

Introduction: Approaching the Topic of Carian–Cretan Interaction

The region of Caria in southwestern Anatolia was located on the interface between the Aegean and the Anatolian interior; its history was entwined with that of the islands and the Greek-speaking settlements of the Anatolian seaboard. This book will explore how the interrelationships between Caria and the Aegean are reflected in the local mythologies and historical traditions of the region. In particular, it will focus on a prominent and persistent element of regional mythology that linked Caria to the island of Crete. Several variants were transmitted in antiquity but, in its broadest outline, tradition held that the Carians had at one time inhabited the islands of the Aegean, where they were brought under the dominion of the Cretan king Minos during his reign as ‘master of the sea’; subsequently they were forced to migrate to the Anatolian mainland. Associated strands relating a Cretan link were preserved in a number of civic mythologies in southwestern Anatolia. The ways in which communities engaged with the past played an important role in how they conceived their identity and positioned themselves in relation to the wider world. The endurance of the Cretan link in Caria, and how it was mobilised in particular contexts, can reveal much about how the communities of the region oriented themselves towards the Aegean in the ancient world.

The Anatolian origins of the Carians should not be elided in attempts to trace the history of the region, though the task of defining Caria culturally, ethnically or even geographically is itself not straightforward. The Carian language has now been identified as an Indo-European language of the ‘Luwic’ subgroup, marking the affiliation of the Carians to other linguistic groups of western Anatolia, including the Lycians.¹ However, the point at which a sense of Carian regional identity emerged remains unclear. Certainly, a Carian contingent is identified in the *Iliad* fighting on the side of the Trojans, with their homeland in the region around Miletos; but this appears to be more geographically restricted than the region later defined as Caria.²

¹ Adiego 2007: 4 with n. 3, 345–347. Cf. Melchert 2003d: 175–177.

² Hom. *Il.* 2. 867–871.

The earliest attestations of the Carian language date to the late seventh/sixth centuries BC, and derive predominantly from private contexts. As can be observed in Figure 1, the script shares a number of letter shapes with the Greek alphabet, though in many cases the sound values do not correspond to those of their Greek counterparts.³ During the fifth and fourth century BC, Carian was used for a limited number of public inscriptions and coin legends in southwestern Anatolia, though already at this time the majority of ‘official’ texts from the region were in Greek.⁴ Carian then disappears from the written record at some point in the Hellenistic period, with the assimilation of the Gr redating this in a number of communities. The widespread utility of the Carian language had thus declined by the period from which the majority of our epigraphic material derives. But this shift should not automatically be equated to the disappearance of any sense of ‘Carianness’. Identities were far from static, and the notion of being ‘Carian’ as a level of identification went through periods of both crystallisation and fragmentation. Any attempted reconstruction of what it meant to be Carian was context-dependent, and cannot be divorced from wider cultural dynamics. In this regard, sustained interaction between the inhabitants of Caria and their Greek-speaking neighbours should be regarded as a defining feature of Carian history and identity.

The Carian–Cretan Connection

Herodotus is the earliest extant source for a link between Caria and Crete. In his account, the Carians had earlier inhabited the Aegean islands, at which time they were called Leleges, and fell under the rule of Minos, ‘not (as far as I can determine by hearsay) paying him tribute, but manning ships for him when he needed them’.⁵ As he continues: ‘seeing then that Minos had subdued much territory to himself and was victorious in war, this made the Carian *ethnos* at that time by far

³ Adiego 2013a. A number of cities in Caria possessed their own variants of the alphabet, suggesting that there was a perceived link between script and communal identity; cf. Adiego 2007: 205–233. See also Luraghi 2010 on the link between local alphabets and local identity.

⁴ See Konuk 2007; Piras 2009; Marek 2013.

