Luraghi 2008: 193–4). Instead, they maintained a strong emotional connection with the Peloponnese. In 425, they are said to have sent troops to the Athenian garrison at Pylos on the grounds that it was part of their Messenian homeland; here, they raided Spartan territory, and Thucydides points out that "they did a great deal of damage since they were men of the same speech as the inhabitants" (4.41.1). The Messenians had lived in Naupactus for a generation, yet they remained a community of exiles defined by ethnic nationalism and they are said to have spoken a dialect of Doric indistinguishable from that of the inhabitants of the Peloponnese. Scholars have aptly described them as a polity or government in exile (Lewis 1992a: 118; Figueira 1999: 215, 220; Luraghi 2002a: 60, 2008: 194; Raaflaub 2003: 186). Certainly, they fit the accepted definition of a diaspora community (Hall 2003: 147–8).

The non-assimilation of the Messenians of Naupactus reinforced their identity, but they were united with the citizens of Naupactus in their allegiance to Athens, and they had a shared experience of military service and battlefield success, which was commemorated in their joint dedication of the Nike of Paionios at Olympia. There were also strong bonds between the Messenians of Naupactus and their Athenian patrons that found expression in mythopoesis: Eleusis was identified as the origin of the mystery cults of Messenian Andania, Tyrtaeus was reinvented as an Attic poet, and Euripides produced a Cresphontes in the 420s. Athens played a key role in providing Messenian ethnic identity with a narrative (Figueira 1999: 228–31; cf. Pearson 1962: 403–4).

Messenians and Helots of Pylos

The Messenians of Naupactus played a decisive role in the military operations that led to the Athenian fortification of Pylos, the uninhabited headland in southwest Messenia that the Spartans called "Coryphasium" (Thuc. 4.3–41). The Messenians of Naupactus also sent a select body of troops to serve as the core of the Athenian garrison and to conduct raids into Spartan territory (Thuc. 4.41.1, cf. Diod. 12.63.5, which attests that other Athenian allies also contributed to the garrison). One result of these incursions was the desertion of large numbers of helots, most of them no doubt from Messenia (Thuc. 4.41.3). Many of them took refuge in Pylos, as Thucydides attests in his account of the diplomatic horse-trading after the Peace of Nicias in 421. Athens had promised to hand back Pylos, along with the island of Cythera, which had been occupied in 424 (Thuc. 5.18.7, cf. 4.53–54). However, there were delays in the implementation of the terms of the peace, and eventually the Spartans settled for a compromise:

> After many and frequent conferences had been held during this summer, they persuaded the Athenians to withdraw from Pylos the Messenians, the rest of the helots, and all who had deserted from the *Lakonike*; these the Athenians settled at Crane in Cephallenia (Thuc. 5.35.7)

The Messenians are the Messenians of Naupactus, the helots are deserters who found refuge in Pylos after 425, while the other deserters seem to be *perioeci* (Luraghi 2008: 190). Thucydides lays out Spartan demands and gives voice to a Spartan worldview in the

subtle equation of the Naupactus Messenians with the helot deserters. The terminology reflects the language of the Spartan–Athenian diplomacy (Figueira 1999: 217, cf. Thuc. 5.18.7, where Pylos is called by its Spartan name "Coryphasium" in the summary of the Peace of Nicias).

Cephallenia and its four cities had nominally joined the Athenian alliance after a naval force landed on the island in 431, but the city of Crane remained restive and repelled a second Athenian landing in the winter of 431/30 (Thuc. 2.30.2–3, 2.33.3). In 426, however, there were Cephallenians fighting for Athens, side by side with the Messenians of Naupactus, in the campaigns against Leucas and Aetolia (Thuc. 3.94.1, 3.95.2). The Pylos evacuees were perhaps sent to Crane because factors unknown to us precluded their settlement in Naupactus (Figueira 1999: 217). Alternatively, it may be that the establishment of a garrison at Crane was primarily a strategic decision, to reinforce the Athenian policy of using alliances with the Ionian islands to encircle the Peloponnese (cf. Thuc. 2.7.3). In 419, Argos demanded the return of "the Messenians and helots" to the Peloponnese in recompense for the Athenian failure to intercept a Spartan naval transport that sent troops to prevent the Argive capture of Epidaurus. Athens therefore "brought to Pylos the helots from Crane to plunder the country" (Thuc. 5.56.2–3). Thucydides does not use the term "helot" to refer to the Messenians of Naupactus, so his testimony must mean that the post-419 garrison of Pylos was formed exclusively by the deserters who had been brought from Pylos to Cephallenia in 421. As Stylianou (1998: 443) correctly notes, only the "helots" returned to Pylos (Thuc. 5.56.3), not "the Messenians" (*contra* Raaflaub 2003: 186), nor "the Messenians and helots" (*contra* Figueira 1999: 238 n. 24, citing only the Argive request at Thuc. 5.56.2). The continued presence of the Athenians at Pylos is implied by Thucydides (5.115.2).

The helot–Messenian opposition found in Thucydides' narrative of the capture of Pylos and its aftermath lets us draw a clear distinction between the Messenians of Naupactus and the deserters who fled to Pylos from 425 to 421. However, the majority of the fugitive helots must have come from the local area, and Thucydides accepted that Pylos was "in the land that was once Messenia" (4.41.2, cf. 4.3.3), so it is problematic that he calls them helots rather than Messenians. The consensus is that he varies his terminology according to context, using the ethnic label for Messenians in Athenian service and the class label to highlight the social status of the helots of the Messenian Peloponnese vis-à-vis the Spartan state (Figueira 1999: 216; followed by Luraghi 2002c: 591; cf. Ducat 1990: 14). An alternative theory holds that Thucydides uses the class label for Messenian helots in the Peloponnese and the ethnic label for Messenians of the diaspora (Hall 2003: 148–50). Neither explanation quite works. There is the fact that Thucydides avoids both class and ethnic labels in his references to "those on Ithome" in the revolt of the 460s. There is also the problem of the helots who deserted to Pylos after 425: they are called "helots" not only after their evacuation to the diaspora of Cephallenia in 421 but even on their return to Pylos as an Athenian garrison in 419. It is not until later in his narrative that Thucydides gives them the ethnic label. In his list of Athenian allies at the siege of Syracuse in 413, he includes "the Messenians, as they are now called, who live in Naupactus and in Pylos, which was then an Athenian possession" (Thuc. 7.57.8).

In my view, Thucydides' narrative should be read as an account of the gradual recognition, above all by the Athenians, of the ethnicity of the helots (and *perioeci*) of Messenia. It was Demosthenes who first perceived the strategic logic of establishing a garrison of

loyal Messenians at Pylos in their "ancestral homeland," but his arguments fell on deaf ears and his plan came to fruition only because adverse weather kept the fleet at Pylos and boredom led the soldiers to build fortifications of their own accord (Thuc. 4.3.3–4.4.1, cf. Lewis 1992b: 413). Athens eventually recognized the strategic potential of Pylos as a refuge for deserters from Spartan Messenia, and this led to the brief occupation of Cape Malea as a refuge for Laconian helots from 413 to 412 (Thuc. 7.26.2, 8.4). However, there is no evidence to support Figueira's contention that Athens viewed all helot deserters as "*ipso facto* citizens of a Messenian polity" (1999: 217); their official designation as helots is attested in the negotiations with Sparta and Argos in 421 and 419, and it may be that their helot status retained a special symbolic value to Athens at this time. Sparta had objected to the presence of the Messenians of Naupactus at Pylos in 421, and they surely took far greater offence from the presence of helot deserters at Pylos after 419 (cf. Isoc. *Archid.* 28, 87–8). When the "helots" of Pylos next appear in the historical record, in 413, they are an organized military force serving as Athenian allies in Sicily, and it is then that they are first called Messenians, in a passage in which Thucydides highlights the ethnic affiliations of the Syracusan and Athenian allies. The addition of the phrase "as they are now called" to the Pylos and Naupactus Messenians (Thuc. 7.57.8) has been taken as an indication of authorial skepticism to their ethnic claims (Luraghi 2008: 201, 2009: 114; cf. Figueira 1999: 213). In my view, it is simply a statement of the fact that Messenian ethnogenesis at Pylos was, for the Athenians, a recent phenomenon.

It is not clear when the helots of Pylos began to call themselves Messenians. It is probable that they were encouraged to do so by the Messenians of Naupactus, first in the Pylos years of 425–21, then on Cephallenia before their return to Pylos in 419. It is also probable that local helots and other deserters found asylum and assimilated with the ex-helot Messenians in Pylos after 419. At the time of its fall to the Spartans in 409, there were even Laconian helots in Pylos who had originally fled to the Athenian fort at Cape Malea (Xen. *Hell.* 1.2.18), and it is probable that they too were able to assume a Messenian identity (cf. Figueira 1999: 215–6). By 409, Pylos was home to a diverse group of refugees and deserters, but there was potential cohesion in the form of Messenian ethnicity, and Diodorus may reflect ethnic self-ascription in his reference to the expulsion of "the Messenians in Pylos" (13.64.5–7). In 401, there was a mass exodus of Messenians from Naupactus, Cephallenia, and Zacynthus to Italy, Sicily, and North Africa (Diod. 14.34.2–5, 14.78.5, 15.66.5, Paus. 4.26.2–3). Not all of them could trace their descent from the Ithome rebels expelled to Naupactus, and only a few, it seems, survived to take part in the *polis*-foundation of Epaminondas (Luraghi 2008: 221–2).

Conclusion

The Athenian garrison at Pylos provided a refuge for helots and other deserters, and it played a key role in a continuing process of Messenian ethnogenesis, but it sparked no general uprising of the dependent populations of the western portion of the *Lakonike*. It has been assumed that Athens made no attempt to foment a general uprising (Lewis 1992b: 386; Raaflaub 2003: 185–7). However, perhaps one should rather assume that the necessary conditions for a mass uprising did not exist in the late fifth century, even with Athenian bases on Spartan soil (Talbert 1989: 29, 38; cf. Ducat 1990: 136–7).

There was unrest among the helots and *perioeci* throughout the *Lakonike* after the battle of Leuctra, but there is little evidence that the unrest in Messenia was framed in ethnic terms until after the liberation of the region and the foundation of a Messenian *polis*. It is therefore best to conclude that ethnic consciousness was a result rather than the cause of unrest in Messenia in 371 (Luraghi 2008: 227). Messenian ethnicity in the fifth and fourth centuries was a rebel identity, and it was attractive because it legitimated the act of rebellion. Helots and *perioeci* in Messenia did not necessarily feel Messenian in periods of quiescence, and there is no reason to suppose that loyalty to Sparta in times of crisis required the rejection of competing ethnic loyalties. In Figueira's definition, Messenian ethnicity was not a reflection of genealogy, but a personal choice inversely correlated to compliance with the Spartan system (1999: 224). This is a forceful and influential conclusion (accepted by Luraghi 2002b: 239, 2002c: 592, 2008: 207). However, it must be emphasized that Messenian identity existed only within the boundaries of an ethnic discourse based on a myth of putative Messenian descent and an attachment to the territory of Messenia. Figueira implies that all helots, throughout the *Lakonike*, had the option of identifying themselves as Messenians (1999: 217, 222–32), but this is an overcorrection of the assumption that ethnic consciousness was an ever-present constant that distinguished the Messenian helots from those in Laconia (Roobaert 1977; Chambers 1978; Ducat 1990). Certainly, it is possible to imagine helots and other deserters from Laconia who became Messenians after joining the Ithome rebels or the Pylos garrison. However, one must note that, in such cases, becoming Messenian depended on assimilation with an existing group of Messenians. Fugitives who fled to Cythera and Cape Malea came across a very different process of ethnogenesis. The islanders of Cythera were Athenian allies at the siege of Syracuse in 413, and Thucydides makes the point that they were Dorians and Lacedaemonian "colonists" (a term used here to express the relationship between the Spartans and the *perioeci*; see Kennell 2010: 88). In Sicily, they were identified by their island and city ethnic as "Cytherians" (7.57.6, cf. 4.53.2). Messenian ethnicity was a rebel identity, but it was not identical with separation from the Spartan state.

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Figueira, Thomas. 1999. "The Evolution of the Messenian Identity." In Stephen Hodkinson and Anton Powell, eds., *Sparta: New Perspectives*, 211–44. London: The Classical Press of Wales. Discusses Messenian ethnic identity during the fifth century.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Addresses the problem of ethnic violence in modern civil wars.

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CHAPTER 20

Ethnicity and Geography

Philip Kaplan

Introduction

As scholarly attention has focused on the problem of ethnic identity in the ancient world, it has become increasingly clear that definitions of peoplehood, problematic as they are in modern discourse, were as fluid in ancient thought, and that terms such as *ethnos*, *genos*, *phylē*, *gens*, *nation*, *goy*, *am*, *ummah*, and others were deployed in a discourse of identity whose terms and connotations shifted over time and according to the particular context in which they were used. The Greeks themselves engaged in a self-conscious evaluation of the concept of ethnos, and attempted, never satisfactorily, to define ethnicity and to account for recognized ethnic differences.

A common starting place for recent attempts to define ethnicity has been Anthony Smith's formulation of six basic criteria on which ethnic identity is formed (1986: 22–30): a common name, myth of descent, shared history, a distinctive shared culture, an association with a specific territory, and a sense of communal solidarity. Jonathan Hall, in his attempt to relate this articulation of the operative elements of ethnicity to ancient Greece, emphasized two of Smith's criteria as central in Greek self-conceptions: a myth of common descent and an association with a specific territory (Hall 1997: 25, 2002: 9). Other scholars, such as Antonaccio (2001: 115), have refused to abandon elements of cultural expression as factors in the expression of ethnic identity. While Hall, Malkin (1998), and others have explored extensively the articulation of ethnicity in terms of common descent, less attention has been paid to the far more problematic association of people and territory. The relationship of people to territory in the context of nationalism in the early modern and modern era has been addressed by Smith (1986: 183–90, 2003: 131–65), who has explored in some detail the ways in which ethnic and national identity draws on associations with a "sacred homeland." The relationship

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between people and the land is articulated, in his view, in two fundamental ways: "we may distinguish two kinds of sacred homeland: one is the promised land, the land of destination; the other the ancestral homeland, the land of birth" (2003: 136).

Treatments of the problem of ethnic identity among the Greeks have taken, as a given, the role of an ancestral homeland in the Greeks' self-conceptions of identity, although some recent works have paid serious attention to the complex relationship between individual *ethnē* and the lands they occupied (see McInerney 1999; Nielsen 2002), as well as how claims to territory have been articulated in terms of myth (Malkin 1994). The association of ethnic identity with territory is particularly fraught in ancient Greece, given its multiple local divisions of identity, a fragmented system of polities, and a continual tension between local, regional, and large-scale identity, from the tribe and *polis* to the *ethnos* and region (not only Dorians and Ionians but Peloponnesians, "islanders," Sicilian Greeks, etc.) to the panethnic designations (Hellenes, Egyptians, Persians, etc.). The concepts of ancestral homeland and, to a lesser extent, promised land, are present to a limited degree in Greek expressions of self-identity, but they are surprisingly downplayed. The clearest statement of ethnic definition from the Classical period can be found in the words that Herodotus puts in the mouths of Athenians in response to Spartan worries that they will abandon the Greek cause (8.144.2–3; see Konstan 2001: 32–3). In its assertion of Athenian loyalty to the Panhellenic cause, the speech lists the following as elements of the Athenian bond to her fellow Greeks: kinship, a common language, temples and rites in common, and a common way of life. The notion of a common homeland is notably absent, although it may be implicit in the reference to common temples of the gods (*theōn hidrumata koina*). However, while physical space dedicated to a particular god was considered by the Greeks as inalienable from that god, new sanctuaries were regularly founded on virgin territory, or as often on the territories of other gods. The notion of an ancestral bond to a sacred place is not nearly as fundamental in Greek thought as it is in the Jewish, Christian, and Muslim traditions.

Conceptions of groups of people with distinct identities based on common ancestry or common cultural attributes emerged in Greek thought alongside a developing differentiation of the lands of the world. How these two ways of organizing the world related to one another became a particularly challenging problem to some Greeks. As the interest in cataloguing and describing lands and peoples developed, attempts to find a causal relationship between the two emerged. However, the notion of a primordial connection between land and people was qualified by a prominent discourse of displacement, encompassing traditions of migration and resettlement, as well as colonization and deportation. The resulting relationships between ethnic identity and territory were understood by the Greeks in complicated and diachronically evolving ways.

Genealogy and Geography

Primordially, the Greeks thought of peoples in terms of the lands they occupied. This is expressed nowhere more clearly than in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.494–759). The list on the Greek side provides—and relates—three different types of information: the names of the leaders of each contingent (with occasional genealogical detail), the people they led, identified through ethnonyms, toponyms, and topographical features;

and the number of ships they provided. Ethnonyms are sometimes omitted, the Catalogue using instead the formula "they who hold … " or "those who dwell in," *vel sim.* as with "they who hold Athens." It is clear that this is poetic variation, as when "the men who hold Arkadia" (603) is followed by "the Arkadians" (611), and Tlepolemos who led "from Rhodes nine ships of haughty Rhodians" (654). The Trojan Catalogue follows a similar formula (2.816–877), although without providing numbers of men; ethnonyms are scarcer, and there are fewer geographical details, but place remains the primary means of identifying the peoples being led to battle. The prominence of toponymic and topological detail demonstrates that the contingents are distinguished and recognized by their geographic location, rather than by genealogical or cultural markers of ethnicity (compare this to Herodotus' catalogue of Xerxes' army [7.61–96], in which the contingents are presented in some geographical order, but they are distinguished by their dress and military equipment). In both cases, the lists themselves demonstrate a rudimentary organization of lands, but little indication of the relations of peoples, beyond the very imprecise labels of "Achaians," "Argives," "Danaans," and "Trojans" used throughout the poem.

While the identification of land and people is very strong in Homer, their connection is by and large implicitly accepted without elaboration; the poems have little interest in questions of communal identity, or the relation of such communities to the territories they occupy. Even in the *Odyssey*, which displays the beginnings of an interest in the notion of difference among peoples, and of their positions in the world traversed by the hero (see Dougherty 2001), there are only the faintest hints of interest in the origins of such peoples, and of how they might be shaped by their lands—the Lotos-Eaters, for example, whose lethargy is produced by the food that their land uniquely produces, or the Phaeacians, whose city was founded by their king, and whose seafaring ways are a product of their remote island location.

The attempt to understand the connection of land and people began with genealogical mythography. The notion of a common ancestry is a central element in conceptions of ethnic identity at multiple levels. To the Greeks, as to other peoples, this common ancestry is expressed in the genealogies preserved in the mythographic tradition, which goes back at least as far as Hesiod. Hall (1997) has argued that, in the Archaic Period if not earlier, genealogical trees were developed as part of the aggregative construction of ethnic identities within Greece, particularly for the Dorians and Ionians, and ultimately for the Hellenic *ethnos* (Hall 2002). Malkin, on the other hand, prefers to see the mapping of relationships between human groups in terms of descent from mythological family trees as a later development, generated from scholarly interest in mythography (2001: 9–12). Whichever is the case, these genealogies also functioned to explain the origins and relationships of geographical features as well—which Malkin terms "land genealogies" (Malkin 1994: 15–7, 20–1). An early example of this phenomenon is Hesiod's presentation of the daughters of Ocean by Tethys as a list of rivers (*Theog.* 337–345). The list is not in any spatial order, and no particular physical relationship is implied, although Herodotus suggests that some earlier thinkers, perhaps following Hesiod, believed that the Nile arose in the Ocean (2.21; cf. 23). Later mythographers elided ethnical and geographical genealogy: for example, Hellanicus makes Lakedaimon the son of Zeus and the Pleiad Taygete (FrGrHist 4 F 19a, schol. A *Iliad* 18.486; Pearson 1939: 177). It is not clear whether Lakedaimon is the ancestor of the people or the region; but his descent

from the eponym of the mountain overlooking Lakonia (she herself the daughter of the eponymous Atlas) suggests a close connection between the people and the geographical environment. Similarly, according to Acusilaus, Phoroneus of Argos, the first man, was born from the river Inachos, and was father to Sparton, who was in turn father to Mykenea (Acus. FrGrHist 2 F 23c, 24; Fowler 2000: 18–9; Loraux 2000: 8–9). Tying people and places together by means of genealogy blurs the distinction between ethnic groups and physical entities, and emphasizes a primordial identification of the one with the other. At the same time, they provide an elementary causal mechanism to understand both relationships and differences between the peoples and places of the world.

Mapping Peoples, Populating Maps

In early Greek thought, geography and ethnography both emerge, as Cole has recently argued (2010), as means of cataloguing and identifying differences in the surrounding world. The two were first bound together through the explanatory medium of genealogy, but the development of geography as a discipline entailed the separation of a purely spatial conception of the world from one in which relationships are constituted through genealogical ties. By the same token, ethnography became a means of cataloguing distinctive cultural and physical features; the question of ethnic origins and relationships receded into the background. At the same time, geographical and ethnographic thought remained highly proximate; the relationship of lands to the peoples that occupied them continued to trouble Greek thinkers, who attempted to explain perceived ethnic differences and connections in terms of spatial relationships.

A primary motivation for the development of both geography and ethnography was the encounter with the Other. The desire to describe lands, and eventually to order them in a visual representation, such as the desire to describe and account for peoples, was born out of Greek encounters with communities of peoples who were markedly different from the Greeks themselves—generating the fundamental division between *Hellēnes* and *barbaroi* that became fully expressed in the generation after the Persian Wars (E. Hall 1989). While some of the earliest exercises in spatially ordering places—the Greek Catalogue of Ships and the itineraries embedded in the Homeric Hymns to Apollo and Dionysus—were set within the Aegean, the growth of trade in the Archaic period, and the rapid expansion of Greek settlement throughout the Mediterranean, brought Greeks into close contact with unfamiliar lands and peoples, and led to a desire to systematically catalogue the lands and peoples they encountered, and to understand the differences they observed. The earliest project along these lines was created by Hecataeus of Miletus in the later sixth century BCE. Hecataeus wrote a *Genealogy* as a means of synthesizing the origin stories of Greek heroes and communities; however, he located them within the Mediterranean landscape as he knew it, asserting, for example, that Herakles recovered the cattle from Geryon not in an indeterminate Far West in Iberia or beyond the Pillars of Herakles, but in Western Greece (*FrGrHist* 1 F 26, Arr. *Anab.* 2.16.5, Eusthath. *Dion. Per.* 558). The other work for which he is famous, the *Gēs Periodos* or *Periēgēsis*, was a more ambitious attempt to locate the cities and peoples known to him in a framework of the physical territory of the known world. Enough of this work survives in fragments to demonstrate that Hecataeus used primitive spatial locaters: probably following an itinerary around the

Mediterranean, he placed peoples north, south, east or west of other peoples, and he even used days' walking or sailing to indicate distances. Judging from the very incomplete evidence of the fragments (biased, perhaps, by the large proportion preserved in Stephen of Byzanium's *Ethnika*), Hecataeus was interested in *ethnē* primarily to locate them spatially, in relation to other peoples, to cities, or to geophysical features. Occasionally, he mentioned land genealogies to explain names, particularly of Greek places and cities (Pearson 1939: 51), or provided customs of foreign peoples, including foods and dress (FF 154, 322, 323a, b, 335; 185, 284, 287) and details of flora and fauna (F 291, 324a); however, he was primarily quoted in later sources for his geospatial referents. He also used the tool of mapping, pioneered by his predecessor Anaximander as a means of projecting an overall scheme of the world (*FrGrHist* 1 F 12a, Agath. 1.1). No direct evidence of Hecataeus' map survives, but it must not be too far from the map of Aristagoras described by Herodotus (5.49–50). The map served three functions: to indicate generally the relationship of places to one another, to indicate the physical position of peoples inhabiting the world, and to convey an overall sense of the scale of distance of the world—this last feature caused Aristagoras' project to misfire, when the Spartan king became aware of the distance of Susa from Sparta. Whether Hecataeus' purpose extended beyond simply locating peoples, to accounting for their identities and differences, is not clear from the surviving fragments. He did speculate to some extent on the movements of peoples: he asserted that the Peloponnese was originally inhabited by barbarians (F 119, Str. 7.7.1), and related the story of how the Athenians drove the Pelasgians out of Attica (F 127, Hdt. 6.137). However, beyond this, there is little evidence that Hecataeus systematically catalogued, much less explained, ethnic or cultural difference.

Hecataeus' successor Herodotus continued to explore the affinities between geography and ethnography, although ultimately he subsumed them within the project of a historical narrative. The *Histories* is not a comprehensive survey of the peoples and places of the world, but it does contain, in its first five books, extended *logoi* devoted to several of the peoples encountered by the Greeks or conquered by the Persians. These *logoi* combine geographical and ethnographic description, often as dominant elements, but sometimes as an adjunct to a historical narrative (most notably with Egypt and Lydia). Herodotus worked with an overall schematic conception of the world that served to help explain the place and nature of the various peoples in it. Greece stood at the center of the inhabited world: the farther one went from the center, the more extreme became the climate and environment, and the more striking were the differences of the peoples from the Greeks, most notably among the Skythians and other northern peoples, and the Egyptians and Ethiopians to the south (see Hartog 1988; Romm 1992: 54–67). Munson, however, has argued that Herodotus, in mapping similarities and difference, is not nearly as schematic or ethnocentric as is commonly supposed (2001: 73–133).

Herodotus recognizes that the relationship between peoples and the lands they occupy is far from straightforward. In his discussion of Egypt, after dismissing the Ionian view that Egypt consists only of the Delta, and that the Nile is the border between Libya and Asia, Herodotus advances the view that Egypt is the land inhabited by Egyptians, just as Cilicia is the land inhabited by Cilicians, and Assyria that of the Assyrians (2.17.1), suggesting that geographical divisions are predicated on ethnic distinctions. In fact, as he goes on to say, the relationship is reversed (2.18): the inhabitants of the cities of Marea and Apis, living on the Egyptian border with Libya, ask the oracle of Ammon to

declare them Libyans, since they do not want to have to observe Egyptian rites, in particular abstaining from beef. The oracle declares that, living on land watered by the Nile, they must live as Egyptians. If the land inhabited by Egyptians is Egypt, then the people who live in Egypt are Egyptians; however, at the same time, geographic distinctions determined by purely topographical or geophysical features will inevitably conflict with divisions based on cultural considerations. In this discussion, Herodotus slyly acknowledges that a simplistic correlation of ethnic and geographic definition must fail to account for aspects of culture that correlate with ethnicity.

The tendency to differentiate culturally distinct groups primarily by location remained a central feature of geographical writing in succeeding centuries. The earliest independent works in the corpus of geographical writers—works such as the *Periplous* of Hanno, probably a garbled translation from a Punic original, and the fourth-century *Periplous* wrongly attributed to Skylax of Karyanda—develop the spatial conception of the world pioneered by Hecataeus, while at the same time including occasional ethnographic description as a means of ethnic identification. The fourth-century historian Ephorus, in the geographical books of his universal history, mapped the peoples of the world along the same lines as his predecessors, producing a schematic representation of the world as a rectangle, bounded by Skythians to the north, Ethiopians to the south, Kelts in the west, and Indians in the East (FrGrHist 70 F30a, b, Str. 1.2.28, Kosmas Indic. *Topog. Chr.* II: 148)—although, at the same time, he showed particular interest in the founding of cities, migrations, and the founders of colonies (T 18a, Polybius in Str. 10.3.5), suggesting a particular interest in origins and relationships between peoples. Similar to Hecataeus and Herodotus, the later geographers tend to emphasize aspects of the way of life of the peoples they describe that distinguish them from themselves and mark similarities with putatively related groups. Such works implicitly seek to correlate spatial relationships to ethnic relations. Later works of geographical description tended to include ethnography and origin-stories, while focusing more on determining the exact physical location of peoples and places. At the same time, a sub-genre emerged, of more or less purely ethnographic writing, with works titled *barbarika nomima*, or monographs such as the *Persika* and *Indika* of Ktēsias. Such works blended catalogues of customs with natural history and human history, but without the geographical framework of Hecataeus.

The desire to account for the link between lands and the peoples who inhabit them led Greek writers to the development of several explanatory mechanisms for this connection, beyond the genealogical one. One, predicated on the close association of ethnic genealogies to "land genealogies," was the claim of autochthony. The claim, that a particular people was "born from the earth" in the land they inhabit, was by no means a universal explanation; it was developed and deployed in certain contexts, often for specific rhetorical or political purposes (see Roy, Chapter 16 in this volume; also Rosivach 1987; Loraux 1990; Pelling 2008–9). At the same time, even those who did not accept the mythical dimension of autochthony began to advocate a role for the land and environment in the shaping of ethnic character. This idea has been attributed to Herodotus: in the passage on the Egyptians discussed earlier, he posits a definitional role for geography, although he recognizes that questions of cultural identification can complicate the relationship between a land and its people. The clearest expression in the *Histories* of the idea that lands and their environments shape ethnic character comes at the very end of the work, in the little scene in which Artayctes suggests to Cyrus that the Persians move

from their rugged territory to a richer land (9.122). Cyrus rejects the suggestion, with the famous dictum that "soft lands tend to breed soft men." Put at the very end of the work, it expresses an idea that played a role in much of his preceding ethnography: lands and the peoples who inhabit them are either soft or hard. Hard peoples may conquer soft lands, but then run the risk of becoming corrupted by the softer environment (Redfield 1985: 109–114). At the same time, Herodotus is circumspect in attributing the customs or character of peoples to the lands in which they live (Thomas 2000: 69; Chiasson 2001: 57–8). He attributes the great health of the Egyptians and Libyans to the climate of their land (2.77.3), but it is not clear if this characteristic is a formative or permanent aspect of their characters (Thomas 2000: 45–6). In his treatment of the Ethiopians, who are autochthonous (4.197), and so a product of their land, he knows of their dark skin (3.101), but he does not resort to the explanation that their skin color is caused by their closeness to the sun (found, e.g., in the fourth-century Theodectes [FrGrHist 113; Str. 15.1.24]). He picks up the idealizing tradition that goes back to Homer, describing the Ethiopians as tall, attractive, and long-lived (Romm 1992: 49–60). Rather than attributing these characteristics to their general environment or to their way of life, however (he does not endorse their claim that their age was due to their exclusive diet of meat and milk), he credits their use of the peculiar water from a particular spring (3.22–3; 114). In the case of the Skythians at the other end of the earth, as both Thomas (2000: 68) and Chiasson (2001) have noted, Herodotus avoids simply attributing either their physical character or their lifestyle to the climate and geography of the land; instead, he suggests that their nomadism is a response to the geographical conditions of the lands north of the Black Sea, not an inevitable product of those conditions.

Other writers more explicitly explored the role of land and climate in shaping ethnic character. The most detailed text in this regard is the Hippocratic *Airs*, *Waters*, *Places* (see discussion in Isaac 1994: 60–9; Jouanna 1999 [1992]: 225–32; Thomas 2000: 86–98). Contemporary with, or slightly later than, Herodotus, and probably not written by Hippocrates, the text articulates the view that the environment of a given land shapes the physical characteristics of the inhabitants of that land. The text argues, not merely that the environment of a region affects the health of its inhabitants, but that it shapes their physical form, which in turn influences the types of diseases to which they are subject. The author catalogues the effects of the winds and waters in each quarter of the globe, and the deleterious effects these have on the people living there (IV–XI); the implication is that, at the center, which corresponds to Greece, the negative effects are felt least, while they are strongest at the margins of the world. The text makes a clear link between the environment as a whole and the physical characteristics of the people who live there. Its author makes a key distinction between Asia and Europe, echoing Herodotus' dictum about soft lands: the fertility, moderate climate, and lack of violent changes in the seasons of Asia has produced men lacking courage and hardihood (XIII, XVI). These people are inclined to be ruled by others. His account of the Skythians (XVIII–XXII), rather than painting them as diametric opposites of the Asians or borrowing Herodotus' depiction of them as fierce warriors, emphasizes their moistness, flabbiness, and lack of fecundity, all caused by their climate (Chiasson 2001). Indeed, the text paints them as effeminate, although this is in part put down to their custom of constantly riding horses. Generalizing about Europeans (XXIII–XXIV), the author notes the great variety of physical types, due to variations of the climate of Europe. However, the

rugged landscapes and sharp changes in seasons leads to greater toughness of character, greater courage, and an unwillingness to be ruled by kings. Greece's role in this scheme is not explicitly defined, although the description of those living on thin, dry, and bare soil, with sharp changes of climate, being hard of body, fair rather than dark, and stubborn and holding their own opinions—characteristics of a "hard" people—is likely a flattering depiction of the Greeks (XXIV). In these characterizations, the environment shapes not just the physical characteristics of the various peoples, but their *ethea*, their character and values.

The Hippocratic text's quasi-scientific explanation proved influential on later writers. Aristotle in *Politics* (1327b18–33) followed a more schematized version of the Hippocratic view, downplaying the earlier text's emphasis on local variations. Not only is Aristotle's formulation even more schematic, but it only briefly touches on the role of the environment in shaping these characters, taking it as understood. According to Aristotle, ethnic groups in cold places and in Europe are full of energy, but lacking in intelligence and skill; they are free, but have no political organization, and cannot rule over those around them. Peoples in Asia have intellectual and technical capabilities, but are without spirit; they continue to be enslaved and ruled by others. The Greeks, located geographically in the middle, have a share in both. They are spirited and clever; they continue to be free, to be governed in the best way possible, and they could rule over all others if they were capable of achieving constitutional unity.

While later writers of the Hellenistic period kept alive the idea that environments shaped physical form and character among the peoples of the earth, it is important to note that later sources do not generally attempt to apply the Hippocratic conception of the formative nature of local environmental variation. Instead, they hew to the more influential Aristotelian schema, in which climatic effects can be seen most clearly at the extremes: whether east and west, or more clearly, north and south. Whatever effects might be imparted by local climate and landscape variations are swamped, presumably, by the effects of custom, and, more significantly for our discussion, by the movements of peoples from their "formative" lands.

Displacement: Migration, Colonization, Deportation, and Resettlement

While autochthony myths and theories of environmental determinism were deployed polemically or by theoreticians of national character, they are utterly overshadowed by the far more common discourse of displacement that shaped how the Greeks understood their relationship to the land. Stories of individual or mass movement are ubiquitous among human populations. They serve a particular purpose in cultures such as that of Greece, in which scattered populations share commonalities of culture or ethnic identity, but also have marked differences among them that must be accounted for. Myths of autochthony serve to support beliefs in the primordial uniqueness of a people, but they fail to explain commonalities among scattered communities. Stories of population movements provide an evolutionary framework for accounting for those commonalities, particularly in a context in which the common features of which the Greeks were

aware—language, way of life, and religious practice—distinguished them from communities, near and far, that did not share those qualities.

The discourse of displacement, then, is a nearly ubiquitous means in Greek thought of accounting for the relationships of communities and the lands they occupy. The topic deserves a far more comprehensive treatment than can be afforded here (see Montiglio 2005 for an interesting treatment of the role of wandering in Greek culture; Gaertner's collection [2007] deploys the concept of the discourse of displacement narrowly in relation to exile). I will briefly sketch out the ways in which this discourse operated among the Greeks, and proceed to consider its implications for understanding the relationship between peoples and the lands they inhabited.

There is hardly a Greek myth of origin that does not involve a wandering immigrant, either as an individual, or as the leader of a small band or an entire population. It is virtually unknown for a land to be entirely immune from immigrants. Migration stories account for the dispersion of Greek communities—in the form of the master narratives of the movement of the Dorians, the Ionians—and for non-Greek peoples as well, such as the Pelasgians, Tyrrhenians, Cimmerians, and others. Virtually every Greek community located its origins in a story of immigration. To a certain extent, a meaningful distinction can be made between myths that bring a single hero, perhaps with a small band of followers (e.g., Kadmos coming to Boeotia, as in Hdt. 2.49.3; 4.147.4; 5.57–9), and those that bring entire populations. Functionally, however, this distinction is not so significant: movements of small groups of people are often presented as the origins of entire communities. Only in rare cases in Greek origin stories do large populations entirely displace earlier inhabitants. Unlike the Biblical Exodus narrative, which centers on the wholesale movement of the *bnei Yisrael*—to Egypt, in the Exodus, in the settlement of the land of Israel, and later in the Babylonian Exile and the Return—in the narratives of the origins of Greek communities, movement of entire peoples are not the norm.

Even with the growing rejection of myth, stories of migration and wandering do not lose their explanatory power. Thucydides, who takes a rigorously demythologized approach to the question of the origins of Greek communities, still keeps the trope of widespread migrations in the distant past:

> It is clear that the country now called Hellas was not in ancient times settled permanently, but that migrations were frequent formerly, and that all communities easily abandoned their homes, being constantly forced out by larger groups. For there was no trade and no ability to contact each other either by land or by sea, so they each cultivated only as much of their land as they needed to survive, without money, never planting orchards, since it was unclear whether some invader might come and seize them. Believing that their daily needs could be met anywhere, they thought little of changing their homes, and on this account had no strength in regards to the size of their cities or any other resources. Thucydides 1.2 (author's translation)

This general statement is prelude to his claim that, while fertile parts of Greece were subject to frequent changes of population, Attica was left alone because of the poverty of its soil, and so is the only state to claim autochthony. However, even here, Thucydides does not fully endorse the Athenians' assertion of autochthony: he does not use the term

here, and further notes that the Athenian population was swollen by immigrants from elsewhere, thereby casting doubt on the "purity" of the current population's claim to aboriginal status.

The discourse of displacement encompasses not just the origins of the Greeks of the Aegean; it also includes the origin stories of Greek communities throughout the Mediterranean and Black Seas. It is customary to think of these migrations, under the rubric of colonization, as a substantially different phenomenon from the origin stories of the earlier Greek communities—less couched in legend than the origin stories of the communities of the Aegean, and better preserved in the historical record. Recent studies, however, have emphasized that the distinction between the earlier migrations and later colonization is not always clear, and that it might be better to think of the two processes as simply different phases in a continuous process (see Tsetskhladze 2006). A striking instance of the arbitrary nature of the distinction can be found in Herodotus' account of the Theran colonization of Cyrene. Herodotus' story is inevitably taken into account, if not always accepted in its entirety, in discussions of the founding of Cyrene, but very little attention is ever paid to the prequel, in which he describes the Lacedaemonian settlement of Thera. This story, set in the distant past of the Dorian migrations, is generally ignored in accounts of Spartan colonization (Malkin 1994: 67–114 is an important exception), but for Herodotus there is no functional difference. In any event, it is undeniable that the traditions of colonial foundation served the same functions for the Greek cities that were so founded, as the migration stories served for the older cities. They served to account for the differences between Greek communities and the non-Greek communities around them, and they explained the ties of the Greek *apoikia* with the rest of the Greek world, in particular the cultural and religious ties with the metropolis (Graham 1983: esp. 71–165). On the other hand, the ties with the metropolis could be disavowed, and a distinct identity created by re-imagining an origin story, as the people of Amphipolis did when they replaced the cult of their *oikistes* Hagnon with that of Brasidas (Thuc. 5.11.1).

At the same time, Greeks were able to conceive of ethnic identity as deriving from a shared territory, even overriding claims to ties with previous ancestral lands. McInerney argues that such a process occurred in Phokis, where the disparate communities of the region seem, in the course of the Archaic period, to have forged a common identity: "what the Phokians of Archaic and Classical times shared was not the tribal bond of common blood, though they called themselves an *ethnos*, but they shared a land already identified as Phokis, and a mythology out of which they fashioned their *ethnos*" (1999: 148). This process is articulated explicitly in Thucydides in the case of Sicily. The island was settled by Greeks who identified as Ionians and Dorians, and also tied their identity to their individual poleis, which were often in conflict with each other. Thucydides attributes to Hermocrates of Syracuse an impassioned speech in which he asks his fellow Sicilians to put aside their previous identifications, and to think of themselves as *Sikiliotai*; Antonaccio (2001: 116–7) notes that the term is a new coinage of Thucydides'. It is an identity founded simply on their residence on the island. The historian plays out a debate about the durability of such a geographically based conception of identity: Hermocrates is implicitly responding to Alcibiades' claim, made to the Athenian assembly, that the Sicilian Greeks live in "cities thronged with mixed mobs who change their citizens easily and receive new ones" (*oxlois te gar ksummeiktois polyandrousin hai poleis*

kai rhadias echouxi tōn politōn tas metabolas kai epidochas, 6.17.2). Residents of these cities are not committed to their survival, and will get what they can and leave when there is trouble. Alcibiades in turn makes an implicit contrast with Athens, whose claim to primeval autochthony supports the argument for its strength. Hermocrates is, however, not only successful in uniting the Sicilians, but he leads them to victory over the divided (in leadership, at any rate) Athenians. Whether such a geographically fostered sense of ethnic identity is truly durable is less clear: the notion of a "Sicilian Greek" identity can be applied to the fourth century, but it is really an extension of Syracusan identity over a good part of the island.

If we accept, then, that the concept of coming from elsewhere was a fundamental component of Greek identity, we must question the importance of an "ancestral homeland" as a constitutive element of ethnicity among the Greeks. It is true that the Spartans traced their Dorian heritage to Doris in central Greece, and this led it to take a special interest in that region—as with their intervention there in the 450s, justified by their ancestral tie (Thuc. 1.107). However, the question of the origins of the Dorians was a complicated one that admitted of several traditions, of which the tie to an ancestral homeland was only a minor component. Indeed, where ties to an ancestral land are stressed, there is often an element of overt functionalism: the Athenians, having developed their claim of autochthony, use their consequent claim to be the metropolis of the Ionian cities to enforce obedience on their Ionian subjects.

Stories of migration and conquest can be reconciled with a conception of a close and formative connection between people and land, by means of a "promised land" narrative, as Smith has observed (2003: 137–61). Smith argues that most later nationalist-origin narratives that deploy the "promised land" *topos* pattern themselves, explicitly or implicitly, on the Biblical account of the Exodus, Wandering and Conquest of the Promised Land; however, elements of the *topos* can be identified in some Greek origin stories. Even the multivalent stories of the founding of Thebes contains elements of divine ordination: Kadmos, wandering in search of his sister, is commanded by the Delphic oracle to follow a cow, and where it stops to rest, to found a city; and Athena helps him to kill the dragon and sow its teeth (Gantz 1993: 468). This is one of a number of stories that bring the gods into the foundation of a community, and thus brings divine sanction to claims over territory. The *topos* becomes, if anything, more prevalent in the colonization narratives, where the Delphic oracle sometimes plays a role in ordering, approving, and even directing colonial settlements (Forrest 1957; Londey 1990). At the same time, divine sanction or direction is usually not a primary element in the selection of the territory for the settlement. In the stories about the foundation of Cyrene, for example, although Apollo orders the colony to be sent out, and stresses his knowledge of the land in which it is to be established, Herodotus preserves a tradition that the exact siting of the city was a result of deception by the local Libyans (4.150–158). Such contingent factors crop up often enough to counterbalance the *topos* of divine ordination for the association of people with their land.

Fundamentally, Greeks recognized that communities and ethnic groups were not permanent features of the landscape. Just as non-Greek groups could disappear or move on—as had the Pelasgians—so too could Greek communities, and Greek identity too, be eliminated or absorbed. The best examples of this are in the north, with the

Macedonian expansion into the Aegean littoral, and the west, where Greek communities were swallowed up by the growing Roman state. While irredentism has been a recurrent aspect of Greek thought in the modern era, with occasional negative consequences for the stability of the modern Greek nation, it is not a concept that can be identified in ancient Greek self-conceptions. The mobility of Greek communities, and the importance of that mobility in their understanding of themselves, by and large limited such absolute claims to territory. While Greek cities felt a connection with their land, fought for control and continued possession of it, and could deploy that connection in their assertion of community identity, the tie to the land was never as powerful a formative factor in shaping ethnic identity as the general theories of ethnic identity would lead one to believe.

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CHAPTER 21

Black Sea Ethnicities

Gocha R. Tsetskhladze

Surveying Black Sea Cultures

Although Ionian Greeks entered the Black Sea and established colonies on its shores from the last quarter of the seventh century to the early fifth century BC, the Black Sea remained for a long time *terra incognita*. It is only from the time of Herodotus that an attempt was made to give concrete form to these mythical lands and peoples—for example, identifying Aia in the myth of the Argonauts with Colchis (Hdt. 7.193); and even then Medea remained for many centuries a Colchian "other," not only a sorceress but slayer of her own children. It is not surprising that the Greeks initially found the waters of the Black Sea dangerous and unwelcoming: they contain no islands and some coastal-dwelling locals practiced piracy for centuries. The Greeks referred to the region as the Euxine Pontus, "the Friendly Sea," and maintained that Greek colonization had transformed what was originally inhospitable ("axine") (Hdt. 1.72, Strabo 7.3.6). Once, this area was the edge of the (Greek) known world, a land of myth and (semi-)mythical creatures—of the Arimaspeans, the Amazons, and destination of the Argonauts, etc.—whose remoteness and "otherness" was summarized very well by Strabo when he wrote of people living there in the past: that the Scythians sacrificed strangers, dined on their flesh, and used their skulls as drinking vessels (Strabo 7.3.6).

The Thracian tribes of the western Black Sea (Triballi, Rhodopians, Dardani, Haemians, etc.—"Thracian" is a Greek term) were numerous, belligerent, non-urban, ruled by various local dynasties, and were once practitioners of ritualized human sacrifice. They had many names, each according to region, forming a diverse group, often difficult to identify archaeologically (especially in the Early Iron Age). They occupied lands from the Aegean to Transdanubia, and extended east across the Propontis to the Troad and Bithynia. Thrace was rich in metals, timber (valued by Greeks for shipbuilding), and

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natural resources, possessing fish, game, and large, fertile plains. We do not know what the Thracians called themselves, if indeed they had a common name. The Odrysian kingdom established in Thrace in the middle of the fifth century BC or slightly later was extremely powerful, wealthy, and organized on Achaemenid lines (reflecting the Persian control of Thrace between ca. 513 and 479 BC), demanding taxes/tribute from both other local Thracian tribes and Greek cities (Thuc. 2.97; Xen., *Anab.* 7.3.26–28, Mihailov 1991, Zournatzi 2000). In the fifth century BC, Odrysian dominance reached the Danube, probably in the form of overlordship rather than direct rule, again based on exacting tribute. The Getae, a Thracian sub-group in and around Dacia composed of several tribes, occupied extensive lands on both banks of the Danube. Later, when the Getic kingdom was established, it, similar to the Odrysian, demanded tribute and taxes from the Greek cities along the Dobrujan coast as protection (Avram 2011: 64–5). Herodotus observed that the Thracians, united, would be the strongest people on earth, but the prospects of this happening were slight, so they remained weak (Hdt. 5.3). From the third century BC, both Thracians and Getae were under Macedonian domination (Avram 2011: 69–73).

The archaeology of Early Iron Age Thrace (roughly, modern-day Bulgaria) does not provide great insight into the material culture of the Thracians—rock-cut monuments and pit sanctuaries, both very difficult to date, and burials. Burial constructions and practices varied from region to region. Inhumation and cremation are often found in the same cemetery. Cremation arose in the Late Bronze Age (in urns or below tumuli), but crouched inhumations (flat grave and tumular) continued in the northeast and the eastern parts of the central plain; double graves characterize several regions; and multiple and secondary burials were common in the Rhodopes. In the time of the Odrysian kingdom and later, local rulers and chieftains and their elites were buried, accompanied by very precious grave goods, in stone chamber tombs, sometimes decorated with murals, under mounds. Herodotus (5.8) describes the ritual: "They lay out the dead for three days, then after killing all kinds of victims and first making lamentation they feast; after that they make away with the body either by fire or else by burial in the earth, and when they have built a barrow they set on foot all kinds of contests … "

Settlement patterns in Iron Age Thrace are known from surveys, the coverage rather patchy, with few sites excavated. Commonest were lightly fortified, open settlements, both on the plains and in hilly terrain. These probably equate to the Thracian villages described by Xenophon (*Anab.* 7.4)—scattered wooden huts within fenced cattle enclosures. Little is known about Early Iron Age domestic architecture; excavation at later settlements has yielded rectangular, single-room, semi-dugouts with a wattle-and-daub superstructure on a stone-lined base, gable or slant-roofed with branches or straw mixed with mud. Hill forts are also known at elevations of over 1,000 m. Investigation has suggested that these were not, in fact, fortified in the Early Iron Age but in the late first millennium BC. These forts became the residences of local rulers and their entourages (Xen., *Anab.* 7.2, 21), with the larger of them used as places of refuge for the inhabitants of nearby open settlements in times of trouble. Buildings and fortifications in stone appear at the time of the creation of the Odrysian kingdom, an event with which they have been linked, first at Vasil Levski and Vetren, residences of local rulers. Urbanization comes after Greek colonization of Thrace, rising in intensity from the Early Hellenistic period (Bouzek 2000–01, 2005; Theodossiev 2011).

From north of the Danube in an arc to the northern Caucasus, the Black Sea coastal region, including the Crimea, was the preserve of Scythian tribes, Iranian language speakers, who settled in the rich plains and valleys of the Dniester, Bug, Dnieper, and Don, and much of the southern Ukraine as far inland as Kiev, having migrated from southern Siberia at the start of the seventh century BC into the North Pontic steppelands, evicting the Cimmerians, hitherto dominant hereabouts. Our main written source is Book 4 of Herodotus, and the author himself says that "Scythian" was a name created by the Greeks to describe different, ethnically related tribes and groups, such as the Alazones, Callippidae, Geloni, and Budini. They were sometimes antagonistic to each other, but at no time was there a monolithic Scythia or Scythian culture (Hdt. 4.6, 16–31, 46–47). The "Royal Scythians" were the most numerous of these tribes, regarding the others as their slaves, and enjoyed the closest relations with the Greeks of the northern Pontus (Hdt. 4.20). In the mid-seventh century BC, the Scythians migrated to Asia Minor/Anatolia via the Caucasus, as had the expelled Cimmerians before them, overthrowing the Medes, Assyria, and Urartu (Hdt. 1.104), before returning via a similar route at the end of that century or the beginning of the next.

Misconceptions about the Scythians and their culture(s) abound (Tsetskhladze 2008a, 2011). In reality, there were two Scythias, that of the Archaic period and the one of the Classical and beyond. The first was nomadic and, as evidence demonstrates, based mainly on the steppes of the northern Caucasus and of the Kuban region. The Scythia of the northern Black Sea steppes existed only from the Classical period, especially from the second half of the fifth century BC when, as with many other Eurasian nomads before and since, the Scythians settled down, at least becoming semi-sedentary. This, especially the fourth century BC, is precisely the time when close links were forged with the Greek colonies of the northern Black Sea coast. For Archaic Scythia, our sources are tombs, especially rich ones, from the North Caucasian and Kuban steppes; for Classical Scythia, we have both tombs and an increasing body of evidence emerging from Scythian settlements. In general, we know less about their settlements than their tombs: about 3,000 of the latter have been excavated, many well known on account of their luxurious grave goods and being described as "royal" or "elite" tombs. Herodotus gives a clear description of the burial rites of the "Royal Scythians" (4.71–72), but he records, without going into detail, that other Scythians had different burial practices (Ivantchik 2011; Rolle 2011).

Very often, settlements of the eighth–sixth centuries BC on the Ukrainian steppes have been mislabeled "Scythian." In fact, they have nothing whatsoever to do with the Scythians. Excavation is providing ever more evidence linking them to a people of Eastern Halstatt origin (Kashuba and Levitskii 2012; Vakhtina and Kashuba 2012). These tribal political centers were substantial. Nemirov covered 110 ha; its ramparts were 8 m in height; and at its middle lay an acropolis of 12.5 ha. Motroninskoe spread over 200 ha, a third of it enclosed within fortifications of earthen ramparts 10.5 m high and a ditch or moat 4–6 m deep and 10–15 m across; outside the fortifications, there are three cemeteries containing 60 tumuli. Trakhtemirov, 500 ha, was defended by earthen ramparts, ditches, and a wooden fortification structure. The largest, Belsk, occupied 4,020 ha; it had a defensive perimeter of 25 km and an estimated population of 4,000–5,000. The ramparts were 9 m high and the ditches over 5 m deep. It was once thought that there was a strong Scythian presence in the Dobruja and its Transdanubian hinterland. Not many

objects are known, and those that are known date from the end of the sixth century BC and have been linked to Darius' expedition against the Scythians (Alexandrescu 2010; Vulpe 2012).

The northern Black Sea littoral was home to other local peoples. The Tauri dwelt in the Crimea, pushed back into the mountains after the establishment of Dorian Chersonesus. They are difficult to distinguish from an archaeological perspective. The lands from the Great Caucasus north to the Sea of Azov (Lake Maeotis) were populated by agricultural peoples, the most numerous among them being the Maeotians, who are very well attested archaeologically (Erlikh 2010). Next to the Taman peninsula lived the Sindians, who formed their own kingdom (Goroncharovskij 2010). The foothills of the northwestern Caucasus were the land of the Kerketi and Toreti (Terekhova et al. 2006). These locals are known not just from ancient authors but from the inscriptions of the Bosporan kings; the latter also mention other small peoples—the Dandarii, Phatei, Dosxi, and Tarpeti—whose exact locations remain unknown or unclear. In contrast, the local population of the Kerch peninsula has been identified, thanks to their burials—in stone boxes—but we have no name for them (Tsetskhladze 1997). The Tauri practiced piracy and often had hostile relations with the Greeks (Xen., *Anab.* 7.5.12; Diod. 20.25), with whom the other groups, by contrast, enjoyed close and pacific relations and were influenced by Greek culture, especially after their incorporation into the Greek Bosporan kingdom from the fourth century BC.

The eastern part of the Black Sea was called Colchis by the Greeks, and sometimes Phasis, probably after the main Greek colony there (Xen., *Anab* 5.6.37), but we do not know what the local inhabitants called it. As with "Thracian" and "Scythian," Colchian was a general name applied to a number of different tribes (Strabo 11.2.15–17). The Colchian kingdom arose at the same time as the Odrysian. It was not heavily centralized and was divided geographically into "sceptuchies" (Strabo 11.2.18), most probably ruled by the local elites. We have archaeological evidence of two settlements, Vani in central Colchis and Sairkhe in the mountainous part of the country, which were residences of the local elite and most probably bases of sceptuchies (Tsetskhladze 2010–11: 293–7). The architecture in both was wooden until the Hellenistic period; then, at Vani, Greek craftsmen were employed to monumentalize the settlement, also girding it with fortification walls. Within both settlements, tombs of the local elite have been unearthed, replete with a very rich array of grave goods. The burial architecture and rites are reminiscent of the Scythians.

The coastal areas of Colchis were wetlands (Hippoc., *Airs, Waters, Places* 15), because of which local coastal settlements were built on artificial mounds and employed wooden architecture (the archaeological evidence is plentiful). Northern Colchis was peopled by the Achaei, Zygi, and Heniochi, and the mountainous parts by the Soanes. The first three especially were notorious pirates and prone to attack the Greek cities (Strabo 11.2.12, 19; Pliny, *NH* 6.15.16). Other Colchians were agriculturalists. To the Greeks they seemed exotic: Herodotus declared that the Colchians were Egyptians: they were as dark as Egyptians and, of greater significance, they, like the Egyptians and Ethiopians, were circumcised (Hdt. 2.104); they also worked linen in the same way as the Egyptians (Hdt. 2.105; *cf.* Strabo 11.2.17). Colchis witnessed the passage of Cimmerians and Scythians on their way to Asia Minor and the return thence of the latter, some of whom settled here *en route* to the northern Caucasus/Kuban: Scythian-type weaponry and

Scythian Animal Style objects are common finds (Tsetskhladze 2011: 96–115). Colchian culture also exhibits Greek and Achaemenid influences: Colchis, too, had been part of the Achaemenid Empire (Tsetskhladze 2010–11).

Even greater uniformity is revealed in the southern Black Sea: a general pattern of deep local hostility to the Greeks. This is why there were no Greek settlements at all on the long stretch coast between Byzantium and Heraclea Pontica, despite several good harbors and fertile lands that might have attracted them (Xen., *Anab.* 6.4.2–6). Dorian Heraclea Pontica was founded in the territory of the Mariandynoi, whom the Thracians came to assimilate, and who, according to Strabo (12.3.4), were forced by the colonists "to serve as Helots," though not outside their own country, "for the two peoples came to an agreement on this"!

The peoples of the south-eastern Black Sea were the Tibareni, Chalybes (few in number: Xen., *Anab.* 5.5.1), Drilae (living in wooden dwellings in wooden-fortified settlements inland of Trapezus: Xen., *Anab.* 5.2.2; 5.3.3), Mossynoeci, Macrones, and the Colchians, most of whom had fallen under the sway of the Achaemenid Empire. Not much can be discovered about them from archaeology; indeed it is impossible to determine whether these Colchians (living in villages around Trapezus and sharing the general animus toward the Greeks: Xen., *Anab.* 4.8.20) shared a material culture with those of Colchis itself. The Mossynoeci, who inhabited numerous villages in the mountains between Cotyora and Cerasus and lived in seven-level wooden towers (Xen., *Anab.* 5.4.26; Diod. 14.30.6), were "the most uncivilized people whose country [the Greeks] traversed, the furthest removed from Greek customs" (Xen., *Anab.* 5.5.34).

This mosaic of peoples and cultures, local and colonizing, in contact with each other, raises the question frequently posed by classical archaeologists: how do we excavate ethnicity? Archaeology can rarely identify a people, and ancient authors, as we have already seen, become somewhat confused by the meeting of cultures. The central part of the southern Black Sea in particular, but the whole of that coast in general, is a fog. Whereas Xenophon offers a fair amount of information about the local inhabitants of the southeastern Black Sea, there is no archaeological material with which to identify their material cultures and link these to any named population group. Were the local people of the Central Black Sea Region of Turkey simply Paphlagonians, as some believe and which would seem perfectly logical (Saprykin 1991)? Or do we accept that, in the possible displacement of people in the Dark Age after the collapse of empires, some groups might perhaps have migrated from North Syria to Anatolia, underpinning the otherwise confusing information of ancient authors? According to Herodotus (1.72), the Greeks called the Cappadocians "Syrians"; Strabo believed they were Paphlagonians, but the contemporary label was "White Syrians" (a name also deployed by Herodotus [1.72, 76] for some folk hereabouts); and they were just plain "Syrians" outside the Taurus Mountains. Were they any more Syrian than the Colchians were Egyptian? Were they Hittite or Phrygian in origin? In what sense, if any, were the labels actually ethnic (Summerer 2007: 28–9; Tsetskhladze 2012b)? Ikiztepe is the one site in the Central Black Sea Region to have enjoyed extensive excavation: there were no Early Iron Age occupation levels here and scant evidence of extensive occupation even in the Middle Iron Age. However, up to around 650 BC, this territory was, it is believed, home to the (semi-)nomadic Kashka people, hence the lack of evidence of occupation (Bilgi 2001: 40–5; Dönmez 2006).



Map 21.1 The Black Sea.

Greeks in the Black Sea

Space permits only a brief sketch of the Greek colonization of the Black Sea (for details, see Tsetskhladze 1994, 1998; Avram, Hind, and Tsetskhladze 2004). Miletus was the principal colonizer in the Black Sea, Propontis, and elsewhere (Strabo 14.1.6). There is no doubt that other Ionian cities participated as well: Ionian colonization can be considered as forced migration prompted initially by Lydian aggression and then by Achaemenid expansion. The first Black Sea colonies were contemporary with Byzantium and Chalcedon in the Propontis: Berezan, then a peninsula, in the north, identified with the Borysthenites, in the third quarter of the seventh century BC, and the Taganrog settlement, now completely destroyed by the sea, a little later; Histria (ca. 630 BC), possibly Orgame (then or a little later), and Apollonia (ca. 610 BC), in the west; and Sinope and Amisos, both late seventh century BC, in the south.

Milesian activity burgeoned from the beginning of the sixth century BC. A new wave of settlers in Berezan encouraged expansion onto the mainland and the spreading of multiple settlements (*chorai*) along the Berezan and Dnieper-Bug estuaries: something similar happened at Histria. In parallel with growth of existing colonies came the foundation of new ones: Tomis in the west and Olbia, near Berezan, both in the 580s BC (Olbia also founded over 100 rural settlements on the Lower Bug in the Archaic period); while in 580–560 BC, the Kerch and Taman peninsulas were heavily settled by the establishment of Panticapaeum, Nymphaeum, Theodosia, Myrmekion, Tyritake, Kepoi, Patraeus, Hermonassa (jointly with Mytilene), and the city, since destroyed by the sea, to which the Tuzlian cemetery belonged.

In the next wave of Ionian colonization (560–530 BC), in response to the first phases of Persian conquest of Asia Minor, Miletus founded Odessos in the west, and other Greek cities on that shore expanded and spawned many small settlements. In the north, Olbia had come to include Berezan and, at mid-century, Tyras and Nikonian were established, plus some 50 settlements forming their *chorai*; and in the Cimmerian Bosporus, Gorgippia, Toricos, Akra, Porthmeus, and Iluration. Miletus looked further afield to Colchis, founding Phasis, Gyenos, and Dioscurias, plus lesser settlements at Pichvnari and Tsikhisdziri. Other Greek cities, though on a smaller scale, partook in this wave—Megarians and Boeotians settled Heraclea on the southern Black Sea in 554 BC; the Teians founded Phanagoria on the Taman peninsula (ca. 542 BC) and Abdera in Thrace at roughly the same time. A small, probably Ionian, settlement was made on the future site of Chersonesus. A final wave of Ionian penetration of the Black Sea again saw a mixture of expansion of existing cities and the establishment of new ones—Mesambria, by the Chalcedonians and Byzantines fleeing at the time of the Revolt (Hdt. 6.33); Kerkinitis and Kalos Limen in the western Crimea.

This brief excursus demonstrates how heavily the Black Sea was settled by the Greeks. Athenian interest, and possibly settlement, in the Black Sea arose around the middle of the fifth century BC, increasing markedly from the last quarter of that century. According to Seneca (*Helv.* 7.21), there were 75 settlements; Pliny numbers them at 90 (*NH* 5.112). However, most of them were secondary colonies or later foundations. Those established in the Archaic period numbered about two dozen. Some colonies were already establishing their own sub-colonies in the sixth century BC, such as Sinope at Cotyora, Cerasus, and Trapezus (Tsetskhladze 2009: 232–39); and, in the last quarter of the fifth century BC, Heraclea Pontica founded Tauric Chersonesus in the Crimea and Callatis on the western coast (Avram 2009).

What were relations like between the Greeks and locals in the Archaic and Classical periods? In general, peaceable: they can be characterized as more collaborative than antagonistic. From the first, arriving Greeks had to strike up some *modus vivendi* with the people already there. It should be underlined, and the archaeological material demonstrates this, that in all parts of the Black Sea local people formed part of the population of the Greek settlements *ab initio* (Tsetskhladze 1998: 44–50, 2004). Another significant feature is that, with few exceptions (see the text that follows), Greek cities lacked fortification walls until the Classical period—and even then we have no evidence of a serious worsening of relations with the locals. At least, this is the case for Ionian colonies, the preponderant type (in Dorian areas relations appear to have been less cordial). Attacks on Greek cities by locals, as with their practicing piracy, date mainly to the Hellenistic period and later.

About nine local settlements of the northern Black Sea littoral, many of them set deep in the hinterland several hundred kilometers from the coast, all of them tribal political centers, have yielded East Greek pottery dated to the last quarter of the seventh century, which is when the first Greek colonies were established. Surely this demonstrates that the first Greeks immediately sought out the locals to establish friendly relations, making them gifts of valuable prestige goods, namely pottery (Tsetskhladze 2012a: 354–7)? An interesting point arises: why did the Greeks journey so far inland? Most of these settlements were on the Upper South Bug, the Middle Dnieper, and in the Vorskla basin. It is now becoming more widely accepted that the coastal areas of the northwestern Black

Sea were, in fact, uninhabited when the Greeks landed—the same can be said of the Taman peninsula, if not of the whole Cimmerian Bosporus. Local tombs tell the same story: in eight (again, most are situated deep inland), East Greek pottery or amphorae have been found. This is echoed in the eastern Black Sea (Colchis), where the earliest East Greek pottery has been discovered at seven local sites, most of them well inland (Tsetskhladze 2012a: 346–8); and if we turn to the Central Black Sea Region of Turkey, then the local settlements situated far up the Halys river offer us exactly the same picture (although some Greek pottery may have arrived overland from the west or south) (Summerer 2007, 2008, 2009; Tsetskhladze 2012a: 349–50).

Assimilation, Blending, or Coexistence?

From the middle of the fifth century, when local kingdoms such as the Odrysian and Colchian were established and (semi-)sedentary Scythia was formed, a very interesting relationship between them and the Greek cities developed. We have seen that the Odrysian and later Getic kingdoms were extracting taxes and tribute. This exchange was not just monetary but cultural: luxurious prestige objects formed one part of it, the services of skilled Greek craftsmen another, combining to create local elite culture and identity. Evidence from Colchis is sparser than from the Getic and Thracian lands, but study of settlements that can be identified as the residences of the local elite and of the objects from their burials demonstrates the same development. What of the relationship between the Greeks and Scythians? The evidence points to the same pattern. This is clear from a late-fifth-century-BC letter from Kerkinitis in the Crimea: one Greek writes to another asking him to discover how large will be the taxes due the Scythians (*SEG* XXXVII 665). Luxurious objects in precious metal are well known from Scythian tombs dating from the late fifth and, especially, fourth centuries BC; they are executed in Greek style (by Greek craftsmen), but adapted to Scythian tastes and requirements. Thus, the situation in the western Black Sea is replicated: taxes and tribute need not merely be monetary (Tsetskhladze 2010: 48–9). In this connection, Strabo provides illuminating information when he writes about the northern Black Sea:

> … although the Nomads are warriors rather than brigands, yet they go to war only for the sake of tributes due them; for they turn over their land to any people who wish to till it, and are satisfied if they receive in return for the land the tribute they have assessed, which is a moderate one, assessed with a view, not to an abundance, but only to the daily necessities of life; but if the tenants do not pay, the Nomads go to war with them (Strabo 7.4.6).

What further parallels might there be between Scythians and Thracians? Did some part of Scythian society dominate the rest and exact tribute? Such is surely the case with the nomadic Scythians occupying the Crimean steppe extracting *phoros* from the agricultural Scythians (Strabo 7.4.6; *cf.* Thuc. 2.97).

These taxes/tributes are obviously "protection money" of some sort. Evidence from the Hellenistic period shows that they continued: locals demanding increased payment from the Bosporan kingdom caused tensions between them to rise (Strabo 7.4.4); while Olbia was constantly sending money and expensive gifts to the Scythian king

(*IOSPE* I^2 32). A similar relationship can be suggested for Chersonesus in the second century BC (*IOSPE* I^2 352) and the western Black Sea (Histria and Mesambria: Avram 2011: 67–70).

Is there any evidence to take us beyond a relationship based on taxes and tribute to demonstrate an actual Greek presence in local settlements? Herodotus recounts when writing about the Scythians (Hdt. 4.108):

> The Budini are a great and numerous nation .... They have a city built of wood, called Gelonus. The wall of it is thirty furlongs in length on each side of the city; this wall is high and all of wood; and their houses are wooden, and their temples; for there are among them temples of Greek gods, furnished in Greek fashion with images and altars and shrines of wood; and they honor Dionysus every two years with festivals and revels. For the Geloni are by their origin Greek, who left their trading ports to settle among the Budini; and they speak a language half Greek and half Scythian. But the Budini speak not the same language as the Geloni, nor is their manner of life the same.

There is no doubt that Greeks living in the coastal area could move into local settlements. Gelonus has been tentatively identified with the Belsk settlement (Shramko 1987). It was the largest local settlement on the Eurasian steppes. It is even possible that a small sanctuary of the sixth–fourth centuries BC, built with wooden columns, has been discovered (Shramko 1987: 127–40). However, most remarkable is the finding of some 10,000 pieces of Greek pottery, dating mainly to the Archaic and Classical periods. Evidence shows that there were Greek quarters within Kamenskoe settlements deep in the Ukrainian steppes; and the local Elizavetovskoe settlement on the Don had a separate quarter populated by Greeks, identified as a Greek *emporion*, in which a Greek temple, built in the first half of the fourth century BC and destroyed in the 270s BC, was discovered (Kopylov and Kovalenko 2012). Another settlement deserving mention is Tanais, established as an *emporion* in the first quarter of the third century BC by the Bosporan kings at a site on the Don at the fringes of their kingdom (Strabo 11.2.3). It was later divided into two parts, one inhabited by Greeks and the other by locals. More revealing information comes from Thrace: the Pistiros inscription (359–352 BC) tells us that the Thracian king, Cotys I, invited Greeks to settle in the hinterland and offered them protection (Tsetskhladze 2000, 2010: 47).

Further evidence of different ethnic groups coming together and collaborating is provided by the Greek Bosporan kingdom, based on the Kerch and Taman peninsulas with its capital at Panticapaeum (Hind 1994; Tsetskhladze 1997, 2013). It was created as a territorial state in 438/7 BC with the ascent to power of Spartocus I, founder of the Spartocid dynasty—not in 480 BC, as often assumed, with the Archaeanactid coup in Panticapaeum. For our purposes, the kingdom's incorporation over time, and mainly by force, of the Greek cities of the Kerch and Taman peninsulas is less significant than its gradual but peaceful territorial expansion to include numerous local peoples living hard by the Taman peninsula and in the Kuban up to Lake Maeotis. We know this from the inscriptions of the Bosporan kings. By the Hellenistic period, the Sindi, Toreti, Dandarii, Psessi, Thatei, Doskhi, and some others had been incorporated into the Bosporan kingdom, whose rulers built residences in various local settlements. The policy of incorporating these locals, and many of them then settling in the kingdom's Greek cities,

produced mutual cultural enrichment and influence: the art of the Bosporan kingdom is rightly described as Greco–barbarian, and it is often hard to distinguish which features betray which origin. By the late fourth century BC, the Bosporan state comprised approximately 5,000 square kilometers, 30 towns of varying size, and a population of 100,000–120,000 (Hind 1994: 476).

The Achaemenids

The final component is the Achaemenids. Until recently, scholarship has focused on their involvement in Thrace and along the southern Black Sea coast. This is not surprising because these two regions are the source of the bulk of evidence. Nearly all the local peoples living around the Greek cities of the southern Black Sea were incorporated into the nineteenth satrapy (Hdt. 3.94). The major Greek cities hereabouts fell under Achaemenid rule too—Sinope even had a satrapal manufacturing center for luxury objects. Some rock-cut tombs from the southern Black Sea display Achaemenid features, and Achaemenid-type pottery is also found hereabouts (Burstein 1976: 26–8, 41–2; Summerer 2003, 2005; Dönmez 2007: 1211–2). Thrace, called "Skudra" by the Achaemenids, fell under their rule from ca. 513–479 BC (Rehm 2010). However, what about the other regions of the Black Sea?

It is increasingly recognized that Colchis was also part of the Achaemenid Empire, forming with Caucasian Iberia a lesser part of the Armenian satrapy (Hdt. 3.93; Tsetskhladze 2010–11: 296–301). The northern Black Sea presents a problem of interpretation. We know that the Achaemenids passed through the region in connection with Darius' Scythian expedition, a *débâcle*—or perhaps this is not the only interpretation to be put on the sources, the chief of which is Herodotus (4.83–144). Prior to the Scythian expedition, Ariaramnes, satrap of Cappadocia, under Darius' orders, crossed the Black Sea in ca. 519 BC (Ctesias, *History of Persia* F13.20):

> … to take some men and women as prisoners of war. Ariaramnes crossed over with thirty 50-oared ships and took some prisoners of war. He even captured Marsagetes, the brother of the Scythian king, whom he had found bound in chains by his own brother for mistreating a family member. The Scythian king, Scytharches, was angry and wrote an abusive letter to Darius. And Darius wrote back to him in a similar vein.

The fortification walls of Myrmekion and Porthmeus date to the middle/second half of the sixth century BC, and some other settlements of the Cimmerian Bosporus display signs of fire and destruction at that time. This is all largely consistent with the Cappadocian satrap's campaign: we may assume that the Greek cities resisted the Persians hotly, though unsuccessfully. Other traces of fire and destruction, especially in the Greek cities of the Kerch peninsula and dated to the end of the sixth/beginning of the fifth century BC, can be connected to Darius' Scythian expedition of 513 BC, which, as we know from Herodotus (4.120–22), reached the Tanais and beyond. In the broader context of the Greco–Persian wars, the Persians may have sought to destroy the Milesian thalassocracy (Hdt. 6.7). Alternatively, during the wars, they may have temporarily withdrawn from territories acquired by Ariaramnes and Darius, leaving a power vacuum filled by

the Archaeanactid tyranny. Any or all of these events could have been responsible for the destruction of/in the cities in the Cimmerian Bosporus.

A paradox of Achaemenid rule is that it left a very light archaeological footprint. "Persianization," whatever it might entail, is hard to identify, not least on account of the deliberate policy of leaving cultural and ethnic identities intact. What objects we have from the outliers of the Achaemenid Empire are mainly gold and silverware, jewelry, and arms, objects that are not only hard to date but whose provenance is difficult to identify. All are examples of "Achaemenid international style," but refining this further is problematic. From the archaeological and other evidence, it seems likely, on balance, that the Bosporan kingdom and Scythia were at least peripheral parts of the Achaemenid domains (Tsetskhladze 2013: 212–6).

In all parts of the Black Sea, from Thrace to Colchis, there was seldom much friction between Greeks, Achaemenids, and locals (for a possible exception, destruction of the *temenos* of Histria during the Achaemenid's Scythian campaign [end of sixth century BC], and further destruction there [ca. 492 BC] possibly as punishment for presumed Histrian involvement in the Ionian Revolt, see Alexandrescu 2010). For example, the Great King allowed the Greek cities of the southern Black Sea to retain their own laws and institutions until the beginning of the fourth century BC, additionally prohibiting his officials and satraps from meddling in their internal affairs—his principal concern being that the cities and the locals paid their taxes and tribute and provided his army with manpower and provisions when required (Tsetskhladze 2008b).

The Black Sea offers a very good example of an ethnically diverse region. Its different peoples had to find a way of accommodating each other and, as the Archaic and Classical periods demonstrate, they did so without much confrontation or belligerence. If the Greeks had to pay taxes and tributes to the locals for protection, the benefits were mutual.

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CHAPTER 22

Greeks and Phoenicians in the Western Mediterranean

Corinne Bonnet

Sicily Between Worlds

As befits a "Companion to Ethnicity," my analysis aims to integrate a number of aspects from the sphere of cultural life, particularly cultural transfers, acculturation, and strategies of mediation, identity, and alterity. It will deal with the perception of self and other, and the sense of belonging. "Political" conditions in the broad sense, referring to the exercise of domination and violence, or the opposite, will be in the background of connections and ties through diplomacy. The field of investigation is enormous, given that, conceptually, it lies at the crossroads of several disciplines: history, sociology, anthropology, ethnology, historical psychology, ethnoarcheology, and so on. That is why it seems essential to me to pay attention to the conceptual tools whereby these disparate data may be understood. My study, therefore, is presented in the following way: first I define the actors being considered, in particular the notion of "Phoenicians," as well as the temporal parameters of the proposed synthesis. Second, I offer a "reading grid" and a few key concepts, illustrating their operation and their contributions in a specific field, namely religious practice. The third section of this study deals with the treatment of relations between Greeks and Phoenicians in Sicily in ancient historiography. Finally, in the fourth part, we pause to consider the ways in which material culture does (or does not) serve as a marker of ethnicity. I conclude with a brief consideration of other areas frequented by the Phoenicians and the Greeks, to highlight similarities and differences with the situations described in Sicily.

