NEW HORIZONS

MITTELMEERSTUDIEN

Herausgegeben von

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Mediterranean Research in the 21st Century

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Irad Malkin

Migration and Colonization
Turbulence, Continuity, and the Practice of Mediterranean Space
(11th–5th centuries BCE)

Significant discoveries were made during the past twenty years in Network The-
ory. Particularly relevant to historians are the discoveries concerning dynamics
of decentralized networks that result in self-organization of complex systems.
Random links may transform into an overall connectivity of points, which now
function as *nodes in a system*; in my book, *A Small Greek World*, I tried apply-
ing Network Theory to understand the evolvement and formation of ancient
Greek civilization, consisting as it did of "nodes" of city states and colonies spread
over the coasts of the Mediterranean and Black Sea with maritime space as their
common area of connectivity. Both the practice of maritime space, consisting
mostly of activity by Phoenicians, Greeks, and Etruscans (with various degrees
of mixture among them), and the "objective," independent, and rapid dynamics
of networks qua networks (the fast diminishing number of degrees of separation,
the rapid pace, and a greater varieties of content "flows" moving along network
lines) contributed significantly to the formation, crystallization and rise of an-
cient Greek civilization. In network terminology it was a "Small Greek World,"
where the degrees of separation among nodes kept diminishing in number, re-
gardless of actual physical distances. I also suggest that the very awareness of Hel-
lenic collective identity emerged due to the networks that "pulled together" the
very same Greeks who were actively migrating and settling in ever widening ho-
rizons (Malkin, 2011).

The starting point of a *Small Greek World* is the observation that Greek civil-
ization came into being at the very time when the Greeks were splitting apart, col-
onizing in ever more distant shores. Greek civilization took its form during the
first half of the first millennium BCE when Greeks were migrating and found-
ing new settlements and *apoikiai* (independent city states that were founded as
colonies), reaching as far as the western Mediterranean and the eastern Black Sea.
Physical divergence, I claim there, went hand in hand with convergence of Hel-
lenic collective identity. A network approach goes a long way to explain this.

Drawing somewhat on Social Network Analysis, but especially on notions
borrowed from the physics of networks, I have tried to identify the "pulling"

forces that eventually made a Greek speaking resident in Cyrene in Libya similar not to his immediate Libyan neighbor, but to another Greek speaker living, say, in Massalia (Massilia, modern Marseille), at a distance of hundreds of maritime miles.

On a larger scale one may go as far as to claim that "pan-Mediterranean" forces and interactions shaped an ancient Mediterranean with several city-state cultures. These included Phoenician, Etruscan, Greek, and Roman city-states that were in essence different from the multi-ethnic mega-empires of the Near East with their centralized, hierarchical political structures. Putting aside our distaste for his racist implication, we note that Aristotle interpreted this difference as the distinction between the free human being who lives to his full potential (the citizen of a city state, a *polis*, usually – but not always – a Greek) and the slavish barbarian.[1]

Maritime considerations for the choice of settlement sites

In Cicero's beautifully articulated phrase (*de Rep.* 2. 9) "The shores of Greece are like hems stitched onto the lands of barbarian peoples," what is salient is the maritime perspective, the impression that maritime space was huge in contrast to relatively tiny terrestrial one. Clearly, the sea seems the center of "Greece" and the point of view for observing its shores is a boat. In Homer's *Odyssey*, Odysseus recommends settling an offshore empty island, facing the land of the Cyclopes, because the Cyclopes have no ships with which men visit each other's cities. (See more below). Clearly, for those interested in ancient Mediterranean migrations and colonization the view from the sea is the natural one to adopt (cf. Horden and Purcell, 2000, p. 101.).

This perspective and the practice of preferring settlement on offshore islands and promontories were conducive for the formation of vastly spaced maritime networks. This is the correct perspective insofar as it follows the pattern of foundations on offshore islands and mainland promontories. *Small Greek World* studies the Mediterranean mostly from the perspective of the Archaic period (mid-eighth to the beginning of the fifth century), with an emphasis on the foundation of cities and *emporia*, a process known as Greek colonization. However, in geographical terms, since already the eleventh century, the sites chosen for settlement were selected with maritime considerations of access and connectivity in mind. This seems to be a consistent criterion for settlement activities ever since the collapse of Mycenaean civilization and thus characterizes also the "period of migrations" that preceded the colonization of the eighth century BCE. In short, during some six centuries Greeks (if we can call them that in the eleventh century) were choosing precisely the same type of sites while apparently applying

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[1] Aristotle, Politics I 1.5–6 1252b5 seqq.

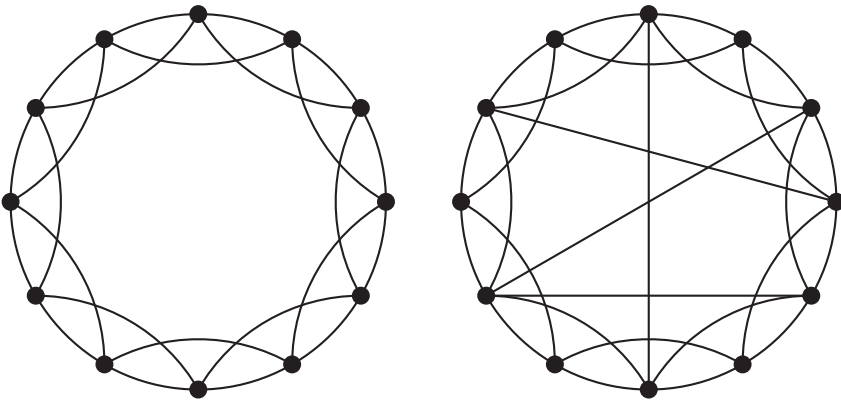Fig. 1: Phoenician, and Etruscan settlements (Malkin, 2011, p. 4, fig. 1.1).