⁵ Hdt. 1. 171. 2: εἰσὶ δὲ τούτων Κᾶρες μὲν ἀπικύμενοι ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκ τῶν νήσων. τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἔδυντες Μίνω κατήκοοι καὶ καλεόμενοι Λέλεγες εἶχον τὰς νήσους, φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ὑποτελέοντες, ὅσον καὶ ἐγὼ δυνατὸς εἰμι ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐξικέσθαι ἄκοῃ· οἱ δὲ, ὅπως Μίνωσ δέοιτο, ἐπλήρουσι οἱ τὰς νέας.

A Λ A Δ	a	Μ Μ (Β)	p
C < ρ	d	Φ Θ	ś
Δ	l	Θ Γ Γ Ϝ Ϟ Η ϙ Ϡ	i
E Ε ' Ψ	y	□ H	e
F Ϛ	r	Ϝ	ý
I H Δ	λ	▽ ∇	k
⊕ ⊙	q	⋀	δ
Γ Γ Λ	b	Π Ψ	w
N V	m	Σ Χ [?]	γ
O	o)(Ϛ ϛ	z
ϙ ϐ	t	⋈	η
Ϝ ϙ Ϡ ϐ	š	Η Ξ	j
Μ	s	Ϛ	?
Τ	?	↑ ' / Ω [?]	τ/τ ₂ ?
V Υ	u	Γ	í
Φ	ñ	ϙ Ϟ Ϝ Β << [?] ϙ [?]	β
Χ +	ĥ	ρ	β ₂ ?
Ψ Υ	n		

Figure 1 Carian letter forms

the most regarded of all *ethnoi*?⁶ It was only later that the Carians settled in mainland Anatolia, after they were driven from the islands by the arrival of the Ionians and the Dorians.⁷ Thucydides gives a similar account, whereby the Carians had in earlier times inhabited most of the islands of the Aegean, along with the Phoenicians, during which time they were characterised by their piratical ways.⁸ In this version, it was Minos who drove the Carians out when he sought to establish his own

⁶ Hdt. 1. 171. 3: ἅτε δὴ Μῖνος τε κατεστραμμένου γῆν πολλήν καὶ εὐτυχεόντος τῷ πολέμῳ, τὸ Καρικὸν τὴν ἔθνος λογιμώτατον τῶν ἐθνέων ἀπάντων κατὰ τοῦτον ἄμα τὸν χρόνον μακρῶ μάλιστα.
⁷ Hdt. 1. 171. 5: μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Κᾶρας χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῶ Δωριεὲς τε καὶ Ἴωνες ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν νήσων, καὶ οὕτω ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἀπίκοντο.
⁸ Thuc. 1. 8. 1: καὶ οὐχ ἥσσον λησταὶ ἦσαν οἱ νησιῶται, Κᾶρες τε ὄντες καὶ Φοίνικες: οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ τὰς πλείστας τῶν νήσων ῥύκησαν.

colonies in the islands and secure his thalassocracy;⁹ his expulsion of the Carians was linked with his attempts to target piracy, thereby securing the revenues of the sea for himself.¹⁰ The widespread acceptance of this outline is reflected in Strabo, who in the Augustan period writes that ‘of the numerous accounts of the Carians, the one that is generally agreed upon is this: that the Carians were subject to the rule of Minos, being called Leleges at that time, and lived in the islands.’¹¹ Strabo does not record the circumstances under which the Carians migrated to the Anatolian mainland, although he writes that they acquired much of the coast and the interior, ‘taking it away from its previous possessors, who for the most part were Leleges and Pelasgians.’¹² The migrations of the Ionians and the Dorians subsequently deprived the Carians of part of their coastal territory.¹³

Beyond this core tradition linking Carian habitation of the Aegean islands with the distant reign of Minos, a larger corpus of material suggests some association or affiliation between southwestern Anatolia and Crete. The Minoan connection is mirrored in a number of civic mythologies of Caria that awarded a role to Crete in their foundation legends; various cults and toponyms in the region also suggest a relationship, notably in a Hellenistic cult of a ‘Cretan-born’ Zeus.¹⁴ It is a diverse but pervasive collection of material. The prestige and antiquity of a link with the mythologies of Minoan Crete were certainly an aspect of their prominence; communities of the ancient world frequently sought to emphasise the depth of their history by tracing their origins back to the time of gods and heroes.¹⁵ The ‘golden age’ of Minoan Crete was thus awarded a significant role in early mythologies.¹⁶

⁹ Thuc. 1. 8. 2.

