Introduction

Merrily shine the days suddenly,
Pictures of earlier days,
The languorous centuries passed,
The darkness of chilly nights is away.
Hail, the Bard's birthplace; hail, the glorious land of virtuous Ionia.
The great struggle of our ancestors grants you enviable honours again.
The young, for centuries now,
Had withered away in torpor,
But have risen willingly again, asking for glory and vigour,
Coveting the gifts of health
In harmonious exercise.
Upstanding and warm they breathe again
Competing in divine ebullience,
Unanimously they immediately create
A strong Panionian bond.

Beginning of the anthem of the Panionian Sport Club of Smyrna, by Stelios Sperantsas 1900

Ionia, a great princess' perfect diadem thrown into a drawer of old newspapers filled with such vituperations no one understands any more.

G. Seferis, Tuesday 24 October 1950, S.S. Iskenderun, under way [from Smyrna to Istanbul], Seferis 1974, 189.

In February 1922, the situation for the Greeks of Asia Minor began to look more and more desperate: Turkish forces were tightening the noose around Smyrna; British diplomats advised the Greeks to prepare for evacuation. The Greek National Defence (*Amyna*) at Constantinople was not willing, however, to accept the political and military situation, and sent a memorandum to Anastasios Papoulas in Smyrna, the commander-in-chief of the Greek army of Asia Minor. This note contained a six-point programme for the establishment of an autonomous state around Smyrna, with Papoulas as its

head of government. As a name for this new political entity *Amyna* proposed 'Ionia'.[1] When confronted with this plan while on holiday in Mexico, Eleftherios Venizelos, the former Prime Minister of Greece and leader of the Greek national liberation movement, recommended that *Amyna* should refrain from emphasising the Greekness of their Asia Minor project and instead make it more inclusive for Armenians and other non-Turkish nationals as well, if they wanted their undertaking to succeed.[2] At this point, Greek investment in redeeming the west coast of Asia Minor and incorporating it into a Greek state comprised of all areas around the Aegean inhabited by Greeks (the so-called 'Great Idea', *Megali Idea*) had been a contentious issue among Greek and foreign politicians for decades. Venizelos as one of its staunchest proponents had especially propagated this policy during his years as Prime Minister of Greece until 1920, often regardless of feasibility and considerations of realpolitik.[3] But ultimately, just as in antiquity, there was not meant to be an Ionian state in the 20th c. AD. Smyrna was taken (or 'liberated' according to the Turkish point of view) by the Kemalist army on 9 September 1922, and the more or less continuous Greek inhabitation of the west coast of Asia Minor was brought to an end after almost 3,000 years.

However, the memory of Ionia still lives on today, for example in the name of the communal district *Nea Iōnia* in the north of modern Athens, which had its origins in a refugee camp for those who were expelled from all over Asia Minor in the so-called population exchange of 1922. Another striking example is the sport club *Paniōnios Gymnastikos Syllogos Smyrnēs* ('Panionian Sport Club of Smyrna') which was founded in Smyrna in 1898, had its own anthem in Ancient Greek, and even held Panionian games at which teams from Asia Minor, the Aegean islands, and mainland Greece participated.[4] After 1922, the club was continued in Athens where it is still active today, its headquarters being located in the neighbourhood of *Nea Smyrnē*.[5] And another document from the context of the 'population exchange' shows that the labels of the ethno-cultural subdivisions of the ancient Greeks survived as constituents of distinct identities into the 20th c. AD: In an account of the *Refugee Settlement Commission* established by the League of Nations and the Greek state in 1923 in order to administer the settlement of the Asia Minor and Thracian refugees in Greece, all the

[1] Smith 1998², 252–253.
[2] An English translation of substantial parts of this letter can be found in Smith 1998², 258–260.
[3] E.g. 1919 at the Paris Peace Conference, Smith 1998², 62–85.
[4] Εγκυκλοπαίδεια Μείζονος Ελληνισμού Μικρά Ασία, s.v. *Club "Panionios Sporting Assosiation", Smyrna*, www.ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=10235.
[5] www.panionios.gr.

