

**PHANTOMS OF THE SEA:
PHOKAIAN COLONIES OF THE FAR WESTERN
MEDITERRANEAN**

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

Phokaian settlement and expansion in the western Mediterranean constitute an integral and distinctive part of the broader phenomenon of Greek colonization in the Archaic period, yet many aspects of Phokaian colonization in this region remain relatively understudied. In particular, the question of exceptionality continues to attract debate and controversy: did the colonial practices of the Phokaians in the west significantly differ from all other Greek metropoleis? This thesis looks first and foremost at the conceptual problem of applying colonial terminologies, shaped by the early modern experience, to the ancient phenomenon. A fresh analysis of the problem suggests that their usage is still advised, though with caution and acknowledgement of their inherent vulnerability to be misused and misunderstood. Next, a general survey of Phokaia and its history of colonial endeavours is followed by case studies of two of the most important Phokaian sites: Massalia and Velia. Through a close analysis of both literary accounts (e.g., founding legends) and archaeological evidence, it is possible to delineate a clearer picture of the process of foundation and identify a more coherent paradigm of conflicts, interactions, adoptions, and exchanges between the Phokaians and their indigenous neighbours. In doing so, the question of Phokaian exceptionality is rendered partially irrelevant owing to the observation that commonality and uniqueness were simultaneously present both among Phokaian colonies and between Phokaian and other Greek settlements.

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I. Introduction: Scholarly Concepts and Historical Context

The phenomenon of Greek overseas settlements throughout the Mediterranean and the Black Sea region in antiquity, conventionally described as “colonization” by academics and non-academics alike, has rightfully attracted a great deal of scholarly interest for its causes, processes, and consequences.¹ Greek *apoikiai* in Sicily and southern Italy in particular have been well-studied thanks to a profusion of archaeological activities supplemented by an abundance of literary attestation. In contrast, the Greeks of the far Western Mediterranean have often received less spotlight, ostensibly due to their physical remoteness from the rest of the Hellenic world, but also due to the specialness of their *modus vivendi* which requires unique treatments and methods of analysis. These were the Phokaians, the “phantom of the Great Sea.”²

TERMINOLOGICAL REFLECTION ON “COLONIZATION”

Much like the broader phenomenon of Greek “colonization,” Phokaian overseas expansion is also commonly addressed as such by scholars. I have likewise decided to maintain the term colonization for my study of Phokaian maritime endeavours in the Archaic period. However, since the adequacy of this term has been questioned in recent scholarship, it seems useful and necessary to begin this thesis with a terminological reflection, to avoid misunderstandings or misconceptions.

In contemporary lexicology, any definition of colonialism/colonization must be shaped by the experience of European colonization that had effectively touched every corner of the Earth over the past five hundred years. In some contexts, colonialism is invoked explicitly for the process of European settlement and dominance over other parts of the world. Modern scholarship of colonialism in general places emphasis upon aspects of power, control, violence, domination, and subjugation.³ In practice colonialism is often conflated with the closely related concept of imperialism, indeed the two words have become synonymous in colloquial usage. The distinction between the two is sometimes cited to be the scale of settlement: colonialism implies large and permanent settlement in a foreign land, whereas imperialism suggests a system of territorial

¹ See Graham 2001; Lomas 2004; Hurst and Owen 2005; Tsatskheladze 1998, 1999, 2006, and 2008; De Angelis 2020. On designation as “colonization,” see Finley 1976; Dougherty 1993; Malkin 2004 and 2011; but also n. 4-7.

² The analogy of phantom was inspired by Domínguez 2004 and Kerschner 2004; see also Papadopoulous 1997, who defined the more famous “Phantom Euboians.”

³ See Kohn and Reddy 2017 in *SEP*, last consulted on November 2, 2022.

domination without significant settlement in said territories.⁴ Taken at its most basic level, colonialism may therefore be understood to be control and domination by a foreign power primarily through settlement. There are three essential components of this definition: a declared intention to control and dominate, a natural condition of extraterritoriality, and a strong focus on direct settlement as opposed to other indirect mechanisms as means to exert power. But does this tripartite definition of colonialism/colonization apply to the so-named ancient Greek phenomenon in antiquity? If not, what should we make of the continued prevalence of colonial terminologies in Classical Studies? I shall answer these questions by first offering a concise overview of Roman *coloniae* and Greek *apoikiai*, two of the most likely candidates for colonies in the classical world.

The word “colonization” derives from Latin *colōnia*, ultimately from *colō* and thus implies an agricultural attribute.⁵ The connection between Roman *coloniae* and colonies in the context of European overseas endeavours in modern times is more than a lexical one, as European rulers and administrators extracted from the Roman phenomenon not only its name, but also its many political, economic, cultural, and social implications in building their own colonial empires and pursuing their own *imperium*. European colonies in the modern times were often conceptualized based on assumptions and romanticizations about Roman *coloniae* and aspects of their intention, function, organization, and administration. It would be incorrect to ascribe to the advent of European colonialism a stated aim to recreate or even emulate Roman *coloniae*, but it would certainly not be far-fetched to detect in European colonialism an implied sense of continuity with their celebrated predecessors, although much of the purported continuity rested upon idealized and stereotypical depictions of *coloniae*.

In reality, Roman *coloniae* are not limited to agricultural communities inhabited by farmers, but include a variety of settlements that were different in purpose – some were established to alleviate population pressure, others were founded to secure control and projection of power over new territories; in function – some were genuinely agrarian communities with little to no military role, others assumed varying degrees of defensive responsibility; in political status – some enjoyed self-government and elected their own magistrates, others were dependent on Rome’s direct

⁴ By this distinction, Canada would be a product of colonialism due to heavy European settlements that have fundamentally altered the country’s demographics from its pre-colonial composition; sub-Saharan Africa, on the other hand, would be more properly a victim of imperialism than colonialism, since European settlements in sub-Saharan Africa is much more negligible.

⁵ Cf. PIE **k^wel-*, “to turn, to revolve around, to dwell.” The Romans did not have an exact word for the process of founding *coloniae*. See Rix and Kümmel 1998, 386.

administration; in demographic composition – some are entirely composed of Roman citizens, others boasted differing proportions of non-citizens. Much of what the label *colonia* entails has to do with the time period in question. The prevalent impression of Roman *coloniae* as well-planned military posts populated by ex-soldiers, for instance, is largely a phenomenon of the late Republic. In later imperial times, *colonia* came to signify a status designation granted to existing towns rather than a marker of new settlement, thus inserting still more layers of equivocality into the term. Despite their pronounced differences, one common string that weaves all types of *coloniae* together is the fact they were predominantly established in external territories, whether acquired recently or centuries ago.⁶

Greek colonies were no less diverse, but just as the late Republican *colonia* became a stereotyped representative of the category, a stereotypical Greek colony may also be identified with the *apoikiai* (ἀποικίαι) of the Archaic period, particularly those founded by Miletos, the leading city of Archaic Ionia.⁷ An *apoikia* was a settlement established by emigrants (ἄποικοι) typically led by a founder, or an oikist (οἰκιστής) outside the territory of their mother city, or the metropolis (μητρόπολις). The mother city may take the initiative in organizing these missions and appointing the oikist, as was the case in the founding of Kyrene by the Therans,⁸ but also in Miletos, where a planned colonization program may have been set in place.⁹ On the other hand, individual oikists may also organize their own missions without official approval or involvement; an example of this is the Athenian expedition to Thracian Chersonesos (modern Gallipoli peninsula) led by Miltiades the Elder in around the mid-6th century BC.¹⁰ Archaic Greek *apoikiai*, however, often enjoyed more autonomy than even the most self-governing Roman *coloniae*. Such a high degree of independence was in part necessitated by the practical difficulty of exerting effective control over long distance, especially in the early period of colonization. *Apoikiai* may be supplied with goods and enforced with additional settlers (*epoikoi*) from their *metropoleis*, but the latter's claim to authority and leadership was often tenuous. *Apoikia*-specific factors are also at play when

⁶ But not necessarily acquired through conquests. Cf. Galsterer 2006 in *BNP* online, last consulted on November 2, 2022.

⁷ The number of Milesian foundations (including joint foundations) in the Archaic period far surpassed any other *poleis*. Pliny 5.112 put the number above ninety and called Miletos “head of Ionia” (*Ioniae caput*). The extent of Milesian colonization was unparalleled, stretching from Crimea to Egypt.

⁸ Herodotos 4.150-58.

⁹ On Milesian colonization, see Ehrhardt 1983, 242-54. Very few Milesian oikists are known to us, but this fact need not to be taken as a proof of state-sponsored colonial efforts that diminished individual agencies.

¹⁰ Herodotos 6.34-5.

determining its relations with the mother city. Without an unchallenged authority such as that of late Republican Rome, Greek *metropoleis*' control over their colonies were always conditional. A well-known example of this from the Classical period is Poteidaia: located in the Chalkidike, it was founded by Corinth and continued to receive magistrates (*epidamiorgoi*) annually from the *metropolis*, but the city also joined the Delian League and exercised a considerable degree of independence amidst conflicts between Athens and Corinth in the decades prior to the Peloponnesian War.¹¹

Greek *apoikiai* in the Archaic period, exemplified by those associated with Miletos, then share some resemblance with Roman *coloniae* but differ in other aspects.¹² Flexibility and improvisation are present in both cases, but Archaic *apoikiai* are in general more independent and less systematized in their planning. The overall scale of settlement also differs dramatically, as Roman *coloniae* far exceeded the *apoikiai* both in number of settlements and in overall population. Furthermore, demographic composition can vary significantly between Greek *apoikiai* and Roman *coloniae*. Although only one mother city is typically assigned to an *apoikia*, inhabitants of Greek settlements in the Archaic period were frequently characterized by mixed nationalities and/or ethnicities. Miletos alone cannot claim the accomplishment of being the most prolific *metropolis* of Archaic Greece, since the participation of other Greeks (chiefly Ionians) formed a crucial part of its colonial success.¹³ Roman *coloniae* shared this demographic diversity particularly in early periods, as is clearly shown by the variety of Latin foundations (*coloniae Latinae*), but by the time of the late Republic they had become more homogenized with gradual granting of privileges.¹⁴ We also find in modern and early modern colonialism a spectrum of changing demographic diversity; the Thirteen Colonies, for instance, were already a multiethnic realm before the United States came into being, yet the monocultural belief of a “melting pot” was also taking root in this early period.¹⁵ Such polarizing developments obviously mirror circumstances in some Greek *apoikiai*, where a

¹¹ Thucydides 1.56. The ἐπίδαμοργοί (Attic ἐπιδημιουργοί) were magistrates sent annually by Doric *poleis* to their colonies.

¹² Descœudres in Tsatskheladze 2008, see also Osborne 1998, Aldrich and Johnson 2018. For a comparative study on Greek and Roman colonization, see Bradley and Wilson 2006.

¹³ A prime example of this can be found in Naukratis, which is sometimes described as a Milesian foundation (Strabo 17.1.18) but was most certainly a joint enterprise, cf. Herodotos 2.178-9.

¹⁴ On Latin colonies and the conferring of privileges, see Coşkun 2016.

¹⁵ See Thernstrom *et al.* 1980 in general, but in particular 405-25 on German immigrations to British North America and independent United States. The first use of the phrase “melting pot” dates to 1782.

common *metropolis* is recognized and venerated despite the *de facto* condition of a diverse population.

Aside from the typified *apoikiai*, there were also other types of Greek overseas undertakings that may constitute colonization. *Emporia* have often been pointed to as an alternative to *apoikiai*, although this claim is disputed and increasingly rejected by scholars.¹⁶ According to this formulation, foundations with a sizable *chora* and an agricultural focus are classified as *apoikiai*, while smaller foundations without a *chora* and reliant on commercial activities are categorized into *emporia*. It is quite clear that this distinction is *post factum* and not reflective of the historical process. The Greeks made no conscious distinction between these two types upon foundation (unlike the more frequently attested distinction between *coloniae Latinae* and *coloniae civium Romanorum*) and would only add labels later to describe the condition on the ground, often with specific contexts in mind. Some settlements are therefore both *apoikiai* and *emporia*, such as the Phokaian city of Emporion; some have been designated one but not the other, such as the Levantine site of al-Mina; still others are ambiguously classified, such as Gravisca, which is sometimes cited as an *emporion* and sometimes glossed over in discussions of Greek colonization.¹⁷ These longstanding ambiguities have induced more scholars to re-conceptualize *emporia* not as a distinct form of settlement, but as a dynamic environment where cultural encounters occurred and flourished.¹⁸ This reconceptualization of *emporia* would be a very appropriate description of Phokaia's colonial undertakings in the western Mediterranean, since its colonies there were identifiably commerce-oriented, but their success and prosperity would prevent them from being designated *emporia* in accordance with the dichotomous scheme.

Contrasting these examples of Greek *apoikiai* with the tripartite definition supplied for modern colonialism, it becomes apparent that these two phenomena have much in common with each other at their core. In the case of Greek colonization, the essential condition of extraterritoriality and the preference of settlement over other means of power projection are both clearly fulfilled; however, it is uncertain to what degree Greek settlements reflect the intention of either the mother city or the *apoikia* itself to project territorial control. Somewhat unique to

¹⁶ For a methodological overview and critique of the *apoikiai-emporia* dichotomy in traditional scholarship, see Demetriou 2012, 1-24.

¹⁷ On Gravisca, see Torelli 1971 for its discovery and Torelli 1982, 320-25 for a discussion about Phokaian presence at Gravisca and the possibility of a Phokaian foundation.

¹⁸ See Gras 1993, 103-11 and De Angelis 2002.

Phokaia is the factor of Persian domination and the Phokaians' ensuing choice to expatriate *en masse* following conquest. It may therefore be postulated that Phokaian colonialism was bolstered, albeit involuntarily, by Persian imperialism. This seemingly paradoxical phenomenon can find parallels in modern times, one only needs to look at the rise of Japan's colonial empire in the wake of growing imperialist pressure from the West.¹⁹ Such diachronic resonance helps build a case for continuing the usage of the term colonization for the ancient Greek phenomenon.

We now return to the terminological debate. Despite a general awareness of its imperfection and susceptibility to misrepresentation, the term colonization is still regularly used in an ancient Greek context for its practical expediency, semantic inclusiveness, wide applicability, and overall usefulness in diachronic and macro-historical analyses and comparisons. Nonetheless, there exists a considerable degree of variation regarding the specific chronological extent of ancient Greek colonization. In its broadest definition, the process of "Greek colonization" can cover a historical period from the 11th century BC up to the Roman period. Specifically, the interval between the second half of the 8th century and ca. 500 BC is sometimes designated the "Great Greek colonization," since it was this period of expansive settlement that generated the largest number of colonies.²⁰ Consequently, a more focused chronology tends to identify the "Greek colonization" with this so-called "Great Greek colonization," thus confining the phenomenon solely to the Archaic period (and to a lesser degree, the Classical period) and distinguishing it from the multitude of colonial activities undertaken in the Hellenistic era.²¹ My use of the term "Greek colonization" in this thesis reflects a flexible chronology encompassing more than the Archaic period. My use of "Phokaian colonization," on the other hand, entails a narrower focus on Phokaian/Massaliote colonial activities in the Archaic and early Classical periods.