¹⁰ Thuc. 1. 4: ‘He made himself master of a very great part of what is now called the Hellenic Sea, and became leader of the Cyclades islands and first colonizer of most of them, driving out the Carians’ (καὶ τῆς νῦν Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐκράτησε καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἤρξε τε καὶ οἰκιστὴς πρῶτος τῶν πλείστων ἐγένετο, Κάρας ἐξελάσας).

¹¹ Strab. 14. 2. 27: Πολλῶν δὲ λόγων εἰρημένων περὶ Καρῶν, ὁ μάλισθ’ ὁμολογούμενός ἐστιν οὗτος, ὅτι οἱ Κάρες ὑπὸ Μίνω ἐτάττοντο, τότε Λέλεγες καλούμενοι, καὶ τὰς νήσους ᾤκουν.

¹² Strab. 14. 2. 27: εἴτ’ ἡπειρῶται γενόμενοι, πολλὴν τῆς παραλίας καὶ τῆς μεσογαίας κατέσχον τοὺς προκατέχοντας ἀφελόμενοι· καὶ οὗτοι δ’ ἦσαν οἱ πλείους Λέλεγες καὶ Πελασγοί. On the difficulties of pinning down the identity of the Leleges, see below: pp. 57–58.

¹³ Strab. 14. 2. 27: πάλιν δὲ τούτους ἀφείλοντο μέρος οἱ Ἕλληνες, Ἴωνές τε καὶ Δωριεῖς.

¹⁴ The case study of the ‘Cretan-born’ Zeus will be the focus of Chapter 6.

¹⁵ See Thomas 2011.

¹⁶ Cf. Diod. Sic. 5. 78.

It has been suggested that the claims of a Carian affinity with Crete could be an attempt to provide a Greek heritage for the Carians.¹⁷ However, this is a narrow way to interpret the traditions, and seeks to clearly demarcate ‘Greek’ from ‘non-Greek’. Certainly, the Anatolian origins of the Carians resulted in them being cast as the barbarian ‘Other’, in opposition to the Hellenes, in much Greek thought; but this familiar dichotomy should not dominate how we approach the history of Caria and the Carians. A more nuanced approach to cultural interactions between Greeks and non-Greeks will be pursued in this book.¹⁸ I seek to readdress the theoretical divide between Carians and Greeks that has come to characterise much modern scholarship, and focus instead on the practical realities of interaction between the Aegean and Caria.

The notion that the mythological links between Caria and Crete were intended to prove the Hellenic lineage of the Carians further presumes that a connection with Minos’ Crete would provide them with such an unequivocal Greek connection.¹⁹ The tales surrounding Minos and his family were fundamental to Greek mythology, but the Hellenic origin of the central figures was far from assured: according to myth, Minos and his brothers Rhadamanthys and Sarpedon were the sons of Zeus and Europa, the latter by origin a Phoenician princess.²⁰ Strabo writes that there was disagreement over whether Minos was indeed a ‘foreigner’ (*xenon*) to the island, or a ‘native’ (*epichōrion*).²¹ Furthermore, it overlooks the fact that Herodotus distinguishes this ‘Cretan’ version from that told by the Carians. As he writes, the story recording Carian habitation of the islands was the tale told by the

¹⁷ Hornblower (2011: 357–358) suggests that Maussollos may have wanted to be considered Greek in order to compete in one of the four big panhellenic games. Cf. Jones 1999: 16; Bresson 2007b: 226.