Fig. 2: Random links and networks: the formation of a small world. Each node in the diagram on the left is connected to its four nearest neighbors. The addition of a few random links (right) drastically reduces the degree of separation among all the nodes, increasing the connectivity of the entire system. (B. Lehnhoff after Malkin, 2011, p. 28).

the same kind of maritime perspective and outlook. This continuity in perspective and active choices needs to be looked at to understand the infrastructure of the Greek maritime networks.

Beyond the initial, one-off choice of settlement sites I shall also discuss continuity in the practice of space that went on for centuries. To do this I shall also observe the orientation of the *chôra*, the agricultural hinterland. Where the use of the land was that of a true hinterland, namely serving a society oriented to the sea and eventually enmeshed in its networks, we also observe continuity in the development and reciprocal sharing in Hellenic commonalities. Where we note a practice of space that is oriented inland, as was the case with the Philistines, we also see people cut off from Mediterranean networks and eventually excluded from belonging to an overarching ethnic identity, as did happen with the Greeks. The Philistines might have become Greek (a distinct possibility) but their practice of space set them off on a different route, ending in assimilation.

Migration and colonization: continuities of the practice of space

A common text-book theme is the distinction between two types of Mediterranean mobility that resulted in permanent Greek settlements: migration and colonization.[2] The first is a "Phaiakian type" (see below), namely, an *exodus* of an entire community and settlement overseas. The second involves a mother city (*metropolis*) that is not evacuated, and a group of colonists (*apoikia*) who end up founding a new settlement (also called *apoikia*). The following is the conventional chronological framework for the first six centuries of Greek migration and city foundations:

Ca 1200–1150 until ca 800–750:	Dark Ages (Migrations)
ca 750 until 480:	Archaic period (Colonization)

Thucydides too had two categories in mind, although he defines them differently: In his introductory *archaiologia* (Hornblower, 1991, esp. pp. 37–41). he reflects on ancient times and chooses the Trojan War as the starting point for periodization of migration and settlement. He too speaks of two phases: first, the more turbulent kinesis of mass invasions, such as those of the Boiotians and Dorians that resulted in conquest and violent displacements.

> ἐπεὶ καὶ μετὰ τὰ Τρωικὰ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἔτι μετανίστατό τε καὶκατῳκίζετο, ὥστε μὴ ἡσυχά-
> σασαν αὐξηθῆναι.

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[2] Osborne, 1998 considers "colonization" too as "migration." His categories, however, are nebulous. See my objections in Malkin, 2002; 2003; in press [a].

> Even after the Trojan war Hellas was still engaged in removing and settling, and thus could not attain to the quiet which must precede growth. (Thuc. 1. 12).

Second, when things settled or quieted down (*hesychia*, "quiet," seems an important factor for Thucydides) we get mother cities and colonies, as well as "growth" and the disappearance of piracy. The newer cities, he comments a little earlier in the *archaiologia*, were now built directly on the coast because navigation had become safer (Thuc. 1. 7).

In this phase we no longer see wanderings *en masse*, but a home community that remains in place. (Thuc. 1. 12. 4) This is almost the same distinction made by modern scholarship except Thucydides categorizes the Ionian Migrations (Dark Age) rather as colonization, with a mother city (Athens) that is not abandoned and the Ionian cities as Athens's colonies (ibid.). Moreover, he sees the settlements in the western Mediterranean by "Peloponnesians" (which we would categorize in the later period) as colonies of the same type. In other words, for Thucydides the history of Greek colonization (*metropolis-apoikia*) started already with the Ionian Migrations.

By contrast, modern scholarship usually regards "colonization" as a qualitatively new phenomenon: no *exodus*, but migrants setting out from mother cities that remained in place. Eighth-century Greek colonization belongs to the world of the newly rising city-states. As some (myself included) have claimed, it was eighth-century colonization and the practice of founding new cities that contributed significantly to the general rise of the *polis* (Malkin, 1987, ch. 8).

How justified is this distinction between eras of migration and colonization? What would it mean for the history of the practice of Mediterranean space and its implications? Can we point out some transition from the former to the latter? In other words, was this an evolutionary process, with marked aspects of continuity or was the "Renaissance of the eighth century" characterized precisely in a break from *en masse* migration to more orderly, polis-type settlements (Morris, 2009)? The question is wide-ranging and here I would like to concentrate on the implications of one aspect of continuity within these two categories and its implications.

The trouble is we know so little about the history of settlements during the Dark Age. It appears (below) that sites were settled, abandoned, resettled, raided, conquered, and settled yet again, and so on. We cannot even be sure about the ethnic identity (if that is a relevant issue) of the groups involved. However, we can be sure of the Greek identity of the relevant sites by the eighth and seventh centuries BCE. Also, the eighth century did know significant changes, among which was the rise of the *polis*. It is important then to first enhance the resolution of the term "migration" and its historiographical significance.