refugees are described as 'brothers by race' with 'a complete identity of feeling, aspirations, and national and religious tradition'. The authors of the document ascribe different character traits to Anatolian Greeks ('backward, submissive, and timid'), Cappadocians ('a serious and reflective type, hard working and energetic, enterprising and practical'), Pontic Greeks ('rough, heavy and dullwitted', but also 'the subtlest of Greeks'), and the Smyrnaeans ('true Ionians in their individualism').[6] And still in 1950, the great poet Giorgos Seferis attests to Ionia's continued existence and traction in the modern geopolitical world as a *lieu de mémoire* epitomising a specific form of Greek culture and identity, and functioning as a label demarcating the Greeks of Asia Minor from their non-Greek neighbours and from other Greeks.[7]

This monograph is dedicated to the socio-cultural history of the region of Ionia on the west coast of Asia Minor in the Roman period as well as to the mentalities of its inhabitants.[8] My main focus lies on the contexts in which individuals and cities made reference to a distinct Ionian group awareness, however explicit a form this might have taken. I also examine the ways in which such claims were formulated as well as the strategies underlying such constructions of collective and individual identities, and the functions fulfilled by them.

Starting Points

Anglophone historians in particular have paid almost exclusive attention to Ionian history in the Archaic period. More recent examples include Greaves 2010, where it is simply assumed that the history of Miletos after the Archaic period is not worth discussing, despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of evidence come from later periods. A similar sentiment prevails in Gorman 2001, and Mac Sweeney 2013 primarily uses material from the Hellenistic and Roman periods to reconstruct events from the Archaic period. The reasons for this focus are varied: it is due, in part, to a traditional interest in origins (ethnogenesis, the Ionian Migration), particularly in the 19th and early 20th c. AD, as well as to the

[6] All quotes from Layoun 2001, 35–36. On the identity-constructions of the Asia Minor refugees in mainland Greece, see e.g. Hirschon 1989, Halstead 2018, and Gedgaudaite 2021.

[7] Pierre Nora's concept of *lieux de mémoire* is applied to Graeco-Roman antiquity in Stein-Hölkeskamp and Hölkeskamp (eds.) 2006, and Stein-Hölkeskamp (ed.) 2010.

[8] For the Ionians, the Attalid testament in 133 BC and the subsequent creation of the province of Asia surely marked the beginning of their 'Roman period', which is why I use the term to designate both the late Hellenistic period after 133 BC and the Roman Imperial period.

enduring significance of the prominent natural philosophers of the so-called Ionian Enlightenment (Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes of Miletos, Heraclitus of Ephesos, Anaxagoras of Klazomenai, Xenophanes of Kolophon), as well as the lyric poets (Anacreon of Teos, Mimnermos of Kolophon/Smyrna, Kallinos of Ephesos), in addition to the fact that Homer himself was said to be born in Ionia (Chios, Smyrna, and Kolophon among others raised strong claims to be his native city). The Ionian Revolt at the beginning of the 5th c. BC has been another focus of scholarly attention, and in Herodotus' *Histories* we have a detailed narrative history of Archaic and early Classical Ionia at our disposal, which even includes discussions of ethno-cultural aspects of the Ionians as a distinct group.[9] A narrative source of comparable scope is lacking for all other periods.

From the Hellenistic period onwards, with the intensification of the epigraphic habit among the Greeks in western Asia Minor, the voice of the Ionians themselves gains clarity and strength through the direct testimonies of their extant (stone) inscriptions. The coins issued by the Ionian cities also begin to assume a greater expressiveness, incorporating inscriptions (ethnics and magistrates' names) and more complex and varied iconographies. This development culminates in the Roman Imperial period, when civic provincial coins increase in size and complexity, and cities such as Ephesos and Smyrna abound in publicly displayed inscriptions. The character of the sources alone, quite apart from the intrinsic interest of the topic, in itself warrants a separate examination of the Ionians in the Roman period.

