

# Understanding Ionia: Cultural, Ethnic, and Community Identity at Pre-Hellenistic Ephesos

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**Abstract**

Western Anatolia is a place “in-between”; it is a cultural crossroads between the East and West, a border zone between Europe and Asia, sometimes in one and sometimes in the other. Ancient Ionia, the south-central coast of Western Anatolia, has become entrenched as “Western” through a designation of being “Greek,” in direct contrast with the “barbarians” of the East. This study displays the evidence of Ionia identifying as separate from the Greek mainland and outside of the emergence of Panhellenic ideals by focusing on Ephesos. A major port city in Ionia, Ephesos has been traditionally categorized as a Greek city within an Ionian Greek region, but in reality it shows a unique and diverse local identity that contradicts such a categorization. Analyzing the pre-Hellenistic archaeological and literary evidence, it becomes clear that Ephesos was a culturally and ethnically mixed city whose population identified itself in nuanced ways as members of a local community with important intra- and inter-communal ties to those that Herodotos calls *barbaroi*. This identification does not make Ephesos “Eastern” or Asian, but problematizes its categorization as “Western” and “Greek”; the Ephesians appear instead to show signs of belonging to *both* categorizations, opting for a hybrid Greek and Anatolian identity with cultural similarities and ethnic ties to each region.

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## Notes on the study

All dates are in BCE unless otherwise noted.

Periodization is as follows:

Bronze Age: ca. 3000 – ca. 1150  
 Late Bronze Age (LBA): ca. 1550 – ca. 1150  
 The Bronze Age collapse is taken to be ca. 1150  
 Early Iron Age (EIA): ca. 1150 – ca. 750  
 Archaic Period: ca. 750 – 480  
 Classical Period: 480 – 323

This paper uses the Greek spelling of proper nouns regarding Hellenic people, places, and information; Latin spelling will be used in cases where Roman ethnicity is known; popular spelling will be used in cases of non-Greek and non-Roman identity. To those more familiar with Latin spelling or looking to do further research, these are the Greek spelling equivalents used:

Androkles = Androcles	Kallimachos = Callimachus	Kybele = Cybele
Apatouria = Apaturia	Kallinos = Callinus	Maiandros = Maeander
Ephesos = Ephesus	Kaystros = Cayster	Miletos = Miletus
Ephoros = Ephorus	Kodros = Codrus	Mykale = Mycale
Erythrai = Erythrae	Kolophon = Colophon	Neilos = Neilus
Halikarnassos = Halicarnassus	Koressos = Cores(s)us	Pherekydes = Pherecydes
Herakleitos - Heraclitus	Klazomenai = Clazomenae	Phokaia = Phocaea
Herodotos = Herodotus	Kreophylos = Creophylus	Thoukydides = Thucydides

Cases of popular spelling in non-Greek and non-Roman cases: Croesus rather than Kroisos, Sardis rather than Sardeis, Caria rather than Karia, Lycia rather than Lykia, Persia rather than Perses.

Exceptions: Greece rather than Hellas, Athens rather than Athenas/ai, Aristotle rather than Aristoteles, Homer rather than Homeros, Alexander rather than Alaxandros, Mycenae rather than Mykene/ai.

Although “Greece” refers to a state formed in 1821 and “Greek(s)” its people and attributes, this term, from the Latin *Graeci*, is used retrospectively to discuss the inhabitants of the same area, who called themselves “Hellenes.” “Greece,” “the mainland,” and “the Aegean” are used in discussion of this area, while “Greeks” and “Hellenes” and “Greek” and “Hellenic” are used interchangeably in discussion of its people and attributes.

“Ionian” (with quotation marks) denotes a non-geographic Ionian ethnic identity, while Ionian (without quotation marks) specifies the geographical region of Ionia.

## Introduction

There is an often-utilized dichotomy between the “East” and the “West” that lies between “Europe” and “Asia”. The line of demarcation usually falls at the Bosphorus, Sea of Marmara, Dardanelles, and Eastern Aegean, placing Greece as “West,” and Anatolia as “East” (Fig. 1). The Greek word for Anatolia, *Anatole* (Ἀνατολή), translates as “East,” or literally as “where the sun rises.” The *Iliad* of Homer pits the Greek West against the Anatolian East in epic proportions. He gives places and peoples on either side of this massive war, with the Western Anatolian peoples as Eastern allies of the Trojans, and with Troy itself located in Western Anatolia not far from this dividing line. Despite this, there seems to be minimal cultural distinction between the Greeks and Trojans in the epic poem; they speak the same language, worship the same gods, and wage war in the same manner. In the text of Herodotos, written around 430,<sup>1</sup> Western Anatolia seems to be completely Greek. Still, Herodotos’ proem highlights the East vs. West dichotomy through his focus on the Greco-Persian Wars. In this clash between the Greek West and Persian East, Western Anatolia is firmly Greek – a place “enslaved” by Persia.<sup>2</sup> What happened in between the codification of Homer’s and Herodotos’ accounts? The traditional narrative in scholarship attributes this shift to the “Ionian Migration”: Greeks of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age colonized the coast of Anatolia, founding cities and driving out the indigenous Anatolians or “civilizing” them with Greek culture.<sup>3</sup> In this narrative, Western Anatolia was Anatolian in the Bronze Age and became Greek in the Iron Age. However, Western Anatolia seems to be a place

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<sup>1</sup> Little is known of Herodotos’ compositional sequence, but the latest reference he makes can be dated to 430 – the execution of Spartan envoys referenced in Herodotos 7.137 and dated in Thucydides 2.67.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotos uses the verb “to enslave” (“δουλόω”) in discussing conquered groups, e.g. 1.27, 1.94, 1.156.

<sup>3</sup> This study’s meaning of “traditional narrative” is discussed below. See pages 9-14.

“in-between” throughout these periods; in some ways Greek, and in others Anatolian, with strong ties to both.

The Western Anatolian coast, from the Bronze Age collapse to the campaigns of Alexander, has been considered a part of the Greek, Western world both in literature and modern scholarship.<sup>4</sup> Ionia does not easily fit into either side of the “Greek vs. East” dichotomy, but rather displays mixed local cultures and ethnic populations, where people identified themselves locally rather than regionally or nationally.<sup>5</sup> Additionally, there seems to be no distinction between Greeks and non-Greeks within the cities themselves, as participation in these communities appear to be shared amongst members of various ethnic and cultural backgrounds. That is not to say that these populations are non-Greek; rather, in shedding light on the non-Greek aspects of their identities, the region is revealed to be populated by diverse, but fundamentally locally minded, people.

It must be acknowledged that, despite recognizing the unique and local identity of these population groups, in many ways this study “maintains the dichotomy” between Greeks and non-Greeks.<sup>6</sup> However, this dichotomy is unavoidable, as groups were distinguished along this binary in antiquity, and still are in much of modern scholarship. Furthermore, evidence of explicitly Greek or non-Greek cultural and ethnic attributes and populations must be discussed to properly identify, understand, and categorize these populations outside of the binary. While the Greek-Barbarian dichotomy misidentifies populations, it lingers in modern scholarship and institutions;

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<sup>4</sup> The region is often referred to as “East Greece,” and its inhabitants “East Greeks.”

<sup>5</sup> The term “national” in this regard is not as we think of it today. It is used here to describe the sense of “Greekness” shared among Greeks, called “Panhellenism,” especially as an opponent to Persia.

<sup>6</sup> Steidl’s 2018 criticism of Greaves 2010: that he “maintains the dichotomy between Greek and non-Greek influences despite an interest in re-thinking the identity of Archaic Ionia outside the framework of the migration narrative” (p107, n26).

first scholarship must work to demonstrate that this notion is flawed, only then can it move to reclassify these populations in other, more accurate terms.

A collective reanalysis of Western Anatolia in scholarship is necessary, as displayed by its unique and diverse communities seen in the cultural, ethnic, and community identity of Ephesos, an important coastal city in Western Anatolia located within the “East Greek” region of Ionia (Fig. 2). As the pre-Hellenistic levels and locations of the city have not yet been discovered and therefore remain unexcavated,<sup>7</sup> the city’s main sanctuary – the Temple of Artemis (or Artemision) – is central to understanding Ephesos. Consequently, the Artemision’s relationships with the various Anatolian communities around it, with emphasis on the population of Lydia and its capital at Sardis, must be considered. This study begins with an account of the region’s history for context, followed by discussion of the traditional narrative it challenges, and then its contribution and goals. Methodology of the study, with definitions of terms, their relevance, and their issues, is contained in the second chapter. A brief overview of regional identity in Ionia in chapter three is followed by an application of this methodology in analyzing Ephesian identity – first addressing the local and regional geography in chapter four, followed by discussion of cultural identity (language, religion, art) in chapter five, ethnic identity (intermarriage, ancestral myth, political organization) in chapter six, and lastly community identity (communal space, enactments of community, perspectives of external societies) in chapter seven before framing conclusions in chapter eight.

From the beginning of the Iron Age to the start of the Hellenistic period, Western Anatolia was a land of ambiguity and hybridity. Cultural and ethnic populations are hard to

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<sup>7</sup> Scholars have made arguments for the Archaic period city being located at Panayir Dağı, Ayasoluk Hill, Bülbül Dağı, and under the Roman city’s agora (Fig. 6). There are few clues. See pages 31-33 for a discussion of what has been found.

identify with clarity within specific spaces, and it seems, more than anything, that Ionia was a zone of *mixing* rather than a border between two continents and peoples. These mixed groups of people, studied within the fields of Classical Greek and Near Eastern Studies, are often categorized by placement along a spectrum between “More Western” (i.e. Greek) and “More Eastern” (i.e. Anatolian), and have become a popular subject of contemporary studies criticizing previous approaches to the region and proposing new ones.<sup>8</sup> This study does not propose a new approach to understanding these people, nor does it take only one approach and apply it to the people of Ephesos, but rather utilizes multiple approaches to archaeological and historical studies to show how truly unique and diverse these populations were, shedding light on the people of Western Anatolia and illustrating the shortcomings of the traditional narrative.

This is only a piece of the puzzle; a small part in a larger discussion around understanding the populations of Western Anatolia. As of now, many aspects of this region and its people remain unknown; scholarship has been plagued with assumptions and glossed over because of them. The current quantity and quality of information is simply not enough; more excavations, scholarship, and attention needs to be given to this region and its many sites.

### **Historical Context of Western Anatolia**

Anatolia, often called Asia Minor, is a large peninsula bordered by the Mediterranean Sea to the South, the Aegean Sea to the West, and the Black Sea to the North, making up most of modern-day Turkey (Fig. 1). The region has been continuously populated since the Paleolithic period, with the Hattian and Hurrian civilizations dominating in the Early Bronze Age. The

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<sup>8</sup> E.g. Greaves 2010, Mac Sweeney 2011, 2013, Steidl 2020.



Hittite kingdom came to prominence around the 18<sup>th</sup> century, becoming a regional superpower in the Near East during the Late Bronze Age opposite the Egyptian New Kingdom, Middle Assyrian Empire, and empire of Mitanni. While there is evidence of previous exposure to “Greek” culture through trade with the Minoan civilization of Crete and the Aegean, it is around the 14<sup>th</sup> century that the Anatolians have contact with the “Greeks” of the Mycenaean civilization. Attested in the “Ahhiyawa Texts,” the Hittites and Mycenaeans fought for influence and control in Western Anatolia.<sup>9</sup>

The Late Bronze Age (henceforth LBA) saw the beginning of direct Greek influence in Western Anatolia that would last for millennia, almost certainly in politics and economics, but possibly in culture and population as well. Much of this struggle revolved around the region of Arzawa, a political entity in Southwest Anatolia that was conquered by the Hittites but whose effort at revolt was supported by the Mycenaeans.<sup>10</sup> The capital of Arzawa was the city of Apaša, which scholars have linked to the later Ephesos.<sup>11</sup> After the revolt failed, the Hittites split Arzawa into separate vassal states, one of which, the Kingdom of Mira, likely ruled over Apaša.<sup>12</sup>

The Hittite, Mycenaean, and Miran states were all seriously affected by the Bronze Age collapse, an event shrouded in mystery that sent much of the Mediterranean into a “Dark Age,” so called because of a lack of extant historiography. Archaeological remains exist from this time, showing the destruction of almost every major city in the Eastern Mediterranean and a

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<sup>9</sup> Though not certainly, “Ahhiyawa” is likely the Hittite word for what Homer calls *Ἀχαιοί* (“Achaeans”), or what is referred to as the Mycenaean civilization. See: Cline, Beckman, and Bryce 2011.

<sup>10</sup> Bryce 2005.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. Bammer and Muss 2007, Greaves 2010, Kerschner 2018, Bányai 2019.

<sup>12</sup> Bányai 2019.

breakdown in the global trade network. This period, referred to as the Early Iron Age (henceforth EIA), was a period of local power structures and mass migration.

Over the course of the EIA (ca. 1150-750), Central Anatolia saw the rise of the Phrygian Kingdom, and a little later the Lydian Kingdom gained prominence in Western Anatolia. Throughout this period, migrations from across the Aegean, referred to as the “Ionian migration,” led to the Anatolian coast becoming “East Greece.” While there was previous Mycenaean presence and possible political control along the coast, it is during the EIA that Western Anatolia began to take on a mixed Greek-Anatolian identity. After millennia of development in Anatolia and centuries of exchange (economic, political, and martial) with Aegean civilizations along its west coast, as the Archaic period dawned the Western coast of Anatolia was speaking Greek.

The “East Greece” of the Archaic period is divided into three sections; Aeolis to the North, named for migrants who spoke the Aeolic dialect of Greek, Ionia, the destination of Ionic-speaking migrants, in the center, and Doris, for Doric-speaking migrants, in the South (Fig. 1). The people of Aeolis formed an alliance of twelve cities, some on the island of Lesbos, but mostly along the coast within the region of Mysia. The people of Ionia formed the Ionian League, also twelve cities, with the six northernmost cities (including Ephesos) said to be in Lydia and the three southernmost in Caria, while the three westernmost appear to be outside indigenous boundary lines. The Dorians formed an alliance of six cities, four on Aegean islands, and two in Caria.<sup>13</sup> The Ionian *dodekapolis*, or Ionian League, and the Dorian *hexapolis* cemented their cultural bonds with annual festivals; the Apatouria for the Ionians, and the

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<sup>13</sup> City names and locations given by Herodotos (1.142, 144, 149).

Dorians with the Triopian games; however, not all member states participated, and it seems that membership and interstate ties were fluid.

It is unclear which, if any, of these cities were *founded* by Greek colonists and which were in existence before the migration. The multiple foundation myths that have survived tell mostly of settling uninhabited lands or forcing local populations into subjugation, but given the questionable nature of the tales and the unreliability of the authors, coupled with the mass migration movement at the time of the Bronze Age collapse and evidence for these cities having mixed cultural and ethnic populations, migration and integration seem likely in most cases.

There is very little evidence of these regional groups of cities partaking in collective action. One case, the Meliac or Melian War, is full of uncertainty and contradictory accounts; there is simply not enough evidence to discern the causes, events, or outcomes of the war.<sup>14</sup> It is likely that the event was regularly discussed in the works of Archaic and Classical period Ionian authors, that political boundaries were set in place following the war, and that the destroyed city of Melie became the common meeting place for Ionians, the Panionion. For the next few centuries, there is no evidence of collective action by the Ionian League, and as the Meliac War may have pitted members of the Ionian League against each other, it is hardly evidence for collective action itself. The League therefore does not appear martial or political in nature, and

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<sup>14</sup> Vitruvius, writing some six hundred years later in the 1<sup>st</sup> century, claims that the Ionian city of Melie or Melite (also associated by some with Karion – for discussion of this association, see Rubinstein and Greaves 2004), was destroyed “by the other cities [of Ionia] in a war declared by general agreement” “on account of the arrogance of its citizens” (Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, 4.1.4). Hekataios of Miletos, writing in the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> century, suggests the city was indigenous Carian (Hekataios *FGrHist 1 F11*); this does not exclude the city from also being Ionian, and evidence of political relations/alliances between Melite and Kolophon as well as Miletos suggest a close relationship with the other cities of Ionia (This information is taken from a later reproduction of an Archaic period inscription, *I. Priene*, no. 37. For more information on the inscription, see Curty 1989). Some scholars suggest this to be an event tied to the greater Lelantine War (e.g. Shipley 1987), and/or mark the establishment of the Ionian League (e.g. Hall 2002; Lohmann 2004 and 2012).

was not a strict assemblage.<sup>15</sup> Evidence of collective action from the Aeolian and Dorian city groups is similarly lacking. It is likely that these groupings were almost exclusively religious in nature.

The real power in Western Anatolia in the Archaic period was not in these loose regional alliances/designations of the Aeolians, Ionians, and Dorians, but in the Lydian Empire. The early history of Lydia is marred by Herodotos' fascination with mythology and fixation on genealogy. By the 7<sup>th</sup> century, with Gyges' (r. ca. 680-644) foundation of the Mermnad dynasty and relocation of the capital to Sardis, Lydian history comes into focus. The Mermnads were successful rulers, and the Lydian state flourished and expanded under their leadership: they took advantage of local electrum deposits to create the world's first coinage currency system and to fill the royal treasury; enacted large scale building programs, from erecting temples to constructing defenses; built up the military and hired mercenaries to fuel expansionism; and played well at international politics with tactful agreements and allegiances.

Croesus (r. c. 560-546) was the last king of Lydia. He completed the conquest of the Western Anatolian coast and the "East Greek" cities that had started over one hundred years before in Gyges' campaigns. Despite the successful capture of multiple Ionian cities by his predecessors, Herodotos claims Croesus to be "the first non-Greek we know of to have subjected Greeks to the payment of tribute," complicating interpretations of who was and was not Greek, or how Lydian rulership was enacted before Croesus.<sup>16</sup> His rule over these Greeks, in any case, did not last long; he soon after challenged Cyrus and the Persians and was defeated.