The conceptual debate surrounding the use of "colonization" in Classical Studies has gained momentum in more recent years, in large part thanks to the momentous "postcolonial turn" in

¹⁹ See for example Jansen 2002, 317-22. Japan's opening in 1854, represented by the signing of the Convention of Kanagawa, was forcibly imposed by the U.S., yet this "unequal treaty," as the Japanese decried at the time, cast a long shadow over Japanese diplomacy for the next century and became a strategy the Japanese themselves came to rely on in their own colonial expansions. See also Auslin 2006, 17-24, 201-8.

²⁰ See Tsatskhladze 2006. The designation can be seen in Eder *et al.* 2006 in *BNP* online, last consulted on November 10, 2022. Earlier migrations of Indo-European peoples into Asia Minor, the Aegean Islands, and the Greek mainland in the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC are rarely included as part of the "Greek colonization," though it is a pertinent subject of study as to whether these migrations may be termed "colonizations."

²¹ See, for example, Ridgway 2012, 348-9 in *OCD*⁴, which defines Greek colonization as taking place between 734 BC and 580 BC. For Hellenistic colonization in general, see Cohen 1978, 1995, 2006 and 2013; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993; Billows 1995; Ramsey 2013; also see Mitchell 2018 and 2019.

Social Sciences and the Humanities. As a result of this broader paradigm shift, the one-dimensional, unidirectional,²² imperialist, and Hellenocentric interpretative framework featuring civilized Greek colonizers conquering and assimilating unrefined natives has mostly disappeared from recent scholarship.²³

Reflecting this change, some writers are now advocating the avoidance of colonial languages and substituting them with alternative terminologies. For instance, alternatives such as “expansion,” “migration,” “occupation,” “diaspora,” and the more neutral “mobility” have all been proposed in the place of “colonization.”²⁴ However, newly published titles still use “colonization” quite extensively, especially in fields such as Mediterranean archaeology. The practical usefulness and discernibility of these alternative terms may also be called into question, for the adoption of an alternative term does not necessarily entail an alternative framework, or even a revision or improvement of existing interpretative schemes. The replacement of “colonization” with “expansion,” for instance, appears much more akin to a redecoration of the binary juxtaposition of the colonizers against the colonized, rather than a systemic reassessment of the dichotomous structure itself. The term “hybridity,” originating from biology and employed in postcolonial theories, has gained currency in recent years as an alternative framework aimed at describing the dynamic and fluent mechanisms of cross-cultural interactions and exchanges that exist in “a third space” between two polar extremes.²⁵ I shall revisit this debate at the end of this short reflection, for it is necessary to first consider the availability and validity of sources for “colonization.”

Written sources on early Archaic colonization are scarce. Of particular importance are the writings of Hesiod and Archilochos: both authors experienced colonization firsthand, although they did not report much on the topic.²⁶ But from these scanty sources one can already recognize several striking differences between the phenomenon of Greek colonization and the modern perception of the term. Perhaps the most remarkable difference lies in the fact that Archaic Greek colonization consists of mostly personal or community projects with little to no indication of a

²² A related debate concerns the term Hellenization, which has long been interpreted as a binary and unidirectional process with very limited consideration of agency, reciprocity, and hybridization. On Hellenization, see Hodos 2014 and 2020; also see Tsatskheladze 2018 for a more recent summary of discussions. See also Gerber and Binder 2006 in *BNP* online, last consulted on November 1, 2022.

²³ See in particular Woolf 1994 and 1998; also, Malkin 2004 and 2011. On Postcolonialism in general, see Williams and Christman 1994; Childs and Williams 2014.

²⁴ See for example Van Dommelen 2012, Garland 2014, and Osborne 2016.

²⁵ On hybridity in general, see Bhabha 1994. On hybridity in a classical context, see Antonaccio 2003, 2005, and 2013.

²⁶ Hesiod’s father had moved from his native Kyme (in Aeolis) to Boeotia, while Archilochos himself participated in the founding of Thasos.

state sponsor, let alone coordinated colonial plannings directed from above. The most common Greek word for a colony, ἀποικία, is attested in literature only much later (early 5th century BC); related terms such as the colonist, ἄποικος, and the founder of a colony, οἰκιστής, appeared on the scene even later.²⁷ The only ancient work dedicated to studying the phenomenon and possibly offering critical analysis was a work by Aristotle titled περί ἀποικιῶν, “on colonies,” which unfortunately does not survive to this day.²⁸ Modern views on Greek colonization are therefore largely shaped by accounts of two historians, Herodotos and Thucydides; it was, for instance, Thucydides who coined the word οἰκισις to refer to the abstract concept of setting up ἀποικία.²⁹ However, their reliability has been regularly called into question and scrutinized against archaeological findings, a process that is still ongoing as scholars grow increasingly cautious about the reports of these historiographers. Just as our modern perception of “colonization” is inevitably shaped by our recent (and in some cases, current) experience with colonial empires and decolonization, the perception of these two historians have also been shaped by their own experience with Athens’ overseas expansion in the 5th century BC, a process that bears resemblance to but still fundamentally differs from colonization in the early Archaic period. When debating and dissecting the value and significance of “colonization,” it is perhaps helpful to remind ourselves that the ancient Greeks also had to contend with appropriateness of terminologies.

A pertinent question, then, may be “if not colonization, then what?”³⁰ In posing this question some fifteen years ago, Tsetschladze had already observed dramatic changes in scholarly definitions and receptions of Greek “colonization” over the last decades. They shifted from attempts to delineate certain innate qualities of the Greeks necessitated by human and natural conditions, to increasingly abstract and comprehensive formulations that de-emphasize the uniqueness of the Greeks, but also invite new elaborations and critiques (e.g., is the label “colonization” applicable to every society whose settlement activities met these abstract criteria?).³¹ The reception of the term “colonization,” on the other hand, has a lot to do with the academic background of individual scholars, with classicists, archaeologists, historians, and anthropologists each inclined to take a distinctive position shaped by nuances and degree of

²⁷ See Casevitz 1985, 75-135.

²⁸ Descœudres 2008 and 2013.

²⁹ See n. 24 below.

³⁰ Such were the exact words in Tsetschladze in Tsetschladze 2006.

³¹ Ibid.

interdisciplinarity of their subject. No less than the ancients, contemporary scholars are also still influenced by their own political agenda and accordingly more than usually liable to project the priorities, practices, and terminology of their own times onto the much earlier events they purport to describe.³² Some have argued from a variety of perspectives for avoiding and phasing out the use of “colonization,” others seek a compromise between academic conventions and new conceptual developments.³³ At its core, this debate is epistemological: we are concerned about the extent to which terminologies can shape our knowledge and understanding of the reality they supposedly represent and reflect. To put it in a blunter way, the debate concerns the long-standing philosophical question about the relationship between name and substance. It is, however, beyond the set scope of this thesis to solve this underlying problem besides acknowledging its ongoing significance.

The validity of “colonization” does not automatically entail a judgment on the validity of the actual historical process it endeavours to describe nor the heuristic values of studying said process. Consequently, when the term “colonization” is identified as a modern construct in recent scholarship, it need not to be taken as a refutation of the phenomenon, but a critical re-evaluation of the way in which the phenomenon is viewed through the lens of interpretation.³⁴ The adoption or rejection of alternate terms and concepts should be predicated upon their own usefulness in challenging existing assumptions and advancing our understanding, rather than their comparative merits in replacing old terminologies.³⁵ It is with this view in mind that this thesis recognizes the values and limitations of both “colonization” and its alternatives while maintaining the usage of “colonization,” for it is my recognition that terminologies can never fully reflect the reality. Every term, regardless of its historical accuracy and contemporary acceptance, has the potential to be used to elucidate or to distort.³⁶

³² Ridgway 2012, 348-9 in *OCD*⁴.

³³ See n. 9, but also see for example Purcell 2005, 115, who calls “colonization” a concept “in crisis.” Van Dommelen 2002, 142 offers a compromising approach, reducing the term “colonization” to a simple fact of people living in a “foreign” region some distance from their origin and acknowledging the ubiquity of colonization in antiquity.

³⁴ For the claim that “colonization” is a modern construct, see for example Owen 2005.

³⁵ Donnellan 2016, 109-11.

³⁶ A related note of interest: there has been a debate in China over whether the Chinese word for “colonization,” 殖民, can be applied without modification to the phenomenon among the ancient Greeks. 拓殖, a coined word that combines 拓張 “expansion” and 殖民 “colonization” is gaining more acceptance in recent years, yet the acceptance of a new term has yet to produce new, innovative scholarship on the topic.

In summary, “colonization” is a conventional label recognizable for its relevance and constraint – a dialectical description also applicable to other alternative terminologies recommended for substitution. This thesis makes use of conventional terminology whilst acknowledging innate deficiencies associated with terminologies at large in conceptualizing macro-historical phenomena.

PHOKAIA AND PHOKAIAN COLONIES

The Ionian *polis* of Phokaia, situated near the mouth of the Hermos, had been inhabited since at least the 2nd millennium BC and was among the largest cities in Asia Minor by the 6th century BC. The Phokaians were known to be excellent seafarers, conducting long-distance trade missions with Egypt (Naukratis) and Spain (Tartessos), whilst simultaneously embarking on colonial adventures, both jointly, as in Amisos and Lampsakos, and independently, as in Massalia, Alalia, Velia (also known in Greek as Elea; the Latin name Velia will be henceforth used over its several Greek names for reasons of clarity), and Emporion. Their exploration of and expansion into the far western Mediterranean are without a doubt one of the most spectacular feats in the whole history of Greek colonization. It is customary to imagine the Milesians of Pantikapaion or the Corinthians of Epidamnus as far removed from Hellas, both physically and mentally; but their supposed isolation pales in comparison to those of the western Phokaian colonies. As a consequence, the experience of a Phokaian colonist in Massalia or Nikaia tended to differ from that of a Sicilian or a Pontian, as it was marked by a decidedly more acute awareness of seclusion and a more enthusiastic embrace of different versions of “Greekness.”

The foundation of these far western colonies dates to the late 7th century BC, rendering the old interpretation of Phokaian colonial activities as reactions to Persian threats or domination a rather inaccurate formulation.³⁷ A sizable exodus of Phokaians did take place in the aftermath of Persian conquest of Lydia in 546 BC; in particular, the city of Velia in Campania was said to be founded by Phokaian refugees. But what about the extraordinarily early settlement of Massalia, to say nothing of the audacious voyage undertaken by its first settlers? Traditionally ascribed incentives such as population pressure and land scarcity may explain the motive for going overseas,

³⁷ As we will see, this view was strongly influenced by the report of Strabo 4.1.4, who interpreted the founding of Massalia to be a direct outcome of Phokaia’s conquest by the Persians. It remains in question whether the initial wave of Phokaian settlement was attributable to perceived threats posed by their pre-Persian neighbours such as Phrygians, Kimmerians, and Lydians.

but they do not adequately account for the great distance the Phokaians traversed to plant their new home. Furthermore, the relations between Phokaia and her colonies are also of an idiosyncratic kind, as the metropolis could never exert control in the same way Corinth or Miletos did. What limited control Phokaia did exert was of chiefly economic nature. In addition, the Phokaian colonies seem to have developed a particularly strong *esprit de corps* among themselves, probably as a means to identify each other in an exceedingly foreign landscape. The patron deity of Phokaia was Athena, yet it was Kybele and Leukothea that became common bonds among western Phokaians. In fact, the spread of their cult (Leukothea in particular) could be used as markers for Phokaian activities, which is why the identification of a Leukotheion in Kolchis may reveal hitherto unidentified Phokaian presence in the area.³⁸

The reason for choosing Massalia and Velia as the main objects of study in this thesis should not be hard to discern. Massalia was unquestionably the most successful Phokaian city in terms of cultural and political influence, to say nothing of its exceptional longevity; Velia marked the eastern limits of Phokaian presence in the western Mediterranean. Among the other foundations, Emporion is also sufficiently distinguished and well attested; although a full chapter cannot be devoted to it in the present thesis, multiple recourse will be made to this case to enhance the basis of my analysis.³⁹ All three cities have featured prominently in their respective locale; more importantly, all three cities have plenty of textual and archaeological records to draw on.

My thesis will thus explore the creation and development of a Phokaian colonial sphere in the far western Mediterranean by comparing and contrasting the three main Phokaian cities: their foundations and early histories, their encounters and interactions with the native tribes, their relations with the *metropolis* and with each other, and the commonalities they share in all these respects. Ultimately, I hope to find, as it has been said, a clarification, if not an explanation for the early settlements of the Phokaians: What drove them so far away from home? How did the voyage work? What role should we assign to the Persians in the story of Phokaian colonization? Suffice it to say that answers supplied by scholars so far have not been very satisfactory, and that a new exploration of this kind is indeed necessary.

³⁸ Thus Coşkun 2021; cf. Krauskopf 1981 and Morel 2006c.

³⁹ There were other Phokaian/Massaliote sites further down the Iberian coastline, most notably Hemeroskopeion and Mainake. These are excluded from my investigation because they have not yet been properly located, and because debates about their status as “Greek colonies” are still ongoing. See Olmos 1992, 152-4, who calls them “ghost colonies.” See the following survey for more details.



Figure 1: Phokaia and Phokaian Colonies in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. © Stone Chen, Waterloo, ON 2022.

II. A Survey of Phokaian Colonization in Mediterranean Gaul and Northeastern Iberia

The Ionian *polis* of Phokaia (modern Foça, Turkey), located on the western coast of Asia Minor, was a relatively unremarkable player in the first major wave of Greek colonization that began in the second half of the 8th century BC, especially when compared to its Ionian rival Miletos.⁴⁰ Although it was one of the largest cities in the whole Mediterranean during the Archaic Period, only two sites are definitely attributed to a Phokaian or at least partially Phokaian foundation between the mid-8th century to ca. 600 BC, namely Amisos on the southern Black Sea coast and Lampsakos in the northern Troad.⁴¹ It is not clear whether this early “lagging-behind” contributed to the Phokaians’ interest in exploring more remote and hitherto uncharted regions, but it seems plausible.

Among those remote and hitherto uncharted regions were Iberia, Mediterranean Gaul, and the island of Corsica. The Greeks were of course not oblivious to these territories, and the Phokaians were far from the first Greeks who set foot on these lands. Herodotos, for example,

⁴⁰ Eder *et al.* 2006 in *BNP* online, last consulted on November 10, 2022.