In 1984, Simon Price lamented: 'The Greeks under Roman rule suffer from a double prejudice. On the one hand, Hellenists lose interest in the Greeks after the Classical period; on the other, Roman historians find it hard to avoid a Romanocentric perspective'.[10] Fortunately, this is no longer true, and the Greek provincials in the Roman Empire have been studied extensively in recent scholarship. Classicists from all sub-disciplines steadily highlight the institutional and cultural continuities from the Hellenistic to the Roman periods – without ignoring the changes brought about by Roman rule, of course.[11] It has now almost become a truism that Greek culture in Roman times needs to be studied in its own right. This manifests itself not only in an ever-increasing number of scholarly publications, but

[9] On Herodotus and ethnicity, see e.g. Thomas 2001, Vignolo Munson 2014, and Gruen 2020, 42–55.
[10] Price 1984a, 79.
[11] E.g. Chaniotis 2018, 1–9 promotes the notion of a 'long Hellenistic age' extending down to the reign of Hadrian, and provides an up-to-date bibliographical overview of the field.

also in international research projects.[12] And this is the field in which my research is situated and to which this monograph aims to contribute.

Sources

The most abundant sources for examining expressions of an Ionian group awareness are the public and private stone inscriptions from the cities of Ionia (see Map 1). The epigraphic material of almost every Ionian city is readily accessible in individual corpora, some of which being of very recent date.[13] In addition, the rich production of provincial coinage is an indispensable pool of information. The ongoing publication of the volumes of *Roman Provincial Coinage*, and in particular the associated online database and its sophisticated search tools, allow for quick comparative analyses of the numismatic material.[14] Wherever possible I aim to contextualise the individual coins and inscriptions by comparing them not only with contemporary material from the respective city, but also with material from other periods, as well as from other cities and regions. In the case of the literary sources, with which I complement the epigraphic and numismatic testimonies, I aim at using only contemporary works and at examining what they reveal about notions current in the period in which they were written. Strabo's and Pausanias' works especially are all too often used merely as quarries of information on the events, ideas, or institutions of the Archaic or Classical periods.[15] By taking the narrative framework and the historical context of the respective author into account, I hope to achieve a 'thick description' of Ionian identity, that is to say not just an observation and classification, but also an explication of the system of meaning in which these expressions were embedded.[16]

[12] E.g. the productive monograph series in which this book is published, or the collective volumes Goldhill (ed.) 2001 and Di Napoli et al. (eds.) 2018; projects: e.g. 'La politique des honneurs dans les cités grecques à l'époque impériale' directed by Anna Heller and Onno van Nijf.

[13] *I.Didyma* (1958); *I.Milet* (1908, 1914, 1997, 1998, 2006); Milesian islands: *IG* XII 4,4 (2018); *I.Priene*^{2} (2014); Samos: *IG* XII 6,1 + 2 (2000–2003); *I.Ephesos* (1979–1984); *I.Erythrai* (with Klazomenai, 1972–1973); *I.Smyrna* (1982–1990); Kolophon/Klaros: Ferrary 2014 provides all the delegation texts; Myous: *I.Nordkarien* 166–170 (2018); Chios: *IG* XII 6,3 (in preparation); *PHI Teos* (a corpus is planned by Mustafa Adak); *PHI Phokaia* and *PHI Lebedos* (25 and 14 inscriptions only).

[14] *RPC* I (44 BC–AD 69, print and online), II (AD 69–96, print and online), III (AD 98–138, print and online), IV.1–4 (AD 138–192, with temporary numbers, online only), V.1–3 (AD 193–218, in preparation), VI (AD 218–238, Asia Minor and Egypt, with temporary numbers, online only), VII.1 (AD 238–244, province of Asia, print and online), VII.2 (AD 238–244, all provinces except Asia, no numbers assigned, online only), VIII (AD 244–249, no numbers assigned, online only), IX (AD 249–254, print and online), X (AD 253–297, in preparation).