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<sup>15</sup> Greaves 2010 p155 finds it possible that they met to deliberate on smaller inter-state issues of which almost nothing is known.

<sup>16</sup> Herodotos, 1.6. Herodotos could be falsely generalizing here by using Croesus as his story's starting point, or Croesus may have been the first to impose monetary payments on these cities.

Cyrus, king of the Persians and founder of the Achaemenid Empire, made Sardis the seat of the satrapy (an imperial governorship) that controlled Lydia and its conquered lands. However, the coastal cities did not fully submit. After the initial Persian conquest and forty years of shaky rule through Persian-appointed rulers, they revolted in the 499 “Ionian Revolt” with the help of Athens.<sup>17</sup> Though initially successful in sacking Sardis, the revolt was eventually crushed at the Battle of Lade and with the fall of Miletos in 494. Thus began the hostilities between the Persians and the mainland Greeks and ended the Archaic period. Control of the Western coast of Anatolia fluctuated, at various times being under Persian or Greek (Athenian or Spartan) rule for much of the Classical period before being taken by Alexander in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Traditional Scholarly Narrative**

The labeling of Ionia as “Greek” began with the rising threat of Persia in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, with “Greek” or “Panhellenic” identity becoming realized in opposition to the Persian East. This is first seen in a story told by Herodotos, who claims a Spartan delegation to Cyrus warned him “to harm no city on Greek territory,” referring to the cities of Ionia.<sup>18</sup> In the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries, Athenian political rhetoric promoted Panhellenism to maintain and expand their naval empire.<sup>19</sup> The Athenians of Attica, being of the “Ionian” cultural and ethnic subgroup of Hellenic

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<sup>17</sup> It is important to note that while the Ionian Revolt is an example of cooperation between Western Anatolian cities, it not an example of an Ionian League or “East Greek” political alliance. There was mutual support, but it was not universal or explicitly Greek; much of Caria joined the rebellion, while Samos later deserted at the Battle of Lade, allowing for the destruction of Miletos. Furthermore, it is dangerous to use the revolt to argue for possible inter-state cooperation before or after it, for which there is very little evidence.

<sup>18</sup> Herodotos 1.152, trans. A.D. Godley.

<sup>19</sup> See Perlman 1976 on Panhellenism and empire, and Low 2018 on Athens’ use of it in politics. Perlman p30 claims Panhellenism as “a tool of political propaganda, serving...hegemonial and imperialistic aims.”

civilization, were particularly desirous of unifying all “Ionian” populations, which they believed shared common ancestry with Athens, under their banner. The populations of Ionia varied in their acceptance of this association during these centuries, accepting or rejecting it based on who posed the greatest threat to them. However, as most source material comes from Athens, Ionia often appears as the imperialist propagandists intended: “Ionian Greek.” How “Greek” or “Ionian” (from an ethnic Athenian perspective) the region of Ionia was is discussed below, focusing on the *polis* of Ephesos and its main sanctuary, the Temple of Artemis (or Artemision).

Early modern scholarship maintained Ionia’s Greekness, though recognized the region as a crossroads. Any non-Greek attribute of the region was understood as “Orientalizing,” a concept which maintains the Hellenic identity of Ionia and theorizes on its role in bringing the “Eastern” or “Oriental” ideas of the great Biblical civilizations of the Middle East and Levant to the Greek West, largely discounting the influence of Anatolian civilizations, such as those of the Lydian, Carian, Phrygian, and Hittite peoples. David George Hogarth, in his famous 1909 publication which largely put Ionia into the mainstream of Classical scholarship, *Ionia and the East*, claimed that:

It may be said without hesitation that the Greeks of western Asia Minor produced the first full bloom of what we call pure Hellenism, that is, a Greek civilization come to full consciousness of itself, and destined to attain the highest possibilities of the Hellenic genius. Whatever its claim to absolute priority in culture, however, the Ionian section of the Hellenic race, from the accident of geographical position, served more than any other for a vital link between East and West.<sup>20</sup>

Hogarth’s career and work greatly advanced the understanding of and interest in Ephesos and Ionia; yet, as Hogarth brought Ionia into modern Classical scholarship, he created an enduring, “traditional,” set of assumptions from relying too heavily on Homer and Herodotos. Some of

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<sup>20</sup> Hogarth 1909, p7.

these views have endured, namely that Anatolian civilizations were weaker and somehow lesser than those of the Greeks or the “Great” Eastern civilizations (e.g. Phoenicia, Mesopotamia).<sup>21</sup> James Whitley, writing almost a century later, claims that “there is little to suggest that Lydian or Phrygian ideas, images or technologies had any major effects on Greek culture”.<sup>22</sup> Whitley’s assumption, while wrong (the Lydian development of coinage comes to mind as a glaring exception to his assertion), promoted the traditional notion that the Greek West received minimal influence from the Anatolian East, and that the Ionians, through all of their success, owed nothing to their Anatolian neighbors. Hogarth is excused by a lack of archaeological evidence from the area in his time; modern scholarship has no such excuse. The lines between the Ionians and Anatolians were not as impermeable as Whitley supposes, nor did Ionia produce “pure Hellenism” as Hogarth suggests; Western Anatolia certainly served as a crossroads of cultural exchange, and displayed a culture that may have been as rooted in Anatolian traditions as that of “Hellenism.”

Despite a long tradition of discussing the massive “Ionian Migration” event, beginning in the Athenian accounts of Pherekydes and Thucydides in the 5<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>23</sup> the evidence from Ionia tells a different story. Nicholas Cross has shown that “the earliest literary accounts from the Ionians themselves are concerned not with a mass migration, but with local histories and individual colonization efforts”.<sup>24</sup> The Ionian migration was likely not the mass exodus that it

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<sup>21</sup> Hogarth, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, had no knowledge of the Hittites or Arzawa, believing the Ionian colonists “found at most but a few weak cities on the coasts to take or leave” (1909, p48).

<sup>22</sup> Whitley 2001, p107. He cites the 1980 book *The Greeks Overseas* by John Boardman, which played a role in maintaining many aspects of the traditional narrative of Ionia in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>23</sup> Pherekydes cited in Strabo 14.1.3, Thucydides 1.12.

<sup>24</sup> Cross 2020, p4 cites Mimnermos of Kolophon, Semonides of Amorgos, and Xenophanes of Kolophon.

has been held to be,<sup>25</sup> but rather a slow movement of people from the Aegean or Greek mainland to the Western coast of Anatolia, one that was far more likely categorized by integration than colonization.<sup>26</sup> It also seems that each Ionian *polis* saw itself as distinct from such collective migration, as is shown by the differences in the foundation myths of each city, a lack of regional cohesion, and the individuality and autonomy of each city-state.

Still, the scholarship discussing this region and its migration/colonization events are rooted in the East-West dichotomy, a dichotomy whose border lies at the Eastern frontier of Ionia, along the lands controlled by the Athenian Delian League (Fig. 3):<sup>27</sup> as Jack Martin Balcer claimed in 1985, “such an analysis of the Ionian frontier is both unrealistic and non-historical, and a new analysis must be considered”.<sup>28</sup> This study displays how such a dichotomy is unhelpful by discussing the identity of the population of Ephesos, traditionally west of this border, and how more research and publication needs to be done in order to better classify this region.

The traditional narrative also treats Herodotos as the chief expert on Western Anatolian matters. As Herodotos was born in Halikarnassos (in Doris or Caria, depending on the outlook), and was possibly a child of a mixed Greek-Anatolian family,<sup>29</sup> it is likely that he understood the sociopolitical landscape of the region well. His work, however, is not a study of the peoples and cultures of Western Anatolia, though ethnography and genealogy are clear interests of his. Rather, the work is about the hostilities between the Persians and Greeks, with the discussion of

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<sup>25</sup> E.g. Roebuck 1961, 1979, Cook 1964, Vanschoonwinkel 2006. Roebuck 1961 p495: “[the Ionian] migration was made by a cohesive group of Greeks...over a relatively short period of time.” Malkin 2009, p373: “Modern scholars tend to characterize the early Dark Age ‘Ionian migration’ as a mass exodus.”

<sup>26</sup> E.g. Hall 2002, Kowalzig 2005, Crielaard 2009, Greaves 2010, Mac Sweeney 2013, 2017.

<sup>27</sup> The “Delian League” was the official name of the naval empire controlled by Athens.

<sup>28</sup> Balcer 1985, p32.

<sup>29</sup> The *Suda*, an 11<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine encyclopedia, lists Herodotos’ father as “Lyxes” and his cousin as Panyassis – both Carian names (Mac Sweeney 2013 p23).



Western Anatolia being a small part of Book One used as background information on conflict between the East and the West. Herodotos must be recognized as a Greek source, and also one with possible Athenian influence.<sup>30</sup> As Athens claimed the Ionian cities as subjects of its naval empire after the Greco-Persian Wars, the time in which Herodotos wrote at least part of his work, his discussion of the region must be carefully analyzed.

Despite evidence that the region had a complex local identity, Herodotos makes it clear that Ephesos was both an “Ionian” and a “Greek” city. The traditional narrative has accepted this without challenge, claiming Ephesos and the Artemision as part of the “Ionian” ethnic group within a region, Ionia, consisting of Greek cities populated by Greek people worshipping Greek deities and speaking the Greek language. The application of evidence to this entrenched idea is an example of “positivism,” which holds that “through building observation-based theories about the world, and testing those theories against the world, we are able to accurately describe the true nature of the world”.<sup>31</sup> Classical archaeology is plagued by this; as belief in the accuracy of ancient literature became entrenched in the traditional narrative, the stories themselves were given primacy over other forms of information, and were used as a reference point against which such information was tested. This allows archaeologists to claim an aspect of ancient literature “proven” by collected information, when really the information is being selectively used and

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<sup>30</sup> Herodotos spent some time in Athens and later joined an Athenian colony at Thurii in Southern Italy, and his work suggests that he may have written for an Athenian audience (e.g. making analogies which require an understanding of Athens and Attica, such as in 1.98, 2.7, 4.99), and at times expresses pro-Athenian views (e.g. 7.139 claims Athens to be “the saviors of Greece” immediately after mention of an event of the Peloponnesian War, in which Athens was using this claim to justify its empire). There is considerable scholarly debate on this topic. See: Jacoby 1913, Strasburger 1955, Fornara 1971, Evans 1979, Ostwald 1991. Excerpts which some claim to be pro-Athenian include 3.80, 5.78, 6.121-24, 7.139. Later historians Plutarch and Eusebius believed that Herodotos was granted a financial reward from the Athenian assembly for his work, with Plutarch citing a historian of the late 4<sup>th</sup> century, Diyllus of Athens. This claim is unproven.

<sup>31</sup> Jones 2002, p4.

interpreted based on how well it fits with a preconceived hypothesis based on such literature. Ancient sources should certainly not be ignored, but neither should they hold such influence over historical and archaeological investigations. Herodotos is but one source, one that comes with personal bias and singular perspective; he is useful, and he should be used, but with the scrutiny that the field demands.

When the region of Ionia is examined as a prehistoric site without literary sources, many of the conclusions that have been held for centuries disappear, and it becomes clear that such conclusions were based on assumptions that, in looking at the evidence and using careful analysis, are found to not be representative of the region. For hundreds of years, antiquarians and archaeologists flocked to this area for treasure hunting and temple spotting, attempting to unveil the “East Greeks,” and using Herodotos as a guide. The narrative that they created is the result of a negative feedback loop that links Herodotos to sites and sites to Herodotos, of literary positivism in using archaeology to justify the “truth” of the idolized historian, and of disregard for attempting to understand the communities of Ionia as whatever they may have been. Greaves explains that “anyone who began their study of Ionian culture with Herodotos’ *Histories* and set about matching the archaeological evidence to it could easily construct a history of the region that would validate [his] interpretation”.<sup>32</sup>

### **Contribution and Goal**

The goal of this study is to challenge the traditional narrative of Ionia that is influenced by Athenocentric views and Herodotos’ characterizations, including the categorization of

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<sup>32</sup> Greaves 2010, xvi.

Ephesos and the Artemision as boxed together with the rest of Ionia in being culturally and ethnically Greek within some larger Panhellenic quasi-national identity. It provides a case study of the incredible variation in Ionian identities through discussion of the mixed and hybrid aspects of Ephesian culture, ethnicity, and community. Combining a diversity of source material with multiple approaches and methodologies, this study reveals a closer understanding of who the Ephesians were and shows the value of using identity in multiple capacities in archaeological and historical scholarship. Furthermore, it urges the scholarly community to reanalyze Western Anatolia and the region of Ionia and to dispel preconceived notions of the area that are rooted in imperial propaganda and literary positivism.

## Methodology

Identifying the cultural, ethnic, and community identity of an ancient city is a challenge that requires constant awareness of how possible evidence can lead to assumptions or faulty analysis. It is important to first make clear the boundaries within which the evidence of these populations' attributes can function by defining and clarifying terms, discussing their relevance, and examining the quality, use, and possible issues in the application of different evidence.

The term "identity" most often refers to how individuals see and categorize themselves. In discussing populations, collective decisions like cultural preferences, ethnic ties, and community actions can be searched to understand how groups identify. A given population's cultural preferences, ethnic ties, and community performances can illustrate who they were and how they saw themselves. This information, taken together, allows scholarship to better recognize unique or differing aspects of their identity, better understand how members of the population identified, and better categorize (or not categorize) them.<sup>1</sup>

The most effective way of understanding a group is to think locally;<sup>2</sup> each individual, household, and city is different. By analyzing the people of a city, an understanding of the city can be gained; by analyzing the cities in a region, an understanding of the region can be gained. Here, the cultural, ethnic, and communal traits of Ephesians are analyzed to understand the city;

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<sup>1</sup> Many aspects of identity and of group identity are not discussed here, such as gender, socioeconomics, political leanings, legal designation (e.g. citizen, metic, slave), et al. As the population of a *polis* such as Ephesos contains multiples of these groups and they exist here regardless (so far as we know) of an identification as "Greek" or "Anatolian," they are omitted.

<sup>2</sup> "Local" in this regard is perhaps what the ancient Ionians may have perceived as "national" identity, since the *polis* was perceived as the nation/fatherland. These terms are here used in line with their modern meanings, where "local" identification is that of the *polis* – the city and its surrounding area – and "national" identification is that of a larger sense of "Greekness," or "Panhellenism." This confusion does not apply to larger political groups, such as kingdoms and empires, as national identity would have formed around them.

only when there is a better understanding of more cities in Ionia can there be an understanding and an accurate categorization of the region.

Analysis of cultural, ethnic, and community identity combine to produce a more accurate awareness of how the people of Ephesos saw themselves. This study does not use a “best” or singular approach to the discussion of the population’s identity or use some evidence and ignore others, but utilizes as much evidence as is feasible and multiple approaches to identity studies to paint the best picture possible.

### **Cultural Identity**

Culture is a natural starting point for discussion of identity within a population group. Analyzing the evidence of cultural ideals in different facets of cultural expression help scholars understand unique aspects of local culture, embodiments of regional ideals, and influence from external societies. Culture cannot be dictated or classified by one singular attribute; however, if one cultural trait becomes a boundary to entry, it can be a distinguishing factor in the eyes of that cultural group. As the Greek-barbarian dichotomy is largely linguistic (i.e. the idea that Greeks speak Greek and barbarians do not),<sup>3</sup> language is often seen as the only relevant attribute and is thus regarded as a boundary to entry in Greek society.

Local culture can be defined by site-specific practices and preferences that differ in some form from regional (i.e. Ionian or Western Anatolian) or national (i.e. “Panhellenic” / “Greek”) culture. An example of this may be in language, where a local dialect refers to some things by different names, or a local accent pronounces or spells words differently. Regional ideals, either

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<sup>3</sup> The term “barbarian” is not meant negatively, as it is now understood. Rather, the Greek word *barbaroi* means “non-Greek speaker”, and was used for “foreigner” or “non-Greek” – hence the dichotomy.

accepted or rejected by a population, can illustrate how the group chose to identify within their region. In border populations, looking at which aspects of culture are accepted or rejected from which region show how the community identified or on what ideals it was fragmented. Influence from external cultural groups suggests a relationship in some regard. The level of influence and acceptance of that influence indicates the strength of the relationship and can indicate how strongly the local population identified as belonging to the same sphere as that external culture (or a space partially within it).

### **Ethnic Identity**

Discussion of ethnicity in history and archaeology has grown popular over the last thirty years,<sup>4</sup> but attempts at defining the term within archaeology remain a constant challenge.<sup>5</sup> However, certain attributes of ethnicity and parameters for its study have been formulated. Most important among them is the recognition that ethnicity is not an objective trait, but is subjectively perceived.<sup>6</sup> While ethnicity is often carried by blood relation, it is not reliant on it, and thus genetic makeup is not an objective indication of ethnicity, nor ethnicity an objective indication of kinship. Max Weber defined “ethnic groups” as “groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent,” sourced from similarities in type, custom, or memories of colonization or migration.<sup>7</sup> Andreas Wimmer, writing in 2013, had little to change in defining ethnicity as:

A subjectively felt belonging to a group that is distinguished by a shared culture and by common ancestry. This belief in shared culture and ancestry rests on cultural practices perceived as

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<sup>4</sup> For an up-to-date discussion of the study of ethnicity in archaeology, see Harland 2021, p41-54.

<sup>5</sup> Jones 1996, Lucy 2005.

<sup>6</sup> Weber 1968, Wimmer 2013.

<sup>7</sup> Weber 1968, p389.

