Chapter 2

Big and small islands: Rethinking insularity in the ancient Greek world

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The purpose of this paper is to examine notions of insularity in Classical Greece. The dominant understanding of insularity was associated with small places. Large islands, such as Crete, Sicily, or Sardinia, were not necessarily understood as insular places. Rather, the dominant context for the development of the concept of insularity was the geographic reality of the Aegean Sea, with the multitude of small islands forming interconnected clusters. Understanding insularity as 'small' places was also related to the imperial control of islands by the Athenian empire over the course of the 5th century BC. Imperial practices of control essentially turned islands into small, manageable places, weak and feeble, unable to resist a naval power such as Athens. When this imperial notion of insularity was imposed on the big island of Sicily during the Sicilian expedition of 415–413 BC, the results were catastrophic for Athens. Big and small insularity, therefore, played a key part not only in shaping the geographic understanding of space but also in real political events in the Classical period.

What is an island? This may appear to be a simple question but it is one that has multiple and complex answers which, in turn, have real repercussions for the history, culture, and politics of insular and non-insular places. In this chapter, I aim to explore notions of insularity in the ancient Greek world (during the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods). My main argument is that for the ancient Greeks, whose experience of insularity was mostly related to the Aegean islands, the dominant perception of insularity was that of a small place. I argue that this understanding of islands as 'small' had real consequences for the imperial policy of Athens during the 5th century BC. Big and small insularity played a key role not only in shaping the geographic understanding of space but also in real political events during the Classical period.

A working definition of an island can be that of a piece of land completely surrounded by water. Natural conditions, such as the presence of tides or the alluvial

deposits of rivers, may alter the insular landscape by creating islands whereas there was none before or by connecting islands to the mainland. The absence of noticeable tides in the Mediterranean, at least, takes away this particular complication; islands in the Aegean remain insular throughout the lunar cycle (Diodorus 5.23.3).[1] Rivers, on the other hand, have the potential of altering the landscape, with spaces changing from islands to peninsulas and back, depending on the rivers in the area (Thucydides 3.51; Strabo 9.1.4; Pausanias 1.44.5).[2] Despite the complications that tides and rivers potential pose, we can assume that, for the Greeks, islands were spaces surrounded by water with normally clear boundaries: the island ended where the sea began.

The history of the islands and of ancient notions of insularity has been shaped by some important recent shifts in scholarship. First, we are experiencing a true 'spatial turn' in ancient history, classics, and classical archaeology. This may be seen as the result of a 'spatial turn' in the social sciences and the humanities (Guldi 2010), where space is no longer considered as a concept or entity outside human cultural constraints and ideology (Cosgrove 1984). The importance of space and place, whether it is cultural, gendered (Kümin and Usborne 2013), environmental, geographical, or other, is now at the heart of debates about history. The 'spatial turn', and a critical approach to space and place, are therefore already transforming our discipline. At the same time, we have witnessed the emergence of a new narrative about the past. Scholarship on the Mediterranean, pioneered by the publication of Horden and Purcell's *The Corrupting Sea* (2000), has put the environment and landscape at the heart of ancient history narratives.[3] The paradigm put forward by the *Corrupting Sea* stresses the geographic fragmentation of the Mediterranean which, in turn, makes it prone to increased risk. This is mitigated by the presence of increased maritime mobility, connectivity, which allows societies to respond to risk and crisis. The ancient Mediterranean experienced both fragmentation and connectivity. Within that context, insularity contributed both to the fragmentation and to maritime connectivity.

Indeed, Mediterranean insularity is one of the factors that has been understood as pivotal in creating Mediterranean uniqueness (Horden and Purcell 2020, 12). Insularity, on the whole, moves in a spectrum between isolation and connectivity, with islands functioning both as 'bridges' connecting places and as landscapes prone to isolation and island distinctiveness (cultural, environmental, etc.). Indeed, oceanic insularity may be primarily understood as synonymous to isolation – one thinks of Darwin's island laboratories as a prime example of this. Mediterranean islands, on the other hand, very rarely experienced absolute isolation. Mediterranean islands, and indeed the Aegean islands which are the focus of this chapter, were active nodes in networks of interaction for most of the periods of the last three millennia (as discussed in Constantakopoulou 2007, 1–10).