The mindset and outlook of historians seem to keep shifting between the extremes of change vs continuity, process vs event. Migration, especially when perceived as disorganized, inconsistent movement of individuals and small groups

over long periods, obviously leans to a vision of history that is evolutionary and processal. By contrast, colonization implies pre-defined and self-aware groups of settlers, aware too of common action and, specifically, of founding a new settlement. Tempo, not time, is here of the essence, since that is what makes something happening an "event." In other words, is Greek colonization to be viewed more as a series of "events," punctuating time (i.e., when things happen sufficiently fast for them to be perceived as unitary) or a process (Little, 2012)? My own approach is that the looser term "migration" can always be applied, but it always needs qualification, since the term is equally applicable to mobility of individuals, small groups, or entire political communities.[3]

In the second half of the eighth century we begin to observe an overlap with colonization in its conventional sense: the island of Pithekoussai (established ca 750 BCE) gives the impression of a large mixed settlement (an entrepôt for migration, not just of Greeks, combined with artisanal and commercial functions) whereas its contemporary Kyme already gives the appearance of an organized political community (Ridgway, 1992; Coldstream, 1994; d'Agostino, 2009).

In my view the new *polis*-aspects of the eighth century and the foundation of new city states achieved the effect that Fernand Braudel attributed to Mediterranean cities in general: cities are like "electric transformers," he says,[4] charging with current the nodes of the network. By analogy, a qualitative historical change took place following the eighth century marked by the rise and dissemination of *polis* frameworks and the actual foundation of numerous new cities. The point to mark here is the continuity, in both periods, in the choice of maritime sites and in the ensuing practice of space. It is not always a continuity in terms of who possessed this or that site (we see more fluctuations in the Dark Age) but in the priorities for choice of settlement sites and their function. It is this consistency that made it possible for the nodes of settlements, partly established already in the Dark Age, to enhance their connectivity exponentially with the rise of the polis, while encouraging such a rise through direct imitation and mutual influences. Let observe in some more detail how these criteria were expressed.

From ship to shore

The first explicit expression of a Greek maritime perspective combined with an assessment of the merits of a maritime settlement site is to be found in an often-quoted passage from the ninth book of the Odyssey, when Odysseus tells of his arrival at the land of the Cyclopes.

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[3] General account: Graham, 1982.
[4] Braudel, 1972, vol. 1, p. 479. In general, Horden and Purcell somewhat diminish the role of cities, a point answered by Fentress and Fentress, 2001, pp. 212–13.

οὐ γὰρ Κυκλώπεσσι νέες πάρα μιλτοπάρῃοι,
οὐδ' ἄνδρες νηῶν ἔνι τέκτονες, οἵ κε κάμοιεν
νῆας ἐυσσέλμους, αἵ κεν τελέοιεν ἕκαστα
ἄστε' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ἱκνεύμεναι, οἷά τε πολλὰ
ἄνδρες ἐπ' ἀλλήλους νηυσὶν περόωσι θάλασσαν·
οἵ κέ σφιν καὶ νῆσον ἐυκτιμένην ἐκάμοντο.

For the Cyclopes have at hand no ships with vermillion cheeks, nor are there ship-
wrights in their land who might build them well-benched ships, which should per-
form all their wants, passing to the cities of other men, as men often cross the sea
in ships to visit one another – craftsmen, who would have made of this island also
a fair settlement (9.125ff. Trans. Murray, LCL).

It is impossible to date the passage, least of all to claim that this might be a "late"
passage in the text since it conforms to what Greek colonists actually did after
the eighth century. Odysseus's description may be equally applied to sites settled
during the Ionian Migration and to those established as colonies in later periods.[5]
Much has been said about this passage, especially noting the bi-polar contrasts
with the Cyclopes' "anti-society," a negative image of a human one (Heubeck
and Hoekstra, 1989, ad loc.). What merits more emphasis is the reciprocity im-
plied in what, contrary to the Cyclopes, men do, namely, move on the water and
"visit" each other's cities. It is the first such explicit observation in our sources of
maritime networking activities, as well as an image of an ideal settlement site, an
offshore, empty island, facing a rich land one might hope to "tap."

   In the *Odyssey* the sea seems the place of relative safety; it is also a back-up sys-
tem in case of failure and emergency, illustrated by the *Odyssey*'s mythical Phai-
akians who, fleeing the Cyclopes, sailed away over the water and founded Scheria
where they eventually gave shelter and help to Odysseus. Historically, we may
compare the well-known cases of the Kolophonians who fled the Lydians for
Italy, and, facing the Persian invasion of Asia Minor (545 BCE), the citizens of
Teos and Phokaia evacuated to Phanagoria (northern Black Sea), Abdera
(Thrace), and Alalia (Corsica).[6]

   With the same ship-to-shore perspective of Odysseus, Greeks kept applying
the same criteria for the choice of settlement sites (off-shore islands, promontor-
ies, and river-mouths) also during the colonization period. The *Odyssey*'s goat-
island (Clay, 1980) displays a potential for future settlement; it says nothing about
abandoning one's home. By contrast, as noted, the Odyssey also tells of migra-
tion-colonization of the *exodus*-type: the Phaiakians who fled the Cyclopes (cf.