⁴¹ Amisos was established in mid-8th century as a joint Milesian-Phokaian project, see Theopompos *FGrH* 115 (= *BNJ* 115) fr. 389. Lampsakos was founded in 654/3 BC either by Miletos (Strabo 13.1.19) or Phokaia (Eusebios, *Chronicle* 95d), though the latter is now widely accepted by scholars, see Frisch 1978, 107-21 for archaeological evidence supporting an exclusively Phokaian foundation.

reported the story of one Kolaïos of Samos, whose journey to Egypt was derailed by a storm that carried him all the way to the Pillars of Herakles (modern Strait of Gibraltar) where the semi-mythical kingdom of Tartessos was located; there he made a considerable fortune trading with the locals and brought back boatloads of treasures, some of which he dedicated to Hera.⁴² Even though Herodotos was prone to loose accounts and inaccurate chronologies, this particular story appears to possess some historical footing, as findings of Phoenician and Carthaginian artefacts in the Heraion of Samos, dated to 640-630 BC, would at least provide circumstantial testimony to Herodotos' account.⁴³

Even more circumstantial would be reports from Pseudo-Skymnos and Strabo that asserted an early-8th-century foundation for the site of Rhode (R(h)oda/Rhodos, modern Roses, Spain) by colonists from Rhodes, but this dating is now mostly deemed a myth invented in the Hellenistic period either in Rhodes or in Rhode itself, presumably to boost their respective reputations and lay claim to more ancient origins.⁴⁴ To this day, there is no archaeological data corroborating such an early Greek presence in the area, though it must be recognized that reaching layers of Archaic settlements and determining the existence of pre-Greek settlements at the same site are both difficult tasks. As a result, the possibility of pre-Phokaian Greek presence should not be completely ruled out.

Apart from the plausible story of Kolaïos and the dubious myth surrounding Rhode, then, the Phokaïans constituted the first Greek presence in the Far Western Mediterranean which is substantiated by both literature and archaeology. Herodotos himself gave another account where the Phokaïans made contacts with the Tartessians and even met their king, Arganthonios.⁴⁵ Again, much about this story is a typically Herodotean mixture of legends and facts, but we do find Greek pottery surfacing in the Iberian Peninsula for the first time in the 8th century and in remarkable quantities by the late 7th century, just before the emergence of the first Phokaian colony in the west, Massalia.⁴⁶

⁴² Herodotos 4.152. The story supposedly took place shortly before the foundation of Kyrene in 631 BC.

⁴³ Freyer-Schauenburg 1966.

⁴⁴ Ps.-Skymnos 196; Strabo 3.4.8 & 14.2.10. See also Pliny, *NH* 3.5.1. Domínguez 1990 argued for a local origin of the myth, while Pena 2006 attributed it to the city of Rhodes, which was only founded in 408 BC and thus had incentives to arrogate to itself a much older historical tradition.

⁴⁵ Herodotos 1.163.

⁴⁶ See Shefton 1982, 337-70 for a general survey.

Here it is worth pausing for a moment to provide some background information on the Phoenicians. The seafaring Phoenicians arrived in the Far Western Mediterranean as early as the end of the 2nd millennium BC, though their presence in northeastern Iberia and Mediterranean Gaul came a bit later, around the 9th century. Numerous Phoenician settlements and trading outposts were established in the ensuing centuries, concentrating especially around the Strait of Gibraltar. The Phoenicians interacted with native inhabitants of Iberia by necessity, but the Iberians would not undergo any meaningful process of assimilation; and while the indigenous culture did experience some dramatic changes during this period, most notably in the centralization of power and formation of regional polities with urban centres, they mostly developed along their independent course with few external influences.⁴⁷

The Phoenician-Punic presence began to decline just as the Phokaians were showing up on the scene. Reasons for Phoenician decline are multifaceted, but a reorganization of Phoenician cities and its resulting shift of economic and geopolitical focus are always cited in scholarship. The total number of Phoenician settlements decreased, but certain locales would continue to grow and prosper, including, most notably for this survey, the island of Ebusus (modern Ibiza/Eivissa, Balearic Islands, Spain).⁴⁸ All of this presented the Phokaians with beneficial conditions for colonial expansion. On the one hand, the waning of Phoenician power left no other major powers in northwestern Mediterranean to check the growth of the Phokaians in the region, for the Gauls and Iberians were too scattered and disunited to pose any serious threats; on the other hand, the reorganization, rather than disintegration of Phoenician trade in the region induced the Phokaians to engage more in moderated competition rather than a zero-sum game of disruption and replacement. It would be, however, insufficiently scrupulous to view the decline of the Phoenicians and the rise of the Phokaians as entailing a causal connection, despite the customary characterization of Greco-Phoenician/Punic relations as confrontational.⁴⁹ A key to understanding the rising fortune of the Phokaians is once again the indigenous population, whose agency has often been neglected or outright denied in analyses of trades and markets despite their indispensable role. Indigenous peoples were, after all, the main consumer of both Greek and Punic goods. Shifting demands and preferences from indigenous communities probably had a lot more

⁴⁷ See Sanmartí 2014 and 2020, 388-9.

⁴⁸ Torres 2006, 197-205.

⁴⁹ Dietler 2010, 55-74.

to do with the sudden influx of Greek imports in the 6th century BC. Why were these demands and preferences shifting? There are many possible explanations, but the aforementioned political centralization and subsequent emergence of more stratified societal structures are particularly persuasive ones.⁵⁰

Let us now return to our Phokaian *apoikoi* who were about to lay the foundation of what would become Massalia – but how can we be sure that these did indeed consist of Phokaians? In other words, what was the demographic composition of the *apoikia* at its dawn? Although the Greek colonization of the Far Western Mediterranean is often portrayed, not without justifications, as an exclusively Phokaian undertaking, there have been discussions about the true extent of this Phokaian exclusiveness. Joint foundations and diverse demographics were a common practice of Greek *oikisis*; in fact the Phokaians themselves had already embarked on such an adventure with Milesians at Amisos.⁵¹ One argument for a diverse population in early Massalia hinges on the presence of two temples in the city, one dedicated to Ephesian Artemis, another to Apollo Delphinios – both of whom betrayed a much broader cultural and religious identity than one that was exclusively Phokaian.⁵² Indeed, the cultural milieu of early- to mid-6th-century Massalia has been described as “northern Ionic to Aiolic,” but while this milieu seems to refute the idea of Phokaian dominance, it should be said that only in Phokaian cities of the Western Mediterranean did one find such a particular blend of “northern Ionic to Aeolic” identity, or rather identities.⁵³

Among the founders and early inhabitants of Massalia might also be indigenous peoples, a theory supported by the discovery of local potteries which gradually diminished and disappeared.⁵⁴ Even more noteworthy were the rather substantial presence of Etruscan potteries. Etruscan imports showed up in Mediterranean Gaul and northeastern Iberia decades earlier than the appearance of Greek goods, mostly dealing in amphorae and tableware.⁵⁵ Though their activities are often described as purely commercial, the existence of an Etruscan community in Massalia remains plausible. If so, it would make Massalia a more typical Greek *apoikia*, as many colonies found themselves booming with a diverse composition of residents in their early days.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ Sanmartí 2009, 63-8.

⁵¹ I am following Thucydides, who uses the term οἰκισις to refer to colonization (5.11, 6.4).

⁵² Tréziny 2000, 82-6. Ephesian Artemis was not yet a pan-Ionian cult at the time of Massalia’s foundation, while Apollo Delphinios was much more closely associated with Miletos at this time. See also Benedicto 2019.

⁵³ Hermary 2000, 119-33.

⁵⁴ Tréziny 2010.

⁵⁵ See Morel 2006c. There are disagreements over chronology, see especially Bats 2000, 243-8.

⁵⁶ Osborne 1998, 262-4.

Massalia grew quickly in the decades following its foundation, in part due to its strategic location: situated on a promontory overlooking the ocean and furnished with a deep and easily defensible harbour. Material remains from this early stage are sparse thanks to continued habitation of the city but excavated remains of a citadel wall dated to the late-6th century can testify to the rapid speed with which Massalia had grown, as it was not at all common for an *apoikia* to build defensive walls at such early stages. On the economic front, Massalia flourished and in short order transformed into the most important maritime trading pivot in the region, a claim to celebrity challenged only by Punic Ebusus. Production at the city and around its hinterland (*chora*) was also increasingly diversified, reflecting both its own growth and the growing complexity of local demands, as previously mentioned. Not much is known about daily life and activities in Archaic and Classical Massalia, except that it seemed to have developed an oligarchic constitution, which would come to define Massalia for centuries to come.⁵⁷

Like other powerful Greek colonies, Massalia would in due course start its own colonial enterprise, establishing settlements all around coastal Mediterranean Gaul, most notable among which are Agathe (modern Agde), Antipolis (modern Antibes), Olbia (modern Hyères), and Nikaia (modern Nice).⁵⁸ Rhode may also be of Massaliote foundation, though this cannot be confirmed in part thanks to multiple layers of mythmaking surrounding its origin. These sites were founded between the late-5th and early-3rd centuries, making some of them contemporary to the state-sponsored project of Athenian colonization, while others are co-eval to the early Hellenistic foundations in Asia.⁵⁹ Indeed, similarity has been observed between these second-generation Phokaian sites and Athenian colonies, particularly their public nature and their similar function as military outposts rather than trading hubs.⁶⁰ Unlike earlier foundations, these sites were smaller and under much more direct influence of the metropolis; some may even argue that they were part of the metropolis, an extension of the metropolis' exertion of political authority and commercial security. In tandem with characterizing Massalia as an oligarchic republic, these outposts might

⁵⁷ See Moliner 2013, who examines necropoleis of Massalia in the Classical period and observes stratified burial practices, where cremations are rare and normally accompanied by rich offerings while inhumations are more common but with much more modest funerary items.

⁵⁸ For in-depth treatments of these secondary foundations, see Bats 1989 for Olbia, Bats 2004 for Antipolis and Nikaia, and Dedet and Schwaller 2018 for Agathe.

⁵⁹ See Dreyer and Mittag 2011; also Mitchell 2018 and 2019.

⁶⁰ Osborne 1998, 252-64. Sanmartí 2020, 394-5 also drew comparison to Roman *coloniae maritimae*. See also Coşkun 2019.

have been populated by lower-class recruits and conscripts, even though their primarily military function should not be taken to exclude the presence of other productions.⁶¹

Outside Massalia, the best known Phokaian city in the Far Western Mediterranean is undoubtedly Emporion (modern Ampurias/Empúries, Spain; Latin *Emporiae*). There are debates over the date of its foundation in part due to the existence of four distinct settlements that eventually grew into Emporion; Strabo reported that this happened ca. 520 BC, but this was certainly too late a date considering archaeological findings.⁶² Ancient sources also disagree on the city's founder, a problem likewise complicated by the overlapping presence of multiple settlements.⁶³ The oldest settlement, known as Palaiopolis, was likely founded in the second quarter of the 6th century BC, as a wide range of building activities coalesced around this period, including, most remarkably, a pottery kiln used to produce gray monochrome wares that are now considered a marker of Phokaian presence.⁶⁴

Not unlike Massalia, this first iteration of Emporion probably boasted a diverse population that included Phokaians, indigenous peoples, and even Etruscans.⁶⁵ But similarity with Massalia ended soon after. As its name suggests, Emporion was created as a trading post, an identity that it could carry on for much of its existence. The retainment of this singular identity meant, among other things, a markedly smaller size compared to colonies that diversified their functions; it is estimated that Emporion only had a population of about 1,500 towards the end of the 5th century, which is not surprising given that it occupied a land area significantly smaller than that of Massalia – only 5 ha compared to 50 ha that Massalia would eventually grow to.⁶⁶ The relative remoteness of Emporion also contributed to its unparalleled level of independence among Phokaian cities, a feature decidedly different from that of Massalia and Velia.⁶⁷ Where Massalia would become the economic engine of Mediterranean Gaul, Emporion would find itself more and more associated

⁶¹ Bats 2004, 51-60.

⁶² Strabo, 3.4.8. Findings at the site date back to ca. 600 BC, see Sanmartí 1982, 281-303; also Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, 60-72.

⁶³ Strabo reports Emporion to be of Massaliote foundation, while Livy 34.9.1 says it was founded directly by Phokaia.

⁶⁴ Aquilué *et al.* 2010, 65-78.

⁶⁵ See Almagro 1955, 359-74. But archaeological findings are mingled when it comes to the question of demographics, some continue to argue for a purely Greek foundation, see for example Moret 2010. Strabo 3.4.8 described a process of integration among the Greeks and the natives that led to the city being ruled by both Greek and Barbarian laws, but there are uncertainties over whether such a process took place soon after the foundation or much later.

⁶⁶ Sanmartí Grego 1992, 29. The 5 ha count includes all settlements of Emporion; the Palaiopolis itself was only about 2 ha.

⁶⁷ Morel 2006a.

with Punic Ebusus in economic activities, though it should be stated that this did not imply a modification or even abandonment of its Phokaian identity. Some have taken this combination of commercial character and independent growth further and conclude that Emporion developed into a democratic society in strong contrast to the oligarchic constitution at Massalia.⁶⁸

Emporion's inland expansion, marked by the foundation of the so-called Neapolis, was probably triggered by the arrival of Phokaian refugees in the aftermath of its conquest by Persia around 545 BC, as the dating of this Neapolis was roughly contemporary to that of Velia, which all ancient sources agree to have been founded by Phokaians.⁶⁹ If so, it might not have been the only reason for the city's growth, because there also appeared a variety of indigenous artefacts and even some non-Greek inscriptions during the same period, indicating growing interaction, if not integration among the inhabitants. One of these inscriptions, an acquisition contract written in Iberian dated to mid-5th century BC, contains a list of names that are mostly indigenous, but curiously also includes an Etruscan inscription with reference to a merchant with a recognizably Latin name.⁷⁰ It would make sense, given that the Phokaian Greeks were even more outnumbered in Iberia than they were in Mediterranean Gaul, combined with Emporion's lasting adherence to its identity as a commercial town, that the city would display a cultural disposition quite distinct from that of Massalia.

Owing to its small size and disinterest in exerting political influence, there were no military outposts (ἐπιτειχίσματα, as Strabo calls those of Massalia) of Emporion, though the possibility of Emporitan settlements cannot be dismissed completely. This brings us to the question of unidentified Phokaian sites in the Far Western Mediterranean. Ancient authors mentioned several Phokaian cities on the Iberian coast south of Emporion, none of which have been archaeologically identified. Avienus made mention of Mainake (probably modern Málaga, Spain) in his *Ora maritima*, a poem which he claimed to have been based on the now-lost 6th-century-BC *Massaliote Periplus*, a description of maritime trade routes along the Atlantic coast and much of Western Mediterranean.⁷¹ The poem also mentions Hemeroskopeion, which Strabo identified with Dianium

⁶⁸ Sanmartí Grego 1992, 38-9, who designates Massalia an imperialist oligarchy, Emporion an oligarchy that developed into a more egalitarian society (de l'oligarchie vers une société égalitaire).