‘typical’ for the community, or on myths of a common historical origin, or on phenotypical similarities indicating common descent.<sup>8</sup>

In this study, cultural identity is treated separately from ethnic identity and phenotypical similarities are not considered; rather, ancestry, geographic ties, and a shared myth of descent are examined in identifying the ethnic identity of groups.<sup>9</sup> Though language is a common defining factor of ethnicity in scholarship,<sup>10</sup> it is here considered an aspect of culture.<sup>11</sup> Being “Greek,” as opposed to being “barbarian,” is a matter of group identity, not ethnicity, and though it is most commonly a linguistic distinction, Herodotos himself explains that the sense of “Greekness,” or Hellenic identity, is a complex combination of culture and ethnicity: “the kinship of all Greeks in blood and speech, and the shrines of gods and the sacrifices that we have in common, and the likeness of our way of life”.<sup>12</sup>

Ephesos was a city of various people; their ancestors had migrated from different places, spoke different languages, and maintained different ancestral traditions; however, they all lived and died in the same geographic area with the demonym “Ephesian.” Despite claims that Ephesos was “Greek,” Ephesos has shown to be much more. Evidence of Ephesos being populated by Greeks and non-Greeks with separate ethnic ties imply that it was a multiethnic city. A lack of social differentiation between different ancestral/ethnic groups shows that the

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<sup>8</sup> Wimmer 2013, p7.

<sup>9</sup> Although ancestry is not an objective indication of ethnic identity, it is commonly used as an indication of ethnic ties, and remains useful to discuss. A group with varying ancestries does not *prove* it to be “multiethnic,” as group ethnic identity is a quality of social cohesion, but it does *hint* at this being a possibility. Furthermore, multiethnic societies without social differentiation between members with different ancestral traditions or traits may have a singular, local, socially constructed ethnic identity (such as a population with separate ethnic identities, within an area, that identifies locally as multi-ethnic with minimal differentiation between these ethnic identities).

<sup>10</sup> E.g. Hinge 2009.

<sup>11</sup> Hall 1997, p32 explains: “cultural features do not ultimately define the ethnic group. These are symbols that are manipulated according to subjectively constructed ascriptive boundaries.”

<sup>12</sup> Herodotos 8.144.2, trans. A.D. Godley.

population of Ephesos likely identified locally, considering themselves Ephesian rather than Ionian, Greek, or anything else.

### **Community Identity**

Community identity has become a popular approach to anthropological, historical, and archaeological research.<sup>13</sup> It focuses on the *social* aspects of society in determining the strength of communal ties and the values that the community expresses. While there have been references to communities in archaeology for decades,<sup>14</sup> the study of community identity within the field became more popular with the publication of Marcello Canuto and Jason Yaeger's 2000 publication, *The Archaeology of Community*. In it, they define the archaeological community as:

an ever-emergent social institution that generates and is generated by suprahousehold interactions that are structured and synchronized by a set of places within a particular span of time. Daily interactions rely on and, in turn, develop shared premises or understandings, which can be mobilized in the development of common community identities.<sup>15</sup>

Community studies in archaeology is particularly enlightening when applied to ill-understood regions or populations, such as those outside of historiography. In the context of Ephesos, it is well suited to discuss the EIA community at the Artemision,<sup>16</sup> which has been done by Catherine Steidl in her 2020 study, *Re-thinking communities: Collective identity and social*

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<sup>13</sup> Harris 2014 provides an in-depth discussion of the current state of community studies in archaeology, and Mac Sweeney 2011 p1-58 gives an overview of its usage in scholarship and outlines important methodology.

<sup>14</sup> E.g. Childe 1940.

<sup>15</sup> Canuto and Yaeger 2000, p5.

<sup>16</sup> While this study's analysis of community identity largely revolves around the EIA, further research of the Archaic and Classical period deposits, specifically in compiling pottery for statistical data that may be used in discussion of community identity, could be very helpful in recognizing patterns and the possible continuity (or lack thereof) of recognized traditions.



*experience in Iron-Age western Anatolia*. As she so aptly explains: “if the goal is to categorize people so that we might understand their relatedness to—and ultimately their interactions with—one another, then an understanding of identity that is rooted *in that interaction* is more effective”.<sup>17</sup> This study does not contest what approach is more or less effective at generating an understanding of population identity; it recognizes that each approach has value, and seeks to use as much available information as possible from multiple approaches.

Looking for evidence of community identity gives archaeologists the ability to understand to what extent a population was unified in its perception of self, as well as what that perception was. If a community was unified, through what cultural ideals was it unified? If it was disjointed, through what ideals did its population differentiate? As a community’s identity revolves around a collective sense of “us,” it is important to recognize the community’s sense of “them.” Looking at what ideals produced a sense of “otherness” and were not socially accepted can help identify how the community was unified in its identity.

Ephesos is a challenging city to analyze for community identity; as the sites of the cities predating the Hellenistic period remain undiscovered, there have not been any urban public spaces excavated. The Artemision, on the other hand, has been thoroughly excavated, and as the main sanctuary of the city, it offers great insight into how the community identified. Using the Artemision as a discussion for the community of Ephesians,<sup>18</sup> there is clear evidence of the population being united in the social enactments of its belief system, the shared use of this communal space, and the performance of enactments of community across traditional lines.

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<sup>17</sup> Steidl 2020, p27.

<sup>18</sup> Using the Artemision to project conclusions on the city of Ephesos is dangerous; showing close ties between the sanctuary, the city, and its population assuages this problem, though it is still an important issue to recognize.

## Evidence and Applications

*Geography:* Local geography is vital to understanding any population.<sup>19</sup> The landscape is an active participant in any population at any level and it determines what that population can and cannot do. Landscape determines access to necessities and resources, communication and exchange with other populations, and, eventually, its preservation in the archaeological record. Most important for historians and archaeologists, the geography of Western Anatolia defined the relationships that populations had with each other, as well as what was built and where.

*Material Culture:* The material culture excavated in Western Anatolia is vast and comes from every step along the three hundred year route toward modern archaeological practices, from 18<sup>th</sup> century antiquarians searching for valuable “treasures” and impressive constructions, to modern academic institutions undertaking scientific analyses of excavation sites. This long history of excavation and study has produced a massive quantity of information and finds, but has also created many problems: early excavators were Hellenocentric and Athenocentric, they spread finds across the globe, and documented digs poorly, to name only a few issues. More recent publications and excavations are of greater value to us; these are used as much as possible.

*Architecture:* Architecture is also analyzed in discussion of cultural and community identity. The influence on construction design and material evidence used by cities is telling of idea exchange and cultural modeling. Architecture of shared social spaces, such as public buildings or religious sites, can show how a community used a communal space, and from that, possible conclusions can be drawn as to their social cohesion and shared values.

*Literature (Poetry, Oral History, Historiography):* Literary evidence regarding Anatolia from the EIA is minimal, as the alphabetic system was young and primarily used in official and

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<sup>19</sup> It is particularly helpful in identifying long-term trends, as shown by the *Annales* school.

epigraphical forms, before forming into verse and later into the longer publications of the logographers in the Archaic period and what Herodotos called *ἱστορία* – *historia*, literally “investigation” – during the Classical period.<sup>20</sup>

Analyzing literary source material from the Archaic and Classical periods is particularly challenging due to the overwhelming influence of Athenian ideals on the historical and literary record. Over time, codified in the Classical period by Pericles’ famous designation of Athens as “the school of Hellas” in Thoukydides,<sup>21</sup> Athenians became more culturally disposed to writing than the rest of mainland Greece, and its wealth as an imperial capital drew non-Athenian intellectuals to the city. However, this disposition was formed after a vibrant tradition of writing and investigation had taken hold in Western Anatolia. The “East Greeks” living in coastal Ionia were responsible for early attempts at history and chronicling, pre-Socratic philosophy, scientific inquiry and the use of the scientific method, mathematical theory, and possibly even the codification of oral history.<sup>22</sup> Herodotos is a continuation of this tradition, coming from Halikarnassos, but his time in Athens had brought him to a city whose empire had created an environment that allowed academia and scholarship to flourish. This created a deep-seated fascination among later scholars, leading to the selective recopying and maintaining of Athenian works and resulting in a lack of diversity of perspective as these works were deemed more important to know or more valuable to copy than those from non-Athenian sources. This fascination spread to include the rest of Greek civilization, maintained in its separation from other societies by the Greek-barbarian language dichotomy, and Greek, specifically the Athenian dialect, became a *lingua franca* of scholarship, with other languages fading into non-existence

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<sup>20</sup> For a discussion of the development of the Greek language, see Christidis 2007.

<sup>21</sup> Thoukydides 2.41.1.

<sup>22</sup> E.g. Hekataios, Thales, Anaximandros, Pythagoras. For discussion of Homer, see Lefkowitz 2012.

before copies or translations were attempted on any sort of noticeable scale. It is because of this phenomenon, performed throughout the millennia since the earliest Greek writings, that every remaining ancient literary source discussing the region of Ionia is written in Greek, and most of them from Athens. The literature is thus inherently Hellenocentric, and particularly Athenocentric.

Foundation myth, which must be carefully analyzed as oral history and not belonging originally to the written record, illustrates how a population's heritage was viewed; whether by themselves or by others. Examining the content of these stories along with who told them, who repeated them, and when and why they were retold, further elaborates upon the historical and social context in which they existed.

*Epigraphy*: Epigraphical sources, comprising texts inscribed on solid materials like stone, wood, and ceramics, can be extremely helpful, as they allow scholars a direct look at what was written, where, and often for what purpose. Inscriptions can provide important information for identification, such as attributing a temple to a certain deity, an area to its political jurisdiction, or a construction to its patron,<sup>23</sup> but in many cases the interpretation of epigraphy is heavily subjective. Analyzing an inscription's content and context allows for branching out, and making certain assumptions about them can contribute to drawing conclusions, although it is imperative to recognize these assumptions and note these conclusions as based on assumptions.<sup>24</sup>

Epigraphy and the use of written language in Western Anatolia is primarily in Greek, though there are cases of Carian and Lydian inscriptions throughout the region. The existence of epigraphy in a given language, although not proof of a literate population in that language, can

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<sup>23</sup> Examples reference the attribution of the Zeytintepe sanctuary to Aphrodite, Çatallar Tepe to the city of Priene, and the Archaic Artemision to Croesus.

<sup>24</sup> While this is dangerous, making assumptions is necessary to creating possible theories; the damage is lessened by recognizing that the theory is based partially on assumption.

hint that it was capable of being read.<sup>25</sup> It is recognized that a conclusion of literacy based on epigraphy is a conclusion based on the assumption that an inscription could be read by some members of the population; it is not evidence of widespread literacy, but it hints at the literacy of some, which is still helpful. As the alphabet was a new and developing system in this region in the Archaic period, there is variance in its use and applications to different languages, some of which (Anatolian) are less understood than others (Greek). This makes analysis of epigraphy challenging and often Hellenocentric.

Graffiti is unique from other epigraphy in that it offers a glimpse at an aspect of ancient populations that is so frequently unknown and/or disregarded: the perceptions of the commoner. It is unclear how literate Western Anatolian populations were, but evidence of graffiti, especially when occupation is known or listed, can be a great help to understanding the literacy of a population. The content of the graffiti also frequently reveals information regarding the population, such as in cases that mention aspects of culture (e.g. religion/myth).

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<sup>25</sup> This varies on a case-by-case basis. While personal epigraphy, such as graffiti, proves the literacy of a single individual, public inscriptions hint at the possibility of wider literacy; for example, Greaves 2010 p17 claims that “inscriptions erected in temples were presumably designed to be read by someone.” This also applies to bilingual inscriptions.

## Regional Identity

Though heavily influenced by the often-discussed dichotomizing spheres of the Aegean and mainland Greece to the West and Anatolia to the East, the coastal region of Western Anatolia was its own sphere with its own identities. It is important to note that each city and population has exhibited local expressions of identity along with varying degrees of external cultural influence. As this study is attempting to challenge the traditional narrative of a simplistic label of Greek identity among the coastal Western Anatolian cities by focusing on the area and population of Ephesos in Ionia, it does not discuss evidence of a regional identity among the Ionians that was distinct from their presumed Athenian progenitors and the rest of the Greek mainland, though much scholarship on this topic has been done.<sup>1</sup>

Of the “East Greeks,” the Ionians are the most prominent agents in the historical record. Twelve Ionian cities formed themselves into the “Ionian League”; Miletos, Myous, and Priene “in Caria,” Ephesos, Kolophon, Lebedos, Teos, Klazomenai, and Phokaia “in Lydia,” Samos and Chios on Aegean islands, and Erythrai in an unspecified region “on the mainland”.<sup>2</sup> This “League” was a loose alliance which appears to be almost purely symbolic and only slightly cultural, with each *polis* having complete autonomy and their own cultural and ethnic differences and identities. While arguments that Ionia had a shared Greek identity is made through a geographical connection with Greece via the Aegean, Greek ancestry through the Ionian migration, a common Greek language, political jurisdiction of “Greek” cities in “Greek” ways, Greek art, architecture, and other cultural and symbolic traits, Greek polytheism, and Greek-style

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<sup>1</sup> For current scholarship on Ionian identity see Crielaard 2009, Greaves 2010, Mac Sweeney 2013.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotos 1.142. Smyrna is often considered as being Ionian, as Herodotos claims that it originally was Aeolian before being captured through Kolophonian deception; see Herodotos 1.150-51.

pan-Ionian expressions of culture, the body of evidence excavated from Ionia and a close analysis of literary material shows that these traits are not universal to the region, and in many cases such arguments are problematic.

Ionian cultural identity has become more attractive to scholarship as scholarship's understanding of the region and the awareness of its reliance on a problematic traditional narrative has increased. Many scholars are no longer satisfied with accepting Herodotos as the expert on Ionian culture or with accepting the Athenian perspective as the only perspective. In fact, Herodotos himself is far more vague: "Herodotos' definitions of what it means to be ethnically "Ionian" are a string of inherent contradiction...his account of Ionian communality constantly undermines itself".<sup>3</sup> Greaves' *The Land of Ionia* highlights the identities of Ionia as being local, with an overwhelming sense of "hybridity".<sup>4</sup> Mac Sweeney's *Foundation Myths and Politics in Ancient Ionia* is more clear:

The Ionians do not seem to have seen themselves as being *either* Greek *or* Barbarian, *either* European *or* Asian. Instead, they seem to have constructed their past with a greater sense of fluidity and ambiguity. Instead of black and white, they paint in varying shades of grey, undermining the binary codes that others sought to place upon them.<sup>5</sup>

Neither work claims Ionians to be Anatolian, nor do they maintain Ionian "Greekness." That is not to say that these cities were not Greek, or their populations not Greek, or that they had minimal ties to the Greek mainland; rather, the point to be made is that these populations were complex, dynamic, diverse, ambiguous, hybrid, fluid, and mixed; they were also, similar to the populations of mainland Greece and the Aegean islands, probably *locally* identifying before anything else. With this in mind, this study does not seek to understand a sense of overarching

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<sup>3</sup> Kowalzig 2005, p49. (E.g in 1.146-7 he claims that Ionians are those celebrate the Apatouria and have Athenian ancestry, but that not all of them celebrate the festival or come from Athens.)

<sup>4</sup> Greaves 2010.

<sup>5</sup> Mac Sweeney 2013, p199.

Ionian identity; rather, it seeks to show the variance present in Ionia, which Greaves and Mac Sweeney have gone to great lengths to explain, through analysis of the city of Ephesos. More evidence, research, and scholarship on *every* city and village in Ionia is needed to get a more complete picture of this region – Ephesos is but one example of how applying this methodology in attempting to understand identity may lead to greater understanding of the so-called “East Greeks.”



## **The City of Ephesos and the Artemision**

Ephesos was located on the coast of Northern Ionia in Western Anatolia, at the easiest point of access to the sea from Sardis. It was joined with the suburban sanctuary of Artemis, usually called the Artemision, which predates the Greek arrival to the area.<sup>1</sup> Excavations and literary analysis have shown a close relationship between Ephesos and Sardis, as well as between the descendants of Greek migrants and the indigenous Lydians and Carians that occupied the area before the migration. The remainder of this study examines the viability of viewing Ephesos as a city with a hybrid culture, a mixed ethnicity, and a diverse, local community identity; evidence is discussed regarding geography, language, cult practices, art and iconography, genetic mixing, stories of foundation, the population's social and communal spaces and activities, and their relationship with external groups – both Greek and non-Greek.

### **Excavation History and Sources**

Ephesos has been the longest excavated site in the region of Ionia, with digging started in 1863 under J.T. Wood with cooperation from the British Museum. Excavations have been carried out by the Austrian Archaeological Institute since 1895, taking hiatuses for the World Wars. In 150 years, only a fraction of the area has been excavated, mostly revealing Ottoman, Byzantine, and Roman material. The site's Bronze Age finds, a small area from the Archaic period,<sup>2</sup> and the Artemision are the only remnants of the pre-Hellenistic Ephesian population.

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<sup>1</sup> The sanctuary predates the Ionian migration, whether it was dedicated to Artemis or not is unknown. This is supported by archaeological and historical evidence.

<sup>2</sup> These Archaic period objects, first excavated in 1987, were found under the Roman agora. There is nothing that indicates the spot of their discovery to be the location of a city.

As the Artemision is mentioned in the Bible and was labeled one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, early antiquarians were drawn to the site and resolved to find it. This resulted in an excavation by J.T. Wood from 1863-1874. The Artemision was discovered within a swampy area that made excavation slow and dangerous. Wood, unfortunately, blatantly disregarded even the most elementary archaeological practices and his record-keeping was incredibly poor.<sup>3</sup> After the Austrians began their excavations in 1895, the British sent another man, David George Hogarth, in 1904 and 1905 to find the temple's altar, which he discovered with many other important finds. The temple and its surrounding area has continued to be excavated, with a wealth of information coming from more recent excavations and subsequent publications. It has been shown that the site was occupied from the 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards, cementing an Anatolian presence before the Ionian migration, and the fact that these early finds point to cult activity suggests that the Artemision may have been a continuously operating sanctuary that the Greek colonists shared with the previous Anatolian inhabitants.<sup>4</sup>

Excavations of the area around the Byzantine church of St. John on Ayasoluk Hill, which overlooks the Artemision, have also discovered a Bronze Age settlement. This site, complete with defensive walls, tombs, and a sanctuary, has been convincingly argued to be the Arzawan city of Apaša.<sup>5</sup> Besides the Artemision and the settlement on Ayasoluk Hill, the only structures pre-dating the Hellenistic period have come from underneath the Roman agora, where not much was found besides a few 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century houses.<sup>6</sup> Though promising, finds from the Roman agora do not suggest it to be the location of the Archaic city, as the area was likely outside of the city. As with much of the region, the continuous aggradation of the coastline makes sites hard to

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<sup>3</sup> Greaves 2010, p24.