[15] E.g. by Herda 1998, 2006a, and 2006b, or by Mac Sweeney 2013 and 2017.

[16] Geertz 1973, 3–30; Goldhill 2010, 67 describes Pausanias' work as 'a narrative which guides, which directs the viewer – towards a cultural identity'.

Identities

The incorporation of the Greek world into the Roman Empire has raised questions of identity more acutely than ever before. Building on a long-standing tradition of sociological and psychological research, the concept of 'identity' has been employed as a central approach in ancient history as well, in particular in the last two decades. Ancient historians have fruitfully centred their work on issues of individual and especially collective identities.[17] The majority of scholars have thereby accepted the anti-essentialist view that identity is multilayered, context-dependent, fluid, and constructed.[18] It is seen as a conglomerate of various layers of different points of reference (family, city, region, province, *ethnos*, Greekness, cultic association, profession, gender, age . . .) which were salient or made explicit to differing degrees according to context. Investigations of Greek identity-constructions in Roman Asia Minor have largely focused on generic 'Greek' or 'civic' perspectives.[19] Recent scholarship, however, has pointed out that the traditional cultural regions of Asia Minor (Ionia, Caria, Lydia, Aiolis, Phrygia, and so on) continued to be seen as meaningful frames of reference in the Roman period (see also Chapter 1.2). In the case of the Ionians, the remarkable survival of the Ionian Koinon, attested until the mid 3rd c. AD (Chapters 2.1–2.2), as well as the explicit identification of individuals and groups as 'Ionian' – attested both in an emic and an etic perspective in inscriptions, literature, and on coins – further encourage an investigation of expressions and perceptions of a distinct Ionian identity in the Roman period, which is the focus of this book.

The socio-political and economic framework of the Roman Empire has been studied as a form of 'proto-globalisation', and the insights of modern globalisation studies have been applied to frame the situation of the provincials.[20] The term itself being entirely inappropriate and the concept not being readily transferrable to antiquity – 'connectivity' has been

[17] Among the plethora of studies on identity, ethnicity, and forms of affiliation I point out the most recent: Demetriou 2012; Häussler 2013; Newby 2016; Revell 2016; Johnston 2017; Papakonstantinou 2019; or the collective volumes Howgego, Heuchert, and Burnett (eds.) 2005; Coşkun, Heinen, and Pfeiffer (eds.) 2009; Schmitz and Wiater (eds.) 2011; Vanacker and Zuiderhoek (eds.) 2017; Pohl et al. (eds.) 2018; Cortese (ed.) 2020; Locatelli, Piguet, and Podesta (eds.) 2021.

[18] Preston 2001, 87: 'Identity is now seen not as an eternal given, but as something actively constructed and contested in a particular historical context, based on subjective, not objective criteria'; or Dandrow 2017 on the fluidity of ethnic identities in Strabo's *Geographika*. An early champion of an anti-essentialist view on Ionian and Dorian ethnicities is Will 1956, whose work unfortunately remained unappreciated until recently.

[19] E.g. Bowie 1974; Rogers 1991; Woolf 1994; Swain 1996; Konstan and Saïd (eds.) 2006.