¹⁸ Recent scholarship has sought to move away from the binary model: see for example Gruen 2011; Skinner 2012; Vlassopoulos 2013b. This issue will be addressed in greater detail in Chapter 1.

¹⁹ Herodotus (1. 173. 1) comments that in the past Crete was inhabited by barbarians (τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην εἶχον τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν βάρβαροι). Cf. Hdt. 7. 171, for discussion of the different stages of settlement on Crete; Hom. *Od.* 19. 172–177. See also Strab. 10. 4. 6 for a discussion of the Eteocretans.

²⁰ Apollod. *Bib.* 3. 1. 1: Europa was the sister of Kadmos, Phoenix and Kilix; although in certain versions she was the daughter of Phoenix. Diod. Sic. 5. 78. 1–2: Europe was the daughter of Agenor. Cf. Hdt. 4. 45. 5: ‘But it is plain that this woman (Europa) was of Asiatic birth, and never came to this land which the Greeks now call Europe, but only from Phoinike to Crete, and from Crete to Lycia’ (ἀλλ’ αὕτη γε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τε φαίνεται εἶσθαι καὶ οὐκ ἀπικομένη ἐς τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἣτις νῦν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Εὐρώπη καλεῖται, ἀλλ’ ὅσον ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐς Κρήτην, ἐκ Κρήτης δὲ ἐς Λυκίην).

²¹ Strab. 10. 4. 9.

Cretans; the Carians, however, did not agree, and maintained that they were autochthonous inhabitants of the mainland, ‘and ever bore the name which they bear now.’²² In support of this claim, they pointed to the ancient shrine of Zeus Karios at Mylasa, and asserted that their eponymous father Kar was a brother to Lydos and Mysos, the founding figures of Lydia and Mysia.²³

The importance of Crete in a Carian context cannot be explained solely as a means of establishing the prestige of their early history, particularly as it appears to have been a narrative that the communities of Caria did not wholly embrace. It also overlooks the significance of migration narratives in the corpus of foundation mythologies in the Greek world, in which foreign founders often played a central role.²⁴ This did not bring into question the Hellenicity of the peoples involved, but rather placed their histories against a background of mobility between cultures.²⁵ I suggest that the Cretan link in Caria similarly sought to situate the history of the region in a wider historical framework. It reflected something about the participation of Carians in the social and cultural networks of the Aegean.

The notion of Carian mobility in the Aegean was also incorporated into Greek narratives, with a Carian phase preserved in the historical traditions of a number of islands. In the foundation mythologies of Naxos, for instance, a Carian element is found in a number of versions. According to Diodorus Siculus, Carians from Latmia settled on the island after the Thracians abandoned it, and named it after their king Naxos, the son of Polemon; Naxos begat a son Leukippos, whose own son Smerdios subsequently became king of the island.²⁶ A similar account was preserved by Stephanus of Byzantium, whereby the island was named after Naxos, the son of Endymion, who had led Carian settlers to the island.²⁷ According

²² Hdt. 1. 171. 5: κατὰ μὲν δὴ Κάρως οὕτω Κρήτες λέγουσι γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε ὁμολογεῖν οὐ τοῖσι οἱ Κᾶρες, ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ ἑωυτοὺς εἶναι αὐτόχθονας ἡπειρώτας καὶ τῷ οὐνόματι τῷ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ διαχρεωμένους τῷ περ νῦν.

²³ Hdt. 1. 171. 6: τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν λέγουσι εἶναι Κάρως ἀδελφεούς.

²⁴ Thus the figure of Pelops, identified variously as Lydian or Phrygian, played a central role in the early history of the Peloponnese: Pindar, *Olymp.* 1. 24; Paus. 5. 1. 6. Diodorus (4. 74. 1) records that Pelops was the son of Tantalus, who dwelled ‘in that part of Asia which is now called Paphlagonia.’ The Egyptian Danaos was also important in Argive history: Paus. 2. 19. 3; *FGrH* 239 A9. Cf. Gruen 2011: 226–227; Malkin 2015.