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[5] On this and other aspects relating to Odysseus see Malkin, 1998.

[6] Strabo 6. 1. 14 C264 speaks of the colonists as "Ionians ... in flight from the dominion of the
Lydians"; specifically Teians, aside from those who went to Abdera?) founded Phanagoreia
in the Black Sea. See Demand, 1990, pp. 39–41. For the exceptional circumstances of naming
a city after a living founder (Phanagoras) see Malkin, 1986. Kolophonians: Aristotle fr. 584
(Rose); Timaios FGrHist 566 F 51 (= Ahenae. 523c). Hdt. 1. 163 seqq. (Phokaia).

Dougherty, 2001, chs. 5–7). Yet the detailed description of what they founded at Scheria resembles very much an ideal colony of a later type, perhaps mixed with images of fabulous Eastern cities, such as Tyre (Scheria is quintessentially maritime; *Odyssey* 6.1 seqq.). Moreover, the activities of the founder, Nausithoos, are basically the same as those of the later, Archaic *oikistes* (Graham, 1983, ch. 3; Malkin, 1987, ch. 3): dividing up the plough land, making sanctuaries for the gods (compare the *temene* reserved by the Archaic *oikistes*), "building houses" (compare the Archaic practice of allocating *kleroi*, plots of land in the city and others in the country) and a "wall," an "ideal" element for the contours of the city (walls are actually a late phenomenon in the western colonies; on the other hand, Old Smyrna in Asia Minor seems to present the earliest fortification wall built in the ninth century) (Nicholls, 1958–1959; Akurgal, 1983). The Phaiakians therefore present at once close similarities with later practices, yet the framework of Scheria's foundation is that of mass migration.

The *Iliad* too seems to reflect a time of raids and movement, with shifting powers and control. If Troy (without the mythical framework) were simply added to the list of twenty three places and cities raided and conquered by Achilles (such as Skyros and Lesbos),[7] to which we may add the raid by Odysseus on Ismaros (and the one in the lying tale about the raid on Egypt), what we see is an Aegean marked by constant shifting of power and territorial possession. In narrative terms, the logic of the post-Troy *Nostoi* is the return home. Yet what is left open is the question of, say, Lesbos and the other conquered sites: were these supposed to have been abandoned like Troy supposedly was after its destruction? But this is not the poet's concern. In short, it is an image of fluctuating possession of sites, with change of control but not change priorities. Yet the poet is silent on this issue.

What seems certain is that the *Iliad* presents an Aegean in trouble. Thucydides speaks of the great *kinesis* (turbulence) after the Trojan War, yet he does so from a mainlander's point of view (his examples are the invasions of Boiotians and Dorians to mainland Greece).[8] We need to forget for a moment the position of the Trojan War as the start of the *spatium historicum* in ancient thought (Fornara, 1983). In terms of representation, when we read Homer neither from the point of view of his heroes nor from that of later Greek historiography, but examining what he says about general conditions, it would seem that turbulence in the Aegean did not start after the Trojan War but that the Trojan War itself was part of it.

As in the *Iliad*, traditions about the Ionian Migration also involve a theme of turbulence, of Greeks taking over settlements from other Greeks (keeping in mind that at the time they probably had not been too concerned about, or even aware of, their common Hellenicity). That is how Mimnermos (seventh century)

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[7] Il. 10 328–9. I am currently (in progress) examining in detail such implications in Homer.
[8] Thuc. 1.2 seqq. with Hornblower, 1991, pp. 37–41.

describes the settlement of Kolophon and the attack on Smyrna: "we," he says, came (supposedly during the Dark Age, according to our categories) from Pylos to Kolophon and violently (with *hybris*) subdued the local inhabitants (Mimnermos F9 West). So far this signifies a self-aware, common, constitutive historical action consisting in emigration (Pylos), migration (to Kolophon) and conquest. Then, from Kolophon, "we" kept on going, he says, against "Aiolian Smyrna," namely against a city that had already been settled by other (Aiolian) Greeks.[9] In the Archaic period we observe such things actually happening: the Athenians, for example, will have similarly conquered Sigeion (from Aiolian Greeks) and settled it in the seventh century. Earlier still, the Corinthians were reputed to have expelled the Eretrians from Corcyra at the end of the eighth century.[10]

Taking over lands and islands, yet fearful of losing them to yet other groups of raiders/immigrants is apparent also in the physical remains. Among all the traditions about the post Trojan migrations, the Dorians hold a special place both in ancient traditions and in modern scholarship. In terms of material remains, one of the curious phenomena in some Dorian islands is the apparent sense of ongoing threat (cf. Lemos, 2002, p. 193): for example, in contrast to Akrotiri, the unfortified seaside site of Thera (modern Santorini) during the Bronze Age, Dorian Thera (settled in the early to mid-eighth century) is built on an imposing, fortified high location with difficult access, which totally dominates the countryside. In fact, the existence of seventh-century Cyclopean walls in some islands begs the question: what was the nature of the threat? Was it local or external? Might the Dorians have been like the Crusaders who chose precisely such sites (cf. Kal'at Namrud) because they were a small minority dominating a local population? Or was the threat that of other raiders and migrants, such as the threat certainly felt by the Aiolians of Smyrna by the settlers of Kolophon?