<sup>4</sup> Shown in Bammer and Muss 1996, Forstenpointner, Kerschner, and Muss 2008, et al.

<sup>5</sup> Bammer and Muss 2007, Kerschner 2018.

<sup>6</sup> Kerschner 2018, p488.

locate, and means that pre-Hellenistic cities were almost certainly not static. Herodotos refers to an “old town”,<sup>7</sup> as well as a possible separate harbor town or neighborhood of Koressos,<sup>8</sup> although this is unclear. As the coastal region began to fill in, leaving Ephesos ever further from the water, the Ephesians had to either move closer to the shore, or construct new ports at the water’s edge, which may explain an inland archaic city with an adjacent port (hence Herodotos’ mention of Koressos). The search for these areas continues, restricted by the remains of later constructions, the need for extensive geological surveying, and four meters of soil atop Archaic period stratigraphy.<sup>9</sup>

### **Geography**

The seas surrounding Western Anatolia are the Aegean to the West and the Eastern Mediterranean to the South, connecting the coastal populations not only to its coastal neighbors and the Greek world, but to the rest of the Mediterranean as well. The coast is well defined by peninsulas and offshore islands, making neighbors across bays and straits easily accessible. In direct conjunction with these peninsulas and islands are large mountainous ridges running on an East-West axis, making overland travel to the North or South difficult, but to the East or West quite simple. Between these ranges run rivers, and with them, fertile valleys. The categorization of Western Anatolian regions is often delineated by these mountains and valleys. Ionia is cut across by two such mountain ridges; the Çesme, or ancient Erythrai/Mimas, and Samsun Dağı, or ancient mount Mykale. These formidable barriers divide the region into three valleys; the

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<sup>7</sup> Herodotos 1.26.

<sup>8</sup> Herodotos 5.100.

<sup>9</sup> Kerschner 2018, p489.

Hermos, Kaystros, and Maiandros Valleys. Though the exact locations of the pre-Hellenistic Ephesian cities remain unknown, the area in which they stood lay on a bay between the Mimas and Mykale mountain ridges near where the Kaystros River met the Aegean Sea (Fig. 2). Both the river valley, mountain ranges, and the gulf/sea played important roles for the city and its inhabitants.

The rivers of Ionia, running down from the inland mountains to the coast, carried with them a massive amount of sediment, depositing alluvium at their mouths and rapidly (in a geological sense of time) extending the coastline. The bay on which Ephesos resided has been filled in, and the Roman town is now multiple kilometers from the coast. Besides a lack of archaeological data from the populated areas of these periods, there has also not been enough, and may never be enough, archaeological information from the extra-urban areas to know how the land was used in the region surrounding the city.

Both the mountains and the sea played an important role at Ephesos. The sea and rivers likely provided plentiful fish, mountains and hills could be used for grazing or as quarries, and the valleys would have been arable and fertile. As discussed above, connection with groups outside of the local area were limited to maritime travel, or Eastern inland routes (which may have been aided by river navigation). The bays would have allowed for multidirectional connection to closer neighboring coastal cities, and using offshore islands as markers allowed for easy navigation along the coast, from the Black Sea to Rhodes, and from there ships could sail along the coast to the Eastern Mediterranean or directly south to Egypt.

The sea was most important as Ephesos' connection westward, and as a region with ties to mainland Greece and heavily involved with maritime industry and trade, it was an easy connection. As much of Greece was similarly maritime, the entirety of the Aegean was

connected. The Athenians developed the Aegean's strongest navy in the late Archaic period, and after destroying the Persian fleet at the Battle of Mykale in 479, took advantage of this connection and extended this power over the rest of the Sea in the name of the Delian League (Fig. 3). A maritime empire, Athens was able to control Ionia, and with it Ephesos, via the sea. As much of the surviving source material comes from Athens during the imperial period, the Ephesians' western connection through the sea is emphasized. Furthermore, as Classical archaeology is more concerned with the "Greek" coast, it is far better understood than inland areas. It is important to recognize this information imbalance, and to understand that considering only the sea overemphasizes the western connection, while Ephesos' eastern connection may have been of even greater importance to the city and its population.

Western Anatolia's valleys make Eastern travel extremely convenient; Ephesos' connection along these valleys has been long established. The inland area of Western Anatolia near Ephesos, particularly the rich kingdom of Lydia, likely used Ephesos as a means to access the sea, relying on the coastal city as a port for exporting and importing goods. That the 5<sup>th</sup> century "Royal Road" of the Persian Empire connected its capital of Susa to Sardis is telling of the importance of an overland connection to Western Anatolia. Though the road was built for communication between the imperial capital and its important Northwestern frontier, merchants or travelers could use this road to reach Sardis, and from there to Ephesos and the Aegean. The road was also connected to the Khurasan Road, which led into Central Asia and was an important long-distance Eurasian trade route.

The geographical location of Ephesos positioned it well to become a wealthy city. Its wealth is evident in the city's monuments, goods, and geopolitical role. A close relationship with the famously rich city of Sardis (and Sardis' Eastern connections) was imperative to this, as

Ephesos may be called the “port of Sardis”.<sup>10</sup> Rare and expensive goods found from Egypt are another highlight of such wealth, as well as Ephesos’ important role (and likely important stopping point), in these massive trade routes.

Besides being an important city with global connections, the local area inland from Ephesos was also of importance. This area, referred to as a city’s *chora*, was populated by extra-urban or rural villages and homesteads that were strongly connected to the city. These groups were likely far more connected to the land itself, probably using it for agriculture and herding; they relied on the city and the city relied on them.

Considering the nature of the Ephesian landscape, with evidence of the city having political autonomy, it is likely that the *polis* and *chora* were much more important to the local population than any regional Ionian or quasi-national Panhellenic entity. There is not much evidence regarding this area and its inhabitants, so every possible source of information must be analyzed to get the best picture possible; reflecting on the landscape of Ephesos allows scholarship to step back from the source material and consider the aspects of its location and the role it may have played in the population’s lives. It becomes clear that Ephesos was not simply a conduit of East-West exchange, and did not sit firmly connected either to the East or the West, but was a dynamic city with variance in its external ties.

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<sup>10</sup> Georges 1994, p29.

## **Ephesian Cultural Identity**

This study's examination begins with discussion of Ephesian identity by analyzing the aspects of culture evident in the literary and archaeological record. Evidence of Ephesian language, religion, and artistic preferences are reviewed to understand how this group of people were culturally aligned, paying particular attention to cultural attributes that show a *hybrid* or multi-cultural nature of the population through its eastern connections.

### **Language**

Language was the major point of distinction in Greek culture: there were Greek speaking Greeks, and there were non-Greek speaking barbarians. However, this was not necessarily the case for Ionia, and there is an argument to be made that this label is undeserved. Herodotos tells of different dialects within the Ionian cities: Miletos, Myous, and Priene had a Carian influenced dialect of Greek, while Ephesos, along with Kolophon, Lebedos, Teos, Klazomenai, and Phokaia spoke a Lydian-influenced dialect.<sup>1</sup> Alan Greaves claims that “the use of Anatolian words, names, and deities in the Greek inscriptions of Ionia suggest that there was a non-Greek speaking population”.<sup>2</sup> While this is likely the case, yet something that requires further investigation, at the very least the distinction between Greeks and barbarians in Ionia (philologically) appears to be vague, as there is no evidence to suggest any form of exclusion of non-Greek speakers from the Ionian societies.

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<sup>1</sup> Herodotos 1.142.

<sup>2</sup> Greaves 2010, p17. It is unknown how many non-Greek speakers also spoke Greek, and bilingualism or multilingualism may have been common among the population, especially considering how important both Greek and Anatolian influences were to the region.

Ephesos in particular shows signs of having Anatolian language speakers within its populace, as well as hints of a bilingual population. There are plenty of examples of Greek speakers from around the Archaic world; this does not necessarily place them within Greece, but within the Greek cultural sphere; a prominent example of this is Magna Graecia, or the southern part of Italy, which was thoroughly colonized by Greeks and remained a beacon of Greek culture well into its history as Roman territory. Neapolis, modern Naples, continued to use Greek as its primary language, yet it would be hard to categorize this city as a Greek city in the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE; it was a part of the Roman Empire, and even if its population largely spoke Greek, the bilingual nature of the population calls for hesitation.<sup>3</sup> The question remains: how do we categorize who is Greek and who is barbarian? What makes a city or region “Greek”? Retorting “they spoke Greek!” does not hold in discussions of identity in colonial areas, which Ephesos certainly was.

The best example to portray the ambiguous use of language in Archaic Ephesos is through analysis of their literature. Herodotos explains that the Ephesian dialect was Lydian influenced, but what do the Ephesians themselves say? Though there are only about three hundred extant fragments in the Ephesian dialect, those that remain are very telling. Hipponax, a lyric poet from the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, was regarded as a pioneer in entertainment and comedy. He was born in Ephesos but exiled to Klazomenai, also “in Lydia” and speaking the same dialect as Ephesos, according to Herodotos. It is unknown when this occurred in relation to his poetry, but as a native of Ephesos, it can be assumed that his speech is sufficiently “Ephesian” for analysis. His work, which survives in about two hundred fragments, is mostly satirical, parodic, and incredibly vulgar. Much of the language he uses is informal, and may be

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<sup>3</sup> The argument that Neapolis was “Romanized” after three hundred years of Roman rule comes up short in considering Ephesos’ centuries in Anatolia and Ionia’s conquest by the Lydians and Persians.



indicative of how the Ephesian dialect was spoken. Hipponax has exposed scholarship to Greek words that are uncommon or not used elsewhere in a Greek literary system that was more formal and dominated by the elite, such as in calling one rival a “mother-fucker,” Greek *μητροκοίτης* (from *μητρ-* (*mētēr*, “mother”) + *κοίτη* (*koitē*, “bed”). As the majority of the population was no doubt lower class, Hipponax’s eager admission of poverty is an even greater indication that his language was intended to be representative of the Ephesian population. This makes his frequent use of Anatolian words (and letters)<sup>4</sup> incredibly noteworthy.

At the time of Hipponax’s writing, the Greek alphabet was not fully formed.

Furthermore, regional dialects were common, and not only affected speech but writing as well. Philological and phonological analysis of Archaic poets present a challenge to scholarship, complicated not only by unknowns around the alphabetic system of the time and the dialect of the region, but also by archaic words surviving in later sources, which is often the case.

Hipponax in particular is troublesome, as the non-Greek words in his vocabulary come from languages that are not well understood due to their literature and epigraphy not surviving at a remotely comparable level to those of the Greek. While Hipponax is almost entirely understandable, and translations and analyses of his work have been given extreme care and focus by the scholarly community, in two hundred fragments, most of which are no more than a few lines, over thirty-five different possible non-Greek words have been identified.<sup>5</sup> Some of these he uses on multiple occasions, as with *palmys* (Greek *παλμός*), the Lydian word for king, which he uses to describe such connections as Hermes’ relationship to his birthplace (“the king

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<sup>4</sup> Hipponax’s use of Anatolian letters is not discussed here. For more, such as the use of the Carian *sampi*, see Hawkins 2005.

<sup>5</sup> Hawkins 2005 discusses words that are likely or possibly Lydian as: *αρφυτνον*, *βαχχαρις*, *βασχ*, *βυχων*, *καμανδωλου*, *κανδαυλης*, *χαυης*, *μαυλιστηριον*, *παλμυς*, *σχαπερδευσαι*; words likely or possibly Phrygian as: *βεχος*, *δουμος*, *νηνιατος*; words possibly Anatolian as: *ασχερισχα*, *χυμινδης*, *σαμβαλισχα*; and around twenty others with unknown or Afroasiatic roots.

of Kyllene”)<sup>6</sup> and Zeus’ relationship to the other Olympians (“king of the Olympian gods”).<sup>7</sup> On other occasions, he uses foreign words for daily items, such as referring to bread with the Phrygian *bekos*. This is a single line fragment, reading: “to those having eaten bread (*bekos*) of Cyprian and Amathusian wheat”.<sup>8</sup> The full context is unknown, but “bread” is a puzzling word to choose to translate in a line otherwise in Greek. It is unclear what Hipponax’s motivations were for including these non-Greek words; perhaps it was natural to him, perhaps it was for comedic effect, or perhaps it was to maintain the meter. Whatever the case, it is very likely that the poor Ephesian poet knew some Lydian, Phrygian, and possibly other languages well enough to include them in his work, and that his readership knew them well enough to understand it. His multilingual skills are made evident in fragment 92: *ἡῦδα δὲ λυδίζουσα: βασκ...κρολεα*. “She spoke in Lydian: ‘*Faskati krolel*’”.<sup>9</sup> It was probably common for people of Ephesos to use their knowledge of Anatolian languages, especially as a city that thrived off of East-West trade and had a particularly close relationship to the Lydian capital of Sardis. Martin West claims that Hipponax uses an “admixture of foreign words that were presumably current in the colloquial speech of Ephesos”,<sup>10</sup> while Albin Lesky calls Hipponax’s use of foreign words an emulation of “the everyday speech of the Lydian hinterland,” with which the city’s population was inextricably tied.<sup>11</sup>

It is important to also note that Herakleitos, a famous Presocratic philosopher whose single book is no longer extant, and Kallinos, an elegiac poet of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, were also from Ephesos. Only a few fragments of Kallinos’ have survived, and almost exclusively regard

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<sup>6</sup> Gerber 1999, p355. Fragment 3.

<sup>7</sup> Gerber 1999, p385. Fragment 38.

<sup>8</sup> Gerber 1999, p457. Fragment 125, from Strabo 8.3.8.

<sup>9</sup> Gerber 1999, p421. Fragment 92.

<sup>10</sup> West 1993, pxviii.

<sup>11</sup> Lesky 1996, p116.

patriotism in war. Herakleitos has survived in one hundred or so fragments, though his language is famously confusing. No Lydian loanwords arise in either case. This is possibly a conscious decision with their audiences in mind, since Hipponax may have desired to entertain the lower-class majority in Ephesos or Klazomenai, while Herakleitos may have written to educate the elites of the Greek world, and Kallinos may have tried to embolden his compatriots against Anatolian enemies with the words of a perceived Greek fatherland. Considering this, Hipponax's informal use of words and focus on daily life is likely more indicative of how Ephesians spoke.

### **Religion**

Greek polytheism was incredibly fluid, and not all Greeks worshipped the same gods. Every *polis* had its own unique cults, patron deities, and list of divine priorities. Cult activity contained local elements in every corner of the Greek world. In Ionia, that manifested in influence from Anatolian cult practices and attribution to Anatolian deities. The Ephesians display a hybrid cult of Artemis, with clear ties to the city of Sardis and variety in burial.

There is evidence of the Artemision, and/or the area around it, being a sanctuary from the LBA, well before the Ionian migration. Pausanias, while repeating violent foundation myths of Greek conquests of the region, seems to appreciate the Artemision for being “far more ancient” than the events of the migration.<sup>12</sup> Alternate myths of foundation, which are discussed thoroughly in the following section, also attribute the sanctuary to local non-Greeks. Taking an archaeological approach to this issue, geographical attributes appear to mark the site as a holy one; the best example of this is the fresh water spring on the north side of the Ayasoluk Hill,

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<sup>12</sup> Pausanias 7.2.6.

which has been shown to be a common demarcation for neo-Hittite sanctuaries.<sup>13</sup> The later temples, of which there are many construction layers as the Artemision was renovated and rebuilt over the centuries, are built directly below the spring, likely where the Bronze Age sanctuary would have been situated accompanying the city of Apaša. Though the spring has now dried up, Bammer and Muss assert that it would have fed a waterfall that emptied into a basin cut from the bedrock; this basin has been identified archaeologically, along with surrounding rock-cut niches, a trademark Phrygian and Hittite construction.<sup>14</sup> These have been dated to the late LBA or early EIA.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, a bronze figurine of a Hittite priest was found not far away, at Panayir Dağı,<sup>16</sup> a neo-Hittite-style relief was found at Bülbül Dağı, which shows a human figure flanked by animals, including a deer,<sup>17</sup> a sanctuary of Cybele at Galesion Dağı,<sup>18</sup> and a Phrygian-style “shaft monument” also found on Bülbül Dağı.<sup>19</sup> Note that many of these structures and finds are hard to date, and while Anatolian cult-use of the area around the Artemision is strong, the possibility of continued use throughout the Archaic and Classical periods remains. It is not unlikely that the Greek world, from whose lens this site has been and still is predominantly viewed, and the elite communities of Ephesos and Sardis, whose remains archaeologists are far more likely to find, overplay the importance of the Artemision to the majority of the population, especially those in the rural areas surrounding the city that may have preferred Anatolian sanctuaries such as those mentioned above.

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<sup>13</sup> Bammer and Muss 2007.

<sup>14</sup> Bammer and Muss 2007, p99.

<sup>15</sup> Bammer and Muss 2007.

<sup>16</sup> Hanfmann 1962.

<sup>17</sup> İçten and Krinzinger 2004.

<sup>18</sup> Aydın 2007, p20.

<sup>19</sup> Bammer and Muss 2006.