⁶⁹ Herodotos 1.163-7; see also Antiochos *FGrH* 555 (= *BNJ* 555) fr.8.

⁷⁰ De Hoz 1999, 224-9. The Etruscan inscription contains one Etruscan name, *Venel*, and one Latin name, *Utavu*, identified with Octavius.

⁷¹ Avienus 422-39.

(probably modern Dénia, Spain⁷²), possibly suggesting the existence of a temple dedicated to Ephesian Artemis as in many other Phokaian colonies.⁷³ Of course, without firm archaeological data, none of these Phokaian phantom cities can be corroborated, as literary references alone cannot tell us whether these sites were real Phokaian settlements or Greek names for existing indigenous/Phoenician settlements. Suffice it to say that the Phokaians were at least active in the region and likely in frequent contacts and engagements with the Iberian population, a condition described by one scholar as “colonialism without colonization.”⁷⁴

Standing in contrast to both Massalia and Emporion and forming the last major node in the intricate web of Phokaian colonies in the Western Mediterranean is the city of Velia on the Tyrrhenian coast.⁷⁵ Established around 540 BC, its first inhabitants were Phokaians fleeing the conquest of their home city by the Persians ca. 546 BC.⁷⁶ The six-year gap was due mostly to a sojourn in Corsica, where the refugees unsuccessfully sought shelter. Here accounts differ over the exact course of events, with Antiochos of Syracuse reporting the refugees making their way all the way to Massalia, thus linking the aforementioned Massaliote expansion in the mid-6th century BC to this latest influx of Phokaian exiles.⁷⁷ Whether the refugees reached Massalia or not, it is certain that they were present at Alalia on the east coast of Corsica, a city founded by their compatriots some two decades earlier. Alalia at the time was heavily involved in piracy, straining relations not only with the Etruscans and the Carthaginians, but also the Massaliotes to a certain extent.⁷⁸ War eventually erupted a few years later and the Greeks of Corsica were defeated by a combined 120-ship Etruscan-Carthaginian fleet in the Battle of Alalia, an event Herodotos called a Cadmean victory. Thereafter the Phokaian refugees departed for Rhegion, where they were advised by a Poseidonian man to settle in a designated location not far from Poseidonia.⁷⁹ Although Herodotos describes Velia as a port of the Oenotri prior to the Phokaians’ arrival and purchase of the land,

⁷² Rouillard 1991, 299-303.

⁷³ Avienus 470-3; Strabo 3.4.6. See also Malkin 1990, 44, 51-2 and Rouillard 1991.

⁷⁴ Domínguez 2002, in particular 68-73.

⁷⁵ Other attested names include Oueliai (Οὐέλαι), Hyele (Υέλη), and Ele (Ἐλη). It was first mentioned in Plato, *Sophist* 216a; cf. Strabo 6.1.1, Ptolemy 3.1.8.

⁷⁶ Phokaia was taken over by the Persian general Harpagos, in the aftermath of which the Phokaians sought help from neighbouring Chios to no avail; subsequently half the population embarked on an exodus; see Herodotos 1.164-5.

⁷⁷ Antiochos *FGrH* 555 (= *BNJ* 555) fr.8. This was the thesis proposed by Bats 1994.

⁷⁸ Massaliote activities during the Battle of Alalia has indeed been a focal point of debate, see Gras 1987, 161-80.

⁷⁹ Herodotos 1.163-7. See also Greco 2000, 199-206.

there has yet to be any evidence to suggest a mixed Greek-indigenous demographic for the time of Velia's foundation.⁸⁰

From its earliest days, Velia's economy had depended heavily on trading, exchanging goods with the locals as well as regulating commerce actions and acting as a business mediator in the region *à la* Poseidonia, while agriculture and overseas commerce seem to have played less crucial roles.⁸¹ As a result, Velia boasted a somewhat nucleated settlement and a decidedly smaller *chora*, which may help explain the ostensible absence of an indigenous population from the colony.⁸² Interactions with the natives must have been frequent and volatile, however, as the city's first fortification of ca. 520 BC may attest.⁸³ This date is significantly earlier compared to Massalia and Emporion, the former of which did not begin constructing city walls for three quarters of a century, while the latter remained largely unfortified even after the merger of its first two settlements.

That Velia was a purely Greek settlement is mainly substantiated by pottery excavated from the site, the majority of which displays evident Ionian characteristics, whereas indigenous items and artefacts (e.g., the gray monochrome type) are virtually absent.⁸⁴ Such material peculiarity is similarly matched on the spiritual front by the presence of distinctively Phokaian cults, most notably that of the white goddess, Leukothea, a maritime deity who also finds suppliants in Massalia and Lampsakos. Even its physical landscape and settlement patterns are quintessentially Phokaian, a type of settlement characterized by an elevated *polis* atop a cliff or promontory, a natural and defensible anchorage, as well as terraced lands typically unsuitable for agricultural activities.⁸⁵ Thus Velia was, in many ways, a more archetypically Phokaian city than its colonial siblings in Iberia and Mediterranean Gaul.

⁸⁰ See Morel 2006b, 370. Morel 1980 maintains that the site was inhabited by indigenous people during the Bronze Age but was deserted by the time the Phokaians arrived. This thesis would contradict Herodotos' account.

⁸¹ Greco 2006, 179-80.

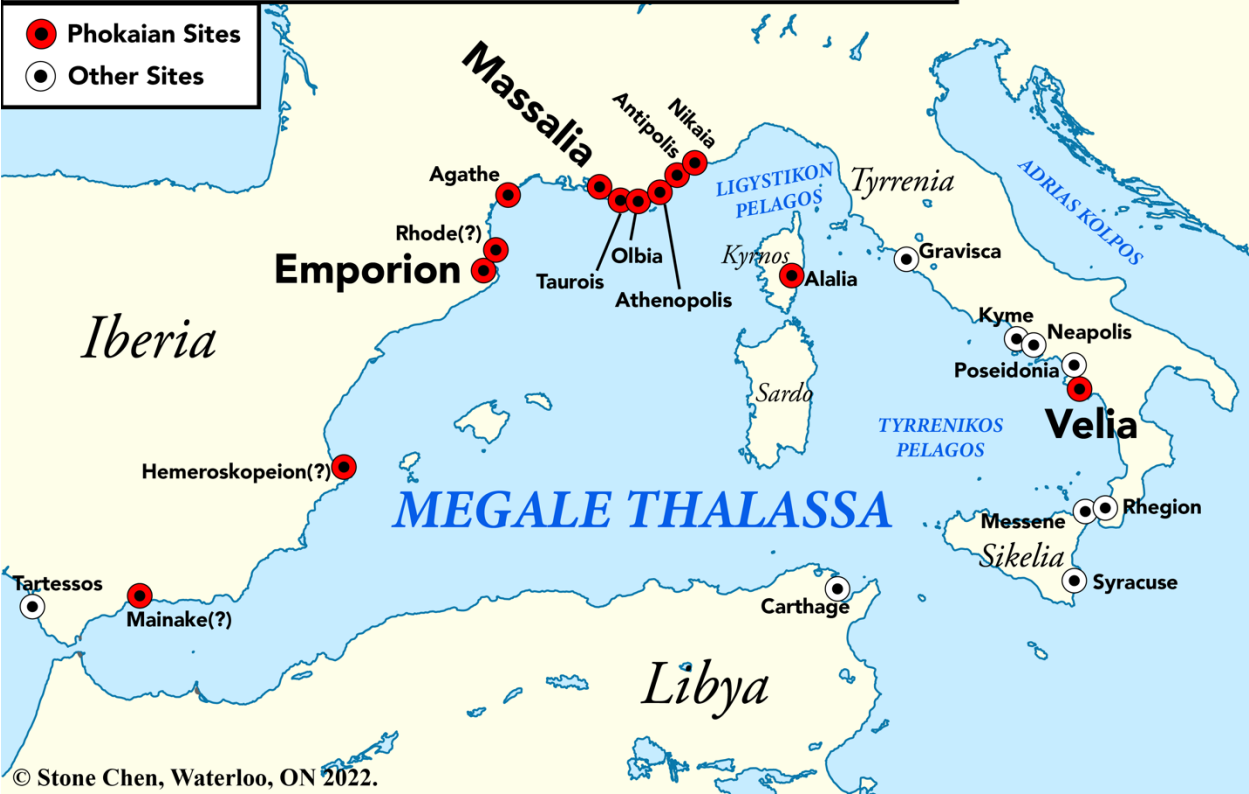
⁸² See Hansen 2006, 32. Also see Carter 1993 and 1996 on the typology of settlements.

⁸³ Tréziny 1994, 121-5. This date would be the latest estimate; these walls were then expanded and consolidated in 480/470 BC.

⁸⁴ See Di Vita-Evrard 1971 for an overview of Phokaian potteries.

⁸⁵ See Martin 1973, 582-4.

Places and Sites in the Western Mediterranean



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Figure 2: Places and Sites in the Western Mediterranean. © Stone Chen, Waterloo, ON 2022.

III. Massalia: A Case Study of Greco-Indigenous Relations and *Emporia*

Given its prominence and longevity, the city of Massalia unquestionably occupies the central focus of any enquiry into Phokaian colonization, to the point that it is almost customary to view Massalia as the prototypical Phokaian colony and thus the benchmark against which all other Phokaian colonies are measured. To the argument that Phokaia pioneered the practice of *emporia*, Massalia would no doubt be its most prototypical representative.⁸⁶ Even to this day, both the city of Marseilles and its inhabitants are still colloquially referred to with the adjective “Phokaia(n)” – in French, *Phocéen*.⁸⁷ In contemporary Marseilles, references to and celebrations of the city’s Phokaian heritage are almost as common as recognitions of its monumental role in the French Revolution and the creation of the modern French state.⁸⁸

That the Phokaians had ventured so far into the Western Mediterranean and established regular contacts with local peoples by the late 7th century BC can be and has certainly been interpreted as a testament to the extraordinary nature of their overseas enterprise and perhaps even a marker of Phokaian exceptionalism. However, if we plot the foundation dates of all Greek colonies on a chronological timeline, we may very well be tempted to ask why Massalia had not been founded earlier.

The question is not rhetorical: by the time Phokaian ships were sailing around Mediterranean Gaul and getting ready to lay the foundation of their first colony in the region, Sicily and southern Italy were already brimming with Greek colonies with an emerging Magna Graecian identity; the northern Aegean and Propontis regions had observed heavy colonization; the northeastern coast of Libya (Kyrenaika) was colonized and in the process of transforming into the Pentapolis; the Bosphorus had already become a vital crossroads navigated by successive waves of eastbound colonists heading towards their destinations spread across western, southern, and northern littorals

⁸⁶ See Bats 1994, 133-48 and 1998, 617, who conceptualizes *emporia* to be “Phokaian alternatives.” See also Torelli 1971 and 1977 for some related discussions on Gravisca.

⁸⁷ Modern Marseilles is still commonly called “the Phokaian city,” *la cité phocéenne*, both formally and informally.

⁸⁸ A good example would be Olympique de Marseille, a major men’s football club based in Marseilles. It was first founded in 1892 as US Phocéenne and is still nicknamed the Phokaians (Les Phocéens), a designation interchangeably applied to the people of Marseilles collectively.

of the Black Sea; even the seemingly remote and uncharted waters around Massalia itself had been frequented by Phoenicians and Etruscans for decades, if not centuries. A variety of Greek potteries, for example, has already been transported to Mediterranean Gaul by the Etruscans decades before the Phokaians.⁸⁹

I mention these synchronic developments side by side at the very beginning of this chapter in order to highlight two significant premises to our discussion: 1) the impression that Massalia was located “in the extremity of the world”, “far separated from all the Greeks” and “washed with waves of barbarism” was manually enforced and only reflected part of the picture;⁹⁰ 2) Mediterranean Gaul and the area that would later evolve into a centre of Massaliote power were by no means unexplored territories prior to the Phokaians’ arrival, and the role played by other peoples, both indigenous and foreign, in setting the geopolitical stage for the birth and rise of a great Hellenic city, should not be forgotten. This chapter as well as the rest of the thesis will study Massalia and its history always with these two points in mind.

FOUNDING MYTHS: FROM MARRIAGE TO CONSPIRACY

Ancient accounts about the foundation of Massalia are mostly consistent, with only minor variation in details.⁹¹ The most common version has been passed down to us through Justin (summarizing Pompeius Trogus) in Latin and Athenaios (reproducing Aristotle) in Greek, respectively.⁹² These two accounts essentially narrate the same story but with different names for the characters. In the story, the Phokaians were compelled by natural limitations of their homeland to re-orient themselves towards seafaring, both in commerce and in piracy. They subsequently embarked on long voyages which took them to all corners of the Mediterranean as well as reaching the Atlantic (*in ultimam Oceani oram procedere ausi*); during one of these venturous voyages, they chanced upon the shores of Gaul near the mouth of the Rhône river, where they encountered the Segobrigii, a Celto-Ligurian people inhabiting the river valley. There the Phokaians, led either by two men named Simos and Protis according to Justin, or a single captain by the name of Euxinos

⁸⁹ Bats 1998, 609-10.

⁹⁰ Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 63: *tam procul a Graecorum omnium regionibus, disciplinis linguaque divisa cum in ultimis terris cincta Gallorum gentibus barbariae fluctibus adluatur.*

⁹¹ For a general study on the interpretation of founding myths and legends in the process of Greek colonization, see Dougherty 1993, especially 157-63.