In any case, in terms of turbulence, it seems that Thucydides had the right idea when he established "quiet" (*hesychia*) or "quieting down" as the criterion for distinguishing between the eras of mass migrations (turbulence) and colonization (more settled conditions). However, the difference between Thucydides and modern scholarship is that the latter does not accept his chronological dividing line (he regards the Ionian migration in terms of colonization, with Athens as a *metropolis*).

In my view the sending out of *apoikoi* (colonists) since the later eighth century, was an integral part of state-formation: communities at home could homogenize and become *poleis* precisely when elements that could not integrate in the newly formed political communities were encouraged to leave while being recognized

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[9] "… leaving Pylos, the city of Neleus, we came on our ships to longed-for Asia and with overwhelming force we settled in lovely Colophon, the instigators of harsh aggression; and setting out from there, from the river …, by the will of the gods we captured Aiolian Smyrna." Cf. Asheri, 1997.

[10] Sigeion: Herodotus 5. 94. 1, Strabo 13. 1. 38–39. Corcyra: Plut. *Mor.* 293.A.8. For non-Greek Liburnians expelled by Corinthians see Str. 6.2.4; App. BC 2. 6. 39.

Fig. 3: Mediterranean Gaul and the Gulf of Lion (Malkin, 2011, p. 145, fig. 5.2).

as kin (Malkin, 1994). The "right of return" to colonies only emphasizes the reciprocity involved in the process (Malkin, in press [a]).On the other hand, this social and political difference between the times of turbulence and those of *hesychia* is not expressed among the criteria for choice of settlement sites: we keep seeing the same offshore islands, promontories and river mouths. This consistency in priorities for the same kind of sites, especially their maritime accessibility, enabled both those that were settled early, during the "turbulent" Dark Age, and those settled later (colonies), to be enmeshed in a common Greek-Wide-Web that was dependent precisely on this maritime orientation of connectivity.

Terrestrial hinterlands and the sea

Aside from consistent choice of the same type of settlement sites during some six centuries of migration and colonization, we note a consistency with the size, use, and orientation of the hinterland, the *chôra* of each particular *polis*. The size of the hinterland of such settlements, located mostly by the sea, b o t h in the Dark Ages and in the Archaic period, is often similar: a small, narrow *chôra*, expanding or contracting within relatively narrow limits. For example, the *chôra* of Phokaia in Asia Minor was insignificant, but its harbor was excellent. Similarly, the harbor of its daughter colony Massalia (founded ca 600) was superb; Massalia's *chôra* extended along the coast and new "Massaliot" settlements kept being founded.

Yet throughout some six centuries, down to its conquest by Julius Caesar in the mid-first century BCE, the *chôra* kept an average width (as measured from the coastline) of not more than between five and fifteen km.[11]

In sum, we note two major aspects of continuity in the history of Greek settlements during both the Dark Ages and the Archaic periods: a ship-to-shore perspective, consistent choices of maritime sites, and the size and orientation of colonial *chôrai*. What marks the earlier period of turbulence (above), the eleventh through most of the eighth century, indicates consistency in priorities and goals: acquiring sites chosen with maritime criteria in mind. To be sure, places were changing hands, but the same type of site was privileged. In contrast, following the later eighth century, the more "settled conditions" to which both Thucydides and modern scholars refer, signify both stabilization of existing frameworks in the Aegean and Asia Minor, less competition for the same sites, and colonization in new areas (the Central Mediterranean and the Black Sea) at sites of the same nature, which probably relieved pressure on already-occupied sites.

We also see consistency not only in the average size of the *chôra*, but also in its orientation: such *chôrai* usually developed along the coast, or "sideways," rather than away from a coast, further and further inland (cf. Bats, 1992). We can see this orientation even with the *chôrai* of islands, such as Thasos or Samos (Constantakopoulou, 2007, pp. 229–253, n. 30 seqq.). Aside for the island itself their *chôra* was a *peraia*, namely, land taken by an island on the mainland opposite. Advancing inland was made with a view to the sea and the island as the center "in the back." With coastal colonies like Massalia we note a huge extension of its influence and settlement "sideways," all along the French Riviera and the Bay of Lion (Catalonia). Massalia was conservatively Greek and the westernmost Greek city to have a treasury at Delphi.[12] Her identity was Greek and her orientation – there is no doubt about that – was a maritime one throughout her history with a growing "sideways *chôra*" and new foundations on the coast (Hodge, 1998). It is my view that only those settlements that show both a continuity in the choice of advantageously maritime sites, and consistency in the practice of terrestrial space and its coastal orientation, eventually came to share in Greek networks, i.e., in Greek civilization. What might have happened when the reverse was true?

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[11] Strabo 4. 1. 4. Akurgal, 1956; Morel, 1992; Özyigit, 1994; Hermary, Hesnard, and Tréziny, 1999; Morel, 2006.

[12] Treasury: Diod. Sic. 14.93.4; Appian *Italica* 8.1.3; Lawrence, 1996, pp. 95–97; Arafat and Morgan, 1994, p. 127; Villard, 1960, pp. 90–91. For the excavation report, see Demangel and Daux, 1923, pp. 50–78.