The geographical and philological ties that the city of Ephesos held with its neighbor to the Northeast is discussed above, but religion united Lydians and Ephesians perhaps on an even greater scale. There was a Temple of Artemis (or *Artimu*), that was located in Sardis and was important to the population; here, Lydians did not worship the Artemis of the Greek tradition, but the Artemis of Ephesos. That the Artemision could have been a sort of “mother temple” to this temple would demonstrate the significance of the Artemision to the people of Sardis, and perhaps of Lydia as a whole. There is also mention of the temple being founded by the Ephesians, which would demonstrate even closer ties between the cities through such cooperation.<sup>20</sup> This cooperation went both ways, as Croesus funded the construction (or expansion) of the Artemision in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, complete with an inscription in both Greek and Lydian dedicating the temple as a gift from himself.<sup>21</sup> If it is assumed that inscriptions are meant to be read, this is evidence that Lydians worshipped at the site. If not, this is still evidence of Greek exposure to the Lydian language; that they allowed Croesus to inscribe Lydian onto their most important sanctuary, or building in general for that matter, is telling of their acceptance of Lydian language and culture. There is also a possibility that this was a political move, showing the strong connection between the temples, cities, and populations of Ephesos and Sardis. There was an annual procession between the two cities, as is clear from the Sacrilege Inscription, celebrating joint worship of Artemis – specifically Artemis of Ephesos.<sup>22</sup> From the Artemision to the Temple of Artemis in Sardis, this procession was likely an important event expressing the populations’ faith. The inscription tells of the death penalty for forty-five men (or boys/youths)

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<sup>20</sup> This is mentioned in the Sacrilege Inscription, translated in Dusinberre 2003, p236.

<sup>21</sup> Though the inscription is incomplete, the surviving Greek contains Croesus’ name, and both the Greek and Lydian contain “to give”/“to dedicate” verbs.

<sup>22</sup> Though the inscription dates from the Hellenistic period, there is no reason to believe the procession was a new development. For a translation, see Dusinberre 2003, Appendix no. 2, p235-37.

for “the sacred objects they profaned and the sacred messengers they assaulted”.<sup>23</sup> That so many would be killed for disrupting the procession shows how serious the cities were about the action of uniting the two temples, and thus the cities, in collective worship.

The Artemision itself was multi-ethnic at nearly every level, showing particular ties to the Lydians of Sardis. As recently mentioned, the 6<sup>th</sup> century temple was financed by Lydian king Croesus and contained his bilingual dedication. There is also evidence of Greek and non-Greek workmanship in the construction, as a Carian graffito has been found near the Artemision at the quarry believed to have been used for the marble in the construction of the temple,<sup>24</sup> and the architectural style of the temple itself has been argued to contain Lydian and other Near Eastern elements,<sup>25</sup> possibly intentionally designed to unite Greek and Lydian style as a reference to their union in worship at the site.<sup>26</sup> It can be nearly confirmed that Ephesians and Lydians worshipped at the site together, evidence of which includes the Sacrilege Inscription and references to the site in Lydian burials,<sup>27</sup> backed up by an assortment of Lydian goods found deposited in the temple.<sup>28</sup>

The goddess herself also shows signs of being a fusion deity with attributes of Greek and Anatolian cult traditions, possibly even being of Anatolian origin. A traditional conception of Artemis, that she is a Greek deity with Greek origins, must come up short in discussion of Ephesos. Her obviously strange attributes at Ephesos at the very least are due to maintaining

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<sup>23</sup> Dusinberre 2003, p236.

<sup>24</sup> Kerschner 2011.

<sup>25</sup> W.R. Lethaby 1917, p1 compared the stylistic attributes of the friezes along the lower parts of the walls to Assyrian, Persian, and Hittite practices and Marconi 2007, p24 argues that “the reliefs on the lower drums of the columns made reference to the neo-Hittite tradition in southern Anatolia and northern Syria of orthostates decorated by reliefs and of animal bases supporting columns.” Ratté 1993 linked styles with Lydian architecture.

<sup>26</sup> Marconi 2007, p24: Croesus’ construction “was clearly intended to support his policy of cultural unification of the Lydian kingdom, which included Greeks and non-Greeks.”

<sup>27</sup> “Artemis of Ephesos” is a common phrase in Lydian inscriptions from Sardis, especially on graves; some also reference the Artemision rather than the Temple of Artemis at Sardis. See Dusinberre 2003.

<sup>28</sup> Though not strong evidence in itself, as many “foreign” goods were found deposited, it contributes, with other stronger evidence, to the notion that Lydian worshippers practiced here.

some native Anatolian features as the Greeks entered the region and, through whatever reason, discarded previous worship to make the sanctuary a temple to the Greek Artemis. At most, she is a traditional and native Anatolian goddess with ties to previous Anatolian and Near Eastern traditions. The true nature of her history of worship at Ephesos remains unknown, but she has clearly retained traditional Anatolian characteristics, and in this regard, labeling her a hybrid deity after the Ionian migration seems reasonable.

The etymology of “Artemis” is uncertain. Linguistic analysis of Artemis, as well as her brother Apollo, find possible origins in various Anatolian languages, from Bronze Age Hittite and Luwian, to the later Lydian and Lycian.<sup>29</sup> Theories have even been proposed of her name having ties to Persian and Celtic, hinting at her possible origin within early Indo-European societies.<sup>30</sup> In the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the scholar Kallimachos’ *Hymn to Artemis* refers to the goddess as “Queen/Lady Upis” when referencing her in Ephesian contexts,<sup>31</sup> which may refer to her royalty by the name of the Bronze Age city, Apaša.<sup>32</sup> This would fit with the Bronze Age finds and structures discovered underneath the Artemision, as well as the possible connection to Hittite or Phrygian divination performed at the site, an oracular nature the sanctuary maintained into later periods.<sup>33</sup> This discussion of the names given to Artemis of Ephesos and her possible origins does not generate an objective answer to the question of her nature, but is certainly not fruitless. Establishing these connections is important in understanding cultural connections and identities, and it seems that in the case of Artemis of Ephesos, she was not wholly Greek.

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<sup>29</sup> Brown 2004.

<sup>30</sup> See Brown 2004, especially p253.

<sup>31</sup> Kallimachos, 3.204, 3.240.

<sup>32</sup> Morris 2001.

<sup>33</sup> Berndt-Ersöz 1998.

Artemis' status as a possible fusion deity is further exemplified in the non-Greek iconography of her cult image (Fig. 4). Since antiquity, her cult image has led scholars to assume her to be a local fertility goddess, coming from an interpretation that she is "many-breasted".<sup>34</sup> However, further investigation of this imagery leads in different directions; whatever the reality of this image, it is clearly not in line with the traditional Greek images of Artemis found on the mainland (at least those not worshipping the specific "Artemis of Ephesos," "Lady of Ephesos," or later "Diana of Ephesos"). There are other interpretations of varying acceptance for the bulbous objects adorning the figure, including that they were bull scrotums (which has been convincingly rejected);<sup>35</sup> animal-skin bags, or *Kuršas*, related to Hittite imagery of protection that may have been in place for the deity of Apaša;<sup>36</sup> or amber beads, which Morris believes can be traced back to Near Eastern Neolithic figurines and were common as a non-gendered "necklace," as seen in the Carian sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda – that amber beads were found in an 8<sup>th</sup> century destruction layer is further evidence that this may be the case.<sup>37</sup> It is unclear what these signify, though it is evident that this imagery was not Greek in origin. This does not mean that they are entirely Anatolian either, but rather an example of hybridity, as "a Greek transformation of an old Anatolian cult attribute".<sup>38</sup> Other Anatolian elements are exemplified in other facets of this image, including her *polos* headdress, her association with bees, and the style of the animal reliefs that decorate her legs.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> This is discussed in Bammer and Muss 1996, p73-75. They quote Hieronymos' (often called Saint Jerome) commentary on Paul's Epistles to the Ephesians as an example of this long-standing tradition: "The Ephesians worshiped the multi-breasted Diana" (p73).

<sup>35</sup> Seiterle 1979; Morris 2001 p430 believes this "can be dismissed."

<sup>36</sup> Morris 2001 p431, 2006 p70.

<sup>37</sup> Muss 2008, Morris 2001 p430-32.

<sup>38</sup> Morris 2006, p70.

<sup>39</sup> For more discussion of this, see Morris 2001, Morris 2006.



The rituals performed at the Artemision are mostly in line with the Greek standard, as they have shown to be throughout Ionia, but the sacrifice of puppies have led scholars to puzzle over the possible influences on the site, as well as the demographics of those who worshipped there. Forstenpointner argues that in EIA finds, “evidence of puppies from the Artemision can certainly be used as evidence of cultic activities of the remaining Lydian population remaining at the sanctuary”,<sup>40</sup> but that in Bronze Age finds this practice is “probably due to the Carian tradition of sacrificing dogs”.<sup>41</sup> He also connects this type of ritual sacrifice to cults of Demeter on mainland Greece; it is unclear if there was influence between these two cults, or, if there was, in who influenced who.

The multi-cultural aspects of the Artemision seems to have manifested strongly in the Classical period. Persians seem to play a prominent role in the temple at this time; Mac Sweeney claims that the priests of Artemis “followed Near Eastern and Western Anatolian patterns”,<sup>42</sup> as *megabyzoi*, a Persian word, are named as eunuch priests by Strabo (1<sup>st</sup> century CE);<sup>43</sup> eunuchs are one of the most typical non-Greek symbols, so that this was accepted at Ephesos and maintained for centuries is telling of the Ephesians’ leniency toward Near Eastern traditions.<sup>44</sup> Also, Timotheus of Miletos (5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> century) claims Artemis of Ephesos to be a key deity of Asia, guiding and protecting the defeated Persians home from their defeat at Salamis,<sup>45</sup> while in Aristophanes’ *Clouds* (produced in 423), the reference to the Artemision is accompanied by the description “where Lydian girls pray”.<sup>46</sup> That Timotheus, an Ionian, would claim the site to be

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<sup>40</sup> Forstenpointner, Kerschner, and Muss 2008, p37.

<sup>41</sup> Forstenpointner, Kerschner, and Muss 2008, p41.

<sup>42</sup> Mac Sweeney 2013, p148.

<sup>43</sup> Strabo 14.1.23.

<sup>44</sup> Eunuchs represented an effeminacy that Greek men loathed and identified in opposition with.

<sup>45</sup> Timotheos, *Persai* (PMG791), lines 158-9.

<sup>46</sup> Aristophanes, *Clouds*, line 600.

Asian in this time period is telling of how easily a few generations of Persian rule made the sanctuary solidly “Eastern,” and hints that it may have been on the brink of being so beforehand. Aristophanes’ line displays an Athenian perspective on the site, though not as may be expected. Athens was claiming Ionia as part of its imperial territory, and yet the most prominent aspect of the Ephesians is described as being Lydian – e.g. “barbarian.” That it is not Persian to Aristophanes may show the sanctuary to be transitioning away from Persian influence, though the descriptions by Strabo prove that these influences were lasting. It also may be reminiscent of a pre-Persian view of the Artemision from Athens that was rekindled after the defeat of the Persian invasion: that it is in fact closely tied to Lydia and Sardis and influenced by such “barbarian” culture.

The manner in which the Ephesians chose to bury their dead is incredibly variable. There is evidence of customary Greek burials, as well as Lydian, Phrygian, and Egyptian traditions throughout these periods. Examples include Egyptian-style sarcophagi found under the Roman agora, Lydian-style tumuli identified on nearby Kuyutepe Hill, and Phrygian-style rock-cut graves at Kuyutepe and Ayasoluk Hills.<sup>47</sup> Greaves finds this trend all over the region: “when one considers burial practices in Ionia, one is immediately struck by the fact that there was great variance in the burial practices ... presumably reflecting the different character and identity of these communities”.<sup>48</sup>

Polytheism is inherently adaptable; that Ephesos and the Artemision show signs of hybrid worship and religious influence from both Greece and Anatolia is not surprising, and does not prove the existence of a non-Greek population in the city. However, it does show a blending of culture and an acceptance of cultural ideals from groups of people that are labeled “barbarian”

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<sup>47</sup> Bammer 2007, p105-111 and Bammer and Muss 2007.

<sup>48</sup> Greaves 2010, p198.

and regularly dismissed by the traditional narrative regarding this area. Artemis is a Greek goddess, and she was worshipped at Ephesos; these facts are both true, but show a bias of perspective if they are combined to conclude that Ephesian religion was Greek. Artemis may not have originally been a Greek goddess: her worship at Ephesos (as “Artemis of Ephesos”) does not show much influence from Greek tradition, she was an important goddess to the neighboring Lydians, who were spiritually connected to her temple at Ephesos, and she has always been accepted as belonging to or being associated with Eastern traditions. That the region surrounding the city contains Phrygian cult sites, and that the Artemision itself may have been a Phrygian cult site originally, further shows the city’s lack of dependence on Greek religious ideals. A complete understanding of the city’s religious preferences and this sanctuary is not complete, but looking at them as pieces of a long process of cultural mixing and adaptation, strong connections to Anatolian traditions that were maintained and a cultural acceptance of such traditions become visible.

### **Artistic Preferences**

Studies of the art and iconography of material culture found at Ephesos, as well as in cities all over Ionia, have been widely published.<sup>49</sup> Due to this quantity of scholarship, it is not discussed in depth here. Certain examples of non-Greek goods and images are analyzed below, along with wider trends in Ionia for contextualization. This discussion is in good hands, as the

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<sup>49</sup> Active excavations publish finds regularly; for Ephesos, this is the publications of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (*Forschungen in Ephesos* series). Subsequent commentaries and analyses follow; for Ephesos, the works of Anton Bammer, Ulrike Muss, and Michael Kerschner are recommended.

traditional narrative has begun to unwind in regards to material culture, as more finds come to light and deeper analysis of them comes into the scholarship.

Many of these recent publications highlight the influence of Lydian cultural motifs on the styles of Ephesian goods and the quantity of Lydian-styled goods found around the site, highlighting the close relationship between Ephesos and Sardis and the possibility of a Lydian population in the area. This has come to the forefront with Hanfmann's excavations in Sardis and his expertise on Lydian material, characterizing Ephesian material as having a "mixo-Lydian" character.<sup>50</sup> Michael Kerschner has suggested Lydian potters may have lived and worked in Ephesos, based on evidence of traditional Lydian techniques of manufacture being practiced within Ephesos that appear almost indistinguishable from those practiced in Lydia; whether or not there was a resident population of Lydian potters in Ephesos, he finds that such goods "can only have been created through the collaboration of artists from the Lydian and East Ionian traditions".<sup>51</sup> It is important to note that these Lydian-style pots make up less of the assemblage than Corinthian imports, as even in Ephesos the productions of the mainland were held in high regard and imported frequently.

A relatively large quantity of Lydian electrum coinage,<sup>52</sup> unsurprisingly, has been found at the Artemision. The Lydians were the first to mint coinage for use as currency, using electrum deposits near Sardis – finding such coinage at Ephesos and in votive deposits from the Artemision is unsurprising due to the close connection between the cities commercially and religiously.

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<sup>50</sup> Hanfmann 1975, p13.

<sup>51</sup> Kerschner 2007. Such techniques include "streaky-glaze" wares. Kerschner's publication applies archaeometry, the application of chemical analysis to material culture, to discuss objects' locations of origin. Quote from p236.

<sup>52</sup> Electrum is a gold-silver alloy; Lydians utilized local deposits to mint coins.

There are also material connections to Central Anatolia. A massive quantity of bronze goods from Phrygia, for which the Phrygians were famous, have been found in the votive deposits from the Artemision. Finds of incised grey wares also shows a connection to the Central Anatolian plateau, which was heavily Phrygian-influenced.<sup>53</sup>

In all, Ephesian artistic styles were variable and hybrid, including influence from local, regional, and external sources. Scholarship has not avoided challenging questions and the possibility of cultural mixing in the examination of Ephesian material culture; these archaeologists and historians have begun to unwind the traditional narrative of an Ephesian culture strongly rooted in Hellenic ideals. Kerschner's analysis of the entire mass of ceramic wares of Ephesos holds that "Ephesian potters and vase painters readily accepted suggestions from outside," showing preferences for Anatolian, Greek, and other Ionian styles.<sup>54</sup>

## **Conclusion**

This section has highlighted some of the most prominent elements of Ephesian culture – language, religion, and artistic preferences – and found them to be laced with non-Greek ideals. Ephesian culture is a local culture, at the crossroads of multiple traditions. The Ephesian population was open to new ideas and practices, and they embraced aspects of culture that are too frequently dismissed by the traditional narrative. Non-Greek speakers, worshippers, and artisans may have been living in Ephesos; at the very least, it is clear that the population of

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<sup>53</sup> Kerschner 2011, p23-4.

<sup>54</sup> Kerschner 2007, p236 discusses Northern and Southern Ionian influences along with that of the Greek mainland imports and Lydian styles: "the large port city of central Ionia lies at the intersection of these three cultures" (North Ionian, South Ionian, and Lydian). An analysis of locally produced Ephesian pottery shows it to be an important site for creating popular Ionian styles (p240).

Ephesos had consistent exposure to non-Greek language, religion, and artistic style, and showed no signs of resistance. Ephesian culture is a *hybrid* culture, combining elements of various traditions and leaving behind a plethora of evidence that shows the population to be multi-cultural.

## Ephesian Ethnic Identity

The purpose, methodology, and challenges of a discussion of historical identity were introduced above; here, such methodology is put into practice. Hopefully, the evidence that *hints at* rather than *proves* Ephesos as being a multi-ancestral city with various ethnic ties but a united, local, ethnic identity shows that the ethnic categorization of Ephesos as “Greek” is both unfounded and unhelpful. It is recognized that alone this discussion of ethnic diversity is not enough, but taken with the evidence of multicultural practices discussed above and enactments of community identity discussed below, a better picture of Ephesian identity comes to light, generating progress towards a better understanding of Ionia as a whole.

Determining the ethnicity of the Ephesians in these periods starts with recognizing that ethnicity itself is a social phenomenon consciously enacted by a population group. Max Weber defines ethnicity as “groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent,” that are sourced from similarities in type or custom or memories of colonization or migration.<sup>1</sup> Type, often visualized through shared physical characteristics, is not discussed here, as it poses too great a challenge for the historian and archaeologist. Custom, the performance of culture, has been discussed above. Memories of colonization/migration are discussed in this chapter. Before getting into shared memories of past ancestry, evidence of physical ancestry and blood relations are analyzed in order to set the stage for such a discussion. After the presentation of ethnic mixing through practices of intermarriage, the Ephesian foundation myths are examined, followed by the population’s recognition of its mixed ancestry and the apparent social cohesion around such distinctions. This chapter attempts to show that despite Ephesos’ population having

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<sup>1</sup> Weber 1968, p389.

mixed ancestries and different accounts of common descent, the city does show signs of social cohesion and local ethnic identity.