⁹² See Justin, *Epit.* 43.3 and Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* 13.576, which reproduces a lost Aristotelian treatise titled *the Constitution of the Massaliotes* (Μασσαλιωτῶν Πολιτεία).

according to Athenaios, met with Nanos, king of the Segobrigii.⁹³ The king just so happened to be hosting a feast in which his daughter Gyptis (or Petta in the Aristotelian version) had to choose a husband from a throng of suitors. She was to do this by offering a bowl of mixed wine to whichever person she decided to wed. The Phokaians too were invited to the banquet, where the princess surprisingly chose Protis (or Euxinos) to be her husband. The Phokaian captain thus became the king's son-in-law overnight and was endowed with lands for a new city to be founded. In the Aristotelian version, Euxinos changed his wife's name from Petta to Aristoxene, literally "best guest/host," to match his own "hospitable" namesake; they produced a son named Protis and thereafter this family became known as the Protiadai, who were still a prominent family in Aristotle's times.⁹⁴

Compared to the emphatically Odyssean tale associated with the foundation of Velia, the origin story of Massalia seems much less dramatic, almost unbefitting of a city of its fame. Yet the brevity and outward simplicity of this founding legend need not to be perceived as a lack of refinement, for there are in fact multiple layers of themes contained in this story that are not only unique to Massalia but also critical to the understanding of its relations with indigenous communities.⁹⁵

The most remarkable observation from the story is the visible absence of hostility between the Greek settlers and their native hosts – a situation that is very much uncommon, if not a rarity among early Greco-indigenous interactions, especially within a colonial setting.⁹⁶ A lot of early settlements in Magna Graecia, for instance, were established amidst tense rivalries, if not outright wars against indigenous peoples; many of these settlements were subject to constant raids and incursions by indigenous forces decades into their existence, some of them had to be relocated or re-founded as a result. Motifs of plots, conspiracies, abductions, exiles, and armed conflicts are therefore often reflected in stories and legends told of their foundation. By contrast, the foundation legend of Massalia emphasizes neither the adversities endured by the settlers nor the challenges posed by their enemies – there were, in fact, little to no real challenges posed to the Phokaians in

⁹³ Whose name, *Návoς*, literally means "dwarf" in Greek and prompts Aristotle to remark on its peculiarity. It has been suggested that the name may be understood as a generic designation meaning "little king," see Garcia 2016, 88-9.

⁹⁴ Aristotle curiously described the Protiadai as "descending from her" (*ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνθρώπου*, referring to Aristoxene), perhaps in reference to the quasi-matrilineal system of succession practiced by the Segobrigii.

⁹⁵ See Morel 2006b, 364-6 and Bats 2007, 191-2.

⁹⁶ See Bouffier and Garcia 2014, 25. There have been attempts at painting a different picture of early Greco-indigenous encounters, notably Oller Guzmán 2013, 2021a and 2021b.

this story other than the long voyage they had to endure to arrive there.⁹⁷ It should be noted, however, that not all ancient accounts of the Massaliote foundation are lacking in references to hostilities. Livy, for instance, attributed the relative ease with which the Phokaians found hospitality among the Segobrigii to their mistreatment at the hands of the Salui, another Celto-Ligurian tribe dwelling further north to the Segobrigii.⁹⁸ According to Livy, the Segobrigii sought to exploit the tension between their neighbour and the Phokaian settlers by lending the Greeks assistance and fortifying a piece of land for their settlement. Whereas they themselves crossed the Alps to battle the Etruscans and established the city of Mediolanum in the process. Nevertheless, this passage has been interpreted by some to be a reference to later conflicts between Massalia and its Celtic neighbours, including the Segobrigii, rather than an accurate depiction of events that took place prior to the city's foundation.⁹⁹ Still, even if we were to integrate Livy's extra information into the main narrative without questioning its chronological authenticity, it is still plainly discernible what its disseminator intends to emphasize: hospitality and peaceful cooperation between the natives and the colonists.

The marriage story too has received a lot of scholarly attention for two main reasons. First, mixed Greek-indigenous marriages were as ubiquitous as they were necessary in the formative period of a colony, thus the peaceful foundation of Massalia through a mixed marriage suggests commonality with other colonial foundations.¹⁰⁰ Second, while mixed marriage is common in this context, the specific ritual through which the marriage ceremony was performed in the Massaliote story is rather uncommon among colonial founding legends. It is, however, a frequent occurrence in other contexts. In particular, the marriage in the Massaliote story has been placed in the same category as the *svayamvara* "self-choosing" tradition of marriage widely practiced in ancient India and recorded in one form or another in numerous Indo-European mythologies.¹⁰¹ Even when we reduce the scope of comparison and look around in the Greek world, such stories are not hard to find either. The Homeric stories of Penelope selecting her suitors through an archery competition

⁹⁷ For a more exhaustive analysis of Greco-indigenous interactions in the context of colonial foundations, see Bats 1986, 19-32 and Bouffier and Hermary 2013.

⁹⁸ Livy 5.34. The Salui were variously named Sallyas, Sallues, Salikes, and Salluvii by ancient authors. See Strabo 4.1.3-12; Caesar, *BGall.* 1.35; Pliny 3.36, 3.47, 3.124; also Avienius 701.

⁹⁹ See especially Bats 1986, 26-7 and Bats 2014.

¹⁰⁰ Tréziny 2005, 51-6.

¹⁰¹ See Pralon 1992 and Brugnone 1995 for in-depth examinations of this type of marriage myths and for comparisons between the Massalia story and other similar anecdotes from a variety of traditions. The Sanskrit word *svayamvara* comes from *svayam* "self" and *vara* "groom" and is commonly translated as "self-choosing marriage."

and king Alkinous offering Odysseus his daughter Nausikaa's hand in marriage and the right to settle in Scheria immediately come to mind; so too is the story of Marpessa the Aetolian princess, who was pursued by both Apollo and the hero Idas (in some versions she was already married to Idas), eventually resulting in an intervention by Zeus, who asked her to make her own choice.¹⁰² We can also include in this list of Greek *svayamvara* marriages the unusual story of king Tyndareos attempting and failing to choose a husband for his daughter Helen before allowing her the freedom of choice, as seen in the prologue to Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis*.¹⁰³ But perhaps most relevant to our discussion is the founding myth of Lampsakos, a Phokaian colony on the eastern side of the Hellespont established some five decades earlier than Massalia – for its founding myth not only mirrors that of Massalia in many ways, but may even be viewed as a major source of inspiration, if not direct borrowing for the Massaliote origin story.

According to Plutarch, who recounted a passage from the *Chronicle of Lampsakos* (Ἔρον Λαμψακηῶν) written by the historian Charon of Lampsakos, the city traces its origin to a pair of twin brothers from Phokaia named Phobos and Blepsos.¹⁰⁴ This Phobos in particular met and befriended Mandron, who was the king of the Bebrykes, a Bithynian tribe residing next to the Hellespont. The Bebrykes, who at the time were also known by the name Pityoessinians (Πιτυοεσσηνοί, not to be confused with the city of Pityous/Πιτυοῦς in Kolchis as well as other similarly named places), were helpfully aided by the Phokaians in fighting off their native neighbours.¹⁰⁵ In return, Mandron promised to bestow part of his territory to Phobos if he wished to settle with more of his compatriots. Phobos thus sailed back to Phokaia and persuaded his countrymen to send out a group of colonists led by Blepsos. These settlers were initially welcomed, but relations with the Bebrykes quickly soured due to the Phokaians' unscrupulous habit of

¹⁰² Homer, *Odyssey* 7.311-16, 21.75-7. See also Pitt-Rivers 1977, 177-94. For the Idas story, see mainly Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 1.7.8-9; but also, Homer, *Iliad* 9.557 and Pausanias 5.18.2.

¹⁰³ Euripides, *IA* 68-71. This version differs significantly from those of Hesiod and Apollodoros, where Helen was never really given the freedom of choice. There are debates over reasons and motives for the Euripidean story's deviation from traditional accounts; Jouan 1966, 157-60 speculates a possible plot device to underline Helen's responsibility for her later actions, since she would have been guilty of abandoning her husband of her own choice by this telling of the story; Kahil 1955, 130 argues that Euripides was simply invoking an earlier version of the myth.

¹⁰⁴ Plutarch, *De mulierum virtutibus* 242e-263c (Charon of Lampsakos, *Fragment* 6); cf. Polyainos, *Strat.* 8.37.

¹⁰⁵ Strabo 7.3.2 identifies the Bebrykes as Thracians who had crossed from Europe into Asia. Sergent 1988, 345-50 postulated them to be Celtic in origin, but found no support with his view. There was a Celtiberian tribe in the Pyrenees with a very similar demonym, sparking speculations about their connections. Strabo 13.1.18 reported Pityoussa as a former name of Lampsakos, though Strabo's entire account on Lampsakos should be taken with a grain of salt, as evidenced by his misidentification of Lampsakos as a Milesian colony.

plundering neighbouring peoples.¹⁰⁶ The natives desired to be rid of the Greeks but were unable to impress this wish upon the king, so they waited for an opportunity when Mandron was away and launched an attack on the settlers. The plan of attack, however, was betrayed to the Phokaians by Lampsake, the young daughter of Mandron. As a result, the Phokaians were able to pre-empt the attack, take control of the city, and kill most of the plotters. Lampsake, however, died from an illness and was memorialized by the Phokaians, who renamed their city Lampsakos. The victorious Phokaians then asked Mandron to rule the city alongside them, but the king wished to avoid suspicion and requested to leave with those who had not been killed in the clash. The passage concludes with Lampsake being elevated to divine status and continuing to be worshipped at that city to this day.¹⁰⁷

The story of Lampsakos' foundation is therefore not without violence and bloodshed, but it also makes clear the necessity of indigenous goodwill and hospitality to the success of the colonial project. Its resemblance to the founding legend of Massalia is remarkable: the just and principled king Mandron is therefore comparable to the friendly and welcoming Nanos, whereas the selfless Lampsake can have two analogies in the Massaliote story: on the one hand, she is analogous to Gyptis (Petta) in that her actions may well be seen as a symbolic *svayamvara* in which the Phokaians were chosen for a symbolic union between the settlers and the natives (or at least the native land), to the dismay of Bebrykes "suitors."¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, the Justin-Trogus account records that not long after Massalia was founded, the Ligurians grew jealous of its prosperity and began harassing the city; in particular, Komanos, a son of king Nanos, succeeded to the Segobrigian throne and hatched a scheme to seize the colony, but the plot was revealed by a Ligurian woman who was a relative of the king and who was having a liaison with a Massaliote youth. The plotters, including Komanos, were all captured and killed, with the death toll numbering seven thousand.¹⁰⁹ This brutal follow-up episode no doubt creates sharp contrast with the overarching theme of cordiality and collaboration at the time of the colony's initial foundation. However, it aligns the Massaliote story with the earlier Lampsakene story in an unsettling way with the eventual removal of all indigenous elements from the Phokaian colony, except that in the

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Justin 43.3.5: *piscando mercandoque, plerumque etiam latrocinio maria, quod illis temporibus gloriae habebatur, uitam tolerabant.*

¹⁰⁷ See also Stephanos of Byzantium s.v. *Lampsakos*.

¹⁰⁸ Brugnone 1995, 54-66. See also Dougherty 1993, 21-4, 31-41 for metaphorical readings of narratives of colonial foundation and the role of the founder.

¹⁰⁹ Justin 43.3.13, 43.4.3-12.

case of Massalia the removal was even more complete and ruthless: the indigenous woman, without whose aid Massalia would not have survived, was not even named, let alone deified and worshipped; she was further depicted in a much less praiseworthy manner, betraying the plot to the Phokaians not out of a sense of justice but because of a love affair, easily invoking the treacherous image of Tarpeia among the Roman readership; finally, the Massaliotes resorted to committing massacres to safeguard their city, whereas the Lampsakenes' actions in defending their interests were considerably more restrained and diplomatic.¹¹⁰

Considering Lampsakos' status as the first proper *apoikia* of Phokaia and the exceptional vitality of a common Phokaian identity discernible in all Phokaian colonies, it is certainly not far-fetched to speculate connections between these two foundation legends.¹¹¹ Furthermore, it has been observed that motifs seen in the Lampsakos story, such as the portrayal of intra-indigenous conflicts, not only mirror the Salui-Segobrigii conflict reported by Livy, but also echo stories told about the foundation of Phokaia itself, leading to conjectures of an early prototype already in existence in Phokaia prior to the emergence of any colonies.¹¹² Therefore, we may tentatively conclude that there was something special with respect to the ethos of Phokaian colonization: on the one hand, it seems to glorify certain virtuous indigenous characters more than the heroic individuals, the *oikistes* from amongst the Phokaians; on the other hand, in spite of this positive signaling towards the natives, they are still left out of the colonial project most of the time, sometimes very unnaturally. The premature and convenient death of Lampsake, for example, seems to reveal nothing so much as the practicality of recognizing indigenous contributions through symbolic reconciliation without real enfranchisement.¹¹³ In the Massaliote story, the project of disenfranchisement becomes even more blatant from the very beginning. The Phokaians

¹¹⁰ For a comparison with Tarpeia and an analysis of portrayals of women characters who had betrayed their city/people, see Pralon 1993, 53-60. For the story of Tarpeia, see Livy 1.11; Propertius 4.4; Dion. Hal. 2.38-9; Ovid, *Fasti* 1.260-2; Plutarch, *Vit. Rom.* 17.

¹¹¹ Indeed the dots have been connected most notably by Momigliano 1980, 54, who suggested it was Charon of Lampsakos who transferred the founding myth of Lampsakos onto an already existing tradition of Massaliote stories; this was, however, dismissed by Brugnone 1995, 64.

¹¹² Moggi 1977, 1-26 and Westphal 2001, 290.

¹¹³ A somewhat appropriate (and in my opinion, necessary) comparison may be drawn to the prevalence of land/territorial acknowledgements in modern Canada – statements of recognition and reconciliation that have nevertheless been criticized for lacking substance and failing to address issues important to Indigenous communities. Further, these acknowledgements are often not even accurately representing historical claims to the land due to the complexity and diversity of Indigenous land exchanges and managements – not unlike how indigenous participation in Lampsakos' foundation were eventually simplified into the virtuous act of one woman who was deified beyond recognition.

were seemingly depicted as following king Nanos' instruction to build a new city and preserve their Phokaian identity rather than to fully integrate with the Segobrigii.¹¹⁴

What, then, can be said about the relations between the natives and the Phokaians in Massalia? Let us now turn our attention away from the somewhat meager assortment of literary evidence towards archaeology and material culture, which offers critical supplements.

MATERIAL CULTURE IN EARLY MASSALIA

It should be acknowledged that early Massaliote archaeology has always faced limitations created by the site's uninterrupted inhabitation since its foundation, and it was only towards the beginning of the current century that excavation works on early periods of the colony gained momentum.¹¹⁵ Compared to other major Phokaian sites in the west, archaeological data on Massalia is often inadequate. Nevertheless, archaeologists are able to extract from this rather limited trove of information valuable knowledge about life in early Massalia.



Figure 3 Excavation Site of Massalia in 1970; from Euzennat 1980 Fig. 1

First, it is unclear whether the site of future Massalia was occupied or not at the time of foundation. The story of Protis/Euxinos suggests a new foundation on previously uninhabited lands, and limited excavations on the site seem to confirm this suggestion, since no solid evidence of occupation can be found.¹¹⁶ However, various surveys along shorelines of the Old Port of

¹¹⁴ Pralon 1992, 54.

¹¹⁵ See Euzennat 1980, 133-40; Tréziny 1996; Moliner 1996, 60-66; and Hermary *et al.* 1999, 15-21.