Phoenicians and Greeks in Sicily

A consensus has emerged over the last decade or so to avoid using the term "Phoenico-Punic," an expression that only serves to mask the difficulty experienced by specialists

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trying to establish a line of demarcation between what may be "Phoenician" and what "Punic," whether in purely chronological or geographic terms, or in cultural and linguistic terms. The foundation of Carthage, at the end of the ninth century BC, did not sound the death knell of Phoenician civilization, far from it. These two "realities" coexisted and remained deeply entwined. A linear periodization between Phoenician and Punic does not hold up any more than syncretistic terminology such as "Phoenico-Punic" (Krings 1995: 240–2). If some people see the founding of Ibiza, in 654/3 according to Diodorus Siculus (5.16.2–3), as the birth of an imperialist Carthaginian policy, and therefore of a "Punic Empire," others point out the distortions of perception due to an exclusively exogenous (Greco-Roman) historiography that paralyzes categories of thought. It therefore seems more prudent and wise to speak of "Phoenicians of the West." We should not forget that the term of "Phoenicians" (*Phoinikes*) results from a Greek perception of those populations who, themselves, from an emic point of view, defined themselves as "Tyrians," "Sidonians," and "Giblites." Similarly, in the West, there is no "indigenous" expression corresponding to the term "Punic," from the Latin "*Poenus, punicus.*" As in the Eastern motherland, the inhabitants of these places referred to themselves as "Carthaginians," "the people of Tharros," or "from Sulcis." Moreover, as we will see further, links with the motherland and Phoenician roots appear in our testimony (Greek and Roman!) as an essential ingredient of the identity of the Phoenicians of the West.

These terminological considerations go to the heart of the matter before us. In the absence of any Phoenician literary source, from either East or West, and given the inherent limitations of the epigraphic record, the ethnicity of the Phoenicians of the West emerges exclusively thanks to Greek sources (and, to a lesser degree, Roman sources) in their accounts of their dealings with other peoples. If we take the trouble to recall that these "others" were, from the Phoenician point of view, sometimes commercial partners, but even more often competitors or bitter adversaries on the field of battle, we will appreciate the fact that, while we are certainly dealing with an extremely interesting collection of sources, they make accessing Phoenician "self-identity" extremely difficult, even as they reveal the ethnicity of the Greeks in the mirror of their opponents. These sources privilege a "dialogic" ethnicity, which, like a mirror, reflects the ways in which the Greeks, through interaction with the Phoenicians in Sicily, built their own identity and the limits of otherness, including their symbolic dimension. The bias of literary sources, which, as we have noted, is a serious problem, may be corrected by the use of archaeological sources, which enable a more direct access to the social productions of Phoenician society in Sicily, as well their symbolic dimension. Just as the work of J. Hall (2005) has shown, the interpretation of these data in terms of ethnicity is nonetheless complex and open to debate.

If Sicily supplies an ideal location for exploring the relations between Greeks and Phoenicians, it is because Sicily represents a very early instance of the primary geopolitical challenges that both sides faced in their strategies of expansion. If the later signs of East–West trade contacts involving Sicily at the end of second and beginning of the first millennium are questionable (Falsone 1995: 677–8), it is certain that, around

800–750 BC, the Phoenicians were found in this area and crossed the Strait of Messina to reach, for example, Pithekoussai. A little later, from around 750 BC, the Greeks founded Megara Hyblaia, Zankle, Naxos, Syracuse, Solonte, Motya, and other sites. They came into contact, often quite bloody contact, with three indigenous groups who were primarily located in their island's interior: Sicels, Sicanians, and Elymians. We will have more than one occasion to return to the key testimony of Thucydides and his vision of the ethnography of Sicilian. By the end of the seventh century, with the foundations of Selinus and Himera, the Greeks were demonstrating hegemonic designs on the whole island. The material culture of this archaic period, in particular the ceramics, shows signs of regular exchanges between the two groups. However, in the sixth century, the situation deteriorates with the rise to power of Carthage, who transformed the Phoenician cities of the west into walled strongholds, and the unsuccessful attacks of Greek colonies in the Phoenician or Punic zone. Allied to the Elymians, the Phoenicians of Sicily defended their position, but were severely defeated in 480 at Himera. They were victorious, in revenge, in 409 BC at Selinus, then at Himera, Akragas, and Gela, stabilizing their territorial hold on Sicily. Two centuries of constant conflict followed, never decisive, during the fourth and third centuries, with Carthage and Syracuse facing off, until the intervention of the Romans, in the course of the First Punic War, brought this bloody confrontation to a close. In 241 BC, following the naval victory of the Romans in the Battle of the Aegates Islands, all of Sicily was placed under Roman protection and became the first province of the future Empire. The long cohabitation of Phoenicians and Greeks, punctuated by unusually fierce outbursts of violence, if we are to believe the historical memory that deals with it, but also consisting of marriages, alliances, and exchanges, contracts, of betrayal, and of misunderstandings, thus represents fertile ground for an enquiry into ethnicity (provided one makes allowance for the documentary limitations outlined in the preceding text). This confrontation, day by day, in peace and in war, in the public and private spheres, in the most varied areas (business, war, culture, diplomacy, religion, technology, sailing, and so on) generated an awareness of self and other, a *social representation* characterized by a powerful tension between, on the one hand, integration, porosity, recognition, collaboration, and, on the other, rejection, boundaries, separation, deprecation, and indeed barbarization. Even though it may not be possible or even desirable to untangle these elements, it is easy to understand that various modes of thought are at work in these processes. Inasmuch as it is a "portable homeland" (Bastenier 2004), religion is in this regard a major field of contestation, which justifies starting here.

Cultural Practices and "Middle Ground"

Sacred space, dedicated to ritual practice, which is to say to the relationship, contractual but asymmetrical, between humans and gods, obeys a logic of its own, notably in the matter of protection of persons, guarantees, and security. It is a space theoretically protected from certain types of violence, a place of mediation and of transactions.

At the same time the sanctuary, thanks to the deeds done there, the objects dedicated there, and the words uttered there, as well as the symbolic actions performed there, is a charged location with respect to the display of identity. As a "portable homeland," its beliefs and rites correspond to ethnic modes of action. In the case of Sicily, what can we see?

Let us take the case of Selinus, frontier city, founded by the Greeks, allied to Carthage until Himera (480 BC), passing next into the Greek camp, then re-conquered by Punic forces (Tusa 2010). How are these variable ethnic parameters reflected in cult practice? Demeter, who is known in the documents from Selinus exclusively by the title of Malophoros, occupies a central place in the pantheon dominated by the authoritarian figure of Zeus, owner of the temple G (Sfameni Gasparro 2008). This epiklesis recalls the Megarian roots of the colony. The presence on the western hill of Gaggera, in the periurban zone, of a primitive altar along with two structures indicates that a cult spot had been erected to the goddess from the very first generation of the colony. At the same place would later be built the grandiose sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros (Antonetti and De Vido 2006; Grotta 2010; Robu 2011). It continued to function until it was abandoned in 250 BC. Yet, on closer inspection, certain specific features of this location betray a cult construction intended to be supra-local. Similarly, the association of Malophoros with Hecate seems to recall the Eleusinian model, or once again her strong connection to (Zeus) Meilichios, who also had arrived from Megara Nisaia at the time of the foundation, whose sacred space is directly adjacent and persists well beyond the occupation of punic Selinus. Meilichios is fully enmeshed within a network of Panhellenic references, but at Selinus he is also the object of distinctive representations that are just as firmly connected to a Punic cultural sphere. In fact, one is faced with a field of *stelai* (Cusumano 2006), occasionally characterized by anthropomorphic characteristics (e.g., rough facial features). Similar to N. Cusumano, I believe that one can identify here strategies of mediation and of cultural permeability between two communities, occurring even before the Punic conquest, but especially necessary for the Greeks who survived the massacre of 409 and for the new Punic masters of the region. They placed themselves together under the protection of Meilichios, ancestral god and benefactor, savior, cathartic and reassuring, and god of *philia* (friendship) and of concord between blood groups. The strangeness of a lithic god of Greek roots being recuperated by the Punic population could therefore refer, at the same time, in the double register of an inevitable rupture and a necessary continuity, to a newly integrated alterity in the city and to a common base, formed by Malophoros and Meilichios, probably assimilated to Baal Hammnon and Tanit, designed to ensure the well-being and prosperity at the heart of a reconfigured city.

This example shows that we are dealing with neither a register of "identity isolation" nor one of simple dilution of "the other" into "the same." The historical setting is constantly shifting, conflicts necessarily emerging against a backdrop of empirical pacification. This process of constant refiguring—ethnic, political, social, and cultural—produces various modes of symbolic creativity that Richard White, in his study of the relations between Indians, French, English, and Americans (1650–1815), has dubbed "the middle ground" (White 2010). In placing emphasis on the intermediate spaces or the cultural identities that entwine and generate compromise, we are able to escape the impasse of a

rigid dichotomy in which one may choose only between land and sea, so to speak, according to which indigenous cultures appear as immutable and monolithic—a "traditional" world, frozen, concerned only with preserving its integrity—and imported cultures, a merciless wave that one resists or to which one succumbs. Applied to Sicily, the concept of "middle ground" has already been shown to be a fertile concept for thinking about a space of transaction not only metaphorically but also physically (Malkin 2004, 2011)—that is, the island space coveted and necessarily divided up between many different ethnic groups. From this point of view, it is important to stress the fact that, just as in the Great Lakes region dear to Richard White, in Sicily we do not find a binary confrontation between Greeks and Phoenicians. The indigenous worlds also have a place in these processes, and in terms of ethnicity, they contribute to the Greeks' definition of it—and they are the only ones to have left traces of their social relations in diasporic contexts—as an identity built on contrasts. The case of the sanctuary of the Palikoi, which served the indigenous city of Palike, founded in 453 BC by Douketios (Diod. Sic. 11.88; cf Cusumano 2013), nicely illustrates the fact that relations with the indigenous population were an integral part of the island's cultural landscape. These relations shaped the landscape. Diodorus (11.89) actually describes a rather primitive and forbidding sanctuary, with hot water spouting out of the ground, groaning, and foul smelling. This spot, however, or the communication between humans and divine power that occurs here, is so manifest that it becomes dangerous, the setting for cultic practices concerned with the need to regulate relations between ethnic groups. Solemn oaths are offered, proclaimed by priest–magistrates and put down on tablets that are then thrown into the sulfurous water in order verify the good faith of the word that has been given. In a space of contact between indigenes and Greeks that was liable to lead to conflicts, the gods were entrusted with the regulations of transactions at the very center of "the middle ground," according to procedures that were completely exceptional, and by recourse to writing, a procedure borrowed from the colonists of Hellenic origin. Furthermore, the twin Palikoi are sometimes supposed to be the descendants of Zeus and the nymph Thalia, but at other times the children of Adranos, an indigenous god, and are always tied to the ground from which they rise up at their birth, similar to water spraying from geysers. This example demonstrates the interweaving of identities and practices in Sicilian territory.

At Selinus too, the entire situation is, just as we have seen in the preceding text, similarly oriented toward compromise. Take, for example, the many clay tablets found in the city archives preserved in Temple C, dedicated to Apollo, on the Acropolis (De Simone 2010) that, in the Punic phase, continued to be adorned with typically Greek motifs, such as Apollo with lyre, and Herakles wrestling the Cretan Bull or Hermes holding a sandal. In a medium where one might have expected a powerful symbolic assertion of identity, instead one is faced by a shared repertoire that relates to a *koine*, at once local and Mediterranean, promoting integration, continuity, and the compatibility of the populations present.

The choice of Selinus to illustrate the cultic "middle ground" is not a matter of chance. It is designed to underscore the considerable differences in our perception of transcultural dynamics, depending on whether we rely on epigraphic, archaeological, or literary sources. Because literary sources are engaged in the construction of memory while aiming to provide the keys to the (author's) past as much as to the (author's) present, they

are often heavily freighted with meaning. There where the use of space, the representation of the divine, ritual practices, and even the distinction between the religious and the political, all serve to focus our attention on transitions and transactions, accounts of the past sacrifice empirical fluidity in favor of ideological rigidity, even though cult is without question the supreme example of mediation. However, for today's historian, if "Thucydides is not a colleague" (Loraux 1980), the evidence of historians from antiquity often carries a special weight in the interpretation of phenomena. As far as Sicily is concerned, there are two "heavyweights": Thucydides and Diodorus Siculus. Let us consider how they reconstruct the ethnic landscape of Sicily and recount the subsequent story of Sicily's history through it.

The Historiographical Conception of Ethnicity

Thucydides' account at the beginning of Book 6 constitutes a veritable "archetype" for subsequent studies of archaic Sicily (Raccuia 2008; Bonnet 2009). Concerned with explaining the failure of the Athenian's Sicilian expedition (415 BC), the Athenian historian set himself the initial task of offering an account of the population of the island and its history. After the Cyclopes and Laistrygonians, who are mentioned by the poets, but not endorsed by Thucydides, come the Sicanians, supposedly indigenous but most probably from Iberia according to the Athenian historian, then the Elymians, emigrants from the shores of Troy, and the Sicels, who came from Italy. The Phoenicians followed them, establishing themselves around the perimeter of the entire island, as merchants, one foot on the land and the other in the sea, as it were. Arriving in numbers, the Greeks forced them back into the western parts of the island. Such were the barbarians, concludes Thucydides (6.1.2), who settled on Sicily. He then gives a detailed account of the Greek foundations and concludes anew, at 6.6.1: "Such are the Greek and barbarian *ethne* (tribes) who inhabit Sicily" at the moment when the Athenians begin their attack. This hodgepodge might make for an easy target, but such proves not to be the case. The Athenians arrive only to find the island's medley of inhabitants ready to resist their power, instead of the land already conquered, as they had imagined. Quite the opposite, Sicily is great and wealthy, a complex land, characterized by mixed identities and a rich past, marked by a certain "savagery" that recalls the Cyclopes as much as the Phoenicians. This ethnographic diversity, with which Thucydides finishes his account, sounds like a warning of the difficulties that are largely underestimated by the Athenian generals in 415 BC. The debate that took place in the Assembly before the departure of the expedition had been the occasion for Nikias, who opposed the expedition from the outset, to underscore the risk that they were running in allying themselves to barbarian populations (the Segestans) in accordance with the terms of their alliance. The imperial ambitions of the Athenians, joined to the personal ambitions of Alcibiades, however, produced a policy aimed at abolishing, in the name of *homoiotropia* (shared custom) (Sammartano 2007), the boundaries between Greek and barbarian (Thuc. 6.2.18). In the eyes of Thucydides, however, if one reads between the lines, arguments of this type do not derive from political rationality, but are instances of politically correct sentiments, or of the hubris run wild that resulted in the disastrous failure of the campaign.

From the outset, it is clear, on the strength of this first example, that the historiographical conception of ethnicity and of the relations between Greeks and Phoenicians in Sicily is nourished by a rich array of considerations, both fluctuating and structural. A second example will confirm this analysis and takes us back to Selinus, viewed earlier from the point of view of cultic mediation. How does Diodorus describe the events that brought about Selinus' shift from the Greek orbit into the Carthaginian sphere? In a recent article, Nicola Cusumano (2010) has drawn a parallel between the events in Selinus and those that occurred when Motya was taken by the Greeks in 397 BC. In both instances, "ethnic violence" once fomented resulted in a virtually irreducible opposition between the opponents, and a risk of slipping back into animal savagery and the destruction of society.

The story of the siege of Selinus in 409 BC by the Carthaginians and their mercenaries, especially Iberians and Campanians, illustrates a deployment of violence carried to almost unimaginable heights, a sort of "paradise of cruelty" (Diod. Sic. 13.59.1–2). The final assault leads to atrocities perpetrated on the dead bodies of the conquered, including women and children. One is tempted to use the concept of genocide or of ethnic cleansing as long as the accent is placed on the unlimited savagery of the assailants. However, there is no voice to counterbalance the account, loaded with *pathos* and ideology, of the historian of Sicilian origin who clearly adopted the role of spokesman for ancestral hatreds directed at the Carthaginians that persisted in Sicily and Rome until the Augustan period, well after the destruction—just as violent and cruel—of Carthage in 146 BC One is tempted to say that the passage of time serves like a sound box that amplifies the echoes of the past so that they resonate more fully, even as the present provides virtually no further opportunities to encounter a "real" Carthaginian and to recognize the fact that, similar to the brave Hanno in Plautus' *Poenulus*, deep down he shares the same values and the same ethics as the Romans and Greeks. Remembrance had the effect of freezing memories of the conquerors of Selinus (although they themselves were conquered by history), and turning them into the very icon of a fierce and barbarous people, a sort of historical nightmare, the big bad wolf of fairy tales or, as N. Cusumano says, "a metaphysical enemy."

In 397 BC, when the Greeks, led by Dionysios of Syracuse, captured Motya, the result, once again, was carnage. Hatred is the motor here, just as 12 years earlier at Selinus, but the two episodes present a very different face. At Syracuse, hatred leads the people to unite around a common project, allowing Dionysios to soften his tyranny and the Syracusans to recast their hatred of the tyrant as a "civilizing" hatred directed at their external adversaries. Whether an innate violence or a violence provoked by abuse, the "instinctive" violence of the Punic people does not depend on any value, and fits no ethical horizon. That is why, faithful to their *physis* (nature), which transcends the *kairos* (moment), the Greek mercenaries of Hannibal's army, the Carthaginian general who razes Selinus, display pity for the massacred Selinuntines (Diod. Sic. 13.58), the sign of an empathy and ethnic solidarity rooted in their genes and transcending the rivalry of the two camps. The only exceptions to this rule are the Carthaginians' Greek auxiliaries during the siege of Motya: Dionysios condemns them to crucifixion, the worst of punishments, for having denied, as it were, their Greek identity and having fought against their own "blood brothers" (Diod. Sic. 14.53). By contrast, Diodorus emphasizes the enduring relationship that unites the Phoenicians of the West with the Phoenicians of the East, this

too a guarantee of genetic barbarism, of a flawed brotherhood, whether this is a matter of an atavistic talent for deception or a recurring tendency to impiety that they both share (cf. the case of the statue of Apollo stolen from Gela and sent by the Carthaginians as a war tithe to the metropolis of Tyre where the god was enchained until liberated by Alexander: Bonnet and Grand-Clément 2010), or is a result of their lack of respect for human life, exemplified in human sacrifice. The emphasis on this *syngeneia* (kinship) serves discursive strategies that merge Phoenician and Punic, in order to distinguish them from Greek (and Roman).

As for Greek violence, it is a cathartic tool that prepares the way for a "conversion" and a cultural redemption, but stops where *eusebeia* (piety) is threatened, at the point where the superior justice of the gods is placed in peril. This is why Dionysios decides to spare his prisoners and to dispatch heralds to announce to the Carthaginians that they will not be killed as long as they take refuge in the sanctuaries honored by the Greeks. The rules of war, similar to the rules of cult, as on the plain of the Scamander, outweigh the unleashing of primal instincts. In fact, at the end of the siege, similar to some Homeric king, Dionysios assigns *geras* (gifts) and *timai* (honors) to each man in order to recompense the bravery and self-control of his men (Diod. Sic. 14.53).

The anthropological vision that emerges in these texts and many others also highlights the importance of ethnic criteria in organizing human *poikilia* (diversity) within a hierarchy in Greek thought. The opposition "by nature" (*physei*) between Greeks and Barbarians did not have to wait for Diodorus Siculus and his *Universal History* to find striking formulations. Plato had already given expression to it in a number of instances. However, the end of the fifth century and fourth century BC witnessed, in Sicily, a radicalization of events and positions that encouraged the exacerbation of this polarity, much as the experience of Alexander in the East foregrounded the question of the acculturation of populations once united within the Persian Empire and beyond. A debate ensued over the power and limits of *paideia* (Greek learning), the distinctive trait of a race or the "common property" of humanity, of which the Greeks were, finally, "evangelists." As for ethnicity, in the Sicilian sphere, for what concerns the relations between Greeks and Phoenicians, the historiographical accounts provide a rich supply of evidence, but all such evidence comes with the distortions that arise from the relationship between the historian's present and the burden of memory that conveys the events related. Greeks and Barbarians never stop meeting, the better to confront each other. Face to face, locked in the melee of battle, bearing the scars of a violence that mutilates and disfigures, they nevertheless illustrate the irreducible tension between nature and *nomos* (custom), between animality and humanity, between natural instinct and socially inculcated behavior. If the Carthaginians are for the Greeks "the best of enemies," they would become for the Romans "the enemy to be destroyed," the "nation" destined for destruction from the moment of its founding (Bonnet 2011).

Material Culture and Markers of Ethnicity

Since the publication of Jonathan Hall's work (Hall 1997, 2005, 2009) and the debates it has excited (e.g., Luce 2007), our understanding of the relationship between material culture and ethnic identity has profoundly evolved. Archaeologists, similar to historians,

have learned to deal with objects from every angle, dynamically and in the context of interactions (production, practical and symbolic use, staging, transmission, and so on) in order to "think with the object," rather than to treat them statically and merely as items to be classified (Boissinot 2011). The polymorphous concept of identity that archaeologists face (that is to say, in an extra-linguistic context and based on material remains) is still useful and, in fact, necessary, but, to borrow Philippe Boissinot's example, the identity of a body found in a tomb as defined by archaeologists based on a series of indices is not the same thing as the identity of the person who lived, died, and was buried in that tomb.

The relations between Greeks and Phoenicians were, during the first centuries of their cohabitation, of a commercial nature. Corinthian and proto-Corinthian ceramics are present in considerable quantity at Phoenician sites in Sicily, just as, inversely, objects of Phoenician manufacture have been found in Greek funerary contexts in eastern Sicily, such as at Syracuse and Messina. In the archaic necropolis of Milazzo, Phoenician amphoras used to transport foodstuffs were reused as funerary vessels. Ethnic markers are thus mixed up, and the fluidity of uses runs counter to any neatly bounded "national" logic. Even when the political relations between Phoenicians and Greeks become conflicted, funerary practices remain fluid. The vast Punic necropolis of Palermo, whose apogee lies between the sixth and fourth centuries BC (Di Stefano 2009), shows that Punic material (ceramics, jewels, weapons, and so forth) lies beside Greek wine amphoras, as well as Corinthian and Attic perfume vases, and so on. Furthermore, inhumation and incineration coexist there. The indigenous necropoleis confirm the porosity of usages and symbolic practices. The Sicanian tombs of Gela's hinterland, for example (Panvini 2008), also contain luxury items, in particular small faience vases or *alabastron*-type vases of colored glass, which are certainly of eastern manufacture and which were imported to Sicily by Greek colonies acting as intermediaries, notably Gela and Akragas, both Rhodian colonies. An identical scenario holds for certain sanctuaries of the same region dating from the sixth to the fifth centuries BC. In fact, typically, "oriental" products (ceramics, glass, jewels) are found in funerary contexts and with indigenous votives (e.g., at Vassallaggi), alongside lekythoi, kraters, or other black-figure and red-figure Attic vessels, as much as with locally manufactured items. It is usual to see here objects acquired by indigenous élites, male and female, eager to display, in accordance with a certain eclecticism, their rank, their wealth, and indeed their social prestige. These trends continue until the third and second centuries BC, and involve Phoenician objects produced both in the East and the West, with possible Aegean intermediaries, such as Rhodes or Cyprus. Some Sicanian centers, such as Vassallaggi, even provided redistribution of Phoenician luxury items to other, smaller indigenous centers. One must conclude, finally, that the data from the material culture does not allow us in any way to map the presence of given "ethnic" groups. Instead, it confirms, on the one hand, the existence of complex commercial distribution networks that are "mixed" from the start (witness the acculturation of Rhodian artists by their Phoenician "masters"), and, on the other hand, the functioning of social strategies of the appropriation of exogenous symbols of power, refinement, and prestige. Often discovered in secondary contexts, namely funerary contexts, these objects, however, in all likelihood, originated in settings associated with social practices connected to luxury and aristocratic sociability, such as the banquet, for which there are models in both the Near Eastern monarchies and archaic Greece.

Even if this seems ambitious, it does not seem to me to be pointless to consider at this stage, under the heading of "material culture," the question of landscape. A complex reality, alive, moving, and fashioned from the conjunction of natural elements and human interventions, landscape situates societies in a setting, in a certain sense, already fixed. It allows power relations to be inscribed on space, and, further, from the moment it is given narrative shape in texts, it relates to the field of cultural representation. However, as we saw in the preceding text, when Thucydides evokes the Phoenician and Greek colonizations of Sicily, he inscribes them on a landscape polarized between East (Greek) and West (Phoenician), between marginal sites (the small islands and coastal areas occupied by the Phoenicians) and integrated sites (the Greek colonies). Diodorus Siculus, for his part, in Book 5 of the *Universal History*, describes Sicily as an island situated at the heart of a region of strategic importance in relation to the other islands and neighboring zones on the mainland. As the site of contacts, traces of which are memorialized in its very topography, Sicily is placed under the double sign of Demeter and Persephone, and Herakles as well, two Greek myths that leave their original imprint on the landscape and local topography. Associated with Etna, the rape of Persephone supplies a sort of mythic *omphalos* (navel of the earth), and proposes a journey that signposts all of Sicilian territory, coast and hinterland, city and country, this world and beyond, connected in this way in a world at once harmonious and prosperous, protected by the gods and perpetuated thanks to the rituals enacted in honor of the goddesses (Diod. Sic. 5.2–4). On the other hand, the presence of the Carthaginians is described as an intrusion, its hallmark impiety and violence. Diodorus describes, for example, a small island off the coast of Sicily, "the Island of Bones," where, in the course of the confrontations between Carthage and Syracuse, the Carthaginians abandoned some rebel soldiers to their sad fate: they starved to death. Their dead bodies transformed the island into a collection of bones, and hence the toponym (Diod. Sic. 5.8). As a symbol inscribed on the landscape of the violence of Carthage against its own soldiers, the island–cemetery expresses sterility and death, as opposed to the landscape made verdant by the presence of the Greeks. Accordingly, an extremely strong bond exists between the landscape and the cultural identity of those who forge it (Cardete del Olmo 2010), whether this may be a matter of natural landscape or of a constructed landscape.

Nevertheless, it is absolutely necessary to distinguish between the historiographical construction of the *Greek* sources, in particular Diodorus, who came from Sicily, therefore powerfully hostile to the Phoenicians and the Punic people, and the realities on the ground. Thus, if the myth, notably recounted by Diodorus (4.23.2), makes Eryx an indigenous prince, son of Aphrodite, conquered by Herakles whom he had unfortunately opposed, the facts on the ground, so to speak, show that Eryx exhibited a deep interpenetration of layers: indigenous, Greek, Punic, and later Roman. It is, therefore, a totally mixed landscape. In general, however, the myth of Herakles, with its countless heraclid affiliations, in Syracuse, Herakleia, Eryx, but also Mozia, serves to support discourses of legitimation that, even as it put them into hierarchical order, nevertheless closely associated both the indigenous *ethne* (ethnic groups) and the colonial *ethne* installed on the island (Anello, Martorana, and Sammartano 2006). As far as the construction or perception of identity is concerned, one could say that the Greek sources have privileged a

scenario that places most emphasis on cleavage. The absence of Punic sources prevents us from having access to the other side of the mirror, but the material culture has the advantage of bringing a balance to our perspective on historical contexts, so that they often appear mixed, governed by the logic of diffusion and exchange.

Greeks and Phoenicians in the Rest of the Western Mediterranean

It has long been customary to think that the mobility of the Phoenicians in the Mediterranean in no way corresponded to the same logic as applied to the Greeks in their regions. The Greeks had a tendency to "make the land," while the Phoenicians, with some exceptions (such as Carthage and Cadiz) placed themselves in locations "between land and sea," with maritime commerce as their major objective. That said, it would be wrong to schematize too much, and recent studies (Van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard 2008) show that the Phoenicians and Punic people were equally interested in rural areas and their resources. Furthermore, as in Sicily, the question of ethnicity compels us to take into account a number of factors. Besides the two composite ethnicities of Greek and Phoenician, there are multiple realities: Attic Greeks, Greeks from the Peloponnese, from Asia Minor, from Euboia, and so forth, just as there Phoenicians from Tyre and elsewhere, Phoenicians from Carthage, and so forth. And, finally, the indigenous population too was not a single, undifferentiated reality.

Not far from Sicily, on the island of Malta, the Phoenician presence is attested early, but it hardly competes with the Greek. One finds here an interesting overlap between the indigenous levels and the levels of Phoenician occupation, much as in the necropolis and sanctuaries, as is the case at Tas Silg, where the sanctuary of Ashtart lies over the indigenous megalithic structures (Vella 1999).

On the Tyrrhenian coast of Italy, two emblematic cases deserve attention. On the island of Ischia, not far from Cumae, at Pithekoussai, the excavations of of G. Buchner have revealed the existence of a mixed community installed in a sort of artisanal and commercial trading post founded by the Greeks a little before or after Cumae. Extremely interesting objects have turned up in thousands of archaic tombs and some sectors of habitation. In the tombs, inhumation and incineration both took place, and the funerary objects include both Greek and eastern (Phoenician and Egyptian) pieces. These alone are not enough to point to intermarriage within the population, but a healthy local industry producing Phoenician amphoras (besides Greek amphoras), as well as the presence of Semitic graffiti (Aramaean? Phoenician?) in funerary contexts invite us to think that a minority of merchants and artisans originally from Phoenicia installed themselves at Pithekoussai. They preserved, above all, in symbolically charged situations, such as the passage from life to death, certain ancestral practices, even as they participated in the blending of their communities through marriage.

The case of Pyrgi is no less interesting, as is clear from the bilingual Etruscan and Punic inscriptions that figure on three pieces of gold foil, the so-called Pyrgi lamellae (*KAI* 277) found between the two principal sanctuaries of the maritime trading post of Caere. These

show the capacity of merchants originally from Carthage to interact with local authorities. Indeed, the king of Caere, Tefarie Velianas, conducted, in around 500 BC, rites in honor of Ashtart, rendered into Etruscan by the theonym Uni, according to typical Phoenician practice. Commercial needs, it seems, prompted the dynamics of "the middle ground," which in turn generated complex and blended perceptions and representations of identity. Whether one is dealing with Sicily, Sardinia, or Spain, one can see local élites, who surely controlled access to the raw materials desired by Phoenicians and Punic people (metals in particular), employing strategies of social distinction that involve the display of objects or "exotic" practices, deemed the most refined and prestigious. Following the work of Marshall Sahlins (see, especially, Sahlins 1995), we should no longer think of the indigenes renouncing their native culture: quite the opposite, whenever ideas or objects are introduced from outside, once they have been domesticated or indigenized, they contribute to the development of local cultures.

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CHAPTER 23

Herodotus and Ethnicity

Rosaria Vignolo Munson

Introduction

Today we widely recognize that the concept of "ethnicity" involves juggling competing fictions (Barth 1969, Murray 2002). In my part of Europe, and at the time when I was growing up, no group membership counted except the family and the state as a territorial and political unit. Italy is a nation that was for centuries colonized, overrun, or conquered by every group imaginable, a country composed of communities that were mutually autonomous until less than 150 years ago and are now rival cities and regions—not to mention the major North and South cultural clash. There, nevertheless, the essentialist fiction lives on that all Italians are the same, white, from an Italian-speaking parentage, and from a Catholic or Jewish background (Smith 1986: 61, Böckler 1997). This causes problems in view of the increasing influx of immigrants in the last 40 years, but, on the other hand, a serious discourse about internal ethnic subdivisions remains suspect, and often rightly so. Conversely, in other regions of the world that have more experience in recognizing their internal multi-ethnicity, fictions contribute to determining what counts for belonging to one group or another, or rather what counts most in different cases. Criteria of ethnicity include blood in the literal, scientific sense; physical appearance; "blood" in the narrative sense (a history of descending from a common ancestor); cultural traits, including language, traditions, and religion; and, finally, territorial habitation and provenance (Smith 1986, McInerney 2001, Isaac 2004, as well as, especially, the contributions by McInerney (Chapter 1) and Siapkas (Chapter 5) in this volume). Each of these becomes, in turn, overvalued or undervalued and combine in odd and contradictory ways.

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The Question of Blood

An individual's membership in an ethnic group represents a more or less explicit contract between a person's claims—his ethnic self-identity—and what the community or the communities involved are willing to accept. Sometimes, when a specific advantage is at stake, an official ratification of the contract becomes necessary on the basis of presumably objective proofs. On December 13, 2011, *The New York Times* reported on its first page that several Indian tribes in California had disenrolled about 2,500 of their members and were holding hearings on many more on the grounds of their not having the right bloodline. Companies that test DNA, archival researchers, and officials from the Bureau of Indian Affairs were mobilized for the purpose verifying tribal authenticity. Disenrolled members have a lot to lose: access to tribal schools, housing subsidies, scholarships, and other advantages financed by the flourishing casino industry.

In Herodotus, ethnicity becomes the object of an official hearing in the case of Alexander of Macedonia (for another instance, at 2.18, see the following text). What was at stake was participation in the Olympic games, a privilege reserved for Greeks. Alexander documented his family's Hellenic heritage to the satisfaction of the committee of Hellenodikai in charge of the festival, although it is not at all clear on what basis he did so, nor do we have any independent evidence for the Olympic victory that Herodotus mentions (Hall 2002: 154–6, Patterson 2010: 171). The way in which Herodotus frames the issue is interesting, and the passage should be quoted in full (5.22.1–2):

> That these who descend from Perdiccas are Greek, as they themselves say, I myself happen to believe/know that it is so, and indeed I will show that they are Greek in later *logoi* (αὐτός τε οὕτω τυγχάνω ἐπιστάμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὄπισθε λόγοισι ἀποδέξω ὡς εἰσὶ Ἕλληνες), and moreover the Hellenodikai who at Olympia administer the games recognized (ἔγνωσαν) this to be the case. For when Alexander chose to compete and came down for that purpose, those of the Greeks who were going to run against him tried to prevent him, saying that the competition was not for barbarians but for Greek athletes. But after he showed (ἀπέδεξε) that he was an Argive, Alexander was judged (ἐκρίθη) to be Greek and he proceeded to compete in the foot race, tying for first place.

The Olympic committee's verdict amounts to a speech act: the officials have declared the Macedonian kings Greek and therefore they are Greek, and the case is closed by law. Herodotus' discourse is here comparable to that which he employs when he identifies Ephialtes as the traitor of Thermopylae on the basis of the judicial decision of another panhellenic body, the Amphictyons of Delphi, who convicted Ephialtes and not any of the other individuals who were plausibly named in conflicting reports (7.214.1). However, there is a difference, because in the case of the Macedonian kings, Herodotus also says that he is personally convinced (ἐπιστάμενος) that they are Greek and promises to set the case forth later on (5.22.1). The verb ἀποδέξω is part of Herodotus' vocabulary of proof (Thomas 2000: 163–212, 221–3), and promises that Herodotus will present some evidence, presumably the same sort of evidence by which Alexander himself at Olympia demonstrated (ἀπέδεξε, 5.22.2) that he was Argive by blood.

Alexander, at any rate, somehow persuaded the committee that he was Greek by descent. Descent, or being "of the same blood" (ὅμαιμον), is a basic criterion of Greekness, the first in a list given by the Athenians in a famous passage (8.144.2) in which they explain to the Spartans the reasons that compel them to resist Persia. Paramount among them is "… the fact of being Greek, which means being of the same blood and language, and having common shrines of the gods and sacrifices, and similar values" (… τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ἐὸν ὅμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον, καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἤθεά τε ὁμότροπα …). Coincidentally, only a few pages before this speech, Herodotus has returned, as he had promised at 5.22.1, to the topic of the origin of the Macedonian royal house (8.137–9). Here, however, Herodotus is mainly concerned with the tradition according to which, seven generations earlier, Alexander's ancestor, Perdiccas, won the kingship of Macedonia after he and his brothers had been exiled from their native Argos. On the topic of ancestry, he only states that this Perdiccas was descended from the Heraclid Temenos, without adding anything in the way of evidence, testimony, or argument. He gives the line of descent from Perdiccas to Alexander (139), but does not trace the intervening genealogy from Temenos to Perdiccas. This may not be surprising, except that the issue is dismissed more casually than the passage in Book 5 might have led us to expect. Why is that?

Ethnicity among the Greeks

The answer to that question and the means for better understanding Herodotus' overarching ideological purposes are no doubt embedded in those passages where Herodotus does in fact underscore the difficulties of delineating ethnicity. Let us take the case of the Macedonian kings as the dividing line between Greeks and non-Greeks and examine Herodotus' views on ethnicity on either side of that line, first within the Greek world and then among barbarian peoples. The definition of Greekness provided at 8.144.2 has been assiduously analyzed by modern scholars and subjected to all sorts of qualifications (Polinskaya 2010). According to Jonathan Hall (1997: 44–5, 2002: 190–1), it represents an innovation by Herodotus himself, because it emphasizes the cultural aspects of ethnicity side by side the more traditional criterion represented by kinship. Others have pointed out, however, that it cannot automatically be taken as Herodotus' own thought, since it occurs in a speech—and moreover in a speech within an ironical context (Thomas 2001: 214–25). Here, the Athenians vow to the Spartans that they will never accept the Persian offer to sign a separate peace treaty because, among other things, they would never betray their common Greekness, defined in the way we have seen. Yet, only a few pages later, they declare themselves ready to negotiate with the king and even march against their fellow Greeks if that alliance should so require (9.11.2)—a turnaround that would have no doubt reminded Herodotus' audiences of how Athens changed from savior to oppressor after the Persian Wars (Fornara 1971: 84–7). Hence, on the one hand, Herodotus signals that the fiction of a "united Greece" represents only a half-truth—one of the many we hear voiced by Herodotean speakers. On the other hand, the fact that he is here unmasking the connection the Athenians assume between

ethnic identity ("we are all Greeks") and political solidarity ("we will fight on your side") does not entirely undermine the definition itself. The "package" consisting of blood, language, religious cult, and customs would have appeared reasonable and empirical to most people. We still use these diacritical signs in our modern discussions of ethnicity (see the preceding text). Other factors, such as territory and physical characteristics, are only mentioned by Herodotus in special cases (2.18, 3.16, 3.20, 2.104.2, 4.108–109; see the following text), and are not at any rate generally suitable for distinguishing Greek from non-Greek. The lands on the far side of the Black Sea, for example, may be inhabited by Scythians, but also by Greek colonists.

Herodotus never disputes the existence of "we the Greeks," nor does he undervalue the emotional impact of such a category. He does, however, subject proclaimed criteria of ethnicity to a critical analysis. If we look especially at the issue of "blood" or kinship, we notice that, unlike the Athenians in Book 8, he does not appear particularly interested in emphasizing the importance of the common origin of the Greeks. The term ὁμαίμους/ὁμαίμονες ("of the same blood") occurs only two other times in the *Histories*. Aristagoras, a famously unreliable speaker, urges the mainland Greeks to come to the aid of the Ionians, who are of their same blood; since he addresses this argument to the Spartans (5.49.3) before giving a modified version of the same speech to the Athenians (5.97.1–2), Aristagoras is here referring to the common ancestry of the Greeks across the Ionian–Dorian divide, as the Athenians do in Book 8. In a more restricted sense and in his own voice, Herodotus draws attention to the consanguinity between two Aeolian cities of Lesbos when he says that the inhabitants of Methymna enslaved those of Arisba "who [or 'although they'] were their kin" (1.151.2). Thus, as in the Athenian speech at 8.144, words connoting shared blood appear in contexts that draw attention to their affective force, but that at the same time also undermine an assumed connection between ancestry and behavior and, in particular, between kinship and political solidarity. If one considers the state of discord that existed among the Greeks in Herodotus' times, that is no surprise. (Incidentally, Herodotus is equally skeptical about the unifying effect of marriage alliances or blood ties within the family as we see, for example, at 1.61.1–2 and 1.75.1.)

More interesting for our purposes are several passages that contest the very idea of the "common blood" of the Greeks and rather point out their internal ethnic fragmentation. In his digression on the origins of Spartans and Athenians as the most powerful of the Greeks in Croesus' time, for example (1.56–58), Herodotus would have had the option of mentioning their common descent from Hellen who, according to the canonical genealogy, was the eponymous ancestor of all the Hellenes, especially Dorians, Ionians, and Aeolians (Hesiod, fr. 9 Merkelbach/West; see Hall 1997: 42–3, 48–51).

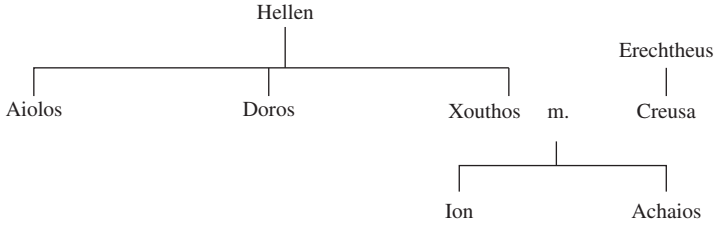


Figure 23.1 The Genealogy of the Hellenes.

He does nothing of the sort, however, but instead formulates an elaborate argument designed to establish the ethnic opposition between the two groups (McNeal 1985, Sourvinou-Inwood 2003). On the one hand, he says, the Spartans are Dorians and of Hellenic stock. By contrast, the Athenians, who are Ionians, descend from the Pelasgians. The latter, as Herodotus explains, were non-Greeks. This time, different from the case of the Greekness of Macedonian kings, he adds what he evidently regards as real proof (1.57.1–3):

> What language the Pelasgians spoke, I cannot exactly say; but if one must state it on the basis of inference (εἰ δὲ χρεόν ἐστι τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν) … the Pelasgians were speakers of a non-Greek language. If therefore this is the case with the Pelasgians, the Attic people, being Pelasgian, at the same time as its transformation into Greeks, also learned a different language. And, as a matter of fact, neither the people of Creston nor those of Plakia [i.e., Pelasgians who now live in Thrace] speak the same language as any of their current neighbors, but they speak the same language as each other, and show that moving to those places [which they now inhabit] they have kept the same type of language.

Herodotus, of course, is confronting genealogical traditions that are, to begin with, far from being politically innocent. The Athenians had considered themselves Ionian since at least the early sixth century (see Solon fr. 4 Diehl = Arist. *AP* 5), but by Herodotus' times they had ceased to embrace that identity and, as Herodotus says elsewhere, did not like being called Ionians (1.143.3). In genealogical terms, this means that they underplayed their descent from Ion and emphasized instead their derivation from Erechtheus (see Hdt. 8.55 and cf. *Iliad* 2.547–48). The ideological reasons for this change of narratives, which may have started in the time of Cleisthenes, had partly to do with the Athenians' desire to distinguish themselves from the Ionians of Asia and the islands, many of whom had been subject to Persia and were now subject to the Athenians themselves (Hall 1997: 53–6). Moreover, the myth of Athenian descent from Erechtheus "the Earth-born," by some strange metaphorical identification between people and king, resulted in the notion that the Athenian people as a whole were earth-born (for the irrational nature of claims of autochthony elsewhere in Greece, see Chapter 16 by James Roy in this volume). The myth of Athenian autochthony, in contrast with the Panhellenic views that Herodotus' Athenians express at 8.144, helped to promote the idea of Athenian exceptionalism vis-à-vis every other group of Greeks, and especially the Dorians (the bibliography on the Athenian myth of autochthony is extensive, but see, especially, Rosivach 1987; Connor 1993; Loraux 1993: 37–71; Shapiro 1998; Hall 2002: 203–4; Isaac 2004: 114–24; Pelling 2009).

For Herodotus, the Athenians are Ionians (1.56.2), although at 8.44.2 he mentions Ion not as an ancestor, but as a commander of the army after whom the Athenian Pelasgians (who were first called Kranaoi and then Kekropids) finally named themselves Ionians—name changes that in themselves testify to changes in narratives. In his digression on Spartans and Athenians, Herodotus emphasizes the Pelasgian ancestry in a way that confirms, in historical and primordialistic terms, the newly popular Athenian myth of autochthony, while at the same time bringing it to its ultimate conclusion with syllogistic rigor: if the Athenians are indigenous to Attica, since Greece was once inhabited by Pelasgians, the Athenians were originally Pelasgians who, as Herodotus, at any rate, argues in this passage, were non-Greeks (on the diversity of Greek traditions on the ethnicity of the Pelasgians, see Sourvinou-Inwood 2003). The Athenians, therefore, descend from a

non-Greek stock, in contrast to the Dorians, who were the original Greek-speakers and newcomers to the Peloponnese. In other words, one cannot have everything, or to put it in the politically resonant terms that Herodotus attributes to Solon in his speech to Croesus, "no country is entirely self-contained (*autarkês*)" (1.32.8). Those who have the right to claim that they are true Greeks are interlopers, just as those who take pride in being natives must also accept their non-Greek origin. The passage is subversive, as R. Thomas rightly saw (2000: 216, 2001: 224). However, we should notice that it conveys no contempt: the union of the primordial Greeks (i.e., "the Hellenic race" [τὸ … Ἑλληνικόν] in the passage quoted in the following text) and the Pelasgians of Attica was a good thing. Each group was by itself of lesser account, while the resulting Greek nation (i.e., again, τὸ … Ἑλληνικόν), as the implied subject of "has grown" [αὔξηται], and now used in the same contemporary sense as at 8.144.2) has grown in strength with the addition of a multitude of peoples. In Herodotus' view, all present-day Greeks, aside from the Dorians, were originally "Pelasgians" (Sourvinou-Inwood 2003: 121):

> On the other hand the Hellenic race (τὸ … Ἑλληνικόν, meaning the Dorians) has always used the same language (γλώσσῃ) from when it came into existence, as it seems to me to be the case. But being weak when separate from the Pelasgians, tracing its beginning from something small, it (sc. τὸ … Ἑλληνικόν, here meaning the Greek nation as a whole) has grown to a plenitude of peoples, especially after many <Pelasgians> and other barbarian nations have joined it; in addition to which, it seems to me, no Pelasgian ethnic group that is non-Greek has anywhere grown to be great. (1.58)

In the process of acculturation by which, according to Herodotus, the Pelasgians of Attica became Greek, language played a major role: "they became Greek at the same time as they changed their language (γλῶσσαν) and learned to speak Greek" (1.57.1). Here, Herodotus refers to a single Greek language that eventually unifies the Greek *ethnos*, precisely as in the Athenians definition of Greekness at 8.144.2. Elsewhere, however, Herodotus discusses the linguistic situation in his own times to suggest, once again, internal ethnic subdivisions within the Greek nation. At 1.142.2–4, he declares that the 12 Ionians cities of Panionion, which share a common sanctuary, do not speak the same language at all (γλῶσσα), but four different dialects (τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων). The inhabitants of the Ionian cities located in Caria "speak to one another in the same way" (κατὰ ταὐτὰ διαλεγόμεναι σφίσι), but those in Lydia, while sharing the same speech with one another (ὁμοφωνέουσι), speak in a completely different way (ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ γλῶσσαν οὐδέν); Chios and Erythrae speak the same language (κατὰ τὠυτὸ διαλέγονται), but the Samians are on their own (ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν μοῦνοι). Even if one considers that ancient Greek terminology did not sharply distinguish between "language" and "dialect" (Morpurgo Davis 1987), Herodotus' insistence on diversity of speech precisely within the most cohesive league of Ionians is remarkable (Munson 2005). It goes hand in hand with Herodotus' criticism of the contemporary claim by the same Ionians of Panionion that they constituted a unified block with a purer Ionian bloodline (1.146.1):

> Because [to say] that these (i.e., the Ionians of Panionion) are more Ionian than the other Ionians or that they are somewhat better born (κάλλιόν τι γεγόνασι) is pure idiocy. Not the

> least of their number are Abantes from Euboea, who do not even share in the name "Ionian"; Minyans from Orchomenos are mixed in with them (σφι ἀναμεμίχαται); and Cadmaeans, Dryopians, a contingent of Phocaeans, Molossians, Pelasgians from Arcadia, Dorians from Epidauros, and many other ethnic groups are mixed in (ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ ἀναμεμίχαται).

The Ionians of Panionion have an exclusive league of precisely 12 cities in Asia not because they are more Ionian than the other Ionians, says Herodotus, but simply because, before their migration, when they lived in the Peloponnese, they were subdivided into 12 territories (1.145). Ethnic fusion, moreover, continued after the Ionians arrived in Asia:

> Those who started from the Prytaneion in Athens and who believe they are the best-born (γενναιότατοι) of the Ionians did not bring wives with them to the colony, but they took Carian women whose parents they killed. (1.146.2)

As a result of that murder, Milesian women established the custom, handed down from mother to daughter and confirmed by oath, never to eat in the company of their husbands or address them by name (1.146.3). Moreover, the Ionians were ruled by non-Greek elites descending from the Lycian Glaucus or the Cauconian Codrus (1.147.1). Nevertheless, concludes Herodotus, "since they are more attached to the name than the other Ionians, let them stand as '*the* pure-born' Ionians" (Ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται τοῦ οὐνόματος μᾶλλόν τι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων, ἔστωσαν δὴ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες Ἴωνες) (1.147.1).

After Herodotus has accumulated evidence of the hybridity of the Ionians, his final concession to their subjective ethnic identity parallels his qualified acceptance of the names of the continents (4.45.5). In this passage, he concludes his discussion of both the conventional names and the entire representation of the earth, replete with subdivisions and made canonical by Ionian geographers, with the observation that none of this matches reality; he dismisses these accounts with expressions such as "I laugh" (γελῶ) at 4.36.2 and "I have no idea why" (οὐδ' ἔχω συμβαλέσθαι ἐπ' ὅτεο) at 4.45.2, roughly corresponding to his dismissive phrase "great idiocy" (μωρίη πολλή), at 1.146.1. On the subject of their ethnic claims, however, Herodotus turns the Ionians' cultural code against them with a harsher ironical effect. The aberrant *nomos* by which the Milesian women keep their distance from their men represents an enduring sign that the Ionians are wrong on two counts: besides being ethnically hybrid, they are also far from "purely born" (καθαρῶς γεγονότες) in a moral and religious sense (McInerney 2001: 58).

Mixed Breeds

Herodotus' polemic against "the fictive quality of Ionian ethnic identity" (McInerney 2001: 59) encourages us to consider the ethnicity of Herodotus, who was himself an Asiatic Greek (Thomas 2001: 227–8, Kurke 2010: 391–7). His native Halicarnassus was founded at the end of the heroic age by colonists from Troezen, and its citizens continued to consider themselves Dorian (7.99.3). However, fifth-century inscriptions indicate that Ionic was the language commonly used (Meiggs and Lewis 1969, no. 32 = Fornara, no. 70 (=Tod 45); cf. Tod 46; Hornblower 1982: 14–8). The city was expelled from the Dorian league of Triopion on account of an old religious infraction, according

to Herodotus (1.144). The real reason may have been that it was not sufficiently Dorian (How and Wells 1936: I.121). Its diverse population included Persians, Lydians, and especially Carians (the Lydians had been close to the Carians at least since the time of Croesus; see Hdt 1.92.3). The occurrence of Carian names (Pisindelis) as well as Greek (Artemisia) in the dynasty that ruled Halicarnassus until the middle of the fifth century suggests intermarriage, as do the names of Herodotus' parents given by the biographical tradition, Lyxus and Dryo or Rhoio. The name of another relative of Herodotus, Panyassis, is also non-Greek (Suda s.v. Ἡρόδοτος; s.v. Πανύασις; Matthews 1974: 6). Plutarch, who finds Herodotus' denunciation of Ionic "purity" offensive (*De Malig. Herodot.* 19–20/859 a–b), in turn insinuates more than once that Herodotus himself, as an Halicarnassian, was of mixed blood (Kurke 2010: 391–2, especially on *De Malig. Herodot.* 35/868a and 39/871a).

Herodotus' first-hand familiarity with ethnic diversity and perhaps his own mixed background arguably help to explain his pluralistic outlook as an historian as well as his attitude toward issues of "blood," birth, and genealogy. Unlike Hecataeus, talking to the Egyptian priests, he did not (could not?) claim descent from a Greek god as the ultimate guarantee of Greek nobility of birth (εὐγένεια) (2.143). On the other hand, as he shows multiple times, nobody can. Hence, the genealogy of the Heraclid kings of Sparta on one side of the family has to stop at Perseus because only a god, Zeus, is mentioned as Perseus' father. If one does what one can and follows the human line—that of Perseus' mother, Danae—it turns out that the Spartan kings are Egyptians by direct descent ("true-born," [ἰθαγενέες], 6.53.2). Herodotus calls Thales of Miletus a "Phoenician from way back" (1.170.3). He is unable to tell precisely the ancestry of the Athenian Isagoras, but knows that his family sacrifices to Carian Zeus (5.66.1). And, regarding the Gephyraeans, the family of the famed Athenian tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogeiton, Herodotus says that, although they claim to have come from Eretria, he "has discovered through inquiry that they were actually descended from Phoenicians, part of those who came with Cadmos to the land now called Boeotia" (5.57.1) (on ancient Greek ideas about hybridity, see also Chapter 8 by Gary Reger in this volume).

The Ethnicity of Non-Greeks

To return to the case of contested ethnicity with which we have begun our discussion (5.22), Alexander of Macedon is a monarch at the margins of the Greek world of the *polis*. He rules over a population that most of Herodotus' contemporaries regarded as non-Greek (Hall 2001). He has contracted a marriage alliance with the Persians (5.21.2) and, if one wants to relate ethnicity and behavior, as the Athenians do at 8.144.2, his allegiance to the Greek cause is dubious, to say the least (Badian 1994). Why would Herodotus, who is fond of hybridity and often points out hybrid strands in the ancestry of Greek individuals or families, let him off so easily, accepting without condition his claim to be Greek? These are, I would suggest, all facets of the same ideological prism: self-proclaimed pure Greeks are not as Greek as all that, while controversial Greeks are Greek. Moreover, non-Greeks are often related to Greeks.

If we examine Herodotus' discussions of ancestry on the barbarian side of the Greek–barbarian boundary line marked by Alexander, we notice in fact that they frequently

serve to establish ethnic links between barbarians and Greeks. The Iapygian–Messapians are originally Cretans, just as the Cretans in Crete are a mixed population overlaid with Greeks and non-Greeks (7.170.2, 171). In the East, the Heraclids of Lydia descended from Heracles, as did Ninus, the founder of the Assyrian Empire, and Belus, who is traditionally connected with Babylon (1.7.1–2). The dynasties of Lower and Upper Asia are therefore presented as sharing their origins with the Spartan kings, the other Heraclids of the Peloponnese, and the Argeads of Macedonia (Vannicelli 2001).

Herodotus shows that ethnic roots are more obscure or complicated than traditions represent them to be, and people are often misleading or mistaken even on the subject of their own heritage. His purpose, however, is to explore constructed connections and boundaries, not merely to correct the historical record, so he uses all the material at hand. The Carians, for example, claim that they are autochthonous to Asia, and that they always had the same name, even though Herodotus believes the Cretan version, according to which the Carians used to inhabit the Aegean islands and were called Leleges (1.171). Similarly, he expresses the opinion that the Scythians were Asiatic nomads who were driven by the Massagetae to the territory previously inhabited by the Cimmerians (4.11), but he also reports the story of autochthony that the Scythians tell about themselves as descendants from Targitaos, whom a daughter of their local river god, Borysthenes, bore to Zeus (4.5). He even includes a tradition handed down by the Black Sea Greeks, that the Scythians' eponymous ancestor was Scythes, son of a local snake-maiden and Heracles (4.8–10, esp. 10.2–3). The *mixoparthenos* of this kinship myth is an embodiment of hybridity to begin with, while the Heraclid descent adds a blood connection to the Greeks, even though it represents the fiction of outsiders. Herodotus also tells us about the ethnogenesis of the Sauromatae, born from Scythians and Amazons (4.110–17), and about the mixed ethnicity of the Geloni, who inhabit the territory of the Scythian Budini, but were descended from Greek traders (4.108.1–109). The common themes of these various passages are uncertain origins, hybridity, unstable boundaries, and internal ethnic differentiation. Taken together, these go well beyond the generalized and stereotypical notions of what the Greeks would call, for example, "Scythian." Here, somewhat as in his discussions of what is "Hellenic" or "Ionian," Herodotus both invokes historical research and exploits more or less fantastic or more or less ideologically dishonest traditions as part of his comprehensive project: to separate what current knowledge lumps together and to tie together what is kept apart.

Custom King of All

The identification of a people's real ancestral roots depends on establishing a reliable narrative about the remote past. Cultural practices and attitudes, on the other hand, do not need to be reconstructed: they are verifiable in the present. They show the same degree of fluidity and variation as kinship narratives, but they do so in a more concrete way. All the Greeks participate in the Olympic games, but only Ionians celebrate the Apaturia, although there are also Ionians who no longer do so because of a crime (1.147.2); similarly, it was the violation of a religious custom that determined the exclusion of Halicarnassus from the sanctuary of Triopion (1.144). When the Macedonian kings were

declared Greek, they were admitted to the Olympic games. When the oracle of Ammon decreed that two borderline cities were Egyptian, their inhabitants conformed to Egyptian religious rules (2.18). The half-Greek Geloni worship Greek divinities, including Dionysus—a god despised by the Scythians—and have sanctuaries with statues, altars, and temples in the Greek manner, except that they are all made of wood (4.108.2). These practices, other than their physical differences from the red-haired, blue-eyed Budini next door, are empirical indices of their mixed heritage (4.108–109). The most reliable evidence for the Egyptian origin of the Colchians is not so much their historical memory (not reciprocated on the Egyptian side), nor is the fact that they have dark skin and curly hair ("since other peoples have these characteristics"), but their custom of circumcision, which they only share with Egyptians and Ethiopians (2.104.1–2). The Sauromatae speak pigeon-Scythian and live differently from the Scythians because their women ride, hunt, and fight dressed like the men in the tradition of their Amazon ancestresses (4.116.2–117). The Massagetae share certain practices with the Scythians and are easily confused with them, but are not Scythian: in fact, they have marriage and funeral customs all of their own (1.216.1–3). Throughout the *Histories*, an *ethnos* is what it is—and expresses different degrees of separation and belonging to other groupings—primarily by virtue of its culture.

Herodotus' notion of culture (*customs and laws* ἤθεά τε καὶ νόμοι, 2.35.2) includes a common history and the stories that members of a society tell about themselves. As with their practices, prescriptions, and prohibitions (strictly speaking, νόμοι, although Herodotus' uses this term also in a broader sense), these stem from their shared values and *mentalité* (ἤθεα), which represent the last of the criteria of ethnicity mentioned by the Athenians at 8.144.2. The Persian ethnography, for example, is introduced with the sentence: "I know that the Persians have the following customs" (1.131.1), where "I know" (οἶδα) defines the area of maximum certainty of what is the case, and "customs" (νόμοισι) points to practices but also includes, as we discover when we read the entire ethnography, fragments of the Persians' worldview (their ἤθεα)—the shape they attribute to the gods, their definition of courage, their notions of what is appropriate or inappropriate, and all the other strong opinions Herodotus seems to have learned through virtual or actual conversations with unnamed Persians (Munson 2009). Culture, including material culture, may not have a prominent place in some modern definitions of ethnicity (on the issue, see Chapter 3 by Bernard Knapp and Chapter 5 by Johannes Siapkas in this volume, and cf. Antonaccio 2010: 37–8). In Herodotus, however, it represents a fundamental ethnic identifier.

Scholars have often misunderstood Herodotus' ethnographic present. It signals not so much that cultural traits are timeless, but rather that they belong to the sphere of what is present and verifiable: an ethnographic description presents data that are, to some extent, provisional and in need of continuous updating, especially in the case of societies that Herodotus represents as engaged in history. Cultural traits may help to explain political actions, but they are themselves subject to mutation, borrowing, and obsolescence, and are continually reshaped over time by historical events and experiences, sometimes in unexpected ways (5.9). To take once again the Persian ethnography as an example, Herodotus here describes what A. Smith would call an "aristocratic lateral *ethnie*" that

has been materially and ideologically transformed—even partially formed—by geopolitical factors (see 1.71.2–4).

When we recognize that Herodotus regards customs as the main criterion of ethnic identity, two issues come to the fore that I would like to reformulate and set aside. The first is the extent to which Herodotus' description of different practices is the product of a predetermined framework of Greek assumptions and values—what structuralists call a cultural "grid." Important work has been done on this topic (Rosellini and Saïd 1978, Hartog [1980]1988, Redfield 1985), but for the purposes of the present discussion, let us stipulate that Herodotus saw and heard about different ways of doing things—eating, sacrificing, burying the dead, and so on—and wrote them down, learning from his ethnographic subjects rather than inventing them (Moyer 2002). Let us also stipulate that there is always a grid, and that replacing his with our own is not always the best interpretive solution.

We also need to move beyond the issue of whether Herodotus' description of cultural difference is or is not a discourse about the superiority of Greeks over barbarians. Herodotus' own ethnocentrism, such as it is, cannot at any rate be separated from his formulation of the principle of universal ethnocentrism (1.134.2, 2.91.1, 2.158.5, 3.38.4, 4.76.1). Cultural difference remains an incontrovertible fact, regardless of how Herodotus or we, bound as we are by the prison of our own culture, represent or interpret it. Herodotus' goal is to display the limits, range, and effects of cultural difference. In doing so, he takes every opportunity to point out unsuspected similarities, equivalences, and connections among different societies (Munson 2001, 2005). However, he also shows that, to the extent that culture defines the identity of an *ethnos* ("The Lydians … Babylonians … Egyptians, etc. have the following customs"), it also constitutes, in many cases, the principal area of divisiveness and mutual contempt among *ethnea*.

Herodotus' most effective practical lesson on the subject of this kind of ethnic incompatibility is perhaps represented by his two case studies of Anacharsis and Scyles embedded in the Scythian logos of Book 4. These are uniquely interesting for us, because they represent the porous nature of cultural boundaries and the experience of finding the stranger in our midst. In the first narrative of this sequence, the Scythians turn against their well-traveled countryman Anacharsis when he celebrates the rites of the Great Mother, which he had learned in the Greek Hellespontine city of Cyzicus (4.76). The murder of Anacharsis comes through as a shocking case of cultural and religious intolerance, but Herodotus' second story, about Scyles (4.78–79), provides a thicker context for the same issue. Scyles is the son of the Scythian king and of a Greek woman from Istria who taught him to speak and read Greek. His mixed parentage (or his bilingualism) is not however a problem *per se*: when his father dies, no one seems to object to his inheriting both his wife and the Scythian throne. It is only when he crosses over culturally to the other side and begins to lead a double life in the nearby Greek city of Olbia, where he wears Greek clothes, builds himself a fancy house, and—especially—celebrates the rites of Dionysus, that he becomes a threat to the society whose values he is supposed to represent. As with Anacharsis, Scyles ends up killed by his own people, but this time Herodotus focalizes the story through the Scythians, who are disgusted and heartbroken

by their king's participation in the frenzied Bacchic rituals. It is ridiculous, they say, "to go and find a god who drives people mad" (4.79.3). The reason why Herodotus' Greek audiences, in this case, would have been able to identify with the contempt that foreigners have for one of their own Greek customs is that, although Dionysiac cult was traditional and integrated at a Panhellenic level (not to mention, as modern scholars know, historically ancient), the Greeks always articulated it as somewhat foreign and strange (see, e.g., Euripides, *Bacchae*). Herodotus himself testifies to this attitude when he says that the rites of Dionysus are, for the Greeks, a recent acquisition that is not entirely *consonant* (ὁμότροπα) with Greek ways (2.49).

Conclusion

What Herodotus teaches us through the case of Scyles, he expresses in general terms with the phrase "custom is king of all" (νόμος πάντων βασιλεύς), attached to a paradigmatic narrative that represents the disgust with which Greeks and Callatian Indians regard each other's funeral customs (3.38.4). Indeed, Herodotus' entire theory of ethnicity may be covered by this principle if we pay attention to its multiple meanings. Herodotus acculturates ancestry and shows that *nomoi*—in the sense of beliefs, shared history, practices, and institutions—are conservative but also changeable, so that what count are the differences that exist among societies at a given time. He accustoms his audiences to cultural difference, and bombards us with its specifics until we are forced to recognize its normalcy. However, at the same time, and this is my more important point, he also obliges us to deal with the challenges that difference entails. And they are these: members of any given society prefer their own customs to those of others and, indeed, may be even repelled by the customs of others. Even Herodotus gives himself permission to express dislike for foreign customs, while also making it clear that he is aware of the subjectivity and relativity of his opinion (2.64.1–2):

> Almost all other men in the world, except for Egyptians and Greeks, have sexual relations in temples and enter a temple after having sex without washing first, since they believe that human beings are like other animals . . . . This is how they explain what they do, but *I do not like it* (ἔμοιγε οὐκ ἀρεστά).

On the other hand, his absolute disapproval sometimes also needs to come into play, in the case of practices that are, in his view, objectively cruel or oppressive (1.199.1):

> The most shameful (αἴσχιστος) among Babylonian customs is this, that every local woman is obliged once in her life to go sit in the temple of Aphrodite and have sex with a strange man.

The distinction between unjustified and legitimate contempt remains controversial, but the way in which Herodotus has formulated the phenomenon in some ways anticipates modern attempts to reconcile relativism and universalism and the (utterly unresolved) problematic issue of what we would now call "cultural rights" versus "human rights" (Cowan, Dembour, and Wilson 2001).

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CHAPTER 24

Ethnicity and Representation

S. Rebecca Martin

Two qualities of Greek art relate it to this volume's overarching subject. First, Greek art is concerned with mimesis, often explicitly. Second, Greek art regularly thematizes binaries. A mimetic art interested in oppositions is linked easily to the articulation of sameness and difference that we think informs ethnicity. If ethnicity is something we can see and empirically measure, it follows that Greek art could represent it.

Determining an image's relationship with its object—the problem of representation—is, of course, a complex task. Some insist that representation is a fundamentally mimetic process dependent upon resemblance to a model (see Halliwell 2002). Others reject mimesis as necessary or even sufficient for representation, thereby claiming representation is an arbitrary act of denotation (Gombrich 1960; Goodman 1968; see also Frigg and Hunter 2010). In the mimetic and arbitrary views, an image refers to real models, even if abstracted, mediated, or twice removed, as in the Platonic understanding of art as a representation of only the phenomenological world (e.g., famously, in the *Republic*; cf. the distinction between copy and simulacrum in Deleuze 1983). A highly idealized or composite mimetic image has similarities to observed models in some fashion. So, too, does arbitrary representation denote real objects, even if it foregoes verisimilitude. Denotation's basic tools are the symbol and other visual conventions (Gombrich's "schemata"). Even when the image does not denote a real object but a fiction (Wollheim 1970: 535), what the image means to express is important. The difficulty of understanding artistic intentionality is a persistent problem of a Greek art that is largely anonymous and whose artists are very difficult to reconstruct (Palagia and Pollitt 1996). Viewer perception is equally important to some theories (Gombrich's, notably) and our study. Still another theory of representation follows literary Deconstruction, and challenges, complicates, or denies the idea of a straightforward original model (e.g., Derrida 1967; cf. Baudrillard's *Simulacra and Simulation*).

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Greek art may be explicitly engaged in this discussion: much of what is represented is mimetic in the "naturalistic" sense and comprehensible only through denotation or convention. The frequent use of anthropomorphic symbol and allegory is revealing (Smith 2011), as is our difficulty in agreeing on what is represented by works such as the Riace Warriors or the *Doryphoros*; the extent to which Attic portraits of Themistokles or Perikles differ conceptually from the Eponymous heroes; or how to understand the full spectrum of mimesis, from verisimilitude to the production of types and copies (we must remember also the most elusive genre, painting, which in the later classical era made illusionism one of the most important measures of *techne*; Pliny *HN* 35.67–72). While it is impossible to resolve here how Greek art approaches representation, it is nonetheless important to note that even a highly naturalistic image may have various relationships with its models—or no relationship at all.

Ethnicity is a still more elusive theory (Siapkas 2003, esp. 14). The key element to articulating ethnicity, however fluid its conception, is the expression of a common past. The tricky part of that open-ended definition is determining how broad or narrow a common past may be, what it means to share biological and social kinship, and how or how much ethnicity relies on the idea of a common land (Jones 1997; McInerney 1999, especially 8–39; Malkin 2001; Hall 2002, especially 9–10; cf. Siapkas 2003: 198–206). To begin to understand the expression of ethnicity through representation, I will offer a very brief discussion of three related issues: ethnic subjects; ethnicity's relationship with style and iconography; and the roles representation plays in ethnocultural contact.

Ethnic Others: What Does Ethnicity Look Like?

An Attic red-figure plate signed by Epiktetos in 520–500 BC shows a foreign archer, one usually identified as a Skythian (see Figure 24.1; also, Beazley 1963: 78, 93; Ivantchik 2006). Already, in the late sixth century, the long-lapelled cap and patterned costume of the Skythian were generalized as an "Oriental" dress, sometimes extended to Amazons, occasionally also to Trojan Paris (common in the later fifth century and ubiquitous in the fourth), and soon would be extended to a variety of other characters (Raeck 1981; *LIMC* "Amazones," "Alexandros"; see also, on Amazons: Von Bothmer 1957; Boardman 1982; cf. Euphronios's krater of 510–500 BC showing Amazons dressed as hoplites and in patterned trousers, Arezzo, Museo Civico 1465; Woodford 1993, Figure 79 = *LIMC* "Amazones" no. 64; Paris: Castriota 1992: 106; cf. Hekabe's speech to Helen in the Trojan Women 981–997). The plate is a typical product of the late Archaic painter Epiktetos, its isolated, active figure in the tondo revealed slowly as wine or, here, food was consumed. The lithe, youthful archer in his patterned costume belongs to the hedonistic and transformative context of the symposion that Epiktetos favored (Boardman 1985: *passim* and, especially, 62, Figure 128; cf. Beazley 1963: 139–41). The archer is the kind of image that comes to mind as a representation of ethnicity: the stereotyping of Others by Greek, especially Athenian, artists.

Beth Cohen's edited volume *Not the Classical Ideal* (2000) made a significant contribution to the understanding of Otherness in the visual vocabulary of Athenians. The essay by Margaret Miller on "External Others" (413–42) is most relevant. Miller explored the comic story of Herakles and Bousiris: Herakles goes to Egypt, and the



Figure 24.1 "Skythian" archer on the inside of an Attic red-figure plate from Vulci of ca. 520–500. Inscription on either side of the figure "Epiktetos egraphsen." London, British Museum GR 1837.6–9.59. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

barbaric pharaoh attempts to sacrifice him to Egyptian gods, but the hero turns the tables. An Attic black-figure amphora of ca. 530, for example, shows Herakles using a priest to beat the pharaoh on his altar; the scene parodies representations of Astyanax and Priam (see Figure 24.2; *LIMC* "Bousiris" no. 10; see Miller in Cohen 2000: 422, n. 36; cf. an almost identical scene by the Persephone Painter of ca. 550 in London, British Museum B 205, Woodford 1993, Figure 101 = *LIMC* "Astyanax" 11; see also Woodford 1993: 110, Figure 103; Mitchell 2009: 171; Walsh 2009: 79–89). Miller uncovered two consistent and usual elements of the Archaic Bousiris myth. The first is its emphasis on violence, which is found elsewhere only in scenes showing Astyanax and another Trojan figure, Troilos (a shared theme of the violation of *xenia*, or hospitality, may be important). The second is the construction of a foreign context through the conventions of Egyptian pharaonic dress (the *uraeus*; examples including *LIMC* "Bousiris" nos. 7, 9, 29–30, and maybe 4) and, in a few instances, the linen *kalasiris* worn by the priests (mentioned in Herodotos 2.81; cf. *LIMC* "Bousiris" nos. 9, 16). In addition to occasional markers of dress are consistent "African" physiognomic markers: snub noses, fully and partially shaved heads, or coarse short hair. That



Figure 24.2 Herakles beating Bousiris with an Egyptian priest from an Attic black-figure amphora of ca. 530 attributed to the Swing Painter. Cincinnati, Cincinnati Art Museum 1959.1. Courtesy of Bridgeman Art Library International.

Bousiris was represented in opposition to Hellenic norms of dress, physiognomy, and behavior in the Archaic period challenges the normal aristocratic tendency to emphasize shared traits.

The myth's representation underwent changes in the early classical era, in which the Egyptian pharaoh evolved into a generalized tyrant (Miller in Cohen 2000: 429). Shortly before the middle of the fifth century, the Bousiris myth underwent more fascinating iconographic changes (it also became unpopular in Athens; of the approximately 23 vases showing the myth, only three post-date 460). In Figure 24.3 (Miller in Cohen 2000, Figures 16.8–9 = *LIMC* "Bousiris" no. 2), the story is shown at an earlier moment, when Herakles, still bound, is brought by priests (now in the *himation*) before an enthroned Bousiris (cf. the Attic pelike of ca. 460 *LIMC* "Bousiris" no. 1). Strikingly, Bousiris's throne sits on a dais, he holds a scepter, and he is dressed in a spotted garment over patterned trousers with soft, laced shoes. The "pharaoh" Bousiris is now represented as the Persian king (*LIMC* "Bousiris" illustrates four equally "Oriental" examples, all ca. 400 or later, nos. 3–4, 5–6 from Apulia and Lucania, respectively). What remains of the characters' Egyptian appearance is only physiognomic.



Figure 24.3 Priests bring Herakles before an enthroned Bousiris from an Attic red-figure cup from Vulci of ca. 450–440. Attributed to the Painter of Louvre G 465. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen F2534. Courtesy of Art Resource, New York.

To reflect on Miller's sophisticated (and here very truncated) argument: what had made the Bousiris story unusual in black figure was the visual emphasis on violence and the characters' foreign appearance when the norm was to show mythological aristocrats and most other figures (except archers; cf. Figure 24.1) as Greeks, using expository inscriptions and other visual conventions for clarity. In the fifth century, as foreign costume became more popular, generally, Athenian pot painters made conscious departures from visual tradition and what they believed to be accurate traits of Egyptian pharaohs and priests. If dress is a visual marker of ethnicity, then the Bousiris of Figure 24.3 is no longer an ethnic Egyptian—though he clearly is not a Persian, either. This paradox is usually reconciled as Otherness expressed broadly, Egyptian as barbarian and Herakles as Greek. As Bousiris lost his ethnic specificity to the Great King, the once humorous myth became a metaphor for the conflict with Persia (on symbol and allegory in antiquity, see, recently, Smith 2011). Miller sees the changes as nevertheless underscoring the importance of ethnicity in Athens, reflecting how a *polis* obsessed with Persians "distorted [ethnicity] into a concentrated Greek and Persian opposition in defiance of the rich patterns of reality" (in Cohen 2000: 441; cf. Miller 1997).