The presence of so many islands in the Aegean Sea, in particular, created specific contexts for the understanding of insularity of the Greeks. Braudel called the Aegean islands under Venetian rule a 'stationary fleet', stressing in this way not just the great number of islands but also their important role for a sea power, such as Venice, that

aimed to control the sea (Braudel 1972, 149). In antiquity, we find multiple articulations of the idea of island connectivity as a dominant feature of insularity. Aelius Aristeides, writing in the 2nd century AD, praised the Aegean in a prose hymn; for him, the presence of islands was a defining feature of the Aegean and a source for celebration: 'as the sky is decorated with stars, the Aegean Sea is decorated with islands' (Aelius Aristeides 44.14). The praise for the beauty of the Aegean is intrinsically linked with the presence of islands: the Aegean

> is not barren nor by opening an endless vista does it cause depression and despair. But the Aegean is made up of many seas and many gulfs, and in each place, there is a different kind of sea. You might stop your journey even in the midst of the sea and find land, cities and countryside, as it were, little seagirt continents. (Aelius Aristeides 44.10)

For Aelius Aristeides, the islands created choruses, making the Aegean the most musical of all seas:

> The sea is naturally musical, since right at the start it raised up a chorus of islands like any other chorus. And they have divided up the sea, many close to one another, and to sailors and passengers appear as a more sacred sight than any dithyrambic chorus. (Aelius Aristeides 44.12)

Four centuries before Aelius Aristeides, Callimachus encapsulated in his poetry the image of inter-connected islands. In his *Hymn to Delos* (20–28), Callimachus described the islands of the Cyclades 'dancing' around Delos:

> the islands gather and she [ie. Delos] ever leads the way. Behind her footsteps follow Phoenician Cyrnus, no mean island, and Abantian Macris of the Ellopians, and delectable Sardo, and the isle whereto Cypris first swam the water and for fee of her landing she keeps safe (...) Delos beloved. Now if songs full many circle about you, with what song shall I entwine you.

The image of the dance of the islands is repeated at the end of that poem, making an allusion to the opening of the hymn: 'Asteria, island of incense, around and about you the islands have made a circle and set themselves about you as a choir' (*Hymn to Delos* 300–301). The circling islands, the Cyclades, dance around Delos-Asteria, bringing the themes of connection, sacred dance, and patronage of Apollo, main deity at Delos, all into sharp focus at the start and at the end of the hymn.

   Ancient Greek perceptions of insularity, therefore, were closely related to the idea of island connections, which led to the beautiful poetic image of the islands dancing in a chorus or a circle around the sacred island of the Aegean and birthplace of Apollo and Artemis, Delos. The geographic reality of the Aegean islands affected the ways that insularity was understood. In that context, another important feature of the Aegean islands that inescapably shaped ancient perceptions of insularity was their size. In our working definition of an island as a piece of land surrounded by water, both Crete and Sikinos (to use examples from the two ends of the spectrum) are considered islands, but was this the case in the ancient Greek world?

One way to understand the issue is to try to count the islands of the Greek world. The official tourist board of Greece webpage claims that Greece has over 6000 islands and islets, of which 227 are inhabited (https://www.visitgreece.gr/islands/ accessed 4.5.23). Kolodny, who visited the Greek islands in the 1960s, counted 169 inhabited islands in 1966 (Kolodny 1974, 41; list of islands in Brun 1996, 28–29). However we count the islands in the Aegean (which form the majority of islands in the Greek world), we can definitely say that the vast majority of them are smaller than 300 km^2 in size: indeed only 15 islands in the Greek world and only 11 in the Aegean are over 300 km^2.[4] Philostratus, writing in the late 2nd/early 3rd century AD, is explicit in equating insularity with the notion of the small island. In his chapter on islands in his *Imagines*, he embarks on an imaginary journey on a ship in springtime. While onboard the ship, he tells his interlocutor to:

> perceive that the sea is large, and the islands in it are not, by Zeus, Lesbos, nor yet Imbros or Lemnos, but *small* islands herding together like hamlets or cattle-folds, or by Zeus, like farm-buildings on the sea-shore

> ἡ μὲν θάλαττα, ὡς ὁρᾷς, πολλή, νῆσοι δ᾽ἐν αὐτῇ μὰ Δί᾽οὐ Λέσβος οὐδ᾽ Ἴμβρος ἢ Λῆμνος, ἀλλ᾽ ἀγελαῖαι καὶ μικραί, καθάπερ κῶμαί τινες ἢ σταθμοὶ ἢ νὴ Δία ἐπαύλια τῆς θαλάττης. (Phil. *Imag.* 2.17.1: my emphasis)

Athenaeus too, writing in the same period, classified 'insular wine' as a separate category from wine originating from large islands such as Rhodes, Chios, Lesbos, or Thasos (Ath. 1.32e). It is clear, then, that for Athenaeus, insular wine originated from small islands; insularity was related to a small size.

Ancient notions of insularity are intimately linked with the act of floating, emerging, and disappearing. Delos famously floated before becoming stable through the act of divine agency (and the birth of the twin gods) and Aeolia was a floating island in Homer's *Odyssey*.[5] A number of islands called Plotai or Planesiai attest to an understanding of floating as an element of insularity (Moret 1997). The scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius commented that 'in old times, all the islands were wandering and did not have any foundation' (3.41.3). Floating islands therefore were part of the package of geographic instability that characterised insularity: in ancient sources, the mainland was considered stable while the insular space was considered unstable.[6] Emerging islands too are dominant in ancient narratives of insularity: Rhodes emerges in Pindar's *Seventh Olympian* (7.54-64), while Anaphe appears suddenly in Apollonius Rhodius (*Arg.* 4.1684-730). Islands also disappeared, in reality (the volcanic islands in Pliny *NH* 2.202) and in imagination (the neighbouring islands to Lemnos in Onomacritus' collection of Musaeus' prophecies in Herodotus 7.6.3). Geographic instability, therefore, through the emergence, disappearance, and floating of islands was an important element of ancient concepts of insularity. Within that context, Strabo's comment when he describes the creation of islands through the act of emerging is particularly pertinent. In his description of geological movements, such as earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, and their impact on geography, he makes a

distinction between large and small islands. According to him, small islands can rise from the bottom of the sea, but large islands cannot (1.3.10). Small islands, therefore, are for Strabo more 'insular' as they can become emerging, whereas large islands lack this defining element of insularity.

Thucydides to clearly understands insularity as essentially a quality of small islands. This is important not simply because it confirms our working hypothesis about ancient perceptions of insularity but also because it has real implications for his presentation of the history of the Athenian empire and of Athenian imperial rule over the course of the 5th century BC. The most common use of the noun *nesos* (island) in Thucydides is for Sphacteria, the small uninhabited island off Pylos in the Peloponnese where, in 425 BC, 292 Peloponnesian hoplites, of which 120 were Spartans, were captured alive by the Athenian army.[7] This was truly one of the most remarkable episodes of the Peloponnesian war and significantly altered the course of the first phase of the war (i.e., the so-called Archidamian war, 431–421 BC). It was the first time that Spartan hoplites were taken hostage; this not only boosted Athenian morale but inevitably put a stop to the annual Peloponnesian invasions in Athenian territory, for fear of the Athenians executing their Spartan captives. Thucydides used the name Sphacteria only once in his narrative when he first introduced the island in his description of the landscape of Pylos and its surrounding territory (4.8.6). From then on, and throughout his narrative, he simply refers to Sphacteria as the 'island' and to the captives of Sphacteria as 'those on the island'. Thucydides expected his readers to immediately understand what island he was talking about – for him, the 'island' was Sphacteria, a small uninhabited island.