¹¹⁶ Hermary *et al.* 1999, 36-7.

Marseilles (Vieux-Port de Marseille, which would have been the main harbour of the city in antiquity) have recovered fragments of stone tools, flints, as well as a deposit of oysters attributed to human activities dating to the late Bronze Age.¹¹⁷ These findings suggest that the site of Massalia had been occupied earlier but had been abandoned for some time when the Phokaians arrived – a pattern of inhabitation very similar to that of Velia, which was certainly inhabited in the Bronze Age but became uninhabited long before the Phokaian refugees arrived in the 540s BC.¹¹⁸ The account of king Nanos wanting to preserve the Greekness of the settlers may therefore be an aetiological reflection on the colony's separateness from the locals.

Second, evidence of interactions between the Greeks and the natives emerges almost as soon as the city came into existence. If textual sources tend to downplay or remove the indigenous population from the picture, then archaeology provides a necessary counterargument to the perceived image of Phokaian 'purity.' While definitive indication of Greco-indigenous cohabitation is still lacking, we observe many signs of such a reality in potteries produced in the first decades of Massalia, nearly a third of which were already manufactured locally in this early phase. It is estimated that the natives constituted almost 20% of the population during this period, which contrasts sharply with the grim scene of indigenous massacres painted by the Justin-Trogus account.¹¹⁹ In addition, although the survival of early Massalia (which, like most other Phokaian establishments, could hardly achieve self-sufficiency with its meager patch of hinterland) has been ascribed to its membership in a trans-Mediterranean commercial network, it is also not unreasonable to view cooperation with the local population as an equally important bolster towards the city's economic stability.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Arcelin *et al.* 1999, 121-29.

¹¹⁸ See more in the following chapter on Velia. In the case of Velia, classical authors and archaeology disagree significantly.

¹¹⁹ Gantès 1992a, 72-5.

¹²⁰ Bats 1994, 134-6, Morel 1997, 2002 and 2006b, 371. See also Malkin 2005 for a general survey of networks in the Greek world.

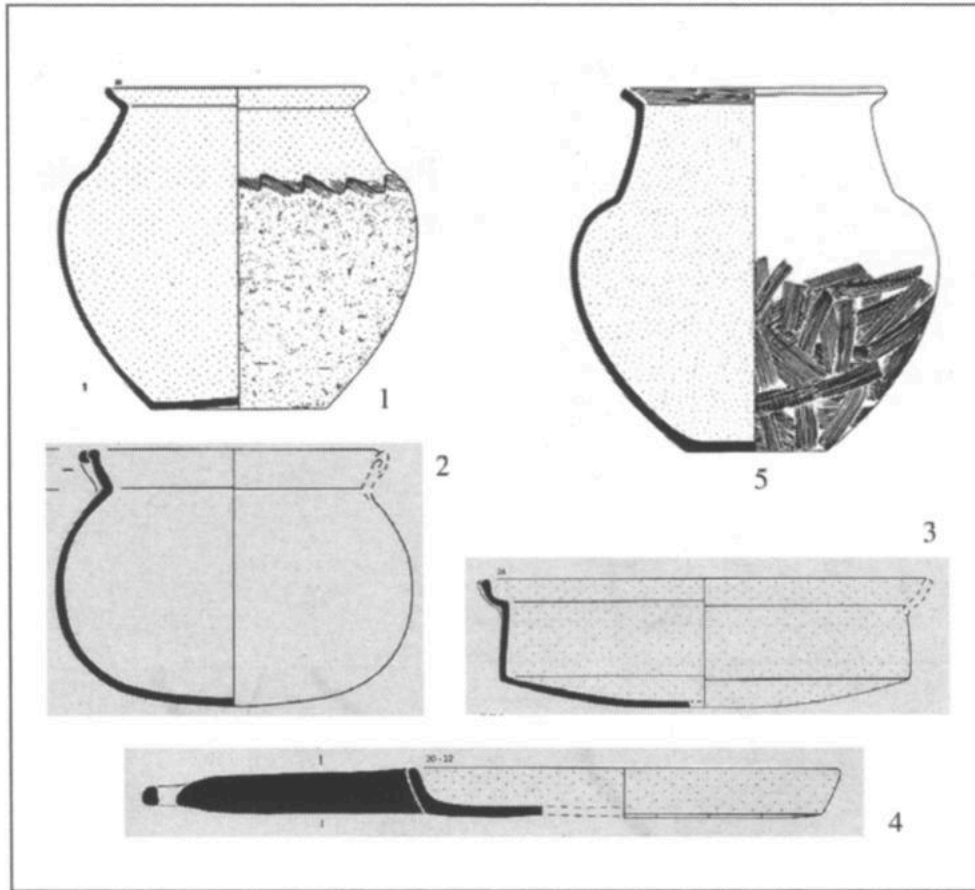


Figure 4 Greek-style vessels produced by an indigenous workshop near Massalia. From Bats 2007, Fig. 87.

Third, not only was there significant indigenous presence in early Massalia, the Etruscans, who had been operating their own regional commercial network along the Ligurian shores, were also heavily represented in the fledgling colony – primarily through the import of Etruscan wines, which seem to have dominated the Massaliote market for a period.¹²¹ Details of this Etruscan presence and its implications with respect to the developing Phokaian commercial network in the region will be discussed later in the chapter, but suffice it to say that early Massalia was visibly more diverse than the literary sources imply.

We must recognize that neither literature nor archaeology on their own is sufficient to offer a demographic, let alone ethnic assertion – a condition only exacerbated by the lack of both in Massaliote studies.¹²² Nevertheless, it is possible to at least identify some signs of meaningful

¹²¹ Gantès 1992b, 173-6 and Villard 1992, 165.

¹²² See Hall 1997, 1-16 and Bats 2007, 191-2.

communications among various groups in the region without drawing too arbitrary a conclusion. To do this, let us first examine some specific examples provided to us by archaeology.

The first and perhaps the most pertinent example is the consumption of wine and its associated usage of vessels. As is well-known, drinking wine was much more than a mere pastime activity to educated Greeks – it symbolized a way of life and a mode of social interactions among the Greek elites, thus functioning as both a strong socioeconomic indicator and a marker of ethnic identity to a certain extent, especially in a colonial context when there was a pronounced necessity for the colonizer to differentiate themselves from the colonized.¹²³ Vessels and tableware used in wine consumption were thus varied and numerous: the transportation of wine was mainly via *amphorai*, *hydriai* were used to carry water, *krateres* were for mixing the wine and the water, *oinochoai* for pouring the wine, while wine was eventually consumed from a variety of drinking cups, the most common of which was the *kylix*. Among these, the *krater* is arguably the most important since it is the vessel by which the degree of wine dilution is determined, therefore in a Greek symposium it was the toastmaster's (συμποσίαρχος) perquisite to decide on an appropriate degree of dilution to ensure the banquet carries on without excessive inebriation. Speaking to its importance, the *krater* is among the most widely represented types of potteries in Massalia, with Corinthian, Lakonian (volute-shaped), Eastern Greek, and Attic (bell-shaped) variations all in local production.¹²⁴ Moreover, the popularity of individual *krater* variation tracks quite in tune with the popularity of that variation in the Greek homeland, and the eventual disappearance of *krater* type from excavated ceramics in the 4th century BC corresponds to a wider shift of drinking habit in the Greek world, which saw banquet guests mix the wine in their own cups instead of a communal vessel for dilution.¹²⁵

That the elites of Massalites had kept up their drinking customs in accordance with the rest of the Greek world is unsurprising, but the indigenous reception of wine consumption in Mediterranean Gaul is certainly a more complicated topic.¹²⁶ While *amphorai* were frequently found in indigenous settlements near and around Massalia, these were predominantly types used

¹²³ See Dietler 2010, 55-74. For the cultural and economic significance of wine in ancient Greece in general, see also Pratt 2021.

¹²⁴ See Bats 1989 and 1994. For excavations in Massalia and other sites in Mediterranean Gaul that produced these objects, refer again to Hermary *et al.* 1999,

¹²⁵ See Bats 2007, 194.

¹²⁶ See Brun 2004, 199-216 for an extensive study on viticulture and wine consumption in Massalia and Gaul, with important notes on indigenous reception.

for long-distance transportation rather than for use in the kitchen and the dining room. The native population appears to have quickly adopted the *oinochoai* and many variants of drinking cups, but the *krater* was largely absent from indigenous sites in the 6th century BC apart from a few isolated exceptions of funerary use. By the 5th century BC, when Attic *krateres* became the predominant type in Massalia, this vessel was still absent from indigenous workshops in the region. It was only in the 4th century BC that Attic *krateres* began to be produced in the lower Rhône valley, even then the production was of very limited scale.¹²⁷ This selective adoption of wine vessels suitably reflects a selective adoption of Greek culture introduced by the Phokaians.¹²⁸ It has been argued that the introduction of wine may have been welcomed by the natives for several reasons, including the relative ease of storage and transportation, its readiness for consumption, its perceived function as a marker of hospitality at feasts and festivals, as well as its psychoactive effects. But the circumstance of indigenous consumption differs from those of the Greeks, and it is precisely these differences that caused some vessels to be readily adopted and others to be rejected.¹²⁹ Socioeconomic factors undoubtedly played an important part in creating these differences, as consumers of wine and participants of symposia are generally well-off irrespective of their ethnic identities, thus the absence of *krateres* from archaeological records suggests first and foremost a socioeconomic divide between the Massaliotes and their indigenous neighbours. On the other hand, the *krater*'s unique social significance to Greek symposia was largely irrelevant in an indigenous feast, thus the functional incompatibility of the *krater*, combined with the aforementioned socioeconomic divide, could also have gradually developed into a cultural identity marker for the natives: if the wine symbolizes the happy acceptance of the Greeks, then the *krater* (or rather the lack thereof) serves as a reminder of the Greeks' foreignness and otherness.

Let us recall that Gyptis/Petta, in the foundation myth of Massalia, made her fateful marriage choice by offering mixed wine to Protis/Euxinos, and that she then had her name changed by her husband to Aristoxene "best guest/host." It is quite remarkable how this story, invented and modified to fit a specific narrative as it was, still reciprocates a paralleled sense of acceptance and vigilance experienced by the indigenous people: the wine offering represents a necessary

¹²⁷ Bats 2002 argues for the *krater*'s reception as a religious object by the indigenous peoples, thus the occurrence in funerary contexts.

¹²⁸ But such selectiveness also reflects and conforms to existing stereotypes, as was the later depiction of the Gauls as prone to drunkenness in Roman sources. On this topic, see Balsdon 1979.

¹²⁹ Dietler 2007, 224-6 and Dietler 2010. See also Dietler 1998, 72-89 for a thorough study on cultural interactions with the Celts of southern Gaul and the Iberian Peninsula.

acceptance, whereas the renaming signifies an implicit acknowledgement of the other's otherness despite outward gestures of friendly cohabitation.

A second example of meaningful Greco-indigenous communications can be seen from the development of indigenous potteries over the course of the 6th century BC. Two styles are of particular notice: the widespread gray monochrome type known as the sub-geometric type and the rather uncommon light paste-painted type sometimes described as pseudo-Ionian by French scholars. The sub-geometric type first appeared in the second quarter of the 6th century BC and was initially limited to one workshop on the outskirts of Massalia, but by the end of the century upwards of a dozen indigenous workshops may have begun operations throughout southern Provence. To the west and south of Massalia, this pottery type also became quite popular in northeastern Iberia, with workshops popping up by the 5th century BC.¹³⁰ These gray monochrome ceramics were reserved almost exclusively for drinking vessels adopted from the Greeks, thus supplying the production of most of the *oinochoai* and drinking cups discussed in the first example. This first type of indigenous ceramics can therefore be understood in a similar manner as the acceptance of certain parts of the Greek wine culture by the native population.¹³¹ The pseudo-Ionian type, on the other hand, appeared in the last quarter of the 6th century BC and was much less widespread but nevertheless offered a valuable insight into the subject at hand. Its centre of production was first along the lower Rhône valley and the Étang de Berre lagoon (located about 25 km northwest of Massalia) in particular boasted a large group of samples. Its spread was slow, but by the 4th century BC both southern Provence (mostly concentrated around the modern department of Var) and the Languedoc coast had seen its production, though never on the scale of the gray monochrome type.¹³²

The pseudo-Ionian designation comes from their original Ionian models imported from Massalia. Unlike the sub-geometric type, the pseudo-Ionian type was used for a wider variety of vessels, and it is among this variety that some interesting observations can be made. For instance, while drinking vessels of this type remained quite faithful to original models, vessels made for storage and other non-drinking purposes were visibly less authentic in style. The most noteworthy

¹³⁰ See Arcelin-Pradelle 1984 for a highly meticulous study of the gray monochrome type. The foundation of Emporion and other outposts in the following century certainly contributed to its spread and popularity.

¹³¹ Dietler 2007, 229-32.

¹³² For the Étang de Berre group, see Goury 1995, 309-24. For the spread of this ceramic type in general, see Garcia 1993, 47-52.

deviation from Greek originals were the paintings, which seem to draw little inspiration from Greek vases.¹³³ Furthermore, some of the patterns painted on these vessels seem to be new innovations, deriving neither from the Greeks nor from pre-existing indigenous designs. Two points can be made from these observations: first, similar to the example of wine consumption, the natives' adoption of Greek ceramics was selective and with reservation. Second, just as the indigenous experience of wine consumption inevitably differs from that of the Greeks in Massalia resulting in the exclusion of the *krater* from tables, the indigenous experience of ceramic production and distribution also differs from the Greek experience, though we are not yet able to precisely pinpoint the differences.¹³⁴ The most visible result of this divergent experience is the stylistic innovation on pseudo-Ionian ceramics. At its core, this begs the conceptual question of whether stylistic choices may convey symbolic meanings, and if they do, whether a cultural or ethnic assertion can be offered by way of symbolic expressions.¹³⁵ In the case of indigenous potteries, it must be noted that while the gray monochrome type is found in Massalia in large quantities, the pseudo-Ionian type is completely absent from Massalia. On the other hand, places where indigenous productions are attested almost always contain findings of Massaliote production. The pseudo-Ionian type may therefore reflect a real phenomenon of hybridization by combining Greek and indigenous elements whilst remaining innovative in certain aspects: the models are of Greek origins, the decorations are mostly of indigenous origins, the combined product creates a new synthesis. The main difficulty for archaeologists lies in establishing links between such phenomena of interculturalization and the formation of ethnic identity, made more difficult by the lack of direct observations of communications in the presence of these material objects on the one hand, and the absence of literary records on the other hand.