²⁵ Herodotus (2. 4) acknowledges the greater antiquity of Egyptian culture, and the debt of the Greeks to Egypt, particularly in the religious realm.

²⁶ Diod. Sic. 5. 51. 3.

²⁷ Steph. Byz. s.v. Νάξος; the link with Latmos is preserved in the figure of Endymion, whose myth was closely associated with Mt. Latmos; see below: pp. 172–173. The Carian connection could be strengthened by the existence of another place in Caria of a similar name: according to Stephanus, Naxia was a πόλις Καρίας (s.v. Ναξία). In another version, Naxos was the child of the Cretan nymph Akakallis and Apollo, and was related to a city of Naxia on Crete; Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 4. 1492. Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Νάξος. Suda, s.v. Ναξία.

to Thucydides, a Carian presence on Delos was confirmed by the nature of certain burials on the island: he relates that when the Athenians came to purify the island, they discovered that over half the graves were of Carians, ‘being recognised by the fashion of the armour found buried with them, and by the mode of burial, which is that still in use among them.’²⁸ Strabo further recorded that Samos had at one time been inhabited by Carians, at which point it was called Parthenia.²⁹

In the Dodekanese, S. Sherwin-White has drawn attention to the Koan kinship group, the Karindai, which can tentatively be connected with Kar and the Kares;³⁰ Karis is further recorded as another name for Kos.³¹ An extension of the tradition relating Carian habitation of the islands can be traced in the notion of a ‘Carian thalassocracy’ known from certain ancient sources. According to Diodorus, after the fall of Troy, the Carians ‘steadily increased their power and became masters of the sea’; they took possession of the Cyclades, ‘expelling the Cretans who had their homes on them, but in some islands they settled jointly with the Cretans who had been the first to dwell there.’³² In this tradition, Carian occupation of the islands postdated the time of Minos, and indeed the Trojan War; the barbarian Carians were only driven out at a later date when the Greeks came to inhabit the Cycladic islands.

It is not possible to determine whether such traditions preserve a historical ‘memory’ at their core; did the mythologies involving Carian settlement of the islands reflect their early mobility, or were they developed later?³³ We are on more secure ground when we consider the mobility of Carians in the Archaic period, in particular associated with their employment as mercenaries; according to Strabo, in earlier times ‘the Carians roamed

²⁸ Thuc. 1. 8. 1: γνωσθέντες τῇ τε σκευῇ τῶν ὀπλῶν ξυντεθαμμένη καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ ᾧ νῦν ἔτι θάπτουσιν. In the ancient world, the Carians were renowned for their warlike character, and Herodotus (1. 171.4) credited them with three military inventions: fitting crests on helmets, putting devices on shields and making shields with handles. Cf. Strab. 14. 2. 27: ‘As evidence of their zeal for military affairs, writers adduce shield-holders, shield emblems and crests, for all these are called “Carian”’.

²⁹ Strab. 14. 1. 15.

³⁰ Sherwin-White 1978: 167; many of the kinship groups were named from mythology (165–169).

³¹ Steph. Byz. s.v. Κῶς...ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Καρίς. Cf. Craik 1980: 51.

³² Diod. Sic. 5. 84. 4: μετὰ δὲ τὴν Τροίης ἄλωσιν Κᾶρες αὐξηθέντες ἐπὶ πλέον ἐθαλαττοκράτησαν, καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων κρατήσαντες τινὰς μὲν ἰδία κατέσχον καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς κατοικοῦντας Κρήτας ἐξέβαλον, τινὰς δὲ κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν προενοικοῦντων Κρητῶν κατώκησαν. Cf. Eusebius *Chronicle*, p. 226 in the Schoene-Petermann edition; Suda s.v. Κρήσιος: Κρητικός. τοὺς Κᾶρες θαλαττοκρατῆσαι λέγεται μετὰ Μίνω τὸν Κρήσιον (‘It is said that the Carians ruled the sea after Minos the Cretan’).