Philistines and the mixed Greeks of Gelonos

What happens when orientation changes from an extension along the coast into the deep hinterland? A good illustration is provided in an evocative passage in Herodotus (4. 108) who recounts the story of Gelonos, a city among the Budini in the Black Sea area. His description of a movement of Greeks who left their coastal residence to move into the hinterland relate to changes in lifestyle, language, religion, city dwelling, ethnic contrasts, and collective naming. He describes Greeks who had left the coastal *emporia* (trading stations) to settle among non-Greeks inland: Unlike other Greek cities Gelonos is built entirely of wood, even its temples "of the Greek gods (*hellenikôn theôn*) are furnished in the Greek way (*Hellenikôs*) with images, altars, and shrines of wood." Herodotus adds that "These people were originally Greeks (*Hellenes*), who, being driven out of the [coastal] *emporia*, came to the Budini ... They speak a language half Greek, half Scythian" (4. 109) (cf. Asheri, 2007, p. 658).

A movement "too deeply" into the hinterland seems equated here with the loss of Hellenicity. These are just "half Greeks" (Casevitz, 2001). In the case of the Gelonoi they started out as Greeks. But what happened in earlier periods, when Greeks were being formed as Greeks though the very processes that found them spread along Mediterranean coasts? In Mediterranean terms hinterlands and their orientation may tell us a lot. Let us return to the period that follows 1200 BCE, in which we place also the Aeolian, Ionian, and Dorian migrations (or "wanderings," in German scholarship). A variety of "Sea peoples," raiders, migrants, and others are reported in ancient Near eastern sources. We find a variety of names of various groups,[13] e.g., the Shardana, not all necessarily indicating ethnic distinctions. The name "Achaians" may be attested in Hittite documents of the Bronze Age and raiding "Yaunā" are mentioned in Near Eastern sources (Sancisi-Weerdenburg, 2001); these were apparently people who originated in Ionia (perhaps Greeks, but since "Ionia" is not a Greek word, they could have merely come from the region "Ionia").[14] Among the Sea Peoples one usually includes a group known as Philistines whose origin seems to be the Aegean. They settled in southern Palestine, just shy of Phoenicia.[15]

The question now arises: why did other Aegean migrants who settled in the Aegean islands, on the coasts of Asia Minor and even in Cyprus, evolve into Greeks (i.e., the Greeks we know following the eighth century) and others, who might have, did not? We know hardly anything about some of the other groups mentioned in Near Eastern sources, but relatively more about the Philistines. The

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[13] This is not the central topic of this paper. For a thought-provoking account see Cline, 2014.

[14] See for a thorough discussion Hall, 2002.

[15] Special thanks are due to Assaf Yasur-Landau of Haifa University and Seymour Gitin, Director of the F. W. Albright Institute for Archeological Research, Jerusalem, and to Israel Finkelstein of Tel Aviv University, for their comments and help in a field that is new to me. Responsibility for the text that follows remains of course mine.
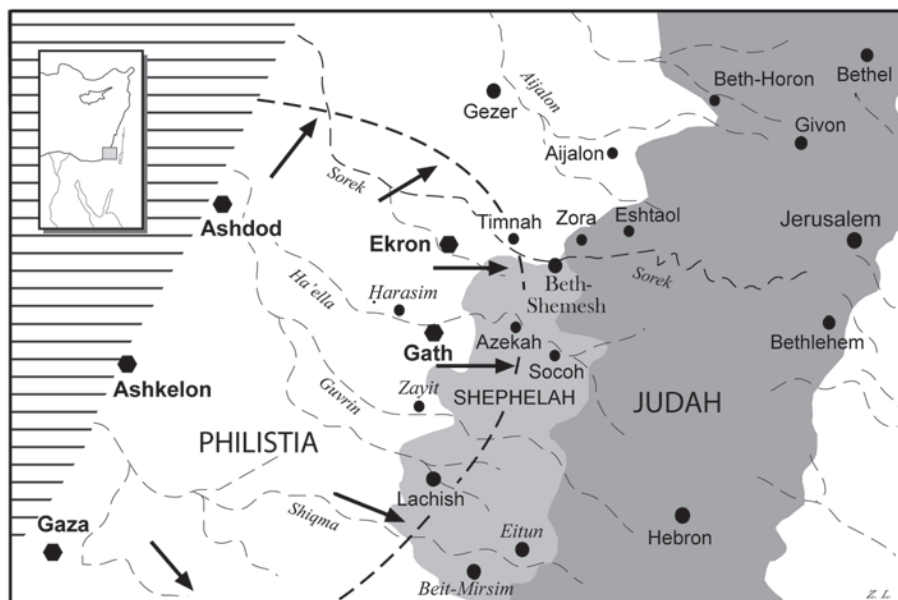
Fig. 4: Philistia during Iron Age I (with thanks to Bunimovitz and Lederman, 2011, p. 364, fig. 1).

question relates to the co-optative forces of mutual influences that took place during the Dark Ages in the Aegean circle and mainland Greece, which created the basis of Greek civilization in the early Archaic period. The point to notice is who eventually went their own way in contrast to those who did share in the developing commonalities of language, cult, modes of social and political organization, and in applying the same criteria for the division of space. Some of these forces, such as growing maritime connectivity, are observable to us; some were probably also self-aware, as were religious festivals, oracular centers, and formal religious associations (amphiktyonies).