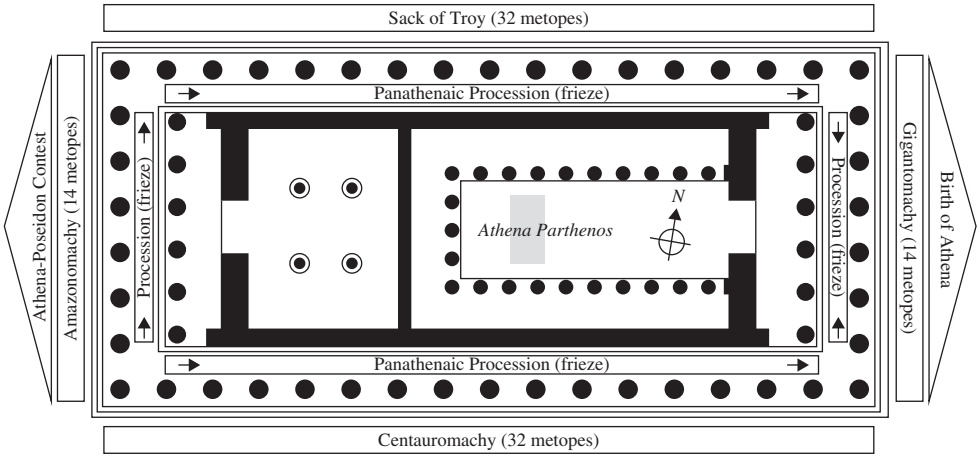


Figure 24.4 The plan and sculptural program of the Parthenon, 447–432 (after A. Stewart). Redrawn from Fred S. Kleiner, *Gardner's Art through the Ages*, 13th ed. © 2010 Wadsworth. Reproduced by permission of Cengage Learning, Inc.

Probably no Greco-Persian opposition metaphor is more frequently cited than the Parthenon sculptural program, the metopes in particular (see Figure 24.4; Stewart 1990: 150–60, Figures 317–71). The Parthenon's metopes wrapped the building in mythological conflict, from the Amazonomachy at west to the *Ilioupersis* (Sack of Troy) at north, the Gigantomachy at east, and the Centauromachy at south. All of those themes but the sack of Troy were repeated on the shield and sandals of the *Parthenos*. Altogether, they are read as an allegory of the Persian Wars in which Hellenic *sophrosyne* (temperance) triumphed over barbarian *hybris* (pride).

While the Parthenon program works on many levels, it is not a Panhellenic monument. The birth and contest of Athena appear on the west and east pediments; the Panathenaic procession fills the Ionic frieze; and Athenian themes are emphasized throughout by way of the goddess herself, the hometown hero Theseus, and the use of the Delian League's treasury to fund the project. It tells a story simultaneously congratulatory and aspirational, and, above all else, particular to Athens and Athenians. Moreover, the mood, while certainly triumphant and emphatic about victory (as the many Nikai throughout remind us), is not lacking in sobriety. Every scene of gods and myth shows or suggests struggle, *agon*.

The highly damaged *Ilioupersis* of the north metopes is, however, worth reconsideration. According to Gloria Ferrari Pinney (2000, following Schefold and Jung 1989), the *Ilioupersis* is frequently misread because of our tendency to see the entire monument in terms of ideological conflict (as Castriota 1992: 96–101, 165–74). Only two episodes are reasonably clear in the extremely damaged metopes. They are identified as the meeting of Menelaos and Helen (nos. 24–25; cf. Shapiro 2010, Figure 6) and the family of Aineias fleeing the ruined city (no. 28; Brommer 1967: 39–70, 210–21, pls. 85–144). The remaining central metopes probably showed the city's destruction unfolding, including the murders of Priam and Astyanax on the altar of Zeus Herkeios, the rape of Kassandra at the statue of Athena, and possibly the sacrifice of Polyxena to the ghost



Figure 24.5 *Ilioupersis* from the inside of an Attic red-figure cup of 500–490 signed by Euphronios as potter and attributed to Onesimos as painter. Rome, Villa Giulia 121110 (previously Malibu, Getty 83. AE. 362). Courtesy of Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Etruria Meridionale.

of Achilles, arranged in a temporal or thematic fashion (cf. Figure 24.5, the elaborate *Onesimos Cup* of 500–490; Anderson 1997: 234–45, Figure 8; Shapiro 2010, Figures 1–4 = *LIMC Ilioupersis* no. 7). In other words, the metopes showed pollution of sanctuaries; the massacre of suppliants; and corrupt, human sacrifice overlooking the temple of Athena destroyed brutally by the Persians. In this reading, the *Ilioupersis* foreshadows the destruction of Athens, the metopes functioning as a "paradigm of wrongful conquest" that encouraged Athenians to sympathize with Trojans, not Achaians, thanks to a shared outrage (Ferrari 2000: 139). Alan Shapiro (2010) has made a similar argument regarding the *Ilioupersis* in vase painting, one that emphasizes the potential for Athenian guilt in the destructions of Sardis (destroying Kybele's temple) and Miletos (not helping enough) that may have contributed to their inevitable punishment, the city's sack in 480. The Amazons' attempted sack of the Akropolis (Boardman 1982) could be read in a similar way.

The *Ilioupersis* does not present conflict as a one-sided cultural or ethnic dispute, an idea strengthened by the apparent lack of ethnic difference in the north metopes. In fact, no figures on the Parthenon metopes appear in "Oriental" costume (although some have seen trousers on the poorly preserved Amazons, called Persians by Brommer 1967: 191–5). The audience of the *Ilioupersis* is reminded that not only barbarians commit

barbarous acts (see Figure 24.5); the viewer can distinguish divine retribution, *nemesis*, and divine punishment in the form of delusion and reckless sin, *ate*. The variety of representations of the *Ilioupersis* in drama and art suggests that this discourse of conflict within the Hellenic character was part of its appeal (as seems to have been the case in Sophokles's plays: Anderson 1997: 174–6).

In visual art, from the famous Mykonos Pithos onward, there is a tendency to tell the story through the combination and juxtaposition of scenes that, as in drama, create complex internal correlations that extend beyond the particular myth (Robert 1881; Anderson 1997: 182–265). The *Ilioupersis* appeared in three wall paintings (in Olympia, Delphi, and Athens), in the decorative programs of four–five temples (in Athens, Argos, Akragas, and Epidauros), and, of course, on numerous mold-made and painted vases. In Attic pottery, the theme appears before the Persian Wars (eight examples in *LIMC Ilioupersis*), many of which seem to be responding to the sack of Miletos (as in Figure 24.5; see Shapiro 2010); in the generation following the wars (another nine examples); and then seems to stop almost completely (no examples from the second half of the fifth century and only one from the fourth). It is also popular in South Italian vase painting (Moret 1975).

A major theme of the *Ilioupersis* in drama and art is the unresolved problem of revenge as justice: the destruction of Troy is punishment for the Trojans' *hybris* and gross violations of *xenia* but is itself an act of sacrilege (one in which, significantly, the Athenians had no part). The placement of the scene on the north side of the Parthenon (Figure 24.4) invites Athenians, their Ionian subject–allies, and all other visitors to witness the juxtaposed destructions of the old Athena temple and the city of Troy, one laid deliberately bare by the temple's ruins (and maintaining the spirit of the Plataian Oath), and the others represented in the metopes. While Pinney's and Shapiro's intriguing theses remind us how the *Ilioupersis* complicates the *hybris–nemesis* cycle, there are important differences between these events. Troy's destruction resulted in the collapse of a civilization, while Athens's sack linked it to its empire (referencing the destruction of Miletos, justifying the Delian League) and signaled its rebirth.

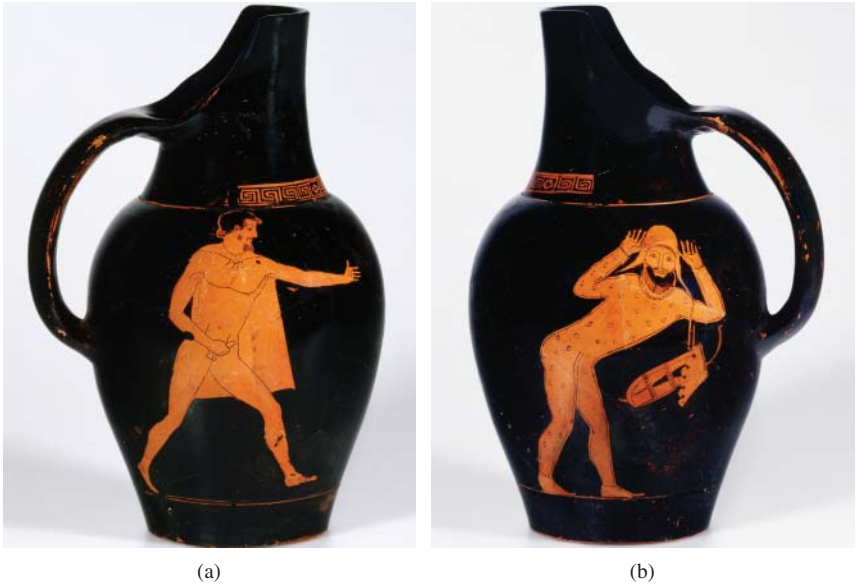
The few classical-era Bousiris scenes anticipate the metopes' heightened consciousness of the horrors of *ate*. The movement away from physical to implied violence in Figure 24.3 accompanies the shift from Herakles *committing* human sacrifice—an act which could even directly reference the *Ilioupersis* (Figure 24.2; see Walsh 2009: 72–104)—to Herakles *as* human sacrifice. The moves downplay the Greek hero's revenge to emphasize foreign corruption. The Medizing representation of Bousiris and framing of the scene as a Near Eastern processional might even allow it to reference the Ionian revolt. Finally, it is important to acknowledge that dress and physiognomy are always specific in the Bousiris myth on Attic vase painting; when they later become internally contradictory, they undermine our reliance on visual cues to understand ancient ethnicity.

Three final Athenian examples (see Figures 24.6, 24.7) will conclude the discussion of ethnic Others, starting with a janiform kantharos of 510–480 (Gruen 2011, Figure 6) and ending with the infamous *Eurymedon Vase* of 460 (Ivantchik 2006, Figure 16; Gruen 2011, Figure 2). The kantharos shows one variation on the physiognomic juxtaposition



(a) (b)

Figure 24.6 Attic janiform kantharos of 510–480 BC, probably from Tanagra. Attributed to the London Class. Inscription on both sides, below palmettes "kalos ho pais." Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund 98.926. Photograph © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



(a) (b)

Figure 24.7 Greek pursuing an archer on an Attic red-figure oinochoe of ca. 460 attributed to the Triptolemos Painter or his manner. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1981.173.

type (Lissarague 1995): two females, one unpainted and presumably Athenian, and the other painted black and presumably a dark-skinned "African." Physical contrast also includes the shape of the nose and lips and texture of the hair. The inscription running around the lowest section of the white ground field repeats "the boy is beautiful." In these plastic vessels, Frank Snowden detected an unbiased fascination with physical difference (Snowden 2010: 155–6, Figures 159–60). Snowden (1983, Figure 20), nevertheless considered somatic markers accurate and significant, such as when he called the priests in Figure 24.3 "mulattoes" because of their physiognomy. However, Jeremy Tanner (2010, especially 15–8) challenges the claim that the representation of skin color was indexical, and suggests, rightly, that the treatment of skin color in art was neither necessarily naturalistic nor always important (on the latter, see Isaac 2004, Figures 5A, 6). Although women were sometimes indicated through white skin, white skin was associated also with Persians, and, later, Gauls, whereas Ethiopians and Egyptians were black-skinned, and Greeks fell somewhere in between (Tanner 2010, especially 14, 25–6, after Helm 1988). The representation of particular skin color can have meaning, but like dress, it is an unstable signifier (see Chapter 33 by Ursula Rothe in this volume).

Snowden is not alone in reading the janiform kantharoi as positive representations of genuine somatic difference. Others emphasize the beauty of the representations, which lack obvious caricature or irony (Claude Bérard in Cohen 2000: 390–412, here 410–1; Gruen 2011: 216–20). The only known exception dates to the early fifth century and shows a dark-skinned man and unpainted woman; the man's side is inscribed "Timyllos is beautiful like this face" (Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki Ι.ΔΓ.8 cited in Gruen 2011: 219, n. 143). The man's face is clearly not beautiful by Greek norms, however, which suggests the inscription here is ironic. The "Timyllos" kantharos shows that Greeks were not always sympathetic to physical difference. Caricature in the sense of extreme exaggeration of physical features was not necessarily required for images to be derisive or prejudicial, any more than skin color or somatic racism covers all bases of prejudice (a major theme of Isaac 2004; McCoskey 2006; Mitchell 2009: 34–5, 263–4, Figure 133). Maybe the "the boy is beautiful" inscription in Figure 24.6 is ironic, too.

Surely, the appeal of these cups was their potential for alterity in the symposion (Tanner 2010: 31; cf. Lissarague 1995; cf. "to drink like a Skythian" in Hieron. Rhod. ap. Ath. 499, Mitchell 2009: 83). Each pairing of female, satyr, Herakles, or African was directed simultaneously at fellow symposiasts and those who masked their own faces while drinking, allowing drinkers to temporarily assume or project the attributes of the cups' faces and inscriptions (Korshak 1987; "the feeling of superiority" in Mitchell 2009: 13–5). If, indeed, the particular African physical conventions that appear on the janiform cups and in the Bousiris myth indicate traits considered inherited, environmentally determined, or otherwise unchanging and unchangeable, and if they were seen as derisively inferior to innate Athenian traits, they seem undistinguishable from modern racism (what Benjamin Isaac [2004] has called "proto-racism"; see Lape 2010).

The kantharoi can be read against another vessel that plays with its two sides, the *Eurymedon Vase* (see Figure 24.7). The oinochoe shows a male figure, nude but for his *chlamys*, striding forward with one arm outstretched and the other brandishing his penis like a sword. In a riff on pederastic pursuit imagery, the other side shows another male with a quiver and wearing a spotted costume and soft-lapelled cap. The figure is bent over with raised arms, palms and face forward. An inscription in the gap between the

two says: "I am Eurymedon; I am bent over." Most often, this pot is interpreted allegorically as the Greek victory at the Battle of Eurymedon in the 460s (a final "fall of Troy"; cf. Figures 24.2 and 24.5). The nude male represents Greek forces and the costumed one the Persians. As Kenneth Dover (1978: 105) so famously put it, the *Eurymedon Vase* makes an enthusiastic ethnocultural proclamation: "We've buggered the Persians!"

The problems of interpretation here are many, and three are especially relevant: it is not so clear who is speaking which line; the archer figure's gesture might be mocking; and, as we have discussed already, there is no way to know if his apparently impenetrable costume here only signals "Persian." I do not follow Alexandre Mitchell's (2009: 84–6) idea that archer's frontal face indicates direct address to the audience; it was probably meant to simultaneously shock the viewer and signal a loss of control (Korshak 1987: 43). I do agree that the pot is meant to be a humorous play on binaries and confused expectations, which implicate, significantly, the appearance and actions of the Greek figure, as well as the costumed one: *erastes/eromenos*, dress/undress, sword/penis, Greek/barbarian, *aidos*/desire, etc. The viewer's frequent surprises are mirrored by the archer's expression and heightened by punning, which suggests that *aporia—a-poros*, "without passage," so here "difficulty" incurred by perplexity and astonishment—is inherent to the pot's visual and textual constructions.

The body's appearance, then, was neither unimportant nor necessarily separated from ethnicity. At the same time, these vessels use a mixture of sexual, ethnic, and physical markers, and do not present Hellenes as normative and desirable in simple contrast to all Others. Visual cues are used inconsistently, and any presumption of ethnic binaries may not hold up to context-dependent scrutiny (cf. dress/undress and nakedness/nudity in Greek art in, e.g., Bonfante 1989, Cohen in Malkin 2001: 235–74). Ethnic markers are regularly complicated by other aspects of identity (as discussed in Chapter 3 by Bernard Knapp in this volume), too, by shifting perceptions and independent developments in visual culture. It is difficult to tease out these differences even in the relatively familiar realm of Athenian imagery where the identities of makers and viewers are taken for granted.

Style, Iconography, Contact, and Change

On the one hand, style has long been disassociated from the ethnic unit (cf. Gates 2002, especially 114–5; also see Chapter 12 by Jennifer Gates-Foster in this volume). On the other hand, stylistic and iconographical classification (assumed to be inherent in the objects; see Siân Jones in Bentley, Maschner, and Chippindale 2008: 324) is regularly used to answer the basic questions of ethnicity. Who made this? Who lived here? And so on. Greek art history, as with much historical archaeology, is driven by such classifications, which we then use to re-create what we call a "Greek" or, as we will see below, a "Phoenician" culture. Such normative cultures are derived from the material remains that can be tied to biological factors such as race or kinship, geography, and language. The materiality of objects ensures that normative culture is empirically evident.



Figure 24.8 The *Slipper-Slapper* group of Aphrodite, Eros, and Pan of ca. 100. From the Clubhouse of the Poseidoniasts at Delos. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3335. Photograph by J. Patrikianos. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Whereas the archer (Figure 24.1) is easily associated with ethnicity studies, the vast majority of Greek art is approached only culturally. The tendency to associate Greek art with culture, rather than Hellenic ethnicities, is a major characteristic of the Hellenistic era. For example, versions and variants of sculpted Aphrodites were commonplace in this era, many of them neo-classical references to the *Aphrodite of Knidos* by the sculptor Praxiteles (Stewart 1990: 177–8, *passim*, Figures 503–505; Havelock 1995). The *Aphrodite of Melos* of ca. 100 shows Praxiteles' *Knidia* updated to accommodate new tastes (Stewart 1990: 30, 52, 96, 224, Figure 806). Closer to the *Knidia* in pose, if farther in spirit, is a group of ca. 100 from Delos with Aphrodite, Eros, and Pan (Figure 24.8; Bruneau and Ducat 1983: 72–4, no. 57, Figures 46–8; Stewart 1990: 226–7, Figures 831, 834). Aphrodite brandishes her sandal against the advances of Pan, while Eros looks on, laughing and shoving off the unsophisticated suitor. The *Slipper-Slapper* group, as it is affectionately known, was found in the guestroom of a complex operated by a group of Phoenician businessmen, the Poseidoniasts.

On the statue's base is a Greek inscription: "Dionysios, son of Zeno, son of Theodoros of Berytos, benefactor, [dedicated this group] on behalf of himself and his children to his ancestral gods [*theois patrios*]" (Havelock 1995: 57). The inscription is critical to reading the work. It shows that the apparently humorous image was a votive, which, although clearly referencing Praxiteles's *Knidia*, was dedicated to the gods of the patron's homeland—Berytos (Beirut), Phoenicia. One of these "ancestral gods" was almost certainly Astarte, Aphrodite's popular Levantine counterpart and one precedent for Aphrodite's nudity in art (Bahrani 1996).

A conventional interpretation of this work, which takes the discussion to the topic of ethnocultural contact and change, sees it as the result of intense interaction on the island through which Greek artists learned how to accommodate the tastes of various patrons (see Reger on the Middle Ground in this volume). Sometimes, the final result seems awkward, as exemplified by the conventional name of Figure 24.9, *Pseudo-Athlete*, a portrait of an unknown Italian dated from 100–88 BCE and found in the House of the Diadoumenos (Bruneau and Ducat 1983: 76, no. 61; Stewart 1990: 227–8, Figure 840). Both works draw on Greek art's own history, and both were produced through contact. Yet, whereas the *Slipper-Slapper* seems to obscure Phoenician ethnic identity in favor of a culturally expansive one, the *Pseudo-Athlete*'s realistic head and heroic body use style and iconography as way to forge a historically particular identity. There is no mistaking the *Pseudo-Athlete* for a Greek or a Phoenician, as it is emphatically marked as "Italian."

Both images may be understood in terms of Hellenization. As a modern scholarly concept, Hellenization is defined in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* as, "the diffusion of [Greek] culture, a process usually seen as active" and generally associated with Alexander's conquest of the East (Hornblower and Spawforth 2003, following Droysen's [1877] conception of *Hellenismus*). In this dictionary entry, "Hellenism" is distinguished from "Hellenization," the former being an ancient cultural entity and the latter "reflecting modern forms of cultural domination." Put another way, Hellenism is "Greek culture," and Hellenization is the process through which it spreads. As its name implies, Hellenization assumes a basic core-to-periphery process. Contact occurs especially through three routes: trade, the movement of people and craftsmen, and political subjugation. Thus, Hellenization can result from export of goods and artists; from merchants trading, settling, and inter-marrying abroad; and from Alexander's conquest and the establishment of the successor kingdoms in the East. The process is understood as an evolution.

Hellenization raises the question of who the Hellenes are at the core of the process. As popular readings of the Parthenon and *Eurymedon Vase* show, the idea that Hellenic self-awareness was forged through confrontation with Persia is deeply entrenched, even among those who advocate passionately for Greek–Near Eastern connectivity in the Iron Age. Walter Burkert (1992: 1), for example, argues that Greeks became "aware of their own identity as separate from that of the 'Orient' when they succeeded in repelling the attacks of the Persian empire" (cf. S. Morris 1992; Malkin 2001: 7–9). The Greek/anti-Greek or "oppositional" approach to Greek identity (Hall 2002, esp. 179–81) is sometimes challenged to allow for a more complex understanding of attitudes toward all non-Hellenes, including Persians (Snodgrass 1980; see especially



Figure 24.9 The *Pseudo-Athlete* portrait of an Italian of ca. 100–88. From the House of the Diadoumenos at Delos. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1828. Photograph by J. Patrikianos. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Miller 1997; I. Morris 2000). There is a persistent sense, though, that the Persian Wars forged the very idea of the Hellene that later emerged as Hellenism, a unique force in the Mediterranean.

A return to the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* definition reveals some problems with this idea: Hellenization is "the *diffusion* of [Greek] *culture*, a *process* usually seen as *active*" (my emphasis). Hellenization is a concept caught between competing approaches to identity, especially primordialist (universalizing), with its fixed Greek culture, and instrumentalist, with the idea of change as a process. Initially, the potential of transmission is presented as originating within Greek culture itself (its ability or tendency to diffuse, a view promoted by scholars such as M. L. West 1997). Already by the end of the sentence the theory of agency has been appended. Only a little scrutiny suggests that it is probably impossible to reconcile diffusion with a process initiated by local agents.

Differences between Hellenization and the conception of the Near East's impact on the culture of Iron Age Greece are likewise revealing (Figure 24.10). Iron Age culture is described as "Orientalizing" (never "Orientalized") and results in the flowering of Hellenism. In contrast, "Hellenizing" is a movement between the poles of



(a) (b)

Figure 24.10 Astarte figurine mold of the later Iron Age II and a modern figurine made from the ancient mold. From Tel Dor, Israel (reg. no. 38397, L3952). Image appears courtesy of Professor Ephraim Stern and the Tel Dor Excavation Project.

non-Hellenic/not-Hellene toward "Hellenized" that can be measured by degrees—an idea that has limited support in the sources (e.g., the *mixellenes* in Hellanikos of Mytilene, *FGrHist* 4 F 71a). Use of the phrase "fully Hellenized" to describe Macedonians such as Alexander and Phoenicians such as Dionysios signals that the Hellenization process could result in quasi-Hellenism. Hence, although the stimuli are different, Greek–Near Eastern contact always produces a kind of Hellenism. Even those who advocate strongly for significant Near East input and initiative in Greek Iron Age culture (notably Burkert 1992) avoid using the term "Orientalizing" to describe people; thus, Orientalizing is not concerned with ethnicity. Is Hellenization? To call a Phoenician "fully Hellenized" is to signal that he is culturally indistinguishable from those we call "Greeks," but that he is still not "really Greek"—the distinction is significant.

Recent theories suggest that ethnic groups cannot be considered "culture-bearing units" (Jones 2007: 48; cf. Chapter 26 by Adam Kemezis in this volume), but are nonetheless retrievable in the archaeological record (Bentley and Maschner 2008: 4–5). Yet, when Isokrates (*Paneg.* 50) claimed that "the name Hellene should be applied to persons sharing in the culture rather than the ancestry of the Greeks," he seems to challenge the idea that ethnicity and culture are independent (unless "Hellene" signals culture and not ethnicity, as per Hall 2002: 172–228). If so, what is the difference between Hellene and Hellenized? The culture–ethnicity relationship is perhaps more ambiguous than that of ethnicity and biology (physiognomy, race, etc.). For scholars whose primary concern is material culture, the issue is critical. The range of opinions is

vast, including those who dispute culture's relevance to ethnicity (see Jones 1997). In representation, the problem becomes acute: we struggle to know when and why cues, such as costume, are ethnically specific or how style and iconography may be used to forge realities or to work against the norm, even subversively. The Hellenization concept exacerbates the issue, framing contact in terms so tortured that it results in an identity that is "common" and fundamentally, but not purely, Hellenic. The "cultural content" of ethnicity, regardless of the source (text, art, archaeological record), is as likely to fluctuate as the idea of ethnicity itself (Jones 2007: 50–1).

There is also the problem of self/emic versus external/etic definition. The archer (Figure 24.1) is an Athenian construct, in all likelihood unrelated to any actual ethnicity (Ivantchik 2006). Like the archer, the *Pseudo-Athlete* (Figure 24.9) makes identity its subject, but it is an example of self-definition. The *Slipper-Slapper* (Figure 24.8) does not represent a person, but it may also be understood in terms of self-fashioning. The *Slipper-Slapper* has multiple models. It imitates the *Knidia*, represents Aphrodite, and denotes "ancestral gods." Its fidelity to its many models should be considered: in the physical sense, the *Knidia* and her sources (see, e.g., Athenaios 13.590), and in the sociocultural sense, the traditions of the *Knidia*, Aphrodite, Aphrodite-as-Astarte, or *Knidia*-as-Astarte (Havelock 1995; cf. Pasztory 1989). To what extent does the *Slipper-Slapper* imitate or appropriate the *Knidia*/Aphrodite? The artist is remaking the *Knidia*, her potential eroticism now more literal, even cheeky. The patron may have enjoyed the parody of the *Knidia* and the *Slipper-Slapper*'s bawdy "Asianism" (Stewart 1990: 227). To what extent does the *Slipper-Slapper* convey beliefs about the *Knidia* and Aphrodite, or denote Astarte? Hellenization suggests that Dionysios is using the work to put forward a claim, to actively create an identity in common with Hellenes and to express his refinement. Put another way, the weaker of two parties in contact—here, as usual, the Phoenician—improves his status through Hellenism (it doesn't matter if the claim is spurious; see Pasztory 1989: 35–6).

It is equally likely that Dionysios is not strategizing at all, that he saw no qualitative difference between Aphrodite and Astarte. The fluidity of Aphrodite–Astarte as "ancestral god" suggests another reading. In a twist unanticipated by Hellenization, Dionysios may have understood Aphrodite as an imitation of Astarte. If the model for Aphrodite was Astarte, Aphrodite is simply Astarte Hellenized. Astarte's greater antiquity implies that she and her patron have greater claim to some of the very qualities that comprise Hellenism.

The *Slipper-Slapper* is an image with varied emic meanings that are confused (deliberately or not), mixed, or indistinguishable. That others fail to understand its subversive potential may be an advantage for the patron, if he is actively negotiating ethnic identities. It may also simply be irrelevant. Perhaps the *Slipper-Slapper* is not a representation of different ethnic expressions that converge on the same model in order to claim common descent. Instead, the image's simultaneous, divergent models tell entirely different stories, which are only masquerading, because of the work's resemblance to the *Knidia*, as one (cf. Deleuze 1983: 51). The *Slipper-Slapper* represents the *Knidian Aphrodite* while upsetting the very idea of the external, primordial model—the real object—to which the image refers. In this way, the image challenges us to move beyond classification of the

work as only Greek art and thence to deny the *Slipper-Slapper* as an absolute measure of Hellenization.

The value of the *Slipper-Slapper* to the discussion of ethnicity is its very *aporias* or, here, paradoxes. It highlights how ancient representations may be legitimately read in contradictory ways, thus leaving irreconcilable what the statue meant to say and what it means. The *Slipper-Slapper* may be a statement about cultural fluidity despite ethnic differences by emphasizing the relationships between and similarities of Hellenic Aphrodite and Phoenician gods. Or, it may be making an ethnic claim by stating a shared common past—that Aphrodite *is* Astarte—with divergent implications. The *Slipper-Slapper* works within and against a series of expectations of sameness and difference.

Representation and ethnicity have overlapping theoretical concerns. From representation comes an important lesson: if even the original model is subjective, pressure is put on the tendency to privilege connoisseurship and empiricism—to let the sources speak for themselves—and to focus debate on refining inconsistencies (see Siapkas 2003: 287–92). However closely we read them, the sources cannot speak for themselves to tell us the truth of the past. The study of representation is not a way back to or affirmation of the model. Rather, its goal is to generate and interrogate possible relationships between models and images. The exercise of studying the past has limitations; the *Slipper-Slapper* becomes increasingly incoherent even as we deepen our understanding of what it may represent. In this way, ethnicity, too, is not about discovery and isolation of objective models (i.e., true ethnicities). Ethnicity's value as a fluid theory is that it deepens our understanding of the basic question of "who"—who is represented by an image, text, or built environment—with the potential to challenge monolithic, normative identities.

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CHAPTER 25

Ethnicity

Greeks, Jews, and Christians[1]

Aaron P. Johnson

Introduction: Ethnicity and Religion

In the very years that saw the rise to sole rule of Constantine, the first Christian emperor—that is, at a watershed point for the prospects of Christianity in the religious history of the Mediterranean, and indeed of the world—Eusebius of Caesarea, one of the greatest Christian intellectuals of the time (ca. 260–339), described Christianity (*Christianismos*) as the elevated peak of piety and rationality between and, at the same time, above the lesser forms of Judaism and Hellenism (*Ioudaismos* and *Hellēnismos*) (*Dem.evang.* 1.2.10, p.8.33–9.8 Heikel). Christianity was superior both to the polytheism and muddled confusion of the Greeks on the one hand, and to the "fleshly" and (geographically and temporally) limited religious life of the Jews on the other. The student of early Christianity might readily recall the claim of the apostle Paul that "in Christ" there would no longer be "Jew or Greek" (Gal. 3:28) (Johnson Hodge 2007: 105–6, 1126–31), and so conclude that Eusebius merely marks another instance of the well-known attempt by the first generations of Christians to escape ethnic identities by transcending them (Johnson 2006a).

Adolf von Harnack stands as one of the most eminent scholars to find in Christianity a religion *sui generis*, which, as it moved from its Jewish roots, was able gradually to strip away its ties to the narrower racially and bodily circumscribed religion of Judaism (Jüthner 1923: 90–3; von Harnack 1962: 240–78; Feldman 1990: 107; Olster 1995; Boyarin 2008). By the time of Eusebius in the fourth century, "religion" as a conceptual category distinct from ethnicity or culture had, according to this view, survived its labor pains and finally completed its birth into the world. Presumably, Christianity stood now as a harbinger of the modern category of "religion" wherein a society's or individual's beliefs about the divine (or ultimate concern, mode of consciousness, state of mind, doctrinal

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creed, system of transcendent meanings, constellation of symbols producing inward dispositions, or cosmological imaginary) could be isolated from entanglements with ethnic conceptions or racial identities (Asad 1993: 27–54; Kimber Buell 2005: 21–4, 59–62). Through its heightened spiritual sensibilities, early Christianity has frequently seemed to stand in stark contrast to Hellenism, a label that is claimed to designate pagan religion, and Judaism, the allegedly still racially bound religion of Judeans (Kimber Buell 2005: 10–13; Johnson Hodge 2007: 4–5).

The dominant modern approach has not always been expressed so schematically. Yet, even amid the more nuanced narratives that one may find in accounts of early Christianity, it has only been quite recently that sustained criticism has arisen questioning the basic historiographical assumptions about early Christianity and its opponents' identities (whether these be Greeks, Egyptians, Romans, "pagans," or Jews, or alternatively, other identity categories such as race, nation, sect, school, or culture) from Harnack to the present. Important discussion has only just begun to examine carefully early Christianity in its relationship to other identities belonging to particular *ethnē* as such (especially the Greeks and Jews, but also others), with their attendant clusters of territorial claims, particular languages, cult practices and sacred locations, (fictive) genealogies, shared histories, distinct physiognomies, and so on. All of these markers of difference played various roles within various contexts of identity formation or maintenance, on the part of both Christians and those who interacted with them.

Indeed, in spite of the periodic rhetoric of transcendence in early Christian literature, one is struck by the prominent and recurrent role of ethnicity in a wide range of Christian texts, from martyrologies and epistles to apologetic treatises, heresiologies, histories, and theological works. Broadly speaking, ethnicity's uses among early Christians included the following: Christians were defined (by themselves as well as by outsiders) as an *ethnos* or *genos*; Christianity's others were identified in racial terms; conversion frequently involved negotiation or even rupture with those identities (at least on a conceptual level); powerful decentering tendencies developed, especially in opposition to Hellenocentric assumptions; and, on a more basic level, Christian intellectuals utilized the components of racial identities or ethnographic data in the formulation and very structuring of arguments. Though the latter—what I have called "ethnic argumentation"—is one of the most interesting expressions of the early Christian impulse to put ethnicity to use, it remains understudied. Following a discussion of some of the basic tendencies in the Christian employment of ethnicity during the first two centuries, a well-known exchange between a pagan critic (Celsus) and his third-century Christian respondent (Origen) will therefore receive more detailed examination. We shall discover that ethnic and ethnographic conceptions structured the primary arguments on both sides of the pagan–Christian debate over the identity and legitimacy of the Christians as a people.

Christian Racial Thinking in the First Centuries

The practice of thinking with ethnicity commenced among early Christians already in the first century. Writings that eventually became incorporated into the corpus of the New Testament claimed that Christians were a "chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God's possession" (I Peter 2:9). The heavily sensed polarities of Greeks

and barbarians (or Greeks and Jews) were dissolved in the community of believers who were "one in Christ" (Gal. 3:28; cf. Rom. 10:12; see Johnson Hodge 2007: 126–31). Paul declared that he was "all things to all people," being a Greek to the Greeks and a Jew to the Jews, as well as invoking Roman citizenship as an attempt to negotiate desired ends through the complex entanglements of race, culture, citizenship, and law. Yet, a Christian's "citizenship is in heaven" (Philippians 3:20); they were citizens of a heavenly city (Heb. 12:22–23; 13:14), and only "resident aliens" on sojourn among the nations of the present world (I Peter 2:11). In tandem with transcendent claims of Christianity's incorporation of all peoples, Paul announced that Christ's followers were the "true Israel" (Romans 9:3–8; cf. 2:28–29), and the true descendents of Abraham (Gal. 3:29). Furthermore, the argument of the epistle to the Romans comprised, in fact, an extended (if somewhat tortuous) form of "ethnic argumentation" (Johnson 2006a; Wan 2009).

Other Christian texts of the first centuries continued the vibrant explorations of self-identification, representation of others, and ever-increasing elaboration of arguments structured or driven by ethnic concerns and assumptions. The anonymous second-century *To Diognetus* responded to the question "Why did this new race or practice enter into life now and not earlier?" (*ad Diogn.* 1; see Lieu 2002: 171–89; Kimber Buell 2005: 29–32). The question recalls Livy's account of an earlier religious group whose foreign origins and novel practices were deemed unsettling: the devotees of Bacchus were deemed to be "nearly another race" (*Ab urbe condita* 39.13; Lieu 2004: 262). Pliny's description of the Christians also seems to echo Livy's description of the Bacchanalians (Wilken 1984: 1–47). In spite of the limitations in comparing a Latin text of the first century with a Greek text of the second, the juxtaposition may prompt hesitation in assigning a racial sense to *genos* in the *To Diognetus*, in favor of a generic "kind" of group comprising a voluntary religious association. The racial metaphor, however, possessed staying power.

In the same generation as the letter *To Diognetus*, an Athenian Christian philosopher named Aristides composed an *Apology* addressed to the emperor Hadrian (Eus. *HE* 4.3.3). This text bases the entirety of its argument in defense of Christianity upon a representation of Christians as a nation that "traced its genealogy (*genealogountai*) from Christ" (*Apol.* 15, p. 252.13 Boissonade). The race of Christians was markedly superior to other ethnic groups: the Greeks, Chaldeans, and Egyptians were steeped in the irrationality and impiety of polytheism, while the Jews were bound to the misunderstood regulations of the Law. That the religious practices and theologies of these distinct peoples were of the greatest interest to Aristides should not detract from the persistently powerful role of ethnicity within his conceptual world. Religion had always been a key feature of ancient racial identities. Aristides and other Christians were doing nothing particularly new in their attempt to highlight religious differences between peoples and emphasize the benefits and rationality of one over the others (e.g., Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.8; Strabo 16.2.38; 17.2.3; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.18; Olster 1995).

The strangeness of Christianity lay rather in the radical newness and recent origins of its *ethnos*. Faced with the widespread assumption that the greater antiquity of a people entailed cultural, religious, or philosophical privilege in a world of competing claims to superiority, Christianity's newness created a source of anxiety and embarrassment. A solution presented itself in Paul's claim to be the true Israel. In a manner parallel

to that of Isocrates four centuries earlier (*Paneg.* 50), Paul announced the essence of Judaism to be centered in faith. Whereas Isocrates delimited Greek identity more strictly when he heralded the Athenians' achievement of showing true Hellenicity to be a matter not of birth but of *paideia* (Jüthner 1923: 34–6; Hall 2002: 208–10), Paul opened up Jewish identity by elevating a spiritual kinship of faith, rooted in the faith of the forefather Abraham, over kinship by birth. Rather than weakening notions of kinship, the openness of faith indicated a more real and more stable form of kinship in its heightened level of demands on the true children of Abraham.

In dialogue with the Jews, many Christian thinkers amplified Paul's assertions of being the true Israel in contrast to "the children of the flesh" (Rom. 9:8). Justin Martyr offered the lengthiest elaboration of this thesis, building up a series of testimonies from the Jewish Scriptures, the Christian Old Testament, in order to show not only Christ but the Christian race to be the fulfillment of biblical prophecies (Kimber Buell 2005: 95–114). Through a spiritual circumcision that abrogated the "circumcision by blood," Christ created a "nation of righteousness" (*Dial.* 24; cf. 119). The incredulous Jew, Trypho, who asked "What then? Are you [Christians] Israel?" eventually receives the answer, "We are the true race of Israel" (*Dial.* 123; 135). Such an argument accomplished more than the articulation of a "supercessionist" conception of Christians in relation to Jews. Significantly, Christian claims to being rooted in the ancient Hebrew past allowed them to make a powerful bid to national priority and possession of the primal wisdom and piety of an earlier golden age, which was superior to later ethnic forms.

The defense of Christianity by means of ethnic revisionism did not go unchallenged. While many pagan authors expressed anti-Christian sentiment in accusations of alleged "Thyestean feasts" and "Oedipal unions" at clandestine Christian gatherings, or of the irrationality and incredulity of the simple-minded "faithful," others targeted Christianity through ethnic argumentation. Christian intellectuals could respond in kind. One particularly vivid exchange survives—the confrontation between Celsus and Origen, and it is to this that we now turn. While a good deal of scholarly attention has been devoted to both thinkers, much of which acknowledges the importance of at least some aspects of ethnicity to their arguments against and for the faith, the degree to which ethnic conceptions functioned as the driving mechanisms for the arguments of each has only partly been analyzed in previous discussions. The following remarks aim to highlight a salutary—but by no means isolated—example of the deep engagement with ethnicity by early Christians in order to develop their own communal identity and structure their (textual) interaction with their rivals in terms of ethnic argumentation.

Ethnic Argumentation: Celsus

One of the greatest intellectuals of his day, Origen produced his lengthy and meticulous apology in answer to the scorning ridicule of Celsus' *True Word*, a treatise that sought, amid other criticisms, to delegitimize Christianity for its dubious relationship to other nations. Writing in the years just preceding the systematic persecutions of the emperor Decius in AD 250, Origen belatedly responded to the vitriolic but apparently little-known assault of Celsus issued nearly 80 years before (AD 177–180; see Frede 1994: 5188–91). Based on what we can discern from Origen's quotations and paraphrases of the otherwise

lost treatise, Celsus' argument vigorously castigated the Jewish and Christian scriptures on a series of charges ranging from the irrationality of Christians and the magical nature of Christ's miracles to the origins of the Jews among the Egyptians and the inadequacy of the Jewish account of creation.

Though replete with a seemingly disordered barrage of criticisms, his attack had centered upon issues of Christianity's problematic relationship to the Jews and other nations. Celsus repeatedly returned to the nature of ethnic identity, the importance and diversity of traditional customs, and the key role of at least certain nations in passing on the sacred heritage of an ancient wisdom, the *true word* of his title (Andresen 1955: 108–45, but also Burke 1985 and Boys-Stones 2001). An investigation of Origen's *Contra Celsum*, as well as Celsus' *True Word* embedded within it, dedicated to exploring the ways in which ethnic identities functioned in driving both the attack and the defense of Christianity as a racially conceived corporate identity, may profitably follow two lines. The first is the role assigned to the other nations in bolstering the arguments of each polemicist; the second considers the notion of Christians themselves as a nation or race. As will become clear, both the pagan critique and the Christian rebuttal are portrayed as meeting on a battlefield of nations sparring over contested identities and cultural, religious, and historical higher ground.

We begin with Celsus. A large part of his criticism of Christianity arose from his particular vision of the world, its nations, and their respective histories, characters, and customs. Even issues of doctrine and theological belief were to be considered within the framework of competing ethnic identities. Both the terms *ethnos* and *genos* could convey a cluster of ideas regarding a people who shared descent from common ancestors, a shared history, territory, and language; such a group practiced and passed on to succeeding generations a set of particular customs, laws, religious rituals, and theological frameworks. Both terms could be used in a non-ethnic sense as well: for example, Origen refers to rock-dwelling hyraxes as "a weak ethnos" (*C. Cels.* 4.87). All of these elements of ethnic difference between nations came to play more or less fundamental roles in Celsus' anti-Christian treatise (Olster 1995: 25–6).

There are three primary strategies of argumentation within his polemic that are based upon ethnic conceptions. The first is the argument from antiquity. Celsus stands in a long line of Greek thinkers who maintained that, because primal humanity was closer to the gods, an ancient wisdom was the preserve only of those nations who could claim the greatest antiquity. Later nations, and even later generations of those first nations, only possessed imperfect knowledge of that wisdom, sullied as it was from neglect, ignorance, and insecure transmission over the years (Droge 1989; Pilhofer 1990; Boys-Stones 2001). Drawing attention to this historiographical and philosophical assumption touched an already sensitive nerve in the apologetic conscience (see *C. Cels.* 6.78); as noted in the preceding text, the novelty of Christianity was sometimes a source of acute embarrassment.

However, Celsus goes further by denying the antiquity of the Jews as well (see *C. Cels.* 1.1.14–16; 6.80; 8.53). Whereas contemporary philosophers such as Numenius grant the Jews a special place among the earliest nations, Celsus sharply excludes them (Num., De bono, fr. 1a Des Places). Following lines already laid down by earlier anti-Jewish polemicists (as recorded in Josephus' *Contra Apionem*; see De Lange 1976: 64–5; Feldman 1990: 112), Origen's antagonist claimed that the Jews were rebels who had revolted

against Egypt and migrated to Palestine. "The Jews," Celsus avers, "being Egyptian by race, abandoned Egypt since they were seditious against the community of Egyptians and despised the rites customary in Egypt" (*C. Cels.* 3.5–6, 17–19). Possibly drawing upon the evidence of Herodotus 2.104, Celsus claims that the Jews kept a vestige of their Egyptian origins in the practice of circumcision (*C. Cels.* 1.22). That seemingly quintessential marker of Jewish identity was at the same time, according to Celsus, a stark reminder of national connections between Jews and Egyptians.

Later, Celsus persists in his disparagement: "The Jews were runaway slaves from Egypt and never did anything worth mentioning; neither in narrative nor numbers have they become anything" (*c.Cels.* 4.31). The Jews, therefore, not only lacked unique racial origins, they also lacked status and the ability to lay claim to contributions toward the progress of civilization. Celsus will make the same point later, when he uses parallels between Platonic and Jewish thought to prove that Jews were also dependent upon the Greeks for wisdom (*C. Cels.* 6.1, 6, 15–19). If Celsus' hostile portrayal of Jewish ethnic origins were granted validity, Christians who sought to alleviate the uncomfortable newness of Christianity by appealing to its roots in an ancient Jewish *ethnos* would have their argument rendered useless. Origen recognized the importance of facing this attack head on, as we shall see shortly.

A second strategy of Celsus' ethnic argumentation is based on the diversity of nations and their customs. Celsus repeatedly reminds his readers of the plurality of nations, their customs, and their laws. Where a given practice does appear across national borders, Celsus puts the congruity to good use. For instance, while the Christians may have supposed that they possessed the rational upper ground in their opposition to religious images and idolatry, Celsus calls attention to the adoption of similar iconoclastic sentiments among other nations, such as the Scythians, Libyan nomads, Seres (Chinese), and Persians (*C. Cels.* 7.62–65). Appeal to ethnic ways of thinking and living could thus effectively relativize Christian truth claims. Yet, such assertions of moral relativity contain an inherent weakness; for, if no nation can claim superiority in its customs and laws, then the Christians' apostasy from those customs becomes insignificant and accusations of the illegality of Christianity are sapped of any strength. To deal with this weakness, Celsus provided an explanatory context for the existence of ethnic and moral relativity.

Despite the great variety in national ways of life, members of each people are obligated to adhere to the particular customs and laws under which they were born, because each people has been assigned a different divine "overseer" by the one God over all. As he declares:

> Each [nation] attends to their ancestral ways, whichever ones may happen to have been established. It seems that this happened in this way … because the different parts of the earth were probably allotted to different overseers from the beginning and were divided as though into administrative districts, and in this way they were governed. Indeed, things are correctly performed by each when they are done in the way that is dear to each of the overseers; it is unholy to dissolve things instituted from the beginning in each place.(*C. Cels.* 5.25)

Apostasy from one's native laws is, therefore, an act of impiety, deserving of punishment as well as ridicule (*C. Cels.* 8.54–56). A theological hierarchy consisting of one god at the top of a pyramid that broadened out into a plethora of local national deities provided

an explanation of the diversity of morals and customs, while at the same time legitimizing the forceful constraint of peoples' practices to the particular customs of a nation or city.

Celsus' third form of argumentation, that of *prosopopoiia* (or the crafting of a fictional character to voice certain accusations), arises from his contention that, just as the Jewish nation arose through rebellion from Egypt, so the Christians had arisen as a result of sedition from the Jews. Hence, he adopts the rhetorical strategy of putting his argument into the mouth of a constructed Jewish character (De Lange 1976: 68–9; Rokeah 1982: 58; Bammel 1986). Celsus' Jew attacks the Christians on a number of fronts, from Jesus' birth as illegitimate (*C. Cels.* 1.28, 32) to the resurrection as only the hallucinatory experience of the disciples (*C. Cels.* 2.60–61). The general force of this portion of his argument amounts to a weighty charge of Christian rebellion and irrationality. Just as Celsus would delegitimize the Jews for their seditious break from the Egyptians, so Celsus' Jew defames Christians as revolutionary and wayward Jews (*c.Cels.* 2.1, 3–4). The cumulative effect of both criticisms amounts to an accusation that Christians have committed a double betrayal, placing them at a second remove from any claim to primal ethnic purity.

Throughout Celsus' argument, the basic ethnic assumptions—that older nations are better, because they are closer to the truth; that deviation from these primitive national ways of life could only be for the worse; and that the present diversity and relativity of national laws and customs are based on a divine order—all serve as the building blocks for his rejection of Christianity as an invalid and subversive ethnic option. Strikingly, Origen's response to Celsus' *True Word* would work within the same parameters, reflecting the same ethnic assumptions; his conclusions, of course, would be rather different.

Ethnic Argumentation: Origen

Origen rejects the charge that the origins of the Jews lay in sedition from Egypt and that they were, as an ethnic group, latecomers. Turning the argument from antiquity in favor of the ancient Jews, the apologist staunchly defends the historical priority of Moses over Plato, Homer, and even the introduction of the Greek alphabet (Droge 1989). The greater antiquity of Moses is consistently and forcefully maintained. While Celsus could claim that, where similar doctrines were found in the Hebrew writings and in Plato's corpus, the thoughts were better expressed by the Greeks, Origen marshals a two-pronged assault: not only were the Hebrew Scriptures more effective because they were more accessible to both common and educated hearers, but Moses was also clearly earlier than Plato, and the dependency of the latter upon the former was worthy of emphatic consideration. "It is not very clear," Origen declares, "whether Plato fell upon these [stories of Penia and Porus] by chance, or, as some suppose, during his visit to Egypt he happened to meet those who pursued the philosophy of the Jews and learned something from them, some of which he preserved but other elements he altered, guarding against giving any offense to the Greeks that might arise from preserving completely the wisdom of the Jews" (*C. Cels.* 4.39). Again, when both Plato and the prophets (Isaiah and Haggai) mention the holy land of eternity, Origen surmised that, because the Greeks "were younger not only than Moses who was quite ancient but also than most of the prophets, they either misheard certain statements given in riddling form [by the Hebrews] or,

after reading the sacred writings, they misconstrued them" (*C. Cels.* 7.30; see also 6.7, 43; 7.28).

Homer's account of the criminal feat of the sons of Aloeus in piling mountains atop each other to storm the heavens was only a corruption of the narrative of the tower of Babel in the writings of Moses, Celsus' claims to the contrary notwithstanding (*C. Cels.* 4.21). Such assertions of Greek dependency on Hebrew Scriptures followed from the fact that Moses "is shown to be much older than the Trojan War" (*C. Cels.* 4.36). The proof is assumed but never actually made explicit by Origen. No doubt, he felt such chronological proof had already been adequately developed by his apologetic predecessors, Clement, Tatian, Theophilus, or even Josephus (Feldman 1990: 109–11).

Origen's reading of the story of the Tower of Babel is especially significant. It does more than merely signify Hebrew antiquity and, in fact, plays a large role in his refutation of Celsus. The story could also be employed to offer a counter-explanation to Celsus' vision of ethnic relativity. The anti-Christian polemicist had claimed that the diversity in national ways of living was based upon the diversity of divine overseers and their peculiar institutions. Not opposing the assumption of ethnic relativity or even the existence and role of these overseers, Origen adopts the Babel story as a fitting explanatory narrative for the origins of such diversity, though he expresses due caution at this point as he is venturing on the "rather mysterious accounts about the division of [the nations] on the earth" (*C. Cels.* 5.29). In his reading of the story, the earliest humans all shared a single language of divine origin as long as they resided in the east where they could attend to "the things of the light" (*C. Cels.* 5.30). However, when they moved from the east to the plains of Shinar, pursuing the desire for material things and piling these goods up in an assault against what was immaterial, so that they might bring "their exalted loftiness against the knowledge of God," each person:

> in proportion to the distance from the East that had arisen in them to a greater or lesser degree, was handed over to angels who were rather harsh to greater or lesser degrees . . . . And each one [was] led to the parts of the earth that they deserved by angels who implanted in them the language akin to them; some to arid land, others to land chastening those who dwell there by freezing; some to rather uncultivable land, others to land that is less difficult; and some to land filled with wild animals, and others to land that is less so.(*C. Cels.* 5.30)

This definitive event of ethnogenesis functioned as a myth of origins explaining the ethnic diversity of the world perceived by both Celsus and Origen, but its narrative decisively turned the tables of national legitimacy and superiority in favor of the ancient Hebrews. Whereas Celsus had argued for their late and derivative status, Origen makes the Hebrews the sole inheritors of the primal divine language. Origen's Babel narrative elevates the ancient Hebrews above all other nations, now seen as bearers of wayward traditions that served as their punishment for earlier crimes. Far from being a rebellious break-off from Egypt, the Hebrews "were called by God to be 'an elect race', 'a royal priesthood', 'a holy nation', and 'a people for His possession'," for unlike the other nations who had been assigned to angels, they alone "have been accepted by God as a special portion beside all the nations on the earth" (*C. Cels.* 5.10; see Johnson 2006b).

Such a narrative carried additional weight: not only did it reverse the relationship between the Jews and other ancient nations as it was portrayed by Celsus, it delegitimized

the laws of the nations and excused—indeed encouraged—the Christian rejection of them. Whereas Celsus denounced breaking the laws as impiety since they were instituted by the overseers (law being, as Pindar had said, the king of all), Origen shoots back tersely, "If you mean the laws belonging to the civic sphere, such a claim is false; for all are not ruled by the same law . . . . We Christians, therefore, understand law to be the king of all by nature [only] when it is the same as the law of God" (*C. Cels.* 5.40). Origen's account of the rise of nations and national differences thus strikes at the heart of Celsus' animosity toward Christians. Aside from his ridicule of Christian doctrine (such as the resurrection) and disdain for Christian gullibility and lack of intelligence, Celsus' most serious criticisms arose from a concern to preserve the ancestral traditions and laws. Christian associations posed a threat to the civic order, which rested upon historically rooted ways of life; they were, quite frankly, illegal, and violated the common law, as Celsus emphasized at the very beginning of his treatise. The laws invoked by Celsus lost all their gravity if Origen's narrative was granted validity.

There remained the issue of Christianity's revolt against Jewish law. This was a point whose importance had been highlighted by Celsus' allegedly fictional Jew. Origen in turn questions whether Celsus' Jewish spokesman corresponds to the character, orientation, and tone of an authentic Jew (Bammel 1986). Indeed, Origen avers, the Jew of the *True Word* could scarcely hide the fact that his portrait was the work of his pagan maker. Origen discovers elements that smack of a Samaritan or even a Greek character and outlook rather than that of a true Jew. Indeed, even true Jews were not the faithful and accurate guardians of their ancient heritage: their literal-minded understanding of the sacred texts obfuscated the primal wisdom contained within them. Christians alone had become privy to the higher truths of these enigmatic writings through the allegorical method. The ancient wisdom of the early Hebrews that had marked them off as different and superior to other nations was also, therefore, inaccessible to their Jewish descendants and reserved only for those who willingly rejected their ancestral customs and laws for the ancient and natural law of God.

Christians as a New Race

Because the Christians turned from their ancestral traditions and spurned the ethnic heritage to which they had been born, it might seem natural to us to conceive of Christian identity in Origen as distinctly non-racial. However, the pages of the *Contra Celsum* are sprinkled with references to the Christian nation or race. The adoption of such terminology exhibits itself as an integral component of ethnic argumentation. Ethnicity is not merely an oppositional category in contrast to the Christian religion. It was not a category of identity one left behind, or transcended, in the act of conversion. Rather, Christianity remained conceptualized within the identity category of ethnicity. Conversion involved a transference of identity from one *ethnos* to another, not to a non-ethnic identity altogether.

The first instance of racial terminology for the Christians occurs within the context of answering Celsus' criticism of Christian credulity in the miracle stories of the Gospels. If this attack was made by an Epicurean, Origen retorts, it would be fitting (or at least expected); but a Jew who possessed equally miraculous material in his scripture was an

unlikely representative of such a view. For, just as Moses had established the Jewish nation amid the performance of great miracles, so Christ had founded the Christian nation with the working of miraculous signs. Though both Moses and Jesus were accused as being sorcerers, two "nations testify on their behalf: the Jews for Moses, while the Christians … prove the [miraculous stories] about Jesus" (*C. Cels.* 1.45). This point, raised in the first book, is reiterated in the last book. "The Greeks say these stories are myths, even though two entire nations testify that they are true," namely the Jews and the Christians (*C. Cels.* 8.47). Again, when faced elsewhere with the accusation that the miracles of Jesus were performed through the work of wicked demons, Origen answers that his miracles effected positive change and called people to a better and more holy life. He concludes: "How will it not be openly manifest from what happened under Moses and Jesus, as entire nations were established after their miraculous signs, that they did what they are recorded to have done by a divine power?" (*C. Cels.* 2.51).

The nation founded by Christ was, however, a rather unique nation, since it embraced those from many nations who had turned from their previous ways of life. In this way, it was shown to be superior to the nation of Moses. The establishment of the Jewish nation following its stay in Egypt stood as a proof, for Origen, of the divine origins of Moses' miracles; but Jesus "performed greater things than the work of Moses." In a manner more daring than Moses' liberation of the Jews and institution of the Law, Jesus "introduced into the previously accepted communal way of life (*politeia*), the ancestral customs, and the upbringing according to the current laws a way of life according to the gospel" (*C. Cels.* 2.52). Christian conversion entailed the rejection of old ethnic ways of life, whether these were identified as Jewish, Greek, Egyptian, or another; Christians were those who had been called out of not one nation alone, but were "men enlisted from all places" whom God was making into "the foolish nation" of the prophetic words of Deuteronomy 32:21.

So far, the distinctiveness of Christian identity appears to reside in its adoption of a new ethnic way of life, a different moral, religious, and cultural manner of living as a people in the world. However, we also detect a more racial conception of identity at work, one in which descent and lineage play a greater role. While some instances of Celsus' reference to a Christian *genos* lack sufficient context to delineate the breadth of meaning of the term (for instance, when he names the Christians a "cowardly and fleshly race" (*C. Cels.* 7.36), there is at least one instance where an evocation by the anti-Christian of notions of descent and filial relatedness become clear. Since Christians refuse to worship in the customary way the gods venerated by the peoples of the world, the Christians should not be allowed to have children and so perpetuate their race to future generations. "But they should depart from here leaving absolutely no offspring (*sperma*), so that such a race should be utterly eradicated on the earth" (*C. Cels.* 8.55). This statement clearly represents the Christians' identity as something that could be passed on from generation to generation by members of a particular people.

Origen would reply in the same terms. He declares, for example, that Christians will continue to marry and beget children, even while seeking the heavenly life on earth and refusing to worship the so-called gods (*C. Cels.* 8.56). Furthermore, in response to Celsus' wish for Christian extermination, Origen trusts in God's providential continuation of the Christian race. In his rebuttal of Celsus' accusation that the Jews came into existence as a rebellion against Egypt and that Christians likewise came into existence as a

rebellion against the Jews, Origen begins with an argument for the racial distinctiveness and purity of the Hebrews from the Egyptians. Those who left Egypt under Moses were descended from Hebrew forefathers and spoke a language that exhibited their difference from Egyptians. The Christians, in their turn, could not have originated in a revolt from Judaism since they had been trained in philanthropic and pacifistic behavior, even when opposed by those who wanted to kill them. They could maintain their piety through the recognition of the inextinguishable nature of their existence as a people. "God prevented their whole nation from being defeated; for He wanted to establish it and to have the whole earth be filled with this salvific and most pious teaching" (*C. Cels.* 3.8).

After pronouncing that the Christians have become "a kingdom worthy of God," who have "parted company and broken themselves off from people who are foreigners to the commonwealth (*politeia*) of God and are strangers of His covenants, in order that they might organize themselves according to the citizenship (*politeuma politeusōntai*) in heaven," and now coming into "the city of God" (*C. Cels.* 8.5), Origen declares that "in a manner akin to his blessedness we live by a special spirit of adoption; a spirit that exists among the sons of the heavenly Father" (*C. Cels.* 8.6). Later, Origen would refer to the birth of the Christian race: "That 'new thing' has happened since the time Jesus suffered, I mean that [new thing] of the city [of God], all that which belongs to the nation, and the sudden birth (*genesin*) of the race of Christians as though it were born all at once" (*C. Cels.* 8.43).

It is customary to see early Christianity transcending ethnic identities, but the ethnic argumentation employed by both Celsus and Origen exhibits the depth and force with which ethnic conceptions provided the mechanisms for the articulation of communal identity and social, religious, and theological concerns. Far from being a residual effect of ancient ethnic frameworks, the historical development of Christianity cannot be adequately understood apart from the centrality of ethnicity for early Christian self-identifications and ways of representing their world.

Conclusion

In spite of what we might expect, the adoption of *ethnos* or *genos* as collective metaphors for Christianity did not dissipate after Constantine's conversion to the faith and the gradual and variegated "Christianization" of the Roman Empire. Eusebius, John Chrysostom, and Theodoret would maintain the identification of Christians as an *ethnos* and continue to deploy many of the basic modes of ethnic argumentation. With the development of Christian master narratives of the world's nations and their histories, ethnographic data continued to be collected, organized, and reformulated within Christian conceptual frameworks (Maas 2003). Widespread modern assumptions notwithstanding, Christianity's fellow travelers and rivals, in particular the Hellenes, continued to be represented in a broad ethnic discourse that combined elements of territory, history, language, and customs in addition to acutely felt religious differences (Johnson 2012). Only with difficulty would "religion" as a conceptual category discrete from ethnicity develop in an inchoate and disjointed manner, usually in proportion to the growth of imperializing epistemologies, finally to flourish with a false sense of clarity in the modern world.[2]

NOTES

[1]A portion of this discussion was delivered in preliminary form at an Early Christian Studies workshop at the University of Chicago Divinity School. I remain grateful for the spirited conversation and useful suggestions of the audience, especially Margaret Mitchell. The present chapter has also profited a good deal from the suggestions of Heidi Johnson, who has saved it from many infelicities.
[2]The bibliography on "religion" as a modern category is immense; the contributions of Wilson and Winquist in Idinopulos and Wilson (1998) are helpful.

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Olster (1995) is essential for any study of ethnicity and early Christianity; the important studies of Lieu (2002, 2004) and Kimber Buell (2005, with bibliography of her earlier work) must likewise remain fundamental. While there seems to be a burst of scholarly energy on the subject of ethnicity and the New Testament (of varying quality), Johnson Hodge (2007) offers a sensible and readable survey of the most salient features. Johnson (2006a) has sought to provide a model for sustained analysis of "ethnic argumentation" in a single ancient text. The continued importance of ethnicity and ethnography for Byzantine Christianity has been admirably treated by Maas (2003; also see Kaldellis 2013). In spite of the significance of skin color and phenotypical identity markers in the modern world (especially the Americas), substantial work remains to be done on this area of early Christian racial thinking, though important work has sporadically appeared: Mayerson (1978); Courtès (1979); Byron (2002) (see, however, review at *Catholic Historical Review* 91 [2005], 510–11); Johnson (2006c).

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CHAPTER 26

Greek Ethnicity and the Second Sophistic

Adam M. Kemezis

Introduction

Specialists and the general public alike usually think of "the Greeks" and "the Romans" as two separate peoples who lived at different times, one after the other, and whom it is often useful to place in conceptual opposition. Specialists will admit, if pressed, that it is more complicated than that. After all, the whole eastern half of Roman Empire from the first to the fourth centuries CE functioned largely in Greek, and its inhabitants included considerably more Greek speakers than the combined population of all the Greek city-states of the fifth century BCE. The surviving literature of these Greek-speakers constitutes a large portion of all the Greek literature of antiquity, and of all the literature of the Roman Empire. It is not obvious, however, what social or cultural reality is represented by these facts. In a polity as vast and diverse as the Roman Empire, one cannot expect the relationship between literature, language, and ethnicity to be a simple correspondence. We have people writing and speaking Greek, but does that necessarily mean one can call them "Greeks"? What relationship do they have to the Greeks of previous (or indeed subsequent) eras? A large segment of Greek speakers in the Roman period called themselves "Hellenes," identified with the Greek past, and thought they were in some essential way the same people who had produced the *Iliad* and defeated the Persians. However, while there are clear continuities between archaic/classical Greeks and those of the Roman era, not the least of which is language, there are also significant differences. To our eyes, the Greeks of the second century CE defined themselves by very different criteria from those of the fifth century BCE. In particular, our Roman-era sources stress linguistic, literary, and cultural practices that are often restricted to the elite, as opposed to the factors of politics, geography, and ancestry that are more prominent in earlier sources. Furthermore,

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the self-proclaimed Greeks of the Roman Empire often simultaneously identified with categories that seem to us to be distinct non-Greek ethnicities.

Is "Greek" at this period therefore a strictly linguistic class or cultural category (shorthand for "educated Greek-speaking elite") without any of the additional factors that constitute a specifically ethnic identity (see Smith 1986: 22–31)? Our sources will not permit so simple a distinction: discourses of "blood and soil" are never dominant, but they remain present. Simply put, Greeks of the Roman period thought of themselves as what we would call an ethnic group, even though to us, who are conditioned by nineteenth- and twentieth-century ideas of race and nationalism, they often do not look like one. This chapter will give an overview of what it meant to be Greek in the Roman Empire, within the elite literary and cultural milieu known to moderns as the Second Sophistic. It will explore how *paideia* (i.e., elite Greek education and cultural knowledge) functioned as a defining criterion of Greekness, and how that criterion related to the concepts (especially ancestry and geography) that we think of as making up ethnicity. The central question will be how did *paideia*'s two statuses, first as the acquired cultural knowledge of an elite and then as the defining criterion of a self-proclaimed ethnic group, affect each other's functioning? What areas of Roman-era Greek culture can one usefully illuminate by using the specific concept of ethnicity as opposed to other categories of cultural identity?

Levels of Greekness

The form of Greek identity that will be addressed in this chapter is only one of many that existed in the imperial period, and there is much that will not be discussed here. The Greek language had several different and overlapping functions in the Roman Empire, depending on where and by whom it was used. In its broadest application, it was the political and administrative language of a region from the south Balkans to Iraq and North Africa. For the most part, the Romans never tried to use Latin as the language of government in the east, and Greek is predominant in all our sources. The Romans did not simply retain the Hellenistic culture that they conquered. They also promoted and even imposed the Greek language and certain aspects of Greek culture in areas where they had not previously existed. This language use is often quite divorced from ethnicity: it applied to many places whose inhabitants did not consider themselves Greek (large parts of Judaea, Syria, and Egypt). They had languages of their own, and for them Greek was a *lingua franca* in which one talked to foreigners, or the language of power in which one talked to Romans. These people will not be our main concern, except when we see them adopting Greek culture in non-administrative contexts, in order to assimilate into the broad imperial elite. Another group who will not be our main concern are the non-elite inhabitants of the Aegean basin, who usually spoke no languages other than Greek, but whose primary ethnic identification would have been a much more local category than "Greek," since they were mainly concerned with distinguishing themselves from neighbors who shared their language. They may have displayed a Greek consciousness when faced with non-Greek soldiers, slaves, or colonists, but our evidence for this, as for much of non-elite culture, is extremely slight.

Our main concern will be with an area that lies between these two extremes of breadth, namely the urbanized, mostly coastal, region including the Greek mainland, but also much of Anatolia and parts of Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Libya. Within this region, the rural population varied greatly in linguistic and cultural identity, but the cities, and especially urban elites, functioned mostly or wholly in Greek. Even where the rural population also spoke Greek, privileged urban society marked itself by use of a distinctive literary dialect (usually called "Atticizing" Greek) and by participation in cultural activities labeled as Greek, from both of which the rural poor were largely or wholly excluded. It is among these urban elites that *paideia* functioned as a criterion of Greekness and that the literary–cultural discourses of the Second Sophistic operated.

The World of the Sophistic

"Second Sophistic" is a technical term generally used to refer both to a body of writings and to a set of cultural practices of which those writings are a part (Sirago 1989: 43–56; this approach is critiqued by Whitmarsh 2013). The writings in question include most of the elite Greek pagan literature produced between about 50 and 250 CE. The expression was originally coined by the third-century author Philostratus, who was interested in sophistic performance narrowly defined—that is, the giving of public extempore orations in which the speaker usually took the role of a famous figure from the Greek past in a historical scenario. Among his particular heroes are Herodes Atticus (fl. 165), the dominant sophistic teacher of his generation; Polemo (fl. 130), the Ionian superstar whose disdain came through both on the speakers' platform and in his treatment of Roman governors; and Favorinus (fl. 125), a native Latin speaker from Gaul whose outrageous performances embodied the transgressive outsider just as his rival Polemo's did the consummate aristocrat. Philostratus describes more than these men's performances, though. He shows how they engaged with the Greek past in every aspect of their lifestyle, and all of the different ways they performed Greekness. Philostratus and his contemporaries saw these performances not as merely displays of erudition, but as examples of *paideia*, an all-encompassing cultural phenomenon based on a full command of Greek literature, as well as the ability to speak and write a form of literary Greek based on a restricted canon of Attic prose authors.

There was, however, much more to this *paideia* than a particular knowledge or set of skills. A "man of *paideia*" (*pepaideumenos*) saw himself as not just a "learned man" but rather a "cultured man," someone whose entire character and way of life reflected a set of ideals that were culturally coded as Greek. This included the moral, aesthetic, political, and gender aspects of his self-image and self-presentation (although certain women are also sometimes referred to by the feminine form *pepaideumenē*). The knowledge and skills one acquired in one's education were necessary qualifications, but in practice one displayed *paideia* through all sorts of performances, few of which had an obvious direct relationship to things one had learned in school. Many of these amounted to good manners, good morals, or what an English aristocrat might call "good breeding," an apparently acquired characteristic that nonetheless can only be acquired by people with the right sort of birth. There was a "cultured" way to throw dinner parties, have love affairs, worship the gods, or govern a city. All of these were painstakingly learned behaviors,

and learning them required leisure and money. *Paideia* was not precisely identical with elite status, and nobody claimed that the highest social status and highest achievement always went together, but anyone who claimed high social status also claimed at least some degree of *paideia*, and all who possessed *paideia* claimed at least to be above the masses.

Paideia, Language, and Ethnicity: Non-Ethnic Greekness?

Given the description in the preceding text, one might suppose that, in the Second Sophistic, the *paideia*-based category "Greek" had come to refer primarily to an acquired class characteristic that happened to share the name of what had in earlier times been a genuine ethnic identity. However, if one defines ethnicity (as is usual in current scholarship) as a subjective phenomenon created through discourse, such that ethnic identity is a function of what people believe and say about themselves and others, then one cannot so easily reject the ethnic dimension of Imperial-era Greekness. Any attentive reading of Second Sophistic literature will confirm that, with very few exceptions, contemporaries (Greek or non-Greek) did *not* consider Greekness as an acquired characteristic that one could put on or off without any reference to one's family and geographic origin. Although the most commonly invoked criterion of Greekness is cultural achievement, it is easy to find instances in which "the Greeks" are spoken of as a descent group, or compared to other groups that seem to be ethnically defined. It would be a mistake, however, to posit a dichotomy in Second Sophistic thought, in which some voices speak for a more "ethnic" definition of Greekness in opposition to the dominant *paideia*-based view. In the great majority of our sources from the Second Sophistic, *paideia* is not opposed to ideas of biological and geographical identity. Discourses explicitly about *paideia* often still incorporate ideas of descent; conversely, when individuals and communities in the Second Sophistic do identify with descent groups, they still refer to concepts of *paideia*. Greekness in the Second Sophistic *was* an acquired class characteristic that had the name of an ethnicity.

Even so, the names we give things do affect their function, sometimes profoundly. *Paideia* did in fact work differently from analogous types of knowledge in other cultures, precisely because its possessors connected it with an ethnic identity. The connection was not absolute. *Paideia* was not automatically sufficient for Greekness, since it could be possessed at least in some degree by people, such as the Jewish historian Josephus (fl. 75) and the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius (d. 180), who did not self-identify as Greek; neither was it completely necessary, since monoglot Greek speakers from the Greek mainland would have been universally acknowledged as in some sense Greek, even if they were entirely illiterate. Nonetheless, when elites discussed what it meant to be Greek, they did so predominantly in terms of behaviors that come under the heading of *paideia*, although they would rarely go so far as to define their ethnicity explicitly and wholly in terms of those behaviors (Saïd 2001: 286–91). What they did routinely do was to use ethnic language when discussing *paideia*. A man who used conspicuously archaic diction in speech could expect friends to call him "the Hellene" (Lucian, *Lexiph.* 23), and the followers of a prominent sophist could be referred to as "the Hellenes" (Philost. *VS* 571), even

though in both cases the people from whom the "Hellenes" are distinguished are also Greek speakers. Conversely, behavior or language that showed a lack of *paideia*, even if displayed by Greek speakers, was identified with foreign or "barbaric" peoples (e.g., Dio Chrys. 33.41; 36.25).

The use of "Hellene" in this way results in some ambiguity: Greekness does not work quite as one would expect an ethnic category to work. As Suzanne Saïd has pointed out (Saïd 2001: 291–2), people recognized degrees of Greekness, so that one could be more or less Greek than one's neighbors, and Greekness could be a source of distinction as well as solidarity. Greek status was also always contingent: there was no one objective characteristic that could make one indisputably or permanently Greek. Neither, however, could Greekness function straightforwardly as a knowledge-based class characteristic, in part because it had a large mimetic component. Was the objective of *paideia* to know about the privileged Greek past, or was it to live that past, and to *become* a classical Greek, in the sense of establishing cultural continuity and identity? The latter sense comes out in the signature activity of the Second Sophistic, the declamation (*meletē*), in which a highly educated and trained member of the elite impersonated a figure of the classical past. That sense of embodying Greekness through imitation extended to all kinds of literary practices—the historian Arrian (fl. 130), for instance, not only adopted a style and subject matter based on Xenophon, but he actually refers to his narrative persona on occasion as "Xenophon"—and to the performance of one's cultural role more generally. Of course, on some level, people knew that the imitation was a fiction, that the sophist was not Alcibiades or Demosthenes but a contemporary giving a certain kind of performance (see Schmitz 1999; Webb 2006), but that performance still required the preservation of the dramatic illusion on the explicit level. For this reason, Greeks of the Second Sophistic could not talk about their Greekness as an acquired characteristic, because that would be to acknowledge that it was something radically different from what Classical Greeks had possessed. The difference had to be expressed ironically, and the self-conscious playfulness of Second Sophistic discourses about Greekness stems largely from an unexpressed recognition of the disconnect between *paideia* as a learned skill and *paideia* as an ethnic criterion.

The phenomenon of linguistic Atticism shows the many ways in which the discourse of *paideia* and ethnicity could function. On the one hand, the Atticizing dialect was clearly a marker of educated aristocratic status, and as such it needed to be quite distinct from the language used by non-elites, and by elites in their more casual moments (Swain 1996: 33–9). On the other hand, it was meant to assimilate the speaker to the Greeks of the classical past, for whom it had been a living language used by the entire community, and thus an index of ethnicity rather than class. It was possible to ignore this second concern, and to treat Atticizing as a straightforward technical skill that could be taught with manuals and lexicons, some of which we still have. For many authors, however, exploiting the ambiguity over ethnicity turned out to be a profitable strategy. Because of the "degrees of Greekness" phenomenon noted earlier, it was always desirable to connect one's own practice of Greekness ever more closely with the classical past, to claim that one was in some sense more authentically Greek than one's neighbor. An important trick was to be able to claim that one's own use of Attic was in some way natural and gave one an organic connection to the ancients, whereas one's neighbor's usage was an incomplete set of learned skills.