Regardless of which interpretation one prefers, one implication is certain: exchanges were taking place between the Massaliotes and indigenous peoples not only in the vicinity of the city but also hundreds of kilometres inland in multiple directions. Although Greco-indigenous exchanges were identifiable in all regions colonized by the Greeks, few colonies were as uniquely placed as Massalia to harvest the fruits of both worlds, as the frontier community of the Greek

¹³³ See Bats 2007 for a detailed analysis of the significance of indigenous painting motifs and patterns from these potteries.

¹³⁴ Bats 1998, 620.

¹³⁵ For a theoretical discussion on this topic from the perspective of archaeology, see Dietler and Herbich 1994. There are many views and approaches one may take in the subject, but they will not be discussed in this thesis.

world simultaneously acted as a gateway into the Celtic world of Gaul and Iberia. Indigenous presence in early Massalia and their involvement in Massaliote affairs were decidedly more substantial than in most other Greek colonies, and this unique situation helped to create a contradictory parallel between literary imagination and archaeological reality. From the Massaliote perspective, the idealized account of a pure Greek establishment cleansed of its native elements manifests a sense of existential fear and apprehension, in part because the account hardly reflects the reality, which can be reconstructed at least in parts thanks to archaeology. From the indigenous perspective, their attitude towards the Phokaian newcomers was defined by neither active engagement nor passive acceptance, neither aggressive confrontation nor demoralized retreat – for the most part, life went on with a few immediate, tangible changes (e.g., imports of *amphorai*, introduction of ceramic production), with slow and gradual cultural shifts (e.g., increase in festive activities, creation of new symbolic expressions) manifest themselves only in the long term. The distinctively Phokaian feature lies in the somewhat loose and decentralized system of control Massalia and other Phokaian colonies exerted on their neighbours. As a result of this feature, indigenous peoples dwelling around Massalia may not have faced quite as much agricultural competition and colonial pressure as they would have expected from a land-focused *apoikia* with a fertile *chora*; this maritime character of Phokaian cities in turn provided incentives for more exchanges between colonists and natives, for the colonists would have been much more reliant on local productions (at least before the colony could become self-sufficient through commercial networks), which would subsequently bolster local demands both in Massalia and in indigenous sites. In many ways, the nature of *emporion* produces more possibilities for lasting coexistence, especially when the region in question is relatively removed from the centres of conflicts.

IV. Velia: At the Crossroads of Phokaia and Magna Graecia

Out of the chief Phokaian colonies in the Western Mediterranean, the city of Velia is both the youngest and the one most likely to be overlooked with respect to its Phokaian character, as has been the tradition.¹³⁶ This is why the study of Phokaian Velia simultaneously poses unique challenges while also presenting ample opportunities for new insights.

The foundation of this city has been briefly touched upon in the introduction, but it is necessary to give a more complete account, in order to showcase the problem of identity already present even before its groundwork was laid. The most commonly cited and arguably the most complete account comes from Herodotos, who provided a fairly detailed report on the Phokaians who fled their city in 546 BC.¹³⁷ According to Herodotos, the Phokaians first sailed to Chios and offered to purchase the nearby island of Oinoussa (modern Oinousses), but the Chians were guarded and refused the deal for fear of competition once the Phokaians would establish themselves on the island. The decision to seek refuge in Chios was understandable, as this was the closest Ionian *polis* not immediately threatened by a Persian conquest; the distance between the two cities was no more than 30 miles as the crow flies. But the Chians sent them away.

Next, the Phokaians, again according to Herodotos, decided to sail straight for Corsica, where the colony of Alalia had been established two decades earlier “in accordance with an oracle” (ἐκ θεοπροπίου) – this is a somewhat curious decision that we will consider in greater detail later. But before embarking on the long journey, they first sailed back to Phokaia and eliminated the Persian garrison there. They then displayed a symbolic gesture of determination by sinking a monolith of iron into the sea and vowing never to return home unless the iron would appear again, i.e., unless the ocean drains up. However, half of the refugees failed to observe the vow and returned nonetheless, whereas the more strong-willed half set sail to the west. Once in Corsica,

¹³⁶ Modern scholarship tends to emphasize the city’s Magna-Graecian identity whilst undervaluing the significance and continuity of its Phokaian characteristics. See, for example, Gassner 2003, 235-75, who rather bluntly rejects the thesis of a distinctively Phokaian Velia in favour of assimilation into being an integral part of the broader Magna-Graecian continuum of Greek identities. A somewhat related yet more audacious thesis would postulate a transcending, non-specific Greek identity that supersedes any parochial attachments to a specific metropolis, see for instance Malkin 2005, 63. There is no denial that Velia played an inimitable role within the geographical, political, economic, and cultural confines of Magna Graecia, indeed the nature and working mechanisms of that role will subsequently be a focus of my thesis; however, it does not follow that Velia could not take on a twofold identity, i.e., both as a Magna Graecian *polis*, and as a Phokaian *apoikia*. I would argue that there exist no obstacles nor contradictions between these two identities. The work to be done is therefore not to elevate one at the cost of diminishing the other, but to determine to what extent each identity co-existed with the other and in which aspects they coalesced or diverged.

¹³⁷ Herodotos 1.165-7.

they spent five years with the Alalians and plundered their neighbours at will. This eventually resulted in a naval engagement conveniently if not inaccurately dubbed the Battle of Alalia, pitting the Phokaians against a 120-ship strong navy made up of the Carthaginians and the ‘Tyrsenians’, which is one of the many Greek designations for the Etruscans. It is worth noting that in this excursion Herodotos referred to both the refugees and the residents of Alalia as “Phokaians” (οἱ Φωκαῖες), there was no separate mention of Alalians. Although this could risk over-interpretation, I find Herodotos’ uniform application of the label “Phokaian” a tacit support for the idea of a shared Phokaian identity, perhaps even to the point of an ethnic denomination, among all Phokaian cities. On the other hand, it is precisely such a reference that creates additional difficulties for scholars who wish to accurately attribute the credit of foundation of a Phokaian colony, e.g., an *apoikia* of joint Massaliote-Phokaian foundation may simply be designated a Phokaian foundation by ancient authors.¹³⁸

The Phokaians won a Pyrrhic victory, collected what they could and left, this time to the Chalkidian city of Rhegion, located in Magna Graecia, on the Italian side of the Strait of Messina (known in classical time as the Sicilian Strait). From there the Phokaians then “took possession of that city in the land of the Oenotri which is now called Hyele” (ὀρμώμενοι ἐκτίσαντο πόλιν γῆς τῆς Οἰνωτρίας ταύτην ἣτις νῦν Ὑέλη καλεῖται) – the many ambiguities and probable errors of this statement shall be deliberated in the following paragraphs. Back to the Herodotean foundation story, the Phokaians who founded Hyele did so at the behest of a Poseidonian man (πρὸς ἀνδρὸς Ποσειδωνίτῳ), from whom they learned that the oracle associated with the foundation of Alalia ought to be interpreted as to build a city for the hero Kyrnos rather than on the island which derives its name from the hero.¹³⁹ And that more or less captures the gist of the foundation of Velia according to Herodotos.

At large the story looks fairly coherent, but questions arise upon closer inspections. Since we are primarily concerned with Velia as a Phokaian city, one cannot help but reassess the decision

¹³⁸ Cf. Thucydides 1.13.6: Φωκαῖς τε Μασσαλίαν οἰκίζοντες Καρχηδόνιους ἐνίκων ναυμαχοῦντες. Regarding the location of the Battle of Alalia, Herodotos only called it the Sardinian Sea (τὸ Σαρδόνιον πέλαγος), we do not know where exactly it is, nor if the site was close to Alalia at all. See also Gras 1987, 162-3.

¹³⁹ “τὸν Κύρνον σφι ἢ Πυθίη ἔχρησε κτίσαι ἥρων ἐόντα, ἀλλ’ οὐ τὴν νῆσον” – There are many debates over this oracle, in particular Κύρνον κτίσαι “found Kyrnos” does not seem to make sense on a literal level but dwells on the ambiguity of Kyrnos as the island’s name and purportedly also the founder’s personal name. Delphic oracles are of course habitually obtruse and equivocal, so it isn’t necessarily a reason to reject the veracity of Herodotos’ story. See Malkin 1987, 72-3 for a summary of discussion. I choose to transcribe the Greek as “for the hero Kyrnos” in my text to convey its accepted significance while hinting at its ambiguity.

of the Phokaian refugees to set sail for Alalia after being denied to settle in the orbit of Chios. As we have seen, there were other cities of Phokaian or partially Phokaian foundation that could be reasonable destinations for asylum; Phokaian cities in the Hellespont and on the Black Sea coast could be struck off the list because they too faced the direct threat posed by the Persians (Amisos had already been captured by the Persians in 550 BC, Lampsakos would fall to the Persians together with much of the former realm of Kroesos), but what about other Phokaian cities in the west? Why Corsica specifically?

If we look back at Herodotos' account, following the sentence stating the Phokaians' decision to go to Corsica, the historian added a remark that the Tartessian king Arganthonios had been dead at that time, which seems to suggest an explanation: had the king still been alive, the Phokaians would no doubt have counted on his good-will and sailed to Iberia.¹⁴⁰ But this explanation leaves out a key element of the picture: Massalia. Why did the Phokaian refugees choose a colony only just twenty years in existence over a much older and well-established Phokaian city? I previously mentioned a differing account from Antiochos of Syracuse transmitted to us through Strabo, in which the Phokaians did indeed sail for Corsica *and* Massalia but were driven off (*ἀποκρουσθέντας*).¹⁴¹ According to this account, once Phokaia fell to the Persian general Harpagos, those who could do so fled on ships under the leadership of a man called Kreontiades (*πλεῦσαι πρῶτον εἰς Κύρνον καὶ Μασσαλίαν μετὰ Κρεοντιάδου*), the juxtaposition of *πρῶτον* and *καὶ* seems to imply that these refugees arrived first at Corsica before they journeyed on to Massalia, rather than two separate voyages undertaken by different groups.

On the surface level this account seems to make up for the apparent lack of Massaliote presence in the Herodotean story, but it leaves open the question of what caused the Phokaians to be driven off. In the case of Alalia, *ἀποκρουσθέντας* may be reasonably interpreted as an abridged summary of the consequences of the Battle of Alalia. Further scrutiny inevitably begs the question of Massaliote participation (or non-participation) in the battle, itself a much-debated subject that I will not step into. Gras concluded that although Massalia figured prominently in Greco-Punic wars and conflicts in the Western Mediterranean and had been the protagonist in several major naval

¹⁴⁰ Herodotos 1.163 reported the exceedingly friendly relationship the Phokaians enjoyed with Arganthonios, who sponsored the construction of Phokaia's city wall. There is no evidence to suggest a falling-out between the Phokaians and the Tartessians following the king's death, but apparently Herodotos thought it important enough to mention the unviability of seeking refuge in Tartessos.

¹⁴¹ Antiochos *FGrH* 555 (= *BNJ* 555) fr.8; Strabo 6.1.1.

engagements against the Carthaginians in the Archaic and Classical periods, it did not in fact participate in the Battle of Alalia.¹⁴² That being said, there is little to no evidence suggesting Massalia was engaged in a war of its own (against whom?) at the time. But even if they had been, it is inconceivable that they would have turned away their Phokaian compatriots, who would have been their natural allies and could have provided an especially valuable support thanks to their fleet. If we accept Herodotos' report that they had lost forty out of sixty ships at Alalia, twenty ships would still have been a crucial addition to Massaliote military assets. In short, regardless of whether Massalia had joined in the Battle of Alalia or not, there appears to be absolutely no motivation for them to “beat off” their fellow countrymen.¹⁴³



Figure 5 Velia's hinterland as seen from the Akropolis; from Morel 2006a

Therefore, we are left with two contradicting versions of Velia's foundation story. One approach towards resolving the contradiction centered around a possible transcription error, namely that the phrase “to Corsica and Massalia” (εἰς Κόρνον καὶ Μασσαλίαν) from Strabo was a confounded reproduction of “to Corsica and Alalia” (εἰς Κόρνον καὶ Ἀλαλίαν), both due to their graphic similarity and due to the fact that Massalia would have been much better-known to medieval scribes than Alalia, which essentially ceased to have any importance after the battle.¹⁴⁴ Whether we accept this correction or not, it remains puzzling that the Phokaian emigres did not

¹⁴² See Gras 1987, 171-2. There are quite some variations among ancient accounts of this battle, particularly between that of Herodotos and Thucydides, but also cf. Justin *Epit.* 18.7.1, 43.5.2 and Pausanias 10.8.6-7, 10.18.7; much controversy has been generated around Massaliote votive offerings at Delphi and subsequent source descriptions of these votives, some of which seem to suggest a Massaliote presence at Alalia. The debate is still ongoing and pending conclusive evidence that may only become available with the advancement of Massaliote archaeology, which has always been challenging due to continuous habitation and urban development of the site.

¹⁴³ The words are from the Loeb edition of Strabo translated by Harold Leonard Jones.

¹⁴⁴ This was already noted and proposed by Isaac Casaubon in the 16th century, see Morel 2006a, 1738.

consider Massalia as one of their safe havens.¹⁴⁵ Putting these foundation stories aside for a moment, there is indeed some circumstantial evidence hinting at a newly introduced population of Phokaians in Massalia at this time, in particular the oracular episode of Aristarche, once again reported chiefly by Strabo.¹⁴⁶ He tells of an Ephesian woman named Aristarche who accompanied the exiled Phokaians to Massalia in order to fulfill an oracle that the Phokaians ought to take a guide from Ephesian Artemis with them. The goddess appeared in a dream to Aristarche and instructed her to take a statue from the Temple of Artemis. The Phokaians successfully settled in Massalia and established the Ephesian, where Aristarche became the first priestess, henceforth all Phokaian cities in the west practiced this cult and held Ephesian Artemis in high reverence.

This story is almost certainly a legend invented much later to account for the existence and spread of the cult, possibly also with a trace of Ephesian propaganda, since its chronology does not align with anything we know about the history of Massalia. The verb Strabo used for settlement, λαβούσης, is a bit tricky to interpret, even if we were to take it not as foundation but as a sort of re-settlement (refoundation?) thanks to large influx of emigres, it is still perplexing that Herodotos' account, intent as it was on reporting the detailed route taken by the Phokaian exiles, would leave out such an important part of their voyage. Yet this is merely the tip of the iceberg of inter-Phokaian mysteries between Massalia and Velia.