Most would agree that Philistines had an Aegean origin, and that they were migrating and settling around the late 12th or the 11th centuries as part of the great upheaval that followed the collapse of Mycenaean and some Near Eastern civilizations and also formed the context of the "Ionian" and of other migrations.[16] Some

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[16] Cretan origins seem to be the consensus among biblical authors: *Amos* (9.7) and *Jeremiah* (47. 4) speak of Kaphtor, identified with Crete; cf. Akkadian *Kaptaru* and the Egyptian *Kefteu*. However, Egyptian origins are spoken of in the Philistines came from Egypt Genesis 10.13– 14; 1 Chron 1.11–12. See Vercoutter, 1956; Kitchen, 1973, p. 54. Cf. Finkelberg, 2005, p. 156. The origin of the Philistines is much debated. De Vaux, 1978, pp. 503–507; Singer, 1988; Finkelstein, 2002, p. 150–155 (discussion also Cyprus and Anatolia) with Finkelstein, 1995; 1996. See now the magisterial research by Yasur-Landau, 2010. Cf. Dothan and Dothan, 1992; Dothan, 1998;

Philistine migrants may have arrived by sea, others by coastal land routes. Yet both in terms of their material culture, and certain aspects of their religion and political terminology (e.g., the *Seranim*),[17] they seem "Aegean." As happened with the Aegean migrants to Cyprus and Asia Minor the Philistines might have become Greek, except they did not. Settling on the coast, their settlements evolved into important city states (Gaza, Ascalon, and Ashdod). This is also what happened to the migrants who reached the shores of Asia Minor during the Dark Ages, except that the latter kept in touch with, and were invigorated by, the maritime networks that crystallized their commonalities and defined their identity as Greeks. Instead of merging and assimilating with their hinterland neighbors the "Ionians," were "pulled" to the sea and became more Greek during the process.

The Philistines, by contrast, lost their maritime orientation and over a few centuries were acculturated into the region, adopted some of its cults, and acquired a Semitic language.[18] It seems that they did not evolve into Greeks since they had arrived too early and went to settle too far: they reached shores that were simply too distant to be integrated in what later became Hellenic maritime networks that first centered on the Aegean. Most importantly, unlike the Phokaians in the western Mediterranean, the Philistines chose to advance inland. Their two hinterland foundations, the city states of Gath and Ekron, were founded later than the coastal cities of Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ashdod. However, both Gath and Ekron eventually eclipsed the coast in terms of size and wealth (although Gath had been destroyed ca 835).[19] We do not hear of much maritime activity by Philistines (neither Gaza, nor Ascalon, nor Ashdod is a great port), in marked contrast to their immediate neighbors along the coast to the north, the Phoenicians.

Like the Ionians who contended with the Lydians in the hinterland, the Philistines needed to deal with the Egyptians to the south and the various empires (notably the Assyrian) to the east. Directly facing them were Israelites. The stories of the *Old Testament*, to be found mostly in the books of *Judges* (the Samson cycle) and *1Samuel* (David and Saul),[20] reveal a Middle Ground consisting in a variety of contacts and perspectives of the kind that is absolutely inaccessible to us in the world of Greek colonization, where all we have is the Greek view.

By way of analogy to Greek colonization, a few examples from the Samson Cycle may illustrate the types of interactions among hinterland people and those

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Drews, 1998. For Asia Minor and Cyprus: Iacovou, 1999; Vanschoowinkel, 2006.

[17] Yasur-Landau, 2001, pp. 312–13, 343 contra Finkelstein, 2002, pp. 136–7. On *seren* and its relation to *tyrannos* see Cuny, 1922; Pintore, 1983; Garbini, 1991. For other points Gitin, 2010.

[18] For the seventh-century Philistine inscription from Ekron (Tel Miqneh) Dothan and Gitin, 1993; Gitin, Dothan and Naveh, 1997; Sasson, 1997; Naveh, 1998.

[19] *2 Kings* 12.17 tells of Haza'el king of Damascus, who campaigned in the Shephelah (ca 835 BCE) and conquered the city of Gath. See, however, *2 Chron.* 26.6 (first half of the eighth century). Cf. Finkelstein 2002, p. 141.

[20] Finkelstein 2002 with references to the chronological debate and preferring to place the relevant episodes in the late eighth or seventh centuries.

advancing from the coast.[21] They may also illustrate the kind of forces, economic and political, "pulling" the coastal settlers further inland. The Samson cycle indicates a supposed bi-polar contrast between Hebrews and Philistines, an "us/them" confrontation ("the uncircumcised Philistines") (Eriksen, 1993). On the other hand reciprocal middle grounds of mutual familiarity and contact are apparent: the Israelite Danites (of the "tribe of Dan") frequent Philistine cities for their wine, women, and iron, and hope for inter-marriage. Samson especially wishes to join a Philistine band of youths (*me're'im*), marries a Philistine woman at Timna (a frontier town neighboring Samson's own, Tsor'a) and expects to move home to his father in law. Timna seems to have been a secondary Philistine foundation, furthest inland. The context may be the early seventh century since Timna may seems to have changed hands after the Assyrian conquest and King Sennacherib's campaign in 701. It appears predominantly Philistine mostly in the seventh century, but not earlier in the eighth. Similarly, the archaeological data seems to indicate that having been reduced from its earlier Iron Age I size, Ekron became a major Philistine city again in the seventh century with a huge olive oil industry.[22] Thus Assyrian favors played also a role in forming an inland direction for the Philistines.