The discourses of authenticity thus produced have important implications for the inclusivity and exclusivity of Greek ethnic identity. People wished to liken their use of Attic to that of native speakers who had never gone to school. In real life, unfortunately, the language of *pepaideumenoi* no longer had native speakers, but it was possible to invent them. Herodes Atticus, the ultra-rich Athenian sophist, associated himself with a self-proclaimed "wild man" nicknamed Agathion (Philost. *VS* 552–4, see also Lucian, *Dem.* 1, where the same person is known as Sostratus) who claimed to speak the pure dialect of his home in the *mesogeia* of inner Attica, a region unpolluted by immigrants. This should not, given its source, be mistaken for a non-elite, ethnically based alternative to the dominant elite discourse of *paideia*. Neither Herodes nor any other Second Sophistic figure shows any interest in using ethnic criteria to identify himself with the broad mass of uneducated non-elites to the exclusion of elites who possess *paideia* but not descent. Herodes associates authenticity with a superhuman, somewhat freakish figure who has little in common with the real-life inhabitants of the Attic countryside. Their actual language would scarcely have resembled literary Attic, and Agathion can only demonstrate authenticity by speaking his pure dialect to highly educated people such as Herodes. In doing so, he adds an extra layer to their claim of Greekness (Swain 1996: 80–3). One can invoke ethnicity, in short, without including the vast majority of what we would call "ethnic Greeks."

The ironies of using elite cultural preparation to make one resemble a non-elite, but also non-existent, native speaker are exploited to their fullest by the satirical author Lucian (fl. 170). He would not meet a modern definition of an "ethnic Greek": his birthplace on the Euphrates had strong links to the indigenous culture of eastern Syria, and his first language may have been Aramaic (Millar 1993: 452–6). He does not disguise his origin (see his *On the Syrian Goddess* with *Double Indictment* 27) but he nonetheless asserts through language the authenticity of his Greekness, and the falseness of other people's. Lucian is a compulsively playful author who maintains an ironic distance from his various literary *alter egos*, but the irony does nothing to weaken his attacks on any complacent equation between Athenian birth and true Greekness. Lucian's various personae are constantly rebuking his ostensibly more orthodox fellows (usually stereotype fictional characters who may be stand-ins for actual cultural figures; see Jones 1986: 101–16) for rejecting full immersion in classical culture and instead reducing it to individual skills. These targets use incomprehensible words in an effort to sound archaic (*Lexiphanes*); learn catchphrases and shortcuts rather than actually read the ancients (*Rhetoric Instructor*); or produce slavish and incongruous pastiche rather than stylistic imitation (*How to Write History*). In refuting them, Lucian uses pointedly ethnic rhetoric: his words are "born of the soil" of Attica, as with her mythological kings (*Pseud.* 11), and any authentic Greek will automatically understand them (14). By aggressively merging language and ethnic categories, Lucian gains a moral advantage over his critics, but more significantly, by endowing words with a kind of ethnic status usually reserved for human beings, he neutralizes any attacks on his own ethnic background. One imagines that, in real life, native Athenians did look down on Lucian for his Syrian background, but those Athenians had chosen to place inordinate weight on language as an ethnic criterion. The discourses thus constructed allowed them to exclude their non-elite neighbors from full Greekness, but they made it much harder to exclude a figure such as Lucian and allowed him to take an ironic stance as an

outsider who claims (however dubiously) to exemplify the insiders' ideals better than they do themselves.

Hellenic Genealogies

We have seen that when Greeks talked about *paideia*, they often ended up talking about ethnicity. What happened, one may ask, when they discussed ethnicity from the start, particularly in its more descent-based forms? The answer is that they often ended up by talking about *paideia*. To explain this requires understanding how Greek ideas of ethnic genealogy worked. The Greek-speaking elite of the empire was a pedigree-conscious aristocracy, and those such as Herodes Atticus (Philost. *VS* 546) and Plutarch (*Delayed Divine Vengeance* 558A), who could claim that ancestors in the heroic past were not reticent in doing so (see Jones 2010 for epigraphic parallels). However, such claims never became a necessary component of upper-class Greek status: unlike "Norman" aristocrats in England, these elites did not claim a collective descent different from that of their non-elite neighbors. This would have been ideologically difficult, because the elite's classical inheritance included a strong rhetoric of the city and the citizen community (Zuiderhoek 2008: 71–3). For anyone with a claim to Greek status, one's *patris* as a human community remained the locus of the cultural institutions and emotive attachments by which one expressed and validated that claim. Claiming to have a different genealogical origin from one's fellow citizens would have been in itself an un-Greek thing to do. Thus, when ancestry and Greekness are connected in the Second Sophistic, people do not usually say "I am Greek because my ancestors were Greek." More often, they say "I am Greek because I come from a Greek city."

Cities in the imperial period were just as anxious as individuals to attain Greek status, and they faced the same discourses of relative and contingent Greekness that individuals did. This was true for established Aegean centers and for new foundations in Asia Minor and Syria whose collective life also had a parallel indigenous component. One way to attain that status was through collective *paideia*, expressed through the self-consciously learned nature of the city's public life, festivals, oratory, and so forth (Van Nijf 1999). Cities, however, could also invoke descent in a way that few individuals could, through the venerable Greek practice of genealogical myth and legend (Patterson 2010). Second- and third-century cities were no less assiduous than their predecessors in publicizing and, when necessary, manufacturing stories of their collective origins that connected them with the people and places of Greek mythology and history. These might involve a single mythological hero, or they might involve a whole set of colonizing families in historical times. Once such a connection was made, it was applied wholesale to the entire citizen body.

In this sense, then, one can speak of a Greek ethnic consciousness, in that people saw the Hellenic cultural apparatus of their city not as the cause of its Greek status but as the manifestation, through collective memory, of a biological continuity. The workings of civic descent claims are well illustrated by the Panhellenion, a league of cities founded under the auspices of the emperor Hadrian (Cassius Dio 69.16.2). It was based in Athens,

and held meetings of delegates along with religious and athletic festivals that were still going on in Severan times. In some scholarship (Spawforth 1999; Romeo 2002), the institution is seen as ethnically exclusionary, and thus a genealogy-based counterpoint to the discourse of *paideia*. This is suggested by the geographical distribution of member cities, primarily restricted to the Aegean Basin and excluding such major Hellenistic cities as Antioch and Alexandria. Furthermore, in proclaiming the admission of new member cities, the league would affirm the inductees' collective descent from a city or region of old Greece (Oliver 1970, nos. 5–6). This functioned, it is argued, as a crucial barrier to cities that could not demonstrate such descent.

There is much in the evidence that complicates this model, however. The Panhellenion included many cities that were marginally Hellenic (e.g., Aezani and Thyatira in Phrygia), but it did not include the great cities of Ionia (Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum). It is hard to imagine that the latter failed an objective test that the former passed. It is more likely that they had no wish to join, perhaps because they did not think their Hellenic prestige would be increased by joining such an Athenocentric club (Boffo 2001: 293). Furthermore, the discourse of Greek kinship myth more generally was ill suited to this exclusionary purpose. It was usually an aggregative practice in which ancestry links were inherently desirable, since they strengthened existing cultural relationships and rendered cities' collective memories ever richer and more meaningful (Patterson 2010: 162–4). It was in everyone's interest to accept claims that may seem to us absurd, and an excessively critical attitude in any one case might call the whole discourse into question. The one known example of a city questioning another's ethnic fitness for the Panhellenion (Cyrene vs. Ptolemais-Barca; see Oliver 1989, no. 120, with Jones 1996: 47–53) proves the point. In our surviving inscription, Hadrian summarily refuses to accept the exclusionary argument. Instead he declares both parties Greek, but gives greater representation to the city with the better-developed ancestry narrative, thus falling back on the "Greekness by degrees" idea so often seen in *paideia*-based arguments.

Rather than being a counterweight to *paideia*, the Panhellenion relied heavily on it. The myth-and-legend descent claims described in the preceding text were not subject to verification by genealogical records or city charters. They relied on what people believed about their own origins and the significance of their civic and religious institutions. Those institutions were controlled by priests and officials who came from the educated elite and incorporated the correct performance of those roles into their idea of *paideia*. In addition, getting one's descent claim accepted by the wider world required reconciling these local memories with Panhellenic mythology and history, and these were once again the territory of *pepaideumenoi*. When the sophist Aelius Aristides (fl. 160) talks in his *Panathenaic Oration* about cities' true and spurious claims of Athenian descent (1.334), the unspoken inference is that people such as him get to decide which is which. The dominant ideology of the Panhellenion was not that of blood and soil, but the Isocratean notion of redefining Greekness in terms of Athenocentric culture, updated to reflect Roman conceptions of the cultural superiority of "Old Greece" (Oliver 1970: 131–8; Ferrary 2011).

In the Panhellenion and the wider Greek world, *pro forma* ancestry claims were necessary for Hellenic status, but never sufficient. The validation of such a claim required

corresponding displays of collective *paideia*, in the form of a suitably Greek public culture. The Panhellenion inscriptions attest to this process in its most basic form, in that they repeatedly stress member cities' cultural achievements, usually at greater length than their genealogy (see Oliver 1970, nos. 5–7). There are more complicated instances, though, in which it is asserted that cities with valid descent claims come up short in the cultural sphere. Thus, a rhetoric of Hellenic inadequacy or degeneracy is found throughout Imperial Greek literature. The Bithynian philosopher–orator Dio Chrysostom (fl. 100) is constantly calling his audiences' Hellenic credentials into question. To his own fellow citizens in Prusa, he asserts that "I wish so much for you to have a Hellenic character (*ēthos*)" (43.3; see also 31.157–61). What will make them Hellenic in his view is, unsurprisingly, correctly understanding his speech and endorsing his civic leadership. Philostratus' hero Apollonius finds that even the Athenians and Spartans have fallen into luxury and dissipation (*VA* 4.21 [Athens]; 4.27 [Sparta]), which his teachings are able to correct. Literary and cultural celebrities could thus obtain powerful leverage by making themselves the agents and arbiters of a city's Hellenic status. For those who could claim only an ordinary degree of *paideia*, however, having a properly Greek *patris* was all the more important, and doors in high places might not be open to a man who came from the wrong sort of city. If one could not, as with Dio, use one's own literary skill to confer Greek status, one could still use one's money, by sponsoring the buildings, institutions, and festivals that were the infrastructure of civic *paideia*. The continued willingness of Greek-speaking elites to make ostensibly free benefactions to their communities stemmed from a desire not just to control local politics, but also to secure for the donors the basic descent-based Hellenic credentials that were necessary for recognition on a wider stage.

Hellenic, Local and Imperial

Thus far, we have been mainly concerned with internal dynamics of Greekness. This last section will consider how the category of "Greek" interacted with the many other ethnic labels that imperial-era Greek speakers applied to themselves. In archaic and classical times, Greekness was only the broadest of several levels of categories to which Hellenophone inhabitants of the Aegean basin belonged, and that hierarchy of categories was subject to constant reinterpretation (see Hall 2002). By Roman times, the picture was more complicated still, in that Greek language and culture were also used in regions where they coexisted with a wide range of indigenous or otherwise pre-existing languages and cultures. In addition, Romanness progressively assumed the highest place in the hierarchy of identities, as provincial elites entered the Roman power structure and incorporated its discourses into their self-definition. Until recently, studies of Greekness in the Roman Empire (with the exception of regionally based archeological work) tended to be structured around a very strict binary of Greek and Roman. In the last few years, a more complex picture has begun to emerge that gives due consideration to the global and local levels of identity (see, e.g., Mitchell 2000; Spawforth 2001; Whitmarsh 2010 and 2013).

Greekness remained a basically "global" category. If Greek speakers of this period were asked their *patris* or *ethnos*, few would in the first instance have said "Hellas"

or "Hellene," even if speaking to a non-Greek. Much more common answers would include regional designations that might be subsets of "Greek" (Boeotians, Argives, Dorians) or might be at least apparently non-Greek (Lydians, Syrians, Egyptians). All of these categories did still need to be in some way reconcilable with the desirable status of Hellene. This was easier in some cases (mainland Greek regions) than in others, but it was never automatic, and it was always conditioned by *paideia*. This is to say that, in elite contexts where *paideia* was valued, almost every identity people might claim took its meaning largely from the significance of that identity in Greek history or mythology. Anyone who wanted access to the cultural prestige of the Greek past had to use that past as a guide for assigning meaning and value to places and communities in the present. This meant, for instance, that the monoglot Greek and avowedly Hellenic inhabitants of Sardis and its hinterland still found it useful to identify with the Lydian kingdom of Croesus, but this in turn allowed others to foist on them the same negative stereotype of effete barbarian luxury that Herodotus had expounded 600 years before (Spawforth 2001).

Within mainland Greece, one might suppose that Greekness could be taken for granted, and in a sense this was true. It is generally acknowledged that the High Empire saw a shift in the center of Greek cultural activity from the former Hellenistic royal centers of Antioch and Alexandria (and to some extent Rome itself) to the cities of the Aegean Basin, which are the main locus of activity in Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* (for Athens in the *Sophists*, see Puech 2002: 17–23; Kemezis 2011). However, the privileging of older locations was not uniform. The prosperous cities of Ionia (which were mostly thought of as Athenian colonies) were in practice more important centers than their counterparts in European Greece, Athens always excepted (see Bowersock 1969: 17–29). On the other hand, even mainland cities were not all equally Greek, but were arranged in a *paideia*-based hierarchy. On top, receiving the lion's share of cultural prestige, and its material benefits, were the great sites of memory: Olympia, Delphi, Sparta, and, above all, Athens. Other cities and regions ranked lower, with the bottom reserved for regions that in Classical times had been seen as too impoverished or primitive to count as properly Greek. Undeniable as Athenian prestige was, however, the very global nature of that prestige produced a dialectic with the traditional diversity of Old Greece. While the content of empire-wide *paideia* was homogenous and Athenocentric, there was still an authenticity to be found in the local. Cities in Mysia and Bithynia deliberately emphasized their supposed Arcadian heritage, perhaps as a counterpoint to the dominant Athenocentric view (see Scheer 2010). Pausanias, for his part, embeds the great events of Panhellenic memory in a rich structure of local meaning, but Athens and other great tourist sites remain the most privileged locales. Neither end of the global–local continuum was privileged to the exclusion of the other (Woolf 2010). Because one needed a *polis* or region to be Greek, that macroidentity could only manifest itself through microidentities, while those microidentities have little discernable existence, to us at any rate, outside of the networks of meaning (mythical genealogies, grand historical narratives) created by the Greek macroidentity.

Central to the hierarchy of ethnicities was Rome and how "Greeks" defined themselves relative to the ruling power. Roman imperial ideology accorded a unique value to Greek civilization as the only conquered group identity that Romans were willing to accord equal or even superior status to their own. The Greek-speaking eastern elite was, by the

late first century CE, reconciled to Roman political hegemony, which guaranteed their own oligarchic dominance in their home cities. In the course of the second century, more and more easterners became integrated into the Roman political system, both by acquiring Roman citizenship and by taking administrative posts. Several literary figures of the Second Sophistic were in fact senators and consulars (Arrian, Claudius Charax, Herodes Atticus, Cassius Dio). On the level of political and legal status, Greekness and Romanness were entirely compatible.

Nevertheless, there were certainly limits to that compatibility. The most obvious limit was language. The Romans never attempted to impose their own language in the east, but even so one is surprised at how little cognizance Greek authors take of Latin. Other than in Roman historical works, Greek authors barely hint that Latin existed as a literary language. This was a conscious choice: all of these authors and their peers had contacts with Roman administration, and many had lived in Rome. Their reticence on the point says more about their literary self-perception than their actual linguistic knowledge. Authors who in everyday life had very complex cultural personae with significant Roman elements nonetheless present themselves in writing as conforming to a very exclusive definition of Hellenic identity, with Roman elements either absent or carefully compartmentalized (for similar concerns in sculptural presentation, see Smith 1998; Gleason 2010).

On one reading, this is a form of cultural resistance. By promoting a version of Greekness that privileges the culturally prestigious pre-Roman past while occluding Roman elements, Greek authors are asserting an autonomous Greek pre-eminence in the field of culture that matches Rome's military–political primacy (Swain 1996; Vasunia 2003). Greeks, on this reading, were thus able to take advantage of the material opportunities presented by the Roman political system while offsetting the strain that those opportunities placed on their separate Greek identity. It is curious, however, that Roman hegemony promoted rather than endangered this literary culture. Romans from the emperor on down were consistently receptive to the Second Sophistic version of Greekness, both as financial sponsors, tourist consumers, and in some cases literary participants. Latin literature makes it abundantly clear that Romans were just as inclined as second-century Greeks to idealize Greece's classical past, to privilege "old Greece" over Greater Hellas (Ferrary 2011). Aulus Gellius' Latin writings, titled the *Attic Nights*, portray Favorinus and Herodes as the author's literary idols within a mixed Greco-Roman literary milieu, and it is hard to name a Latin author more fully and self-consciously immersed in Greek culture than Apuleius. Some scholars have thus seen accommodation on the Greeks' part rather than resistance (Bowersock 1969; Boffo 2001; Spawforth 2012). The Second Sophistic for them represents the version of Greekness most acceptable to Romans. In this reading, Greeks did not protect their cultural heritage from Roman power, but rather refined it into the product most readily exchangeable for a share of that power.

Conclusion: The Limits of Paideia

The last figure we will look at is perhaps the most extreme, Favorinus of Arles. He attained eminence in the Greek literary world despite being from the Latin west, specifically Arles

in Gaul. He comes across, both in his own writings and those of others, as an irresistibly outrageous figure. His anomalous ethnic situation was part of an entire persona built on transgressing cultural norms, including those of gender and political behavior (Gleason 1995: 3–20). An example of his manner can be seen in his surviving speech to the Corinthians ([Dio Chrysostom] 37), whom he rebukes for taking down a statue they had given him. He is brazen in making a virtue of his non-Greek birth, and presents his self-refashioning as the ultimate in devotion to Hellenic culture (25–6). He then reminds his audience of how little they have to boast of. However old Corinth may claim to be, the city on that site in his time was a Roman colony, founded by Julius Caesar. It had in effect "re-assimilated" to a Greek public culture by Favorinus' time, but according to the standard practice of basing a city's ethnic status on a foundation legend, Favorinus could label the Corinthians Roman, as indeed could Pausanias (2.1.2; see König 2001). Favorinus' whole attraction as a performer seems to have been based on a *frisson* of transgressivity, on making audiences wonder what rule he would break next, and whether they were his accomplices in breaking them.

Favorinus is obviously not an entirely representative figure, but as an outlier he can tell us much about where the boundaries of Greek ethnicity were located. Ethnic thought was always present. Neither the Gaul Favorinus nor the Syrian Lucian nor anyone else ever says "my ancestry is irrelevant, my *paideia* makes me a Greek just like all other Greeks." What they say is "my distinctive combination of ancestry and *paideia* makes me a different (and conceivably better) sort of Greek from all other Greeks." Favorinus' tongue-in-cheek rebuke to the Corinthians suggests that everyone acknowledges on some level that ancestry claims are a fiction, but they remain an important fiction that those same people will, under other circumstances, treat as real. What surprises the modern observer is how restricted those circumstances were, and the extent to which the unifying elite myth of *paideia* could accommodate and enable figures such as Favorinus while still excluding the vast majority of what we could call ethnic Greeks (i.e., uneducated non-elites) from most meaningful discourses of Greekness. The modern category of ethnicity can be a useful tool for studying these dynamics, but it is greatly limited. Whenever we try to extrapolate from existing evidence, and to imagine Greeks drawing the same kinds of essentialist inferences about their identities that nineteenth- or twentieth-century nationalists would have done, we are more likely to misunderstand their worldview than to illuminate it.

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FURTHER READING

The last 20 years have produced several important overviews of the Second Sophistic broadly defined, including Anderson (1993), Schmitz (1997), and Whitmarsh (2001). Swain (1996), especially in the opening sections, is especially influential in its treatment of Greek cultural identity, and Goldhill (2001) contains several important essays. Alcock (1993) and Woolf (1994) are treatments

from an archaeological perspective, while Gleason (1995) explores the gender aspects of sophistic performance. For an overview of the theory and usage of linguistic Atticism, see Kim (2010). As noted earlier, the concept of ethnic (as opposed to cultural) identity has not been overly prominent in recent Second Sophistic scholarship, but see Saïd (2001), Konstan (2001), and Romeo (2002). For a case study of how Second Sophistic Greekness functioned within a particular Roman provincial identity, see Andrade (2013) on Syria. A sense of the most recent scholarship on the Second Sophistic and on cultural identity in the Roman east more generally can be gained from the essays in Whitmarsh (2010) and Fleury and Schmidt (2011).

CHAPTER 27

Ethnicity and the Etruscans

Nancy T. de Grummond

Introduction

Dialogue on the ethnicity of the Etruscans begins with Herodotos (1.94; ca. 450 BCE), who, through his well-known story of how the Lydians immigrated from Anatolia to Umbria in Italy and became the Etruscans, basically generated the lines of inquiry about ethnic identity that would run through accounts of the Etruscans for many centuries. The story is told in an offhand way as part of Herodotos' survey of the Lydians, its main purpose evidently being to show how various games were invented by the Lydians to cope with a famine. In the end, the king sent away half of the population to form a colony elsewhere; they went down to Smyrna, built ships, and sailed away. When they reached Italy, they called themselves "Tyrrheni," after their leader Tyrrhenos (alternate spellings, Tyrseni and Tyrsenos). In other authors, the group of immigrants may be referred to as "Pelasgi," a term used loosely and vaguely, but sometimes implying that the Etruscans combined with or incorporated another cultural or ethnic group. For example, Thucydides (*History of the Peloponnesian War*, 4.109) describes the inhabitants of Thessaly: "The majority are Pelasgian, of the Tyrrhenian race that once settled in Lemnos and Athens."

After Herodotos, discussion in antiquity divided into two positions, one affirming or uncritically accepting Lydian identity for the Etruscans and the other arguing that they were not Lydian at all. Dionysios of Halikarnassos (*Roman Antiquities*, 1. 27; ca. 7 BCE) declared that the Etruscans were not from Lydia, since they shared neither language nor customs or religion with the people from that nation. Rather, he noted, the Etruscans themselves (of whom there were still some living in Italy in his time) claimed that they were autochthonous. They called themselves "Rasenna," after their leader.

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Most will acknowledge that the story in Herodotos cannot have been correct, since it places the immigration of the Lydians "during the reign of Atys, son of Manes," just after the Trojan War, that is, sometime in the thirteenth or twelfth century BCE, when there is no evidence of an immigrant group from the East in Italy, and certainly not in the part of the peninsula known in antiquity as Umbria. Herodotos was reporting on an event supposed to have taken place more than 700 years before the time he was writing, and it can be safely said that he had no particular knowledge of the immigration himself, but must have heard the tale on his travels. Further, Dionysios was quite correct about the differences between the languages. Lydian may be classified as an Indo-European language, while most scholars agree that Etruscan is a non-Indo-European language. The archaeological record provides support for the theory of autochthony in that there does not seem to be any sharp cultural break that would indicate the arrival of immigrants from the Orient in Etruria, either at the time noted by Herodotos or later. Some scholars, in the face of the fact that the Etruscans could not possibly be Lydians, nevertheless persist in arguing that the Etruscans came from the Near East, and cite other ancient descriptions of the wanderings of Tyrrhenians and Pelasgians as proof.

Modern Debate

The preceding summary is a highly simplified version of the two contrasting ancient theories from which one might identify the ethnicity of the Etruscans. Modern debate on the subject introduced into the discussion a third theory that was never proposed in antiquity, but has the merit of being based to a certain extent on the archaeological record (Pallottino 1975; Bagnasco Gianni 2012). In the nineteenth century, when the early Etruscan Villanovan Iron Age culture of Italy (ca. 1000/900–700 BCE) had been discovered, it was noted that the cremation ritual utilizing ash urns placed in large cemeteries of such tombs was shared with an earlier culture in Central Europe north of the Alps noted for its urn fields. Thus, there arose the "northern" theory of the origin of the Etruscans, that they had come across the Alps and then by stages moved down into the heartland of the Etruscans in Etruria, in the territory bounded by the Tiber River on the south and east, the Arno River on the north, and the Tyrrhenian Sea on the west (Map of Italy). One problem with the northern theory is that some of the earliest evidence of Villanovan culture comes from sites on the sea and quite to the south of the hypothesized northern route. Further, the use of cremation and ash urns was a widespread phenomenon during this period in Italy and Greece as well, and need not imply anything about ethnicity.

Massimo Pallottino, the leading authority on the Etruscans in the twentieth century, made a thorough review of the three theories, observing that each leaves something unexplained or contradicts established facts; he noted that the issue "attracted sharp and vigorous debate, degenerating at times into sterile polemics on preconceived theses" (Pallottino 1975: 65, 69). The solution lay, he thought, in asking the question in a different way. Too many scholars were concerned about the *provenance* of Etruscan civilization,



Map 27.1 Map of Italy. Courtesy of N. de Grummond.

whereas the essential issue was the *formation* and development of this particular culture over a period of centuries. In what follows, attention will be given to the historical development of the Etruscans, but at the same time we may address the areas that have the greatest bearing on defining their ethnicity: language, nomenclature, religion, appearance, and biological characteristics. When possible, ethnic distinctions will be nuanced by reference to Etruscan men and women whose status was royal, princely, aristocratic, slave, or freed.

Language

The Etruscan language is the single most important index of Etruscan ethnicity. It is known through one linen book and numerous inscriptions (more than 10,000). In the formation of Etruscan culture, however, the language becomes visible only around 700 BCE, with the earliest-dated inscription coming from Tarquinia (*ET* Ta 3.1; Cristofani 1979: 378; Wallace 2008: 23). The language could have been in use in Italy for quite some time, but would have been written down only when the alphabet was transmitted to the Etruscans by Greeks who had settled on the Bay of Naples ca. 775–750 BCE.

What is remarkable about Etruscan is that, with two possible exceptions, it is unrelated to other known languages of the ancient world. Scholars almost unanimously agree that Etruscan is not an Indo-European language and thus is unusual in ancient Italy and Greece, where Latin, Greek, and other Indo-European languages prevailed (Pallottino 1975: 54–6; Bagnasco Gianni 2012). That Etruscan was not Indo-European is readily shown by, for example, words for family relationships, totally unlike those in Indo-European languages (e.g., *clan* = "son"; *seχ* = "daughter"), and the numbering system, which differs from normal Indo-European practice in vocabulary and in construction of numbering. For example, the Etruscan words for one through six, completely unlike those in Greek and Latin, are known from the famous pair of dice in Paris that have the words rather than dots written on the six sides of the dice: *θu*, *zal*, *ci*, *śa*, *maχ*, *huθ* (Wallace 2008: 54, 217).

There are two languages from antiquity that have been connected with Etruscan: Lemnian and Raetic. If these connections are valid, our view of Etruscan ethnicity must be adjusted accordingly. The more notable of the two is the language written on the island of Lemnos in the sixth century BCE. The texts, of which new ones continue to be noted (de Simone 2011), constitute a tantalizing support for the reference in Thucydides to Tyrrheni on the island of Lemnos. The principal text is a damaged sandstone grave stele (best image, de Simone 2000: 500), bearing an image in low relief of a warrior with a spear, shield, and close-fitting headgear and two inscriptions—one on the main face of the stele and one along the side of the slab. The information in the writing is similar to what occurs in Etruscan funerary inscriptions, using a formula for the age of the individual at death (40 years) and also indicating the year the stele was set up by referring to a ruling magistrate as in Etruscan. Linguistic parallels include similar grammatical endings and the elimination of the voiced consonants *b*, *d*, and *g*, as well as the use of two different forms of sibilants. Perhaps most significant, the alphabet used is the "Western" or Chalcidian type employed by the Etruscans but otherwise unknown in the northern Aegean. The same alphabet is used on other Lemnian inscriptions found at Hephaistia on the northern shore of Lemnos. So far, it has proved impossible to make a complete translation of the stele inscription, and disagreement remains over whether the language can actually be called Etruscan, or whether it constitutes a dialect, or whether it is a separate language ultimately derived from the same parent language as Etruscan (Agostiniani 2000: 485; de Simone 2000: 501–5).

The scenario behind the presence of these inscriptions (now totaling around 10) on the island of Lemnos is open to conjecture. The recent recovery of an altar slab inscribed in Lemnian (de Simone 2011), and a loomweight with a Lemnian word (Beschi 1996), shows that the language was relevant in religion and daily life, and that the stele is not an isolated phenomenon. If the inscriptions were dated substantially earlier, they would have added considerable force to the theory of a migration of Etruscans from the east, with a stop on the way at Lemnos. But a journey in the other direction, from Italy to Lemnos, is made more plausible by the late date and by the usage of the western alphabet. De Simone has even suggested that Lemnos could have been a base for the Tyrrhenian pirates who were said to be present in the Aegean from Archaic times (*Homeric Hymn* 7, to Dionysos).

Quite apart from the linguistic problems is the issue of the stele itself. The iconography and composition are remarkably similar to those of armed warriors on several grave stelai from Etruria of the seventh and sixth century BCE (Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 61–2, 140–2). But this hardly points to immigration hundreds of years earlier. The Lemnian stele mentions a Phokaian named Holaie as a magistrate, a suggestive detail since Phokaia had close connections with Lydia in the east, but also with the Etruscans in the west. The Phokaians had settlements at Massilia in southern France (600 BCE), at Alalia on Corsica (561 BCE), and at Velia in southern Italy (540 BCE). They may also have been resident at Etruscan Cerveteri (Hemelrijk 1984: 160). Holland (1937) suggested that Herodotos' story of the origin of the Etruscans goes back to a Phokaian source. Is it possible that there was a blend of populations and that the inhabitants of Lemnos were ethnically part Etruscan and part Phokaian (i.e., Ionian Greek), some speaking a language very close to Etruscan?

The relationship between Etruscan and Raetic is likewise intriguing. Some 100 short inscriptions, written in the Etruscan alphabet, have survived in this language, spoken in the Alpine regions of north-central Italy. According to Pliny (*N.H.* 3.20.133; supported by Livy, 5.33), the Raeti were actually Etruscans who were driven out of the Po Valley into the mountains by invading Gauls. Since the inscriptions are mainly names, they do not allow for a great deal of linguistic analysis. Still, scholars have been able to observe a few lexical correspondences, as well as the mutual usage of two different kinds of participles and certain case endings. Obviously much more evidence is needed, but for now the hypothesis is viable that this was an ethnic group closely related to the Etruscans of Etruria.

Nomenclature

Etruscan inscriptions provide an immense amount of data about the names of Etruscans, relevant for the issue of ethnicity, since there are certain names and formulas of nomenclature that are unmistakably characteristic of their society. In early Etruria, as in early Rome and other cultures of pre- and proto-historic Italy, probably originally single, individual names were normally used, but with urbanization and increasing societal complexity it

became necessary to link oneself with a family group. By around 700 BCE, a system of nomenclature spread widely in Italy, in which each personal name had two components, for which the Latin terminology is normally used: the *praenomen* (first name) and *nomen* (family name). Similar to the Romans, the Etruscans had a series of *praenomina* that recurred. For males, the common names were Arnth (Aranth), Avle (Avele), Cae (Caele), Laris, Larth, Mamarce, Sethre, Tite, Vel, and Velthur; for females, some of the names were variants of the male names: Larthi (or Larthia), Sethra, Tita and Velia (Velelia), or unrelated Hasti (Fasti), Thana (Thania), Thanchvil (the same as Latin Tanaquil), and Ramtha (Ravnthu).

For the *nomina*, there was a great deal of variety, as may be seen, for example, in the instructive corpus of funerary inscriptions from the Orvieto cemeteries of the Crocefisso del Tufo and the Cannicella, dating to the end of the sixth or beginning of the fifth century BCE (Bizzarri 1962, 1966; Bonamici, Stopponi, and Tamburini 1994; *ET* Vs 1.1–132; 1.134–168). Here, the social context is clarified by the fact that the tombs are generally built in the same way with a single chamber for two to three burials, constructed above ground from cut masonry, on a clear grid system, suggesting that they were planned at the same time. That is, a group of social equals were buried in these cemeteries. The inscriptions appear above the door of the tomb or on a stone cippus, and many have an identical format identifying the owner of the tomb: *mi aveles sipanas* (*ET* Vs 1.39); *mi mamarces triasnas* (*ET* Vs 1.80): "I [am the tomb] of Avele Sipanas," "I [am the tomb] of Mamarce Triasnas." A few inscriptions name the owner as female: *mi velelias hirminaia* (*ET*, Vs 1.85; see also Vs 1.37; 1.66; 1.94; 1.112). Three seem to refer to someone of Latin extraction (*ET* Vs 1.35; 1.62, 1.81), and one has a *nomen* of Celtic origin (*ET* Vs 1.165), but for the most part the inscriptions reveal a society of Etruscan males of an upper echelon, comfortable with their ethnic identity within their peer group.

Nomenclature became more intricate during the second phase of the writing of the Etruscan language, often referred to as Neo-Etruscan, beginning around 470 BCE. The most important development was the addition of names that indicated family relationships, of father, mother, wife (patronymic, metronymic, gamonymic), and brother, though not of husband. A tufa sarcophagus from Tarquinia, dating to the third century BCE, gives the patronymic and the metronymic of a young noble: *partunus.vel.velθurus. satlnalc.ramθas.clan.avils XXIIX lupu*, "Vel Partunus, of Velthur and of Ramtha Satlnai the son, died at age 28" (*ET* Ta 1.15; Benelli 2007: 68–9). Another sarcophagus names a lady as daughter and wife: *larθi:spantui:larces: spantus seχ: arnθal partunus puia,* "Larthi Spantui, of Larce Spantus the daughter, of Arnth Partunus the wife" (*ET* Ta 1.1; Benelli 2007: 69). These sarcophagi belong to members of the upper class at Tarquinia, comparable to the elite group at Orvieto. But what is different is that, by this date, the Etruscan city had been at war with Rome and, having lost battles and territory, must have sought a way to emphasize family relations in order to maintain identity.

The latest inscription in Etruscan has been dated to around 15–20 CE (*ET* Ar 1.8, from Arezzo; Benelli 1994: 15–16; 2001, 11), at the time when the Etruscans were absorbed into the multicultural ambient of the early Roman Empire. It gives the name

of the individual in Etruscan, with slight variation in Latin, and an additional Latin name: C.Cassius.C.f.Saturninus *v.cazi.c.clan*. Many of the late inscriptions, all funerary and some 34 of which are bilingual with Latin (Benelli 1994; Adams 2003), come from inland Chiusi and Perugia to the east, where Etruscan culture remained vigorous for the longest time. They are fascinating for what they reveal about Etruscan uncertainty about identity during this stage of transition to Roman rule. Worth noting is that a surprising number of the bilinguals include the metronymic, either in Latin or Etruscan or both: *cuinte.śinu.arntnal*, translated as Q.Sentius.L.f.Arria.natus (*ET* Cl 1.957; see also *ET* Cl 1.354, 1.1221, 1.2430, 1.1449, 1.1181; Pe 1.211, 1.313, 1.846, etc.). During this period, when personal identity could be an almost daily problem, many Etruscans insisted on giving this information that was normally not included in Latin.

Naturally, legal considerations were important as well, so that when an Etruscan wanted to be enrolled in a voting tribe, he would need to choose a Roman name. The bilinguals show an interesting array of solutions to this problem. Some are fairly easy to understand as translations: for example, the famous inscription that gives the name of a priest and his titles, which has been interpreted as revealing the Etruscan word for *haruspex—netśvis* (*ET* Um. 1.7; Benelli, 1994: 13–15): *[L. Ca]fatius L. f. Ste. haruspe[x] fulguriator*, translated as *[c]afates.lr.lr. netśvis. trutnvt.frontac*. The Latin version gives the name of his tribe, Stellatina, and the two words *haruspex fulguriator*, which seem to have three Etruscan words as their equivalent. The change from the name of Laris Cafates, son of Laris, involves a minor adjustment, substituting the *praenomen* L[ucius].

In fact, rarely do two bilingual inscriptions say exactly the same thing, and sometimes the alternate Roman name is downright astonishing, to the point that one wishes to ask if in fact the inscriptions refer to different persons. Frequently, the *praenomen* is completely changed. A case in point is *ET* Ar 1.3, where the Etruscan is *a.haprni.a aχratinalisa*—that is, "Avle Haprni, son of Avle, son of Achratina." This is "translated" as *Cn. Laberius A. f. Pom*, "Gnaeus Laberius, son of Aulus, Pomptine (tribe)." Such radical changes have been explained as evidence of a conscious strategy to assimilate oneself into Roman society (Farney 2010; also, see Chapter 29 in this volume).

Religion

Next to language, the most prominent ethnic indicator of the Etruscans was their religion. The well-known quote from Livy seems to be absolutely true: the Etruscans were a *gens* "more than any others dedicated to religious practices, in that they excelled in the art of cultivating these (practices)" (5.1.6). (See also Chapter 31 in this volume.) This perception of them became stereotypical, as seen in the equally popular citation from the Early Christian Arnobius (*Adversus nationes* 7.26), claiming that Etruria was the *genetrix et mater superstitionis* ("begetter and mother of superstition").

The Etruscans, who could not be referred to as one nation, were bound together by their religious practice. They lived in separately governed city-states, belonging to a loosely organized union known as the Duodecim Populi, the Twelve Peoples of Etruria, which met periodically at the shrine of the Fanum Voltumnae, a site where worship of the

gods was combined with political action, games, and markets. In fact, under the Roman Empire, they were expanded and were known as the Quindecim Populi. Excavations on the plain at the Campo della Fiera outside Orvieto (ancient Volsinii), revealing altars, temples, and votive deposits, have demonstrated that this is the site of Fanum Voltumnae (Stopponi 2011). Each of the Peoples was led by what the Romans called a *lucumo*, supposed to be an Etruscan word for *rex* (Servius, *ad Aeneidem* 2.278; 8.65; 8.475; Livy also calls them *principes*: 2.44.8; 6.2.2; 10.13.3; 10.16.3). One of these leaders was customarily chosen as chief priest and sponsor for the games at Fanum Voltumnae (Livy 5.1). He symbolized the unification of the Twelve Peoples into one religiopolitical and ethnic entity.

The Twelve adhered to the religious principles of the *Etrusca disciplina*, teachings delivered by prophets, then written down and disseminated throughout Etruria. They were bound together by a charter myth, the story of the oracular child called Tages in Latin and Greek, who miraculously popped up in a ploughed furrow at Tarquinia, and began to chant the principles for learning the will of the gods and for responding appropriately (Cicero, *De divinatione* 2.23; Johannes Lydus *De ostentis* 2.6.B). "All of Etruria," representing the Twelve Peoples, came to listen to the amazing messages. According to one version, Tarchon, brother of Tyrrhenos and founder of the city of Tarquinia and other cities, came to record what the child was saying and became a haruspex or interpreter. Several references indicate that traditional sacred knowledge was handed down, sometimes from father to son, and had a profound influence for many centuries on most aspects of Etruscan life. Archaeological and other literary evidence confirm a widespread observance of rituals recorded in a series of books that had to do with the reading of entrails of sacrificed animals (particularly the liver), the interpretation of lightning and thunder and of other omens, the founding of cities and temples, and the practices of agriculture (de Grummond 2006a: 23–30; 2006b: 191–3, 202–5). In particular, the teachings of Tages may survive in a lengthy brontoscopic calendar in which thunder divination was used to address agricultural, military, social, and political concerns (Turfa 2012).

Appearances

Thus far, little has been said of the stereotypical descriptions of the Etruscans in Greek and Latin literature. One well-known *topos* associates the Etruscans with a luxurious lifestyle and flamboyant and free behavior (Farney 2007: 133–40, for a recent review; see also Chapter 32 by Kathryn Lomas in this volume). The *obesus Etruscus* (Catullus 39.11) evidently got that way through banqueting sumptuously twice a day. The conduct of Etruscan women was especially scandalous (Bonfante 1994, esp. 248–9), and was played out, for example, in Livy's accounts of the Etruscans in early Rome, in the contrasting behavior of the imperious Etruscan queen Tanaquil or the wicked Tullia and the chaste Roman noblewoman Lucretia. The Etruscans were described at one time or another as cruel, piratical, effeminate, sexually promiscuous, ambitious, and devious.

These observations, made by outsiders often hostile to the Etruscans, are somewhat exaggerated or at best simply unbalanced accounts. They are probably based on knowledge of the upper classes, a relatively small percentage of the Etruscan population. But it is not difficult to find the realities that gave rise to these judgments. One may select as evidence the spectacularly wealthy inhumation of a female named Larthia in the Regolini-Galassi tomb at Cerveteri (of the Orientalizing period; ca. 650–625 BCE), almost certainly the burial of a queen (Haynes 2000: 75–9). Tanaquil would have been exactly her contemporary. The monumental stone tomb set in a great tumulus featured a principal chamber where the deceased was laid out with a waist-length gold bib upon her chest, surrounded by other stunning, often outsize, objects of gold, amber, silver, bronze, and fine ceramics. The burial was exceptional in Etruscan culture, of course, and if it was indeed royal, was appropriate enough as an expression of the status of the lady. On the other hand, one may select as typical of the Etruscans any one of the numerous, more modest inhumations at Archaic Orvieto. These tombs regularly contained fine bucchero pottery along with imported Greek vases, some of exceptional quality, and objects of bronze and iron. But the rather small chambers of the tombs and the abundant clay vessels, while impressive, show a different social and political identity. Similarly, the thousands of cremation burials of the Villanovan Iron Age at Cerveteri, Tarquinia, and other sites, often with few grave goods, or cremations of a later date (third–first century BCE) at sites such as Volterra and Chiusi, suggest more modest levels of prosperity.

The deceased is often represented as reclining and sometimes banqueting, on the ash urns and also in the paintings on the walls of tombs at Tarquinia (Figure 27.1; Tomb of the Lionesses, ca. 530 BCE). In the paintings, feasting, drinking, dancing, and other entertainment goes on, and women mingle freely with men, reclining on couches along with them. Reports of promiscuity could find support in several famous depictions of group sex, as in the Tarquinian Tomb of the Bulls and Tomb of the Flagellation, in the latter of which a naked female is actually whipped as she is subjected to sexual acts. But there are relatively few such scenes, and we can only guess at the contexts that might justify their presence. It is certain that the Etruscans had an overwhelming conviction that there was life after death, and their funerary services celebrated the journey of a loved one to the other world. The banqueting and festivities were thus an integral part of the ritual activities necessary for a funeral at which they bade farewell to their deceased. Sexual allusions and scenes of husband and wife reclining together related to themes of fertility and immortality. Further, an abundance of grave goods need not be construed as simply luxury, but more as funeral practice focused on providing all that the deceased, conceived of as divine, would need in the afterlife.

Is it possible to tell anything about the actual physical appearance or ethnicity of the Etruscans from these depictions? The banqueter represented in the Tomb of the Lionesses (Figure 27.1), generally believed to be the deceased, wears a mantle with a curved hem that leaves the shoulders exposed, with no tunic underneath. This is actually the garment known to the Romans as the toga, which according to abundant evidence was worn first by the Etruscans (Bonfante 2003: 45–52). His hair is light in color, perhaps blond, and its style is also very likely exactly what men were wearing in Etruria in the sixth century,



Figure 27.1 Etruscan tomb painting with reclining male banqueter. Tarquinia, Tomb of the Lionesses, ca. 530 BCE. Courtesy of Scala/Art Resource, NY.

with long braids hanging in front and in back (for other blonds as well as dark-haired Etruscans in tomb paintings, see Briggs 2002: 163). The facial features, however, are not likely to constitute a true portrait, but rather partake of a formula for representing the male in Etruria in Archaic art. It has been observed that the formula used—with the face in profile, showing almond-shaped eyes, a large nose, and a domed up profile of the top of the head—has its parallels in images from the eastern Mediterranean. But these features may show only artistic conventions and are therefore of limited value for determining ethnicity.

In tomb paintings through the centuries (sixth–third century BCE), women of high status appeared elegantly, though not extravagantly, dressed and bejeweled. In the Archaic period, the fashion of the *tutulus*, a tall hair style rather like the beehive, covered with a cap and veil, gave a distinctive look, along with pointed-toe shoes (also worn by males; the fashion went out by around 475 BCE). In the Middle period of Etruscan culture (ca. 450–300 BCE), hair was worn bound up in back by a snood, with a diadem or wreath in front. As may be seen in an Etruscan mirror of ca. 350 BCE depicting the adornment of the bride Malavisch (Figure 27.2), the fashion "look" featured an abundance of jewelry—necklaces with large and clunky pendants or fine matched beads, earrings of a disc or grape cluster shape, diadems, bracelets, and armlets with bullae. Sometimes Greek-style earrings were worn, a rather modest type with an inverted pendant pyramid, but these only serve to bring out the contrast between the women of Greece and Etruria in this period; images of Greek female dress normally show very few, and inconspicuous, accessories (Castor 2010: 32). In other words, it would have been relatively



Figure 27.2 Bronze Etruscan mirror with scene of Adornment of the Bride Malavisch. Drawing. London, British Museum, ca. 350–325 BCE (after E. Gerhard, Etruskische Spiegel, 1845, vol. 2, pl. 213).

easy for someone to discern the ethnicity of an Etruscan woman as compared to a Greek on the basis of her adornment. For Roman women, the evidence is mixed. They willingly gave up their jewelry under the Lex Oppia (215 BCE) as part of the Hannibalic war effort, but aggressively supported the repeal of the law 25 years later. Adornment was a matter of prestige and status for Roman women, even regarded as the counterpart of men's offices and titles. As the tribune Lucius Valerius noted, "Elegance and adornment and apparel—these are the insignia of women" (Livy 34.7. 8; cf. de Grummond 1982: 180). Possibly, Etruscan women may have justified their appearance in a similar way.

Also, distinctions of dress and adornment were not confined to upper-class Etruscan women. In Etruria, even female servants dressed well, for example, as shown in the Golini Tomb I at Orvieto, where a "kitchen" scene features servants preparing tables laden with

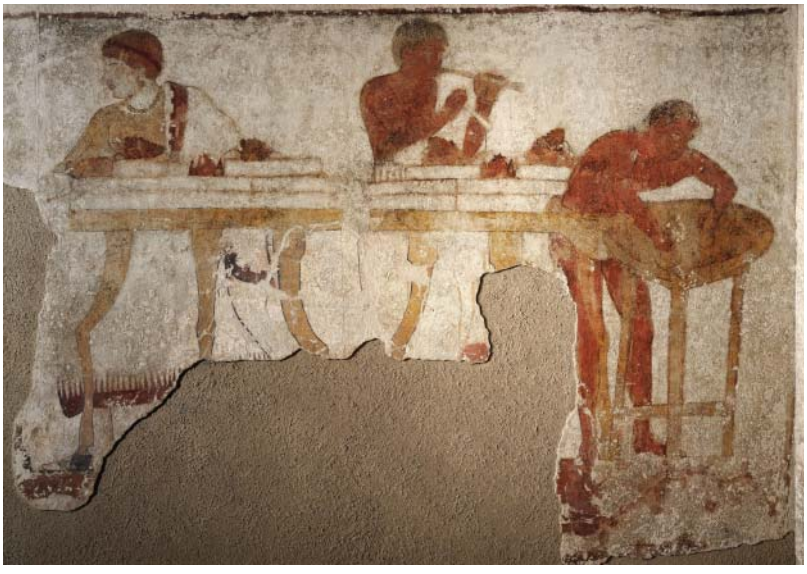


Figure 27.3 Etruscan tomb painting with servants in the kitchen. Orvieto, Golini Tomb I, fourth century BCE. Courtesy of Scala / Art Resource, NY.

foodstuffs (Figure 27.3; *Pittura etrusca a Orvieto*, 1982, pl. 21). One of the helpers, labeled Thrama Mlithuns (*ET* Vs 7.3)—obviously not the name of a noble person—is nicely dressed in a yellow see-through blouse and bordered skirt or wrap. Another female servant nearby wears dangling earrings, a necklace, a mantle, and a skirt with purple borders. The rather rare depiction of Etruscan female servants in Golini Tomb I tends to confirm the remark attributed to Aristotle, that Etruscan slaves dressed better than was customary (in Athenaeus, Gulick 1927–41, vol. 1, p. 103).

There did come a point at which the public appearance of an upper-class Etruscan closely resembled that of a contemporary Roman, probably through a process of mutual exchange that had lasted for centuries. The best example of this is the first-century BCE bronze statue found near Perugia known as "The Orator" (Figure 27.4), an image that would probably have been dubbed Roman were it not for the inscription on the hem of the garment, revealing the individual's name: Aule Meteli, son of Vel and Vesi (*ET* Pe 3.3). He has the close-cropped hair worn in the Late Republic by Pompey and others, and sports a rather full—for an Etruscan—toga over a tunic with stripes, indicated by a change in the bronze alloy. The high-strapped boots are of a type worn by Roman senators. Even the gesture, with hand raised to command attention, recalls Roman oratory. The face is intriguing, because it seems to be truly individual, as are so many portraits of Etruscans on ash urns from Volterra and of Romans of the Late Republic, done in the "veristic" manner. But if it does indeed show the actual facial features of Aule Meteli, he does not appear to be so very different from contemporary Romans. With this image and several other true portraits of the Late Etruscan period, as with the bilingual inscriptions that are close in date, it is no longer possible to be sure about Etruscan ethnicity.



Figure 27.4 Bronze statue of Aule Meteli. Florence, Archaeological Museum, first century BCE. By permission of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana-Firenze.

Biology

There is a growing interest in the biological characteristics of the Etruscans, chiefly because a reliable scientific workup on the physical anthropology of the Etruscans might help solve the problem of Etruscan origins. The interest is not new, having been broached in the nineteenth century and then in a symposium in 1958 devoted to biology and Etruscan origins (Wolstenholme and O'Connor 1959). At that time, Barnicot and Brothwell measured a group of skulls labeled as Etruscan in the British Museum; they were impressed with the similarity of those skulls to those of modern populations, suggesting that the Etruscans were not intrusive in Europe. In 1980, a detailed metric and morphological study of a population sample from Tarquinia of 56 males and females found a strongly homogeneous group, mesocranial and of medium/tall height (Mallegni, Fornaciari, and Tarabella 1980). The authors found comparable results in studies of skeletal remains at Cerveteri and Vulci by other scientists, and argued that the emerging picture supported the idea of an autochthonous people.

Most recently, there have been several studies of DNA and the Etruscans, including an astonishing Internet headliner that the Etruscans' origin in the East was confirmed by similarities in the DNA of modern cattle in Turkey and Tuscany (Perkins 2009: 95).

Of course, cattle could have come to Italy from the area of Turkey almost any time in history, and even in Etruscan times could have been brought on the ships of others, such as the Ionian Greeks. Another inquiry analyzing 80 samples of human bone from cemeteries in Etruria and in the Po Valley and Campania found that internal genetic diversity was low and that Etruscan DNA resembled most the DNA of modern Tuscany, but that it could not be linked conclusively with ancient populations (Vernesi et al. 2004). The validity of the samples was criticized, however, on the grounds that post mortem changes in ancient DNA might lead to erroneous correlations. A later study (Achilli et al. 2007) relied on a dramatic title to attract public attention, announcing that the study of modern Tuscan DNA proved a Near Eastern origin, but the actual reported results only weakly supported the claim. With the study of ancient DNA in its infancy, there are still problems about contamination of samples, the stability of the specimens and questions as to whether studies are trustworthy. It has become clear that the lack of established procedures among scientists themselves and the lack of collaboration so far between the scientists and archaeologists are a hindrance to clear thinking on the issues. As Perkins puts it in his superb review of this highly controversial topic, "The investigation of Etruscan ancient DNA has barely started" (Perkins 2009: 107).

Others in Etruria

As occurs in any culture, there were members of Etruscan society who were foreigners. This large and complex topic can be treated only briefly here. It is sometimes assumed that there were Greeks present in Etruscan cities, because, for example, cultural objects of high quality would "logically" have been made by immigrant Greeks. Often cited is the story of the Greek Demaratus, an exile from Corinth who came to Tarquinia attended by three artisans—Eucheir, Diopos, and Eugrammos—to whom were attributed the invention of modeling in clay (Pliny, *Natural History* 35.152). Their names are generic and may be translated as "Goodhand," "Deadeye," and "Goodpainter," leading to suspicion that this aspect of the tale of Demaratus should not be taken too literally. In fact, the names of Greek artists on works made in Etruria are quite rare. There are two inscriptions with signatures, naming the artists Arnth Praxias and Metru, both on vases painted in the Greek red-figure style of the fifth century BCE (neither of exceptional quality), one found at Vulci, the other at Populonia but thought to have been made at Vulci (Colonna 2005 [1975], 1801–4). Greek presence tended to be strongest at such coastal cities as Tarquinia, Vulci, and Populonia.

As for other Greeks integrated into Etruscan society, once again the Demaratus story is considered paradigmatic. This wealthy merchant settled and married an Etruscan wife, begetting Tarquinius, the first Etruscan king of Rome (Livy, Book 1; Dionysios of Halikarnassos 3.46.5). A real-life counterpart to the legendary Demaratus was the sixth-century merchant Sostratos who dedicated a stone anchor to Apollo in a Greek sanctuary at Graviscae, the port of Tarquinia (Torelli 1971). But he probably did not live in Etruria, and of Greek inhabitants with names in Etruscan format there is so far relatively little evidence. From Tarquinia comes a name Rutile Hipukrates (i.e., the Greek name Hippokrates; Rutile is in fact a Latin name), written on the base of a

vessel of the seventh century BCE (*ET* Ta 6.1). Attributed to Cerveteri is an inscription of the same period that names Larth Telicles (*ET* OA 2.2); in both cases, the *nomen* suggests that a Greek used his own name in an Etruscan formula with a local *praenomen*. (Colonna 2005b [1970], 1585).

Cerveteri, also on the coast and in the deep south of Etruria, must have been a multicultural city, judging from inscriptional evidence. Besides the Latin name Licine, there are a number of *praenomina* recognized as Italic—for example, Vethie, Kaisie, and Metia (Colonna 2005b: 1584). The Phoenician language occurs as well, at Pyrgi, the port of Cerveteri, on one of the three famed gold tablets, ca. 500 BCE, in which the king Thefarie Velianas declares his dedication to the goddess Uni/Astarte in both Etruscan and Phoenician. Clearly, there were Phoenicians calling on the shores of Etruria, following trade lanes that stretched from Italy, Spain, and North Africa back to the eastern end of the Mediterranean. Numerous exotic imported objects were carried into Etruria and buried in tombs of the coastal cities during the well-named Orientalizing period of the seventh century BCE (Rathje 1979). These cannot be used, however, as evidence for ethnicity, only as proof of contacts. Such objects originated from a wide variety of cultural contexts and dates—Phoenician, Assyrian, Cypriot, Egyptian—and cannot be used to support a theory of migration of a homogeneous group from the East.

On the borders of Etruria, there would have been interaction, and very likely intermarriage, with neighbors such as the Latins in the south (well documented), the Umbrians on the east, and, especially in later centuries, with the Celts (Gauls) to the north. There is probably some truth in the tale that Arruns, ruler of Chiusi, summoned Gauls to his court to aid in his personal conflicts and introduced them to wine, after which they did not want to leave (Livy 5.33.2–4). In any case, their presence in Italy from the fourth century on is well known, and it is not surprising to find that Gauls did settle in the Po Valley and around Bologna. Excavations at the fourth–third century BCE village and cemetery of Monte Bibele (Monterenzio) have revealed what is convincingly interpreted as a mixed settlement of Gauls and Etruscans (Grassi 1991: 87–93).

In the second and early first centuries BCE, there is a dramatic increase in the number of Etruscan inscriptions referencing freedmen of foreign extraction, especially in the northern and inland Etruscan cities of Chiusi and Perugia. The situation has been explained as resulting from a change in slavery practices in Italy after the Second Punic War (Benelli, 2013). Hellenistic Greek names (e.g., Apluni, Evantra, Nicipur, Clepatra) suggest that these individuals came from Eastern Mediterranean slave markets; they were evidently able to obtain their freedom as readily as their counterparts in Roman cities and live their lives with a new status. They represent the amazing multicultural wave and transformation of society that swept through Etruscan territory in the early Roman Empire, leaving it changed forever.

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CHAPTER 28

Romans and Jews

Erich S. Gruen

Denying the Dichotomy

Ethnic contests and conflicts (or what we call ethnic conflicts) continue to plague our world. Recent decades have witnessed prolonged outbursts with distressing regularity. One needs to think only of Serbs, Croats, and Muslims in Bosnia, of Israelis and Palestinians in the Holy Land, of Copts and Muslims in Egypt, of Greeks and Turks in Cyprus, of Catholics and Protestants in Ireland, of Maronites, Sunni, Shiites, and Druze in Lebanon—not to mention the petty squabbles of Greeks and Slavs over who the real Macedonians are. Ethnicity, when it forms the basis of collective identity, seems more a curse than a blessing.

Is ethnicity, in fact, a determining factor of identity? That too has been a matter of dispute, contention, and conflict—but primarily among academics, and without, to my knowledge, much bloodshed. The principal divide, in earlier debates, has been between the so-called "primordialists" or "essentialists" and the "instrumentalists" or "circumstantialists," terms conceived in this context by anthropologists and gradually adopted and applied by other disciplines. A more inventive set of labels was introduced by a sociologist, with a degree in Classics from Oxford: he pitted the "Parmenideans" against the "Heraclitans" (Smith 1986: 210–12). The two pre-Socratic philosophers formed a useful pair for this purpose: Parmenides believed in the fixed and immutable nature of matter, Heraclitus in the eternal flux of things. The "primordialists," to put it crudely, regard ethnicity to be a permanent feature of human groups, unchanging and enduring, a biologically determined characteristic, akin to, indeed virtually equivalent to, "race." The "instrumentalists," by contrast, reckon ethnicity as not only dynamic and changing, but largely constructed, an artificial creation manipulated for political or social purposes, usually by the privileged to stigmatize the disadvantaged. The devised dichotomy,

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repeatedly rehearsed, should be consigned to oblivion. The contest, such as it was, ended quite some time ago. There is hardly a "primordialist" to be found in the academy any longer. General agreement holds that ethnicity is largely a concocted notion, probably not much older than the mid-twentieth century, subjective and contrived, a social discourse rather than a historical reality (Smith 1986: 6–18; Hall 1997: 17–33; Malkin 2001: 7–19; Hall 2002: 9–19). A painful irony adheres to the fact that, just as scholars have demonstrated (to their own satisfaction) the fictive character of ethnicity, the world is increasingly embroiled with real and ferocious friction over perceptions of ethnicity.

Perceptions matter. And they mattered in antiquity as well as the present. For a subordinate people dwelling in a society where a dominant power prevailed and governed, the constructs could have potent force. Mutual perceptions could affect attitudes, mold policies, and determine actions (or justify them). The Jews of antiquity offer a compelling instance. The diaspora dispersed them around the Mediterranean and well beyond it, both east and west, into a wide array of lands, most of which would come under the sway of the Roman Empire. Unlike the vast majority of peoples under Rome's dominion, however, Jews left a host of writings in a range of genres and a variety of voices that articulated their impressions and framed their portraits of the imperial authority. Roman writers in turn were hardly shy about characterizing this peculiar people in their midst and scattered across their empire. Constructs multiplied and fluctuated on both sides. We are fortunate in having a relatively rich corpus. How do we interpret this? More particularly, to what degree do these perceptions and expressions constitute judgments on ethnicity?

Resistance and Reaction

A Jewish uprising of major magnitude occurred in 66–70 CE, roiling the land of the Jews and enraging its Roman overseer. The consequences of this devastating war, as much an internal as an external conflict, were calamitous: the destruction of the Temple, the removal of Jewish leadership, the imposition of direct Roman rule, and the permanent installation of a Roman legion in Jerusalem. Lingering bitterness and hostility could be expected to endure, reflected in the representations conveyed by each people of the other.

Tacitus composed his *Histories* a generation after the Jewish War, and he prefaced his account of it with an ethnographic excursus on the Jews, or, at least, a facsimile thereof. The presentation contains, on the face of it, considerable animus, contempt, and denigration. Among other things, Tacitus brands Jewish customs as foul and depraved, accuses Jews of fierce odium against all peoples other than themselves, and sums up their alien character by asserting that they regard as profane everything that Romans consider sacred, and vice-versa. As subjects of a long series of foreign rulers, they were the most despised of dependents (Tac. *Hist.* 5.4.1, 5.5.1, 5.5.5, 5.8.2).

Jewish reactions to the loss of the Temple and subjugation of the people could be equally ferocious. Upheaval surfaced only to be crushed in various places of the diaspora under Trajan, and a rebellion in Palestine was brutally repressed in the time of Hadrian. Whatever the facts on the ground, however, voices of resistance were not stilled. They emerge most dramatically in apocalyptic visions. The Sibylline Oracles, composed

in Greek and compiled over a period of centuries by Jewish and Christian would-be seers, give unerring expression to the hostility. The Fifth Sibylline Oracle, for instance, pieced together in the late first or early second century CE, delivers a dire forecast against Rome, describing "the Latin city" as evil, wicked, and unclean in all matters, a nest of vipers, with a murderous heart and a spirit of impiety (5 Sib. Or. 167–171). The Eighth Sibyl, written some time after the reign of Hadrian, utters comparably grim forebodings about the future fate of Rome, labeling the land of Italy as a barbarous *ethnos*, denouncing the empire that will no longer enslave the peoples of the world, but will instead be exposed as a reproach for all (8 Sib. Or. 95, 126–130).

These roughly contemporary texts enunciate mutually antagonistic and rancorous depictions. They suggest a bitter divide, a scornful Roman contempt of a subordinate nation reduced more than once to a state of subjection, and a fierce Jewish portrayal of the brutal conqueror whose future fate is sealed and whose demise will be cataclysmic.

Does ethnicity play a part in any of this? Do the comments draw on racial or ethnic stereotypes? Do they allude to the checklist of characteristics that moderns have conjured up as defining ethnic identity, that is, shared history, shared culture, common ancestry, common territory, and a sense of solidarity, all of which add up to a collective self-image (cf. Smith 1986: 22–30)?

Condemnation of Rome by the Jewish authors of the Sibylline Oracles stands in the tradition of such criticism. It can be traced back to a text referring to the earliest contacts between Rome and Judea and to a period of cordial relations between the peoples. The First Book of Maccabees, written probably in the later second century BCE, records a treaty of friendship and alliance that linked the two and delivered an ostensible encomium on Roman imperial authority. The author delivers a positive verdict upon Rome's military successes, the string of conquests in Gaul and Spain, and the defeats of Macedonian and Seleucid monarchs (each time in self-defense). He further heaps praise upon the Roman senate for its adherence to commitments, its sound internal government, and its dedication to stability and order (I Macc. 8.1–16). All that to the good. Yet, the paean of praise does not conceal the discomfort of the weaker partner with the awesome power of the stronger. The very same passage, in recording Rome's victory in Greece in 146 BCE, reports large-scale massacres, the placement of women and children in captivity, the plunder of property, and reduction of the populace to servitude. The author, in fact, uses the phrase "to enslave" twice in this passage with regard to kingdoms and islands who foolishly challenged Roman power (I Macc. 8.10–11). The language is direct and unequivocal. The very name of Rome, says the author, strikes fear into those who hear it (I Macc. 8.12–13). That terminology is echoed in the third Sibyl, parts of which are approximately contemporary with I Maccabees. The Sibyl denounces the rule of the Roman Republic over many lands, its oppressiveness and destructiveness, and its injection of fear into its enemies (3 Sib. Or. 175–182). All of this foreshadows the harsh judgments of the later Sibyls who followed the destruction of the Temple. Roman power was formidable and fearsome, a terror to its foes and overbearing to its subordinates. None of it, however, is traced to innate character or ethnic traits.

The so-called Psalms of Solomon serve also as an appropriate precursor. They provide an unusual window on a Roman suppression of Jews that long predated the Great Revolt of 66–70 CE. Pompey the Great had been the first Roman to invade Judea, to breach

the walls of the Temple, and actually to enter the Temple itself in 63 BCE. The event had been preceded by internal strife among the Jews, upon some of whom the responsibility for this Roman violation could be placed (Jos. *Ant.* 14.37–79). The author of the Psalms of Solomon accurately reflects the circumstances. That collection of 18 psalms, composed some time between 63 BCE and 70 CE, was the product of a devout Jew or Jewish sect. They set the event in long-standing Jewish tradition of interpreting calamity as the will of God punishing sinners through the intermediary (however wicked) of a foreign invader (de Lange 1978: 258–60; Wright 1985: 639–49). Pompey (not actually named in the text) is himself described as an evildoer who broke down the walls, trampled the sacrifices underfoot, and defiled the Temple. He was, however, no more than an instrument of God, delivering divine sentence upon those Jews who had profaned their faith. And he would get his own just deserts. The author knows and records the ignominious death of Pompey on the shores of Egypt (PsSol, 2.1–30; 8.11–22). The poems deliver a severe verdict upon the Roman general as arrogant, hybristic, and brutal (PsSol, 2.6–8, 28–30; 7.11–13; 8.19–21, 17.13). He laid waste the land, showed no mercy to his foes, and mowed down young and old alike. The author seeks divine assistance to drive the invaders from the land, to shatter their insolence, and to eradicate the lawless nations (PsSol, 17.11–14, 22–25). The use of *ta ethne* ("the nations") here, of course, signifies only "gentiles." The wickedness and arrogance of the conqueror has nothing to do with Roman ethnicity.

Roman Power and Jewish Interpretation

Josephus, writing in Rome and under Roman patronage after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE, naturally sought an acceptable explanation for that disaster that might, at least partially, exonerate his new patrons. As with the author of the Psalms of Solomon, he found the time-honored formula serviceable: the conqueror simply carried out the divine will, an instrument of God. The speech that Josephus sets in the mouth of Agrippa who argued against the Jews taking up arms against Rome declared that Yahweh had moved to the side of Rome (*BJ*, 2.390; cf. 2.360). And Josephus, in his own voice, justifies his surrender to the Romans by citing his prayer to the Lord affirming that the divine will coincided with the passage of Fortune to Rome (*BJ*, 3.351–354). God, who has passed imperial power from nation to nation, has now set it in Italy (*BJ*, 5.367–368, 5.412; *Life*, 17; Price 2005: 116–17).

There is, however, another aspect to Josephus' portrayal of Rome that has not received so much notice. Unlike the authors of I Maccabees and the Psalms of Solomon, the Jewish historian, who was dependent on Roman protection, had to be more cautious and subtle in the depiction of his powerful hosts. Nonetheless, Josephus' account had its decidedly darker side as well (Gruen 2011a: 155–61). He pulls no punches in narrating the ruthlessness and terror exercised by Romans on the battlefield and elsewhere. That feature exists from the beginning. Pompey's capture of the Temple in 63 BCE included the butchering of Jewish priests in the course of pouring libations and conducting rituals (*BJ*, 1.150; *Ant.* 14.66–67). After 20 years, Cassius reduced Judean cities to servitude, as Josephus puts it (*BJ*, 1.221–222; *Ant*, 14.275). After Judea became a Roman province, a series of governors conducted acts of repression, widespread executions, and atrocities.

Josephus does not hold back (*BJ*, 2.169–177, 2.236, 2.260, 2.270, 2.272, 2.277; *Ant.* 18.55–62, 20.110–112, 20.122, 20.160–165, 20.177, 20.252–253).

Nor does he spare the Roman emperors. The Julio-Claudians come under Josephus' strictures: the grim and suspicious character of Tiberius, the murderous megalomania of Caligula, and the excesses and cruelty of Nero (*BJ*, 2.184–203, 2.250–251; *Ant.* 18.168–178, 18.225–226, 18.257–303, 19.1–27, 19.201–211, 20.154). To be sure, the Julio-Claudians were fair game in the era of the Flavians. However, Josephus also registered Vespasian's slaughter of captives, merciless treatment of young and old, demolition of villages and towns, and enslavement of survivors (*BJ*, 3.132–134, 3.336–338, 3.532–542, 4.447–448). More surprisingly and interestingly, the censures extended even to Titus, the historian's patron and protector. Josephus feels free to record Titus' massacre of every male, young and old, and the sale of all women and children into slavery after taking a town in Galilee (*BJ*, 3.298–305). He notes the general's wholesale slaughter of helpless defenders at Jotapata (*BJ*, 3.29–331). And he adds the almost gratuitous observation that Titus enjoyed the spectacles in which captives in the thousands were torn apart by wild beasts, perished through gladiatorial combat, or were consumed by flames (*BJ*, 7.23, 7.37–39). That the Roman empire was a despotic entity emerges unambiguously in Josephus' work, and given the historian's vulnerability, the frequent references to Roman acts of unfeeling cruelty, subjugation of the weak and defeated, and the exercise of despotic power are all the more remarkable. Nowhere, however, does he suggest that this arises from inherent dispositions that distinguish Romans from other peoples or ethnic groups. Josephus, in fact, could ascribe similar deeds of brutality and ferocity to Jews themselves (e.g., *BJ*, 2.442–456, 4.129–146, 4.305–333, 4.357–65, etc.). Deplorable acts of inhumanity knew no ethnic bounds.

The most intense assaults on Rome by Jewish writers appear in apocalyptic texts. The aftermath of Jerusalem's fall and the destruction of the Temple called them forth in striking fashion. Aside from the fifth and eighth Sibylline Oracles, Roman imperialism is roundly condemned in another apocalypse, the so-called 4 Ezra, composed in the wake of the Temple's loss and alluding to the consequences of that event. The text sets forth a series of visions vouchsafed to Ezra, here presented as a prophet (Stone 1990; Daschke 2010: 103–9; Jones 2011: 39–77). The desolation of Zion wrought by Rome appears in the guise of the Babylonian conquest, thus wrenching the prophet who appeals to God for explanation of the chosen people's disaster while wicked Babylon thrives (4 Ezra, 3.1–3, 3.28–36, 4.22–25). The motif recurs in diverse ways as the lamentations and pleas multiply, and hope rests solely in the coming *eschaton* (end time). A poignant prayer records the eradication of the temple, sanctuary, and altar; the silencing of Zion's songs; the plundering of the ark; the defiling of all things sacred; and the delivery of Israel into the hands of those who hated her (4 Ezra, 10.19–24). The most striking vision occurs with the emergence from the sea of a terrifying eagle with three heads and a dozen wings, evidently symbolizing the power of Rome. The creature has brought suffering to all the world, but a savior in the form of a lion, also arising from the sea, strips the eagle of its power and destroys its dominion. A spiritual voice interprets the vision for Ezra as fulfillment of the prophecy of Daniel, the destruction of the fourth kingdom, more horrific than its predecessors, but doomed to perdition when the *eschaton* arrives (4 Ezra, 11–12). The text expresses unmitigated hostility to Rome, the power that terrorizes the world, driven by arrogance, forever deceitful, trampling upon the weak and

the peaceful, an enemy to truth and a promoter of lies (4 Ezra, 11.36–46). Rome is a fearsome monster, wreaking havoc among peoples everywhere, and causing devastation not to be undone until the end of time. The identification with Babylon is significant. The Babylonian conquest of Judea, demolition of the First Temple, and subjugation of the people resonated deeply with the Jewish victims of Rome. And the grim fate that awaited "Babylon" also awaited Asia, Egypt, Syria, and other foes of Israel (4 Ezra, 15.46–16.17). Ethnicity is not at issue.

No need to proceed further down this path. Other apocalyptic texts composed in the era that followed Jerusalem's fall to Rome provide a range of reactions, whether grief, despair, resentment, accommodation, or anticipation of the *eschaton* (de Lange 1978: 265–81; Daschke 2010; Jones 2011). However, even in this age of Israel's most grievous affliction, suffered at the hands of the western power, none of the texts ascribes to the Roman makeup an innate inclination to evil, imbedded in the national character. The nearest that one comes to it is the passage quoted at the outset from the Fifth Sibylline Oracle, branding Rome as evil, unjust, unclean, with a murderous heart and an impious soul, who will ultimately be consumed by fire (5 Sibyl, 167–177). In light of all the other evidence, the sharp censures should surely not be understood as references to inherent and inalienable traits. The closest parallel to this text, in fact, and one that the author surely had in mind, is Isaiah's prophecy against Babylon in which the prophet denounces the arrogance of the Babylonians, secure in their wickedness, and forecasts their fiery demise (Isaiah, 47.8–15; Jones 2011: 225–7). There is nothing peculiarly Roman about this iniquitousness.

Roman Attitudes

To revert now to the Roman vantage point. We can forgo the conventional and largely fruitless question of whether Jews encountered anything similar to "anti-semitism" in its modern manifestation. The concept is anachronistic, and the debate stale (Sevenster 1975: 1–35; Gager 1983: 13–34; Feldman 1993: 84–176; Isaac 2004: 442–6, 478–84; Goodman 2007: 551–7). Nonetheless, Roman writings, at least on the surface, would seem to suggest ethnic prejudice. The hostility has even been taken as the ultimate case of marginalization in antiquity (Avidov 2009: 1–7, 163–85). Tacitus' observations, cited earlier, serve for many as the prime exhibit for Roman bias against an inferior and tainted folk (Gager 1983: 63–4; Barclay 1996: 314–5; Schäfer 1997: 31–3; Yavetz 1998: 90–8).

Yet, a closer inspection even of this notorious text should cast doubt on the standard interpretation. Tacitus, in his excursus on the Jews, engages in the irony and cynicism so characteristic of that historian. Comments and observations rarely say what they mean, juxtaposition of opposites and sardonic twists and turns regularly reverse expectations and puncture assumptions, and the whole segment is replete with calculated incongruities that undermine serious or literal readings (Gruen 2011b: 179–96). Even with such a perspective, however, that does not settle the matter. Tacitus may have held up to scorn the attitudes, misunderstandings, and false impressions of the Jews entertained by his own countrymen. However, were those impressions not themselves the product of ethnic bigotry?

Not necessarily. Tacitus' remarks, even when most damaging, have a different orientation. His most sweeping statement about Jews' profound difference from Romans declares that they consider profane all that we hold sacred, and everything that we find sinful they permit (*Hist.* 5.4.1). Whatever the truth of that assertion, it refers to religious observances (*ritus*), not to genetic contrasts. The same applies to Tacitus' nasty comment about Jewish practices (*instituta*) being perverse, loathsome, and enduring only through their depravity (*Hist.* 5.5.1). It was the Jewish manner of life again (*mos*) that the historian branded as ridiculous and sordid (*Hist.* 5.5.5). And his labeling of Jews as the most despised and disgraceful of people (*Hist.* 5.8.2) also needs to be read in context. Tacitus there gives a thumbnail sketch of the history of Jewish subjection to a series of greater powers—Assyrians, Medes, Persians, and Hellenistic kings. The allusion is to their political impotence, the most disdained of subordinates, and not to character deficiencies. In short, the ostensibly harshest Roman critic of Jews fails to qualify as an "anti-semite."

Cicero once asserted that Jews were born for servitude. On the face of it, that might seem to count as good evidence for Roman racial prejudice. Such a conclusion, however, would be hasty. First of all, Cicero lumps Jews and Syrians together as nations born to be slaves. Second, the statement served the orator's rhetorical purposes in a political speech designed in part to discredit his bitter foe, A. Gabinius, who, as governor of Syria, had curbed the activities of Roman tax collectors, the interests of whom Cicero had championed. As so often, context is all. Cicero represented the actions of Gabinius with exaggerated rhetoric as enslaving the revenue collectors to Syrians and Jews who were themselves born to be enslaved (*Prov. Cons.* 10). Even if one were to take such bombast seriously, it resonates with Tacitus' allusion to the Jews as repeatedly subordinate to imperial powers—not as a built-in tendency for servitude (Isaac 2004: 463–4).