### **Intermarriage**

Herodotos' interest in genealogy is extremely helpful in discussion of intermarriage practices between ancestral groups. He gives many examples from throughout Ionia, the most famous of which is his retelling of a Miletos foundation myth in which the Ionian settlers "murdered some Carians and took their daughters to be their wives".<sup>2</sup> This is not to be analyzed for accuracy, but Herodotos, in telling the story, claims early Milesians to be half Greek and half Carian. While the tale tells of Greek superiority in warfare, it may imply Greek superiority in culture, which would allow the mixed ancestry of the Milesians to be brushed aside in favor of their "Greek" culture, and thus not present a problem to Herodotos in classifying the Milesians as Greeks (especially as Herodotos himself may have been child of Greek and Carian parents, but did not doubt his own Greekness). Though intermarriage does not play a role in identity or ethnicity to Herodotos, it is important to discuss in order to understand the population demographics of Ephesos and the relationships ancestral groups had within the city. It is important to note that much of this information concerns the elite; while certain evidence, such as the informal language of Hipponax, is more relevant in analysis of the entire population, the evidence of marriage almost exclusively concerns elite families. However, that elite families had mixed ancestral blood is evidence of ethnicity not being a boundary to entry in Ephesian society.

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<sup>2</sup> Herodotos 1.146.



The best example of intermarriage at Ephesos is the inter-generational family union between the Basilids, an Ephesian noble clan which may have ruled the city as a tyrant dynasty, and the Lydian royal house of the Mermnads (Fig. 5). There was a man named Melas related to Gyges through marriage, and his son or grandson, Miletos, married Lyde, granddaughter of Gyges, who may have later been abducted and raped by her brother Sadyattes, becoming the mother of Allyattes.<sup>3</sup> Another Melas, likely from the same family (the Basilids) and serving as tyrant of Ephesos, married the daughter of Allyattes (the sister of Croesus), who mothered the Ephesian tyrant Pindar.<sup>4</sup> This would make Croesus, king of Lydia, both uncle and first cousin to Pindar, ruler of Ephesos. These two families were clearly very closely related, and Mac Sweeney asserts that the giving of daughters as wives, as the Lydian kings did, would likely have gone both ways.<sup>5</sup> As all of the sources are from the Greek perspective, this will never be known, though Herodotos does claim that Allyattes fathered a son, Pantaleon, by an Ionian woman;<sup>6</sup> she may have been a member of the Basilid clan, which would support Mac Sweeney's theory. As much of the evidence of these marriages come from later sources, such as Nicolaus of Damascus (1<sup>st</sup> c. CE) and Claudius Aelianus (2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. CE), they are not to be taken as historical fact, despite the frequency with which they cite or rely on earlier works (such as Xanthos of Lydia or the disreputable Ctesias, in Nikolaos' case). However, it remains plausible that these families, the ruling families of Ephesos and Lydia, were so tightly connected that the leaders of these cities were blood relatives of each other, having mixed Ephesian and Lydian ancestry.

It is unclear why the Basilids and Mermnads chose to intermarry, but whatever the reason, royal marriage trends can be revealing. For generations, it was common for the tyrant of

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<sup>3</sup> Xenophilos *FGrHist* 767; Nicolaus of Damascus *FGrHist* 90. For analysis see Gera 1997, p159-163.

<sup>4</sup> Claudius Aelianus, *Varia Historia*, 3.26.

<sup>5</sup> Mac Sweeney 2013, p151-2; also discussed in Koiv 2021.

<sup>6</sup> Herodotos 1.92.

Ephesos to be the son of a Lydian mother, and for his wife to be a Lydian princess. This hints at a close relationship with Lydia, a general acceptance of Lydians in Ephesos, and a social acceptance for Ephesians and Lydians to marry. Although it is unknown how many Lydians lived in the city, or how many families featured intermarriages between Ephesians and Lydians, this evidence hints that it wasn't strange for Lydians to be in the city, and it wasn't strange for Ephesians to marry Lydians. Such specific ethnic ties to Lydia contributes to identifying a local Ephesian ethnic identity that brought "Ionians" and Lydians together at the family level.

### **Foundation Myth**

The ancient historical record, which was fascinated by foundation myths and origin stories, gives two extremely different tales of foundation from Ephesos. One, repeated far more often, displays Attic (and thus "Ionian") ties to the foundation of Ephesos through Androkles, a prince of Athens. The earliest surviving mention of Androkles is from Strabo in the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, though he cites Pherekydes of Syros (an Aegean island), a 6<sup>th</sup> century scholar about whom little is known, who may have travelled or lived in Ionia and possibly in Ephesos itself.<sup>7</sup> Strabo's discussion is brief, and simply mentions the founder by name and cites his royalty:

"[Pherekydes] says that Androclus, legitimate son of Codrus the king of Athens, was the leader of the Ionian colonization ... and that he became the founder of Ephesos".<sup>8</sup> Athenaeus (2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century CE) cites Kreophylos (3<sup>rd</sup> century) in reciting more of the tale:

Those who colonized Ephesos, being much perplexed for want of a place where they could settle, sent at last to the oracle, and asked where they should build themselves a city; and he told them to build a city in that place which a fish should show them, and to

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<sup>7</sup> According to 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE scholar Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, i. 116-121.

<sup>8</sup> Strabo 14.1.3.

which a wild boar should guide them. Accordingly, it is said that some fishermen were breakfasting at the spot where the fountain called Hypeleus now is, and where the harbour is which is called the sacred harbour; and that one of the fish leaped up with a burning cinder sticking to him, and fell on some of the refuse; and that by this means a thicket was set on fire, in which there happened to be a wild boar; and he, being disturbed by the fire ran for some distance up the mountain which is called the Rough Mountain, and at last was transfixed by javelins, and fell where the temple of Minerva now stands. And the Ephesians, having crossed over from the island, occupied that for twenty-one years, and in the twenty-second year they founded Trachea and the towns around Coressus, and erected a temple to Diana in the market-place, and one to the Pythian Apollo overlooking the harbour.<sup>9</sup>

Though Athenaeus does not mention the founder by name, Androkles fits well with this story.

Athenaeus relates this myth in standard Athenian literary tradition: a royal colonist receives an oracle, struggles with his people, and once successfully interpreting the oracle, builds his city in a divine place; being a son of Kodros, king of Athens, makes the literary nature, and pro-Athenian overtones, even stronger.<sup>10</sup> Multiple sons of Kodros were said to have founded multiple cities in Ionia, most famously Neilos, founder of Miletos. In this context, Androkles is another cog in the Athens → Ionia narrative. It is likely that this story was widely believed, though the evidence of it being more entrenched in the city comes from later periods.<sup>11</sup>

This story, like many others from Ionia, is properly fitting with Athenian political rhetoric and imperial aims. This is not a reason to discount the story, but it is something to consider. With Athens claiming itself as Ephesos' Metropolis (from *metre* - mother, and *polis* - city) as an excuse for exerting imperial control over the city and levying troops and/or taxes, this story would have been useful to promote. However, something is missing in the story: the Artemision. Strabo tells of Androkles founding the city, and Athenaeus recites a story in standard

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<sup>9</sup> Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, 8.62.

<sup>10</sup> See Mac Sweeney 2013, p143-46 for discussion of Androkles and Strabo's and Athenaeus' accounts.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. an image of Androkles on the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE temple of Hadrian in Ephesos.

Athenian literary fashion; however, there is no mention of the sanctuary, a clear break from the literary tradition.<sup>12</sup> The alternative myth is examined for a solution to this issue.

This alternative foundation story, repeated less frequently, discusses the foundation of the Artemision, placing it at the hands of the Amazons. However, the earliest source for an Amazonian foundation regards the city and is also from Strabo, who cites the 4th century historian Ephoros of Cyme (in Aeolis), mentioning at most an eponymous Amazonian founder of Ephesos and at least the Amazonian settlement of the area before the migrations of Greeks.<sup>13</sup> There is a more intriguing account of the Artemision foundation by Pausanias, who references the 5th century lyric poet Pindar of Thebes (on the mainland). According to Pausanias, “[Pindar] says that this sanctuary was founded by the Amazons during their campaign against Athens and Theseus”.<sup>14</sup> This story appears to have been known in the Hellenistic period, as the aforementioned Hymn to Artemis by the poet Kallimachos references the Artemision as founded by Amazons.<sup>15</sup> These two myths of foundation are not mutually exclusive; they deal with separate sites, albeit within a kilometer of each other, and given the Anatolian ties exhibited in the religion of the Artemision it may have been an intentional separation. It remains clear that the Artemision and the city of Ephesos were extremely closely connected, and it is likely that the city was united in her worship and that her worship was connected with the protection of the city.

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<sup>12</sup> Mac Sweeney 2013 explains that most foundation myths include the founding of the city’s main sanctuary, in conjunction with the divine nature of the oracle and its chosen site.

<sup>13</sup> Strabo 12.3.21. “...placing the Amazons between Mysia and Caria and Lydia near Cyme, which is the opinion also of Ephorus, who was a native of Cyme. And this opinion might perhaps not be unreasonable, for he may mean the country which was later settled by the Aeolians and the Ionians, but earlier by the Amazons. And there are certain cities, it is said, which got their names from the Amazons, I mean Ephesus, Smyrna, Cyme, and Myrina.”

<sup>14</sup> Pausanias, 7.2.7.

<sup>15</sup> Kallimachos, 3.235-239.

That there were two separate myths is possibly due to the Greek inhabitants being unable to claim a Greek origin to the sanctuary.

Pausanias, in his account of the foundation, disagrees with Pindar. He believes that “it was not by the Amazons that the sanctuary was founded, but by Coresus, an aboriginal, and Ephesus, who is thought to have been a son of the river Cayster, and from Ephesus the city received its name”.<sup>16</sup> He recognizes the city as pre-dating the migration, even in the name “Ephesos,” and that neither the city or the sanctuary were of Greek origin. He does still include the tale of Androkles, who “expelled from the land the Leleges<sup>17</sup> and Lydians who occupied the upper city,” but claims that the sanctuary was not purged, and that those who lived around it, which “included some women of the race of the Amazons,” instead “exchanged oaths of friendship with the Ionians”.<sup>18</sup> This account is confusing, mixing his historical beliefs – that the area was founded and occupied by Anatolians – with the mythical tradition – that Androkles brought Greeks to the site and that Amazons were among those living and worshipping there.

For the story to be included in Pausanias, there must have been an oral tradition linking the Artemision’s foundation to Amazons, actively told and likely actively recorded for centuries.<sup>19</sup> If this myth reflects a conscious choice by the Ephesians, a foundation by Amazons is an interesting choice. Mac Sweeney describes Amazonians as being the “ultimate expression of otherness...opposite of what it meant to be Greek,” and especially anti-Athenian.<sup>20</sup> If Pausanias accurately cited Pindar, then it was said that the foundation of the Artemision took

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<sup>16</sup> Pausanias 7.2.7. “Coresus” is a name used to create an eponymous founder for “Koressos” (see p32).

<sup>17</sup> Possibly another word for Carian, though could be a separate Anatolian ethnic group.

<sup>18</sup> Pausanias 7.2.8.

<sup>19</sup> In addition to the literary sources, there was a competition hosted at the Artemision which involved sculpting statues of Amazons, which was likely maintained for centuries and is described in Pliny’s *Natural History* 34.19. Roman copies of these originals have survived (Mac Sweeney 2013, p140).

<sup>20</sup> Mac Sweeney 2013, p152. See Tyrrell 1984 and Henderson 1994 for further reading.

place “during their campaign against Athens and Theseus,” thus making the origin of their sanctuary in blatant opposition to Athens and their legendary founder in Theseus. This is especially meaningful in regards to Classical period Athenian politics.<sup>21</sup>

Amazons existed in direct contrast with Athenian ideals; they were Eastern barbarians who broke every Athenian gender norm – aggressive females fighting in battle and self-governing without men. They appear on multiple occasions in Athenian political rhetoric, always as the greatest enemy to Athenian cultural ideals.<sup>22</sup> They are also regularly used alongside the Persians; two easy appeals to Athenian nationalism, when Athens saved Greece and Europe by fighting the evil feminine barbarians.<sup>23</sup> Amazons also existed in direct contrast with the legendary founder of Athens, Theseus. Theseus was frequently depicted in Classical Athens as a heroic symbol of patriotism; many Athenian ceramics from this period depict him and his achievements, he is mentioned in speeches, and he was featured in architecture.<sup>24</sup> Most commonly, Theseus is depicted in his legendary battle against the Amazons in the *Amazonomachy* (*machy* – μάχη – “battle”), or in his rape of the Amazonian Hippolyta; such instances include paintings in the Athenian “Theseum” and in the agora’s Painted Stoa, as well as in the metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi and of the Parthenon itself.<sup>25</sup> At a time when Athens had imperial control over the coast of Western Anatolia and was praising Theseus and his war against the Amazons as a patriotic model for Greeks and Athenians, the Artemision

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<sup>21</sup> Pindar (5<sup>th</sup> c.) and Ephoros (4<sup>th</sup> c.), whom Pausanias and Strabo respectively cite, were both active in the Classical period.

<sup>22</sup> E.g. Lysias, *Funeral Oration*, (2): 4-6.

<sup>23</sup> Isocrates, *Panygericus*, 68-72.

<sup>24</sup> Mac Sweeney 2013, p12-13, p153-4.

<sup>25</sup> The metopes of the Parthenon depict civilization against barbarism: the Greeks against the Persians on one side, and the Greeks against the Amazons on another.

maintaining a tradition of ethnic identification with one of Athens' greatest rivals can easily be interpreted as a display of anti-Greek and anti-Athenian sentiment.

Why the Ephesians separated the city and sanctuary in myth is a question that cannot be answered. It may have been associations of a "Greek" city and an "Anatolian" sanctuary or a split in the population's identification and/or loyalty, but it also may have been a deliberate move by the Ephesians in order to maintain diplomacy with Athens and the rest of Ionia through Androkles, while maintaining the connection to its local non-Greek roots. Whether deliberate or not, this scenario may be a sort of "best of both worlds" for Ephesos which could have appeased both Greek and non-Greek members of the population. Rosalind Thomas finds that discussion of Amazonian foundation myths in Ionia has shown "very plausibly," that this was "a legendary way of accommodating Greek and indigenous populations, and their rival claims to the land, by projecting them into the remote past".<sup>26</sup> This would place Ephesos as a city that is politically tied to Greece but with strong cultural and ethnic ties to Anatolia; a very likely designation.

The narrative of an Amazonian foundation offers a completely different perspective from the traditional narrative. As the traditional narrative is very frequently the Athenian narrative, it's important to take these alternative perspectives into account. In cases of Athenian political rhetoric surrounding its imperialism in the classical period, these perspectives are even more valuable. Whatever the reason for this story being maintained throughout the ages, it is reflective of an Ephesian population (or a portion of it) that resisted the designation that it was "Attic," "Ionian," or "Greek" in nature.

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<sup>26</sup> Thomas 2014, p443-44, citing Blok 1996 for this argument and for further information.

## Political Organization

During the Archaic period, Ephesos was politically reorganized and the city was divided into five tribes, or *phylai*, each divided into subgroups called *chiliastyes*, some of which had non-Greek names. Allotment of citizens to four tribes as a means of political division is common to the “Ionians” of Ionia, the islands, and the Greek mainland. These four tribes (Geleontes, Hopletes, Aegicoreis, Argadeis) were the original (pre-Cleisthenes) tribes of Athens and existed in many Ionian cities.<sup>27</sup>

Following the reorganization, the Ephesian *phylai* were: the Ephesioi, Teioi, Benaioi/Bembinaioi, Euonymoi, and Karenioi.<sup>28</sup> Of these, the Benaioi and Karenioi are non-Greek names. Furthermore, the *chaliastyes* show Greek and non-Greek names; for example, the Ephesioi *chaliastyes* included the Boreis and Oenopes designation. Some scholars, most prominently Carl Roebuck, believe that this organization is along strictly ethnic lines, as “a very decided weakening of the older Ionian element and extension of political participation in the state to alien groups”.<sup>29</sup> It is hard to believe that the ancestral Greeks living in Ephesos thought of their centuries-long neighbors as “aliens,” but the traditional narrative certainly views them as barbarians. Roebuck finds this change to be in line with a trend of separation from “Ionian” ancestry and towards the inclusion of non-Ephesian Greeks and Anatolians into political society and possibly citizenship:

[6<sup>th</sup> century Ephesos] produced a high level of prosperity in which metics and Anatolians, as well as Ionian Greeks, shared. ...

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<sup>27</sup> Roebuck 1961 explains that the cities in Ionia also had two other tribes, Boreis and Oenopes, which are not found elsewhere in the Aegean. (Roebuck 1961, p495-7. These names are of *phylai* in some cities, but *chiliastyes* in Ephesos). Roebuck believes that these tribes were added as an attempt by Ionian cities to “allow the growth of a more politically integrated community...to include groups of Greek metics and of Anatolian natives” with the growth in wealth and population during the Archaic period (495).

<sup>28</sup> Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F126.

<sup>29</sup> Roebuck 1961, p504.