When we compare Thucydides' use of the word island for Sphacteria to his use of the same for Sicily, the implication about his and his audience's understanding of insularity becomes even more apparent. Thucydides uses the term 'island' for Sicily only three times; significantly all these occurrences are in the so-called Sicilian archaeology section, in the beginning of book 6, where he introduces Sicily and its history to his audience as a prelude and an explanation for one of the most important episodes of the Peloponnesian war, the Athenian expedition against Sicily in 415–413 BC, which ended with a complete Athenian disaster and arguably marked the beginning of the end for the Athenians during the war. The Athenians had engaged with Sicilian affairs before 415 BC, as is evident from Thucydides' own narrative of events in the 420s,[8] but Thucydides decided to introduce Sicily and discuss the history of the island and of Athenian western ambitions only in the beginning of book 6, in the beginning of the narrative of the great Sicilian expedition of 415 BC. The opening of book 6 is quite astounding as it clearly reveals Thucydides' aims and intentions, which elsewhere in his narrative are more elusive. In the winter of 415 BC, the Athenians, Thucydides tells us, were 'ignorant of the *size of the island* and of the number of its inhabitants, both Greek and barbarians' (Thucydides 6.1.1: ἄπειροι οἱ πολλοὶ ὄντες τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς νήσου καὶ τῶν ἐνοικούντων τοῦ πλήθους καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων). It is in this context that Sicily is presented as an island for the first time.

Thucydides then proceeds to provide a section of the prehistory of Sicily, including the history of its colonisation by Greek cities. The second occurrence of the term 'island' is included in the section about Sicanian settlement on the island (Thucydides 6.2.2), while the third and last occurrence of the term is slightly later in the description of the presence of Sikels in Sicily (Thucydides 6.2.2: *καὶ ἀπ'αὐτῶν Σικανία τότε ἡ νῆσος ἐκαλεῖτο* ('and from them, the island was then called Sikania'). *6.2.6: ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν τὰ μέσα καὶ τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν τῆς νήσου ἔχουσιν* ('and even now they hold the central and the areas to the north of the island')). Thucydides includes the diversion on Sicilian history and prehistory to clearly differentiate between the Athenians' ignorance of Sicily and his own expert knowledge. He masterfully appears as the all-knowing narrator, and by sharing with us, his audience, his knowledge of the true size, the history and the complex ethnographic background of Sicily, he implicates us in a condemning judgment of the Athenians and their ill-conceived expedition against Sicily. The Sicilian prehistory, in that sense, serves as an important lesson in historical causation: it is because of the *size* of the island (my emphasis) and the multitude of people living there that the expedition is bound to fail.

With the exception of these instances Thucydides does not use the term 'island' to denote Sicily. A comparison with the use of the term to denote Sphacteria reveals an underlying assumption: for Thucydides, the term island can be applied to Sphacteria, a small, uninhabited island, but not to Sicily, because of its size. Indeed, Thucydides tells us that Sicily is 'almost a continent' (*ἤπειρος*, Thucydides 6.1.2). Insularity, therefore, is once again associated with a small size.

The use of the term island for the small-sized Sphacteria and the absence of the term for large Sicily are useful for highlighting Thucydides and his contemporary and later audience's understanding of insularity. But at the same time, the use of the term has real implications for understanding islands as essentially places prone to imperial control by a sea power, such as Athens was during the period of the Athenian empire. I have already mentioned how the reference to the large size of Sicily serves for Thucydides as an explanation for the Athenian failure to conquer the island. The Athenians' most astounding military victory was the capture of the Spartan and Peloponnesian hoplites in Sphacteria, the island *par excellence*; on the contrary, the Athenians' biggest failure was the Sicilian disaster, on the island that was almost a continent.