Perhaps the most troubling assessment of Jews by a Roman came from the philosopher Seneca, who labeled them the most criminal of nations (*sceleratissima gens*). Just what prompted the comment remains unknown. To employ it as a touchstone for Roman perceptions of Jewish character, however, would be dubious methodology. It stands alone in the vast extant corpus of Seneca who makes no other mention of Jews at all. And we have it only in a secondhand version as cited in St. Augustine's *City of God* (*CD*, 6.11). In that form, it lacks all context and can hardly provide a confident index of Roman attitudes. If Jews were a criminal *gens*, we have no clue as to their crimes. One might observe also that Quintilian once characterizes Jews as a pernicious people (*perniciosa gens*), but never mentions them again. Such snippets, even if we had a handle on their signification, hardly give a window on the Roman mentality.

The bulk of Roman utterances on Jews by far, as is well known, make reference to their peculiar and (to Romans) often amusing customs and behavior that set them apart from most peoples. Jews preferred to keep to themselves, a clannish group who enjoyed one another's company but shunned almost everyone else, a trait noticed by Roman writers (Tac. *Hist.* 5.5.1–2; Juv. 14.103–104). Other modes of behavior too elicited mockery or scorn. Romans did not fully understand (or try to understand) the institution of the Sabbath—some took it to be a day of fasting, others saw it as a form of Dionysiac reveling, still others stigmatized it as consigning a seventh of one's life to idleness (e.g., Suet. Aug. 76.2; Petronius, fr. 37, Ernout; Martial, 4.4.7; Juv. 14.105–106). Additional misconceptions abound (Gruen 2002: 48–50). Dietary laws also drew amusement. Augustus

famously quipped that, in the murderous household of Herod, it would be better to be Herod's pig than his son (Macrob. *Sat.* 2.4.11). The satirists Petronius and Juvenal both made jokes of the abstention from pork: Jews must worship a pig god, and Judea is the one place where pigs can live to a ripe old age (Petronius, fr.37, Ernout; Juv. 6.159–160). Circumcision elicited the most comment, whether out of puzzlement or as derision. Off-hand remarks, jokes, or scornful comments can be found in writers such as Horace, Petronius, Martial, and Juvenal (Horace, *Sat.* 1.9.70; Petronius, *Sat.* 6.8.8; Martial, 7.30.5, 11.94; Juv. 14.103–104). For Tacitus, Jews adopted the custom precisely in order to make themselves distinctive (*Hist.* 5.5.2).

This collection of jibes, half-baked impressions, and ill-informed observations hardly add up to a considered perspective. And the large majority of the comments apply to Jewish practices, rites, and modes of behavior. They have nothing to do with racial prejudice or intolerance of ethnic difference. The peculiarities of Jewish religion elicited some disdainful reactions from Romans who judged them as *superstitio* or *deisidaimonia*, but that stemmed from standard disparagement of alien cults (e.g., Cic. *Flacc.* 67; Plut. *Superst.* 69C; Quint. 3.7.2; Tac. *Hist.* 2.4, 5.8.2–3, 5.13.1). Romans conducted no persecutions on religious grounds. The authorities did, on occasion, expel Jews from Rome, but very rarely, only temporarily, in conjunction with other alien groups, and as demonstrations for specific political ends. They did not suppress the religion (Gruen 2002: 15–19, 29–41; Goodman 2007: 366–76). Indeed, Varro, that most learned of Roman intellectuals, equated Yahweh with Jupiter: only the names differed. And he praised the Jews for their aniconism, expressing the wish that his countrymen would adopt the custom themselves—as their distant ancestors had (Varro, *apud* Augustine, *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, 1.30; Augustine, *CD*, 4.31). Roman writers did notice that Jews adhered to their own set of laws. Juvenal went so far as to claim that they paid no heed to Roman enactments, owing allegiance instead to measures delivered by Moses in a secret volume (14.100–102). Seneca even asserted that the Jewish way of life had penetrated every land of the world, to the point that the vanquished Jews imposed laws upon their Roman conquerors (Seneca, *apud* Augustine, *CD*, 6.11). These transparently overblown statements have little purchase as serious reflection of Roman attitudes, Nor do they have anything to do with Jewish ethnicity. In each case, the author's comments come in the context of mocking references to Jewish exclusivity, Sabbath observance, dietary laws, or circumcision. That is all standard fare, a far cry from Judeophobia (*contra*: Schäfer 1997: 180–95). The large number of references to the Jews in Roman writers makes clear that they were readily identifiable, whether by their clannishness, communal activities, or unusual manner of life. Disparaging comments of an ethnic nature are conspicuous by their absence.

Nor is there much reason to believe that the Great Revolt of the Jews and its crushing by Roman force made any significant difference on this score. Harsh measures followed, to be sure: the loss of all Jewish autonomy, a heavy financial imposition, and the presence of a Roman garrison in Jerusalem. And the Flavian emperors, newly in power and eager to establish their credentials, made much of victory over the Jews in public displays, monuments, coins, and repeated references (Goodman 2007: 424–42). Perceptions of Jews, however, underwent no obvious change. Snide remarks by Persius, Petronius, or Seneca before the war are little different from those by Martial, Juvenal, and Tacitus after

the war (Gruen 2002: 41–52). Romans did not ascribe the revolt itself to Jewish character traits, disposition, or makeup. Josephus put into the mouth of Titus, the conqueror of Jerusalem, sentiments that have a convincingly Roman resonance to them. Titus stressed his nation's generosity to the Jews, the long-standing permission to follow their ancestral laws and customs, the policies that allowed them to enjoy privileges and prosperity—only to have the Jews turn on their own benefactors (*BJ*, 6.333–336). There is no racial bigotry here. In Roman eyes, the Jews were guilty of ingratitude.

Conversion and Manumission

The irrelevance of ethnicity emerges quite clearly in two revealing institutions, one on each side. They are rarely noted in this connection, but critical to an understanding of it: the "conversion" of gentiles to Judaism, and the manumission of foreign slaves (including Jews) by the Romans, which gave them immediate access to Roman citizenship.

Conversion itself is a concept fraught with complexity. We possess no formula from antiquity to indicate how one became a Jew, what that meant, or in what ways the life of a convert was changed. Although a variety of texts attest to conversion, specifics are largely absent. It is unlikely, at least before the rabbinic period, that a fixed procedure existed, that particular requirements were in place for all converts, or that uniform expectations held for everyone who entered the fold. Circumcision was often reckoned as an especially distinctive characteristic, yet the ancients were aware that peoples other than Jews also followed that practice (Philo, *QG*, 3.48). Nor did it constitute an obligatory ritual for admission, certainly not for everyone. In Philo's view, proselytes could forgo physical circumcision; they needed only to circumcise their desires, pleasures, and other passions (Philo, *QE*, 2.2). Aseneth's transfer of allegiance to the faith of Joseph in the Jewish novella *Joseph and Aseneth* required little more than repentance and the smashing of all her idols—of course, circumcision was not an option for her (*Jos. As.* 9–10; Chesnutt 1995: 153–84). Certainly, the idea that gentile entrance into "Judaism" in some form meant the full embrace of a theology, a "religion," a belief system, or even a pre-determined way of life is far too simple. The Jewish openness to conversion, however defined, constitutes the main point.

Biblical texts supply precedents for the intermingling of Jews and gentiles in marriage (Gen. 16:1–3, 25:1, 38, 41:45; Exod. 12:37–38, 2:16–22; Num. 11:4, 12:1–8; Deut. 29:10–11; Ruth, 4:12–22; I Chron. 2:4–15). If such unions were welcome, conversion was doubly so. For Philo, writing in the first century CE, the process goes back to the laws of Moses and signifies that the proselyte abandon his gods, country, customs, and kinfolk to adopt the worship of the Jewish god (*Virt.* 20.102–103). It does not follow that all proselytes went so far as to shed all earlier allegiances and devote themselves to Yahweh. A wide variety of ways existed for exhibiting one's entrance into or engagement with the Jewish community. The Roman historian Dio Cassius even asserted that those of alien race who emulate the customs of the Jews can count as *Ioudaioi* (Dio, 37.16.4–17.1).

Claims that Jewish ways were embraced by people scattered across the Mediterranean and beyond evoked great pride. Philo boasted that the laws of Moses inspired admiration and attracted followers all over the world (*Mos.* 2.17–27). Josephus goes further still to

claim that the multitudes have long since shown great zeal for our faith, and that not a single *ethnos* exists, whether Greek or barbarian, to which our observances, including the Sabbath, dietary laws, and fasts have not spread (*CAp.* 2.282–283). The exaggeration is patent. However, there is no reason to doubt that the numbers of those who adopted Jewish practices or who took part in Jewish communities noticeably increased over the years. One does not have to take the Jews' word for it. The Romans noticed it, even though they disapproved. Tacitus complained about the basest of peoples who renounced their own native religions and were now regularly sending contributions to the Temple in Jerusalem, thus increasing the resources of the Jews (*Hist.* 5.5.1). Those who cross over to Jewish ways, he says, scorn their own gods, abandon their native land, and hold parents, siblings, and children cheap (*Hist.* 5.5.2). Juvenal offers comparable sneers regarding proselytes, alleging not only that they worshiped the divinity of the sky and had themselves circumcised, but that they rejected Roman laws and devoted themselves to laws transmitted by Moses in a secret scroll (14.96–106). One need not take these statements, as some do, to indicate that Romans actually found increasing numbers of Jews to be a growing menace, giving rise to an anxious Judeophobia (e.g., Schäfer 1997: 183–92; Yavetz 1998: 96–8). Nor does it imply active Jewish proselytizing, as others have inferred (e.g., Feldman 1993: 288–341; but see Goodman 1994: 60–90). It is, in any case, clear enough that converts to Judaism, Jewish habits, or Jewish institutions and those who, in some fashion, became members of the Jewish community were widely familiar in ancient society.

However one might wish to define "converts" or "proselytes," a broader penumbra of gentiles became associated with Jewish society, to which the name "Godfearer" has conventionally been assigned. Some may have been attracted by its great longevity, by the ethical precepts, by the rigorous adherence to the law, by the discipline demanded in its practices, by the social bonding of the synagogues, by the celebration of its festivals, or by the reputation not only for eastern wisdom but for skills in both the practical and the occult sciences (Feldman 1989: 282–97). The motives can only be matters of speculation. However, the fact of gentiles being welcomed into Jewish society is incontrovertible. It might take the form of imitating Jewish customs, observing the Sabbath, adopting certain codes of behavior, taking part in synagogue activities, or providing material support for the Jewish community. The Jews did not turn such people away. Their ranks included a Roman centurion, a Roman governor of Syria, the eminent aristocratic lady Fulvia, and even the wife of Nero (Luke, 7:1–5; Philo, *Leg. Ad* Gaium, 245; Jos. *Ant.* 18.82, 20.195).

The term "Godfearer" or something like it appears frequently in our literary and epigraphic texts (e.g., Acts, 10.1–2, 13.16, 16.14, 17.17, 18.4; Jos. *Ant.* 14.110; *IJO*, II, #27, 49; Siegert 1973: 109–64; Wander 1998: 65–73). Almost all of this testimony refers to individuals and makes no mention of a collective, thus having left it open to scholars to argue that the tag "godfearer" only applied to especially pious individuals. That is no longer open. The great donor inscriptions from Aphrodisias attest to an important Jewish community there. The donors listed on the stele include not only individuals designated as Jews, proselytes, and godfearers, but the stone records a whole category of "those who are *theosebeis*" (*IJO*, II, #14). The term plainly applies to an acknowledged group of gentiles, distinct from Jews but associated with them and part of a shared

society. It does not follow that the word *theosebeis* or the equivalent possessed a technical significance that held uniformly throughout. However, it does give decisive support to the proposition that gentiles, as individuals or groups, could participate in Jewish communities with regularity and without difficulty. The openness of Jewish society to gentiles is amply demonstrated. This remarkable embrace of non-Jews, at every social level and in so rich a variety of forms, decisively refutes any notion that Jews harbored ethnic reservations about Romans.

A very different institution on the Roman side provides equally revealing testimony about ethnic attitudes: the award of citizenship to manumitted slaves. The vast majority of Roman slaves stemmed from abroad—as victims of war, products of the slave trade, or descendants of such persons. Jews were certainly among them. A noticeable number of them already dwelled in Rome by the mid-second century BCE, probably the result of Rome's eastern wars, particularly the war with the Syrian monarchy in the early second century. More certainly followed after Pompey's invasions of Syria and Judea in the 60s and the wars conducted by Roman governors of Syria in the next decade. Philo declares that the majority of Jews who dwelled across the Tiber had originally been enslaved war captives, subsequently manumitted by their owners (*Leg. ad Gaium*, 155). This must refer largely to descendants of such captives, since few occasions came for importing Jewish prisoners in the century before Philo. The text, however, clearly attests to continuing Roman emancipation of Jewish slaves. The numbers are unknown, but the principle is crucial. Ex-slaves of all imaginable ethnic backgrounds, Jews among them, entered Roman civic life as citizens. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, writing in the age of Augustus, put that practice in the brightest light: Rome owed its rise from the most insignificant to the greatest nation on earth partly to its generous bestowal of citizenship upon conquered peoples and emancipated slaves (Dion. Hal. 1.9.4). That may be too charitable an interpretation. Romans dangled the reward of freedom as an incentive for loyalty and submission. A host of obligations still remained for the freedman to his patron after manumission. He gained the suffrage and other civic privileges, but remained in the lower rungs of society. And the frequency of manumissions may be less impressive than we like to imagine. The institution suggests pragmatism rather than philanthropy (Bradley 1984: 81–112; Wiedemann 1985: 162–75; Gardner 1993: 7–51; Mouritsen 2011: 66–80). More significantly, however, it also served, whether or not with deliberate intent, as a means of integrating foreigners into Roman society (Mouritsen 2011: 69–71). Attempts by Augustus to reduce the frequency of manumission were consistent with his social conservatism but say little if anything about Roman (or Augustan) ethnic policy.

Manumitted Jews in Rome retained a sense of collective identity. They could make their presence felt as a defined group in demonstrations in the Republic and in the Augustan era (Cic. *Flacc.* 67; Jos. *BJ*, 2.81; *Ant.* 17.301). They even received from the emperor assurance of special access to the grain supply if the Sabbath should fall on the day of its distribution (Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, 158). Eligibility for grain required citizenship. These Jews obviously had it in substantial numbers, most of them probably as descendants of former slaves from Judea. It is perfectly clear that Romans had no qualms in augmenting their citizen body with immigrants and their progeny from a wide span of ethnic backgrounds, languages, and traditions. So much for racial prejudice against Jews.

The application of modern categories and experiences to antiquity can often be most instructive and illuminating. But beguiling familiarity can also mislead. Romans and Jews possessed a complicated relationship, usually of mutual benefit, occasionally fraught with peril and conflict. They did not, however, normally frame that relationship in ethnic terms. Literary constructs of one another could be hostile, distorted, or imaginary. However, they did not rest on a distinction between bloodlines, nor did they employ ethnicity as a touchstone for evaluating character and quality. Overlapping and integration might count for more than differentiation. The Jewish practice of embracing gentile proselytes or sympathizers and the Roman institution of according citizenship to foreigners softened the boundaries and altered the mix. Ancients, on the whole, lost little sleep over issues of ethnicity, and, unlike moderns, did not agonize over their identity.

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CHAPTER 29

Romans and Italians

Gary D. Farney

Roman Plural Identity

> I do think that all municipal men have two homelands (*duae patriae*), one by nature and the other by citizenship. … It is necessary for the latter to stand first in our affection, through which the name "Republic" has attached itself to us all. For this we must die, for this we must give ourselves entirely, and for this we must give all of our possessions as though for sacrifice. But that homeland which has raised us is no less dear than that which has adopted us. Thus I shall never say that this is not my homeland, though that one is greater and this is contained in it. [In this way every municipal man] has [two] states, but thinks of them as one.(Cicero, *De Legibus* 2.5)

As Cicero indicates here, he was in fact a *municeps*, a man from a subject municipality. In his case, this municipality was Arpinum, a town in *Latium adiectum*, "Farther Latium," a region so designated because of its distance from the capital, and to distinguish it from *Latium vetus*, "Old Latium," which consisted of communities around the Alban Hills, such as Rome, that had colonized "Farther Latium." Arpinum had only received full citizenship from Rome in 188 BCE, and had produced as major political players at Rome not only Cicero but also the famous general and politician Gaius Marius. Although Cicero here specifies the *municeps* for this peculiar situation of *duae patriae*, he may only have regarded this situation as particularly acute for men such as himself. After all, they had come to the capital from their Italian subject communities within historical memory.

However, in a manner so unlike the "autochthonous" Athenians (see Chapter 16 by James Roy in this volume), even Roman nobles of the most ancient origin acknowledged and celebrated their family's arrival from Latin or Sabine towns outside of

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Rome. Just as Cicero attended his family's *sacra* at Arpinum, so too did patrician Romans perform familial rites at locations in the environs of the city, some on the sites of defunct Latin villages thought to have coalesced into Rome itself. For example, Julius Caesar's family maintained some religious connections with Bovillae, a town that had received some of the cult of Alba Longa after Alba's destruction by Rome (Weinstock 1971: 6–7). Aulus Postumius Albinus, a patrician whose clan supposedly existed before the Republic itself, also felt it worthy to note his own dual origin: in the beginning of his *Histories*, he introduces himself to his audience as not just a Roman, but as "a Roman born in Latium" (*FRH* 4F1b). Obviously, Caesar's and Albinus' attachments to Latium are different from those of Cicero: they emphasize their ancient and highly aristocratic origins and are not just elements of a greater devotion to the Roman commonwealth.

Outside the senatorial class, the situation appears similar. Quintus Ennius, a south Italian poet who acquired Roman citizenship in 184 BCE, was fond of saying that he had "three hearts" (*tria cordia*)—one Greek, one Oscan, and one Latin. This was interpreted by the Imperial writer Aulus Gellius (17.17) to mean that Ennius spoke three languages. In light of the "nested" nature of Roman identity, however, perhaps we should see his self-description as both literary *and* cultural/ethnic, not dissimilar to Cicero's (Dench 2005: 167ff.). To explicate this tripartite self-identification, one would note that Ennius was a Roman citizen from a locally powerful family of Messapian Rudiae that possessed a Hellenic legendary genealogy and Greek tastes (Farney 2007: 7–8, 212–13).

The idea that the Romans were a people of plural identity is firmly built into the stories and history of the city. Romulus and his Latins "took" Sabine wives and shared the new state with their Sabine kinsmen, and Rome even had a dynasty with connections to Greek Corinth and Etruria ruling over it until the foundation of the Republic. Parts of the city of Rome could be called to witness the multi-cultural nature of this "original" Roman state—Varro claims that various neighborhoods were thought to have been ethnic quarters originally: the *vicus Tuscus* and Caelian Hill for the Etruscans, and the Quirinal Hill for the Sabines (*De Lingua Latina* 5.46, 51). Latin, Sabine, and a few Etruscan families made up the Republican aristocracy (the tradition continued), but the new plebeian *nobiles* of the fourth and later centuries included more Latin families in the Senate than just those in and right around Rome, such as the Fulvii and Mamilii from Tusculum. "Real" Sabines (since there is now considerable modern doubt about earlier Sabines in the Roman tradition: Ampolo 1996; Farney 2007: 80) came into the state with the full enfranchisement of Sabinum proper in the third century. Sabines show electoral success almost immediately: thus came the families of Varro, the powerful Aurelii, and possibly the ancestors of Cato the Elder. At nearly the same time, the rest of Latium, and then the "Latinized" inhabitants of Cicero's Farther Latium, began to take up the *civitas Romana* and the attendant right to run for political office in the capital. Following the Social War, completed in the 80s BCE, men from all parts of Italy would start to close the political gap between them and these Romans, starting with full citizenship. Roman magistrates with origins from other Italian places begin to appear in historical record, until every quarter of Italy could boast of a senatorial favorite-son by the end of the first century BCE. The Marrucine Asinii, the Lucanian Statilii, and the Praetuttian Poppaei were the captains of

this new state, *domi nobiles* from their respective areas of Italy, advanced by service and loyalty to the emperor.

Although all Romans had a dual origin, this does not mean that municipal politicians—even Latin ones—were let off the hook for their "newness" to the Roman political scene or for their more obvious duality. Quite the contrary, bluer-blooded aristocrats lorded their "aboriginal" status over *municipes*. They taunted the municipal men by calling them foreigners, and they cast doubt on their citizen status and even free birth. The *nobilissimi* even attacked their fellow noblemen who had cultivated matrimonial connections with the *domi nobiles* of Italy. We find these attacks in legal cases and from the rostrum, the expected venues (Farney 2007: 8–10). However, in reality, the bulk of the Roman aristocracy was intimately bound up by ties of marriage with the elite of Italy, having made a practice of it throughout its history: the aristocratic Claudii, Quinctii, and Livii had intermarried with the elite families of Capua as early as the third century BCE, although this did not prevent the defection of Campania to Hannibal (Frederiksen 1984: 306–7). However, as with aristocrats of other ages, some Roman *nobiles* found it useful upon occasion to act as though their bloodlines were ancient and pure, though they knew, and often admitted, that the reality was quite different.

Nevertheless, the perception was that most Romans were from a *municipium*. "How many of us are not of such an origin?" Cicero (*Phillipics* 3.15) could ask his fellow senators. Of course, the situation was more acute to the new nobility or to those striving to break into it. Accordingly, Quintus Cicero exhorted his famous brother to recite three things to himself in his daily meditations while campaigning for the consulship of 63 BC: "'I am a *novus*. I seek the consulship.' There is a third thing to remember: 'this is Rome, a state formed by a gathering of nations'" (*Commentariolum Petitionis* 54). One could interpret Quintus' words as a warning to his brother never to forget that the politics of Italic ethnic identity loomed over the competitive political climate of the capital, especially for a "new" politician.

The *cognomen*, the descriptive third name that most Romans bore, is a useful indicator for how popular certain backgrounds were at different periods of Roman history. For example, Cicero, echoed by a poet of the 40s BCE, jokes about how common the *cognomen* Sabinus has become among political candidates: some were just adopting the name without having the background (*Ad Familiares* 15.20.1; [Vergil], *Catalepton* 10). Indeed, we know of a dozen bearers of the name "Sabinus" among the Republican and Augustan aristocracy, and its use by other classes makes it one of the most popular geographic *cognomina* ever used by the Romans (Kajanto 1965: 51, 186; Wiseman 1971: 257–8). However, the proliferation of other *cognomina*, evocative of a variety of Italian origins, shows that any Italian homeland was becoming very important by the early Empire: Marcus Herennius Picens (the "Picene"), Gaius Vibius Marsus (the "Marsic"), Lucius Octavius Ligus (the "Ligurian"), Mamius Murrius Umber (the "Umbrian"), and Gaius Attius Paelignus (the "Paelignian").

This was especially so after the emperor Claudius took the next step, and forced an unwilling (and Italian) senate to accept the elite of "long-haired" Gaul into their ranks in 48 CE. Noting that his own family—as with all other Roman ones—had come from

outside the city of Rome, Claudius asks and answers: "What then? Is an Italian senator better than a provincial one? … No, I think that the provincials must not be excluded, if they can in some way ornament the Senate" (*ILS* 212.II.5–8; sc. Tacitus, *Annales*, 11.23–24; Griffin 1982). Giardina (1994) rightly marks this as one of the most important moments in the reformulation of the ever "incomplete" identity of Roman Italy. Still, one can envision this sort of debate happening in the Republican period whenever the Senate considered the advantages of legislation incorporating the various Italic people more fully into Rome. It is also not surprising that, on those occasions, aristocrats who were most secure in their nobility and standing, as Claudius was here, would be among the most ready to invoke an "open-door" policy for prospective senators.



Map 29.1 The Italian peninsula with Sicily.

Ancient Italic Identities

Attempts to discern the identities of most Italic people before Rome are now almost impossible. Most of our literary sources know that these places become a part of Rome, and in any case interpret them with the Greek and Roman world in mind. Later writers were also often very bad about differentiating one group from another, particularly when such groups had become totally assimilated into Roman culture. The Faliscans and Umbrians, for example, were often confused with the Etruscans (e.g., Livy 5.8.5; for Umbrians, see Bradley 2000). Many writers did not know how to parse the various people of the south Apennines either. Even the poet Horace, from Venusia (a south Italian town with a pre-Roman, Oscan-speaking settlement, later "re-colonized"), was uncertain whether to identify himself as "a Lucanian or an Apulian, since the Venusian colonist plows his field close to both lands" (*Sermones*, 2.1.34–35). Even with this in mind, some expressions of Italic identity from the later Republic and early Empire can be recovered from the literary and material sources. Since I cannot hope to do justice here even to one individual group, much less the full number of those that were in Roman Italy, I will focus on the identities of the larger ones as they relate to Rome.

Rome was, properly speaking, a Latin city. It is therefore not so surprising that the Latins possess no colorful stereotype in our literary sources. However, most, if not all, Latin towns did have fanciful legends for their origins. Some have local heroes or deities, analogues to Romulus, such as Caeculus, son of Vulcan, demigod founder of Praeneste; the very aristocratic Caecilii, probably from Praeneste, celebrated this demigod as eponymous hero of their clan (Wiseman 1974). However, most legends involved a Greek hero. Tusculum was founded by Telegonus, son of Circe and Odysseus/Ulysses, a fact boasted of by at least one Roman family from the town, the Mamilii (Farney 2008; see Figure 29.1). Orestes, Diomedes, Jason, and Aeneas appear as other Latin town-founders



(a) (b)

Figure 29.1 Obverse and Reverse of 362/1: C. Mamilius Limetanus. Obverse shows Mercury/Hermes, and the reverse Odysseus/Ulysses being greeted by his dog Argus. Courtesy of Rutgers University Libraries, Special Collections, Badian Coin Collection.

in many legends. These heroes were wanderers, often located in the west, and one can suspect the Greeks for being involved in their creation, though we should not discount the role of the Latins themselves. After all, official Roman moneyers of Latin origin often advertise their hometowns via their mythical, Greek origins (Farney 2007: 49–65).

Alba Longa, the extinct, supposed metropolis of Latium, played a special role in Latin and Roman identity. Legends agreed that, early on, Alba dominated and incorporated several nearby towns, perhaps the *populi Albenses* noted by Pliny the Elder (*Naturalis Historiae*, 3.78–80; Grandazzi 1999). Religiously, Alba hosted the *feriae Latinae*, a celebration honoring Jupiter Latiaris, who was sometimes identified with Latinus, eponymous ancestor of the Latin people. Eligible cities sent representatives to participate in the celebration and take portions of the sacrificial meat. Out of deference to tradition and to Alba's formerly great position, the Roman consuls continued to celebrate the annual *feriae* on the Alban Mount into the Empire. Also, it is clear from inscriptions of Imperial times that Alban priesthoods continued to be held by Roman citizens performing their functions on sites linked with parts of the *mons Albanus* (i.e., the *virgines Vestales arcis Albanae*, *salii arcis Albanae*, *pontifices Albani*, and *Cabenses sacerdotes*: Granino Cecere 1996). It is of interest, in this regard, that Roman–Latin moneyers also very often place images of the cults of their hometowns on the coins they mint—piety and Latinity were closely linked in the Roman mind (see Figures 29.2 and 29.3).



Figure 29.2 Obverse of 316/1: Juno Sospita of Lanuvium. Courtesy of Rutgers University Libraries, Special Collections, Badian Coin Collection.



(a) (b)

Figure 29.3 Obverse and Reverse of 307/1ab: Dioscuri of Tusculum. Courtesy of Rutgers University Libraries, Special Collections, Badian Coin Collection.

Sabines also enjoyed a pride of place in the hierarchy of Italic ethnic identity. Many Sabines, trying to advance themselves in Rome's political culture, played up their Sabinity through a variety of genealogical legends, linking themselves with well-known figures such as Numa Pompilius, Titus Tatius, and Ancus Marcius (see Figure 29.4), and with more obscure (and often eponymous) ones such as the demigod Sabus and



Figure 29.4 Obverse of 344/1a: Titus Tatius. Courtesy of Rutgers University Libraries, Special Collections, Badian Coin Collection.



Figure 29.5 Reverse of 344/1a: Rape of Sabine Women. Courtesy of Rutgers University Libraries, Special Collections, Badian Coin Collection.

the heroic Volusus Valerius, Attus Clausus, and Spurius Vettius. Others went to some length to advertise famous moments in Sabine–Roman "history," such as the Rape of the Sabine Women or the Killing of Tarpeia (see Figures 29.5 and 29.6). Some scholars, such as Cato the Elder, claimed that Volusus and Sabus were, in fact, Spartan emigrants, or that the Sabines followed legendary Peloponnesian kings such as "Oebalus" and Orestes to Italy. We shall see that Spartan roots were also assigned to (or rather promoted by) the Apennine peoples of south Italy as a way of explaining *their* martial skill and legendary austerity.

In fact, one of the defining characteristics of the Sabine people was their great reputation for toughness, modesty, frugality, and piety. They were the first of a "mountain-man" group that produced a figure peculiar to Roman culture, which Dench aptly describes as "the incorporated outsider who embodies Rome's morally upright past" (1995: 68). This image can be found in the writings of Calpurnius Piso Frugi, Varro, and Sallust, all of whom, one notes, claimed a Sabine origin for themselves. Though widely accepted by the end of the Republic, this image had not always been in place. At around 200 BCE, Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus knew about Sabines who were as rich and luxury loving as Etruscans, and, at the same time, Ennius described Titus Tatius as a tyrant. Cato the Elder may have had a hand in changing this reputation, in his work on the origins of the all the peoples of Italy, the *Origines* (Dench 1995 esp. 67–94; 1996; 1998; Farney 2007: 97–112).



Figure 29.6 Reverse of 344/1b: Killing of Tarpeia. Courtesy of Rutgers University Libraries, Special Collections, Badian Coin Collection.

We know more about the Etruscans than any other Italic group except Rome, thanks largely to their burial habits. Their tombs were fancifully adorned and filled with a great deal of art, and they took up the epigraphic habit very early on (for Italy) and provide us with thousands of funerary inscriptions, many in their own language. They also made an impression on the Greek mind, as trading partners and competitors in the western Mediterranean, and so we have Greek observations and opinions of these neighbors to Rome's north (see Chapter 27 by Nancy de Grummond in this volume).

Those opinions were not very positive, however, and they had a lasting impact upon the Etruscans' reputation well into the Roman Empire (Harris 1971: 4–31; Farney 2007: 133–44). To the Greeks, the Etruscans were filled with *truphe* (luxury), the enervating vices of decadence and effeminacy, and their companions: cruelty, sexual deviance, and a very relaxed attitude toward their women. This was a very old stereotype, going back at least to the Homeric Hymns. It received support from Aristotle and his followers, and was picked up by our Roman sources (e.g., the comments of Pictor and Alimentus in the preceding text). Herodotus records a Lydian origin for the Etruscans, which both explained their alien-ness and their reputation, a stereotype that the Lydians shared. Later, shrewd Etruscans managed to spin this into a Trojan origin ("neighbors" of the Lydians), obviously more in line with the Hellenic sentiments of the rest of central Italy.

However, balancing this negative image, the Greeks and especially the Romans recognized Etruscan religious power, particularly in the art of divination by lightning and

haruspicy (i.e., from the entrails of sacrificed animals), the so-called *disciplina Etrusca*. The Roman state steadily increased the number of times it asked Etruscan *haruspices* for their advice, and, by the time of Cicero, their skills were greatly esteemed and widely accepted by the Romans. Etruscan aristocratic origin was believed to be fully necessary to be a true *haruspex*, and when their number decreased the emperor Claudius took measures to bolster their order. Their religious authority may have been one of the few advantages of Etruscan descent for aspiring Roman politicians (Farney 2007: 150–64). Despite their early connection to Rome, surprisingly few Etruscan Romans can be identified who held office at Rome, and identifiable ones really only start to appear in large numbers in Roman offices after the Social War. The early Empire, however, saw a great rise in the number of senators and consuls of Etruscan descent, and indeed a Roman emperor of undoubted Etruscan origin would even appear by 69 CE in the person of the usurper Otho.

Aside from these three groups, so connected with early Rome, first one must consider the people who inhabited much of what became Cicero's *Latium adiectum*. This had been the land of the Hernici, Volsci, Aequi, and Aurunci, its pre-conquest population helping to fill the cities later founded (or refounded) by the Romans in the course of the fifth through third centuries BCE. These people lost most of their identity by the time our extant writers talk about them, and they leave us neither as full a material record as the Etruscans, nor much writing of their own (Gnade 2002: 157–61). What we have in our Roman literary sources often comes from stories of the legendary origins of their successful, Roman(ized) families. Three families of Volscian origin—the Gellii of Minturnae, the Aelii Lamiae from Formiae, and possibly the Cossutii—possessed genealogies from Neptune via his many lovers and progeny, and so did the Lucretii of Antium, from a Latin town taken over by the Volscians for two centuries, and the Plautii Hypsaei, who may have been Aequian in origin (Wiseman 1974; Farney 2007: 64–5). These Neptunian genealogies may be attempts to rationalize the origins of these families' wealth and prominence, namely from maritime trade and Rome's newly won overseas empire. As a result, they may not reflect any element of their "native" identity.

A few families from the Volscian part of this region, however, record royal ancestors for themselves. Plutarch notes a kingly Volscian ancestor for Cicero, though the orator himself never mentions this in our extant works (*Cicero* 1.2; cf. Livy 2.35.7–8, 37–40, Silius Italicus 8.401–409). There seems to be a similar genealogy for the Messii, originally a business family who became senatorial in the first century BCE. The Messii seem to have arisen from around Volscian Formiae, and accordingly Livy (4.28–29) tells at length of a very heroic Vettius Messius who led Volscians against the Romans in 431 BCE (Farney forthcoming). One wonders if this is a memory of an earlier type of political organization in the region, by the kind of local warlords whom Livy describes Rome fighting against in the middle Republic.

Other Italic peoples were sufficiently dissimilar to the Romans in culture and language to suffer stereotyping: wild Apennine mountain folk, Marsic witches, and arrogant Campanians who had defected to Hannibal. These reputations were no doubt aided by their occasional rebellions against Rome and, especially for the people of the central Apennines, by their apparent lack of organization beyond the village level. Few upper-class members of these groups had any success at all in Rome before the Social War, and perhaps very

few even had citizenship. However, the familiar pattern emerges eventually: those from groups closer to Rome geographically and with older ties to the state, and those who could rationalize an ethnic tie to the traditional aristocracy, were more successful in the political culture of the capital. Patronage from established Roman families accounts for much of their success, especially as the Republic slides into the Triumviral period. Yet, only under Augustus, when *tota Italia* began to emerge as an idea in practice and Italic ethnic origins of all types became a marker of closeness, do we see attempts by men from these other areas of Italy to celebrate their ethnic identity.

Besides the charge of treachery that they earned for joining Hannibal, the Campanians had a reputation for luxury-loving, which pervades our Roman sources (Tagliamonte 1994: 130ff., 142ff.). Livy (e.g., 7.31.5–6) makes much of this, claiming that their propensity in this regard had enervated their capacity to resist Rome effectively, and subsequently corrupted their capacity for loyalty. Some postulated that the fertility of their soil had something to do with their behavior, as well as their connections to the south Italian Greeks (Polybius 7.1.1–2, Cicero, *De Lege Agraria* 2.95; Seneca, *Epistulae* 51.5). Campanian success in business ventures around the Mediterranean from the second century BCE onward may have contributed to this reputation. It is noteworthy that their stereotype was still around in the fourth century CE: Ammianus Marcellinus (14.6.25) uses the phrase *Campana lascivia* ('Campanian indulgence'), with some evident expectation that his readers would recognize the reference. Perhaps continued use of the region as a villa center and vacation area for wealthy Romans kept this reputation going long after the Campanians had become assimilated into Roman Italy.

The Samnites, Lucanians, and other south Italian groups also had to deal with a reputation for treachery, since they too had participated in many revolts against Rome. The Bruttians of south Italy deserve special attention in this regard. Our Roman sources acknowledge that the rebellious reputation of the Bruttians actually came from the neighboring Lucanians, since the Bruttians were their subject people before becoming allied to Rome. In fact, the geographer Strabo (6.1.4) informs us that the ethnic *Bruttius* comes from the Lucanian word for "rebel," and Diodorus Siculus (16.15) follows a similar tradition, claiming that "Bruttian" means "runaway slave" in a local language. Diodorus even tells us that Bruttium was a state founded by such runaways who separated from Lucania in the 350s BCE (Guzzo 1996; see Chapter 34 by John Wonder in this volume). As with the Greek opinion of the Etruscans, the Romans may have picked up on the ethnic evaluations of various south Italian people at the time of their first contact and interpreted them in light of their own experiences with them. As a counterpoint, one notes a legend more favorable to the Bruttians, perhaps reflecting an indigenous tradition, that either a "Brettos," son of Heracles and a Valentia, or "Brettia," a daughter, was their eponymous hero (Farney 2007: 196, with sources).

Hand in hand with their rebelliousness, and as mountain folk of modest means, the various Apennine people were notoriously tough, crude warriors, "noble savages" at best (Tagliamonte 1994; 1996; Dench 1995). As with the Sabines, these Oscan-speaking people were famed for their frugal lifestyle and were thought to practice marriage customs designed to produce the best possible soldiers. That they were often charged with uncouth behavior may come from an earlier period when they were regarded as just savages without nobility. Other mountain folk were characterized in a manner similar to that

of the Samnites. For example, Cato the Elder claimed that "all Ligurians are liars," and that he was unable to discover their origins, because they were illiterate and incapable of remembering the truth (*FRH* 3F2.2; Del Ponte 1999). Cato lived during the conquest of Liguria, a bitter struggle that took several decades. Later, the writers Posidonius, Cicero, and Vergil claimed that no finer soldiers existed anywhere, principally because (as with the Sabines and Samnites) their harsh soil had made the Ligurians hardy (*FGrH* 87F57–58; Cicero, *De Lege Agraria* 2.95; Vergil, *Georgica* 2.167–69).

It seems clear that, in many ways, just as the Greeks admired some barbarian groups for their "alien wisdom," particularly in spiritual matters, the Romans regarded some central Italian people to be especially close to the gods (Dench 2005: 321–2). The Marsi had among them snake charmers and herbalists, and Horace (*Sermones* 1.9.28–34, *Epodi* 17.28–30 and 17.60–61) claimed to have consulted Paelignian and Marsic fortune tellers. As with the Etruscan *disciplina*, mastery of these arcana was perhaps thought to be unique to their ethnic group: Aulus Gellius (16.11.1–2) says that the Marsi, descendants of the sorceress Circe, practiced endogamy to ensure their immunity to serpent venom and thereby continue to practice their art (Letta 1972). Similar to the Marsi's descent from Circe, various genealogies "explained" the reputations of south Italian and Apennine peoples. However, more often, the standard, wandering Greek heroes were assigned to (or selected by) them: Odysseus, Diomedes, Orestes, and Aeneas. There were local differences; we hear about Philoctetes and Heracles more often in south Italy than elsewhere (Giangiulio 1991; 1996; Musti 1991).

One of the most interesting of the Hellenized genealogies is the supposed descent of the Samnites and other central Apennine people from the Spartans. Strabo (5.4.12) claims that a colony of Spartans joined the Samnites, and that, for this reason, the latter became philhellenes. Some were even called "Pitanates" after a region near Sparta called "Pitane." However, he goes on, it is thought that Tarentum in southern Italy, a Spartan foundation, invented this legend to flatter and justify an alliance with the neighboring Samnites. Moreover, a similar genealogy existed for the nearby Lucanians and, by extension, the Bruttians (Justinus 23.1). Here, we may see Greeks trying to include Italian natives within their worldview for the purposes of honorable alliance, from perhaps as early as the fourth century BCE. However, this genealogy had a moral dimension to it as well, since an idealized Sparta was prevalent in Greek thought as a model of austerity, self-discipline, and, of course, martial prowess (Farney 2007: 201–3). These very same qualities were assigned to the central Apennine peoples as a whole, as we have seen. At the same time, numismatic and epigraphic evidence suggests that some central Apennine people embraced a Spartan pedigree (La Regina 1990; Cantilena 1996). Therefore, we should not see them as purely passive recipients of this genealogy, but actors in shaping their own image.

We have seen the Spartan genealogy before, assigned as early as Cato the Elder to the Sabines. By the late Republic, the Sabines were considered to be the kinsmen of the Samnites and other Apennine people (see the text that follows). Therefore, Dench (1995: 86–7; 1998: 135–6) postulates that Cato adopted a Spartan ancestry for the Sabines, thereby inserting the Sabines as ancestors of the Samnites, while simultaneously co-opting the Spartan reputation for the Sabines. This works well with the other themes we have

uncovered so far: that genealogy was often used to "explain" ethnic reputation, that the Romans frequently joined in on ethnological discourse started by others, and that Cato was a profoundly important figure in the development (or at least in the transmission) of the images of nearly every Italic ethnic group.

At any rate, one of the most common claimed *origines* for many central and south Italic groups was directly from the Sabines. To make this connection, many explained that various people originated from a "Sacred Spring" expedition (a *ver sacrum*) dispatched by the Sabines (Tagliamonte 1996: 9–21; Farney 2007: 206–10). This ritual is known to us from Greek and Roman religious practice, wherein, in periods of crisis, all fruits and animals born in one spring were dedicated and sacrificed to some god. The ones initiated by the Sabines, however, involved people: all the children born in a year, once they had reached adulthood, were sent out on expeditions to found colonies. These expeditions were led by an animal of almost "totemic" significance. For instance, some Samnites followed a bull, an animal that became emblematic for them. The Hirpini were led by a wolf, from which they took their name, from the Oscan word for wolf, *hirpus*. Similarly, the Picenes followed an eponymous *picus* (Latin for "woodpecker") (Guzzo 1996; Ferrando 2003). In turn, a writer named Alfius (Festus 150L), who was probably a Samnite, accounted for the origins of fellow Oscan-speaking Mamertini from a Sacred Spring sent out by the Samnites. Finally, according to the historian Cornelius Sisenna (*FRH* 16F91), the Social War rebels vowed their own Sacred Spring at some point during the conflict—to what purpose is unclear, but the fragment claims that they were invoking the "Sabines" who had done so also.

The archaeological evidence to date certainly does not bear out colonization from Sabinum to these places. Instead, we must view these "original" Sacred Springs as artificial constructs, rationalizations of some linguistic and cultural similarities at best. Dench (1995: 186–93) has argued that, in the late Republic, the Romans began to appreciate closer origins for other Italic peoples, both to include them within the Roman world and to associate the perceived pristine morality of the Italics with themselves via the Sabines. It seems clear from Alfius and Sisenna that some Italic peoples *themselves* accepted their origins from Sacred Springs. It would certainly be to the advantage of these groups to tie themselves to the Sabines in the late Republic, since that would help to legitimize them in the minds of the Romans.

Along with names and genealogies connecting people and individuals to the Sabines, one tool for making a closer connection was the use of the ethnic term "Sabellus." Salmon (1967: 33) argued that the term was an invention of late Republican writers, noting that, in our literary sources, the word first appears in a fragment of Varro from the 70s BCE, which he applies to the Samnites. The word seems to be a diminutive of "Sabinus," as Strabo (5.4.12) concludes in his account of the Samnite Sacred Spring. Other ancient authors who use "Sabellus" usually mean central Apennine people such as the Samnites, but in some instances "Sabelli" is used to mean Sabines (Dench 1995: 223–6, for all known instances of the word in literary sources). This new term conferred a certain status, which suggests that the Apennine people had a hand in applying it to themselves. Through this ethnic, they profited from their connection to one of the oldest and most respected ethnic groups at Rome, the Sabines. It can be no coincidence that Horace uses

"Sabellus" five of the first times it appears in extant literature, all in very positive ways, and once calling men who are clearly Sabines "Sabelli." Not only was Horace uncertain of his own ethnic identification, but he wrote in the Triumviral and Augustan periods, when men outside of central Italy were now finally holding citizenship in large numbers, and (one could argue) were finally being regarded as fully Roman. Rather than refer to themselves by old ethnic labels, such as "Osci," which some traced to the word *obscenus* (Festus 204–205L), men such as Horace could now call themselves "Sabelli," virtual Sabines, and thereby link themselves by blood with the *populus Romanus*. In fact, it seems clear that some central Apennine individuals were self-identifying with the *cognomen* "Sabellus" for some time before Varro and Horace, just as some Romans were using the *cognomen* "Sabinus" (Farney 2007: 208–10). Again, the Apennine people participated in the manipulation of ethnic associations for their group. They were not passive recipients of Greek or Roman notions.

In fact, I would argue that "Sabellus" was a term of empowerment among the central Apennine people in the late Republic, and that they began to use it *before* it was picked up by Roman authors. In ways analogous to the adoption of the term "African American" in the Twentieth Century, the "Sabelli" refused to use ethnic names that had become tainted with stereotypes and prejudice. Rather, they utilized one that emphasized their newly constructed connection to the Sabines and Rome without abandoning the perceived positive qualities of their group that the Romans so admired. It is too great a coincidence that the term is first found in the writings of the Sabine Varro and the "Sabellus" Horace. This instance of "auto-ethnography" would have been empowering, in that it linked them to the Sabines, but also allowed them to keep the image of outsiders that were uncorrupted by Roman vice. Thus, by the late Republic, their barbarism transformed itself into the kind of virtuous rusticism, the *prisca virtus*, that the Romans believed their ancestors had possessed once.

Certainly, by the early Empire, according to Tacitus, no one represented this idea better than the Sabine emperor Vespasian:

> New men from the *municipia* and colonies—and even from the provinces—steadily entered the Senate and brought with them an innate austerity. Although most had come to a wealthy old age through fortune or industry, yet they retained their old mind-set. But the most conspicuous promoter of these mores was Vespasian, himself of pristine habit and manner. At that point, obedience to the emperor and a desire to emulate him was stronger than punishment of the law and fear.(*Annales* 3.55; sc. *Annales* 16.5)

The image of the austere *novus*, uncorrupted by the vices of the dissipated nobility, still clung to the municipal men of Italy in Tacitus' time. Moreover, Tacitus notes that it had moved to the provincials—just as we have seen it move from the Sabines to the other Italians, and mythically, from the Spartans to the Sabines. Men from the "Latin" provinces, those settled by Italian colonists, continued to make much of this morally laden "outsider" image. Emperors after Nerva all originated from the provinces, but well into the third century CE they still went to some lengths to demonstrate ancestral ties back to Italy, too (Farney 2007: 177, 236–8). Certainly, the dispute in Claudius' senate about the "long-haired Gauls," mentioned in the preceding text, reveals that, by his time, Italian was equated with Roman without question.

Epilogue

In an important essay, Cornell (1991, with Ampolo 1991) expounded upon Rome's view of itself after the fourth century BCE. Rome's attitude was dominated by an anachronistic vision of itself as a city-state, a utopian place populated by subsistence farmers who jointly governed the city, fought in the legions, and ran their own households firmly and justly. They expected good and virtuous behavior from their fellow citizens—especially from their leaders—and from time to time they would allow outsiders into the community who had demonstrated merit and character in service to Rome. This preconception dominates Roman self-identity long after its creation of a professional standing army led by a highly differentiated elite, long after its transformation into pluralistic nation-statehood. Viewed through this lens of city-state ideology, much of Rome's attitude toward itself and the world helps us make sense of the otherwise inexplicably irrational and hypocritical behavior of the Roman elite and masses. For instance, it goes some way toward explaining why Cato the Elder would trumpet the values of peasant farming and husbandry, but write a treatise on how to create and run a *latifundia* operation; why Rome was at once "imperialistic," but frequently resisted the annexation of territory; and why Rome would extend citizenship to freed slaves, but not to Italian allies for centuries.

Rome's attitude toward ethnic groups and its opinion of its own multi-ethnic nature fit well into this scheme. However, the details were never static: good Etruscans in early Roman legends show that the stereotype of the Etruscan character—visible earliest in our Greek sources—only came to be accepted by Romans later. Citizenship extended to the previously "greedy and tyrannical" Sabines in the third century BCE may have generated the belief that early Rome had a Sabine element filled with *prisca virtus* ("pristine virtue"). The central Apennine people, and ultimately the elite of the rest of Italy, managed to change their reputation from untrustworthy savages to marginal figures put to Rome's use, and finally to paragons of old-fashioned rusticity and virtue.

Roman political culture was permeated by elite promotion and suppression of various ethnic identities within the political ranks. The very loudness with which the aristocracy addressed the politics of ethnic identity speaks to the "horizontal" and "vertical" social mobility possible within Roman society. Cicero is perhaps our greatest witness to elite posturing and the layering of identity. As a *novus homo* and Latin *municeps*, he was acutely aware of what it could mean to be on the low end of the elite "pecking-order," and we possess his articulation of Roman dual identity (*duae patriae*). He was highly indignant about attacks against the municipal, Latin image, but at the same time he was not immune to using its clichés for his own purposes. By doing so, he was drawing upon a long tradition of constructing and arranging the various Italic identities that were fundamental to the composite identity of the Roman state. However, these groups continued to speak back and had a hand in creating their own identities, even as these identities were created for them.

Once the emperor Claudius broke down the barriers to Rome's political culture, the different non-Italic groups increasingly became official participants. Previous experience with various groups in the Republic seems to have informed how Rome would include them (Farney 2007: 233–43). It is often thought that Imperial Rome was the first truly multi-national, universal state in European history. Yet, we should see now that the ideas

behind this, if not the phenomenon itself, actually existed earlier. As elsewhere, one must be careful not to confuse intent with result: Rome was often hesitant and ambivalent (and maddeningly over-qualifying) in its plurality. Nevertheless, it was the age of Cicero that saw the definition of "Roman" expand well beyond just the inclusion of those people bordering the city, at first adding those of peninsular Italy, but ultimately going well beyond that narrow vision.

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CHAPTER 30

Roman Elite Ethnicity

Parshia Lee-Stecum

An Elite Discourse

In 47 or 48 CE, the emperor Claudius spoke to the Senate in support of extending the right to run for Roman political office, and thus entry to the Senate, to the local elites of the province of Gallia Comata. The speech survives in part on a bronze tablet found at Lyons, Roman Lugdunum, in the province of Gallia Lugdunensis (CIL XIII, 1688), and is also reported by Tacitus at *Annals* 11.23–24. Addressed to the leading members of the Roman elite, the surviving portion of Claudius' speech begins with a brief and selective outline of Roman political power from the time of the founder to the beginning of the republic:

> At one time kings ruled the city, although they did not hand it down to successors from their own families. People from other families, even foreigners, succeeded. So Numa, who was Sabine, succeeded Romulus. Numa was a neighbour, but at that time still a foreigner. Likewise, Tarquinius Priscus succeeded Ancus Marcius. Because of impure blood (his father, Demaratus, was a Corinthian, and his mother was from a noble but poor family of Tarquinii) … Tarquinius was excluded from holding office in his home city, and so migrated to Rome and became king. Between Tarquinius and either his son or his grandson (for the authorities differ) came Servius Tullius. If we accept Roman sources, Servius' mother was a captive slave, Ocresia. If we accept Etruscan sources, he was at one time the faithful companion of Caelius Vivenna … . Taking the name Servius Tullius (his Etruscan name was Mastarna), he became king to the great advantage of the Roman state. Then, after the conduct of Tarquinius Superbus came to be hated by the citizens … the administration of the Roman state was transferred to consuls, who were annual magistrates.(CIL XIII, 1688 col.1)

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More than a demonstration of the constant innovation that the Roman constitution had undergone, and more than an indulgence of the emperor's own antiquarian interests, the brief survey of rulers emphasizes the ethnic multiplicity of early Rome's kings and prepares the way for Claudius' later valorization of the ethnic multiplicity of his Senatorial audience (Dench 2005: 118; Farney 2007: 229–33). The Roman discourse of ethnicity that survives to us is almost entirely conducted by and for an elite, circulated through literary texts, monuments, and iconography. A consequence of this dominant, elite perspective is that the discourse of Roman ethnicity was imbricated in political debate and competition. It contributed to familial and personal identities, but it was also intimately intertwined with the ideology of *imperium* in its dual sense of supreme political authority and empire. As Claudius reminded his audience, from the earliest point in its history, Rome's rulers had come from a wide range of ethnic backgrounds.

This brief sketch would have evoked, for its senatorial audience, an even richer discourse of ethnic multiplicity elaborated in Roman myth and literature since at least the Middle Republic. From its advent, Roman historiography was aristocratic in its themes, audience, and ideology, and it had a close interest in the ethnic origins of the Roman people. Around the year 200 BCE, Quintus Fabius Pictor composed a history of Rome's foundation. Fabius Pictor was one of several aristocratic historians writing around the time of the second Punic War or in the decades immediately following. This was also the period when the poets Naevius and Ennius were writing the first recorded works of Roman epic poetry to detail the origins and early history of Rome (Goldberg 1995: 58–110). Both poets worked within a developing culture of aristocratic patronage and drew support from powerful aristocratic families of the time: Ennius from the Fulvii Nobiliores, and Naevius (probably) from the Claudii Marcelli. The late third and early second centuries BCE form a critical period in Rome's development from a powerful city-state to a Mediterranean empire. The mythographic activity focused on narratives of Roman origins and growth reflected the changing role of the elite, now rulers of an expanding empire, and their attempts to redefine themselves in this context (Habinek 1998). These accounts of Rome's history consolidated a version of Rome's development that provided a framework for the aristocratic discourse of ethnicity in later generations.

The Aristocratic Origins of Roman Ethnicity

Romulus and his first proto-senatorial council (the original *patres*, "fathers," of Rome) were already of complex ethnicity. The dominant etiology of the Senate that survives in texts from the first centuries BCE and CE (Livy 1.8.7, Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.8, Plutarch, *Romulus* 13.1–2) probably reflects the versions circulated by Fabius Pictor and others 175 years earlier. The original Roman *patres* are drawn from those citizens of Alba Longa who followed Romulus and Remus to the new settlement. As a foundation of the descendants of Aeneas, Alba Longa represents a fusion of Trojan immigrants and the indigenous population of Latium that looms large in narratives of Roman ethnic origins

from the first century BCE onward, but draws upon a much older tradition (Horsfall 1987; Wiseman 1995: 50–5).

This fusion is expressed in typical aristocratic fashion by the dynastic marriage of the Trojan prince, Aeneas, and the Latin princess, Lavinia. As with other ethnic groups that contribute to the Roman people in subsequent centuries, Trojan origins carried significant ethnic capital for those aristocrats who claimed them. Culturally similar but ethnically distinct from the Greeks, the Trojans offered potent associations that wrote Romans into a broadly shared Greco-Roman mythohistorical narrative (Erskine 2001). Although some first century BCE representations of the marriage of Latin and Trojan would downplay the ethnocultural contribution of Troy, the Trojans could be evoked as the source of supposedly innate Roman characteristics. Around 14 BCE, the poet Propertius could evoke the *pietas* and resilience of Aeneas to suggest that elite self-sacrifice (exemplified by Decius Mus), *libertas* and moral stringency (exemplified by Lucius Iunius Brutus), and military achievement (exemplified by Caesar) descended directly from the Trojan contribution (Propertius 4.1.39–47; for discussion, see Lee-Stecum 2008: 75):

> It is good, Troy, that you sent your fugitive Penates here . . . . Even then the omens promised well … when the father hung trembling on the back of his son, and the flame feared to burn those pious shoulders. Then came the spirit of Decius and the axes of Brutus. Venus herself carried forth the arms of her Caesar, bearing the victorious arms of a resurgent Troy.

The identity of the inhabitants of Latium with whom the Trojans ally and inter-marry is variously represented in ancient sources. Virgil describes the people of King Latinus as the "people [*gens*] of Saturn" (*Aeneid* 7.203). Latinus himself descends from the line of Saturn via a series of minor divinities closely identified with the land and peoples of Latium and its surroundings: "He was the son, we are told, of Faunus and the Laurentian nymph, Marica: Faunus was the son of Picus, who called Saturn his father" (*Aeneid* 7.47–8). In an evocation of the *atria* of later aristocratic homes, *imagines* of Latinus' ancestors (including Italus, Sabinus, and Janus) line his audience hall. As the Arcadian, Evander, will explain to Aeneas in Book 8, the people whom Saturn discovered and came to rule in primordial Latium were indigenous: "men who had sprung from hard wood-oak [*durus robor*]" (*Aeneid* 8.315). While the surviving tradition is sketchy, these early inhabitants of Latium can be identified with the *aborigines* of other accounts (see Sallust, *Catilinian Conspiracy* 6; Servius auctor, sv. *Aeneid* 1.6). It is this people whom Saturn "unites" (*composuit*: *Aeneid* 8.322) and who are the ancestors of the people ruled by Saturn's heir, Latinus.

In contrast to these autochthonous (or autodruous) origins, Dionysius of Halicarnassus represents the *aborigines* as descendents of Arcadian settlers (Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.9–11; Hall 2005: 257–8). As with the Trojans, Sabines (see the following text), and other ethnic groups who composed the Roman people, the Arcadians could be associated with qualities valued by the Roman aristocracy. Hall (2005: 270) notes, "the Arkadians were thought to embody those very virtues of rustic simplicity and rugged virtue that Augustan propaganda was keen to associate with the populations of Italy" (see also Scheer

2010: 18–19). Even a single ethnic affiliation might be used to project a variety of meanings. The Virgilian Latins sprout hardy from the land of Latium itself, and the lineage of the king who eventually gives his name to the people connects him by blood to the divine, eponymous founders of other Italian peoples: Sabines, Picenes, and Italians generally (Toll 1991, 1997). The Latins of Dionysius of Halicarnassus confirm the Greek (and specifically Arcadian) cultural heritage of the Romans and further legitimize their place in the broader Hellenistic world. The mythic pre-history of Rome already provided the Roman ruling class with a rich and flexible range of ethnic identities to draw upon and inhabit. Immediately following Romulus' foundation, the options are expanded even further.

The first ethnic expansion of Rome comes early in Romulus' reign. Soon after Rome's foundation, Romulus augments the paltry population of his new city by use of an institution that has come to represent the wider permeability of Roman identity:

> Meanwhile the city was growing with more and more ground absorbed within the walls. However, the extension of the walled area was disproportionate to the size of the population and based more on hope for the future. To ensure that this large city would not be empty … Romulus opened an asylum in the place now enclosed between two groves on the slope [from the Capitol]. A large mob from neighbouring peoples fled to this place, with no distinction made between free-born and slave. All were eager for a fresh start. This was the first addition of strength (*robur*) on Rome's path to greatness.(Livy 1.8.4–6; see also Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.31; Plutarch, *Romulus* 14; Cicero, *Republic* 2.12)

The Asylum draws to Rome the manpower (*robor*) that will precipitate its future power (Lee-Stecum 2008: 74–5). By attracting immigrants of unknown status and origins, the Asylum contributes in ways that cannot be measured to the further ethnic diversity of Rome. However, while the asylum-seekers may not directly contribute to the ethnicity of the Roman elite, and their very anonymity makes specific ethnic identification impossible, the immediate consequences of the Asylum are another matter. Distrust of the mixed status and shady origins of the asylum-seekers on the part of neighboring communities leads directly to the subjugation (in part) of another ethnic group, although this subjugation is represented as integration within the Roman community.

The rape of the Sabine women and subsequent mixing of Roman and Sabine populations has general and specific implications for the ethnicity of the Roman ruling class, and for the interconnectedness of elite ethnicity and Roman imperial ideology (Livy 1.9, Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.31, Plutarch, *Romulus* 13–14, Cicero, *Republic* 2.12, Ovid *Ars Amatoria* 1.110). Livy's account of the rape gives special prominence to involvement by the elite of Romulus' new community. The "leading Senators" (*primores patrum*) hire men to target and abduct the most beautiful among the Sabine women on their behalf (Livy 1.9.11). The narrative of the Roman–Sabine integration juxtaposes and partly identifies forced intermarriage with political treaty forged through war. While the rape is initiated in response to the refusal of other nearby Italian communities to intermarry with the Romans, it is represented by the Romans as a "marriage," and

culminates in a formal treaty between the Romans and Sabine communities (Hemker 1985: 41–8; Joplin 1990: 56–8; Brown 1995; Miles 1995: 215–19). While the result is an expansion of the Roman populace in general, the implications for the Roman elite are signaled by the joint kingship of Romulus and the Sabine leader Titus Tatius. The initial consequence of the rape and the treaty that follows is to multiply the ethnicity of the Roman aristocracy rather than integrate Sabine and Roman. This is made clear in accounts of the election of the second king of Rome, Numa Pompilius, a Sabine from Cures. Numa is chosen despite some concern among the *patres* that a Sabine king would give the advantage to the Sabine sections of the population (referred to by Livy at this point as simply *Sabini*, Livy 1.18.5). Such accounts suggest that, at the death of Romulus, "Sabine" and "Roman" are still discrete ethnic identities in potential competition for the political direction of Rome (Lee-Stecum 2005: 25). The explicit distinction of Sabine and Roman sections of the population does not seem to outlast Numa. However, these narratives of Romulus' and Numa's Rome reflect a persistent strategy among the Roman elite of ethnic distinction through familial myths of descent. Sabine origins in particular continue to provide a respectable etiology for Roman aristocratic families, whether tracing their descent from the original Romano-Sabines or from later Sabines (Farney 2007: 29–32).

As with genealogical connections to Trojan progenitors, best known from the mythic decent of the *gens Julia* (the family of Julius Caesar and his adopted heir the emperor, Augustus) from Venus through the Trojan hero Aeneas (Horsfall 1987: 22–4), descent from Sabine and other Italian peoples carried potent associations for aristocratic families in their struggles for status, prestige, and political position. The association of Italic peoples with hardiness (*duritas*), simplicity (*simplicitas*), and rusticity (*rusticitas*) is well expressed by Numanus Remulus, an Italian hero in Virgil's late first century BCE epic the *Aeneid*:

> We are a hard race. We take our newborn children to the river and harden them in the bitterly cold stream. Our boys devote themselves to hunting and scour the forests. They break horses and notch arrows to the bow for sport. Our young men endure toil and are accustomed to scarcity. They master the land with mattocks and shake towns with war. Our whole lives are spent with weapons—we even goad the backs of our oxen with a reversed spear. No slow old age enfeebles our minds or depletes our vigor. We press down our grey hair with the helmet, always rejoice to carry home fresh plunder, and live off what we take. (*Aeneid* 9.603–13)

Numanus Remulus is an enemy of Aeneas and his followers, and Virgil describes his words as "arrogant" (*verbis superbis*, *Aeneid* 9.604). Although exaggerated, the qualities that Numanus claims for Italians had high value for a Roman aristocratic male. Numanus' name itself is suggestive of the Romans' appropriation of the qualities he claims: "Numanus" evokes the Sabine king of Rome (Numa), while Remulus conflates the names of the Alban founders of Rome (Romulus and Remus). Immediately following his speech, Numanus Remulus is slain by the son of Aeneas, Ascanius (also known as Julus, and so the eponymous ancestor of the *gens Julia*). The defeat of Numanus foreshadows the

Roman mission, expressed in the famous passage from Book 6 of the poem, "to war down the proud" (*Aeneid* 6.1154). However, this act has further ideological potency in light of the eventual merging of Latin and Trojan peoples to form the first Romans. In the final book of the epic, the gods Jupiter and Juno agree to an assimilation of Trojan culture that will see Italian/Latin customs dominant (*Aeneid* 12.835ff.) The defeat of Numanus, and eventually his Italian comrades, is also an assumption of the ethnocultural characteristics of the defeated peoples.

The Italian Family

Roman elite identity nested in the family. The history and prestige of an aristocratic *gens* conditioned how individuals from that family might define themselves and advance their careers (Gruen 1992; Flower 1996; Smith 2006; Farney 2007: 11–26). Ethnicity was utilized as part of the construction and projection of family identities. As a result, the story of Roman elite ethnicity comprises the stories of numerous individual families. *Gentes* (singular *gens*) can refer to the extended aristocratic clans of Rome (*gens Metella*, *gens Fabia*, *gens Julia*, etc.), just as it can refer to larger tribal groups or peoples. The narratives of the elite *gentes* and the *gens Romana*, while super-imposed upon each other, were not identical, with one eventual exception: the *gens Julia*.

During the Augustan ascendancy in the late first century BCE, the origins of Rome became closely identified with the Trojan/Latin origins of the Julian family. However, it is clear that powerful Roman *gentes* were constructing and emphasizing diverse Italian origins and identities for themselves long before. The Julian origin myth was unique only in its eventual pervasiveness and elaboration. A variety of etymological and mythographical techniques were employed to link Republican families with ethnocultural groups and communities throughout Italy. As the Trojan origins of Rome could project alliances and enmities with other communities, these mythic genealogies may have initially expressed relationships among elite families. To claim Sabine, Oscan, Latin, or Etruscan origins may have suggested kinship with other families who claimed similar descent. However, these stories also worked to diversify and distinguish the Republican clans vying for power and honors as Rome's Mediterranean empire grew in the wake of the Punic wars. With the notable exception of descent from the Trojan followers of Aeneas, the ethnic groups with which the Roman elite associated themselves were Italian. Our evidence is very incomplete, but peoples from regions geographically closest to Rome in Latium seem to have predominated (Farney 2007: 41–9).

One way of understanding this is as a reflection of a shared elite culture among the linguistically and sociopolitically diverse peoples of early central Italy (Ampolo 1977; Cornell 1989). By the first century BCE, the wider story of Rome's beginnings reflects this commonality in the joint reign of Tatius and Romulus, in the ascendency of the Tarquins (an Etruscan family of Corinthian origin), and in the now-shadowy story of the (possibly) Etruscan "Luceres" (for different interpretations of the derivation of the Luceres, one of the original three tribes of Rome, see Livy 1.13.8, Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 5.55,

Cicero, *Republic* 2.14, and Florus 2.6.1). Regardless of the realities of inter-marriage or movement among communities during the early centuries of Rome's development, the ruling families of Italian communities seem to have recognized and expressed their cultural similarities in terms of genealogy.

The similarities can be overstated. The concept of an "Italian" identity (such as the concept of *Italia* itself) was a long time coming and only hesitatingly expressed in terms of ethnicity before the first century CE (Dench 2005: 152–221). In the decades following the second and leading to the third Punic war, perhaps 20 years after Fabius Pictor's work on early Roman history, another Roman aristocrat, Cato the Elder, wrote his own treatise on beginnings. At least one book of the *Origines* detailed the origins of Rome. However, further books presented etiologies of other Italian cities (Chassignet 1987; Sciarrino 2004; Gotter 2009). Only fragments of Cato's text remain, cited in other much later authors, but the timing and structure of his work may hint at changes in the Roman elite's perceptions of its relationship to other Italian peoples and the gradual development of a broader Italian ethnocultural identity.

The construction of an Italian ethnicity (or ethnicities) for Rome's ruling families should also be seen in a broader Mediterranean context as a strategy of distinction. In a cultural environment where ethnicity is expressed in genealogical terms, the construction of Italian identities allowed the Roman elite to distinguish themselves from Greek or Punic competitors. Descent from the conveniently defunct Trojan people also served this purpose. It may also have allowed for the expression of deeper ties with Italian communities that had on occasion during the Middle Republic eschewed common cause with Rome. In the century before Cato wrote the *Origines*, the relationship of the Italian communities to Rome had been tested by invasion and intermittent economic hardship (Staveley 1989: 422–30). In this context, ethnic ties among the aristocratic families of Rome and their counterparts in the dominated cities of the Italian peninsula worked both to magnify and encourage the loyalties and aspirations of Italian elites who had stood by Rome in time of threat, and to bind closer those communities that had wavered or seized the opportunity to oppose Rome's political dominance. While the paucity of evidence precludes charting the lines of relationship with any precision, the Italian identities of the Roman elite might be expected to have shifted in emphasis, strength, and direction as the political and diplomatic landscape of the peninsula and the larger Roman world shifted in the course of the Republic.

None of this, however, suggests that the elite of the Roman Republic understood their own ethnicity as indistinguishable from that of ruling families in other Italian cities. Nor was the meaning of any Italian origins uncontested. During the Republic, the construction of genealogical origins linking Roman aristocratic families with Italian peoples projects ethnic diversity within a common Roman identity rather than asserting ethnic commonality through a shared "Italian" identity. That Claudius can evoke this diversity in the late 40s CE suggests the persistence of the idea, but also that its meaning was still potentially at stake. An echo of earlier contests over the meaning of Roman ethnocultural diversity is heard in the works of late first century BCE historians, Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Roman Antiquities* 1.4.2) suggests that

sources hostile to Rome could configure the ethnic diversity of the Romans in terms of mongrel descent:

> The early history of the Romans is still unknown to almost all Greeks, and some false beliefs based on haphazard rumours have gained ground and deceived most of them: that the founders of Rome were wanderers and barbarians, without homes and not even free, and that in time she gained dominance everywhere not through piety or justice or other virtues, but by accident and through some random, unjust fortune, which bestows the greatest goods upon the most undeserving.

This is obviously quite different from the mythic genealogies of Rome's ruling houses, but so is Dionysius' answer to the hostile account. Dionysius defends the integrity of the Romans by unifying their identity as Greeks: "I undertake to prove that they were Greeks and came together from neither the smallest nor the least significant of peoples" (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 1.5.1; Lee-Stecum 2005: 23–4). Writing in the aftermath of Rome's annexation of the last Hellenistic kingdom, Dionysius is describing a different world from that of the Middle Republic. His text is deeply sympathetic to (even apologetic on behalf of) the Roman elite and Roman imperialism (Gabba 1991). However, his single-note treatment of Roman ethnicity is not representative of the Roman's own accounts even in the late Republican and early Imperial periods (first centuries and CE).

The early first century BCE further extended the Italian ethnicities of Rome's elite. The Social War (90–89 BCE) and its outcome determined the articulation of Romano–Italian identities in the years to follow. Notwithstanding genealogical connections drawn among Roman elite families and some Italian communities, entry to political and religious office, and the Senate, was restricted in the middle–late Republic. While so-called "new men" (*novi homines*) from outside the existing Senatorial order could run for office and, with sufficient social prestige, financial support, and patronage, win access to magistracies and Senate, only those with Roman citizenship were eligible. This included Cato the Elder (from Tusculum) and Cicero (from Arpinum), both of whom were the first in their family to enter the Senate and rise to the consulship. However, before 90 BCE, "new men" were relatively rare, those who rose to the highest political offices even rarer, and the use of the term *novus homo* itself suggests that these newcomers were never quite fully accepted as social equals by those claiming descent from older senatorial stock. More particularly, however, a large number of wealthy and locally powerful families from Italian cities, with only limited citizenship rights or none at all, were excluded from participation in the Roman ruling elite. Broadly described as "allies" of Rome (*socii*, and hence "Social" War), these included communities of the Picentes, Marsi, Samnites, and others who maintained political autonomy from Rome in return for their military support. Individuals from such communities could be granted Roman citizenship and even join the senatorial elite, but this was rare and difficult (Wiseman 1971: 24).

The incidental causes of the war that broke out between the Italian allies and Rome in 90 BCE continue to be debated. However, exclusion from the full rights and prerogatives of a Roman ruling class that often claimed shared descent with the communities it

excluded was clearly the key contributing factor, and Roman sources are consistent in this interpretation (e.g., Appian, *Civil Wars* 1.34–8, Velleius Paterculus 2.15.2, and Florus 2.15). Surviving accounts of the Social War are written from a Roman perspective, but there is evidence to suggest that the Italian communities involved took steps to assert a collective, shared identity of their own in opposition to that of Rome. A rival capital, Italica (Corfinium), was established, and coinage was minted representing a bull as the symbol of the Italian allies, in direct confrontation with the wolf of Rome. The assertion of an apparently independent identity from that of Rome is sometimes viewed as evidence that the Italians aspired to win true autonomy and construct a distinct sociocultural character for a new political reality. However, in the context created by the Roman republican elite, the assertion of distinctiveness does not contradict the full Roman citizenship and participation by Italian aristocrats in Roman rule, which was the eventual outcome of the struggle.

The Italian elites were, in fact, approaching the assertion of their ethnocultural identity in a manner that mirrored the approach of their Roman counterparts. The Romans represented their own identity as encompassing multiple, largely Italian, genealogies and traditions. The Italians allies might aspire to full incorporation within Rome, and even to identify themselves as Romans, without compromising their ethnocultural distinctiveness. The Roman elite's representation of their own and the Roman people's ethnicity had paved the way for such an accommodation. The war did not arise from a disruption of the ethnic model imagined by the Roman elite. It expressed the victory and ultimate dominance of that model.

One of the clearest attempts to articulate this accommodation of multiple identities comes in the generation following the Social War and the extension of Roman citizenship to all Italian communities. Cicero expresses the new circumstances of Italian enfranchisement in terms of dual origins (dual *patriae*):

> *Marcus* [Cicero]: I really do think that he and all natives of *municipia* have two fatherlands, one by nature and the other by citizenship, so that Cato, although he was born in Tusculum, was adopted into the citizenry of the Roman people; so, since he was Tusculan by origin, Roman by citizenship, he had one fatherland from his place of birth, and another by law . . . . [W]e take it that both where we were born and where we have been admitted are our fatherlands. But that for which the name "Republic" signifies common citizenship must be preeminent in our affection; it is on behalf of this fatherland that we have a duty to die, to give our all, and to place at its disposal and, as it were, devote to it all that we have. But the fatherland that nurtured us is not much less dear than that which adopted us. So I will never deny that this place [Arpinum] is my fatherland, although the other is greater and contains this one within it . . . he [the citizen of a *municipium*] has [two] citizenships, but thinks of them as one. Cicero, *De Legibus* 2.2.5

It is telling that Cicero traces this model to the great Roman aristocrat, *novus homo* and writer of the *Origines*, Cato the Elder. Whether this is an accurate citation or not, it is clear that the primary concern is with explaining and reconciling the multiple affiliations of the Roman elite. Explanation in the form of a hierarchical duality may appear overly neat and

general. It might also reflect some anxiety about a multiplicity that needs to be explained away, or at least ordered (Dench 2005: 132; Lee-Stecum 2005: 30–2; Farney 2007: 6–7). Yet, it is consistent with the configuration of Roman elite ethnicities constructed over the course of the republican period from at least as early as the late third century BCE.

Many years after the Italian enfranchisement and Cicero's articulation of the dual *patriae* model, Florus (probably writing in the second century CE) would describe the Social War as a civil war between peoples of the same *gens* and "blood" (*sanguis*: Florus 2.15.7). Elsewhere in his work, Florus (2.6.1) describes the creation of a unified Roman people in direct biological (indeed bodily) terms:

> For, since the Roman people has mixed in itself Etruscans, Latins and Sabines and traces one blood from all of them, it has made a body from all these limbs and is one people made from all of them.

While this, too, simplifies the complex personal and communal negotiations that doubtlessly characterized questions of identity among Roman and Italian elites in the Republican period, it is a logical development of the discourse of Romano–Italian ethnicity embraced by the Roman aristocracy.