Perhaps the tyrants sought support among the Anatolians and Greek metics and paid for it by the creation of new tribes which converted their *chiliastyes* into political units. If so, this recognition of the Anatolian element may well be reflected in the acceptance of their goddess, Artemis, as the patron deity of the city ... Perhaps the old Ionian festival of the Apaturia was discarded shortly after this time.<sup>30</sup>

Roebuck's discussion is purely speculation, but it remains helpful to consider, especially given the fact that if Anatolians were excluded from politics and wanted to be included, this would be an effective way of doing so. According to Aristotle, this is one of the reasons for Cleisthenes' reorganization of the Athenian political system in 508: "[Cleisthenes] enrolled in his tribes many resident aliens who had been foreigners or slaves".<sup>31</sup> However, given the Anatolian origins of Ephesos (via Apaša), it is unlikely that the city was as politically similar to those of mainland Greece (especially Athens) in the EIA as Roebuck assumes, or that Anatolians were not involved in government. It seems more likely that Anatolians would have been included within the former "Ionian" designations, perhaps until it became an issue prominent enough to require change. While there is no evidence of non-Greeks being citizens or actively participating in Ephesian government, there is also no evidence of them being excluded; the names of politically designated groups is all the evidence available, so this remains speculation.

Naoise Mac Sweeney believes that, instead of being ethnic labels, Ephesos' tribal divisions "should be understood as administrative categories within the civic structure...just as likely to represent areas of residence or professional activities as ethnicity".<sup>32</sup> As with so much of this evidence, its exact purpose or designation simply cannot be known; however, considering the possibility of Anatolian roles in Ephesian politics is helpful in understanding how the city may

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<sup>30</sup> Roebuck, 1961, p506.

<sup>31</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, 1275b.

<sup>32</sup> Mac Sweeney 2013, p150.

have identified ethnically. Regardless of *why* the Ephesians decided to reform their civic organization, it is clear that it was important,<sup>33</sup> and that they did so in a way that represented non-Greeks. It is possible that the names are completely arbitrary, but not plausible. City organization, and therefore population organization, do not need to be arranged ethnically, as Mac Sweeney notes, but do need to be culturally relevant. That Ephesos used ethnic distinctions in its tribal reform does not mean that the city was organized ethnically, but it does mean that the city was aware of cultural or ethnic groups or areas to distinguish. The Karenioi may have consisted of Carians, it may have been a neighborhood that had a Carian monument or Carian workshops,<sup>34</sup> or it may have simply been a nod to the Carians living in or around the city. Regardless of why the city was divided as such, it is telling of the Ephesians' awareness of multiple traditional ethnic groups within the city, and a conscious desire to directly represent them in the city's political organization.

### **Conclusion**

The evidence discussed in this chapter *hints* at Ephesos being a multi-ethnic city with strong ties to both the Greek mainlanders and indigenous Anatolians. Alone, these hints do not show the population of Ephesos as being sufficiently non-Greek to justify moving away from a "Greek" label; however, they remain a contributing factor to the larger discussion. The Ephesian myths of foundation are undoubtedly the most telling evidence of a mixed- or multi-ethnic

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<sup>33</sup> Reorganizing a *polis*' political system was a challenging task that only happened when it was essential. The tribal reorganization of Cleisthenes was important in Athens and would have been in Ephesos also.

<sup>34</sup> Though there is no "Lydioi" group, Kerschner 2007 argues that archaeological finds suggest that there may have been a population of Lydian potters working in the city (p234).

population at Ephesos, albeit one that identified itself locally.<sup>35</sup> Combining evidence of these aspects of ethnicity with the importance Ephesos placed on recognizing the variability of its ethnicity (seen in discussion of the city's organization), it becomes clear that the population likely identified as "Ephesian" more than anything else, and within this demonym existed ethnic and ancestral ties to both Greek and non-Greek populations.

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<sup>35</sup> This is not necessarily oxymoronic – multiple ethnic groups can function as a part of a singular ethnic group if multiple ethnic ties exist within a population that identifies itself locally in a hybrid manner.

## Ephesian Community Identity

As discussed in chapter two, “community” is an extremely vague term; here Ephesos is regarded as an *archaeological community*, which Mac Sweeney defines as a “dynamic form of social identity, anchored to the idea of shared geographical space and common lived experiences through the active use of shared social practices”.<sup>1</sup> For a geographical space, the area around the Artemision is examined, as the sanctuary itself is the only communal space excavated from the city. The community which enacted itself at the Ephesian Artemision would have also included some members living within the Lydian Empire (which Ephesos itself was a part of for a time), and thus they are taken into consideration. At times the different groups active at the site are distinguished from one another, but as a means to show diversity in the overall uniting social practices which the members of the Artemision’s community shared together. These social practices are analyzed in depth: what they were, where they took place, what materials they included, and the importance of each of these attributes. This chapter is divided into two sections: the first discusses these social practices, called “enactments of community,” the space and context in which they took place, the material these practices included, and how this developed a sense of “Us” at the site, while the second considers evidence of identity differentiation, or “othering,” and the development of a sense of “Them.” Using the Artemision as a discussion for the community identity of Ephesians, it becomes clear that the population was united in the shared use of this communal space and the performance of enactments of community across traditional ethnic lines, with and despite direct inclusion of multiple traditions of sanctuary use and material culture.

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<sup>1</sup> Mac Sweeney 2011, p28.

As in the previous discussions of cultural and ethnic identity, the evidence of community identity at Ephesos does not show that Ephesian identity was not Greek, rather, like the others, it hints at Ephesos having a hybrid identity, one that was unique, local, and ascribed to multiple traditions. The goal of this chapter is to take a different approach to the material, one that emphasizes an identity rooted in social interaction which can, in tandem with the previous discussions of mixed cultural and ethnic ties, create a view of this city and its population from the widest possible angle in an attempt to see and understand it more clearly.

### **Shared Space**

The Artemision was one of Ephesos' main communal and social spaces. Though it's presumptive to equate the Artemision with Ephesos, it was an incredibly important space to the Ephesians, because of which and through which the population socialized with each other as well as with foreigners and pilgrims. It was a public and communal space; something there is no evidence for elsewhere in or around Ephesos during these periods. There were almost certainly other public/communal spaces for Ephesians to socialize, such as political or economic areas or institutions unknown to modern scholarship, but religion is an important expression of identity and its manifestation in the Artemision would have been central to the Ephesian population.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, it was an inclusive space; people from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds speaking different languages and with allegiances to different states or *poleis* came together to worship, to express their culture, and to share an experience – to take part in enactments of the Ephesian community.

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<sup>2</sup> This is especially true in considering the importance of the site in the historical record and how much money and effort they spent on the constructions and renovations of the temple complex over the years.

The city of Ephesos and the Artemision were powerfully connected; Herodotos repeats the story of the Ephesians, during the 6<sup>th</sup> century invasion by Croesus, defending their city by extending a rope to the temple (which was constructed by Croesus), physically connecting the two.<sup>3</sup> Whether this was for protection from the goddess, an appeal to the Ephesians' relationship with Croesus and his people, or some other purpose, it shows the deep connection the citizens of Ephesos felt for their sanctuary.

As discussed above, the Artemision was likely the site of an Anatolian cult during the LBA. The space itself would have been incredibly significant to the local population, whose ancestors had worshipped in exactly the same place.<sup>4</sup> Periodic damage from river overflow, as the sanctuary was located on a swamp adjacent to the Kaystros, led to renovations and rebuilding – always centered around the same spot. Despite the challenges of doing so, the community refused to move the sanctuary to a place where the marshy ground and constantly rising water table would not complicate its structure. It was a sacred space in a sacred place.

This regular rebuilding and renovation led to the continuous enlargement of the site. This may have been fueled by inter-polis competition in Ionia;<sup>5</sup> if so, the city, as it grew and flourished, decided together, consciously, that they wanted to compete and have the largest, most decorated, most beautiful sanctuary in the region. They were proud of the Artemision and it was important to Ephesian identity. It is also likely that this expansion was for the purpose of accommodation, as with the enlargement came the ability to accommodate more people. Ephesos grew wealthy in the Archaic period, and with wealth often comes an increase in population: a larger community requires a larger sanctuary. The design itself, an immense complex with an

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<sup>3</sup> Herodotos 1.26.

<sup>4</sup> Forstenpointner, Kerschner, and Muss 2008, p40.

<sup>5</sup> This is discussed in Snodgrass 1986.

impressive peripteros and a large central opening in the roof, would have created a sense of it being a massive open space, one that could fit all (or most) of the members of the community. Participation is crucial to enactments of community; a small space that can only accommodate a few members implies an *exclusive* space that the community would not have felt was communal, while a large space capable of accommodating the entirety (or a large segment) of the community implies an *inclusive* space in which the community could enact its identification.<sup>6</sup> The Artemision's size itself is telling of its role as a community-oriented space.

It also seems that citizens of Ephesos from across cultural, ethnic, and socio-political spectra practiced in the space. Evidence of the multi-cultural and multi-ethnic aspects of the Artemision has been discussed above, and the evidence of votive deposits indicates that both wealthy and non-wealthy citizens practiced here.<sup>7</sup> This multi-cultural element is prominent in the Archaic period temple, adorned with a bilingual inscription in Greek and Lydian. That the Ephesians accepted this shows their inclusivity of those from different cultural and/or ethnic backgrounds.<sup>8</sup> They were united in their worship of their local deity, and they practiced that worship together.

The diversity of finds at the Artemision hint at the acceptance of different groups and a sense of "Us" that appears local and culturally/ethnically inclusive.<sup>9</sup> Works of foreign make may have been donated by members of the community with different ethnic backgrounds, but they were more likely cases of donation by those who had traveled extensively or simply bought foreign goods that had a market at Ephesos. It is also possible that many non-local materials

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<sup>6</sup> See Mac Sweeney 2011, p44 for more on community participation implications within public space.

<sup>7</sup> Archaeology is inherently biased towards the elite, as expensive goods are far more likely to survive; therefore, the existence of daily items and inexpensive goods, no matter how rare, are informative.

<sup>8</sup> This evidence is specifically telling of acceptance of the Lydian language, undermining the Greek-barbarian language dichotomy within the Artemision.

<sup>9</sup> Some material may be contextualized as "exotic"; these are discussed below.

found are not from members of the community, but pilgrims or foreign visitors. The Artemision was one of the larger and more impressive temples of the entire Mediterranean region, and was incredibly accessible by its position on established overland and maritime trade routes as well as its close connection to the inland imperial center of Sardis. The contextualization of such finds is examined in the discussion of the community's view of an "external other," which may have generated a sense of "Them."

Lines between local and non-local become blurred in the analysis of Lydian finds, such as electrum coins minted in Lydia. Some, further East in the Lydian Empire, likely considered themselves foreigners, others, in and around Sardis, probably considered themselves in-between – local enough to access the sanctuary but not explicit members of the community, as their community was centered at the temple of Artemis at Sardis, which was directly connected to but not synonymous with Artemis of Ephesos – while those who lived in and around Ephesos were both local and members of the community. It is impossible to know where Lydian finds came from and who dedicated them, but their frequency in the deposition layers from the Artemision is telling of their acceptance at the site.

The community that partook in social enactments at the Artemision did so in a shared space that was inherently religious in nature. As the community was socially grounded in their expression of religion, what they worshipped and how they practiced that worship gives insight into how the community identified. As previously discussed, there was hybrid religious practice at the Artemision, and this is likely also representative of the community's socialization at the site. Because the religious practices at the Artemision drew upon multi-cultural backgrounds, and because these practices were rooted in local tradition, the community, in enacting their shared, local, multi-cultural traditions in the shared and social space of the Artemision, hints at the



community identifying with their ancestors who performed these same traditions at this same site. This community identity would be one that mixed cultural traditions into a local identity.

### **Communal Dining**

Social relationships and community identity are often structured through large-scale, shared events.<sup>10</sup> Such events of communal *ritual* practice were likely one way that the Artemision's community identified itself, though there is not much evidence regarding these practices. Rather, the strongest evidence for the Ephesians enacting their community in a shared space with social interaction lies in the Protogeometric material culture of *communal dining* practices at the Artemision. The most interesting of these finds, dating to the EIA, suggests that within the community there were at least two community subgroups with different material culture traditions. While this may be argued to show that there were differentiated communities at Ephesos without a singular overarching community identity among the population, it is here argued that involvement in these "subcommunities" displays the acceptance of different material culture traditions within a unified community performing social practices together. The community at the Artemision was sharing a singular, social, enactment of community in its communal dining practice, but with members choosing to express themselves in different ways.

Catherine Steidl argues that "the presence of multiple communities of practice" are manners of "community articulation"; that "the same practices were undertaken either by different means, or with different types of goods," but shows "people sharing different versions of the same kind of practice".<sup>11</sup> That different members of the group articulated themselves

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<sup>10</sup> This can be seen in Dietler and Hayden 2010.

<sup>11</sup> Steidl 2018, p162.

differently in shared practice does not negate the group from having been a singular community, as they were still performing the same practice. Rather, different preferences, such as the type of material used in communal dining, show the articulation of smaller communities, while “overarching shared practices,” such as the communal dining itself and the shared ritual space it occurred within, “were important points of articulation for even *higher order communities*, such as the occupants of settlements at Ephesos and its environs”.<sup>12</sup> It is likely that the community that enacted itself at the Artemision was such a “higher order community,” and that the differences in material culture, populating “subcommunities,” simply show diversity within it.

Of the EIA pottery quantified and analyzed by Michael Kerschner, 77% was wheelmade and 23% was handmade; within the handmade finds, 79% were cooking pots called *chytrai* that were ubiquitous in the Aegean and found throughout Western Anatolia, while 21% were *non-chytrai* works with no parallels on the Greek mainland or islands, but have stylistic associations to Western and Central Anatolia. These *non-chytrai* pots have been shown through archaeometry to be locally sourced and locally made, showing a pottery tradition in EIA Ephesos with strong ties to inland Anatolia.<sup>13</sup>

Kerschner claims that while the *chytrai* pots were necessary to make by hand due to the consistency of the material, the *non-chytrai* pots do not exhibit this and could easily have been wheelmade, showing a population of potters at Ephesos “continuing a familiar tradition”.<sup>14</sup> He believes this to be evidence of a minority ethnic group of Anatolians living within Ephesos during the 11<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries, and while likely true, this is presumptive. This *hints* at a distinct ethnic population with generational ties to Anatolian traditions, and shows that there were at

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<sup>12</sup> Steidl 2018, p174 (my italics).

<sup>13</sup> Kerschner 2011, p24-5. For archaeometry, see note 123 (p49).

<sup>14</sup> Kerschner 2011, p25.

least two separate traditions of creating pottery within Ephesos and that both were used within the Artemision sanctuary site.<sup>15</sup>

It is unlikely that the same potters were taking the time to master the production of two different styles of pots from completely different geographic traditions; therefore, there would have been two different communities of potters each with their own mastery of these traditions. Either way, there must have been enough demand from the population for these two different traditions to be produced at the level that they were. That there were two different groups at Ephesos with different preferences for communal dining ware shows two different “subcommunities” with separate preferences within the community sharing communal meals at the Artemision.

The question arises of whether these traditions were present only within the communal dining or ritual activity of the Artemision, or if they were present within the day-to-day use of material throughout the city and/or its *chora*. If the difference existed exclusively in a religious context, there may have been two cultural traditions of dining material within the community; if the difference was common within the Ephesian community, then there may have been two separate communities at Ephesos, each with their own expressions of culture, but still coming together over shared beliefs at their shared sanctuary.

There exists the further possibility that there were two separate material traditions for two separate ritual traditions. If the ritual was the same and the different practices seen in the material remains were not a distinguishing factor in the cult, then it is likely that *shared ritual practice* was the important means of enactment for the Ephesian/Artemision community. If the separate

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<sup>15</sup> Although this pre-dates the construction of the 7<sup>th</sup> century temple, evidence of continued use of the Artemision’s location as a sanctuary leads to a reasonable designation of the EIA area as “the Artemision sanctuary site.”

material traditions existed for the purpose of distinguishing ritual traditions, then it is likely that the *shared social experience* would have been the important factor in expressing the community's identity.<sup>16</sup> It is unclear which is the case, and until more of the city is excavated, it will remain unknown. It is important to not explicitly say that these two communities would be Greek and Anatolian, though it is clear that one group identified more with the Aegean style and tradition, while the other identified with the Anatolian style and tradition.

Even if these materials were used for different ritual practices, it is entirely possible that the performance of a different, traditional Anatolian ritual at the Artemision would not be viewed by the rest of the community as inappropriate. This is a phenomenon called "syncretism," which explains polytheists' ability to recognize other polytheistic faiths as the same religion performed by a different culture, e.g. having cultural "equivalents" for the same gods.<sup>17</sup> With this in mind, portions of the population using their own material traditions, possibly for their own ritual practices, may have been viewed as doing much the same thing, just in their own cultural way. If this is the case, the importance would not be placed on the cultural differences present within the population, but the experiences themselves which were shared by the entire community, as "mutually inclusive ritual activities shared between a range of participants".<sup>18</sup>

The material evidence from the EIA discussed above shows that within the Artemision, which may be plausibly extended to the EIA city of Ephesos, two "subcommunities" – one with ties to the Aegean West and one to the Anatolian East – existed together in sharing an important enactment of community. These populations would have identified as members of such a community, as well as members of each subcommunity, and such an identification would have

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<sup>16</sup> Steidl 2018, p248.

<sup>17</sup> Malkin 2004, p350. Steidl 2018, p248 uses discussion of syncretism to claim "a broadly defined moral community active at [the Artemision]."

<sup>18</sup> Steidl 2018, p248.

likely played an active role in their lives. This furthers an understanding of Ephesos as a mixed community with a local hybrid identity, one that did not identify as “Greek” with uniformity.

### **Conceptions of an External Other**

The discussion of a shared community identity revolving around certain spaces, activities, and materials – creating a sense of “Us” – is incomplete without discussing what it selectively excluded or exoticized<sup>19</sup> – creating a sense of “Them”.<sup>20</sup> However, it seems that throughout pre-Hellenistic Ephesos, primarily in the case of the Artemision, there was not a strong sense of “Them,” and not a common practice of “othering” different communities or culture. There are many finds of foreign make at the Artemision; these are considered possible evidence for creating a sense of an external other.