³³ Cf. Herda 2009: 43–45.

throughout the whole of Greece, serving on expeditions for pay'.³⁴ The settlement of Carians in Egypt is well attested, and their presence at Borsippa in Babylonia appears to be a corollary of this.³⁵ Certain toponyms further suggest widespread Carian mobility in the Mediterranean and beyond: *Karikon teichos*, 'Carian wall', is described by Ephorus as a polis in Libya, left of the 'Pillars of Herakles';³⁶ a *Karōn limēn* was also located on the western coast of the Black Sea.³⁷ It is not possible to quantify the levels of Carian movement in the Mediterranean from such clues; however, the persistent image of Carian acquaintance with the sea does seem to reflect the involvement of seafarers from the region in the maritime networks of the Aegean and the wider Mediterranean. This was partly dictated by topography: the mountainous terrain of inland Caria meant that inter-regional traffic to inland Anatolia was conducted principally via the Maeander valley and its tributaries.³⁸ In contrast, the extended, albeit rugged, coastline of Caria encouraged travel across the water, and the branching Datça and Bodrum peninsulas were naturally incorporated into the maritime networks of the Dodekanese (Map 1).³⁹

Caria and Crete in the Maritime Itineraries of the Mediterranean

The direction and volume of mobility in antiquity was primarily governed by practicality and expediency; the most effective means of transporting goods

³⁴ Strab. 14. 2. 28, ll. 54–55: οὗτοι δὲ καθ' ὅλην ἐπλανήθησαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, μισθοῦ στρατεύοντες.

³⁵ Adiego 2007: 30: around 170 Carian inscriptions and/or graffiti have been discovered in Egypt to date, to which should be added 50 unedited inscriptions. For further discussion of the presence of Carians in Egypt, see Chapter 1. Waerzeggers (2006: 5) notes that the Carian community at Borsippa originated from Egypt. Cf. Ray 1995.

³⁶ Steph. Byz. s.v. Καρικὸν τεῖχος, πόλις Λιβύης ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν, ὡς Ἐφορος πέμπτη. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Καρικοτειχίτης. Cf. Robert 1980: 409, who notes that 'le mot τεῖχος désigne un établissement grec, un fortin, à l'orée du monde indigène' (the word τεῖχος designates a Greek establishment, a fort, on the fringes of the indigenous world). In the case of *Karikon teichos*, it appears that the Greek form had been adopted to refer to a Carian outpost; although it is not known whether it was designated as such by Carians or Greeks. The Carian city of Gordiouteichos (Steph. Byz. s.v. Γορδίου τεῖχος), located in the vicinity of Aphrodisias, again includes the *-teichos* element; such names appear to refer to the fortified nature of the settlements concerned.

³⁷ Cf. Herda 2013: 448. Pliny the Elder (*NH* 6. 7) also notes that Carians had settled around the river Tanais, to the north of the Black Sea, before settlers from Klazomenai and the Maeonians arrived.

³⁸ Cf. Thonemann 2011: 1–49.

³⁹ Cf. Melas 1988: 109.



Map 1 The Aegean

and people was across water. The majority of interaction took place within small-scale networks, with numerous links between communities that were geographically close. P. Horden and N. Purcell rightly emphasise the significance of the coast-wise voyage, or *periplous*, as an ‘expression of geographical coherence’, with maritime routes constituting an important means of delineating one’s landscape.⁴⁰ Navigation was directed according to visible landmarks,