Beyond Italy

In the turmoil of the later first century BCE and the development of the principate under Augustus, the composition and size of the Roman elite fluctuated. Even before Claudius' opening of the Senate to the elites of Gallia Comata, the ethnic breadth of the Roman aristocracy had begun to expand beyond Italy. Enfranchised elites from the Iberian province of Baetica joined the Senate as early as the second century BCE. Julius Caesar expanded the franchise to include communities of northern Italy in 49 BCE. As Claudius emphasized, Augustus admitted senators from Cisalpine Gaul. The new role of emperors, and before them dictators such as Sulla, who could appoint or sponsor new senators, played a part in this further ethnic diversification of the elite. The opportunity to erode old power bases and bind the aristocracy to imperial patronage provided some motivation, although this can be overstated. In the end, as Hopkins and Burton (1983: 189) observe, "[w]e do not know whether or how far emperors consciously encouraged the recruitment of provincials into the Roman senate in order to control the senatorial aristocracy." Later emperors, several of whom traced non-Italian origins for their own families, would expand the Senate to include an increasing range of communities and peoples. By one widely accepted calculation, at the turn of the third century CE, the number of senators with attested origins outside of Italy started to outnumber those with attested Italian origins (Hammond 1957: 77). However, evidence for senatorial origins can be tenuous (Hopkins and Burton 1983: 144; Mennen 2011: 65–6), and clearly some caution is required before it can be claimed that half the Roman elite in the reign of Septimius Severus identified themselves with non-Italian origins. The extent to which provincial senators identified or presented themselves and their families as ethnically distinct from

their "Italian" counterparts also remains obscure. Identification with a community of origin in North Africa, Asia Minor, or Gaul does not necessarily entail self-identification as Punic, Greek, or Gallic (Hopkins and Burton 1983: 185). As with the Italian "new men" before them, however, these origins may have left these senators open to representation as less "Roman" than others.

Ancestry and ethnic origins may not have had quite the bearing on prestige and power play under the principate that they did in the republic, but ethnicity continued to have potency in elite discourse and could be leveraged in political competition. Deep into the second, third, and fourth centuries CE, the ethnic origins of Rome's rulers could be brought to bear upon their prestige and assumed character in ways that reveal traditional ethnic hierarchies. Such hierarchies had physical and linguistic dimensions that allowed distinctions to be exposed and policed, as in the story of the senatorial laughter elicited by the young Hadrian's provincial accent (*Historia Augusta*, "Life of Hadrian," 3.1). While the text that records this anecdote is notoriously unreliable (Birley 1997: 3–4), it may preserve evidence that ethnic identity remained a concern even for the most powerful Roman late into his reign. The *Historia Augusta*'s "Life of Hadrian" begins by claiming to cite Hadrian's own autobiography:

> The ancient home of the family of the Emperor Hadrian was Picenum, and their more recent home was Spain. Hadrian himself records in his autobiography that his ancestors originated from Hadria and migrated to Italica in the time of the Scipiones. (*Historia Augusta*, "Life of Hadrian," 1.1)

As he surveyed and reported his achievements, the emperor was concerned about asserting the *Italian* origins of his Spanish family. If accurate, this suggests the continued importance of the old identification of the Roman elite with Italian ethnicities. The occasional insistence in elite texts that certain aristocrats of provincial origin are "just like Italians" further demonstrates this persistent privileging of Italian ethnicity (e.g., the poet Statius insists this about the young Septimius Severus: Statius, *Silvae* 4.5.45–6; see Dench 2005; Farney 2007: 234–5).

Finer ethnic distinctions could be made and felt among the expanding Roman elite in the imperial period, just as distinctions among Latins, Sabines, and Italians of different origins operated in the Republican period. Cassius Dio, writing in the third century and himself a Roman senator and consul from Bithynia, reflects these attitudes in his contemptuous remarks regarding the Mauretanian origins of the "usurper" emperor, Macrinus, who "because of his natural cowardice (being a Moor [*Mauros*], he was terribly timorous) and his soldiers' ill-discipline, did not dare to fight on" (Cassius Dio 79.27). In Cassius Dio's representation, Macrinus is certainly not "just like an Italian." Instead, his ethnicity is marked in his moral character and physical appearance (e.g., his pierced ear: Cassius Dio 79.11) in ways that express his political illegitimacy.

There were also limits to the ethnic inclusiveness of the Roman elite. Britannia had been an imperial province since 43 CE, yet no senators with identifiable origins in this province were ever admitted to the Senate. While senators from Egypt (a Roman province from 30 BCE) are known, they remain a very small number compared to

senators from other Eastern communities, and Egyptians generally remain the epitome of the outlandish other in Roman elite texts (Hammond 1957: 79). The boundaries of elite ethnicity may have been moveable and contestable, but, as these cases show, they continued to play an important part in Roman aristocratic self-identity. Nor were all locations within the boundary invested with equal sociopolitical prestige. Inge Mennen argues that the families that figure most often in positions of "power and status" in the third century CE were predominantly associated with Italian origins, and that these families formed a "nucleus" within the broader senatorial elite (Mennen 2011: 64–5). Some provincial newcomers to the Roman elite may have already identified themselves and their families as ethnically Italian. The citizens of Romano–Italian colonies, or Italian settlers in provinces (such as the family of Hadrian), may have nurtured persistent Romano–Italian identities and distinguished themselves from other sections of the local population. In such cases, being of "North African" origin might still accommodate a deeply seated Romano–Italian self-identity, even if those African origins could be activated in the tactical discourse of sociopolitical competition. For some other aristocratic families, Italian descent may have been adopted or constructed in the same way that earlier republican aristocrats constructed divine, mythic, and localized ethnic origins for their families. Requirements in place by the second century CE that all senators must own Italian land may have further encouraged and facilitated identification with Italy. However, this only demonstrates that the increased ethnic diversification of the elite did not erode the potency of ethnicity generally, or the value of traditional Romano–Italian origins specifically, within the nuanced gradations of senatorial prestige and power.

Conclusion: Mappa Imperii

The ethnic affiliations of the Roman elite never presented an authentic or accurate ethnographic map of empire, but bolstered a model of elite strength constituted from a diverse range of communities, regions, and ethnicities. This accorded well with the wider ideology of Roman strength modeled in the myth of Romulus' asylum. The multiplication of elite ethnicities was far more gradual, contested, and formalized than the mythic asylum, yet both models might support a similar imperialist ideology of exploitation and accommodation (Lee-Stecum 2008: 71–9). If the ethnic expansion of the senatorial elite did not correspond exactly to the diversity of Rome's imperial domain, it nevertheless echoed the expansion and consolidation of imperial power, and has parallels in other expressions of imperial growth. The *pomerium*, the sacred boundary of Rome, was redrawn on occasion to accommodate each time a larger area of the city. The reasons, and even the timing, of such occasions are not always certain, but Roman sources suggest that a relationship to the expansion of Roman territory was usually expected (Tacitus, *Annals* 12.23–4). Augustus and Claudius both appear to have extended the area enclosed within the *pomerium* (the second of these in 49 CE, the year following Claudius' speech and the opening of the Senate to citizens of Gallia Comata). Both emperors also boast prominently of their additions to Roman territory as demonstrations of the legitimacy of their power and position. In Claudius' case at least, the connection between imperial expansion and the extension of the

pomerium is explicit. The inscription on the boundary stones marking Claudius' new *pomerium* reads:

> Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, son of Drusus, pontifex maximus, with tribunician power for the ninth time, imperator for the sixteenth time, consul for the fourth, censor, father of the fatherland, after the boundaries of the Roman people were expanded, has extended and delimited the *pomerium*. *CIL* 6.31537a (see Osgood 2010: 161)

It may only be coincidental that these two *principes* also admitted senators from new regions and peoples (as did Tiberius, who does not appear to have been concerned to move the *pomerium*). Yet, the two acts may be ideologically analogous. If understood, in part, as a gesture of imperial expansion, the inclusion in Claudius' speech of reference to his conquest of Britannia may not be the clumsy, digressive boast it might otherwise appear (Osgood 2010: 166).

Gestures of this sort may have become even more significant as opportunities to expand the territorial boundaries of Rome became fewer. As the Roman elite drew on, incorporated, and grew from the ethnic as well as sociopolitical capital of the provinces, traditional themes of aristocratic and imperial ideology were reinforced. The ethnicities of the Roman elite embodied and expressed empire, and this worked to legitimize and renew elite power and status. It is this that underlies Claudius' argument to the Senate and, through inscription in places such as Lugdunum, to the people of the empire.

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CHAPTER 31

Ethnicity in Roman Religion

Jörg Rüpke

Entertaining Diversity

Approaching ethnicity from the point of view of religion is a difficult undertaking in the context of Roman urban society. To be sure, religious practices were an integral part of political communication, and hence were a part of those procedures intended or at least functioned so as to create identities that might include an ethnic dimension. However, on the surface, at least, what we most often encounter is an interest in social differentiation, in social and legal status, which typically reinforced each other. Take, for example, the ranks in the theaters and amphitheaters (temporary structures only down to the end of the republic!), which were allotted to senators, priestesses and priests, equestrians, free citizens, women, and slaves, thereby communicating social differences and political power within (and occasionally outside) Roman society (Hekster 2005). This is nicely captured in the prologue of Plautus' comedy *Poenulus*:

> Let no well-ripened wanton take seat upon the stage, nor lictor murmur, or his rods, nor usher ramble around in front, or show a seat, while an actor is on the boards. Those who have stayed too long at home in idle sleep should now stand in patience, or else sleep in moderation. Let no slaves crowd in, but leave room here for free men, or else pay cash for manumission; in case they cannot, let them go home and shun a twofold catastrophe—rod welts here and whip welts there, if their masters come back home to find their work undone. And nurses, let nurses attend to their tiny brats at home, let not one bring them to this play, for the nurses may get dry and the children starve to death, or go maamaaing here for food like so many young goats. Matrons are to view this play in silence, laugh in silence, temper here their tuneful chirping, take their prittle-prattle home, and not be a nuisance to their husbands here as well as there. (Plautus, *Poenulus* 18–36, translation by Paul Nixon, Loeb Library, London: Heinemann, 1916)

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Plautus captures the rich commotion of Rome's urban life, where social distinction and status markers seem to count for more than ethnic identity, whether to be asserted or hidden.

Far from stressing ethnic exclusivity, a number of religious institutions actively—and, as we will see, contrafactually—produced notions of "ethnic" diversity. In Rome, the male citizens wore a *toga*, which, though traditional (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.282; Suetonius, *Claud.* 15.3), was not an everyday form of dress, being cumbersome to put on and hot in summer—Augustus repeatedly tried to persuade Romans to wear it more often (Suetonius, *Aug.* 40.5). In the Roman rite, the *ritus patrius*, literally, "the father's way of doing ritual," it was the clearest sign of participating in a ritual for both men and women to pull up part of the *toga*, or in the case of women, the *stola*, to cover the head. The head was then said to be "veiled" (*caput velatum*; e.g., Cicero, *ND* 2.10; Livy 1.18.3; 8. 9. 5; 10. 7. 10; see Pensabene 1980 for the earliest archaeological examples among the mid-Republican terracotta statuettes dredged up from the Tiber; in general: Bonfante Warren 1973). The alternative to this act of covering the head was to wear a leaf crown (cf. Blech 1982), the only head covering permitted by the rules for the *ritus graecus*, the "Greek rite." This term did not refer to true Greek sacrificial ritual but to what the Romans believed to be Greek elements in their cults, for example the cult of Saturn, and the ritual at the altar of Hercules (Servius, *Aen.* 3.407; Dion. Hal. 6.1.4; Macrobius, *Sat.* 3.6.17; see Scheid 1995). The difference went beyond clothing. In the *ritus graecus*, musicians lead processions, and hymns were sung by specialists, the *cantores graeci*, "Greek singers." In contrast, in Roman rituals, the most widespread form of music was "flute" music played on the double-tibia, a sort of clarinet or oboe rather than a flute, since it was played with a reed (representations: Fless 1995: 79–84).

A more complex political and ethnical diversity was kept up in the realm of priesthoods. Of course, the Etruscan *haruspices* take pride of place, diviners from prominent Etruscan families, who were employed on a permanent basis from the late republic onward, and occasionally much earlier. Based on a supposedly substantial literary tradition of books of the "Etruscan discipline" (traceable only in fragmentary texts; see Thulin and Regell 1975; Rawson 1978; Briquel 1990; Roncalli 2010; also see Chapter 27, by Nancy de Grummond, in this volume), they were given prominent roles in dealing with major prodigies and the interpretation of entrails in large public rituals; during the Empire, they were regularly attached to military units and appear on their payrolls.

Furthermore, a number of ancient Latin polities were preserved in the form of priesthoods. These so-called "Latin priesthoods" comprised priesthoods that were (probably) filled from Rome by candidates from the equestrian class (cf. Fest. 146.9–12 L). This applies without reservation to the multifarious *sacerdotes Albani*, *Cabenses*, and *Caeninenses*, and the *Laurentes Lavinates.* The communities to which they belonged were notional, being embodied by the generality of their titular magistracies (Thomas 1990; for the prosopography, see Rüpke 2008). In contrast to them, the *sacerdotes Lanuvini* and the *sacerdotes Tusculani* include epigraphically attested non-indigenous equestrians as well as a great variety of non-equestrian local priests; here, real communities seem to have continued. The dividing line is, however, difficult to draw. The *Laurentes Lavinates* constituted a political and sacral entity conceived in Rome, and their actual existence in the city can be demonstrated (Castagnoli 1984; cf. Saulnier 1984). In place of a sophisticated structure modeled on the pontifical college and other colleges in the city of Rome,

the (self-created) epigraphic record favors a generic *sacerdos*. The personnel may have included various *flamines* and *salii*, indicating the existence of an elite circle from whom the *sacerdotes* were recruited; the organization as a whole was seen by at least some contemporaries as religious (see *CIL* 11.3940 = *ILS* 5006). The activities of the *sacerdotes Cabenses montis Albani*, probably named after the old town of Cabum or Cabo on the Mons Albanus, seem to have been confined to the period of the *feriae Latinae*, the ancient festival celebrated annually to commemorate the founding of the Latin League. Their erection of a monumental inscription to the emperor Tacitus as late as AD 275 or 276 is not the only indication that this was a tightly organized priesthood (see Rüpke 2008, no. 2530).

A Plurality of (Ethnic) Religions

The late republican and early imperial concept of *religio* understood it as the bridge between, on the one hand, the (normally unquestioned) belief in the existence of gods and the ensuing feeling that such superior beings should be addressed and cared for (*pietas*), and, on the other, the actual ritual institutions (*sacra*), organizing and perpetuating the human response (Cic. *ND* 1.117; for the following, see Rüpke 2009; 2010: 752 ff.). Within the scope of this broad concept, different *religiones* and their differing cultic consequences could be addressed to one god, and could be practiced by the same people at the same time or by different people. It is rather unusual when Tacitus speaks of *religione Herculis* ("the religion of Hercules," *Annals* 12.13). Elsewhere, he speaks about the *religio Veneris* ("the religion of Venus") of the Aphrodisians and of the *religio Iovis et Triviae* ("religion of Jove and Trivia") of the Stratonicaeans (3.62). Cicero had already captured this notion in his famous observation that "every community has its religion and we ours, Laelius" (*sua cuique civitati religio*, *Laeli*, *est*, *nostra nobis*, *Pro Flacco* 69). Such an expression characterizes the religious practices of a locality by a locally dominant cult or tutelary deity. This is not congruent with our notion of "Roman" (or, for that matter, "Athenian") religion. This is true for those described, but also for those who are speaking. Cicero's "we" and "our" does not reflect the composition of the Roman population, which was already complex, polyglot, and diverse by his time (see Noy 2010).

We have to wait until Lactantius in the early fourth century to find "Roman religion," but characteristically the expression occurs in the plural. Roman religion is *proprias Romanorum religiones* ("the distinct religions of the Romans") as opposed to *religiones communes*—"common religions" (1.20.1). *Religio* is usually paired with cults and gods—it is a cult based on the acceptance of the deity to which a particular cult is addressed. A one-to-one relationship is the underlying model, hence the plural for the "religions of the deities" (2.17.6). Shortly later, around 340, Iulius Firmicus Maternus polemicizes against *profana*(*e*) *religio*(*nes*) (17.4; 21.1). It says a great deal about later readers, although not about Firmicus himself, that this expression was used to replace the lost title of the work, subsequently referred to as *De errore profanarum religionum*. The confrontation with "Christian religion" (a coinage seldom used) indicates that we are witnessing attempts at a pseudo-ethnification of religious differences, known from

the biblical tradition and taken up by Tertullian and his literary successors. Thus, in the contemporary *Acta Scilitanorum* of the late second century, the proconsul finally decides on the basis of a confession "to live *ritu Christiano* (according to the Christian rite)" and to refuse to return *ad Romanorum morem* ("to the way of the Romans")(14). Others were much more careful. The African writer Minucius Felix had his characters in the dialogue *Octavius* refer to membership in a sect, employing such expressions as "a man not of that sect" (*ut non ipsius sectae homo*), "your sect," and, finally, once the antagonist has been rhetorically beaten by Octavius, "already of my sect" (*sectae iam nostrae*) (40.2) (Rüpke 2011a: 197 f.).

Secta (or *hairesis* in Greek) is without any ethnic implication. It was primarily used to differentiate the philosophical schools of the early Hellenistic age, but could be used for Jewish groups such as Saducees or Pharisees too (e.g., in *Acta* 4.17; Josephus, *Bellum Iudaicum* 2.8.1). The term is informed by the idea of following a leader, a founding figure or contemporary head of a school, be it Saint Peter or Bishop Damasus (or Bishop Peter of Alexandria) in an edict quoted in the Theodosian Code (16.1.2). The pragmatics of the term *disciplina* were the same. It could denote both intellectual content and a way of life. *Disciplina magorum*, *Etruscorum*, *Chaldaica*, *augurum*, and *rei publicae* are phrases from the first centuries BC. Cato the Elder had already warned in the second century BC of "foreign discipline" (1.4). Firmicus, never shrinking from the extreme, could polemicize against the *diaboli … disciplina* (*De errore profanorum religionum* 18.1). "Discipline" made more explicit what was implied in "sect": the idea of a body of knowledge and a special way of life. However, such a way of life was a conscious, intellectual choice, not an ethnic given.

And yet, it was common knowledge, too, that religion (in our sense of the term) was part and parcel of cultural exchange. In a situation of massive change, Roman antiquarians started to reflect on religious institutions and earlier imports (see Rüpke 2012a: 144–51). According to them, basically, Rome was made up of Latin, Etruscan, and Sabine gods and cults. The Trojan ancestry, postulated by Greeks from the third century BC onward (Erskine 2001, especially 224), was accepted, and religious imports could be imagined in the Vergilian narrative of the *Aeneid* (Cancik 2006, see also Barchiesi 2006). However, these contacts were seen as events of a distant past. For the more recent past, cultural contact with Greece and the Hellenic world (so present in Southern Italy and Etrurian towns) had been very intensive—and controversial. It was not *religio*, however, that was at the center of such controversies, but rather clothing, luxury ornaments, philosophy, or rhetoric. Due to continuous contact since the early urban phases, Rome, the city on the margins of the Greek world, had no significant difficulty accommodating and acculturating influx from the Greeks, be it Mater Magna from Asia Minor or Venus Erycina from Sicily. Thus, the testimony of Cicero's dialogue *On the Nature of the Gods* is ambivalent. In itself a witness to the Romans' attempt to come to grips with Greek thinking on religion (historically and philosophically, Rüpke 2012a), the polemical concentration on the influx of Greek mythology (and ultimately religion) presented by Cotta (3.39–62) is a demonstration of parochialism (even if parts of the argumentation were taken over from the Greek academic Carneades).

Other cultural and religious areas remained exotic, neither dangerous nor adaptable—for example, Syrian fish gods and Egyptian animals (3.39, the latter again in 3.48) or an

Indian variety of Jupiter (3.42, Belus, that is Baal). The existence of Egyptian variants of divine genealogies was noted more frequently (3.54 ff.), but those were not accorded the status of dangerous knowledge. Such genealogies were perceived as distant local variants, gaining no importance beyond those localities. Hence, interest in Egyptian cults at Rome was limited in that generation. Cicero's Cotta did not take the trouble to comment upon the removal of shrines to Isis from the Capitol during the 50s, the last of these pertaining to the year 48 BC (Cassius Dio 42.26; see Mora 1990: 75–87), hardly more than 3 years before Cicero wrote the books (he finished the composition before the death of Caesar). Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 BC), however, did report these conflicts—and we will shortly analyze that text.

It was in this milieu, when pronouncing on religious matters in book 2 of "On Laws," that Cicero, albeit with some reticence, tried to stop private religious change that came from such sources (Cic. *leg.* 2.19; Rüpke, 2011b: 44–5). However, reticence was not always characteristic of the Roman response. When, in the aftermath of a sexual scandal, in AD 19, the senate was called upon to debate about the expulsion of *sacra Aegyptia Iudaicaque*, "Egyptian and Jewish cults" (Tac. *Ann.* 2.85.5; Suet. *Tib.* 36.1–2), the senators thought they should fight foreign religious practices and ruled to destroy cultic paraphernalia and expelled the followers by various means. The combination of measures and the wording of the reports suggest ethnic and hence political implications. The religious dimension, however, must have been important; followers of the cult—*similia sectantes*, said Suetonius—were expelled, regardless of their ethnic identity, or had to stop *profani ritus*, "profane rites," as Tacitus formulates it. This is confirmed by Seneca, who adduces the information that the expulsion of alien cults (*alienigena sacra*) was legitimized by its classification as *superstitio*, as revealed by (among other facts, not related by Seneca) their abstention from certain animals (*epist.* 108.22).

Similar conceptual choices are visible in a religious context that was not polemical at all. The Roman institution of the organized training of Etruscan diviners (*haruspices*) was seen as fighting economic misuse of religion—secularization one might say—by Cicero (*Div.* 1.92). For Tacitus (*Ann.* 11.15.1), however, the fact that "foreign superstitions" were gaining strength was one of the main reasons for a similar measure by Claudius. The term "superstition" demonstrates that ethnic difference had to be combined and strengthened by the suggestion of deviant or even criminal behavior (see Rüpke 2011b) in order to motivate harsh action. Juvenal's often quoted *iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes*, "the Syrian river Orontes has already flown into the Tiber for a long time" (3.62), does not explicitly talk about religion, but about culture in general, music and prostitution in particular. Unlike "superstition," religion would point to similar human and social traits, even across ethnic differences. Hence the technique of the so-called *interpretatio Romana*. Roman names were given to "foreign" deities (Ando 2005), because they shared basic characteristics and were part of the same class of "gods" (Rüpke 2012b). The phrase was coined by Caesar, who in his books on the war in Gaul described Celtic and Germanic religions. Without problems, he could speak about the Gallic cult of Mercury (6.17.1). This was more than a mere translation into Latin, an *interpretatio Latina*. However, it was a translation that presupposed the principal universality of the phenomenon of religion and of the gods, even if it did not reflect it (Woolf 2011: 58). Differences could be acknowledged, easily acknowledged. The "Greek rite," too, was not second-class, by no means. Evidently, the gods liked it.

Dealing with Ethnic Diversity

If *interpretatio Romana* is the strategy to deal with ethnic and linguistic diversity in matters religious across the Roman Empire, forcefully starting with Caesar, one of the founding figures of this territorial expansion, the center developed another strategy in the crucial phase of the mid-first century BC. This was a much more powerful strategy: the historicization of religion (in general, see Rüpke 2011c), a process whereby writers treated religion as a phenomenon in the present but with roots deep in the past. At the same time, it is much more subtle and hence much easier overlooked. Its functioning and forms can best be seen in M. Terentius Varro's *Antiquitates*, consisting of *Antiquitates rerum humanarum* (*Antiquities of Things Human*) in 26 books, and the *Antiquitates rerum divinarum* (*Antiquities of Things Divine*) in 16 books (Rüpke 2014, extensively used in the following). Most of his antiquarian works are fragmentary (see Cardauns 1976; 1978; more general: Cardauns 2001), and this forces us to rely on quotations by later, frequently polemical authors, Augustine of Hippo taking pride of place, Tertullian being second. Varro is the towering figure in the systematization of religious traditions and practices at Rome, basically transforming a religion consisting of performance into a system of knowledge.

In his works, Varro is attentive to historical change as related to language, institutions, buildings, or clothing. Given the deplorable state of the *Antiquities of Things Human*, we rely on another work, *De gente populi Romani* (*On the Roman People*) to form an idea of the *Antiquities*, which it follows sequentially. The loss of knowledge about gods, the loss of memory forms the starting point of the whole enterprise (fr. 2a Cardauns = Aug. *civ*. 6.2.5):

> He was afraid that the gods might perish, not by attack by enemies, but by the citizens' negligence. He says that they were liberated from ignominy by him, and that the gods would be stored and preserved in the memory of good men (*memoria bonorum*) by books of this kind. This was a zeal more valuable than that for which Metellus was praised when he rescued the sacred things of Vesta from fire, or when Aeneas saved the Penates from the destruction of Troy.

The passage stresses the change of conditions, of problems and solutions, in a very forceful opposition of negligence and the composing of books against war and fire. For the life of the gods, the human factor is decisive. Religion is chronologically and logically secondary to the foundation of society. This is why the books on divine matters follow those on human affairs, despite the higher dignity of the former's subject (see the text that follows). Religious institutions, thus, are historic data, even if contingency does not rob them of their obligatory character for all those posterior to the founders' decisions, as Varro states in another fragment of the introductory book (fr. 12 Cardauns = Aug. *civ*. 4.31). History does not stop at the end of the founding phase. The introduction of divine images is such a step, chronologically related to the building of the large Capitoline temples. It is a major step in itself, marking the transition from the regal into the early republican period. Again, such contingent steps are consequential. Images are nice to see, but introduce harmful change. Varro deplores the fact that this innovation ended

a phase of 170 years of aniconic cult (fr. 18 Cardauns = Aug. *civ.* 4.31), and reflects the implications in a number of further passages.

Despite the historical sensitivity of the introduction, the *Antiquities* are not a historical narrative, but, as far as books 2–14 are concerned, a systematic handbook, even if interspersed by etiologies. And yet, these systematic data and philosophical reflections are set into a clearly historical framework. Fragments 35–39 of the first book of Varro's *Antiquitates rerum divinarum* list the introductions of deities and cults into the city of Rome by the earliest kings. Following the list of kings and their synoikistic supporters, Varro describes the growth of the number of gods in the city of Rome (fr. 38 Cardauns = Tertullian, *Apol.* 25.12):

> Romulus established for the Romans as gods Ianus, Iupiter, Mars, Picus, Faunus, Tiberinus, and Hercules. Titus Tatius added Saturnus, Ops, Sol, Luna, Vulcanus, Lux … Cloacina. Numa added as many male as female deities. During the reign of Numa religion did not yet consist of images or temples with the Romans. A parsimonious piety, poor rites, no Capitol-like splendour, but temporary made of turf, and Samian (i.e., terracotta) vessels, the city of Rome was not yet flooded by the ingenuity of Greeks and Etruscans to form images.

To an extent unknown to us, Varro might have noticed the foundation of temples down to his own time. Two fragments survive that are related to foundations of the latter half of the second century BCE, Lucullus' temple of Felicitas (fr. 43 Cardauns = Aug. *civ.* 4.23) and M. Aemilius' temple for Alburnus (fr. 44 Cardauns = Tert. *nat.* 1.10.14), a foundation not without conflicts, for the senators "ruled that no general should dedicate a sanctuary which he had vowed during a war before assentment by the senate; as it happened to Marcus Aemilius, who had performed a vote for the god Alburnus." Varro did not only notice the growth of the pantheon. He tells his readers that Liber Pater (or Dionysios) was driven out from all of Italy in 186 BCE (fr. 45 Cardauns = Tert. *nat.* 1.10.14). For the time immediately before the publication of the books, he notes the fight between the senate and the general populace about the banning of Egyptian cults from the Capitoline hill, to which I have already referred earlier:

> Varro relates that Serapis and Isis and Harpocrates and Anubis were excluded from the Capitoline hill and that their altars were thrown out by the senate and only rebuilt by popular pressure. Nevertheless, on the first of January, the consul Gabinius reluctantly approved the sacrifices to them, as a result of popular agitation, but because he had made no decision regarding Serapis and Isis, and had a higher regard for the Senate's censure than the pressure of the mob, he forbade to construction of altars to them. (fr. 46a Cardauns = Tert. *nat.* 1.10.17)

A parallel chronological sequence is attested for book 15, thus bracketing the systematic treatment as a whole. In this second series (frr. 214–221 Cardauns), Varro adds information about the foundation of further cults, thus enlarging the chronological realm even back to Hercules' visit to Rome.

Why did Varro write his history—in addition to, or rather as a frame for, his systematic, antiquarian handbook and his philosophical interpretations of religion? What ends did a history of religion serve? If we look at earlier instances of the historicization of religion,

the answer is rather obvious. The wall painting in the temple of Hercules Musarum, M. Fulvius Nobilior's famous "fasti" (see Feeney 2007; Rüpke 2011d; 2012a), might be seen as establishing the history of the Roman calendar, Roman temples, and Roman consuls as a subject worthy of literary elaboration. This would clearly imply—as in Cicero's exclamation in his speech for Flaccus (see preceding text)—a "we" of Latin-speaking Romans against the backdrop of literature by Greek authors, perhaps even of literature in Greek in general. The focus is an urban one.

Varro, obviously, had a wider horizon. According to Augustine (*civ.* 6.4, p. 251.13–16), Varro "wrote the books on human things, not concerning the whole world, but just Rome, which, as he said, he nevertheless placed quite properly in the order of writing before the books on divine things." *E contrario*, for the *Antiquities of Things Divine*, a larger-than-urban, probably a universal orientation is to be assumed. Varro's universalistic stance is beyond doubt. The philosophical foundation of his arguments is universalistic. He is at pains to define his three types of theology as a Greek, thereby implicitly qualifying them as a universal classification (fr. 6–9 Cardauns = Aug. *civ.* 6.5 and 12). Only on such a basis is Varro's statement understandable—that the god who governs everything and is venerated on the Capitoline hill as Jupiter is given another name by the Jews. Varro does not speak of Jews specifically, but of monotheistic venerators and venerators who practiced aniconic cult (fr. 13–15 Cardauns = Aug. *civ.* 4.31 and 9).

When reading in this perspective, an astonishing number of fragments do not necessarily imply an urban Roman context. Frequently, Varro uses the plural *civitates* or *urbes* (e.g., fr. 5, 9, 18, 20, 68, 69 Cardauns). It should not be forgotten that Roman citizenship was extended to most of Italy by the time of Varro's writing. He does not only acknowledge the introduction of Italian deities to Rome by the early kings, but deals with a wealth of middle Italian local deities, belittled (and preserved) by Tertullian (*nat.* 2.8.6; in a variant *apol.* 24.8, see Rüpke 2011a: 187 f.) as *deos decuriones cuiusque municipii*, "town council deities": "The Delventinus of the Casinienses, the Visidanus of the Narnienses, the Ancharia of the Asculani, the Nortia of the Volsinienses, the Valentia of the Ocriculani, the Hostia of the Sutrini, the Juno of the Falisci accepted a surname (Curritis) in honour of pater Curres" (fr. 33b Cardauns = Tert. *apol.* 24.8).

Of course, Varro's use of "we" reflects a Roman's point of view (e.g., fr. 3, 12 Cardauns). As a Roman, he remarks on differences between Romans and Jews (fr. 16), Chaldaeans (fr. 17), Greeks such as Spartans (fr. 32) or the Eleusinians (fr. 271), or the Greeks in general (fr. 200). In fragment 12 Cardauns, Varro speaks about his *civitas* (city) and the *historia* (history) of divine names in the singular. The history of an old people, as indicated in fr. 12, had a more binding authority. However, history's authority did not imply intellectual consent. The very special, and nevertheless binding, history of the urban territory and the society built in that place contained decisions by the old Romans that were mistakes, some even possibly by contemporaries. Varro does refer to contemporary conflicts, such as the introduction of Egyptian cults and the leveling of temples. Narrating such events in such a manner offers the possibility of distancing—a possibility not any longer seen by Varro's late ancient reader Servius (see *Aen.* 8.698: *Varro indignatur Alexandrinos deos Romae coli*, "Varro was outraged at the veneration of Alexandrian gods at Rome"). A traditional religion might be embarrassing, whether in their use of images as in the old Romans' invention of divine genealogies, that is,

mythical narratives of sexual relationships among gods (fr. 19 Cardauns). Romans would share such a feeling with the Lavinians and their public cult of male genitals:

> He says that in crossroads of Italy some Bacchic cults are celebrated … in which male genitals are venerated in his honour . . . . During the festivals of Bacchus, this genital member was put into a car, then carried along with much honour, first on crossroads in the countryside, and later even into the city. In the town of Lavinium a whole month used to be dedicated to Bacchus. Throughout the month everyone would use the most shocking words until this member was driven through the central market place and put to rest in its proper place. The most dignified female head of a family had to publicly crown this undignified member. In this way evidently the god Bacchus had to be appeased so that the seeds would sprout, and in this way were the fields protected from evil spells. (fr. 262 Cardauns = Aug. *civ.* 7.21)

Varro does not use the histories of religions in order to mark boundaries. He seems to be interested in the bridging capital of a shared history rather than in the binding capital. Modifying Yarrow's "focalized universality" (Yarrow 2010), I have proposed calling this a focused universalism (Rüpke 2012c).

Bridging holds true on different levels. Within a universalistic framework, religious traditions of different peoples offer a heritage that might be shared. Fr. 31 Cardauns names heroes from Africa and Boeotia. As already shown by the contemporary institution of *interpretatio*, the same god could be venerated under different names. Varro does not only list enforcing evidence. Even the negative trait of Roman religious practice to entertain images of the divine is shared by many polities (fr. 18 Cardauns = Aug. *civ.* 4.31). Roman precepts for ritual action as well as Greek precepts for ritual abstinence were resources for the solution of human problems (fr. 49–50 Cardauns = Non. p. 197 Mercier). Varro, born 116 BCE, had witnessed the start of the Italian civil war as a military tribune and was much aware of the problem of the unification of Italy, in the same way as he was aware of internal cleavages in Roman society. Varro's program of three types of theology does not aim at deepening dividing lines, but at holding divergent developments together. Poetry and its invention of embarrassing stories about the gods serve the theatre and entertainment and still offer something to civic cult (fr. 11, quoted in the preceding text). Philosophy, producing physical interpretations of religion, should be confined to smaller circles, but offers something to civic theology too (ibid.). Both are universal phenomena and hence shared reservoirs for the many local civic variants of religion (see fr. 9).

If Varro employed history of religion in order to deal with ethnic and social diversity, he took part of a larger current in Roman historiography. This current attempted to create a history narrative, which integrated family histories from members of the elite who descended from all over Italy. Annalistic history, narrating Roman history year by year with ever-changing protagonists, as well as the listing of temple anniversaries in the calendar, anniversaries, which went back to individual military victories without ever naming the agents, both offered the possibility of leveling out differences in individual or gentilician contributions, to write a history without hierarchy. Cato the Elder even attempted a history without naming individuals. Varro wrote historical accounts of religion within an ever-wider framework. His intended readers were Romans reading Latin, and his focus was on Rome, but his interest was in religion as a universal phenomenon, enabling

Italian and imperial communication rather than strengthening mutually exclusive ethnic or urban identities. Intellectually, here, Varro is to be assigned to contemporaries such as Diodorus Siculus or Pompeius Trogus, writers of universal histories (Alonso-Núñez 1990; van Wickevoort Crommelin 1993; Liddel and Fear 2010).

We need not wait for a Judeo-Christian tradition of universal history being established (Wallraff 2009) before seeing another instance of an interest in the history of religion. Writing under the emperor Tiberius, in a huge effort, Valerius Maximus collected "memorable deeds and sayings" by sifting through a large amount of late republican and Augustan literature (Mueller 2002). Aiming at moral improvement, by the examples of earlier virtuous people, history offered a powerful resource for contemporary society. The careful arrangement in topical books and chapters, supported by Roman and foreign examples, reflects the spread of historical argumentation beyond aristocrats who had full control over what their *maiores* had done or would not have done. Surely, the exemplary behavior is that of those persons, but there is a shift in authority. In the very first sentence of his books, Valerius stresses that those interested in first-hand documents (*documenta sumere uolentibus*, "those wishing to collect the sources") are spared the trouble of any long research (V. Max. 1, praef.). Foreign examples are deferred to a second place in every class of examples, but *urbis Romae exterarumque gentium facta simul ac dicta memoratu digna* ("deeds performed by the city of Rome as well as foreign peoples, and sayings worthy of being remembered"), as the whole work starts, are both documented as a series of *domesticae peregrinaeque historiae* ("histories domestic and foreign"), as a treasure of a history home and away, as one might render the phrase that follows shortly afterward in the preface. For the empire of the early Principate, only universal history (*omnis aeui gesta*, "deeds of every age") could be adequate. Such is the historical work dedicated to Tiberius Caesar, who enjoys *hominum deorumque consensus maris ac terrae regimen* ("the consensus of men and gods and the ruling of sea and land").

Religion plays an important role for Valerius' enterprise. As he explains at the end of his preface, since he has in mind first to inquire into the proper way of treating the gods (*initium a cultu deorum petere*), the topic of the first book is to be the condition of such ritual (*de condicione eius summatim disseram*), a sentence that could serve as the title of the book. In a highly selective manner, Valerius offers an account of Roman republican religion. It is an account of religious ruling taking precedence against anything else, an account of public priests being in the very center of religion by virtue of total control of knowledge, and it is an account lacking chronological indications: there is change, but it is change in quantity and territorial expansion, not in quality. The most important feature of historical change, however, is the emperor. He is a new and very dynamic figure in religion, too, and central in Valerius' framework (Mueller 2002), a rallying point for the whole Empire, bridging any ethnic difference. This is what "a history made at home and abroad" powerfully drives home. This is how ethnic difference is dealt with.

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FURTHER READING

Scholarship dealing with ethnic differences in Roman religion has traditionally concentrated on either cultural import or on cultural marking as "foreign," thus frequently reproducing modern perception informed by two centuries of dominance of the paradigm of "nationalism," which has been questioned in principle in this chapter. Nevertheless, excellent pieces of scholarship have been produced. For the "ritus graecus," Gagé (1955) and Scheid (1995) must be named. The paradigm of Greek gods at Rome had been established by Altheim (1930), focusing on the archaic period. An overview is given by Rüpke (2007). There are an endless number of studies for the Hellenization of Italy and Rome, but not much is focused on religion. For the late republican period, Gruen (1992) is important as a framework; Rüpke (2012a) explicitly deals with religious changes in this period due to Hellenization. For a possible relationship between the conceptualization of earlier Greek imports and imperial religion, see Cancik (1999). Much of the history of Roman religion during the Empire has been conceptualized as the presence of "foreign" (mostly "oriental") religion at Rome. For the deconstruction of this paradigm, see Bonnet, Rüpke, and Scarpi (2006) and Bonnet and Rüpke (2009).

CHAPTER 32

Ethnicity and Gender

Kathryn Lomas

Introduction

The ways in which ethnic identities are formed and maintained by ancient societies have been topics of much research and discussion in recent years, and a common thread running through this discussion has been a move away from essentialist notions of fixed ethnic identities and a recognition of the fluid and multi-layered nature of ethnicities (Jenkins 1997: 40–8). The extent to which different groups in society experience and respond differently to some aspects of identity has been an important feature of discussions on this topic, as has the plural nature of identities, with different registers of identity—ethnic, social, family, personal, etc.—coexisting and interacting. One particular aspect that is often omitted from the debate is, however, the significance of gender in the development of ethnicities—somewhat curiously, since gender roles and identities themselves have been an important research topic in the past few years. Ethnicity is often assumed to be gender-neutral and to be experienced across a given society by both men and women in the same ways. However, there may in fact be significant differences in the ways in which men and women experience and express their ethnic identity, or their roles in maintaining that identity (Herring and Lomas 2009: 3–4).

This can be traced to both formation of ethnic identities within communities, and to the ethnic categorization of those communities by outsiders. The importance of *habitus*—the construction and maintenance of identities through aspects of lived experience as well as through large-scale public acts and symbols—has been highlighted by many studies of ethnicity in the ancient world (cf. Woolf 1998: 5–16), and it should be recognized that men and women may experience this differently. For instance, women may be responsible for passing on language or cultural customs to their children, and therefore play a role in shaping and reinforcing the identity of a community; men, in contrast, may focus more

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on public life, and may adopt different ethnic symbols (Häussler 1997; Lomas 2009: 435–7). The different social roles of men and women can, therefore, have a significant impact on which symbols of ethnic identity they adopt, and how they relate to that identity.

Gender can also influence ethnic categorization—that is, how a society is perceived by people from outside it. It is not uncommon for Greek and Roman writers to ascribe gendered attributes to an entire society, often rendering it more "other" or alien, and sometimes denigrating it. Tacitus, for instance, ascribed warlike and characteristically masculine attributes to the Britons and Germans (*Agricola* 11–14; *Germania* 5–16). This did not detract from their barbarian nature, in his eyes, which was demonstrated by their disorganization and lack of indigenous urban culture, but he showed considerable appreciation for their courage and warlike nature. In contrast, some eastern cultures, and even Greeks, are described pejoratively as effeminate and characterized by weakness, fickleness, volubility, and love of luxury (Wardman 1976: 1–13; on anti-Hellenism and ethnic stereotypes, see Gruen 1992: 262–5). Gender roles, and in particular the status of women, in other societies could also reinforce a sense of difference. The Greeks were shocked by the social visibility enjoyed by Etruscan women, which was much greater than that of Greek women, and interpreted this as a sign of Etruscan immorality (Theopompus, quoted in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai* XII, 517 d–f; see the following text). Gender can, therefore, be important not just in the ways in which ethnic identity is configured within a community, but also in the ways in which the community is perceived by outsiders. This chapter will explore ways in which gender (both male and female) interacted with ethnic identity, or created differences in the ways in which ethnic identities were maintained and expressed, particularly among the social elite.

Defining Ethnicity in Ancient Italy

Ancient Italy was a region of extreme diversity containing many different ethnic and cultural groups. Ancient writers name—among others—the Etruscans, Umbrians, Campanians, Messapians, Picenes, Lucanians, Bruttians, Veneti, Raeti, and Samnites, as well as the Celts who settled in parts of northern Italy and the Greeks who colonized the south coast, and many other smaller ethnic groups or sub-groups. Italy was ethnically fluid and underwent major changes, which have been variously characterized as processes of invasion, migration, or acculturation (Pallottino 1990: 2–55; Dench 1995). There was a strong Etruscan presence in parts of the Po valley and other areas of Northern Italy, and also in Campania, in the sixth and fifth centuries BC, and substantial Celtic migrations into northern Italy in the fifth–fourth centuries (Polybios 1.17.5–6; Williams 2001: 194–207; Häussler 2009: 53–7). In the fifth century, there was a rapid expansion of the Oscan-speaking peoples of the central Apennines, which affected much of central and southern Italy. From then on, much of southern Italy, and in particular the upland regions, became dominated by groups of Oscan origin (Pallottino 1990: 99–105). The main form of state organization, especially in central Italy, was the city-state. Urban development began as early as the seventh century BC in Etruria, Latium, and Campania. In contrast, the Apennines and other upland areas of Italy maintained a loosely federal political organization and pattern of smaller non-urban settlements (Salmon 1965: 64–77;

Barker, Hodges, and Clark 1995: 182–201). One factor that Italian communities seem to have in common, however, is the development of a strong sense of local culture and identity, which remained important until well after the Roman conquest and in many regions.

The primary form of identity was that of the state, and wider ethnic identities seem to have been relatively weak until the first century BC. This poses some problems when it comes to defining ethnicity in Italy. We have a wealth of information about the names and whereabouts of ethnic groups, but it mostly comes from sources writing well after the Roman conquest and, in some cases, written by people with relatively little first-hand knowledge of Italy. The use of collective ethnic names was relatively rare until the first century BC (Bradley 1997). Before that, people tended to describe themselves with reference to their home city or state—for instance, as Iguvines or Tarquinians, rather than as Umbrians or Etruscans. This does not imply that ethnic identity did not exist before the first century. It simply underlines the difficulties in recognizing self-defined ethnic identity and in relating this to characterizations of that identity created by other people.

The Inside Perspective: Ethnicity and Gender in Visual and Material Culture

Given the relatively small amount of written evidence generated by Italian societies (all of it epigraphic), it might be helpful to start with consideration of gender and ethnicity in visual and archaeological evidence from various areas of Italy. Italian cultures produced a vast range of visual art, ranging from tomb-paintings, sculptures, figurines and reliefs (mostly of a funerary or ritual nature), and decorated metal or pottery vessels. These, augmented by other forms of archaeological evidence such as votive deposits and grave goods, give us a rich body of data about how these societies saw themselves, including how they represented both ethnic identity and gender roles.

Although vase painting, votives, and funerary iconography cannot tell us how ethnic identity was experienced on a day-to-day basis, they do tell us how ethnicity was commemorated in contexts in which identity is likely to be particularly significant, such as funerary or ritual contexts.

One area that is particularly rich in data is the Veneto, a region predominantly occupied by a group known as the Veneti, but with some Etruscan and Celtic settlement (Capuis 1993; 2001; Williams 2001: 71–8, 195–200). Judging from the funerary and votive evidence, women had an unusually high profile in Venetic society, particularly in the archaic period (ca. sixth–fourth centuries BC). Votives depicting women, or with inscriptions suggesting that they were dedicated by women, are found in large quantities in many of the major sanctuaries of the region, suggesting that women played an important role in the ritual life of Venetic communities. The funerary evidence confirms the prominence of elite women. The proportion of female burials in the funerary record is higher than in many other areas of Italy, and many of the elite female tombs contained notably rich grave goods—in some cases wealthier than those of similar male burials.

There is also a rich iconographic tradition, represented in both votive contexts and on non-ritual prestige objects, which includes numerous visual representations of women (Pascucci 1990: 59–92; Zaghetto 2003). Many sanctuaries—especially those

at Este, Altino, Treviso, Vicenza, and several other sites—have yielded votive figurines and embossed bronze tablets, many of which represent female deities, priestesses, or worshippers (Pascucci 1990; Maggiani 2002). A series of bronze disks from Treviso, for instance, depicts a female deity, and tablets from the important sanctuary of Reita at Baratella near Este depict both the goddess herself and female worshippers. Depictions of women are also found on embossed or incised bronze vessels known as situlae, which were produced and traded throughout the Alpine area, and on some tombstones. Despite the amount of evidence and its diversity in both context and chronology, these representations of women are very formulaic. Most depict them as wearing a tunic, sometimes with a shawl draping the head and upper body (Pascucci 1990: 146–52), and, on other occasions, as bareheaded and with loose hair. Some wear boots and a heavy belt, occasionally with a large and elaborate necklace or collar and/or a disk-shaped headdress, all of which seem to have been marks of high social status (Fogolari 1988: 164–9; Pascucci 1990: 146–52; Gambacurta and Zaghetto 2002: 286–96). Examples of all of these items have been attested from female tombs, suggesting that the representations are not just iconographic convention but have some basis in the actual dress of Venetic women, at least before the fourth century. These depictions are clearly gender-specific, but we may also be able to define them as ethnically specific representations of both womanhood and "Venetic-ness" (on appearance and gender identities, see Stig Sørensen 1991).

A more complex problem arises when we consider the evidence from the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, up to the end of the first century BC. Although it seems highly unlikely that the women of the region continued to dress in the manner of the archaic period, visual representations of women continue to present them as wearing modified forms of traditional dress. Men, in contrast, are presented in contemporary dress, particularly after the Roman conquest of the region. A series of 18 tombstones from Padua illustrates this point (Bandelli 2004; Lomas 2011). The earlier examples, dating from the sixth to the third centuries BC, show both men and women in the traditional form—men are depicted as warriors driving a chariot or mounted on horseback, while the women who sometimes accompany them wear the wide belt, straight tunic, and disk headdress of the elite Venetic woman. The later examples, dating to the first century BC, show a sharp contrast in the way men are depicted. Although they still ride in a chariot (horses and chariots being a symbol of elite status in the region), they are now shown as civilian passengers, driven by a charioteer and wearing a Roman-style tunic and toga, rather than as armed warriors. Women, in contrast, still wear the cloak, wide belt, and headdress—the traditional symbols of female status. The latest example, the late first century gravestone of M' Gallenius and his wife Ostiala Gallenia (Lomas 2006; 2011: 19–22), is even more complex. It has an inscription that is laid out in traditional Venetic form, around the upper and right-hand margin of the stone, but which is written in Latin. Gallenius' name is given in Roman form as "M'. Gallenius, M'.f.," while his wife's name is given in local form, with a personal name as well as a *nomen*. This was usual for women in the Veneto, who traditionally had both an individual and family name, but rare for Roman women, who did not, at this date, usually have a personal name, but were known by the feminine form of the family *nomen* (Untermann 1961). There seems, therefore, to be a significant gender difference in how ethnicity and social status was represented. The adoption of new symbols of status following the Roman conquest—the toga, the use of Latin,

and the adoption of Roman names—seems to have been more important for men than for women. The status of elite women, in contrast, was still defined and represented in traditional terms.

Taken in isolation, this might suggest that it was more acceptable in ancient Italy for men to be associated with new cultural and ethnic identities, at least at elite levels of society, while representations of women showcased traditional symbols of ethnic and cultural identity. It would, however, be dangerous to generalize, and if we consider evidence from some other areas of Italy, we find a very different pattern. In Campania, where much of our evidence comes from tomb paintings or from vases painted in Greek red-figure style and dates to the fourth–third century, both men and women are depicted in ways that are ethnically specific. The scenes are often highly stylized: men are usually depicted as warriors leaving for, or returning from, war, and women as either bidding them farewell or welcoming their return, sometimes with rituals such as a libation or presenting a wreath (Schneider-Herrmann 1996). Both men and women are depicted in an ethnically distinctive manner. Men wear a patterned tunic or loincloth and a broad belt, while women wear a long tunic similar to a Greek chiton, but with a distinctive local heavy belt, cloak, and headdress (Schneider-Herrmann 1996: 95). As in the Veneto, similar items of armor and clothing have been found in tombs, demonstrating that these were genuine items of dress and weaponry, and not just artistic convention. Although some aspects of female dress suggest Greek influence, it also seems to have been important to depict both men and women in ways that emphasized their ethnic identity.

Moving further south, the situation in Puglia contrasts with those of both northern Italy and of Campania (Herring 2009). Here, tomb paintings and locally produced red-figure pottery of the late fifth–early third centuries BC include self-representations of the local Messapic population (Trendall 1971; Schneider-Herrmann 1996; Carpenter 2004). These depict men in ethnically distinctive local dress, consisting of a patterned tunic and a broad belt, but women are almost always shown wearing Greek costume, rendering their ethnicity invisible (Herring 2009: 28–9). Only a small number of visual representations, including pottery from Gravina and a tomb painting from Ruvo—both of which show women wearing dark tunics and head-coverings—depict women in an ethnically distinctive manner. All of these cases may show women taking part in some sort of ritual, which may explain the wearing of ethnic dress rather than the Greek dress found in most other representation. However, there is some corroborative evidence from Greek literature of the fourth–third centuries that women from this area wore distinctive dark robes (Lycophron, *Alexandra* 1128–1140; Pseudo-Aristotle, *De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus* 109, Tzetzes, *Scholiast on Lycophron Alexandra* 1137–41), so the evidence from Ruvo and Gravina cannot be dismissed entirely. On balance, however, it seems that, in this region, it was important for men to display their ethnicity in their outward appearance, but not for women to do so, except possibly as part of special rituals.

Ethnic Categorization: Gender and the Ethnic Stereotype

The relationship between gender and ethnicity is just as complex when we turn to ethnic categorization. Gendered characteristics were sometimes ascribed by Greek and

Roman authors to entire ethnic groups, for both positive and negative effects. The Celts and the Samnites, for instance, are described as having stereotypically masculine qualities, such as being endowed with a strong warrior ethos, and being brave and hardy, although also rough and lacking in many aspects of civilized life (Livy 9.13.8, Pliny *Natural History*, 29.14, Aulus Gellius *Noctes Atticae* 13.9, Strabo *Geography* 5.4.2). Celts are described in similar terms: brave warriors who lived in unsophisticated and non-urban settlements, although Cato adds that they were also highly industrious and prized eloquence as well as military prowess (Polybios 2.17, Cato, *Origines* 2.3, Strabo, *Geography* 4.1–3; Williams 2001: 68–99). Although this may sound like a case of damning with faint praise, Romans admired courage and military prowess and other attributes, such as industry, which they associated with manly virtue (Williams 2001: 79–81).

Other ethnic groups, in contrast, have female characteristics attributed to them, with pejorative intent. Roman views of the Greeks, for instance, were notoriously complex. Despite an admiration for many aspects of Greek art and intellectual culture, and the increasing adoption of some aspects of Hellenism (Wardman 1976; Gruen 1992; Wallace-Hadrill 2009: 3–37), Romans also associated the Greeks with negative, and gendered, stereotypes, and they are variously described by Roman authors as being soft, unwarlike, fickle, and untrustworthy (Horace, *Epistles* 1.7.45, *Satires* 2.4.34; Seneca, *Epistles* 68.5, Livy 24.1.7). Negative stereotypes are prominent in accounts of the Roman conquest of Magna Graecia, in which the Neapolitans are described as inclined to be more valiant in word than deed (Livy 8.22.8), and the Tarentines are said to have declared war on Rome and then requested help from Pyrrhus of Epirus in 281 BC from a mixture of arrogance and hubris, followed by cowardice when faced with the consequences of their actions (Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 13.2–5; Dio 9.39.2–10; Dionysios of Halicarnassus *Ant. Rom.* 19.5.1–7.3; Appian, *Samnite wars.* 7.1–3; Zonaras 8.2; Athenaeus, *Deipnosohistai*, 4.166e-f; Lomas 1997).

Needless to say, this sort of ethnic stereotyping is designed to belittle and delegitimize its objects, and bears little relation to reality. Despite the characterization of the Greeks of Italy as lightweight and decadent cowards, both Naples and Tarentum were powerful cities in the fourth–third centuries. The use of pejoratively gendered characteristics such as softness, cowardice, decadence, and effeminacy as a way of undermining the credibility of ethnic groups has a well-documented history in both the ancient world and in more modern times. One function of the more unflattering Roman descriptions of the Greeks and some eastern peoples is to render them not only "other" in ways that suggest inferiority to the Romans, but also unsuited to rule themselves, thereby legitimizing Roman imperialism (Petrochilos 1974; Alcock 1993: 24–32; Lomas 1997). This is strikingly similar to the way in which nineteenth-century Orientalism ascribed particularly female characteristics to some ethnic groups in the eastern Mediterranean and Middle East, as a way of legitimizing French and British imperialism in the region (Said 1978: 31–44).

Differences in the role and status of women between different ethnic groups was, in itself, a powerful contributor to a sense of otherness. The Etruscans, for instance, were regarded as very different both by Greeks and by Romans, and one of the contributing factors—particularly for the Greeks—was the status of women in Etruscan society (for a full discussion of sources on Etruscan women, see Rallo 1989). The Greek

historians Timaeus and Theopompus, quoted by the later writer Athenaeus, were open about this:

> Among the Etruscans, who had become extravagantly luxurious, Timaeus records in his first book that the slave girls wait on the men naked. And Theopompus in the forty-third book of his *Histories* says that it is customary with the Etruscans to share their women in common: the women bestow great care on their bodies and often exercise even with men, sometimes also with one another; for it is no disgrace for women to show themselves naked. Further, they dine, not with their own husbands, but with any men who happen to be present, and they pledge with wine any whom they wish. They are also terribly bibulous, and are very good-looking.Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* XII, 517 d–f

This characterization of Etruscan women as promiscuous and immoral, and the tone of prurient outrage, tells us far more about the social anxieties of the fourth-century Greek male than about gender relations in Etruria. Depictions of women in Etruscan art—and especially tomb-paintings and funerary sculpture—confirm that they did indeed have a more visible role in society than contemporary Greek women. They were not segregated from men, as Greek women were, but are shown participating in social gatherings such as banquets alongside their male relatives. Etruscan names, especially when inscribed on formal monuments such as tombs, include the name of a person's mother as well as their father—something unusual in Italy (Gasperini 1989; Briquel 1992: 32–5). This suggests that the Etruscan society was not exclusively patrilineal, and that mothers, as well as fathers, were important as a source of status and family identity. The legal status of women is not known, so it is unclear whether this indicates that status or property was passed down the female as well as the male line. However, a bronze tablet from Cortona, dating to the late third century BC, may imply that women could take an active role in property ownership. It seems to record inheritance or transactions concerning the property of one Petru Sceve and his wife Arntlei, including land and an inventory of portable items. Exactly what it means is still debated (some interpretations suggest it is a ritual rather than a legal text), but the implication, on some readings, is that the wife of Petru Sceve was a joint participant in the transaction along with her husband (Agostiniani and Nicosia 2000).

Other evidence that women—at least among the elite—enjoyed significant status in Etruscan society is also found in other areas of Etruscan life. A significant number of wealthy burials in archaic Etruria commemorated women. Female burials are still a minority compared with male burials, but they form a higher proportion than in other areas of Italy, although there are significant differences between northern and southern Etruria. Women are also very visible in the large shared family tombs of the Hellenistic period (Nielsen 1989), and studies of funerary inscriptions indicate that Etruscan women were commemorated by written epitaphs more often than in many areas of Italy, although again there were many variations within the region. Tarquinia, for instance, had a particularly high level of female commemoration (Revell 2005: 52–6). Women also seem to have been closely connected with the adoption of writing and literacy in the region (Bagnasco Gianni 2000). A considerable number of the earliest inscribed objects are found in aristocratic female burials, or are inscribed with female names, indicating that they are dedicated to, or offered by, women. The idea that Etruscan women had a higher degree

of social visibility that their Greek contemporaries is, therefore, well documented, and not just a figment of Theopompus' imagination, but the spin that he puts on it—that it indicates immorality and provides evidence for the decadence of the Etruscans—is a reflection of his own sense of their otherness.

This focus on the social role of women as an indicator of ethnic character is interesting. Many other stereotypes about the Etruscans are found in ancient literature. Other Greek writers stress the warlike and ferocious aspects of the Etruscans rather than decadence, and say that they were noted pirates as well as successful in war, particularly at sea (Herodotos 1.167; Strabo, *Geography* 5.2.3, 6.2.2–3). Romans acknowledged Etruscan learning and expertise, particularly in religious matters (Cicero, *De Divinatione* 1.92; Valerius Maximus 1.1.13). However, none of these supposed characteristics of the Etruscans attracted anywhere near the same anxiety as the idea that their women were decadent and uncontrolled. This focus on supposedly aberrant female behavior seems to have been a powerful means of categorizing the Etruscans as ethnically "other."

Gender, Ethnicity, and Cultural Change

The part played by gender in creating and maintaining ethnic and cultural identities in contexts of ethnic change or contact—for instance, in newly founded colonies, or during the period of Romanization—is particularly complex and difficult to unravel. Gender roles in colonies, and gendered responses to Romanization, have received comparatively little attention, but there are increasingly persuasive signs that male and female responses to ethnic/cultural change could differ.

Intermarriage across ethnic and political boundaries was not uncommon in Italy, particularly among the elite, a fact that created a complex network of social, political, and cultural connections across state and ethnic boundaries. The very existence of the Roman laws of *conubium* (intermarriage) demonstrates that intermarriage between Romans and non-Romans was sufficiently frequent as to require legal regulation, and a famous incident during the Social War, in which the Roman and Marsic armies refused to fight each other on the grounds that they would be fighting kinsmen, further underlines the point. This placed women very much in the forefront of ethnic and cultural interaction. In most Italian societies, women played an important role in maintaining family identities and traditions, and in marriages between people of different ethnicities, women would have had a pivotal role in integrating families from different communities.

This was particularly important in new colonies. Since the social roles of women differed from those of men, and they played little part in public life, it is perhaps to be expected that gender would not be a significant factor in the formation of ethnic identity in a newly founded community, but this appears to be a considerable oversimplification. Ancient colonization—both Greek and Roman—is now increasingly regarded as a fluid process of migration and settlement, rather than a structured, state-organized, process (Osborne 1998; Bispham 2006). If it is envisaged as a process of *ad hoc* settlement by primarily male groups, which may arrive as war-bands, landless men, or (as in the case of Roman colonization) discharged veterans, then we are presented with a very different type of society from that suggested by a model of state-organized settlement.

In order to form a sustainable community, such all-male groups would have had to intermarry with the pre-existing local population. In fact, the evidence is somewhat mixed. Archaeological evidence is inconclusive (Hodos 1999; Shepherd 1999), and shows considerable variation between settlements. Greek sources refer both to colonists accompanied by families (Herodotos 1.164–166, Pausanias 10.10.6–7) and to intermarriage between colonists and local women (Justin 43.3.4). One of our few definitive statements about Roman colonization (Tacitus, *Histories* 3.34.1) says that the colonists settled by Rome at Cremona in 218 BC intermarried with the local population. We do not know whether this was the exception or the rule, but intermarriage on such a scale suggests that women were crucial to the establishment of connections between disparate ethnic groups.

One of the areas in which we have a significant body of evidence for female influence on civic identity is in the development of religious cults in Italy. Cults were an important element in the cultural identity of a community, and especially so in the case of a newly founded colony. Glinister's study of women in Roman colonies suggests that they played an important role in the ritual life of their communities (Glinister 2009: 119–21). The prevalence of healing cults in mid-Republican Italy, characterized by large quantities of terracotta anatomical votives connected with fertility and childbirth, suggests a significant female presence as worshippers. The only public role open to women in ancient Italy was that of priestess, but even women who did not hold formal positions in a cult played an important role in the religious life of a community, particularly a newly established one. Votive inscriptions from Pisaurum, mostly dedicated to female deities, include one made by the *matronae Pisaurenses* to Juno, which seems to indicate that the women of the colony had an important role in the conduct of the ritual life of the community (Coarelli 2000: 201). In this instance, women can be seen as playing an important and distinctive role in the establishment of a new Romanized identity for Pisaurum, whereas in other contexts, such as intermarriage between people of different ethnic groups, gender could potentially be a factor in cultural integration.

Gender may also have been a factor in the process of cultural change that took place in Italy after the Roman conquest, and also in the ways it has been studied by modern scholars. Many of the important symbols of Roman culture that have been central to studies of "Romanization"—aspects such as adoption of Roman forms of urbanism, Roman forms of government, Roman cults, and Roman inscriptions—are intimately connected with the public sphere and therefore with areas of life that are both elite-dominated and largely male spheres of activity. Even more personal aspects of culture, such as the use of Latin and adoption of Roman dress, the Roman *tria nomina*, or Roman cultures of bathing, or dining, can be gendered. This raises important questions about the ways in which the adoption of Roman culture may have impacted differently on men and women.

Women were not entirely excluded from the public sphere, as demonstrated by euergetic inscriptions set up by women, by activities of female civic patrons and benefactors (Forbis 1990; 1996), and by the role of women in civic cults. Where women do have a public profile, however, they are often honored for benefactions or other public services performed in association with male relatives, and their role is therefore to support and enhance the prestige of the wider family (Forbis 1990: 503–5). Although,

as Forbis notes, female benefactors are honored in very similar terms to their male counterparts, they played a less important and visible public role than men in these areas, and therefore in the creation and manipulation of important symbols of both eliteness and *Romanitas*.

There is also some evidence that there may have been a greater need for men to adopt outward symbols of the new culture, such as Roman dress, names, or language, than for women to do so. The funerary stelae from Padua, discussed earlier, depict the male honorand in the dress of a Roman citizen, but the female honorand as dressed in local pre-Roman costume. This is not an exclusively Venetic peculiarity, however. Studies of changes in dress in other areas of the Roman empire, notably in Gaul and Germany, have found a similar pattern, with rapid uptake of Roman dress for men, but a much greater degree of conservatism in female costume, at least as presented in the visual arts. How far these representations reflect the dress worn on a daily basis is unclear. Finds of local fibula types in second–first-century burials in Celtic areas of Italy suggest that local forms of dress were still worn in at least some contexts by both men and women (De Marinis 1977), so the use of dress as a gendered form of group identity may be less clear-cut than the funerary monuments imply. However, they are significant because they represent the lasting public image that the deceased (or their families) wished to project, and this seems to place the emphasis squarely on Roman dress but only for men.

Similar gendered patterns can be found in the uptake of other aspects of Roman culture, such as the use of Latin, or the adoption of Roman names. Latin became the language of choice for public inscriptions in Italy in the period after the Roman conquest. Where local languages remained in use as written languages, they tend to be found in private contexts. In northwest Italy, for instance, Roman-style public inscriptions, written in Latin language and alphabet and using Roman epigraphic styles and formulae, are found from the second century BC onward, and public inscriptions in the local language and script quickly fall into disuse. Some of the grave goods from a second–first-century BC cemetery at Oleggio, in contrast, are still inscribed in the local script and language long after this has largely disappeared from public life—notably a pottery vessel inscribed with the female name (or title) *rikana*—and some of these are from female burials or are inscribed with female names (Häussler and Pearce 2007: 220–2). A similar pattern can be found in the Veneto, where grave goods and funerary urns, a significant proportion of which are dedicated by or to women, continue to be inscribed in Venetic during the second and first centuries BC, a period during which public inscriptions were becoming more Romanized in form and Latin was becoming widespread (Pellegrini and Prosdocimi 1967: 221–90). How far these distinctions represent gender differences is unclear, and it is possible that the evidence represents a distinction between private and public rather than between male and female contexts. It may reflect a division between an increasingly Romanized public epigraphic culture and the use of Latin as the language of public life on the one hand, and the survival of non-Latin languages and epigraphic cultures for private use on the other (Benelli 2001). Nevertheless, there may also be some element of gendering, since men are likely to have had a greater degree of exposure to the public culture of Latin epigraphy and more need to participate in it. In general, it seems that gender does modify the impact and uptake of some key aspects of Roman culture. In particular, there seems to have been a much greater emphasis on the adoption of the

formal symbols of Roman citizenship and Roman culture, such as Roman dress, names, and language, for men than for women. These were important signifiers of social and legal status and were thus essential for maintaining or enhancing standing within the local community.

Conclusions

This is a necessarily brief overview of a large and complex subject. Even so, it is clear that there is considerable variation between ethnic groups in the ways in which gender and ethnic identities interacted, and in the ways in which gender modified responses to cultural change. There are important differences between Italian cultures and societies in the ways in which gender and ethnicity interact. This may sound like a very obvious statement, given that ancient Italy was a culturally and ethnically diverse region, but there has been a strong tendency for discussions of gender to focus mainly on Romans and Etruscans, and it is important to remember that these are not necessarily typical of all Italian societies. The contrast between northern Italy, where women seemed to be represented in a very ethnically distinctive fashion, and parts of southern Italy, where they were ethnically invisible, is a clear demonstration of this.

Another significant point is that the interface between gender, social power, and ethnic identity changes significantly over time. In archaic Italy, for instance, elite kinship groups exercised a high degree of political and social dominance in most Italian societies. Women who belonged to these elites had a high profile and exercised considerable influence as members of the ruling families, but this may have declined as these restricted elites lost their monopoly on power. By the early empire, women in Italy still had a limited public role as priestesses and could act as civic patrons or benefactors but had a much lower public profile that that of men. Nevertheless, gender was a significant factor in the formation and maintenance of communal identities, particularly in contexts where these were fairly fluid—for instance, in a newly founded colony. The role of women in shaping both religious and family identities was particularly important in situations of intermarriage and mixed communities. Overall, the impact of Roman conquest on the relationship between gender and ethnicity seems to have been profound. From the second century BC onward, the new symbols of power and status were Roman. The adoption of these by elite men throughout Italy meant that the representations of powerful men were almost exclusively Roman, and visible ethnic differences disappeared.

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FURTHER READING

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CHAPTER 33

Ethnicity in the Roman Northwest

Ursula Rothe

Sources and Scenarios

> The following winter was taken up by measures of a most beneficial kind. His intention was, in fact, that people who lived in widely dispersed and primitive settlements and hence were naturally inclined to war should become accustomed to peace and quiet by the provision of amenities. Hence he gave encouragement to individuals and assistance to communities to build temples, market-places and town houses. … Further, he educated the sons of the leading men in the liberal arts and he rated the natural talents of the Britons above the trained skills of the Gauls. The result was that those who just lately had been rejecting the Roman tongue now conceived a desire for eloquence. Thus even our style of dress came into favour and the toga was everywhere to be seen. Gradually, too, they went astray into the allurements of evil ways, colonnades and warm baths and elegant banquets. The Britons, who had had no experience of this, called it "civilization," although it was a part of their enslavement. (Tacitus, *Agricola* 21, translation from A. R. Birley 1999)

Although it refers specifically to Britain and is controversial in its interpretation, this oft-cited passage from Tacitus' biography of his father-in-law Agricola, governor of Britannia from 78 to 85 AD, nonetheless expounds a basic truth that applies to Rome's northwestern provinces in general: in this region, Roman conquest brought with it not just new rulers, but also fundamental structural changes on a scale that set it quite apart from the experiences of the Roman East. The pre-Roman political and economic structures of the area that was to become Britannia, Gallia, Germania, Raetia, Noricum, and Pannonia had by no means been homogenous, nor were the changes that followed Roman conquest consistent or complete, but in many regions the advent of cities, a professional army, a monetized economy, a regulated market, and higher, more removed levels of political hierarchy caused social transformations that had a direct effect on the

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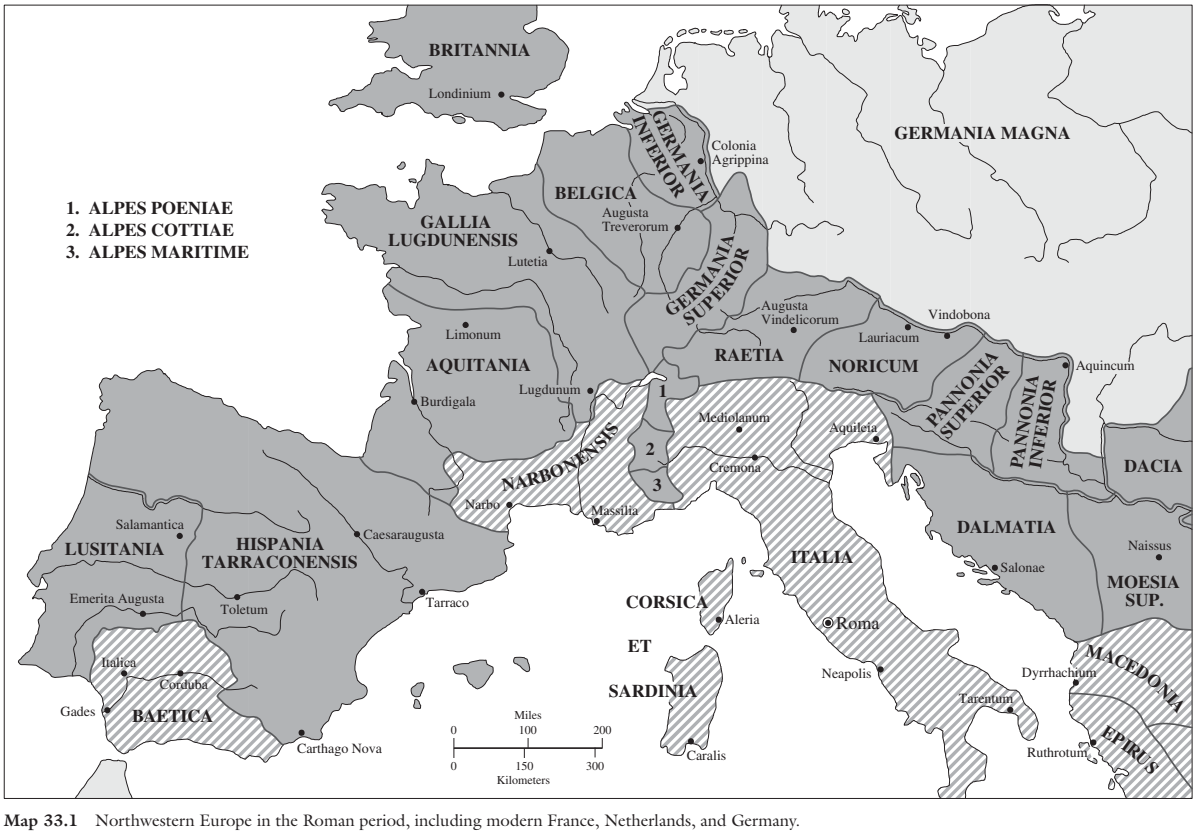
way ethnic identities were formulated. Yet, the dynamics of cultural groupings could be idiosyncratic, and some localities reacted in very different ways to others on the basis of what seem to us, with our limited source-base, to have been identical preconditions.

It is impossible, within the confines of this chapter, to present a comprehensive account of ethnic developments in the Roman northwest, nor can I do justice to the enormous amount of scholarly work that has focused on precisely this question, particularly in the past 20–30 years. What this chapter aims to do is to present, using selected case studies, a range of different scenarios that give some insight into the complex and varied nature of ethnicity and ethnogenesis in this region in the first–third centuries AD. As the most personal, and at the same time most public, form of material culture, dress stands somewhat apart as a particularly valuable source for ethnic identity, providing, of course, we have the sources for it. It is not a coincidence that Tacitus mentions the toga in his canonical inventory of Roman cultural traits. As Andrew Wallace-Hadrill has recently shown (2008: 38–70), the toga played a similar membership-defining role in Roman consciousness as language did in the Greek, with one important difference: as the dress of the Roman citizen, the toga expressed more than any other element of culture the civil and legal nature of Roman identity. It is this characteristic that makes it so hard to equate "being Roman" with anything amounting to ethnicity. However, it is also this characteristic which meant that practically anyone in the empire, regardless of their background, could become a Roman citizen, and as such, a "Roman" (see Farney, Chapter 29). The scenario Tacitus describes is not entirely imaginary: the toga was indeed worn in wide parts of the Roman northwest; but so was native dress. The very different nature of Roman identity to more localized group identities means that this is no paradox. Dress, in fact, reflects especially well the varying layers of cultural identity a person living in Rome's northwest provinces could and did have. As a result, in some of the case studies that follow, it will play a central role as a constant for identifying similarities and differences.

The Batavi

The Batavians were a Germanic tribe that broke away from the larger Transrhenane Chatti group and were allowed by the Romans to settle in the eastern Rhine delta in the mid–late first century BC (Tacitus, *Germania* 29; *Histories* 4.12; Tacitus' account is supported by archaeological evidence: Roymans 2004: 67–96; 103–32). From 12 BC onward, the Batavi had a special *foedus* with the Roman state which stipulated that they were freed from regular taxes, but instead had to supply a large number of auxiliary troops to the Roman army, and a large proportion of the soldiers in the emperor's German bodyguard at Rome. By the mid-first century AD, there were nine Batavian auxiliary units, in all over 4,000 soldiers, not including the imperial bodyguard. This meant that every Batavian family is likely to have had at least one family member in the Roman army (Willems 1984: 395). Since the 1980s, Dutch archaeologists have produced methodologically groundbreaking work on this group of people, in particular concerning the effects of the exceptional recruitment arrangements on their social structures and ethnic identity.