Irrespective of the intervention of Massalia in the course of events that led to the birth of Velia, there remains a number of oddities concerning the Herodotean description. Recall again the statement that the Phokaians “took possession of that city in the land of the Oenotri which is now called Hyele” (ὀρμώμενοι ἐκτήσαντο πόλιν γῆς τῆς Οἰνωτρίας ταύτην ἣτις νῦν Ὑέλη καλεῖται): this apparently implies the pre-existence of both an indigenous settlement prior to the arrival of the Phokaians and pre-Greek toponyms associated with said settlement. Archaeological finds confirm with much confidence the site's occupation during the Bronze Age, but it remains a

¹⁴⁵ See Gras 1995, 365 which posed the exact same question and a response in Morel 2006a, 1740-3. Morel hypothesized that the Phokaians' lack of interest in Massalia was due to the practical difficulty of reaching there from Alalia, for they would have to pass through territories controlled by either the Etruscans or the Carthaginians. To this response I should like to counter by comparing the Phokaians' supposed caution against sailing into unfriendly waters with their apparent readiness in plundering their neighbours, including the Etruscans and the Carthaginians. It would make some sense to suppose that the Phokaians were afraid of passing through unfriendly waters *after* the Battle of Alalia, but that would not offer a satisfactory explanation to the five years they spent on Corsica without ever setting sail for Massalia in the first place.

¹⁴⁶ Strabo 4.1.4.

question whether that occupation continued into the Iron Age.¹⁴⁷ As to the toponymics, when Strabo made an enumeration of the city's various names, he specifically attributed the name Hyele to its Phokaian founders without referencing any previous names.¹⁴⁸ It is of course probable that its pre-Greek indigenous names had been lost or simply overlooked by classical historians and geographers, but a more probable explanation seems to be that there was no such thing as a pre-Greek Velia and therefore no indigenous toponyms to speak of.

Leaving aside the Oenotri and any possible indigenous involvements in the foundation of Velia, Pseudo-Skymnos provides a curious description of the event that further complicates the matter. He reported in iambics that Velia is both “a city of the Massaliotes and the Phokaians” and “founded by Phokaians fleeing from wars against the Persians” (καὶ Μασσαλιωτῶν Φωκαέων τ’ Ἐλέα πόλις, ἣν ἔκτισαν φυγόντες ὑπὸ τὰ Περσικά οἱ Φωκαεῖς).¹⁴⁹ This double statement brings back the problem of a Massaliote role in the Phokaian odyssey, and not only whether they had participated in the Battle of Alalia or accepted Phokaian refugees into their city, but also whether they had actively joined in the efforts to found Velia by sending colonists. It is by embarking on this inquiry that we shall explore Velia’s Phokaian-Magna-Graecian double identity.

Links between Massalia and the fertile, if fragmented, lands of southern Campania look tenuous, but not hopeless. Charax of Pergamon, as quoted by Stephanos of Byzantium, attests that a city called Troezen (not to be confused with the more famous *polis* in the Peloponnese) was located in “Massalia of Italy” (ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη Τροιζήν ἐν Μασσαλία τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἣν Χάραξ Τροιζηνίδα χώραν φησί).¹⁵⁰ This designation was by no means an isolated misnomer, as evidenced by, for instance, Eustathios of Thessalonike, who in his commentary on Homer’s *Iliad* wrote of this Italian Troezen as being in “Massaliote Italy” (ἔστι δέ, φασί, καὶ ἕτερα ἐν Ἰταλία Μασσαλιωτική).¹⁵¹ But what connects this Troezen to Velia aside from their supposed mutual ties

¹⁴⁷ See Morel 1980. Gras 1993 supports the thesis that Velia (as well as Massalia, for that matter) had been continuously settled since the Bronze Age, to which there have been credible objections, notably by Greco 2005 and Morel 2006b.

¹⁴⁸ Strabo 6.1.1: πόλις ἣν οἱ μὲν κτίσαντες Φωκαεῖς Ἰέλην οἱ δὲ Ἕλην ἀπὸ κρήνης τινὸς οἱ δὲ νῦν Ἐλέαν ὀνομάζουσιν “there is a city which was called Hyele by the Phokaians who founded it, and by others Ele after a certain spring, but is now called Elea.”

¹⁴⁹ Ps.-Skymnos 250-2.

¹⁵⁰ Steph. Byz. s.v. “Τροιζήν.”

¹⁵¹ Eust. *Il.* II v.561. See Brunel 1974, 32-5 for an exhaustive word-by-word analysis of this reference. It is uncertain whether there was genuine difference in meaning between “Massalia in Italy” and “Massaliote Italy,” but regardless of the difference it would not detract from the ostensible connection between Massalia and Magna Graecia we are attempting to establish here.

to Massalia? For one, both sources mentioned Poseidonia as a former name of the city, and we already know from the Herodotean story that it was a Poseidonian man who played the pivotal role in the selection of grounds for future Velia. For another, Velia and Poseidonia were located only about 30 km from each other, which is a short distance and thus offers plenty of possibilities of confusion.

Still, if we set all these accounts aside and compare Velia directly with Massalia, it is not a far leap to see strong similarities. To begin, the topographical surroundings of the two colonies bore visible resemblance: both were located on a promontory bounded by the sea on three sides and outfitted with good, natural harbours. Both boasted a somewhat fertile but fragmented *chora* that limits their agrarian potential and encouraged maritime trade and commerce.¹⁵² It is probably no coincidence that the same characteristics also pertain to their metropolis Phokaia.¹⁵³ There is also a strong similarity in urban planning, as the *akropoleis* of both Massalia and Velia were built on steep hills and thus caused the streets to be equally steep; to avoid landslides, both cities had systems of stabilizing frames made from clay that would support building structures.¹⁵⁴ Also present in both cities were inner walls, or *diateichisma* (διατείχισμα), whose purposes are still unclear. Perhaps they were constructed with the intention to divide the city into districts, as is supposed for Emporion,¹⁵⁵ or they may have been used to steady the ground and stave off natural disasters. At the very minimum, what we may cautiously deduce is that the Phokaians seemed to have had a specific blueprint in mind for choosing and planning their cities; thus the resemblance in physical environs could be explained by this shared Phokaian blueprint just as persuasively as actual participation from Massaliotes.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² The topography of both cities can be easily viewed from Google Maps, although changes in coastlines caused by sedimentation have reduced the distinguishability of some of the features mentioned above. The Velian *chora* is especially notable as an outlier among Magna Graecian *poleis*, which predominantly boasted large, well-developed hinterlands.

¹⁵³ Justin *Epit.* 43.3: *Namque Phocaeenses exiguitate ac macie terrae coacti studiosius mare quam terras exercuere: piscando mercandoque, plerumque etiam latrocinio maria, quod illis temporibus gloriae habebatur, uitam tolerabant.* Cf. Strabo 4.1.4-5 for physical descriptions of Massalia and 6.1.1 for those of Velia.

¹⁵⁴ See Krinzinger 2005, 172-86.

¹⁵⁵ Morel 2006b, 406.

¹⁵⁶ Bats 1987 offers a different analysis, claiming that agricultural underdevelopment in Phokaian *poleis* was not the reason but the result of Phokaians' fondness for maritime activities, which kept them from investing as much in agriculture as other Greeks would have done. In any case, the exact order of reasoning is not important to the point I am trying to make, namely Phokaian cities share a lot of similarities that would appear to be always present with or without the direct participation of one specific Phokaian city.

If these inter-Phokaian comparisons reveal Velia as an authentic Phokaian city in various regards, then we must remember that Velia was also a Magna Graecian city from the very beginning. What, then, can be said about its Magna-Graecian identity? We are certainly aware of the friendly relationships Velia enjoyed with its Hellenic neighbours, most notably Poseidonia, Kyme/Cumae, and Neapolis/Naples – all of which were of Chalkidian origin. But the role of the other great Chalkidian colony in the region, Rhegion, must not be underestimated. In the Herodotean story, Rhegion seemed to have offered the Phokaian refugees a cordial welcome, or at the very least they did not object to their settlement. In reality, the Velians appeared to have maintained a close relationship with Rhegion, perhaps even to the point of an official alliance, of which a coin minted in Velia with the letters YE (for Ὑέλη?) and P (for Πήγιον?) may very well be a piece of proof.¹⁵⁷

There are also suggestions that some of the Phokaians who arrived in Rhegion departed for other Chalkidian cities in Sicily rather than going north to found Velia. Thucydides made mention of a place called Phokaiiai (Φόκαιαι), supposedly a quarter of the town of Leontinoi, which itself was founded by the Chalkidian colony of Naxos nearby.¹⁵⁸ The exact location of this Phokaiiai is unknown but around its approximate spot terracotta fragments were unearthed that have been identified as Phokaian and dated to about 470 BC.¹⁵⁹ Evidence is marginal in this case, but it has been pointed out that if some Phokaians did settle in Chalkidian territories in Sicily or alternatively pass through these territories, then the route taken would resemble that of Xenophanes of Kolophon's journey to Magna Graecia, suggesting that there could at least be some historical bases for this theory.¹⁶⁰ In short, owing to its geographical proximity to older and more illustrious neighbours, Velia maintained, on top of its unmistakable Phokaian identity, friendly relationships with the rest of Magna Graecia both by choice and by necessity, showing particular favour towards Chalkidian cities. In later centuries, Velia would gradually come to lose some of its distinctively Phokaian features, most notably regarding its coin issues. But this development in no way deprived

¹⁵⁷ See Vallet 1958, 198.

¹⁵⁸ Thucydides 5.4.4.

¹⁵⁹ Kenfield 1993, 261-9.

¹⁶⁰ See Gras 1991, 272-5 for the analogy to Xenophanes' voyage. There is at least one source (DK 28A1) which credits Xenophanes with composing a poem on the founding of Velia.

the city of its Phokaian identity, rather, the dual Phokaian-Magna-Graecian identity was meticulously preserved in many aspects until the advent of Roman domination.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ By the end of the 5th century BC, Velian coins had become much more assimilated in style with those of Magna Graecia. See Cantilena 2006 for more details on this process.

V. Conclusion

The examples of Massalia and Velia (and, to a lesser degree, also Emporion) should soundly demonstrate the unique characteristics of Archaic Phokaian colonization in the western Mediterranean. They should likewise reveal the many qualities this process had in common with colonial undertakings of other Greek *metropoleis*, not to mention colonial activities in the modern era.

The conceptual problem of applying colonial terminologies with their unavoidably modern connotations to an ancient phenomenon has been addressed but not resolved in this thesis, and perhaps will remain controversial for the foreseeable future as new methodological, ideological, and epistemological questions and concerns continue to be raised.¹⁶² Nevertheless, in addressing this problem I have at the very least discovered an answer to the question that had piqued my curiosity in this subject in the first place: was the creation of Phokaian colonies in the far western Mediterranean really a token of exceptionality? And the answer is both yes and no. From the Odyssean quest for refuge to Iliadic stories enshrined in founding legends, we see familiar elements wrapped in outlandish decorations. The Phokaians pioneered and optimized the practice of establishing commerce-focused settlements (*emporion* in the dichotomous scheme) to accommodate their particular circumstance and needs, yet we must not forget that Archaic Greek colonization began when settlers from Euboia, driven by similar trade interests and compelled to sail far into the unknown, first founded the city of Pithekoussai and laid the groundwork for Magna Graecia.¹⁶³ The Phokaians turned their scarcity and shortcoming into competitive strengths and flourished as a result, but the same can also be said of Miletos, whose great success in colonization was hardly predicated on superior natural conditions.

Subsequently, Phokaian colonies' ability to maintain for centuries a distinctively Phokaian identity is no doubt an extraordinary achievement, but it is one among many. The Phokaian project was not necessarily more extraordinary than the prophetic foundation of Kyrene and the Libyan Pentapolis, or the emergence of a Magna Graecian identity amidst fusing identities amongst Greek

¹⁶² As it has been the case for the better part of a century. See Finley 1976; Papadopoulos 1997; Osborne 1998; Horden and Purcell 2000; and Malkin 2005, all of whom offered valuable critiques of the old formula of colonization and drive the scholarly debate into new territories. But see also Tsetschladze 2006 and 2008, whose contributors sought to reinvent the traditionalist interpretive framework and re-inject values, both empirical and theoretical, to a reinstated "colonization." This was picked up by Donnellan 2016 and now myself.

¹⁶³ We know this from archaeology rather than from textual sources. See Buchner 2004, 1-7.

apoikiai. My previous flirtation with the idea of Phokaian exceptionalism thus betrays a thought process still much influenced by existing stereotypes, namely associating the lesser-known with the exotic, the mysterious, and the exceptional. It is therefore a most welcome result of this study that I have come to appreciate the Phokaians no longer as phantomic voyagers sailing on uncharted waters, but as ordinary people endorsed with extraordinary circumstances of their own. It is this blend of the ordinary and the extraordinary that ultimately defines not only Phokaian colonization, but any historical phenomenon.

The Phokaians' special conditions produced some unique results, most notably in their interactions and exchanges with the indigenous peoples they encountered, which I have described at some length in this thesis. Their lack of agricultural production necessitated commercial exchanges with the local population for the sake of sufficiency, whereas their mercantile prowess further facilitated the process of exchange not only between them and the natives, but also among peoples throughout the Mediterranean world. Although the idea of a Phokaian commercial network was invoked and briefly discussed in this thesis, a more methodical treatment is needed to appropriately appreciate its significance and evaluate its validity.

On the other hand, the Phokaians' extraordinary feat ceases to be so extraordinary once it is revealed that Mediterranean Gaul had long been a gateway of cultural and commercial exchanges before the Phokaians showed up. The Phokaians' exploits and achievements were likewise realized through the combined contributions of they themselves, other Greek colonies, non-Greek powers, as well as indigenous peoples, whose critical roles in the project have so long been overlooked that accurately assessing their participation still demands much more effort and perseverance.

Chronologically, the emphasis on the Archaic and early Classical periods may prove to be a potential obstacle to a more comprehensive, diachronic study of western Phokaian colonies in later periods. This thesis has shown the continuity of Phokaian customs and practices on a spatial scale; however, work remains to be done to demonstrate comparative continuities on a temporal scale.

In summary, the Phokaians constitute an interesting, often under-appreciated character in the larger story of Greek colonization. The tendency to either overstate their deeds and accomplishments or to dismiss their distinct identity should be met with equal scrutiny. Nevertheless, despite all that has been revealed about the Phokaians, plenty of problems remain unaddressed or unresolved. It is therefore my hope and objective that this thesis will be but the

humble cornerstone of a long-term research project that will eventually fill the major gaps present in Phokaian scholarship.

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Pseudo-Skymnos, *Circuit of the Earth*

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Stephanos of Byzantium, *Ethnika*

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Tabula Peutingeriana

Online Resources

Brill's New Jacoby

Brill's New Pauly

OmnesViae. <https://omnesviae.org/>

Peripleo. <http://peripleo.pelagios.org/>

Pleiades. <https://pleiades.stoa.org/>

ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. <https://orbis.stanford.edu/>

Tabula Peutingeriana. <https://www.tabula-peutingeriana.de/index.html>

ToposText. <https://topostext.org/index.php>