⁴⁰ Horden and Purcell 2000: 11: ‘In the ancient geographical tradition the sea shapes the land, not the other way about’. Cf. Strab. 2. 45. 17: ‘It is the sea more than anything else that defines the contours of the land and gives it its shapes, forming gulfs, sea-basins, straits, and likewise isthmuses, peninsulas and promontories; but both the rivers and the mountains assist the sea herein’ (Πλεῖστον δ’ ἡ θάλαττα γεωγραφεῖ καὶ σχηματίζει τὴν γῆν, κόλπους ἀπεργαζομένη

and routes were defined by the harbours or inlets visited,⁴¹ with islands and isthmuses functioning as valuable pointers demarcating the horizon.⁴²

Recent scholarship on the Aegean islands has stressed the centrality of interaction to the conceptualisation of insularity.⁴³ Island identity was articulated as much in relation to an island's neighbours as internally, and C. Constantakopoulou notes the 'grouping' of the islands of the Dodekanese as early as Homer.⁴⁴ This pattern can also be identified in how these islands related to the Anatolian mainland, and vice versa.⁴⁵ Constantakopoulou has drawn attention to the extension of Milesian influence in the surrounding islands: Leros formed part of Milesian territory in the fifth century BC, while Patmos and Leipsoi seem to have been controlled by Miletos during the Hellenistic period.⁴⁶ In the fourth century BC, the Hekatomnid dynasty that ruled much of Caria extended its domain to include the nearby islands of Rhodes and Kos, and reached as far north as Chios.⁴⁷ The Carian Hekatomnids involved themselves in the business of the sea as a means of asserting their regional influence. The Rhodian *peraia* was also established at the end of the fourth century BC on the Loryma peninsula, and expanded during the Hellenistic period.⁴⁸ Subsequent Rhodian attempts to increase

καὶ πελάγη καὶ πορθμούς, ὁμοίως δὲ ἰσθμούς καὶ χερρονήσους καὶ ἄκρας· προσλαμβάνουσι δὲ ταύτη καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ τὰ ὄρη).

⁴¹ Horden and Purcell 2000: 11. Cf. Bresson 2005: 98–99; Dilke 1985: 130ff. The *periplous* of Pseudo-Skylax, thought to date to the fourth century BC, is one of the earliest extant Greek examples, though it is a compilation of earlier *periploi*. One can also point to Nearchos the Cretan (see below: p. 137), who was commissioned by Alexander the Great to write up his naval expedition in the east; see Dilke 1985: 134–135.

⁴² Constantakopoulou 2007: 20, stresses that the increased visibility that islands afforded sailors placed them 'at the heart of the navigational systems'.

⁴³ Broodbank 2000 on the Early Bronze Age networks of the Cyclades; Constantakopoulou 2007 on insularity in the Aegean.

⁴⁴ Constantakopoulou 2007: 216; in the *Iliad*, Kos, Nisyros, Karpathos and Kasos are grouped together (Hom. *Il.* 2. 676–677).

⁴⁵ Gautier Dalché (2011) notes the numerous small-scale links that connected the islands of the Dodekanese with the continent in medieval portolans, or nautical itineraries; they record distances between coastal 'ports', safe places of anchorage, and the practicalities of specific sea crossings. While they are of a later date, the practicalities dictating certain routes were the same as those of the ancient world.

⁴⁶ Constantakopoulou 2007: 228–231.

⁴⁷ Dem. 5. 25. Hornblower 1982: 127–136; the Hekatomnids also seem to have maintained fortified strongholds on Nisyros, Kalymnos and Telos: the fortifications bear a notable similarity to those at Hekatomnid sites on the mainland.

⁴⁸ Following the dating of Badoud 2011; he has made a persuasive case for pushing back the date of the establishment of Rhodian interests on the Chersonesos to the end of the fourth century BC. Pseudo-Skylax (see n. 41 of this chapter) made reference to Rhodian possessions on the mainland (Ps.-Skyl. 99), including Herakleia-under-Latmos. Counillon (2007: 38–39) used this to establish a *terminus ante quem* for the work: the city of Latmos, which preceded