The group that came to be known as the Batavi—a Chattian prince and his warrior retinue—migrated to the lower Rhine some time shortly after the Gallic War, and were



Map 33.1 Northwestern Europe in the Roman period, including modern France, Netherlands, and Germany.

almost certainly allowed to do so as a result of services rendered to Rome during that conflict. The area they now inhabited formed the northernmost section of the territory of the Eburones, who, according to the literary evidence, were exterminated by Caesar (Caesar, *de Bello Gallico* 6.5; 29–34; 8.24–25; Tacitus, *Historiae* 4.12). That this was not entirely the case is shown in the archaeological evidence for considerable continuity in cult places, house architecture, and items of personal adornment. When the Batavi arrived, it was as an elite warrior group privileged by Rome, and as such it is not surprising that they took leadership in the region from this time onward (Roymans 2004: 27). It is worth remembering the local component in the population, even though the Batavi as an ethnic unit soon present a united picture in the archaeological and historical evidence.

It is clear that, from the beginning, the ethnogenesis of the Batavi was a direct result of Roman activity. Augustus had a conscious policy of settling friendly groups in the lower Rhine area (another example are the Ubii: see the following text). Although the motives for this were strategic, the reasons for the Batavians' special treaty may have been in part economic. The Betuwe was a marshy, lowland landscape suited mainly to pastoral activity; it was unlikely to produce a great deal of agricultural surplus, and indeed, the villa culture of northern Gaul never reached into this area. Nonetheless, as Willem Willems has pointed out, a greater role is likely to have been played by the merits of harnessing the martial energy and internal discipline of the Germanic *comitatus* system and using them to Rome's advantage (Willems 1984: 367; see also Roymans 2004: 58). Nico Roymans has argued that the original treaty between the Batavians and Rome was made by Caesar, thus allying the Batavi to the Julio-Claudians personally. This is reflected in their privileged role in the imperial bodyguard (Suetonius, *Gaius* 43; Cassius Dio 55.24; Bellen 1981), in the onomastics of the Batavian aristocracy (showing they received their Roman citizenship from one of the early Julio-Claudian rulers), and in material finds in the Batavian area itself, such as the large marble head of Julius Caesar, probably from the civilian settlement at Nijmegen (Roymans 2004: 213f. and Figure 9.1).

Apart from the supply of troops and the exemption from tribute, the Batavians' agreement with Rome also included some autonomy in leadership personnel and structure. The Chattian aristocrat who moved with his followers to the Rhine delta would appear from the later existence of a *stirps regia* (royal line) to have been recognized as some kind of *rex* by Rome. An inscription from Ruimel (CIL 13, 8771) from the first half of the first century AD names a *summus magistratus* of the *civitas Batavorum*, a strange appellation that is almost certainly the Latinized word for a native monocratic leader (Roymans 2004: 64). The native auxiliary units were also allowed to be stationed in their homeland and led not by Roman prefects, as was the case with the Gallic auxiliary units, but by native commanders, ensuring the continuity of native aristocratic structures.

So what was the nature of Batavian ethnicity? Roymans (2004) has shown how the Batavians are a perfect example of an ethnic identity being formed in the space between a group's actual characteristics and the image that others have of it. In this regard, the work of Carol van Driel-Murray (2002) is especially illuminating. By studying comparative examples of "ethnic soldiers" from other imperial contexts, such as the Gurkhas in the British army, van Driel-Murray has been able to show that imperial states not only exploited the martial prowess of native auxiliary groups, but in fact also played a large role in the formation of their martial ideology, using it to sustain a high level of recruitment and loyalty. The Romans indeed made a big deal of Batavian military skills. The Batavi are

characterized as warlike in nature, but also as exceptional horsemen capable of extraordinary feats such as being able cross large rivers such as the Rhine on horseback, in full armor and in perfect formation (Tacitus, *Historiae* 2.43; 4.12; 5.14–15; Cassius Dio 55.24, 69.9; CIL 3, 3676). Also important was the mythology of their bravery and unquestioning loyalty to the emperor in the face of grave crises (e.g., Suetonius, *Galba* 12.2; Tacitus, *Annales* 2.8). Heinz Bellen has shown how the Roman stereotype of the German as barbarians who were fierce and huge in stature was applied to the Batavian bodyguard and used as a means of underscoring the power of Rome (Bellen 1981). Importantly, the exceptionally high recruitment rate of the Batavi meant that large numbers of them will have been directly confronted with this Roman view of them (Roymans 2004: 227). Their desire to distance themselves from the "barbarian" element could explain their partiality to rider scenes in which orderly Batavian cavalrymen ride down hairy, unkempt barbarian figures (e.g., Roymans 2004: 230, Figure 10.4). The martial element was, however, no doubt enhanced by their key role in the Roman army. Formerly, they had been largely farmers involved in seasonal warfare. As members of a professional army, however, a large section of the population was now away from home for 25 years. When they came home (which apparently many did, to judge from the large amounts of military goods in civilian sites: Nicolay 2008; Roymans and Derks 2007), they were both thoroughly militarized and well-suited to adopt prominent positions in the community. As a result, not only the auxiliary units, but Batavian society as a whole, gained the character of a "community of soldiers" (Roymans 2004: 229).

Recent studies (e.g., Gehrke 2000; Woolf 2011) have highlighted the central role of foundation myths in ethnogenesis and the linking of ethnic groups to a wider cultural sphere. In the Batavian area, it is Hercules who seems to have forged this link. For the Romans, he was a brave adventurer who traveled to barbarian countries. According to Tacitus (*Germania* 3), he also went to Germany and was worshipped there as a hero. Hercules was often used for foundation myths in Greece and Rome, usually through a connection with a local noblewoman and resulting eponymous sons. The centrality of the Hercules cult in the Batavian area suggests that he played a similar role here, presumably in part due to both his masculine, martial qualities and his connection to pastoralism. Roymans suggests that the requisite founding myth was devised among Batavian nobles in the Roman army in the Augustan period (Roymans 2004: 239). Cult centers were particularly important for forging ethnic unity in Iron Age European cultures. Examples of this include the Suebian central sanctuary described by Tacitus (*Germania* 39), the localized epithets of the matron deities that played an important role among the Ubii (see the following text), and the fact that *pagus* names in northern Gaul appear often to have had a religious origin (Derks 1998: 190–1). In the Batavian area, Hercules is linked to the native deity Magusanus. Important sanctuaries for this cult have been found at Elst, Empel, and Kessel/Lith. In the latter case, it is clear that the settlement and the sanctuary existed as a central place of the Eburones before the Batavians arrived. A scenario is plausible by which Magusanus was a chief deity/hero of the Eburones, then syncretized with Hercules by the Batavians, who made the new syncresis their chief deity (Roymans 2004: 14). Huge amounts of deposited weapons and military equipment found at the sanctuaries show there was a strong martial element to the Hercules Magusanus cult. Human remains with evidence of injuries at Kessel highlight even more candidly the nature of the cult. Importantly, even when municipal functions became

increasingly centered at *oppidum Batavorum* (Nijmegen, later the *municipium Ulpia Noviomagus*), the cult places at Elst, Empel, and Kessel continued as key sanctuaries, highlighting the centrality of the Hercules cult to Batavian identity (Roymans 2004, 103–48, 235–50).

The privileges enjoyed by the Batavi in their relationship with the Romans (singling out for the imperial bodyguard, freedom from tribute, native leadership of auxiliary units) contributed to what Roymans has called "the illusion of a partnership based on mutual respect" (Roymans 2004: 229). It was of fundamental importance for their sense of identity and self-worth. In this light, it is not surprising that the Batavians decided to revolt in 69–70 AD, at a point at which the terms of the "special relationship" were repeatedly broken by the Romans (e.g., Galba's dismissal of the German bodyguard, the imprisonment of the Batavian nobleman Julius Civilis and execution of his brother, and ill treatment in the war against Vespasian). The role of the Batavi in the Roman army was not just an aspect of their ethnic identity, it *was* their ethnic identity. Perhaps it was for this reason that they got off so lightly at the end of what, for Rome, was such a disastrous rebellion. The ringleaders disappeared from history, but otherwise, apart from the fact that native auxiliary units were henceforth stationed away from their homelands, the military arrangement of the Batavi with the Roman state was maintained. The Batavians could thus continue as a clearly delineated ethnic group, evidenced, for example, in their preference in epigraphy well into the third century for the designation *Batavi*, as opposed, for example, to *cives* of *Ulpia Noviomagus* (Derks 2004; see CIL 13, 7577; AE 1924, 117; 1952, 146–149; 1983, 56 and 58; CIL 13, 1847; AE 1938, 125). Most importantly, the Batavians could continue to draw their ethnic self-image from the role they played in the Roman military apparatus.

The Treveri

The Treveri were a large tribe of northern Gaul, and played a key role as one of the more defiant elements during Caesar's conquest (e.g., Caesar, *de Bello Gallico* 1.37; 4.6; 5.2–3; 6.2–8). Their territory was the area around the lower Moselle River between the Meuse in the west and the Rhine in the east (see Caesar, *de Bello Gallico* 3.11; 5.24; 6.29–32; 6.44; also Strabo 4.3–5). It is especially in the style of dress that we get an insight into the collective identity of the Treveri after Roman conquest (see Rothe 2012a for a more comprehensive treatment of the discussion to follow). The first Roman-style gravestones set up by Treveri in the vicinity of the Roman army camps on the Rhine show women in a distinctive outfit consisting of a round bonnet, a rectangular cloak, a long-sleeved undertunic, and a loose, tube-shaped overtunic. The latter was fastened using three large brooches, two at the shoulders, one at the chest, together producing a W-shaped fold. In the most detailed image we have of this garment (see Figure 33.1), however, its wearer, Menimane, has let one side slip off her shoulder. Her husband wears a generic male dress ensemble worn throughout the Roman northwest in the Roman period: a sleeved, ungirt, calf-length tunic, and a hooded cape with scarf. A number of depictions of Menimane's ensemble have survived, all of which are from Treveran territory, apart from one from Xanten on the lower Rhine, but according to the inscription, this also depicts a Treveran brother and sister (LUPA 15531; CIL 13, 8655).



Figure 33.1 Gravestone for Blussus and Menimane, Mainz-Weisenau, mid-first century AD. Mainz, Landesmuseum, no. S 146. © GDKE_Ursula Rudischer (Landesmuseum Mainz).

All of the relief images we have of "Menimane's Ensemble" date to the early–mid-first century AD. From the Flavian period onward, the distinctive Treveran ensemble disappears from the gravestone depictions—from this time onward, the women of the region wear the so-called "Gallic Ensemble," a much plainer outfit consisting of Menimane's round bonnet and rectangular cloak, but, as the body garment, an ankle-length, long-sleeved tunic that was worn ungirt and, importantly, without any metal fastenings (see Figure 33.2). The archaeology confirms this dress change: finds of the brooch combination worn by Menimane also center on the Treveran area and also gradually disappear from the late first century onward, albeit continuing somewhat longer into the second century AD in the countryside (Wild 1985: 399, 412; see also Rosten 2008 for this development in Britain).

The female Gallic Ensemble (unlike its male counterpart) appears as an innovation of the late first century; we have no depictions of it in the funerary art before this time. It is thus tempting to connect its evolution with the consolidation of Roman rule in the northwest. On the other hand, it is not a "Roman" or even "Romanized" dress (Freigang 1997: 306–7): bonnets for women were virtually unknown in Rome, and the lack of belts would also have been unthinkable there. Long sleeves were considered barbarian, and



Figure 33.2 Gravestone for a Gallic couple, Arlon, second century AD. Musée Archéologique, Arlon. Photograph © H. Schweistal, Institut Archéologique du Luxembourg, Arlon.

only entered mainstream Roman fashion later. The rectangular cloak, although similar in form to the Roman *palla*, is draped in a variety of un-Roman, symmetrical ways. In other words, the Gallic Ensemble was manifestly "native." Unlike Menimane's Ensemble, the "Gallic Ensemble" was, however, not a localized or tribal dress style; it is found in depictions all across Gaul, the German provinces, and Britain (many examples are collected by Espérandieu; see also Galsterer and Galsterer 1975, no. 331, and Wild 1985: 388 n. 98 for examples from Britain). What the dress of northern Gaul seems to indicate is that, in the pre- and early Roman period, the Treveri possessed a tribal identity that was expressed, as so often in human history, in the dress of the women (see Lomas, Chapter 32, in this volume; on the idea of women as "guardians of ethnicity," especially in dress, see Nadig 1986). In a version of what Slofstra (1983) and others have labeled "detribalization," this identity gradually dissolved during the course of the late first century into a more general "Gallic" identity that, as with the breakaway "Gallic Empire" of the mid-third century, included the Rhineland and Britain. In other words, Roman rule appears to have engendered a new, broader, regional identity in the Roman northwest.

How did this "Third Way" come about? In order to understand this, we must again look at structural changes in the Treveran region in the period in question. Although the Treveri were conquered by Caesar, they rebelled repeatedly: in 39–37 BC (Cassius Dio 48.49.3), 29 BC (Cassius Dio 51.20.5), 21 AD (Tacitus, *Annales* 3.40–42), and 69 AD, the so-called "Batavian" Revolt as described by Tacitus, *Historiae* 4 and 5. They were finally defeated at the end of the Batavian Revolt, in which they were a key player, in 70 AD. From that time until the general troubles of the mid-third century, no Roman troops were stationed in the *civitas Treverorum*; the area was now peaceful and began to

prosper. To what extent this sea change was caused by an expulsion or impoverishment of powerful anti-Roman Treveran families in the wake of the Batavian Revolt is a matter of some debate (see Wightman 1970: 50–1; Drinkwater 1978; 1983: 192–6; Krier 1981; Heinen 1985: 168–70; also Tacitus, *Historiae* 5.19.4). What is clear is that, from the Flavian period onward, Treveran cities such as Trier (*Augusta Treverorum*) developed large-scale public buildings (Heinen 1985; Kuhnen 2001), and the Treveri became involved in long-distance trade, especially of wine and cloth. Together with the many local villa estates (e.g., Fliessem-Otrang, Welschbillig, Nennig), trade formed the basis for a kind of "middle class" who expressed their wealth and confidence in the elaborate gravestones for which the region is now famous (Wightman 1970: 51; Drinkwater 1978: 837; Leveau 2007: 654). These monuments show, in no uncertain terms, the worldly outlook in everyday life scenes of household members in the office or workshop, receiving gifts from tenant farmers, or, in their free time, banqueting, hunting, and having their hair done (for a discussion of the various scenes with examples, see Rothe 2009: 24–7). Interestingly, it is in precisely this demographic group that the female Gallic Ensemble developed.

A study of Gallic epigraphy by Lothar Wierschowski has shown that, in the time period from the late first to the mid-third century, the Gauls, and the Treverans in particular, displayed a high degree of short-term mobility in the form of business trips in other cities (see Krier 1981). Belgic Gauls are generally overrepresented among the mobile individuals in other parts of Gaul (Wierschowski 1995: 35, Table 1 and 36, Table 2), and just as many *negotiatores*, *nautae*, and *artifices* are named as coming from Belgica as from all other Gallic provinces together (206–7). The Treveri seem to have had a particular interest in the trading of wine and textiles (see, e.g., CIL 5, 5229, CIL 13, 2008; CIL 13, 2033; CIL 13, 542; AE 1982, 709). The vast majority of migrant-related inscriptions in the Three Gauls mention trade organizations such as the *vinarii* and *utricularii*, and the occupations *negotiatores*, *nautae*, and *artifices* (Wierschowski 1995: 209, 233–57, 277). Most importantly, this mobility was confined almost entirely to the northwestern provinces, and the *Tres Galliae* in particular (Wierschowski 1995: 35, Table 1 and 36, Table 2). For the inhabitants of the Three Gauls, by far the greater part of their contact with other cultural groups was not with Italians but in fact with other Gauls. As a result, Wierschowski has called the German and Gallic provinces a "regionale[r] Verbund" (1995: 233). From the second century onward, Britain seems also to have played an important role (e.g., a Treveran at Bath [RIB 140] and votive inscriptions at the channel crossing at Colijnsplaat: AE 1973, 375; 1975, 653; 1985, 682). Against this background, it is no longer surprising that, in the late first century, symbols of small-scale, local identities such as Menimane's Ensemble became obsolete. The geographical horizon had widened; one felt increasingly part of a wider Gallic culture. The change to a new female "Gallic Ensemble" may only be one of many manifestations of this shift in identity, but it is one that is especially visible to us today. It should not be surprising that, while it was mainly men who traveled on business, it was the women's dress that changed, because unlike the latter, that of the men had never acted as a symbol of local identity. It is clear that the change in cultural orientation was linked to integration into the Roman Empire and the economic developments that it engendered through the establishment of cities, overriding economic structures, roads, transport security, and so on. However, just as Italians did not dominate the economy of the Three

Gauls as they did in the Narbonensis (Wierschowski 1995: 259), so too was it not an Italian–Roman identity that evolved in the wake of these changes; rather, it was one that was pan-Gallic.

Oppidum Ubiorum/Ara Ubiorum/Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium—Cologne

The city of Cologne in Germany started life as a Roman city, a fact still reflected in its name. The tribe in this region was the Ubii, a group that, similar to the Batavi, originally lived further south beyond the Rhine. They were Germanic-speaking (Weisgerber 1968) and, from the very first, friends to the Romans, informing them of the movements of the central German Suebi, a large tribal confederation that was pressing southward and westward in the mid-first century BC and putting the Ubii under increasing pressure (Caesar, de *Bello Gallico* 6.9–10; 6.29). Consequently, Agrippa allowed the Ubii by to resettle on the western bank of the Rhine further north (Tacitus, *Germania* 28; Cassius Dio 58.49.2), to the south of the Batavi in the former territory of the ill-fated Eburones (see the preceding text). Although the first important settlement in the *civitas Ubiorum* was *Bonna*-Bonn, this town, with its legionary garrison, developed a more military character, while it was *oppidum Ubiorum*, later *ara Ubiorum*, that grew to be the important civilian center. In AD 50, Claudius gave it colony status with *ius Italicum* (Eck 2004: 159), and its name changed to *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium* (after Claudius' wife, who was born there). Cologne became the capital of Germania Inferior under Domitian and developed into the most important commercial center in the Roman northwest.

The cultural identity displayed by the people of Roman Cologne and its environs is, however, far from straightforward. On the one hand, it was the most "Roman" city in the northwest, with the most sophisticated urban culture (Carroll 2001; Eck 2004). It also stands out as the only northwestern city in which the majority of both men and women wore Roman dress in their grave portraits (Rothe 2009, Appendix II, Tables 9–10). Even more interestingly, it is the only place in which Roman dress is worn not only by the elite, but across a wide demographic spectrum: for example, veterans (Rothe 2009, U1, U5, U9–10), a trader (U11), a *scolasticus* (U25), a stone merchant (U35), and perhaps a slave dealer (U3). Of course, a large number of those in Roman dress will actually have been from Italy, especially in the first century, as Cologne, unlike the Treveran and Batavian areas, experienced a high level of immigration by Roman officials, merchants, and retired military personnel (see, e.g., the pillar monument for Lucius Poblicius, a legionary veteran from northern Italy: Precht 1975).

On the other hand, the Ubii clung to some pre-Roman traditions: the Ubian women are the only ones on gravestones in the northwest to retain their tribal dress well into the third century AD (see, e.g., the late third century votive scene from Pesch: Espérandieu 8, 6364). It consisted of a large, semi-circular cloak pinned at the stomach with a brooch, and a large, spherical bonnet (Wild 1968; Rothe 2009: 37–9; Figure 33.3). The religious milieu in this region is also characterized by what appear to be ancient ethnic components: the *Matronae*, mother deities found throughout the Celtic sphere but particularly popular in the Ubian area, were the recipients of countless votive monuments,



Figure 33.3 Altar for the *Matronae Boudunneihae*, Cologne, second century AD. Römisch–Germanisches Museum, no. 65,223. Photograph U. Rothe.

the inscriptions on which show that there were smaller, local worship communities, each with a special *Matrona*-epithet (Bauchhenss and Neumann 1987). The *Matronae* are depicted as seated women in native Ubian dress, identifying them as local deities (see Figure 33.3).

Most intriguingly of all, and unlike, for example, the Batavi and Eravisci, who throughout the Roman period kept their tribal name (see the preceding and following text), the change from *ara Ubiorum* to *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium* appears to have been completely taken on board by the local population. No inscriptions include the phrase *natione Ubius* or the like after the end of the first century AD (for first-century examples, see AE 1925, 70; 1929, 130), while *Agrippinenses* becomes the standard ethnonym for people from Cologne, and perhaps also the Ubian area in general, from the mid-first century onward (CIL 3, 10548; 13, 8091 [Bonn]; 8283 [Cologne]; AE 1973, 364; 2001, 1464 [Colijnsplaat]; 1988, 894; 1995, 1113 [provenance unknown]). In other words, it was with an imposed Roman name for an imposed Roman structure—the city—that the people of this region identified. How do we make sense of this in light of the Roman and pre-Roman elements of the region's culture, and the colorful ethnic mix of its population? A passage in Tacitus' *Histories* narrating an episode from the Batavian Revolt is perhaps helpful here: in it, the people of Cologne have been

asked by Transrhenane Germans to help them fight the Romans, and they respond very carefully:

> The very first chance of freedom that presented itself we seized with more eagerness than caution, that we might unite ourselves with you and the other Germans, our kinsmen by blood. … All strangers from Italy or the provinces that may have been in our territory have either perished in the war, or have fled to their own homes. As for those who in former days settled here, and have been united to us by marriage, and as for their offspring, this is their native land. We cannot think you so unjust as to wish that we should slay our parents, our brothers, and our children. … (Tacitus, *Historiae* 4.65, trans. Church/Brodribb)

While Tacitus' account cannot, of course, be taken at face value, especially given his own preoccupation with German ethnicity, the indicators for cultural identity in Roman Cologne, discussed in the preceding text, suggest that it may contain a grain of truth: despite their different origins, and strange mixture of cultural elements, the people of Cologne appear to have seen themselves first and foremost not as Ubii or Romans, but as an integrated whole: *Agrippinenses*. Again, it was the imposition of a Roman structure that engendered a new identity, but this time the structure was the city.

A Counter Example: Pannonia

This chapter has attempted to show how ethnic identities could be fundamentally transformed as a result of structural impositions and changes implemented by the Romans. This was, however, not automatically the case, nor did similar impulses produce the same results. In northern Pannonia, for example, we find all of the institutions that were so decisive in the preceding cases—the Roman army, an integrated economy, and Roman-style cities—but very different ethnic developments.

Northern Pannonia experienced an extraordinary level of immigration in the form of troops and merchants from all over the empire. Particularly interesting is the large community of people from Rome's easternmost provinces: Syrian auxiliary units were stationed at *Intercisa* (Dunaújváros), *Ulcisia Castra* (Szentendre), and *Arrabona* (Győr), and were unusual for continuing to recruit from their homelands. Danubian legions often accompanied emperors on campaigns in the East and may have returned with new eastern members. However, it is especially the influx of civilians from the east that is so exceptional. They made a strong mark in the region's epigraphy and are found among the municipal decurions (e.g., *Brigetio*: CIL 3, 4312; AE 1923, 0058); one even donated the amphitheater at *Carnuntum* (e.g., CIL 3, 14359.2).

The military element was also very strong in northern Pannonia. With four legionary garrisons and countless auxiliary camps, most of the inhabitants of this frontier zone will have had some connection with the military in terms either of trade or recruitment of family members. Auxiliary units were already recruiting local men in the first century AD and so were the legions from Hadrian onward. Nonetheless, unlike the case of the Batavi, here we have no evidence for the army having a fundamental effect on ethnic identities in the first two centuries AD. This changed in the mid-third century, when the Pannonian "Illyrian" legions began to play a central role in imperial politics, developing in Late Antiquity into what Dénes Gabler has termed the "Soldateska Illyricums" ("rabble of Illyrian Soldiers") (Gabler 2003: 393).

From the first to the third century AD, northern Pannonia was, in other words, a truly multicultural place, characterized by native tribal groupings, a high level of militarization,

and a significant number of people from Syria and the eastern provinces. Nonetheless, it is clear from funerary art and epigraphy that, until as late as the mid-third century, tribal identities continued to play a key role in the ethnic self-image of northern Pannonians.

When the *civitates* in the region were established, they were allowed by Rome to be under the control of native *principes* (e.g., CIL 3, 3546): one Trajanic inscription naming a *princeps Boiorum* (AE 1999, 1251) shows that this practice, or at least the concept of a native *princeps*, continued into the second century. The tribal *civitates* themselves also play a central role in inscriptions. In the second century, for example, an *Alorix Bassi f(ilius)* is named as *decurio*, not of a town, but simply *Eraviscus* (AE 1969/70, 493). The *civitas Eraviscorum* is also still named very frequently in the mid–late third century on gravestones (AE 1986, 0598) and altars (CIL 3, 10481; AE 2003, 1416; 1418–1421; AE 2003, 1422; AE 2003, 1423), even though, by this time, the area had already been under the control of the *municipium*—since the Severan period *colonia*—at *Aquincum* for generations. This forms a strong contrast to Cologne, where the local population, colorful as it may have been, identified strongly with their new city, and abandoned their tribal name (see above).

The dress behavior of northern Pannonians in the funerary art is also striking in this regard. Depictions of a special kind of boat-shaped hat that appears from the rough working of the stone to have been made out of fur (Figure 33.4) are found exclusively in the region attributed to the Boii. Further to the east, a very different type of hat is



Figure 33.4 Grave stele for Belatusa, Bruckneudorf, mid-first century AD. Hansági Múzeum, Mosonmagyaróvár, no. 68.1.9. Photograph U. Rothe.



Figure 33.5 Grave stele for Bozi, Ercsi, early second century AD. Szent István Király Múzeum, Székesfehérvár, no. 58.5.1. Photograph U. Rothe.

found consisting of a large arc of fabric (Figure 33.5). It seems likely that this was a characteristic garment of the Azali. Yet further west, we find what is almost certainly the headdress of the Eravisci: a tighter, double-layered cloth bonnet (Figure 33.6). A similar regional/tribal distribution can be observed for different types of overtunic (for all of these, see Rothe 2012b). The use of female garments to express local identities is not peculiar to the Danube region: we have already seen it with Ubian women's dress in Cologne and Menimane's ensemble in the Treveran area. Unlike the Ubian ensemble, however, the local dress styles were worn by the vast majority of women on the gravestones of northern Pannonia; and unlike Menimane's ensemble, they continued to dominate female dress until well into the third century (Rothe 2012b). We have no indication of a Pannonian counterpart to the Gallic ensemble. As in the epigraphy, the emphasis continues to be on tribal membership. On the other hand, the northern Pannonian gravestones are also remarkable for the fact that the men tend to wear either Roman dress or generic garments that were common to Pannonia and Rome. As was the case among the Treveri until the mid-first century, and the Ubii throughout the Roman period, it was in the women's dress that distinctions were made. Women appear to have played a special role in these societies in visualizing their own tribal affiliations and those of their families (see Rothe 2013).



Figure 33.6 Grave stele, Tác-*Gorsium*, mid-second century AD. Archaeological Park Gorsium. Photograph U. Rothe.

Empires produce complex ethnic configurations, and the Roman Empire was no exception. However, this was not only a result of the circulation of people and goods, and the direct cultural influence that these emitted. Integration into an imperial system also often meant the imposition of certain structures and institutions, and these could also have a profound, if indirect, effect on the way ethnic identities were formulated. This chapter has attempted to show how Rome's northwestern provinces were one such region. Here, the advent of a professional, imperial army, Mediterranean-style cities, and an integrated, trade-based economy played a key role in the ethnic developments of the Batavi, the Treveri, and the Ubii. That this, however, was not a matter of course is evident in the case of northern Pannonia, where despite the implantation of these same structures, pre-Roman tribal affinities and cultural traits appear to have played a decisive role in ethnic identity right up until the late third century. Altogether, it is becoming increasingly evident that, in order to properly understand cultural processes in the provinces, we must study each region in its own right and allow for a wide variety of cultural reactions to Roman rule.

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CHAPTER 34

Lucanians and Southern Italy[1]

John W. Wonder

In the Greek and Roman literary tradition, ancient authors cite a southern Italian people called the "Lucanians." Ancient writers usually present these people as a distinct group, distinguished from other Italian people. While Lucanians are often associated with events dating from the middle of the fourth century BC to the end of the third century BC, most authors who refer to the Lucanians wrote in the late republic or early empire. Their discussions are usually brief or passing comments in a story not primarily concerned with these people. Lucanians have not left their own written records, and their name is not found among inscriptions of southern Italy. Certain questions present themselves: How and why were these people defined as an ethnic group? By whom? Did the Lucanians identify themselves as a collective in the same way as Greek and Roman writers? What traits were used to determine the ethnic group? What was the derivation of their name?

As a number of chapters in this volume have noted, an ethnic group may be conceptualized and identified either by people outside the group in question or by those within the ethnic group itself. Ancient Greek and Roman writers of the late republic and early empire employed the term "Lucanians" as an ethnic construct for a large population in southern Italy generally perceived to have had similar origins, dialect, territory, and dress. The term, however, may not have had the same meaning among fourth-century sources, and it is highly likely that the name "Lucanians" employed by Greek writers was originally a local appellation for an Italic people in the area of Thurii and Croton. The ancient inhabitants of Lucania appear to have self-identified primarily with local population groups. During the Punic Wars and later, however, some of these inhabitants did use the term "Lucanians" as a self-attribution, identifying themselves with a wider collective identity.

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The Term "Lucanian"

The earliest extant literary works to mention the Lucanians are Greek sources of the fourth century BC (see Horsnaes 2002: 119–25; Musti 2005: 261–84; Isayev 2007: 11–21; 2010: 203–6). Isocrates, in a work dated to the mid-fourth century (*De Pace* 49–50), is probably the earliest known writer to cite the Lucanians, referring to them in a general comment comparing Athenian and barbarian cultures. Writers earlier than the fourth century, such as fifth-century historians Herodotus or Thucydides, when discussing indigenous people of southern Italy, never mention the Lucanians. In analyzing Strabo's work, dated to the Augustan era, Musti (2005: 261–84) deduces that two strata of peoples are found in his southern Italian narratives: the Oenotrians, Coni, Morgeti, and Itali represent the earliest group; and the Lucanians, Samnites, and Brettians characterize the successive group. Musti notes that, whenever Strabo quotes or summarizes the fifth-century historian Antiochus (whose works are not extant), he does not mention the Lucanians or other people of the second group. Thus, Antiochus, a native of Syracuse in Sicily, was probably unaware of Lucanians, as well as Samnites and Brettians, as distinct ethnic groups. Musti concludes that, whenever Strabo mentions any of these three Oscan speaking people, the story is derived from a source later than the fifth century.

Authors active in the early empire or late republic (e.g., Diodorus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Livy, Strabo or Horace), writing both poetry and prose narratives, have left us most of our references to Lucanians. In contrast to these sources, as noted by both Musti (2005: 275–7) and Isayev (2007: 16–21; 2010: 203–6), the Lucanians are scarcely mentioned (approximately six times) in the works of fourth- and third-century writers. Isayev (2007: 19) further suggests that, in the fourth century, the term's use "was not widespread, nor its implications clear." Musti (2005: 275–7), in fact, proposes that ancient writers began to use the term "Lucanians" (as well as "Samnites" and "Brettians") in a more discerning way as a result of Rome's campaigns in southern Italy during the third century. It is, of course, difficult to accurately ascertain the term's early use since most of the sources, such as Timaeus, Philistus, or Ephorus, are not extant, but the limited appearance of the name "Lucanians" in the fourth century may indicate that Isayev and Musti are correct. In fact, the notion that occurrence of the name reflects a growing Roman and Greek familiarity with the region may help to explain a passage of Aristoxenus that has perplexed scholars.

Aristoxenus of Tarentum, who lived during the last part of the fourth century, is one of the few early authors to note these people. The Tarentine writer, while discussing an event almost 200 years before his time, states (in Porphyry *VP* 22) that Lucanians were among some of the indigenous people who visited Pythagoras (at the end of the sixth century). Dench (1995: 52) suggests, however, that Aristoxenus was indiscriminate in his use of names for south Italian people. As she states, Aristoxenus, in a different passage (Athenaeus *Deipno.* 14.632), mentions the barbarization of Poseidonia by "Tyrrhenians or Romans," an event occurring during his own lifetime. Nevertheless, Strabo (5.4.13) cites the Lucanians as the occupiers of Poseidonia (Pontrandolfo 1979; Bottini 1988:

356–360; Pedley 1990: 97–112), and modern critics often question Aristoxenus' statement regarding the people responsible for the presumed decline in cultural values in Poseidonia. Aristoxenus was certainly aware of Lucanians as an indigenous population in southern Italy, since he cites them as people who visited Pythagoras. However, it seems that, at the end of the fourth century, Aristoxenus (and others in Tarentum) regarded "Lucanians" as Italic people inhabiting the lands near Croton and Thurii but did not apply the name to people who dwelt further north, at least with reference to events that occurred in his own time.

Pseudo-Scylax (*Periplous* 12), on the other hand, in his description of the coast of southern Italy, cites the Lucanians as a people living considerably further north than the southern coast of Italy. He places the Lucanians directly south of the Samnites. The geographer provides a very short description of Lucania (as seen from the coast), noting settlements from Poseidonia in the north to Thurii in the south. Understanding the significance of Pseudo-Scylax's different conception of where Lucania was situated is complicated by the fact that the date of his work is uncertain. Even so, many scholars have dated his geography to the middle or the second half of the fourth century (see Musti 2005: 276), and if the date is correct, then Pseudo-Scylax was already applying the name "Lucanians" to a wider group of indigenous people than just those who inhabited the hinterland above Croton. As an early geographer, he may have used terms such as "Lucanians" and "Lucania" with more precision than Aristoxenus. His Lucania certainly encompasses more territory than Aristoxenus included in his references to the Lucanians. Strabo's later description of the lands occupied by Lucanians is even more extensive than that of Pseudo-Scylax. By the late republic and early empire, Lucanians were seen as an indigenous people living across a broad swathe of territory that included modern Basilicata, southern Campania, and northern Calabria.

Among writers of the second century BC, one finds more instances of the terms "Lucanians" and "Lucania" than are found among the fourth- and third-century authors. Polybius (2.24.12) describes a confrontation between Roman and Celtic forces in 225 BC and lists among Rome's allies Lucanian soldiers and cavalry. In his narrative, Polybius distinguishes them from Samnites and other indigenous forces such as Iapygians and Messapians. Walbank (1957: 26) suggests that Polybius used the third-century historian Fabius Pictor as his source for Rome's conflict in Book 2. It seems that Fabius (whose works are not extant) was already distinguishing the Lucanians from other south Italic people.

As for Lucanians associated with events earlier than the fourth century, there are very few references, and all are by later authors. As noted in the preceding text, Lucanians are cited as associates of Pythagoras or of his school. Polyaenus (2.10.1–5) briefly discusses conflicts between Lucanians and forces from Thurii commanded by Cleandridas. Cleandridas fled Sparta in the 440s, and his clashes with the Lucanians are usually dated c. 440. Thus, people called "Lucanians" may have already come into contact with Thurians by the middle of the fifth century. Musti (2005: 261–77), however, suggests that one should be skeptical of the early mention of Lucanians in late sources. He proposes, in fact, that the second-century AD historian, Polyaenus, derived the term "Lucanians" from Roman sources who used the name as a general term for Italic people who opposed Thurii.

The Lucanians as an Ethnic Group

The references noted in the preceding text are descriptions of a people seen from the points of view of Greek and Roman authors, and Musti, in fact, suggests that the appellation "Lucanian" was applied extrinsically to these people. An ethnic construct, in general, may be defined by people outside the group in question or by those within the group itself. There are often reasons the construct has been distinguished, and certain traits identify members of the ethnic group. As Malkin (2001: 1–28) notes, modern scholars have often posited features in a population that form significant markers of an ethnic collective; nevertheless, different scholars, both ancient and modern, often emphasize different criteria. While ethnicity may assume a putative concept of kinship (Malkin 2001: 10), modern studies demonstrate that many traits, often cultural or social in nature, may articulate the boundaries of an ethnic group.

Certain features such as language, common territory, a lost fatherland, common origins, kinship, religious institutions, and common political organizations are often cited as markers of an ethnic construct. Nevertheless, as Konstan (2001: 30) remarks (in discussing Greek ethnicity from the point of view of Greek writers): "In themselves, however, common traits, whether recognized as such or not, do not constitute an ethnic self-awareness. Rather, ethnicity arises when a collective identity is asserted on the basis of shared characteristics." This would be true for self-awareness of ethnicity as well as external cognizance of another ethnic group. When individuals decide to apply a label or name to a people, they use certain traits to distinguish the group in question, and these traits may not be the same or carry the same weight with every group in question. Indeed, the perception of an ethnic group and the traits used to identify the group in question may change over time. J. Hall (2002: 9–29) is correct in assuming that ethnic groups are not static. What seems to be important, however, is a perception of commonness. As Konstan (2001: 30) remarks, "Central to any claim of ethnic identity is the notion of common essence." Luraghi (2008: 10), in his study of the ancient Messenians, identifies a natural result of this sense of commonality, concurring with other scholars, "… a constant and necessary component of an ethnic group is a collective name."

Ancient Greek and Roman Perceptions of the Lucanians

Writers of the late republic and early empire portray the Lucanians as a sizeable collective identity in southern Italy. Isayev (2010: 206) suggests that these writers, interested in describing alliances and campaigns, usually presented Italic peoples "as large, definable, and cohesive ethnic units for the purposes of the narrative." It is possible that, in one sense, the Lucanians exist as an identifiable group precisely because this construct made it easier for writers to distinguish the players in the story of Rome's growth to power. As a narratological construct, the Lucanians written about by ancient Greeks and Romans would have been marked by certain characteristics so as to be readily identifiable as Lucanian.

Complicating this notion of ascribed ethnic identity is the fact that, whatever Greek and Roman writers said about the Lucanians, there were two other fundamental aspects of their formation as an ethnic group: the notion of a shared territory and a belief in common origins. As Malkin (2001: 16) notes, "a place of origin and a migratory destination" are usually important components of ethnicity. J. M. Hall (1997: 32), in fact, states while summarizing his basic points on the nature of ethnicity, "The ethnic group is identified from other social and associative groups by virtue of association with a specific territory and a shared myth of descent." Indeed, J. M. Hall (2002: 9–29) states that belief in a common descent (fictive or not), along with a "sense of shared history" and "an association with a specific territory," form the major elements for "membership in an ethnic group." Not all scholars agree with such a restrictive approach for determining ethnicity. As Antonaccio (2001: 115) remarks, "… Hall goes too far in narrowing ethnicity to the criteria of descent and homeland . . . ." Nevertheless, shared territory and common origins were certainly two features Greek and Roman writers cited when describing the group they called "Lucanians."

Territory was clearly a diacritical trait (from the Greek and Roman points of view). Both Strabo and Pseudo-Scylax note the Lucanians as a people inhabiting "Lucania," although, by Strabo's time, Lucania encompassed more territory than Pseudo-Scylax's Lucania. In fact, territory was one factor that seems to have separated the Lucanians from other Oscan speakers such as the Campani or the Samnites. In historical narratives and poems of the late republic and early empire periods, Lucania could be described as comprising modern Basilicata, southern Campania, and northern Calabria.

Greek and Roman writers also discussed the origins of the Lucanians and, as such, an alleged past homeland. These origins, however, have been a matter of debate among modern scholars. Both Strabo (6.1.2–3) and Pliny (*HN* 3.71) state that the Lucanians derived from Samnites (a people from the Apennine region of central Italy), who migrated into southern Italy replacing earlier people, such as the Chones and the Oenotrians. Strabo notes the Lucanians displaced these groups and then came into conflict with the Greeks. Many modern scholars (such as De Juliis 1996: 237–9) suggest that the Lucanians began to dominate central Basilicata in the second half of the fifth century and note that the conquest of the Greek city of Poseidonia occurred at the end of the fifth. Some (such as Pallottino 1991: 105) connect these events to the occupation of Campania by Samnites at the end of the fifth century.

A few modern critics, however, have questioned the premise of Lucanian origins based on a Samnite migration. Horsnaes (2002: 126–8) proposes it could be a matter of nomenclature in the ancient sources. Ancient historians before the fourth century utilized many names for indigenous people of southern Italy, such as Oenotrians or Chones. Later, however, the authors began to call indigenous peoples of this area "Lucanians." Isayev (2007: 14) notes that the answer is difficult to come by since the names had become systematized, reinterpreted, and possibly confused by the time Strabo received information of indigenous people in southern Italy.

While some modern scholars may question whether the people called Lucanians originated from a Samnite migration, what is important, from the points of view of ancient Greeks and Romans, is that Strabo and Pliny believed the migration actually occurred and formed a distinguishing ethnic feature of the inhabitants of Lucania in their day. As J. Hall notes (2002: 9–29), alleged origins could be fictive but need only be believed

or at least utilized as a factor to delineate ethnicity. This would be true as a means of self-identification or external identification. Thus, Strabo and Pliny would have considered the central Apennines as the Lucanian ancestral homeland.

The term "Lucanian" meant something to ancient historians, and there were certainly other features besides territory and origins that Greeks and Romans used to distinguish these people. Strabo may provide some further clues. The geographer (6.1.2) notes that, in his day, the Lucanians (as well as the Bretti and the Samnites) had deteriorated to such a degree that "it is difficult to distinguish their settlements. The reason is that the common, organized government for each of the tribes has disappeared and the languages, war accoutrements, clothing and other similar matters no longer exist." Thus, according to Strabo, language, armor, or war gear and characteristic clothing were once ways that many Greeks and Romans distinguished the Lucanians. Their government organizations and settlements may also have been important in this regard.

Archaeological evidence should thus be important in shedding further light on the Lucanians and the ways in which Greeks and Romans identified the people of Lucania. Much work has been done with indigenous material remains in ancient Lucania dated from the fourth century to the early empire. In fact, the second half of the fourth century and first part of the third witnessed not only the height of material culture and settlements in Lucania but also a time of great activity for Lucanians, according to ancient sources. Although most scholars agree that an archaeological culture, in and of itself, does not identify an ethnic group, a group's identity from within or from without could be manifested through material discourse, and evidence of this material discourse may survive in the archaeological record. Interpretations of material evidence, used prudently, should thus be a useful tool in furthering our understanding of an ethnic group (Morgan 2003: 16–18; Isayev 2007: 10–11, but, *contra*, see J. M. Hall 1997: 128–31). In an analysis of vase paintings and sculpture in Athens, Beth Cohen (2001: 235–74) has noted the importance of clothing in interpreting and recognizing ethnicity in the ancient city. Burial remains, iconographical information from tomb paintings, and inscriptions from ancient Lucania may provide an idea of some of the characteristics that Strabo had in mind.[2]

Two examples of the type of accoutrements Strabo possibly considered are the "Samnite belt" and the triple-disc breastplate. The wide belt known as a "Samnite belt" appears to have been particularly characteristic of Oscan people in general. These belts have been found in tombs throughout ancient Lucania and places beyond, such as in Apulia. Many are dated to the fourth and third centuries (Guzzo 1994: 157–76; von Kaenel 1994: 177–79; Horsnaes 2002: 83–5). Scholars have debated whether these belts were a necessary part of a warrior's military equipment or a sign of status. Horsnaes (2002: 84) does not regard the belts as part of the warrior's equipment, noting that they have often been found with a long cuirass (with which they would not have been needed), and that many belts were also found in tombs without weapons.

The triple-disc breastplate was certainly a distinguishing feature of an Oscan warrior's equipment. Many are found in non-Greek tombs of Lucania and date to the end of the fifth to the first half of the fourth century. Most triple-disc breastplates (along with short rectangular anatomical breastplates) are found in Paestum and the surrounding areas (Guzzo 1994: 157–76, von Kaenel 1994: 177–79; Horsnaes 2002: 80–1). Tomb paintings from Paestum often depict warriors either on horseback or in war scenes. Although

different cuirass types are depicted on these warriors, the characteristic three-disc breastplate and what appears to be the wide "Samnite" belt are represented (Pontrandolfo, Rouveret, and Cipriani, 2004). Thus, while other Oscan-speaking people may have also used these items, they were not found with a Roman or Greek warrior, and, from Strabo's point of view, may have been among the characteristics (along with others) that Greeks and Romans used to identify those they called "Lucanians."

The third distinguishing factor mentioned by Strabo is language. While modern critics, such as J. M. Hall (1997: 143–81), have often argued that language groups are not ethnic constructs, J. M. Hall (1997: 177) also notes that this does not "prevent them [languages] from occasionally acting as indicia of ethnicity." Many ancients would have agreed. Diodorus (5.6.5) notes that speech (as well as an appellation) was a feature that separated Sikels from Sikeliotai in Sicily. In Lucania, a number of inscriptions have been found, mostly dating from the middle of the fourth to the end of the second century BC. Scholars often refer to the language as South Oscan (Lejeune 1990: 30–5; Horsnaes 2002: 105–7; Isayev 2007: 28–31). The inscriptions were written primarily in the Greek alphabet, although some later inscriptions employed the Latin alphabet. A majority of the inscriptions have been found at the sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio. While Oscan was also spoken by the Samnites, north of Lucania, most modern linguists class their speech as a different dialect.

Lucanian Self-Identification

While the Lucanian ethnic was a useful construct for Greek and Roman writers, it is more difficult to determine how the people of ancient Lucania identified themselves. In her studies, Isayev concludes (2007: 54; 2010: 203) that the primary identification of an ancient inhabitant of Lucania was probably with a specific settlement or local region. Nevertheless, there was some sense of group identity among inhabitants of the area called Lucania, and this may have developed during the third century and later, as Greeks and Romans penetrated the hinterlands.

An analysis of the word *touta*, found in Oscan inscriptions and ancient sources, appears to corroborate the concept of a local identification. *Touta* is a term that identifies a group of people (among Oscan speakers). While some scholars have suggested that it represents a large indivisible group, such as the Samnites (La Regina 1981), most propose that *touta* represents a more localized community (Letta 1994; Dench 1995: 135–6).

Evidence from Roccagloriosa suggests that this site may form the nucleus of a *touta*. Roccagloriosa is a fortified center in western Lucania surrounded by rural sites in nearby territory (Gualtieri and Fracchia 1990; 2001). A fragment of a bronze tablet with the text of a *lex* (law) has been found at the site. It is written in Oscan and dated to the third century BC (Gualtieri and Poccetti 2001: 187–275). The terms *meddix* (an Oscan name for an administrative leader), the adjective for *touta*, and probably a deliberative assembly are cited in the document. Gualtieri (2000: 55–9) believes that this information, combined with what is known of settlement patterns in ancient Lucania, indicates that Roccagloriosa with the surrounding area "constitutes an archaeologically well documented case" of a *touta*. Gualtieri proposes that the fortified center with its buildings was "the seat of a political/administrative office held by one or more *meddes*." Pliny (3.11.98),

in his description of Lucania, cites various communities (e.g., Atinates, Bantini, Eburini, and others). As Gualtieri suggests (2000: 59), Roccagloriosa may be identified with or connected to one of these settlements. Thus, regional communities, such as Roccagloriosa or groups cited by Pliny, may have been the primary centers of identification for the inhabitants of Lucania.

Nevertheless, during the third and later centuries, inhabitants of Lucania may have also identified with larger groupings. Isayev (2007: 54) does note "evidence of cultural cohesion" in the territory of Lucania and various wider spheres of interest or identification for the inhabitants of the regions. This may have grown stronger as Greeks and Romans penetrated inland areas and inhabitants of Lucania started to participate in wars, trade, and international affairs. Indeed, Malkin (2001: 3) notes that an individual could participate in many different types of collective identities, and the "identities would find expression according to the circumstances." Thus, while an inhabitant's local settlement or region may have been most significant, some of the population may have also seen themselves as part of a wider collective.

Modern studies have shown that ethnic consciousness may develop as a reaction to tensions with other people. For example, scholars have suggested that the Greco-Persian conflict of 480–479 was a pivotal event that helped shape the way Hellenes viewed their own identity, seeing themselves as Greeks in opposition to non-Greeks (J. Hall 2002: 175–89). In the following century, both Isocrates and Demosthenes tended to define Greeks in opposition to "barbarians." This phenomenon can, in many respects, be seen in the Roman world too, as Roman discourse on "barbarians" in Italy owed much to Greek ideas. During her victories in the Pyrrhic and Punic Wars, Rome increasingly promoted herself as a Hellenic city, and this dichotomy affected the way Romans treated other Italic people (Dench 1995: 45–53).

Among the Italic inhabitants of Lucania, relations with Greeks and Romans were complex, being both peaceful and hostile, as the indigenous population of Lucania became more Hellenized. In the fourth and third centuries, Greeks and Romans penetrated southern Italy during the campaigns of Alexander the Molossian, Archidamus, Dionysius II, Pyrrhus, and Hannibal. As the Italic inhabitants of southern Italy engaged in these conflicts and campaigned beyond their local regions, they became more aware of other inhabitants of Lucania who spoke the same language and had other qualities in common.

A number of coins have been found with the term "Lucanians," some written in Oscan (with Greek letters) and others written in Greek. (Both Oscan and Greek can be found in inscriptions from Lucania.) These are similar to coins of the Bretti and dated to the same period, the Hannibalic War (Rutter 2001: 129–30). Isayev (2010: 207–10), in her survey of Italic coins of southern Italy, notes that the coins usually represent "self-defining labels" from specific settlements. Nevertheless, the coins cited in the preceding text contain an ethnic label, and this suggests that those using the coins did not represent a small settlement (such as Laos), but represented people from a wider area, although probably not as wide an area as the Lucania of our Greek and Roman sources. Thus, at this time, certain inhabitants of Lucania used "Lucanian" as a self-appellation (particularly considering the Oscan forms). These people no doubt continued to identify principally with their local settlement, but further awareness of a larger group had developed among some inhabitants.

Rutter (2001: 129) notes that a few terms on the coins using Greek forms are unusual in that the spelling is not the normal Greek spelling for Lucanians but one that seems to be a wordplay on "the Greek word for wolf" (*lykos*). He notes a series of coins with the figure of a wolf's head. If Rutter's hypothesis is correct, perhaps this was an early ethnic symbol, one that could have been recognized by outsiders. The adoption of a motif based on a wordplay in Greek, however, also points to certain flexibility in the assertion of the Lucanians' ethnic identity.

Livy, writing in the Augustan period, certainly envisioned the Lucanians as a large ethnic group. In a section describing events during the Second Punic War (25.16.14), he mentions a Lucanian who refers to his own people as an ethnic group. A certain Lucanian, Flavus, who led the Lucanians fighting for the Romans, decided to change sides and planned an ambush. He convinced the Roman commander to meet Lucanian leaders in order that "*omne nomen Lucanum*" (the whole Lucanian people/nation) would be under Roman protection and a Roman ally. As noted in the preceding text, Polybius uses the term "Lucanians" while describing people that he distinguished from Samnites, Iapygians, and Messapians. He wrote a few decades after the end of the war, and his probable source, Fabius Pictor, lived during the war. Livy's and Polybius' narratives are, of course, views from the outside. Nevertheless, it seems that, by the Second Punic War, the term had been broadly adopted by some indigenous inhabitants; "*omne nomen Lucanum*" may reflect such an identification used by some of the Italic inhabitants of Lucania. As further confirmation of Lucanian self-awareness, one might cite an interesting second-century inscription found in Rhodes. The inscription is on a statue base and bears a number of names. One name notes a bronze worker, Botrus Leukanos (the "Lucanian") (*IG* XII.1.106. See Isayev 2007: 25).

Luraghi (2008: 9), in his study of the Messenians, notes "that ethnicity is often an instrument employed by leaders or elites to mobilize larger groups of people toward specific goals." Lucanians fought for both the Romans and Hannibal during the Second Punic War, and it is likely that Roman and Carthaginian leaders found the concept of a Lucanian ethnic association useful for raising allies to their cause. This would have promoted a wider sense of self-identity among the people of ancient Lucania.

If there was a growing sense of a collective among certain groups in Lucania, did particular institutions exist that brought the inhabitants of Lucania together and fostered this connectivity? Dench (1995: 136) notes that, in the central Apennines, rural sanctuaries played an important role in bringing communities together, and Isayev (2007: 188, 31–41; 2010: 212–22) believes sanctuaries in Lucania played a similar part. Sanctuaries, such as Rossano di Vaglio, were large open-air complexes that could accommodate many people. Fracchia and Gualtieri (1989: 221) note that this sanctuary "served a number of communities in the region" and that the Oscan inscriptions testify to its "political and administrative functions." Horsnaes (2002: 101) proposes that Lucanian sanctuaries also accommodated trade (coins were found at some) and exchange of news. This would certainly have had the effect of bringing individuals together and uniting populations.

Isayev suggests (2007: 188) that the characteristic layouts and buildings of Lucanian sanctuaries "give a coherence to Lucania as a region." Three types of sanctuaries are found in Lucania: large rural sanctuary complexes, smaller rural sanctuaries not connected to an urban center, and religious areas in large urban centers (Fracchia and Gualtieri 1989;

Horsnaes 2002: 99–105; Isayev 2007: 31–41). Sanctuaries in Lucania are all characterized by rooms/buildings around a paved courtyard with a structural layout similar to a house. While a temple is not usually found, natural springs or water structures and an altar are often present. Fracchia and Gualtieri (1989) have noted the similarities among the portico–courtyard structure at Complex A in Roccagloriosa, the large rural sanctuary at Rossano di Vaglio, and the smaller rural sanctuary at Serra Lustrante.

Scholars have often quoted Herodotus for clues that the Greeks used for self-identification in the fifth century. In book eight, Herodotus (8.144.2) mentions that Greeks are bound together by "the same blood [possibly equated with common origins] and same language and the common temples of the gods, sacrifices and like customs." Religious practices and worship may certainly unite people. While religious customs by themselves do not define an ethnic group, they may have helped create a greater sense of self-awareness and bonds among the Italic people of Lucania.

Origin of the Name "Lucanian"

As noted in the preceding text, fourth-century writers did not use the term "Lucanian" consistently or often. The name, however, was probably well known among certain fourth-century Greeks and may have originally been used by them for a particular Italic population in southern Italy. One of the earliest events in which Lucanians play a major role can be found in the pages of Diodorus (14.91 and 14.100–102) when he narrates the conflicts between some Italiotes and Dionysius I of Syracuse during the 390s. The historian notes that, in 390, Dionysius formed a treaty with Lucanians who occupied the city of Laos and who were already in conflict with Greek cities on the Ionian coast. Soon after this, Diodorus describes a major and stunning victory won by the Lucanians over the forces of Thurii when the Thurian army attempted to pursue Lucanian warriors into the territory of Laos. The Greek army was surrounded, overwhelmed, and over 10,000 Italiotes killed.

Diodorus wrote in the first century BC and used earlier sources such as Timaeus and Philistus. Sanders (1987: 110–157) persuasively argues that Philistus was Diodorus' major source for the period and events surrounding Dionysius' conflict with the Italiotes in the first half of the fourth century. Philistus, was a general for Dionysius I, as well as a historian who lived in Syracuse and Italy ca. 430–355, concurrent with these events. Musti (2005: 243–4) suggests that ethnography and geography of Italy was a special interest of this writer. Philistus was no doubt well aware of the names used by local Greeks for indigenous people in their area, and the Thurians certainly had a name for the indigenous people that destroyed their army. Thus, Diodorus should also have been acquainted with these names.

While the name that the Thurians used for their Italic enemy has not survived in a source dated to the 390s or 380s, already by ca. 350, we find Isocrates (*De Pace* 49–50) citing Lucanians and Triballians as examples of hostile barbarians. The Triballians of Thrace were a well-known menace to the Greek cities on the coast (Laistner 1924: 94). Lucanians and Triballians were obviously a people known to Isocrates' audience. The Athenians had been the main contributors to the foundation of Thurii, and Athenians would have been well aware of the indigenous people who harassed Thurii and destroyed their forces. Any

term that the Athenians used for these indigenous south Italian people would certainly have derived from members of their former colony. One should note that the massacre of 10,000 soldiers from the powerful city of Thurii by an Italic army would have had a dramatic and lasting effect on the Italiotes. It was probably the very battle described in the preceding text that provided such a hostile reputation for these Italic people among the Athenians. In fact, when Isocrates wrote *De Pace*, these Lucanians were in conflict with Dionysius II (see Diod. 16.5.1–2). "Lucanians" was probably the name used by the people of Thurii (and no doubt other Greeks in the areas such as those from Croton) for the local indigenous people who threatened them. If conflicts between Thurii and these people occurred as early as the 440s, there may have been hostile relationships for some time.

As noted earlier, Aristoxenus (end of the fourth century) knew Lucanians as an Italic people from this same area (Croton). He did not apply it to the occupiers of Poseidonia. Perhaps Greeks in southern Italy used the term originally for the indigenous population in the vicinity of Thurii and Croton. Later, it was gradually applied to a larger indigenous population. While the date of Pseudo-Scylax is uncertain, he may have been an early writer who first applied the term to a wider group. There are certainly examples of local names later applied to a larger population. The term "Hellenes," a name originally derived from a small tribe in south Thessaly, and the term "Greeks," from a people in western Greece, are two such examples. We may never know where or how the people of Thurii obtained the name "Lucanians." It was possibly a self-appellation acquired from the local Italic people of their area.

Conclusion

In their narratives, Greek and Roman writers of the late republic and early empire present the Lucanians as a large ethnic construct in southern Italy. These authors associated a common territory and common origins with these people, and probably also identified Lucanians by their language, clothing, and war equipment. The term "Lucanian" is seen for the first time in the works of a few fourth-century authors, and it has been proposed that the term, among the Greeks, originated in the area of Thurii, Croton, and other nearby cities as a name for the Italic people in the area. This proposal would explain Aristoxenus' comment concerning Poseidonia, as he was aware of the term "Lucanian" but did not apply it to people farther north. Certain Greeks, however, such as Pseudo-Scylax, began to conceptualize the term in a more comprehensive way to categorize the populations of southern Italy. By the late republic and early empire, writers identified the Lucanians as a large ethnic collective inhabiting a sizable area in southern Italy.

While it is difficult to know how the inhabitants of ancient Lucania defined themselves, association with a local population seems to have been the primary form of identification. Regional communities known as *toutae* probably represent these local population groups. Nevertheless, coins dated to the Punic War indicate that some Italic people in Lucania used the ethnic "Lucanian" at this time as a self-appellation and identified themselves with a larger collective. Conflicts waged in Lucania by Greeks and Romans from the end of the fourth to the first century BC certainly fostered a sense of cooperation and identification among some indigenous peoples, and Roman and Carthaginian leaders probably

promoted an ethnic awareness among Italic populations to mobilize large forces. Institutions, such as major sanctuaries used for worship, trade, and political gatherings, would also have encouraged a sense of affiliation with a wider collective. It is difficult to know, however, whether most Italic people in ancient Lucania ever articulated a Lucanian ethnic collective in the same way as writers of the late republic and early empire did, as a large population inhabiting an extensive area in modern Basilicata and the adjacent coastal areas stretching from the Sele River to the shores of the Ionian Sea.

NOTES

[1]I would like to thank Maurizio Gualtieri, Elena Isayev, and Jeremy McInerney for their valuable comments to the previous drafts of this chapter.

[2]The importance of clothes, appearance, and language as ethnic markers has recently been highlighted during the ethnic violence in Karachi, Pakistan. A recent article in the *Economist* (August 27–September 2, 2011), describing struggles between Mohajirs, Pushtuns, and Balochs, notes that, in Karachi: "Language, clothes and even haircuts betray a person's ethnicity to the killing squads."

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CHAPTER 35

Who Are You? Africa and Africans

Brent D. Shaw

Becoming African

In a letter to his former teacher from the city of Madauros, the Christian bishop Augustine of Hippo wrote to the "pagan" rhetor Maximus: "well now, [you] as an African writing to other Africans, and since we are both from Africa … " (Aug. *Ep.* 17.2). Augustine's deliberate seeking of a common ground in being African was, it must be confessed, a rhetorical gambit. It was a powerful ploy because the identity to which the appeal was made was a strong one of real substance. Not only among Christians such as Augustine, but also among non-Christians of the time, being African had become an identity that they shared in common. How this came to be was the end result of a long process. As late as the first century CE, no persons of Punic background, no Italian or Greek settlers living in the region that we today call North Africa thought of themselves as "Africans," nor, least of all, did the indigenous inhabitants of the land. The beginnings of creating the new identity probably followed a path that ethnic labeling has often travelled in the past. The first local people that an outsider or incoming group encountered became a surrogate for all other peoples who were "like them." In the case of the ancient Maghrib, this seems to have happened when a regional people located inland from Carthage, in the region of Wadi Tine, known as the *Afri*, were encountered (C.8.25850; Suas, modern Chaouach; see Kotula 1965, corrected by Peyras 1985). They became stand-ins for all other local or indigenous inhabitants of the land. Others like them became *Afri*, or *Africani*, and, metonymically, the land was called Africa. Over time, by cultural and political extension, the term came to designate a continental mass—the Third World, the *tertia pars mundi*, of their time—as it was seen by outsiders in the Roman Mediterranean (e.g., Varro, *LL*, 5.31; Sall. *Bell. Iug.* 17.3; Mela, *De Chorogr.* 1.2.0–4.2; Pliny, *NH*, 3.1.3; implicitly in Tert. *de Pall.* 2.6).

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The ethnic group of the *Afri* was real enough. Its members were later recruited into the Roman army as auxiliary cohorts of Africans: the First and Second Flavian Cohorts of Africans (Lassère 1987). Their recruitment area, in regions along the central and upper Bagrada River valley, was precisely where the original small group of Afri was located (AE 1995: 1662: from Souk el-Khemis). It was about the same time when the liminal area that the Afri inhabited was being formally integrated under the Flavian emperors that their men were being recruited into ethnic units in the army. We know about them from inscriptions that record their presence in the garrisons along the Rhine and Danube under the Antonines and on the Limes Tripolitanus under the Severan emperors. By this later age, as with many ethnic units in the Roman army, it is doubtful that these auxiliary cohorts of Africans had many actual *Afri* left in them. Just how early the designation *Afer* or "African" was generalized beyond the name of an immediate contact group to a more general African identity, however, is difficult to say.

Almost all the usages that we have, both for this word and for related terms such as *Africus* and *Africanus*, come from the mid-first century BCE and later. By the end of the first century BCE, it is true, Terentius, had received the *cognomen* of Afer, although he himself never called any place "Africa" or anyone "an African." If Publius Cornelius Scipio, victor over Carthage in 201, received the cognomen *Africanus* in the aftermath of the war, then this is the earliest known evidence of the description (Livy 20.45.6; 21.46.8; cf. *Per.* 30.21). It seems that the circumstances of the second Roman war with Carthage generated the concern for the ethnic label and the identification. About this time, in the 190s, the terms "Africa" and "African" appear in Ennius' epic on the Romano-Punic War (Ennius, *Annales*, 9.309: as quoted by Cic. *De Or.* 3.42.167; see Skutsch 1985: 487). And in 185 BCE, in replying to the obstreperous tribune of the plebs, Marcus Naevius, Publius Cornelius Scipio could refer to his defeat of Hannibal as "in Africa" (Aulus Gellius, *NA*, 4.18.3: cited "ex annalibus"). The two references in his near-contemporary Plautus (*Poen.* 1011 and 1304) reflect this same usage. Everything therefore points to on-the-ground combat and the involvement with indigenous allies in proximity to Carthage as provoking the definition of the lands inland of Carthage as "Africa" and of some of the inhabitants as "Africans." The need for an official name for the Roman province established in 146 BCE as something that was "not-Carthage" confirmed the use of "Africa" for the region and "Africans" for its local inhabitants. Indeed, it is the Lex Agraria of 111 BCE that contains the first attested official mention of the province with the name of Africa (*Lex Agraria*, cc. 52, 60, 86 = *FIRA*, 2: 113–14 & 119).

To return to the late fourth century CE and to the philosopher Maximus of Madauros referred to earlier: he probably did consider himself to be an African, perhaps more than he did a "Madaurensian." Two and a half centuries earlier, in the mid-second century CE, another citizen of Madauros, Apuleius, had a different way of identifying himself. Very rarely in his writings does the word "African" occur as a term referring to a person or social group. For him, Africa is almost always a place: Africa the Roman proconsular province. When he speaks of someone as African, the word has a slightly derogatory sense of referring to an indigenous inhabitant of the land. He uses the term only once, in order to label his rival in court: "I am referring to that Aemilianus, not *this* African or *Afer*, but to Africanus and Numentinus" (Apul. *Apol.* 66). The larger identity of being African was most often cued by the larger state stage on which locals occasionally found



Map 35.1 The Western Mediterranean, especially with North Africa.

themselves having to act. The split was between the official identity of an empire and the local identities of regional communities. In this situation, they repressed the smaller identities nested within the larger potential one, and they claimed, more simply, to be Africans. The evidence of Africans resident in Rome and Latium, for example, shows this systematic repression of local or civic identities in favor of the larger claim to be an African (Noy 1990: 251–5).

Locale, Region, and Empire

The presence of the much greater political unit, that of the Mediterranean-wide empire of which Africans were part, furnished the powerful conditions in which the larger identity was hailed forth. It also reflects a factor of distancing. The further one was away from smaller identities, the greater the appeal to the larger one. This same dynamic is reflected in the diction of Tertullian, for whom the term "African" is never used for internal consumption, but only when he imagined his homeland as seen from afar, from a transmarine perspective. Then he can say, "that's what 'the Africans' do" (Tert. *Ad Nat.* 2.8; *Scorp.* 6.2 and 7.6). Half a century later, in the age of Cyprian, the same usage is confirmed. In writing to the Christian bishop at Carthage, a foreign correspondent, Firmilian, the bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, refers to "you Africans" in discussing their disputes with the bishop of Rome (Cypr. *Ep.* 75.19.3). As paradoxical as it might seem, it was probably these external overseas venues where the identifier "African" was first most widely used.

In the local circumstances of a trial held at Sabratha in 158 CE, however, Apuleius was decidedly *not* an "Afer" like his local accuser. In portraying himself as a Madaurensian, Apuleius was emphasizing his origins: Madauros was the *patria* or father-community that had created him. When appearing before Claudius Maximus, the governor of Africa, to defend himself on the charge of bad magic, he presented himself in the following terms (Apul. *Apol.* 24):

> As far as my father-community [i.e., the city of Madauros] is concerned, you know that I have already shown in my writings that it is located right on the common boundary between Numidia and Gaetulia. I myself publicly admitted this fact, when I stated before Lollianus Avitus, *vir clarissimus*, that I was half-Numidian and half-Gaetulian. I don't see that there is anything in this about which I should be ashamed, any more than the elder Cyrus ought to have been ashamed that he was of mixed origin, being half-Median and half-Persian.

Apuleius' self-identification raises a number of problems. First of all, it was made in the context of a formal court proceeding. His accusers had pointed to Apuleius' origins at Madauros. Intending to humiliate him, they had labeled him as a kind of indigenous half-breed. As in many local contexts, it is often far better to be purely one or the other and not part one and part the other, which is construed to combine the worst of both worlds. No doubt, they were retaliating in kind for the many unkind ethnic cuts that Apuleius had made against them, as when he suggested that they were not much above the level of rural idiots who could only speak Punic. One volley of pejorative labels was exchanged for another. Ethnic labeling functioned in a theater of contention and hostility

to mark out difference and inferiority. Instead of denying the ethnic slurs, Apuleius brazenly embraced them. Madauros *was* on the boundary between two worlds. It was therefore actually a simple fact that he, Apuleius, *was* half-Numidian and half-Gaetulian, and proud of it. No different than the Persian king Cyrus who was half-Median and half-Persian. No shame there. Whatever he was, he never thought of presenting himself as "an African." Much later, however, Augustine did, as when he casually remarked of the rhetor from Madauros: "Apuleius, who for we Africans is a very well known African" (Aug. *Ep.* 138.19; cf. Hunink 2003). Things had changed.

Just how much reality was there in these matters of honor and shame in which Apuleius' identity was implicated? A lot. The town of Madauros, whatever its origins, had received a settlement of veteran soldiers in the Flavian age when the city had been honored with the rank of colony. As a matter of fact, Madauros *was* right on the ecological boundary between two worlds, which is probably why the soldiers were placed there. In defining and embracing its liminality, however, Apuleius raised two more ethnic terms: Numidian and Gaetulian. What did he understand by them? Both terms were widely used as general and sweeping labels for large regions and widely dispersed populations. The words were used to refer to peoples and lands in some of the earliest surviving Latin historical sources. There was a Numidia and there were Numidians. And there was also a Gaetulia and Gaetulians. Who or what were they? The terms seem to have been used as broad ecological identifiers. Numidians lived in the north, Gaetulians in the south. Generally speaking, Numidians were seen to be settled people, farmers; Gaetulians were seen as peoples who were less fixed, more mobile, pastoralists of various kinds (Vaglieri 1905). "Gaetulia" therefore became a general covering term that designated southern arid lands where such itinerant peoples tended to live (Vycichl 1955; Desanges 1964). Not unnaturally, these peoples were lumbered with the negative characteristics that were generally believed (i.e., by literate settled peoples) to be shared by all less-fixed pastorists (Shaw 1982–83).

Yet, not completely. Marius recruited heavily among "ethnic" peoples in Africa, and we encounter cohorts of Gaetulians in the Roman army; they are well documented (Lassère 1994). The use of the ethnic name only raises further questions of identity and representation. Take the case of a bilingual Latin–Libyan tombstone from Thullium, a town directly north of Madauros. The Latin text tells us that deceased named in in the epitaph, Caius Julius Gaetulus, was a much-decorated veteran of the Roman army who returned to his hometown and received the high-ranking priesthood of *flamen perpetuus* (CIL 8.5209 = ILAlg. 1.137; RIL 146). Gaetulus' military decorations reveal him not only to have been a Roman citizen, but also (probably) a centurion in the army. In the Libyan text on the stone, however, this same man is called "KTI son of MSWLT, an 'imperial servant' ('soldier of the emperor') from the people of the Misiciri, from the subunit of the S'RMMI" (Rebuffat 2005: 203). So who was this Gaetulus? A high-ranking Roman citizen, a centurion in the Roman army named Gaius Iulius Gaetulus—or was he Keti, son of Masawalat, from the tribe of the Misicri? Probably both. This bifurcated identity had been maintained for a number of generations, the original citizenship of Gaetulus' remote male ancestor dating to the time of Julius Caesar. Hence, this Gaetulus, through army service, was a Roman. As has been acutely remarked, he could hardly have been more Roman (Rebuffat 2005: 208). And yet, he presented himself in his native language as an African who belonged to an ethnic group, the Misiciri, indeed to a specific

sub-group of this social group. Such men of imperial service, and persons related to them, added the cognomen "Gaetulus" or "Gaetulicus" to their Roman names, and were proud of it.

Gaetulians were not the only southerners, however. As one advanced further to the south of Gaetulian lands, into the Sahara and its northern peripheries, the ethnic labels became fuzzier, more general, and often, since land and space were so vast and indeterminate, they were based more on a phenotyping of personal appearance than of place. The peoples deep to the south in the Sahara were called Aethiopes or peoples whose skin had been burnt to a darker color. (Hölscher 1937; Thompson 1989; Desanges 1993). The simple existence of these peoples naturally suggested to the logical mind the necessary existence of intervening types, and so the category of Melanogaetuloi, black Gaetulians, was invented and bandied about by scientific geographers such as Ptolemy. Analogous terms such as Leukoaethiopes, "white black people," or Libyaethiopes, "African black people," were exploited by the same Ptolemy and by Pomponius Mela, all in the name of the geographer's science. This was no different from the continued postulation of other supposed "intervening types" in the service of science, which certainly, like the Missing Link, had no existence in any objective or observed reality. For the scientifically oriented Greek geographers and ethnographers, if there were Phoenicians, that is, Phoenician settlers in Africa, and there were Libyans, that is, indigenous Africans, then somewhere in between there had to be half-breed "Libyphoenicians" (Bondi 1971). That modern scholars have taken these strange, if logical and learned confections from antiquity seriously is only more testimony to the will to believe.

We might now return to that well-known self-confessed mixed entity, Apuleius, and his identity as half-Numidian and half-Gaetulian. As general as the labels seem, they both had an on-the-ground meaning that was actually empirically true of Roman Madauros. The town was just north of a long east–west mountainous ridge that divided the region. To the north were the more fertile farmlands of peoples who were generally considered to be Numidians. Immediately to the south of Madauros were the lands of more mobile semi-pastoralist peoples. Territorial boundary stones set up by the Roman imperial state have been discovered at the base of the southern slopes of Jebel Mdaourouch, just to the south of Madauros. The stones delimited the northern edge of the tribal lands of the *Musulamii*, who were regarded as a quintessential Gaetulian people.

Territory and Identity

Who, then, *were* the *Musulamii*? In asking this question, we find ourselves at a level of specificity in ethnic identity that is not as general and nebulous as African or even Gaetulian. These would *seem* to be real people in a more concrete sense. They are spoken of in more specific terms by, say, Roman historians, in a way that makes us feel that we could see or talk to an individual "Musulamus." We also know that there were Musulamian ethnic units in the Roman army. Just as with the Afri, they are surely the touchstone of some kind of reality (Lassère 1991). The specific lands that they held that constituted the *territorium Musulamiorum* were well known and were marked out on their north, south, west, and eastern frontiers by boundary markers set up by Roman governors (Kallala 2005: map, Figure 2, p. 415). This was very real, too. In what sense

did the Musulamii actually exist, or did anyone identify himself as a "Musulamus"? Even if some cases can be found, they are countered by equally important evidence of other identities nested within "the Musulamii." The larger group was constituted of subgroups that were located in the same territory, such as the Begguenses, who are specifically said to be inhabitants of "Musulamian territory" (Julius Honorius, *Cosmographia*, A 48 = GLM 54; CIL 8.23246). Even more important is the existence of a fraction, called a *gens*, of the larger unit who were self-styled as a "regal" or "royal" lineage of the Musulamii who presumably had some claim to a "political" pre-eminence (AE 1903, 239).

The official impact on identity certainly followed from the delimitation and the formal assignation of their own "tribal lands" to them by the Roman state. If this had been a one-off response to the problem posed by the Musulamii, the effect would be negligible, but we know that such delimitations were usual. The Roman state, in collaboration with local leaders, declared that a particular social group was recognized, that its claims to lands were legitimate, and that the group had a formal identity to interact with the state. In this same way, farmlands, pastures, and spring water sources, almost certainly of the Nicibes, were delimited in the Severan age in the southern Hodna Basin on the Saharan periphery (Leschi 1948/1957; AE 1946: 38). In the case of the people of the Nicibes, the delimitation was important because they were on the move every year. Hence, their summer pasturelands in the north, located around the city of Cirta, also had to be formally recognized by the Roman state, marking them off from the neighboring lands of the Suburbures (ILAlg. 2.1.4343 and ILAlg. 2.1.6252). In this case, identities were functionally important because they could be used to assert the claims of certain persons to specific lands and resources. The formal assignation of ethnic territories by the Roman state, whether to the Numidae, the Zamaces, or the Muduciuvii, required some formal definition of who did and did not count as "Numidae," "Zamaces," or "Muduciuvii," and who had claims and obligations under that administrative designation.