In the biblical account we see Samson and his parents descending from the hills and directly arrive at the rich vineyards and orchards of the Philistines (the distance between Timna and Tsor'a is less than three km), reminding us of the enormous wealth that wine and olive could bring from the hinterlands and especially the archeologically attested, flourishing olive industry at hinterland Ekron. "City states, wine, and olive" are also characteristic of Greek colonists, again indicating how close the Philistine and the Greek colonial situations could be. In short, unlike what happened to Greeks (and probably too to Phoenicians) historically contingent exploitation of agricultural riches and political and military interests changed the orientation of the practice of space by Philistine settlers. It had become mostly terrestrial.

Samson moves freely in Philistine areas. He also visits a prostitute in Gaza and later marries Delilah, who lives in the middle ground area of the Sorek river valley. The Sorek flows along some 70 km, from the hills of Jerusalem through the Shephelah, the region of the Philistines. It thus links the Israelite hinterland and the Philistine country, forming a geographical middle ground between the two. This may explain why Delilah is not expressly called a Philistine (cf. Zakovitch, 1982, p. 168, n. 7); she might have been Canaanite or even a Hebrew, expressing the ambivalence of colonial contact zones.

The comparison between Philistine and Greek orientation of their respective hinterlands, namely the difference between advancing inland at a "right angle"

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[21] I analyse these in detail in Malkin, in press [b]. Cf. Galpaz-Feller, 2006.
[22] *Joshua* 15.10. Kelm and Mazar 1995; cf. Ofer, 1994. I am grateful to S. Gitin for these observations.

away from the coastline *vs* advancing "sideways," is also the difference between a Mediterranean "pull" (Greeks) and a hinterland one (Philistines). This difference will have impacted the development of their respective ethnic and cultural orientations.

What about actual distance as a factor? I stated above that the settlers who became Philistines had settled too far eastward to have been able to retain their Mediterranean contacts with the Aegean. But this is not a self-evident argument and standing alone it might collapse by the Phoenician analogy: the Phoenicians lived on the same coast as the Philistines, yet distance did not hinder them from reaching Carthage and Gibraltar (Aubet, 2001). On the other hand, unlike the Philistine hinterlands, the Phoenician ones in the Levant were not very large; Tyre and Phokaia are comparable in that respect. Again, the difference in size and orientation of such *chôrai* expresses the difference between maritime- and land-orientations, which in and of themselves impacted the different formation of Greek and Philistine collective, ethnic identity.

Recapitulation

- Having marked the conventional distinction between "Dark Age Migrations" and "Archaic Colonization," I noted two salient aspects of physical and geographical continuity through both periods: First the choice of settlement sites with a ship-to-shore perspective and a maritime space as a back-up system: hence the choice of islands, offshore islands, and promontories.

- The second is continuity in the orientation and use of the chôra and practice of terrestrial and maritime space: Where we see consistent continuity in both, namely both in the choice of maritime settlement sites and in the "sideways" orientation of chôrai we also note continuity in the practice of space: an orientation towards the sea and its dynamic connectivity that allow for Greek commonalities to emerge.

- Where we find continuity only in one and not the other we notice a discrete ethnic development, cut off from Mediterranean networks. With the Philistines we find only one of the two: like Greeks, they first established three settlements on the coast and then two major ones further inland. Like the Greek ones, those settlements too seem to have become city states. However, unlike the Greeks, we find discontinuity with the practice of space: a break with the wider expanses of the Mediterranean, possibly because in Philistia the direction of much maritime traffic was along the coast (contacts with Egypt), not away from it; moreover, its ports are not too great.

- Factors pulling the Philistines inland:

    (a) Attraction of agricultural wealth (land for cereals, wine, and olive).
    (b) Near Eastern politics and the military power of empires, notably the Assyrians.

These observations allow us to form the right questions about the formation of collective identities during the first half of the first millennium BCE and the processes of inclusion and exclusion for those who became Greek and those who did not. Many of those migrants and settlers for whom the main practice of space remained maritime, whose *chôrai* were mostly coastal-oriented, and whose perspective of seeing the world as interconnected through water, became the Greeks we know in the Archaic period; those who lost touch with the sea as an area of connectivity and whose extension of initial coastal settlement went further and further inland, as happened with the Philistines, did not. Over the centuries, the latter became assimilated.

Once formed, however, Greek identity too would not necessarily remain stable. It could be modified as we saw in the case of Gelonos, or even lost as happened with some Greek communities in south Italy (especially those with hinterland orientation) who, within some three centuries after their foundation, became absorbed in other local cultures (Asheri, 1999). By contrast, those Greek communities which over the centuries shared in the maritime networks of the *Small Greek World* enhanced their commonalities with other Greeks living hundreds of miles apart while remaining distinct from their immediate, non-Greek, territorial neighbors. That is not, of course, the only factor or the sole explanation for the complex issue of the relationship between the Mediterranean and the emergence of the salient characteristics of Greek civilization. But applying a Mediterranean-network approach to issues of change and continuity, with a special consideration to both the choice and the use of settlement sites and their territories, may take us a long way to understanding the practice of space during the first half of the first millennium BCE and its implications for the rise of Greek civilization.

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