[20] E.g. by Witcher 2000; Hingley 2005; Hitchner 2008; Schuol 2014; Pitts and Versluys (eds.) 2015; Plattner 2017.

established as a more suitable alternative –, I refrain from using it as a hermeneutic tool.[21] I would however like to point out one aspect often mentioned in relation to modern globalisation which can indeed provide a neat comparative case for the situation in the Roman Empire. Building on the well-established Foucauldian conception of (collective) identity presupposing an out-group/the Other against which one can define oneself,[22] this perspective embraces the notion that, in the specific context of the Roman Empire with its high degree of connectivity, provincials were facing a larger and more diverse out-group than ever before and began to cultivate or re-appreciate distinctive local and especially regional forms of identity-constructions in order to distinguish themselves.[23] This phenomenon is well attested in our own day, albeit manifesting itself in different forms shaped by the modern nation-states and supra-national bodies like the EU.[24] Many people today perceive the consequences of the increased connectivity as a challenge to their identities, which has, on the one hand, led to a reappraisal of regional traditions and customs ('Europe of the regions', glocalisation, the Slow Food movement . . .).[25] Having grown up in rural Upper Bavaria, I have noticed a complete shift in the valuation of 'Bavarianness' for example. In my childhood and adolescent years, Bavarian dialect, food, costumes, games, music, and social institutions were perceived by the majority of people living in Bavaria but not partaking in this culture as something parochial and rather embarrassing. The last decades, however, have seen a complete reversal, and things Bavarian are now widely welcomed and even emulated as an expression of authenticity

[21] As rightly criticised by Naerebout 2008.

[22] Most influential in Classical studies: Hartog 1980; Hall 1989; Cartledge 1993; Hall 1997, 47; Gruen 2011.

[23] Ando 2010, 18: 'it very much appears as though the imposition of an imperial legal and administrative superstructure promoted and perhaps harnessed the celebration of the local'; 43: 'the historical and cultural self-understanding fundamental to local patriotism in the Roman empire . . . deserves further research'; Woolf 2010, 200: 'Perhaps the most vivid impression made by this collection [the collective volume Whitmarsh (ed.) 2010] as a whole is how integral these local understandings were to the global nature of that empire, and how deeply interconnected macro- and microidentities were'; see also Hitchner 2008, 7–8; Whitmarsh (ed.) 2010; Hodos 2010; Häussler 2013, 215–304; Johnston 2017, 125–189.

[24] Massey 1994, 156: 'the globalization of social relations is yet another source of (the reproduction of) geographical uneven development, and thus of the uniqueness of place . . . What we need, it seems to me, is a global sense of the local, a global sense of place'; Warf and Arias 2009, 5: 'Far from annihilating the importance of space, globalization has increased it . . . Glocalization, therefore, is a two-way-street'; Jullien 2016, 54–55; for the ancient world, see Beck 2020.

[25] Naerebout 2014, 277–279 stresses that provincials would experience this connectivity not so much as homogenisation, but as a potentially threatening diversification of their own local contexts. The concept of 'glocalisation' has been applied to the study of ancient Greek culture e.g. by Vlassopoulos 2013.

and autochthony.[26] This is the case, for instance, with the use of dialect words by speakers of High German, bars and restaurants taking over aspects of traditional taverns as quintessential expressions of conviviality (*Gemütlichkeit*), people who bought Bavarian costumes for their annual visit to the Munich Oktoberfest also wearing them in other contexts, an ever-increasing number of books and journals dedicated to Bavarica, and so on. On the other hand, the perceived threats of globalisation have also triggered a surge of xenophobia directed against immigrants, along with political movements defending the alleged purity of a völkisch identity (*Bloc identitaire* in France, *Identitäre Bewegung* in Austria and Germany).[27] Such negative reactions are not attested in the ancient sources, which again underlines the inadequacy of applying 'globalisation' to antiquity.

What distinguished the Greeks – and, in the province of Asia, the Ionians in particular – from other provincials of the Roman Empire was that their (or their ancestors') education, language, philosophy, and literature were also appreciated as a cultural ideal in many parts of the Empire, which is likely to have had a positive influence on Greek identity-constructions.[28] The case of the Ionians is a special one among the Greeks of the province of Asia, inasmuch as they could look back on a reputable history of great antiquity, whereby Ionia both produced many famous philosophers and poets, and featured in important events of world history. Ionians are mentioned in a great number of literary works and continued to be recognised as a distinct group in the Roman period. According to a widely accepted tradition, they were also one of the 'primordial' Greek tribes and could thus be seen as representatives of one of the oldest and 'purest' form of Greekness. In which contexts and forms the Ionians harnessed their special heritage for identity-constructions in the face of the expanded framework of the Roman Empire will be the central question of this book.