This connection points to an interaction between state and local non-civic groups that produced the records in an administrative computational mode. Such precise numbers are strewn, for example, throughout the writings of the Elder Pliny, no doubt originally derived from such official sources. He was able to note 112 tribes in northern Italy, 49 *gentes* in one part of the Alps, and the 706 distinctive ethnic groups in the Iberian Peninsula (Shaw 2000: 380–1). The same author was also able to report exactly 516 peoples, including *gentes* and *nationes*, in the eastern part of the Maghrib at the end of the first century BCE (Pliny, *NH*, 5.5.29–30). What we get to see is the counting. There was surely a lot more involved in taking the census of such local communities: land and water assignments, tribute collection, army recruiting, symbolic and ceremonial recognition, among others—all of which involved any given people in a way that changed and redefined their identity as a corporate social group. We might pause for a moment to ask what these outsider labels and definitions meant.

Compared to their modern counterparts, historians of Roman north Africa have had to approach these problems from rather different angles and with alternative methods. Their perspectives stem out of studies made of Berber highland communities, mainly in the Atlas ranges of Morocco, but also in the mountainous Kabylie of north–central Algeria. As yet, however, these rather different modes have had little impact on the general theorizing of group relations in the ancient Mediterranean. What these researchers have

emphasized is the way in which small kinship-based social groups, often in villages, relate to the ecological niches in which they are located, and the circumstances and manners in which linkages between them intensify or abate so as to inflate or to activate different levels of identity. It is hardly surprising that the work of Pierre Bourdieu on identity, so intimately connected with this tradition, emphasized the concept of the *habitus* and the role of the quotidien practice of living in its formation. For us, it is this early work from his years in Algeria that is particularly useful (not that it is without fault: see Colonna, Goodman, and Hammoudi in Goodman and Silverstein 2009).

All these studies have demonstrated, repeatedly, that ecological forces are complex systems that are themselves embedded in and created by the interlocking hierarchies of human and natural forces. No local force is ever innocent. In the Maghrib of post-Roman and early modern times, the *makhzen* ("the treasury")—that is, the state seen primarily as a tribute-collecting agency—could and did come back to play a large role in determining who the local peoples were and who they saw themselves as being. This official component in the forming of identity in the context of local ecology was surely present in the Roman period in the case of the Musulamii, for example. The Roman state manipulated the affairs of some local groups by placing an official, a prefect of the people, *praefectus gentis*, in charge of them, including at least one known *praefectus gentis* of the Musulamii (ILAlg. 1.285), and one of the main functions of these prefects was army recruiting. Without doubt, the dialectic between certain on-the-ground realities and the administrative governance of populations "as if" they were coherent peoples had a certain effect of causing them to behave "as if" they were, for example, Musulamian.

Limits of Interpretation

This is where the problem of identity has to confront head-on what actually was and what we can possibly know. At first blush, what we can know about ethnicity in Africa of the Roman period seems optimistic. Compared to many other regions of the empire, there is a comparative wealth of literary sources on ethnic identities and, even better, a considerable range of contemporary epigraphical data that report in a more immediate way on these ethnic identities as current realities. On closer inspection, however, problems rear up, and they are big ones. The combined data provide specific evidence on about 285 distinct ethnic groups in Africa, although this evidence is, admittedly, strewn over a great stretch of time from the second century BCE to the sixth CE. Whatever the caveats, these are significant numbers and bodies of data. Even a cursory glance at the data is a "wake-up call" for a more realistic view. First of all, of the 285 named African ethnic groups, close to two-thirds are mentioned only once, and then usually only as a name. Of all the African ethnic groups listed by the geographer Ptolemy, no fewer than 88 are not attested by *any* other source. Each of them is nothing more than a name with a set of map coordinates. From where did Ptolemy get his information? How reliable was it? And even if his tribal names are reliable, what on earth do they mean?

Even where we have more numerous notations of a given ethnic identity, serious problems still bedevil interpretation. Take, for example, the Massyli and the Masaesyli mentioned so frequently in Livy and Polybius in their accounts of the second and third Roman wars with Carthage (and which therefore find copycat mentions in later parasitic sources

such as Stephanus Byzantinus). Any student can find their territories neatly delimited, sometimes in brilliant colors, on maps of Africa covering the history of the period. The Masaesyli were a kingdom dominating central and western Algeria, the Massyli had a kingdom in central and eastern Algeria. Just how real were these identities? A plausible answer seems to be: as real as the quasi-states with which they are identified and as real as the forces that formed them; that is to say, the colossal military struggle between Rome and Carthage created the conditions in which both sides poured great manpower and material resources into the lands in Africa between Spain in the west and Carthage in the east. This unusual application of violence and the heightened significance of the large-scale warfare created the conditions in which different ethnic unities eventually coalesced into quasi-states under the rule of "kings," foremost among them being Syphax of the Masaesyli and Massinissa of the Massyli. The identities were as real as the social and political formations of which they were part, which were substantial enough. When these forces were no longer in play, the identities themselves began to fade. They are not found again after the Third Punic War, save for occasional poetic creations that drew on Livy for their literary–ethnic fodder. Even Sallust, in his account of the post-Massinissa breakdown of the African kingdoms, does not mention them. They had vanished along with the conditions that made them. They were not fictions, but rather specific historical creations of their time.

Where did the primal identities come from? In a process analogous to the extension of the term *Afri* or "African" to a much larger geographic and demographic stage, it is most probable that the small ethnic group that was at the head of the accumulation of power had its identity extended to cover every group subordinate to it. Consider the Zegrenses. They offer the additional benefit that they were an ethnic group in the Middle Atlas Mountains, the same highland ecology in which many of the modern studies have been done. Now, theirs is a rather odd name. Before the year 1971, they were another of the one-off ethnic groups mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy, peoples known only in his text and for their name alone. Given the oddity of their name, and the letters forming it, the manuscript variants were several, so not even their name was actually known to us. The publication of a large epigraphical text in 1971, the Tabula Banasitana, changed all of this (IAM 2: 94 = AE 1971: 534, Seston and Euzennat 1971; Euzennat 1974). It recorded the award of Roman citizenship by the emperor Marcus Aurelius to an ethnic headman of the Zegrenses, a *princeps gentis*, named Julianus. The document reveals how Roman citizenship and the system of tribute payments were operable along with the local ethnic organization. Membership in the Roman state is explicitly said to be *salvo iure gentis*: the customary legal norms of the Zegrenses were to be left intact.

The terms that the Tabula Banasitana uses to designate the kinship units to which Julianus belonged are three: *gens*, *domus*, and *familia*. It is also clear that these units were stacked up, as it were, in a hierarchy. The *gens* was the most general and largest unit: in this case, the *gens Zegrensium*. In turn, the large *gens* or "tribe" was made up of smaller units: numerous *domus* or "large-households," and nested within each of these were smaller *familiae* (Rebuffat 2003, contra). The evidence of the Tabula strongly suggest that the highland peoples of the Middle Atlas, similar to the highland groups of the Atlas studied in modern times by Montagne, had a balanced segmentary structure. This structuring of personal relationships could also be true of the construction

of other larger ethnic groups in Africa that we call "tribes." If this same social dynamic was found in other regions of Roman Africa, such as Tripolitania, then one can diagram how this nesting arrangement might look ("Hypothetical "Tribal" Kinship Structure": Figure 2.1, p. 20 in Mattingly 1994). Caution must be exercised. The Zegrenses, who were similar in scale and organization to the Numidae in Mattingly's chart, surely never existed, like a photographic still, in the terms suggested by the fixed structure of a diagram. The terms in the Tabula Banasitana attest to the existence of interlocked hierarchies of orders in kinship groups. But there was little fixity to the terms. *Gens*, along with rough equivalents, such as *populus* and *natio*, could be used interchangeably in a given circumstance to identify an ethnic group. Depending on the author, the source, the circumstances, or the literary genre, something as large as the ethnic group of the Musulamii could be labeled as a *gens*, or a group as tiny and regionally specific as a *familia* (Desanges 1992). And the terms of the Tabula Banasitana suggest that the normal functioning reality of social life was not the great *gens* or huge social units such as the Massyli, Masaesyli, Musulamii, or others, but rather the small *gens*, the small *familiae* or *domus*, limited to this or that microregion. And there is plenty of evidence to show that larger groups, such as the Misiciri around Madauros, for example, were constituted of smaller sub-units that were "nested" under the larger ethnic identity (Rebuffat 2005: 202, fig. 5, 228).

Tribes, Towns, and Territories

Whole geographic and governmental entities took their names after the fact that the lands of the far west of the ancient Maghrib were generally conceived as the "Lands of the Mauri": Mauretania. Hence, the two Roman provinces that formed in these regions in the reign of Claudius were named the Mauretanias: Tingitana and Caesariensis. In this sense, the Mauri became, along with the Gaetuli, general representatives of frontier barbarians that pullulated on the edges of Roman rule. The Gaetuli were the barbarians of the arid lands of the south, and the Mauri were the barbarians of the highlands of the western Maghrib (e.g., Tert. *Adv. Iud.* 7.8; *Apol.* 37.4). The different ecologies of the predesert in the east and the mountain highlands in the west, when combined with the changing lineaments of central political power, encouraged latent identities to be activated. In both cases, armed protection and entrepreneurial raiding were an important part of the phenomena. The hitherto autonomous communities of the west, mostly found in the highlands and the "Roman" populations in the towns and cities in the lowlands, formed a new dyad: the former were generally known as Mauri, and the latter as *Romani*. New entrepreneurial headmen could boast of themselves as "kings of the Mauri *and* the Romans" (Camps 1984). Centuries earlier, the extension and strengthening of a centralized Roman rule had led to the reverse process: a gradual grinding down and localizing that had reduced the Massyli to the level of a few ethnic *familiae*. Although the Mauri had similarly come to be restricted by the same process to a small localized entity in northern Morocco (Mauretania Tingitana), the recession of Roman power led to a huge expansion of ethnic power flowing out of the Far West in some ways comparable to the Almoravid expansion in the tenth century. Increasingly, the term "Mauri" was used to designate all the inhabitants in the entire region. The "Romans" half of the

equation "Mauri and Romans" dropped permanently from sight. The terms "Maures" or "Mauri" thus reveal periods of expansion and recession—real recession in the frequency of their use, for example, in the aftermath of the Punic Wars—and then, after a long interval, in which the use of such ethnic identifiers was slight and occasional, there was a resurgence of the identifier in the late and post-Roman period in the Maghrib (Modéran 2003; 2004). What does this mean?

In the long term, the post-Roman efflorescence led to the permanent emergence of the term "Maurus," that is, "our Moor," to designate the indigenous inhabitants of the western Maghrib. This is another case where the interpretive model of ethnogenesis developed and propounded by Reinhard Wenskus and, later, by various members of the Vienna School would seem to be helpful (see Pohl 2002; Gillett 2006). At a certain level, there is some validity to their claim that the social identity of groups is constructed out of circumstances of high-pressure factors—above all, warfare—that link diverse ethnic groups under a new single identity determined by a core group: "the Goths" or "the Vandals," for example. The problem is that the main model of ethnogenesis—as it has been proposed and used to explicate the emergence of the new peoples of the northern frontiers of the empire—and even more recent variations of it are not of much use here (Modéran 2008). A different explanatory model is needed.

Was the name simply foisted by outsiders on all "non-civil" Africans as a convenient way of identifying "them"? There is a certain truth to this when one considers the use of the label "Maurus" in Procopius (certainly) and Corippus (less clearly). This does not begin to resolve the problem, however, since there were Roman Africans who were quite happy to identify themselves as Mauri. A well-known example is provided in the court case held before the governor Zenophilus in the year 320. One of the witnesses interrogated by the governor at that trial is first asked to provide a formal identification of himself. He declared, presumably in a loud voice, in a public forum: "I am a teacher of Roman literature, a Latin grammarian. My father is a decurion here in the city of Constantina, my grandfather was a soldier who served in the *comitatus*, and our [sc. family] origin is descended from Maurian blood" (*Gesta apud Zenophilum*, 1 = CSEL 26, 185; see Modéran 2004; 2008: 119–20). The words were as proudly enunciated as those declared more than a century and a half earlier by Apuleius, also in a court before a Roman governor. This and other less dramatic cases reveal a substrate, as it were, of strategic ethnic identity that was shared by persons who were just as citified, educated, and Roman as could be. There are sufficient examples to show that this identity was there for Africans of the fourth and fifth centuries, and that it was not just an imputed cover identity imposed by others.

It is worth asking why and how people came to form cohesive identity groups. Existing models that concentrate on kinship, shared narratives, and mythological genealogies do not tell us much in general about the "why" question, and they certainly do not contribute much to a better understanding of the African case. To say that these devices and related fictions exist is simply to kick the "why" ball further down the explanatory road. Of these models, the historian must surely ask: "so what?" They tell us about how peoples configured *current* identities, but not about the how and the why of the longer-term processes that formed them. We might be tempted to say that they were formed organically out of family groups—that the Zegrenses, for example, were a natural accumulation of households, such as the *familiae* of the Banasa inscription. In part, this would be

allowing ourselves to be led astray by Aristotelian concepts. This is where a thinker such as Ibn Khaldûn might well be a better guide, if only because he was such a keen and creative observer of his contemporary society (Lacoste 1984). In his discussion of the cohesion, the *asabiyya* as he calls it, of human groups in the Maghrib of his own time, the unity that empowered them, Ibn Khaldûn paid rather less attention to the object of our fascination—namely, how this cohesion is represented. He was more concerned with why this happened and for what continuous sets of end-purposes (Gellner 1981: 86–98). One consistent cause was the ever-present threat of violent struggles, in both towns and in the countryside, over basic resources. What he suggests is that the names of social groups are similar to the parts of a language game in their utility—identities that can be manipulated and exploited for the purposes of protection, advantage, and exploitation in a competitive environment where group cohesion and solidarity matters a lot. That is one part of the problem. But where are the more modern supplements to be found? Concerns with abstractions such as cognitive categories and social boundaries are helpful, but I find the more hands-on approach of Russian (Soviet) ethnographers, writing in the 1960s and 1970s, and earlier, to be more useful for the types of research problems that Roman historians in particular must confront (e.g., Dunn and Dunn 1974: 1–53; Bromleii, 1977; Bromley [Bromleii] and Dragadze in Gellner ed. 1980). Between a world of hundreds of autonomous Greek poleis at one end of the temporal spectrum and the many dozens of so-called barbarian frontier peoples of post-Roman antiquity at the other, there was the presence of a huge unitary Mediterranean state. It is for their formative queries into the nature of ethnic identity and formation within a large and dominant state that these other studies are useful.

Given all of this, we might ask if there was any generally shared identity among the indigenous populations of Roman Africa? Probably. This self-ascription is rather difficult to unearth. Most guesses, I think correctly, focus on a common language as the main identifier operating at this level. There is widespread evidence, from the northern regions of present-day Morocco to the highland areas of the Algerian–Tunisian border, and in the hinterland of Tripolitania, of the use of a common script to express what modern historians have misleadingly called a "Libyan" language. It was a local language that, despite three major distinctive regional variations in the script, bears a striking resemblance to the notation of the Tamazight spoken by the present-day Imazighen (singular: Amazigh)—that is, peoples whom outsiders have labeled "Berbers." It is a name that, perhaps paradoxically, they have come to embrace today as their national self-identity (Serra 1990; Fentress and Brett 1999; and, importantly, Ghazi Ben Maïssa 2007). Over the great expanse of past time, however, there is no doubt that these same peoples spoke Tamazight and that they thought of themselves as the Imazighen, meaning, as with many indigenous social groups on our planet, quite simply "the people."

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FURTHER READING

The best general work on ancient African ethnicity, albeit focused on the specific case of the Mauri, is that of Yves Modéran. Elizabeth Fentress and Michael Brett offer one of the better general introductions to "the Berbers" that is available in English. The individual studies of Ernest Gellner are penetrating and insightful investigations into specific aspects of highland ethnic communities (especially in Morocco), as well as into the historiography of the problems. The second chapter of his *Saints of the Atlas* (1969) offers a fine discussion of the ideas of Robert Montagne. The English translation of a 1931 essay by Montagne, *The Berbers: Their Social and Political Organization*, is as good a point of departure on these questions as any. It is accompanied by a preface by Ernest Gellner and a critical introduction by the translator David Seddon. Finally, despite its great antiquity, the fifth volume of Stéphane Gsell's classic *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, t. 5: *Les royaumes indigènes. Organisation sociale, politique et économique*, 2nd ed.: Paris 1929 (reprint: Osnabrück 1972) remains a resource of great value on African ethnic identities in antiquity.

CHAPTER 36

Becoming Roman Again

Roman Ethnicity and Italian Identity

Valentina Follo

Introduction: Unification

With the fanfare of Italy's anniversary celebrations still echoing in the collective ear, the timing of this publication would seem especially auspicious. Ironically, however, the recent commemoration of 150 years of unification has arguably highlighted the country's disunity and current conflictual state of affairs as much as its cohesion. A salient example occurred when members of different political parties—some of whom were government ministers at the time—sparked heated controversy by publically withdrawing from any form of participation in the yearlong festivities. Their further refusal to rise when the Italian national anthem was sung may be counted among their most emblematic gestures.

Leaving all political considerations aside, these episodes have nonetheless drawn attention to one of the most formidable challenges Italy had to face early on during the theoretical stages of its unification process, not to mention the moment the country achieved political unity. It is no coincidence that the following quote attributed to one of the fathers of the Risorgimento still enjoys popularity: "We've created Italy, now we've got to create Italians"[1] (Gigante 2011: 914). In this chapter, I will discuss the key role that the city of Rome and the concept of *Romanitas* played in inventing, theorizing, and then realizing a national Italian identity.

With its characteristic boot shape extended into the Mediterranean Sea, Italy presents a geographically coherent picture, possessing clearly discernable natural borders (Galli della Loggia 1998: 7–11). Today, this picture is in stark contrast with the actual internal divisions that run deeply throughout the peninsula, just as they did, albeit to a greater extent, at the time of the unification process (Floris 2009). The fall of the Roman Empire had given rise to a loss of uniformity not only in political terms, but perhaps more so in linguistic and cultural terms as well. To make matters worse, "Italy never enjoyed the

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good fortune of being occupied in its entirety by a single invader" (Galli della Loggia 1998: 18). Pre-unified Italy did not speak the same language, nor were its inhabitants Italians, but rather Romans, Florentines, Milanese, and so forth. In this respect, Italy exemplifies a process of ethnogenesis identified by Balibar (2009: 164) as follows:

> No nation possesses an ethnic base naturally, but as social formations are nationalized, the populations included within them, divided up among them or dominated by them are ethnicized—that is, represented in the past or in the future as if they formed a natural community, possessing of itself *an identity of origins, culture and interests which transcends individuals and social conditions* (emphasis added).

As far as Italy was concerned, however, exactly which origins, culture, and interests were to be singled out? Ultimately, it was in Rome that the fathers of the Risorgimento recognized the single unifying force capable of transcending the peninsula's numerous divisions. Giuseppe Mazzini, one of the Italian nation's founding fathers, affirmed that:

> … a remote sign of greatness will appear before you much like a beacon in the ocean. Bow down and adore it, for there is where the heart of Italy beats; there is where Rome solemnly rests for all eternity. (for a discussion, see Vidotto 2001: 33–72)

There were dissenting voices, nonetheless, and the vote to make Rome the capital of Italy was not unanimous. In the words of Stefano Iacini: "The idea of Rome as the seat of government is not a quintessentially liberal or patriotic choice […] nor does it meet the needs of a new Italy; it is the makeup of a decrepit Italy who has had her day" (Vidotto 2001: 40).

On March 17, 1861, the kingdom of Italy was officially born. Yet, with Rome still in the hands of the pontiff, the kingdom remained deprived of its driving force, not to mention its geographical center, considering Rome's strategic position in the peninsula. Accordingly, the unification process in Italy did not spread centrifugally from Rome outward; rather, it gained momentum along a centripetal path from the far reaches of Italy's borders toward the history-laden, ideological, and "inevitable" capital (Galasso 1970; Vidotto 1996; 1997; 2001; Galli della Loggia 1998: 63–5; Zucconi 2009).

Once Italy was officially proclaimed a kingdom, Cavour (1861) declared before parliament:

> It is the historical, intellectual and moral circumstances that contribute collectively to determining the conditions of a leading nation's capital. Rome enjoys a unique position among all the Italian cities in that the memory of its former self is not limited exclusively to a municipality; the entirety of Rome's history from the time of the Caesars down to today is that of a city whose influence has extended infinitely beyond its borders; that is to say, of a city destined to be the capital of a great State […] I have said it before, and I will reaffirm it, oh gentlemen: Rome and Rome alone must be the capital of Italy.

However, it would not be until after the breach of the Porta Pia on September 20, 1870, accompanied by the cry "Give me Rome or give me death," that the process of

unification was completed, and Rome crowned as the capital of the Kingdom of Italy (Carabinieri 2012).

At the time, Rome was as multi-faceted as the nation itself, lacking a physical center and embodying no single meaning. It was precisely this versatility that rendered Rome so appealing, offering itself up—at least politically—to the pursuit of various ideological agendas. In turn, the city's rich and complicated history lent itself to innumerable interpretations, evidence for which abounded before the eyes of visitors in the form of monuments from both the past and the present. In fact, the new capital was soon forced to come to terms with its own past, not only in historical and ideological terms, but also as pertained to the conspicuous physical presence of its urban fabric. Moreover, there remained the spectral presence, enclosed within the Vatican walls, of a pope who still refused to recognize Italy as a nation.

The main dichotomy exhibited in the new nation was above all political, as it had a lay monarchy as well as an ecclesiastical one, both of which persisted in Rome right up until the Breach of the Porta Pia. The political invasion of the city became evident in the functional shift that a number of key buildings underwent, such as the Pantheon, which became, in effect, the sacrarium for the House of Savoy. Further proof of this invasion was provided by the newly erected structures, such as the National Monument to Victor Emanuel II (Tobia 1998). These developments occurred, however, in fits and starts and without any overriding urban plan owing to the ubiquitous obstacles presented by the city's pre-existing fabric (Insolera 2002: 359–94). To overcome these in favor of a grand scheme would have required the wholesale demolition of large swathes of the city.

Patrimony and Politics

As the city transformed into a modern capital, the education of the new Italians kept pace, for the ruling class of post-unified Italy was tasked with instilling in its citizens a sense of belonging to a national community—hence the proliferation of monuments in honor of the lives sacrificed for the unification of Italy, that is, memorials dedicated to the first heroes to be called "Italians."

At the same time, Parliament was deliberating over an apparent need for national legislation that would protect the country's cultural patrimony. It was widely accepted that Italy's common ground resided in the peninsula's past, traces of which were visible among the artifacts and monuments excavated in the newly united territory. The clarion call came on May 13, 1872, only 2 years after the definitive unification of the country as marked by the capture of Rome. It was on this date that the minister of education, Cesare Correnti, exhorted Parliament to conserve, amass, and jealously defend the country's monuments through the drafting of a national bill. He warned that the disparate pieces of legislation in place at the regional level were insufficient measures to contend with the greed of art merchants, as a result of which veritable travesties were being committed against the nation's glorious splendors. Correnti explained further that the regional legislative provisions were dangerously permissive in some provinces—even when adhered to in full—and excessively strict in others. Unfortunately, his bill was not passed into law until 30 years later, in 1902 (Troilo 2003).

Capitalizing on the cultural patrimony that Italy had inherited from ancient civilizations to imprint a national identity on the minds of Italians required not only effective and standardized national policies that protected these resources from dispersal, but also the institution of museums. This period witnessed, in fact, the creation of Italy's first national museums, such as the Museo delle Terme in Rome and the Royal Archeological Museum in Florence, which were to embody a shared history (Barbanera 1998; Arthurs 2007; 2012; Massari 2011). "History," in fact, became the operative word in the newly devised school curricula. In particular, the study of ancient Roman history was emphasized, and Italian history was viewed as its continuation, indeed, to the point that the terms "Rome" and "Italy" were used interchangeably as synonyms in schoolbooks.

The myth of Rome was appropriated once again in 1911 in service of the war against Libya, which was widely held as a renewed dominion over the Mediterranean (Petricioli 1990; Munzi 2001). Mazzini himself in 1871 had already interpreted the defeat of Carthage as the birth of the Roman Empire, claiming that when "the flag of Rome flew atop the Atlantis Mountains as Carthage lay overthrown, the Mediterranean was called Our Sea" (Salvatori 2006: 765; Cofrancesco 2009). The rhetoric of the period asserted Italy's historical, almost natural, claim on the continent of Africa. Two main reasons were offered up in support of this sense of entitlement: first, Africa's geographical position, and, second, the idea that its lands had not been fruitful since the time of the ancient Romans. On the occasion of the war against Libya, an eminent Italian poet named Giovanni Pascoli delivered a nostalgic, imperialistic speech in favor of this intervention on November 21, 1911 (Pascoli 1911):

> large numbers of working class members [to be understood as Italians] have found a place of their own: a vast region made wet by the waves of our sea … and towards which our great island juts out impatiently; this immense region that had once been replete with water and verdant with trees and gardens thanks to the labors of our ancestors, is now, and has been for some time, mostly desert owing to the inactivity of the nomadic and slothful populations.

Harking back to Rome's glorious past thus provided justification for a military campaign in Libya, whose barren lands were to prosper once again with the return of a so-called civilizing power. Pascoli's repeated reference to the possessive "our" was a direct appeal to his Italian readers. Through an illusion that relied just as heavily on exclusion as it did on inclusion, Pascoli attempted to create a sense of shared interest among his readership, constituting them as a community bound by their shared history and patrimony while simultaneously distancing them from "the others."

The year 1911 was unlike any other year. It marked the fiftieth anniversary of Italy's unification. Among the events deemed worthy of the occasion, a festival was planned that was intended to surpass all others in its scope so as to document Italy's evolution into a nation (Massari 2011: 9). Originally, two international exhibitions were organized: one in Turin, the kingdom's first capital, and the other in Rome. To these, a third was subsequently added, in Florence, which had been the capital prior to Rome.

Amidst the cultural happenings, the Regional and Ethnographic Show held in the Piazza d'Armi, situated in present-day Rome's neighborhood of Prati, constituted the main attraction. The exhibition's express purpose was to convey to a large, general public contemporary concepts such as "unity and multiplicity" (Massari 2011: 12), and, by

extension, the complexity of the Italian nation as a new, unified state, yet still divided in terms of its geography and local identities. In addition to the diverse display of artifacts originating from all four corners of Italian soil, fundamental conceptual themes were also showcased, not least of which were Italian beliefs, customs, and traditions. Emphasis was placed therefore on the multivalent character of the Italian people. The objects gave material form to this variety, yet the very act of collection created a kind of unity. The artifacts would join the collection of the Ethnographic Museum of Florence at the close of the celebrations before eventually reaching their final destination in the National Museum of Ethnography, which was under construction at that time (known today as the National Museum of Popular Art and Traditions, in the EUR district of Rome) (Massari 2011: 12). Not unlike the Musée d'archéologie nationale at St Germain-en-Laye, founded by Napoléon III in 1862, and other similar collections in Europe, the artifacts of the Regional and Ethnographic Show reconciled differences even as they affirmed them. As a paper of the time noted, the Italic peoples in all their diversity were to "find solidarity in the common ground that Rome came to represent" (*La Tribuna*, February 8, 1908, quoted in Massari 2011: 15).

Visually, celebrations were marked by a myriad of forms representing the myth of Rome. Pavilions, for instance, were often adorned with decorative programs in relief and free-standing sculpture, all of which were keyed to illustrating the official consecration of Rome before the whole nation, and, indeed, the rest of the world. The pediment above the entrance to the Regional and Ethnographic Show epitomized such efforts, for it was fitted by the artist Enrico Quattrini with a sculptural group depicting a scene in which various cities paid homage to a personified Rome.

April 8, 1911, witnessed the grand opening of an archaeological exhibition housed in the newly restored halls of the Baths of Diocletian, which had by that time become the official location for the Museo delle Terme (AAVV 1983; Barbanera 1998: 34–48; Massari 2011: 172–3). With its display of common ancient origins, the show served a very specific purpose, namely, to renew, indeed entrench, in the bosom of Italian viewers a sense of both belonging and national identity. In this vein, Rome's role in the public and private spheres at provincial levels received special attention. Each province, in fact, was invited to contribute reproductions of local evidence for Rome's direct influence on its built environment and material culture. In this way, molds and models were also employed without necessitating any specialized knowledge on the part of the viewer, thought to be readily able to perceive their message. Those responsible for the exhibition ultimately endeavored to reach a vast audience with an array of subjects, all ideologically charged, that had been theretofore accessible solely to the ruling class.

The same year occasioned state-sponsored pilgrimages to the new capital. By then, Rome had become home to monuments celebrating the newborn nation, which of course stood side by side with those dating back to its glorious past (Tobia 1991; Agnew 1998). The National Monument of Victor Emanuel II, for instance, had caused a deafening hullabaloo because of its chosen location, next to the Capitoline Hill and the Roman and Imperial Fora, as well as its form and style (Atkinson and Cosgrove 1998; Tobia 1998; Vidotto 2001: 137–9; Massari 2011: 166–9). The monument was inaugurated on June 4, 1911, on the heels of the archaeological exhibition, and it memorialized Italy's first king. By extension, it also celebrated the entire country. The

placement of the goddess Roma was carefully calculated for the center of the monument, beneath the statue of the king himself.

In the ensuing years, Italy would find itself engaged—for the first time as a nation—in the First World War. Vittorio Zucconi (2009: 73–4) has insightfully pointed out how the war immediately revealed the limitations of this tenuous national unity, for the moment soldiers were sent to the front line they encountered formidable language barriers. Their commanding officers spoke in a dialect so distinct from their own that orders became unintelligible.

Mussolini and Romanitas

Italy's entry into war marked a radical change in attitude on the part of one major public figure who would eventually elevate the myth of Rome and the concept of *Romanitas* to a central place among the elements that constituted the Italian identity. That figure was none other than Benito Mussolini. Official biographies on Mussolini, particularly the one penned by Margherita Sarfatti (1926: 42), underscore how the myth of Rome provided their subject with his source of inspiration and guiding principle:

> The adolescent's stern face had learned to bow over his father's books as he translated Latin. He was spellbound by Caesar's memoires, Tacitus's knowledge, and Aeneas's poem. The many fables about a once remote village of bandits in the hills of Latium whetted his burgeoning fascination for the myth of Rome as it became the center of a world, to which it bestowed a body of laws and ensured well-being.

However, this passion for and knowledge of the Latin language and culture were not always as cultivated as one might have us believe. In fact, Mussolini's familiarity with the Latin language was limited, and, according to Nelis (2007: 396), his "knowledge of classical Rome was very narrow and influenced by eighteenth-century Enlightenment and nineteenth-century revolutionary thinking." Nevertheless, the image of Rome loomed large, and Nelis notes that, despite a lack of genuine erudition, for Mussolini, "Roman history was always present in the background and was considered a direct and privileged heritage of Italy" (Nelis 2007: 397).

The prominence that Rome came to possess in Mussolini's thinking, or at least his public expressions, may have owed a great deal to Sarfatti, who, in addition to writing an enormously popular biography of Mussolini, which was reprinted 17 times, was also Il Duce's mistress. Well educated and wealthy, Sarfatti was in love with Rome. A number of authors have hypothesized that Mussolini's attitudes toward Rome—especially ancient Rome—changed thanks to both her influence and that exerted by specialists in antiquity, among whom was Pietro De Francisci, the founder of the Institute for Roman Studies and author of the tellingly named *Spirito della civilità romana* (1940) (Visser 1992; Falasca-Zamponi 1997: 51; Belardelli 2002; Salvatori 2006; Argenio 2008).

Up until 1914, Mussolini's speeches depicted Rome in negative terms. For instance, in 1910 he had declared, "Enough with this stupid prejudice that everything and anything must be concentrated in Rome in the name of unification. Rome is a vampiric

city that sucks the best blood from the nation" (quoted in Salvatori 2006: 762). Later references to Rome assumed a more positive connotation to the point that, by 1922, the name—together with its associated past—would undergo a complete restoration (Mussolini 1922: 412):

> We are intent on fashioning Rome as a city after our own spirit, that is to say, a purified city purged of all those elements that would corrupt and defile her; we shall endeavor to make Rome our beating heart and quick spirit of the imperial Italy that we all dream of.

Although Mussolini was a child of the Risorgimento, he did not slavishly adhere to the Roman values it espoused, which largely pertained to the Republican period. Instead, Fascism filtered Rome in such a way as to emphasize her imperial past. As such, Fascism did not present itself as merely a new movement, but rather as the return of a glorious past that had been revitalized through, most importantly, a "force which would unite Italy and Italians after centuries of disunity and foreign occupation" (Stone 1999: 207).

Apart from the obvious visual references to ancient Rome, such as the *fasci*, the eagles, and the Roman salute, many of which are frequently misinterpreted or decontextualized, it is important not to lose sight of the unifying or cohesive power that was expected of the ancient Roman Empire's role in the Fascist present (Argenio 2008; Giardina and Vauchez 2008; Gentile 1993). The complex relationship between ancient Rome, or, more properly speaking, the notion of Roman qualities summed up by the term *Romanitas*, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, Fascist ideology, has been thoroughly studied, in relation to the impact of Fascism on Classical Studies (Cagnetta 1977; 1979; Canfora 1976; 1977; Visser 1992; Gentile 1990; 1993), and in relation to archaeology (Perelli 1977; Kostof 1978; Manacorda and Tamassia 1985; Belardelli 2002; Salvatori 2006; Nelis 2007; Argenio 2008; Giardina and Vauchez 2008; Kallis 2011; Arthurs 2012). Nevertheless, some clarification of what is meant by *Romanitas* is in order. When translated into English, the term may be defined as "the spirit or ideals of Ancient Rome" (Speake 1999). In reality, only a single record of this word is known to exist in Latin literature. Tertullian, in his *De Pallio* (4.1), writes:

> *Quid nunc, si est Romanitas omni salus, nec honestis tamen modis ad Graios estis*? (However, now, if Romanity is to the benefit of all, why are you nonetheless inclined to the Greeks, even in less honourable matters?)

Tertullian's text refers to a recent change in attire in the city of Carthage: the choice to don the Roman toga as opposed to the traditional *pallium*. The term *Romanitas* is therefore employed to set up a contrast or distinction, but rather than pointing to what is specifically Roman, it denotes what is non-Punic; "an ethnic category distinct from the Roman colonizers" (Wilhite 2007: 133). Tertullian does not go on to explain which characteristics are representative of *Romanitas*. Kramer (1998: 81–2) maintains that the meaning of the word may be inferred from the context as signifying "römische Art, Römertum." While rarely used in classical Latin, this term acquired new layers of meaning during the modern period, especially in relation to its Fascist use, which was charged with references to Roman culture. The question then becomes which values of Roman culture

were to be expressed by *Romanitas*. These values, it turns out, did not remain constant. Analogous to Rome's changing roles and status under the Fascist regime, the meanings to be conveyed through the use of *Romanitas* would align themselves with new agendas and shifts in the contemporary situation.

Under Italian Fascism, "Rome was an idea, an aesthetic and a location with infinite possibilities and identities" (Stone 1999: 220), and so, too, *Romanitas* became an ephemeral word that conveniently suited varying contexts and political messages. For this reason, it may be more appropriate to adopt the word *Romanitates* when discussing the Fascist period, in order to capture more fully the range of nuances that it gathered during the 20 years of Mussolini's regime. As Marla Stone has rightly stated (1999: 205): "Romanità in Fascists hands, was an extremely malleable and changing ideological construct. The meanings and uses of romanità shifted, as political and cultural conditions varied between 1922 and 1943."

It was precisely Rome's remarkable adaptability and versatility that enabled Fascism to back up practically any of the initiatives it wished with a Roman precedent: from the March on Rome and the demographical policies to the colonial wars. Moreover, the regime adapted history in order to reaffirm, legitimize, and exalt its own successes, which—accordingly—became the end result of an uninterrupted historical continuum that had begun with the Rome of the Caesars and culminated in Mussolini's Rome.

At first, these references to the past were only sporadic, but they soon received systematic implementation accompanied by a nearly obsessive repetition from the start of the Ethiopian campaign of 1935 onward. Not unlike the war against Libya in 1911, the conquest of a new territory lent itself to historical re-enactment in which the Italians played the part of the Romans, and—this time round—the English, who opposed their conquest of Ethiopia, represented the new Carthaginians (Mussolini 1926). The Ethiopians were not cast as the new Carthaginians by dint of their indigenous status (Falasca-Zamponi 1997: 162–82; Munzi 2001).

The invasion of Ethiopia precipitated a breach in Italy's relations with the League of Nations, the international organization created after the First World War. Member states had pledged themselves not to go to war before submitting their disputes with each other, or with states not members of the League, to arbitration or enquiry. The League Council declared that Italy was the aggressor nation in the Ethiopian affair and moved to impose sanctions on Italy on October 11, 1935 (enacted only on November 15, 1935). Unsurprisingly, the Italian response to the sanctions was, first, to ignore them, and then to use them as an excuse to assert Italy's absolute autarchy.

The new Italian empire was declared on May 9, 1936, when Mussolini himself announced from the balcony of Piazza Venezia before a sea of followers that Italy had finally acquired its empire.

Marla Stone has noted that, as a result of the declaration on May 9, there was a dramatic escalation in the appearance of forms and motifs based on Roman art. The process of cultural appropriation involved:

> … Roman forms, such as mosaics, murals, bas-relief and monumental public statuary, [which] often took Roman themes, especially readings of Roman history and myth which coincided with Fascist priorities. According to many fascist bureaucrats, officially sponsored competitions for "Roman" art forms symbolized a regeneration based on national traditions (Stone 1999: 212).

Cloaked in *Romanitas*, state art sought to make allusions of an ideological nature clear and legible to large swaths of the population, while allowing for a greater superimposition of an ideal with the idealized common past. Thus, the newly created generation of Italians was to be raised on the myth of Rome. After all, as Agnew (1998: 229) notes, "National identity requires a common memory that is shared by people who do not know one another, but who think of themselves as having a common history."

Making New Italians

This new national awareness, particularly among the younger generations, was strenuously encouraged by the Fascist regime. Mussolini himself spared no effort in promoting youth policies (Koon 1985: 33–59). He personally saw to it that a series of provisions for children were carried out, not the least of which were the prolific erection of schools in Italy and the colonies, a large-scale anti-malaria campaign, and the founding of two national institutions—the *Opera Maternità ed Infanzia*, whose purpose was to protect indigent mothers and their children; and the *Opera Nazionale Balilla* (ONB), an Italian youth organization (Koon 1985: 90–115; Santuccio 2005). Each of these undertakings, it was hoped, would collectively shape future generations into a corps of Italian citizens who would remain unswervingly loyal to the regime; and every opportunity was seized to forge true Italians who incarnated Roman values par excellence, or at least as these values were construed through the Fascist lens.

To the same desired effect, the entire scholastic system was reformed. In the words of Mussolini (quoted in Koon 1985: 33): "The Government demands that the school be inspired by the ideals of Fascism. … it demands that the school at all levels and in all its instruction train Italian youth to understand fascism, to ennoble itself through fascism, and to live in the historic climate created by the Fascist revolution." Starting with the Gentile reform of 1923, the Fascist indoctrination (*fascistizzazione*) of schools was further propelled by an ambitious series of laws and decrees intended to enable the party to infiltrate the entire scholastic system. This culminated in 1939 with the Carta della Scuola Bottai (Bertone 1975; Isneghi 1979; Charnitzky 1996). It is no wonder then that schools soon figured among the most conducive breeding grounds for producing entire generations of Italians—ex novo—given their centralized organization, over which the state exercised direct control. To achieve its aims, the state deemed it necessary to revise school curricula thoroughly. Starting from elementary school, the revision entailed, for example, the introduction of Mussolini's own mottoes and speeches to Italian language instruction, and, in an effort to instill a stronger sense of belonging to a glorious imperial past, history was added to the subjects to be taught during the third year in elementary school. As Koon (1985: 72) has demonstrated, history under the Fascists was deployed in the construction of the myth of Italy as a civilizing force, a mission revived by the Fascists that explicitly authorized imperial expansion:

> Italy was portrayed as the cradle of civilization (the contributions of the Greeks were minimized or overlooked entirely) and the conqueror of the Western world. Ancient history was Roman history, meaning military history and studies of heroic figures such as Caesar and Augustus.

The process by which the concepts, ideas, and themes taught in schools had to be interpreted and presented so as to be consonant with Fascist principles led to the adoption of a single textbook. Although a ministerial commission was entrusted with this revision-cum-standardization, Mussolini once again became personally involved by selecting many of the contributing authors himself. Employing every possible means to promote Fascist ideals and mold the *Italiano Nuovo*—the new Italian—(the title of one of the textbooks), the texts' pages included illustrations of children wearing black shirts, as well as pictures of the Italian flag and the fasces. The stories narrated Mussolini's achievements, his childhood, and Fascism's successes: the Battle of Wheat (battaglia del grano), the Ethiopian exploit, the provisions for children, the reclaiming of the Pontine Marshes, and so on.

Accordingly, images conveying these Roman values were reproduced continuously, for example, on the covers of school notebooks or report cards, as well as on more widely circulating objects such as postage stamps. The same messages were further imparted through visits to exhibitions and monuments, not to mention the mandatory participation in the parades and similar celebratory events organized by the regime. Italy's younger generations thereby became much more than spectators—indeed, they were actors in the renaissance of Rome.

Through a sheer stroke of serendipity, the celebrations dedicated to the first anniversary of the new empire coincided with the festivities that had already been planned in honor of the bimillenary marking the very first emperor Augustus's birth (Scriba 1995; Argenio 2008; Kallis 2011; Marcello 2011; Arthurs 2012). This coincidence brought about a proliferation of publications, both scholarly and popular, which highlighted each and every point of overlap between the achievements of the first emperor and those of Mussolini himself. In addition to such publications, archaeological excavations in Rome and abroad (Butrinto) were organized. Moreover, two joint projects were initiated: the restoration of the Ara Pacis and the so-called liberation of the Mausoleum of Augustus. The redesign of the area encompassing the mausoleum, Piazza Augusto Imperatore, was to collocate both monuments, so crucial to Augustan propaganda, in the same urban space, creating a de facto "archaeological falsehood." Freed of later-period buildings, the mausoleum acted as the centerpiece of the new piazza, whereas the reconstructed altar, moved from its original position along Via del Corso, flanked the side of the square facing the river (Kostof 1978; Kallis 2011).

The crowning effort in the juxtaposition between Augustus and Mussolini, however, was the exhibition centered on *Romanità*, conceived by Giulio Quirino Giglioli, the curator in charge of the 1911 show (AAVV 1983; Barbanera 1998: 146; Arthurs 2012: 91–107). Much of the earlier exhibition's objects were reused on this occasion. An entire section was entitled "The Immortality of the Idea of Rome—the Rebirth of the Empire in Fascist Italy." Such blatant references to the empire's present continuation were anticipated at the main entrance to the exhibition by a conspicuous inscription of Mussolini's own motto, not so much greeting as exhorting visitors as they crossed the threshold: "Italians! See to it that the glory of the future supersedes the glory of the past." In no uncertain terms, the Fascist regime was being exalted before the eyes of visitors, Italian visitors nonetheless, as a continuation of the Roman Empire.

Mussolini's program included a piece of legislation prepared by the minister of education, Bottai, which remained in effect in its original wording up until 1999 (Troilo 2003).

Just as founders of the country newly unified in 1870 had sensed the need for certain legislation to foster a national identity, so also the law under Mussolini was based on the fundamental premise that historical, artistic, cultural, and environmental patrimony provided the core around which a people's identity and unity revolved.

The myth of Rome was the glue that would provide the cohesion of a country that was relatively united geographically, yet thoroughly divided politically and culturally. Whereas the Risorgimento employed references to Rome only sporadically and directed them mostly at the upper-middle class, Fascist Italy on the other hand expanded the target to include the masses, bombarding them by every possible means of communication. Whether symbol or slogan, the message was compellingly clear:

New Italians! Become Roman again!

NOTE

[1]All translations from the Italian into English are mine.

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CHAPTER 37

Goths and Huns

Walter Pohl

The Events

In ca. 375 CE, a large group of Huns appeared in the steppes of Eastern Europe (Maenchen-Helfen 1973; Wolfram 1988; Heather 2005; Pohl 2005; Halsall 2007; Kulikowski 2007). At the time, most of the region north of the Danube and the Black Sea was dominated by Goths, who had gradually migrated there from modern Poland in the third century. In the steppes north of the Black Sea, the Ostrogothic king Ermanaric ruled over a multi-ethnic population. In parts of modern Romania, Visigoths and other ethnic groups lived in decentralized confederation. Both realms were destroyed by the Hun onslaught; part of the population fled into the relative safety of Roman provinces, and the rest remained north of the Danube under Hun domination. Large groups of Roman Goths soon rebelled against their poor treatment by imperial officials, and routed an army led by the emperor Valens in person at Adrianople in 378. After a series of skirmishes and negotiations, the Visigothic core group of the victorious barbarians was settled as a unit of the Roman army under its own leadership in the Balkans (Wolfram 1988). These Goths provided essential support to Roman emperors (e.g., in the bloody civil war of Theodosius I against the usurper Eugenius in 394), but they increasingly also resorted to blackmail, rebellions, and raids to increase their stipend, and to move to richer provinces. Most famously, King Alaric I played this game in the first decade of the fifth century in Italy. The apex of this dramatic chain of events was that Alaric led his Goths to plunder the city of Rome for 3 days in 410, a symbolic gesture that sent shock waves throughout the empire. After years of further maneuvering, successes, and setbacks, these Visigoths were stably settled in Aquitaine around Toulouse, where they gradually carved out their increasingly autonomous and expansive "kingdom of the empire." After they had been driven from most of Gaul by the Franks in 508, the

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Visigothic kingdom dominated the Iberian peninsula for two centuries, until it was destroyed by Islamic invaders in the years after 711.

The Huns, after their initial success, were rather slow to build an empire. In the first decades, they lived in a loose political structure. Just as the Goths had already done for considerable time, many of them joined Roman army units or the personal guards of powerful Roman aristocrats (such as the general Aetius, who would never have acquired his reputation as the "last Roman" without Hun support). Around 400, the bulk of the Huns seem to have moved westward to the Middle Danube (modern Hungary), again prompting the flight of several groups of barbarian warriors who had been based in the northern periphery of the Roman Danube limes. Most consequentially, the Hun advance seems to have triggered (although perhaps not caused) the march of Vandals, Alans, and Sueves, who ended up in Spain and Africa (Heather 2005). However, it was only during a rather short period under the leadership of the king Attila, and with the support of a number of subject peoples such as the Ostrogoths and the Gepids, that the Hun attacks really threatened the Eastern and eventually also the Western empire. In the 440s, the Huns laid waste extensive stretches of the Balkan Provinces. In 451, they turned westward and attacked Roman Gaul, from where they withdrew after a bloody stand-off in the battle at the Catalaunian fields, in which two broad coalitions of barbarians faced each other. The following year, Attila's army marched into Italy, this time leaving the country after extensive plundering but without encountering any serious military resistance. Obviously, and unlike the Goths, Attila's Huns had no intention of settling on Roman territory. When Attila died in 453, the impressive agglomeration of force that he had achieved soon collapsed, and the initiative along the Danube passed again to somewhat smaller groups of barbarians.

The most successful of these groups that had regained their freedom after Attila's death were the Ostrogoths, led from the 470s by their king Theoderic. From Pannonia, they moved into the Balkan provinces, repeating the game of threats and treaties with the imperial authorities that Alaric's Visigoths had played there almost a century before. And, similar to those, but with an imperial consent, they then marched on to Italy, where they defeated King Odoacer (the barbarian general who had overthrown the last Western emperor in 476) in a 3-year war. Thanks to Theoderic's cautious policy and to the cooperation of the senatorial aristocracy, Ostrogothic rule gave Italy a few decades of peace and relative prosperity. However, soon after Theoderic's death in 526, the emperor Justinian exploited their inner conflicts to attack the Goths in 535. After almost 20 years of war, the impoverished and devastated ancient Roman heartland returned once more to direct imperial rule. As a politically active group, the Goths disappeared from the scene.

Migration-Age Ethnicity: Problems and Debates

From contemporary Roman authors to modern scholars, Goths and Huns (similar to other barbarians) have been regarded as ethnic groups who figure as principal agents in historical narratives. The most frequently used Latin term for ethnic units, *gens*, is usually rendered in English as "tribe," "race," or "nation"—all of these translations are, for different reasons, rather inadequate (Goths and Huns were bigger than "tribe" suggests, not racially distinctive and quite unlike modern nations). I will use the word "people" here

(although it also translates to the Latin "populus," which was used for the Roman people and underlines political, not ethnic aggregation; see Geary 2002). Traditional scholarship had not questioned the homogeneity and durability of these peoples. Ethnicity was seen as defined by common ancestry, common language, and common culture, and this is how the history of the migration period has traditionally been told. Methodologically, this opened many possibilities to extend the range of the patchy evidence we have. If a written source seemed to attest the presence of Goths in a certain region, the archaeological evidence of that region had to be Gothic (and allowed to circumscribe their settlement area and/or the extension of their rule), and one could safely assume that this population must have spoken Gothic. One could even go further: as theirs was a Germanic language, their culture and social structure (and, for many, their Nordic race) also had to be Germanic. Therefore, in spite of the dearth of other clues, one could safely use the evidence from twelfth/thirteenth-century Scandinavia or Iceland to find out more about (for instance) Gothic law or religion. This resulted in the lively and colorful representations of "the Germans" (or "the Teutons," as they were also called in English) that scholars took for granted in the nineteenth and for much of the twentieth century (Pohl 2002a). Similar approaches prevailed for the Huns and other steppe-peoples, with an important difference: it was difficult to judge the language group to which they belonged, and thus they were variously regarded as Turkic, Mongolian, Iranian, or other, with all the baggage of interpretation that came with such classifications.

In the second half of the twentieth century, these seemingly natural views of the peoples of Late Antiquity ran into two problems. One was the general development of theories of ethnicity in the social sciences and the humanities (e.g., Barth 1969 or Smith 1986), which (although somewhat patchily and eclectically) gradually permeated historical studies. The other was the erosion of the paradigm of common blood in the study of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages itself. It turned out that the evidence had to be stretched considerably to support anything such as the natural ethnic categorizations that had dominated older research. To give just one example: after the third century AD (when the Goths moved to Eastern Europe), no contemporary observer regarded them as Germanic. Although most Goths still spoke a Germanic language (a most valuable piece of evidence is the Gothic translation of the Bible produced by Bishop Wulfila in the fourth century), their material culture had become strongly influenced by eastern European steppe culture. Consequently, contemporaries identified the Goths with the ancient Scythians or *Getae*, steppe peoples of the first millennium BC. What is more, the Roman ethnographic category *Germani* almost completely ceased to be used for any contemporary barbarians after the fourth century AD. These (in our scholarly terminology) "Germans" simply did not have enough in common to suggest the use of a general label.

These, and many other observations, have led to a change of paradigm, but also to heated debates, many of which are still going on. A few basic points now seem to be shared by most scholars working in the field. In line with the recent theory of ethnicity, it has become clear that ethnicity is not necessarily based on real shared ancestry, but only on the subjective notion of common origins. It is not biologically or genetically but culturally defined. There are numerous instances in the sources for significant changes in the composition of ethnic groups. For instance, the Germanic-speaking ruling minority of the *Franci* (Franks) in sixth-century Gaul became, over several centuries,

the Romance-speaking majority of *Franci* (French), without even being aware that their identity had changed fundamentally. Methodologically, the clear implication is (although this insight has spread relatively slowly) that we cannot automatically infer from ethnic or political identifications in written sources to archaeological culture and to linguistic classification, or vice versa. Not all Ostrogoths in Italy were necessarily buried with grave goods that could be classed as Gothic, or spoke Gothic at home (although some certainly did).

Goths and Gothicness

For further questions of late antique ethnicity, the Goths have become something of a contested test case. What is still being debated is the extent to which there was ethnic continuity among the Goths, how much their Gothicness mattered to them, or whether "Goths" was just a convenient label for outside designation and, perhaps, self-promotion. These debates are based on two breakthrough monographs that appeared in German in the 1960s/1970s: Reinhard Wenskus' "Stammesbildung und Verfassung" (1961) and Herwig Wolfram's "Die Goten" (1979/2008, English translation 1988). Wenskus, who taught in Göttingen, used the late antique evidence about "Germanic" peoples to show that none of the elements used to define ethnicity—common origin, language, culture, etc.—is universally attested. His solution was that only a subjective definition seemed viable: according to him, ethnicity (he preferred the term "Gentilismus") is basically the result of self-identification. That clearly implies that it can change, even in an individual lifespan. Thus, for the first time, Wenskus could account adequately for the many changes in composition of migrant peoples such as the Goths. According to Wenskus, what they had in common was, apart from the name, a common "tradition," which consisted of norms and narratives that accounted for the distinctiveness of the group. These ideas, Wenskus believed, were handed down by small, high-status groups (which he called *Traditionskerne*, kernels of tradition). Their prestige (and that of the "tradition") could attract new members to the group, so that, in case of success, it could grow into a new tribe (Wenskus spoke of tribes and of their formation, *Stammesbildung*). This model allowed for a dynamic view of the ethnic processes of the migration period, and soon became very influential. Today, we have to acknowledge that, in spite of all its merits, it also has its limitations, due to the time when it was published: it is quite gendered and elitist (elite males transmit ethnicity), it overemphasizes the solidity of the "kernels of tradition," and it still operates within the overall framework of traditional *Germanische Altertumskunde*, studies of Germanic antiquity, largely ignoring the Roman cultural matrix in which the migrating groups increasingly moved.

When Herwig Wolfram adapted the Wenskus model in his history of the Goths in 1979 (Wolfram 1979/1988; see also Wolfram 2005), he most of all added the Roman perspective. Wolfram's narrative of Gothic history traced the successive stages of the emergence of Gothic groups from mythical origins to Goths well integrated in the Roman world in the sixth century, when the Romanized Goth Jordanes wrote his *Getica* (*History of the Goths*). For this formation process, Wolfram used the term "ethnogenesis" current in the ethnology of the time. This was not conceived (a point misunderstood by his critics) as a linear development, let alone a teleological one, but as a long and broken

process (Wolfram and Pohl 1990). He was well aware that Jordanes' narrative was deeply entangled with ethnographic constructions. Still, he tried to reconstruct elements of an *origo Gothica*, as he called it, an origin narrative of the Goths, based on traces of "pre-ethnographic" Gothic tradition: that is, elements not otherwise attested in classical ethnography. For instance, the *Getica* (1882, ca. 14, 76f.) contains a genealogy of the Ostrogothic royal dynasty, the Amals, including names of Scandinavian gods (such as Gapt); and Jordanes also explains that the Huns were descended from Gothic witches, whom he calls *Haliurunnae*, an interesting hint that he regarded Goths and Huns as related. Such elements may be traces of an oral tradition that could help explain the extraordinary prestige of the migration-age Goths. Wolfram thus created a model for the integration of successful barbarians in the late Roman world, and for the way in which they symbolically asserted their difference. The book was widely acclaimed and is still fundamental in many respects, in spite of its complex narrative that is not always easy to understand.

The label "ethnogenesis" stuck, but it could in fact be understood in rather different ways. On the one hand, for conservative scholars, the new term simply provided a more elegant way to express the old ideas about common ethnic origins (García Moreno 1998: 29). Some argued that many thousands of Goths must have shared common descent, not only small "kernels of tradition" (Heather 1996). On the other hand, and that is how research in Vienna developed in the 1980s, it became clear that ethnic change was not limited to "ethnogenesis" in the strict sense of the word, the origin of a people, but rather was a continuous process that was accentuated by periods of more dynamic change and phases of slower development. In that sense, there was not one Gothic ethnogenesis but many; and consequently, the term became marginal (Pohl 1994). Wenskus' view that the "constitution" of the new kingdoms was essentially Germanic was also abandoned; the institution of kingship was Roman in many respects (Dick 2008; Wolfram 2009). Studies on the Avars, the Huns, and other steppe peoples showed that ethnic processes in the period could follow rather varied trajectories (Pohl 2002b). It could also be shown that the clear ethnic differences in language, "national" costume, and many other aspects of culture that had always been taken for granted were relatively rarely attested in the sources, so that consistent ethnic distinctions could not simply be presumed (Pohl 1998). New approaches to the construction of identities in other disciplines also proved fruitful for the study of late antique ethnicity. Patrick Geary, for instance, delineated ethnicity as a "situational construct" and studied the immense ideological load that the "migration age" had acquired in the age of nationalism (Geary 1983; 2002).

It was, perhaps, not least this load that increasingly motivated many scholars to downplay the role of ethnicity in the period. An influential monograph by Patrick Amory on the Ostrogoths in Italy (1997, critique: Heather 2007) argued that Gothic ethnicity was a mere "ethnographic ideology," a Roman construct that allowed ambitious warriors to enjoy social privilege. The well-presented argument was based on a prosopography of the Goths in Italy which showed that relatively few of them were individually defined as Goths, for instance, in funerary inscriptions. Of course, not even at the height of nationalism did tombstones indicate the nationality of the deceased, so the absence of ethnic labels does not prove that they did not matter—it may in fact be the opposite: only where identities are doubtful or challenged do they need to be underlined. However, there is, of course, a general problem with our evidence, which only in exceptional cases attests

to the self-identification of barbarians, for the simple reason that most of them did not leave any written texts. Jordanes is one of the few cases of a clear statement of Gothic identity, and he was a thoroughly Romanized author and a loyal subject of the empire.

Debating Gothic Identity

The political language of the Gothic kingdoms could highlight their ethnic character. Gothic kings occasionally used the title *rex Gothorum*. The privileged status of the Ostrogoths in their kingdom was described as *libertas Gothorum* (Gothic freedom). The Gothic laws were known as *lex* or *leges Gothorum*, a term also used for the Arian creed. However, Andrew Gillett (2002a) is correct in maintaining that, before ca. 600, ethnic ideology is rather rarely attested in the post-imperial states. The official title of Gothic kings in both kingdoms seems to have simply been (*Flavius*) *rex*, which made it easier to legitimize their rule over the entire population of the kingdom. The ethnic perception of the kingdoms is attested much more frequently in outside designations (e.g., Theoderic's letters of state written and collected by Cassiodorus address all the other kings, including the Visigoths, with their ethnic titles). However, even though ethnic ideology was by no means an exclusive feature in the post-imperial kingdoms, it is striking that it should have mattered at all, in the context of a deeply entrenched Latin political culture. In the post-Roman west, *gentes*, peoples, became political actors, and most new kingdoms were named after them; in the long run, the ethnic designations became an integral part of the political landscape, unlike in the Islamic east (Pohl 2013).

One criticism of Wolfram's work also related to the debate over Gothic ethnicity concerned the problem of the sources. Was Jordanes' work, as Jordanes claims, a reworked version of the lost "History of the Goths" by the Roman senator and high official in the Gothic kingdom, Cassiodorus, or an original work? Could it contain any genuine Gothic material, or just ethnographic constructions? The "literary turn" around 1990 favored a rather literary understanding of the text, as proposed by Walter Goffart, who classed it as a love story (Goffart 1988). However, even Goffart basically acknowledged that a Gothic history could serve political purposes in the sixth century, even after the end of the Ostrogothic kingdom. A more fundamental methodological debate arose on the use of archaeological evidence with regard to Gothic ethnicity. It was conventional until the 1990s to identify several archaeological cultures with successive stages of Gothic migration: the Wielbark culture along the Vistula River in the first–third century AD, the third–fifth-century Černiakhov culture in modern Ukraine, and the relatively scarce richly endowed graves from Ostrogothic Italy and the Spanish Meseta (Bierbrauer 1994). The evidence, however, is especially problematic from the kingdoms on Roman territory, where, for instance, the lack of finds from Aquitaine and the Iberian coastal areas indicate that only some Goths used grave goods—if these were Goths at all, and not natives trying to enhance their status by staging lavish "barbarian" funerary rituals (Halsall 2010). The general methodological critique of ethnic identifications in archaeology corresponded to a growing uneasiness with any identification of archaeological evidence with "the Goths," although the debate is far from over (Brather 2004; Pohl and Mehofer 2010).

All these debates have brought a number of modifications in the model of Gothic history proposed by Wolfram, and at the same time, as sketched in the preceding text, his

own approach, and that of his pupils, have developed further. As a consequence, what came to be called the "Vienna school" (which includes the author of this chapter) has come a long way since the 1960s and 1970s. Still, where the debates became most polemical, they have been least productive and most misleading. From the mid-1990s onward, Walter Goffart and his school (Gillett 2002b; Goffart 2006) have directed their critique not against any current views, but against the old Wenskus "kernel of tradition" model: according to them, it was only a more sophisticated way to maintain German nationalist claims of ethnic continuity. The only way out of nationalist myths was to show that ethnicity was irrelevant in the migration age, as were the barbarians altogether. Therefore, Goffart's approach is a vigorous attempt to prove Roman continuity after the "fall of Rome," and to deny any barbarian impact on the end of the Western empire. It is in fact reasonable to assume that the Gothic kingdoms owed much more to Roman than to Germanic statecraft (Goffart 1989; Pohl 2008). However, that does not necessarily imply that ethnicity did not matter in them—why were so many sources of the period full of ethnic names? What made debate difficult was that "ethnogenesis theory," as the Goffart school called it, was based on old works and did not represent the current position of the Vienna school at all. This has led to a number of misunderstandings. It is also a weakness in the valuable work on the Goths by Michael Kulikowski (Kulikowski 2007), who tends to downplay the achievements of others in the field. He has, however, brought some new perspectives into the study of early Gothic history (e.g., ideas from post-colonial theory), indicating that there is still space for improving our knowledge even in a field as intensively studied as the history of the Goths.

There was less controversial debate about the ethnicity of the later Visigothic kingdom, although there certainly are some issues here. Suzanne Teillet (1984) has labeled the seventh-century kingdom "une nation gothique," a definition that not many scholars would follow. However, it is remarkable that, in the elites of the kingdom at that time, the integration of Gothic and Roman nobles had already made considerable progress, and aristocrats of Roman origin could well be regarded as Goths. "Goth" had come to denote social status, but that does not mean that it had lost its ethnic implications (Ferreiro 1999; Collins 2004).

The question of Hun ethnicity has been debated in a rather different context, mostly in the field of research on the Eurasian steppes. Attila's Huns are only one of many groups known by that, or by analogous, names, for instance the Kidarites, the Chionites, or Hephthalites in Inner Asia. Where did all these Huns come from? Already, Deguignes in the eighteenth century had traced them back to the Xiong-nu (formerly transliterated as Hsiung-nu), who had dominated the Inner Asian frontiers of China in the first centuries BCE and CE (Di Cosmo 2002). However, a pedigree of different Hunnic groups is difficult to establish (Haussig 1983). Due to the mobility of steppe warriors, the formation and decomposition of ethnic groups in the steppe can happen very quickly. Empires rise and fall, and every political upheaval leads to an ethnic rearrangement as many clans and tribal groupings join the winners. Some of them maintain their ethnic diversity, whereas others transfer their allegiance to the leading group with greater ease. The outside perception of such a process is another thing again, and tends to differ more from self-identifications than in the sedentary sphere. At least outside observers, but sometimes also newly emerged groupings themselves, tend to use already-established, prestigious ethnonyms, especially when broad inclusive terms such as "Huns" (or later, "Turks")

are concerned. With some Inner Asian Hunnic peoples, their self-identification can be attested through coinage and inscriptions; in Europe, we have only the testimonies of their literate neighbors. Recently, the debate has been reopened by Etienne de la Vaissière (2005), who has again argued for a direct link between the Xiong-nu, the Hunnic populations in the steppes north of Iran, and the European Huns. Migrations can be attested in many cases, and the core of the European Huns surely came from Inner Asia. However, it is equally clear that each such migration changed the composition of the migrating group, and that the logic of name-giving would tend to follow political lines rather than purely ethnic ones.

Migrations

Many issues of Gothic and Hunnic identity may still be debatable, but what seems hardly feasible on the basis of the evidence is any return to an old-style biological view of ethnicity. In this respect, the migration age provides very instructive test cases. Although the evidence (especially for self-identification) may be limited, it is on the whole more substantial than for many other historical migrations. It allows reconstructing the *longue durée* of accelerated ethnic processes: not only the successive emergence of several Gothic and Hunnic groups, but also—a phenomenon that has so far received much less interest—the disintegration and disappearance of ethnic groups. Traditional research has assumed the near-annihilation of peoples that disappeared from the historical record. However, some of them turned up on a more modest level long after their disappearance (Heather 1998). Groups of Goths are occasionally attested centuries after the fall of their kingdoms, for instance, as living under Visigothic law in ninth-century southern Gaul. The most striking case are the Crimean Goths described by the sixteenth-century diplomat Ghislain de Busbecq. However, the normal development seems to have been the gradual assimilation into the majority population, for instance, of the surviving Goths in Italy and Spain (where, under Islamic rule, Ibn al-Qūtiyya still referred to his Gothic origins in his name; see Christys 2002). The empire of Attila dissolved into several Hunnic groups, some of which remained associated with one of his sons for a while. It is less clear how these were related to the smaller "Hunnic" peoples north of the Black Sea in the sixth century, such as Utigurs and Cutrigurs. These, in turn, were submerged by the expansion of Avars, Bulgars, and Turks (Pohl 2002b). All these peoples could still be called Huns or even Scythians by outsiders, but that was an old ethnographic habit that seems to have had little to do with their self-designation.

Migrations, then, must be conceived as periods of accelerated ethnic transformation. Gothic armies on the march (often accompanied by women and households) never consisted only of Goths, and not even exclusively of Germanic speakers (Wolfram 2011). When Theoderic invaded Italy, he was accompanied, among others, by Rugians, Bulgars, Alans, and probably also by fugitive Roman slaves and many other groups. We know that the Rugians remained aloof in Ostrogothic Italy because they banned exogamy (Procopius 1979, VII, 2, 1–3, p. 167), but other groups may have aspired to acceding to the more prestigious Gothic identity. Attila's armies were even more multi-ethnic, including Goths, Gepids, Heruls, Sarmatians, and many others, mostly under their own leaders. Admittedly most of these re-emerged as independent units after the fall of the

Hun empire, but quite characteristically, some rather mixed groups also appeared on the map (Jordanes 1882, c.50, p. 126f.). Jordanes himself had come from one of them. As we have seen, the Goths felt related to (although in fierce competition with) the Huns. Ethnic hybridity is best attested among the elites, where intermarriage was common; thus, Odoacer (whose father Edica had been one of the notables at Attila's court) was variously identified as Scirian, Thuringian, Hun, Herul, Rugian, or as belonging to the otherwise unknown Turcilingi.

Therefore, the maps of the "Great Migrations," with many colored arrows cutting across all of Europe, have little to do with reality (Goffart 2009). According to them, the Goths would start in Scandinavia and cross the Baltic into modern Poland; then they would split, and the Visigoths would move to Romania, cross the Danube, and meander through all of the Balkans and Italy, until they reached Southern France, and, finally, Spain. The Ostrogoths would start in the Ukraine, with some sidelines showing plundering as far as Greece and Asia minor, and then move westward under Hunnic pressure to Hungary, march through most of the Balkan provinces similar to the Visigoths before them, and end up in Italy. However, the impression of a logical progression of one or two consistent groups is misleading. Very different groups appear as Goths in late antique sources: pirates and seafarers in the Black Sea in the third century; steppe riders or, at the same time, peaceful peasants north of the lower Danube in the fourth century; Roman federate units after 376; groups of privileged officers at the Byzantine court; or a class of wealthy landowners in Gothic Italy and Spain. "Gothic" migrations could take various forms: the gradual shift of a settlement area when the Gutones (as they were then called) of the second century AD gradually abandoned the Vistula region; mass flight after the Hun invasion; occasional migration of individuals or small groups along established routes (e.g., to Byzantium); organized marches of federate troops, as under the command of Alaric or Theoderic; the movement of large heterogeneous groups of warriors followed by families and dependents; or the expansion of a post-Roman kingdom. Lines on a map do not give an adequate impression of these successive events that do not constitute a single "Gothic migration," but could only be turned into a linear narrative in retrospect (Pohl 2005). This does not mean that there were no migrations, or that we cannot say anything about them. However, in most cases, one people or group experienced more than one migration, and changed considerably in the process.

Did Ethnicity Matter?

As we have relatively few clear traces of self-identification, the answer to the much-debated question of whether ethnicity mattered to the Goths has to rely mostly on indirect traces. What we can clearly say is that ethnic identification was the main cognitive tool for Roman authors to understand the barbarian raids of the third and fourth, and the dramatic political changes of the fifth and sixth centuries. Ethnic agency took center stage, not only in the historiography of the period, but also in panegyrics and poems (e.g., Claudian's bombastic *De bello Gothico*), in letters and law codes. Greeks and Romans had always perceived their periphery as an ethnic landscape, and distinguished between friend and foe according to ethnic categories, both on a regional and on an ethnographic level. We have seen that the most generalizing terms were also the

vaguest ones (such as the category "Germani," imposed on the rather heterogeneous inhabitants between the Rhine and the Vistula by Julius Caesar, or the antiquarian use of "Scythians" for the steppe peoples of the northeast). It is therefore doubtful whether "Germanic" self-identification ever mattered to anyone apart from some proud Roman officers of barbarian origin along the Rhine frontier; and we can assume that the Huns did not identify with the long-gone Scythians. On a more specific level, however, it seems unlikely that Roman perceptions had nothing to do with reality. Of course, ethnography could always blur the perceptions of foreigners. For instance, poetry and panegyrics sometimes offer extensive catalogues of long-gone or fantastic peoples that an emperor is supposed to have defeated. However, such ethnographic fantasies are easy to detect, precisely because matter-of-fact military historiography is much more pragmatic about naming Rome's enemies and allies. Roman designations (e.g., for its auxiliary units) surely had their share in promoting certain self-identifications among barbarians at the expense of others. However, the success of the Goths most likely relied on people proud to be Goths.

There is a further observation supporting the relative significance of ethnic identities for the migrant warrior groups of the fifth and sixth centuries. Between the battle of Adrianople and their settlement in Aquitaine, the Visigoths went through a series of hardships, defeats, failed negotiations, internal conflicts, and premature deaths of rulers. Still, they essentially maintained their cohesion, and attracted further Gothic and other groups on the march. The armies and retinues of Roman commanders, on the other hand, were disbanded or transferred after the death of their leaders. Frequently, they also overthrew and killed their commanders at the first sign of adversity, and joined another competitor. Many usurpers who had counted on the loyalty of their army ended in this fashion. A possible explanation is found in the speech that Procopius puts into the mouth of the Ostrogothic king Totila before the fatal battle at the Busta Gallorum in 552. Here, the Goth belittles the superior size of the Roman army:

> The vast number of the enemy is worthy only to be despised, seeing that they present a collection of men from the greatest possible number of nations. For an alliance which is patched together from many sources gives no firm assurance of either loyalty (*pistis*) or power, but being split up in nationality, it is naturally divided likewise in purpose (Procopius 1978, VIII, 17–18, 30, p. 367).

In a potentially adverse environment, Gothic armies must have relied on a shared sense of identity if they wanted to maintain some autonomy, otherwise they would have eroded quickly, following the lure of Roman money, as many Goths had always done. Memories of shared adventures surely inspired such a sense of loyalty, but more distant origins may also have helped.

Traditions, Myths, and Memories

What significance, then, did myths and memories have for Gothic identity? Admittedly, this is a largely speculative field. Wenskus had based his notion of "tradition" not least on the *origines gentium*, narratives about the origins of the Goths, Longobards, and

others, which he took as keys to authentic myths. The Gothic origin story as told by Jordanes includes a mythological migration from Scandinavia and a genealogy going back to Gapt (attested as Geat in Anglo-Saxon genealogies), but also identifies the Goths with Scythians, Getae, and Dacians, known from ancient history. Since Wenskus, our understanding of these origin stories has changed (Wolfram et al. 2003), and we have to acknowledge that they are Latin texts following ancient models and predominantly based on classical myths and ethnography. In that sense, the Gothic origin myth from Scandinavia is perhaps little more "authentic" than the Trojan origins of the Franks; both stories had the same function for the retrospective legitimization of the ruling elite of their kingdom. On the other hand, as argued earlier, it is remarkable that, in the guise of classical literature, we also find traces of non-ethnographic material. We can only speculate how old these traces may be. However, it is unlikely that the references to the *semidei id est Anses* from whom the Goths were descended (Jordanes 1882, c.13, 76), or to the god Wodan from whom the Longobards got their name, were invented in Christian kingdoms. We have to acknowledge that such "traditions" were not immutable and as archaic as Wenskus thought. However, on the other hand, it is rather unlikely that they were completely made up by their Latin authors, and that the Goths arrived on Roman territory with a completely blank cultural memory. What we have is perhaps not enough to fuel the "mythomoteur," which is, according to the sociologist A. D. Smith, the driving force for the construction of ethnic and national identities (Smith 1986). However, it is there, and should not be brushed aside in an all-out attempt to deny any barbarian element in the self-identification of the new barbarian elites (Pohl 2002c).

Still, considering the evidence, it is very hard to employ Wenskus's subjective criterion for ethnicity. It is more adequate to understand ethnic identities as the result of a series of identifications: people identify with an ethnic group (and are accepted as members), the group identifies itself through its representatives or in collective ritual, and others perceive it as an ethnic group. Some texts and objects that have come down to us are traces of such a series of acts of communication in which ethnicity was constructed (Pohl 2013). This model has the advantage that it does not leave us with a binary decision—Goth/not Goth, or ethnic/not ethnic—which creates the kind of conundrum around which some of the less fruitful discussions of the past two decades have revolved. Instead, it offers the option to describe ethnicity by degrees: Goths to whom Gothicness mattered more or less; outside perceptions of individuals or groups as Huns who may have identified primarily with a smaller ethnic group, but were also proud to be regarded as Huns; the subtle modulation of royal ideology that relied on Roman, imperial, ethnic, or dynastic representations according to audience and situation; or the mobilization of Gothic identity and memories under military pressure.

Such contemporary formations of identity, and their textual representations, then created the potential for further identifications. Even negative stereotypes, such as the identification of Goths and Huns with the apocalyptic peoples Gog and Magog, contributed to the extraordinary prestige that they accumulated through the writings of their Roman adversaries (and, later, advisors). The resources of Gothic and Hunnic identity were so vibrant that they could be reused for much later, purely imaginary identifications—for instance, of the early modern Swedes with the Goths or of the Hungarians with the Huns. Goths and Huns (as many other barbarian peoples of their time) were not stable ethnic groups who emerged from the barbarian periphery and remained immutable

until they were ultimately destroyed. Their identities provided a very flexible matrix in which rather different communities could unfold. To claim that ethnicity did not matter to them does not help us to understand the dynamics of the situation. Identities matter most when they are threatened or seem to slip away. In the crisis of identity in the fifth- and sixth-century West, a broad range of ethnic, political, religious, and regional identifications were at stake. The ethnic identities of Goths and Huns enjoyed brief periods of glory until they faded away, but the texts that related their awe-inspiring success gave them a lasting impact on the European historical imagination.

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