While local creations may have been the most socially accepted material, Greek imports are common – it is highly unlikely that any Greek material would be viewed as unacceptable.<sup>21</sup> Anatolian finds, such as those from Lydia, Caria, and Phrygia, would also likely not be considered “other” or “exotic.” They appear in quantities such that their deposition was frequent, and the discussion above shows that Anatolian traditions were accepted in the community.

A quantity of Egyptian and Egyptian-style finds have also been found at the Artemision.<sup>22</sup> This is likely the result of cultural exposure and goods traveling on the North-South trade route from the Black Sea to Egypt which Ephesos was located on, especially in

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<sup>19</sup> An exoticized object is one seen as “exotic”: foreign, rare, and often expensive.

<sup>20</sup> Such methodology is utilized by Mac Sweeney; see Mac Sweeney 2011.

<sup>21</sup> It is unclear if this would change with regard to certain images, such as Theseus and the *Amazonomachy*, or certain time periods, such as those of particular anti-Athenian sentiment.

<sup>22</sup> See Hölbl 2008. Such finds include faience objects, scarabs, amulets, deity figurines, and others.

connection with the strong presence of Egyptian and Egyptian-style goods excavated on Rhodes and the existence of a “Greek” city in Egypt - Naukratis.<sup>23</sup> These finds are also placed in better context by the discovery of graffiti at Abu-Simbel in Egypt, written by Ionian and Carian mercenaries. This graffiti opens the possibility of a stronger connection between Egypt and Ionia,<sup>24</sup> as well as the possibility that Ionian mercenaries may have brought back Egyptian goods and trinkets. As mercenary work was likely a relatively common occupation, the dedication of Egyptian goods may not always be examples of exotic or even exclusively expensive offerings.

Not all Egyptian goods found at the Artemision come from Egypt. Greek-style goods have been found with Egyptian artistic influences at the Artemision, suggesting Aegean-made or locally made objects with Egyptian influence.<sup>25</sup> The existence of such artifacts suggest the general acceptance of Egyptian iconography at Ephesos, both in their use as votive offerings and in the practice of Ionian manufacturers using Egyptian techniques and style.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, non-Greek and non-Egyptian goods in Egyptian styles have been found, such as Phoenician imitations of Egyptian objects and styles.<sup>27</sup> It is unlikely that materials exhibiting Egyptian artistic influence were exoticized; many of the Egyptian goods found in the Artemision’s votive deposition layers are religious in nature and were appropriate gifts for the goddess. These were not expensive foreign goods donated because of their price or rarity; they were attainable objects

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<sup>23</sup> Herodotos 2.178 tells of Egyptian king Amasis giving Naukratis to the Greeks as a Panhellenic city.

<sup>24</sup> Another example of Egyptian-Ionian relations is a donation by the Egyptian King Necho to the temple of Apollo at Branchidai told in Herodotos 2.159.

<sup>25</sup> Hölbl 2008, p210-11.

<sup>26</sup> Hölbl 2008 discusses *pyxides* with Egyptian-style lotus decorations, Ephesian bowls of faience, and Aegean-made scarabs.

<sup>27</sup> Hölbl 2008. An example of this is an ivory Hathor cow plaque discussed on p214.

that were consciously given, and show a basic understanding of both Ephesian and Egyptian worship and cult practices.<sup>28</sup>

The population living and practicing in and around the Artemision appears to be incredibly accepting of foreign goods. The only solid example of social differentiation at Ephesos comes from an unexpected source: the Ionian community. This point of exclusion from Ephesos is seen in their rejection of the traditional “Ionian” tribes in favor of local titles discussed above, and in their refusal to join the other Ionian League cities in celebrating the Apatouria festival. The Apatouria was a coming-of-age civic festival, in which young men joined their fathers as members of the citizenry. Herodotos believes that the two requirements for the label “Ionian” is anyone who can trace their ancestry back to Athens (which, given the above discussion of foundation myth, is blurred in Ephesos’ case), and who participates in the Apatouria. However, Ephesos and Kolophon – original members of the League that Herodotos claims to be “Ionian communities in Lydia” – do not participate, because of “some murder or other”.<sup>29</sup> That Herodotos does not explain this murder, but merely brushes it aside, is very curious. Famous for his tangents and despite his clear interest in regional history and relations, it is unclear why he does not expand upon or investigate the reason that Ephesos and Kolophon do not participate in what is to him a necessary aspect of Ionian identity. It is unlikely that this murder was unimportant, as the Apatouria was incredibly important to Ionian civic life and a sense of regional community. That Ephesos intentionally decided that they did not want to share this collective acceptance and celebration with the rest of the league may hint at a self-identification that was not quite as “Ionian” as the rest of the league. The city broke from the

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<sup>28</sup> Hölbl 2008 asserts that many of the Egyptian and Egyptian-style objects are related to protection and guardianship of women and families.

<sup>29</sup> Herodotos 1.142, 1.147.

community of Ionian cities and its social enactment through the festival, preferring instead to transition their young men into the Ephesian citizenry in another manner – what manner this was is unknown.<sup>30</sup>

Despite the evidence of the Ephesians creating distance between themselves and the larger Ionian region and the designation of “Ionian”,<sup>31</sup> the material culture does not reflect actual distaste for these external groups. Attic and Corinthian imports are extremely common in the area,<sup>32</sup> and there is a vast quantity of evidence that suggests stylistic borrowing from Northern and Southern Ionia in characteristically Ionian artistic forms.<sup>33</sup> As Kerschner stated in regards to ceramic finds, it seems that Ephesians “readily accepted suggestions from outside”.<sup>34</sup>

## Conclusion

Evidence for community identity at Ephesos is strong, yet troubling. A lack of archaeological evidence from the pre-Hellenistic cities makes the Artemision the only communal space. Within it, there remains the possibility of separate communities, and one that likely occurred along ethnic lines. However, that these communities shared the same communal space that shows strong ties to different cultural and ethnic traditions and was regularly expanded – possibly to include a growing population – refutes this. From the evidence available, it seems that Ephesos was a community unified around the Artemision, yet containing multiple groups, or

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<sup>30</sup> Roebuck 1961 links the rejection of the “Ionian” tribes with the rejection of the Apatouria. This may display a shift toward integrating Greeks and non-Greeks through Anatolian representation and tradition.

<sup>31</sup> Distance from the Ionian region in the rejection of the Apatouria; distance from an “Ionian” designation in a myth of non-Greek and non-Athenian foundation.

<sup>32</sup> von Miller, 2019.

<sup>33</sup> Kerschner 2007, p236.

<sup>34</sup> Kerschner 2007, p236.



“subcommunities,” that were accepted despite their differences in traditional preference. The evidence of multiple cultural traditions and ethnic ties in Ephesos works in tandem with a singular community at the Artemision with mixed traditional preferences to generate a strong idea as to who the Ephesians were: a mixed, hybrid-style, locally-identifying group of people with a ready acceptance of outside influence and a disposition toward general inclusiveness.

## Conclusions

This study began as a desire to better understand the identities of the many and various peoples of Western Anatolia: Lydians, Carians, Lycians, Aeolians, Ionians, and Dorians. However, along the way a question kept arising: how “Greek” were the “East Greeks”? How much did the Ionians identify as “Ionian”? As ancestrally linked to Athens? And the rest of the mainland? Did they feel included when a collective sense of “Panhellenism” began to take hold? Herodotos does not answer these questions, but he tells us: “I think most of [the Ionians] feel that the name [Ionian] is degrading”.<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to know how the Ionians self-identified, but looking at the evidence of identity at Ephesos, in-depth investigations are shown to contribute to a better understanding of Ionian populations.

Ionia’s traditional narrative – of a mass exodus of Greeks to conquer, build, and civilize the West coast of Anatolia, of “Orientalizing” the Greek mainland and exposing it to the ingenuity of only the Great Near Eastern powers, and of being the Eastern frontier of Greek civilization – is unfounded. Evidence suggests a slow migration of Greek-speakers mixing with indigenous populations,<sup>2</sup> these populations having tremendous influence within Ionia for centuries, and the region being, simply put, not entirely Greek.

Modern scholarship has known that Ephesos was not wholly “Greek” for decades, yet the traditional narrative is still maintained.<sup>3</sup> In 1957 T.J. Dunbabin claimed that “the close

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<sup>1</sup> Herodotos, 1.143.

<sup>2</sup> There are sources that suggest some populations were conquered, massacred, driven out, or enslaved (e.g. Herodotos on the conquest of Miletos), but a significant portion of modern scholarship has argued that these myths are unlikely to reflect historical truth (Hall 1997, Malkin 2009, Mac Sweeney 2017, etc.)

<sup>3</sup> Early archaeologists and 19<sup>th</sup> c. scholars over-relied on Herodotos and never doubted his mention of Ionia being “Greek” (e.g. David Hogarth). Despite new information, perspectives, and scholarship (e.g. Naoise Mac Sweeney), this ethnic designation remains “tradition” and is still maintained by some modern scholars (e.g. John Boardman) who trust Herodotos and early scholars in labeling Ionia as a Greek region.

neighbourhood of the Lydian kingdom profoundly influenced the Greek cities of the seaboard, and produced at Ephesos a more thoroughly mixed culture, part Greek, part Asiatic, than we know anywhere else in the Greek world”.<sup>4</sup> It is here part Greek and part Anatolian but still a “Greek city” and still in the “Greek world.” In sixty-five years modern scholarship has moved no closer to a reclassification of the city or the region. Why is it that Ephesos and Ionia are still so resolutely regarded as principally Greek? It seems that myths of the Ionian migration, Athenian political rhetoric, and passing remarks by Herodotos currently hold more weight than other literary evidence and a century of archaeological evidence. This must change.

Rather than considering the Ionians to be Greeks on the border of Anatolia, assuming this in scholarship and teaching it in institutions, they should be considered *Ephesians*, *Milesians*, *Samians*, etc. – a group of locally identifying cities populated by people with both Greek and Anatolian aspects to their identities. Ephesos was not on the border of Greek civilization, but within a zone of mixing, where both Greek and non-Greek traditions interacted and fused in fascinating and incredibly influential ways.

This study has used Ephesos as an example to show hybridity in the identities of Ionia, but it is not enough. Ephesos is only one city: more Western Anatolian cities and the places and reasons they interacted need to be further analyzed to get an idea of how areas in the region identified. Explorations of identity in antiquity have great value, and more work examining identity needs to be done in the other cities of Ionia and Western Anatolia before accurate assessments and proper categorizations of these regions can be made – perhaps they are more “Ionian” and “Greek” than this investigation has shown, but perhaps “Ionian Greek” and “East Greek” are misnomers of Athenian political rhetoric and literary positivism – it can’t be certain

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<sup>4</sup> Dunbabin 1957, p63.

until more is known. Archaeological excavations of the pre-Hellenistic period layers of Western Anatolia, certainly including Ephesos, need to be prioritized and undertaken with a focus on revealing aspects of local identity and avoiding positivism.

The goal of historical scholarship is to better understand the past; a change in perspective allows the same evidence to be seen in a different way, challenging preconceived notions and leading to a deeper understanding. As the traditional narrative has previously approached the evidence discussed here under the assumption that the Ionians were Greeks, approaching the evidence without this assumption yields results of ambiguity and variance on local levels.<sup>5</sup> Approaching this evidence with an awareness that these populations were culturally mixed and diverse shows very different results from the traditional narrative, results that acknowledge hybrid identity and challenge the “Greekness” of the region. Preconceptions and hypotheses are unavoidable issues; history and archaeology are not objective sciences. However, having variety in approaches broadens interpretation and challenges whether the “facts” are really assumptions. More research needs to be done and studies of varying perspective published in order to gain a better understanding of Ephesos, Ionia, and Western Anatolia. Such work will grant a better understanding of Greek, Anatolian, and Near Eastern culture, as well as their influences across the Mediterranean and into the modern world.

Analyzing the small amount of information from Ephesos and regarding Ephesos, and using the Artemision as a representative community space for the city, the hybrid nature of the culture, ethnicity, and community of one of Ionia’s most important cities comes to light. With this approach, a better picture of Ephesian identity is exhibited. The application of this methodology, or similar methodology, on a larger scale will advance scholarship towards a better

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<sup>5</sup> As in Greaves 2010.

understanding of Ionia, Western Anatolia, Classical and Near Eastern Studies, and human history as a whole, while showing that discussions of identity through the historical record and archaeology is both possible and helpful.

**Figures**



Figure 1: Modern day Greece and Turkey, with the perceived continental divide (red), and regional designations (white). (Note that this line is not the modern border).  
(Google Maps)



Figure 2: Ionia. Shaded areas would have been underwater in antiquity representing areas that have since silted up. Ephesos at center, Sardis at top right. (Naoíse Mac Sweeney 2017, p391).



Figure 3: The Aegean in the later 5<sup>th</sup> century. The Delian League, the name of the Athenian naval empire, is in yellow. The Peloponnesian League (Spartan empire) is in red. Persian Empire is in green. (Columbia University, <https://www.college.columbia.edu/>).



Figure 4: An image of a Roman copy of a cult image sculpture of Artemis of Ephesos. (Statue: Selçuk Museum; photo: Wikimedia Commons)



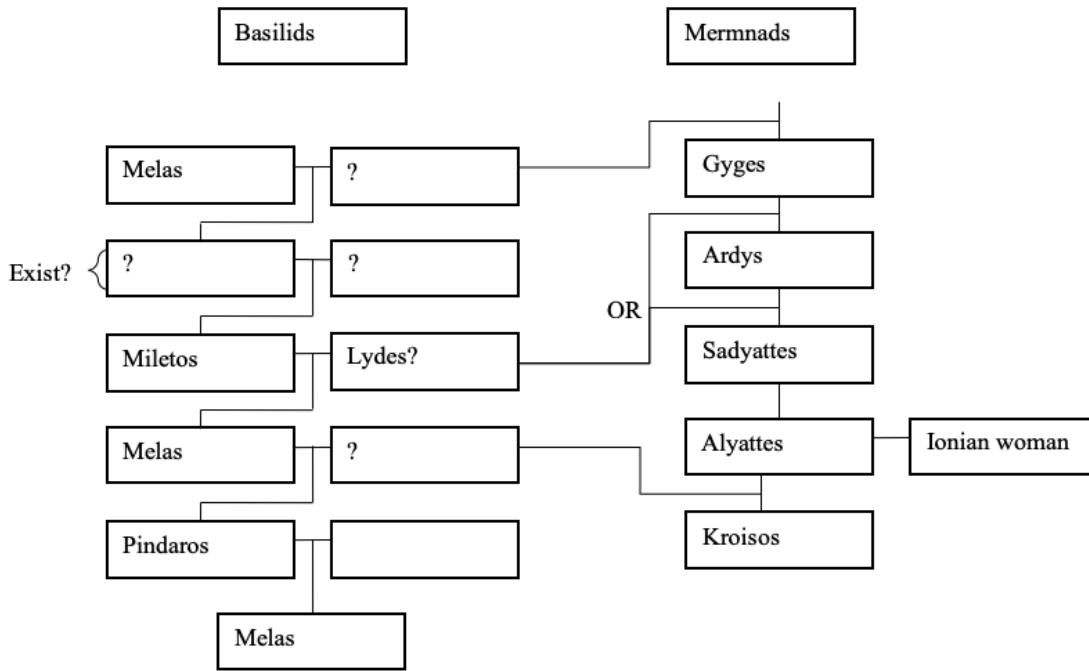


Figure 5: Basilid and Mermnad family trees. (Created by author).

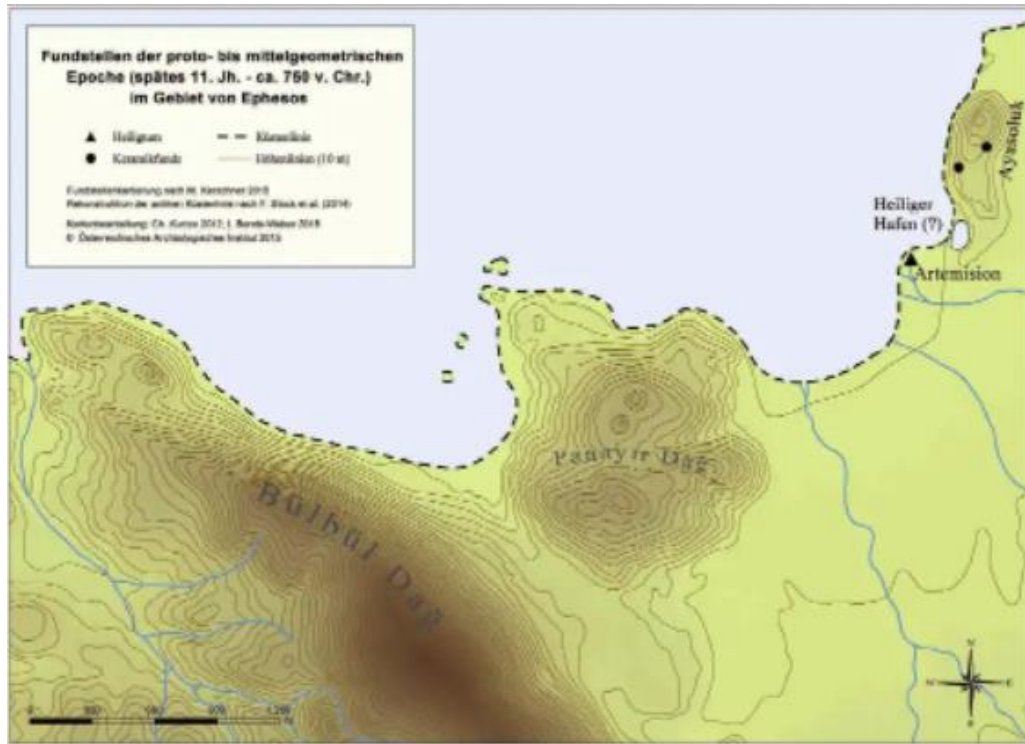


Figure 6: The Ephesian area, showing the locations of Ayasoluk Hill (top right), the Artemision (right), Bülbul Dağı (lower left), and Panayir Dağı (center). (Michael Kerschner 2017, p63).

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