Ethnic versus Cultural Identity

Ethnicity has been one of the focal points in the study of Greek identity in scholarship of recent decades, particularly after the seminal

[26] The 21st century's obsession with authenticity is illuminated by Schilling 2020.
[27] Sanahuja 2017.
[28] Beard, North, and Price 1998 I, 313: 'No one can be culturally unaffected by imperialism'. More or less subconscious processes of provincials trying to comply with Roman notions and stereotypes being held to have underlaid identity-constructions: Spawforth 2001 (Lydians); Saïd 2001 (Greeks); Nijf 2005 (Greek athletes); Ando 2010 (Imperial identities); Johnston 2017, 125–189 (Gauls and Spaniards); see also Huet and Valette-Cagnac 2005.

publication of Jonathan Hall's *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* in 1997.[29] Most scholars have embraced the notion that ethnicity should not be seen as an intrinsic, unchangeable, and essentialist form of identity (*The Ionians behave in a certain way/do certain things because they are Ionians*), depending ultimately on biological-'racial' premises, which were not only discredited by the atrocities committed in their names during the Third Reich and other totalitarian regimes but also never corresponded to any social realities on the ground.[30] It is rather the constructivist approach to ethnic identity as performative and contextual which is now widely accepted by the majority of scholars (*The Ionians are perceived/perceive themselves as Ionians because they behave in a certain way/do certain things*).[31] As the study of ethnicity has reached somewhat of an impasse of late,[32] I have decided instead to frame my study of the Ionians in the Roman period around the concept of 'cultural identity', which has been fruitfully applied by ancient historians to a variety of peoples and time periods.[33] The notion that it is more appropriate to define Greekness in cultural rather than biological-'racial' terms in fact goes back to antiquity, and is well attested in the Greek world. It is implied by Herodotus, made first explicit by Isocrates, and experienced a revival among Second Sophistic

[29] E.g. Mitchell 2000; Malkin (ed.) 2001; Hall 2002; Ruby 2006; Luce (ed.) 2007; Luraghi 2008; Funke and Luraghi (eds.) 2009; Derks and Roymans (eds.) 2009; McInerney (ed.) 2014; Gruen 2020.

[30] Luraghi 2014, Malkin 2014, Müller 2014, and Gruen 2020, 1–10 all provide a good overview of the history of the terminology and the most influential scholarly publications.

[31] Rather polemically, Connor 1993, 198: 'shared cultural patterns . . . are a social construct. Being Ionian (or Dorian, or Aeolian), in other words, was a decision, conscious or unconscious, not an automatic inheritance from one's ancestors'; Johnston 2017, 231–276 applies the concept of performativity to identity-constructions in the Roman West.

[32] Luraghi 2014, 218: 'even the most sophisticated approach to ethnic identity runs the risk of reifying a cultural phenomenon, thereby affirming the perspective of some historical agents as if it were an objective fact'; 224: 'The inherently dynamic nature of ethnicity makes it difficult to isolate for analysis, and yet, if recent scholarship has taught us anything, it is that, rather than reduce the continuum of human experience to a series of discrete synchronic structural models, it is necessary to start from social and cultural history and to delay the comparative moment to a later stage of the interpretive process'; Malkin 2014, 291: 'We do not need to present yet again the biological, racial (or "cultural", depending on who happens to be using the term "culture" and for what purpose), constructed, or instrumentalist positions, unless we can articulate them better'; Müller 2014, 30: 'même si cela se doit se faire au prix d'une forme de relégation (définitive ?) de la notion d'ethnicité, dont on a sans doute usé et abusé', the subtitle of her paper is: 'La fin de l'ethnicité?'; Gruen 2020, 1: 'Yet ethnicity remains a frustratingly elusive concept, much discussed and still much disputed. . . . No consensus on a definition of the term has emerged, nor is one likely to emerge'.

[33] E.g. Gruen 1993 and (ed.) 2011; Woolf 1994; Laurence and Berry (eds.) 1998; Goldhill (ed.) 2001; Berns et al. (eds.) 2002; Hodos 2010; Hoff 2017; see also Swain 1996, 89: 'For since Greek identity [in the Roman period] could not be grounded in the real political world, it had to assert itself in the cultural domain and do so as loudly as possible'.

circles in the 2nd c. AD.[34] I define 'cultural identity' in a broad sense as encompassing a variety of markers of identity such as language, religion, myths, onomastics, dating systems, and a common association (*koinon*), thus eschewing the more ambiguous connotations of 'ethnicity'.[35] Nonetheless, I understand 'ethnicity' in a narrow sense as referring first and foremost to claimed blood relationship and common descent, and as such I include it as one aspect of cultural identity, taking effect mainly on a discursive level, and most prominently in the form of foundation myths.[36] For two other important markers of cultural identity, namely food and clothing style, there is unfortunately not enough extant source material at our disposal for the Roman period, so I have had to leave them out of the discussion.[37] Determining the source value of material culture for the study of ethno-cultural identity is a thorny issue, and as an investigation of the archaeological material lies outside my area of competence and would have gone beyond the scope of this monograph, it could also not be included here.[38] I use the shorthand term 'Ionianness' to designate expressions and perceptions of a distinct Ionian cultural identity.

My approach to the source material is primarily a discourse-analytical one, as the most appropriate way to do justice to the constructed, multifaceted, and context-dependent nature of expressions of cultural identity. Critics of the constructivist approach have claimed that it ultimately leads to a nihilist and unproductive relativism.[39] Working on the assumption that cultural identity is constructed rather than a given essential does,

[34] Hdt. 1.147; 8.144.2 (retaining common descent as one factor among others); Isokr. *or*. IV 50; Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1.89.4; see Saïd 2001; Konstan 2001; Hall 2002, 172–228.

[35] A similar distinction is made by Whitmarsh 2001, 305: "cultural identity' is not to be confused with 'ethnicity".

[36] Hall 2002, 17: 'If cultural identity can be defined as the conscious reification of ideas, beliefs, values, attitudes and practices, selectively extracted from the totality of social existence and endowed with a particular symbolic signification for the purposes of creating exclusionary distinctiveness, then ethnicity is a *specific type* of cultural identity'. On the lack of a standardised definition of 'ethnicity', Müller 2014, 15–17. On ethnic identity as a discursive strategy, see Jones 1998.

[37] The only reference to a specific Ionian food I could find is Athen. 3.111d: κνηστὸς· ἄρτος ποιὸς παρὰ Ἴωσι, Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὁ Ἐφέσιός φησιν ἐν Ἰωνικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασι ('*knēstos*: a type of bread among the Ionians, says Artemidoros of Ephesos in his *Iōnika Hypomnēmata*', my translation); on dress and identity, see e.g. Kuper 1973; Geddes 1987; Miller 2013; Lee 2018.

[38] On material culture and identity, see e.g. Woolf 1994; Berns et al. (eds.) 2002; Mac Sweeney 2009; Eckardt 2014; Knapp 2014; Müller and Veïsse (eds.) 2014; Quatember 2018; Luraghi 2014, 216–217 stresses that while the archaeological evidence is surely an important source for the study of ethnicity, it only assumes real source value when combined with written testimonies; similarly Hall 2002, 24: 'Ethnicity may be communicated archaeologically, but there can be no archaeology of ethnicity among societies who have left us no record'.

[39] E.g. Malkin 2014, 291; Tibi 2002 regarding a modern European identity.