I believe that Thucydides' use and understanding of insularity as essentially a small place, prone to imperial control by a sea power, plays an important role in the narratological sequence of historical episodes in his narrative. It is time to turn our attention to another famous Thucydidean episode involving an island: Melos and the Melian dialogue, included right at the end of book 5 (Thucydides, Melian dialogue 5.84–116). The Athenians, Thucydides tells us in an earlier passage, 'wanted to subdue Melos, which, *although it was an island,* had refused to submit to Athens or even to join the Athenian alliance' (Thucydides 3.91.2: *τοὺς γὰρ Μηλίους* ὄντας νησιώτας *καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας ὑπακούειν*, my emphasis). The inclusion of the participle and noun (*ontas*

nesiotas) is truly chilling, especially if one knows the dreadful end that awaits the Melians. The implication here is clear: insularity is essentially equivalent to subject to Athenian rule. The Melians were outside Athenian control and therefore had to be subdued.

The insular fate of Melos reaches a tragic climax at the end of book 5, with the famous Melian dialogue. In what is perhaps one of the most famous passages of Thucydides, he juxtaposes anonymous Melian interlocutors with the anonymous Athenian representatives. The anonymity of the interlocutors is of crucial importance:[9] in this manner, the episode is not just a historical narrative of the events that led to the submission of the island to Athenian rule but a treatise on the brutality of imperial power, the role of morality in interstate relations, the role of justice and divine justice in war, and so much more. Melos' insularity is certainly used as an argument in the dialogue. The Athenians claim that the conquest of Melos was essential for their safety, as Melos was an island (Thucydides 5.97 and 5.99), while they refute the Melians' claim that the Peloponnesians will help them again, using insularity as an explanation: 'how likely is it that while we [i.e. the Athenians] are masters of the sea, they [i.e. the Peloponnesians] will cross over to an island?' (Thucydides 5.109).

The end of the Melian episode is well-known: the Athenians fail to convince the Melian representatives to submit to Athenian control and, therefore, the Athenians besiege and conquer the island. In the winter of 415 BC, after the fall of the island, the 'Athenians killed all the grown men whom they captured, and sold the women and children as slaves, and then sent out five hundred colonists and inhabited the place themselves' (Thucydides 5.116.4). This single sentence, with its truly chilling and sombre reference to a massacre,[10] ends book 5. The next sentence in the text is the one we already quoted and marks the beginning of book 6 with Thucydides statement highlighting the Athenian ignorance of Sicily and its inhabitants, as a prelude to his narration of the Sicilian expedition. I argue, therefore, that for Thucydides, the concept of insularity played an important role in shaping the sequence of his narrative. He chose to end his account of the winter of 416–415 BC with the episode of Melos and the Melian dialogue, where he highlighted the role of islands as imperial subjects. He then chose to begin his account of the events of 415 BC with the prehistory of Sicily, the non-island/almost continent, stressing its size as an explanation, I believe, of the consequent Athenian failure. The theme of island colonisation is also evident here, with the Athenian settlers sent off to Melos at the end of book 5, and the history of the Greek colonisation of Sicily as the opening of book 6 (Hornblower 2008, 256). The Melian episode can be seen as an *exemplum* of Athenian hybris, for which the Sicilian episode can be viewed as the inevitable nemesis, in this tragic account. What has been less appreciated is the role that insularity has played in this particular scheme of hybris/nemesis or rise and fall of Athenian power.

The understanding of islands as natural subjects of any sea power and, therefore, natural allies of the Athenians during the 5th century, had implications for places

that were not actual islands. This is certainly the case of Scione. Scione was a small polis in Chalkidike, which played an important role in the events of 424 when the Spartan general Brasidas's expedition to northern Greece transferred the war to the north. Thucydides refers to the people of Scione as 'islanders' in a number of occasions; first, in a speech delivered by Brasidas, where the general congratulated the Scionaians because 'although they were nothing else but islanders', they had joined his side seeking freedom (Thucydides 4.120.3). Further down, Thucydides expresses Brasidas's fears that the Athenians would send a force to Scione 'as if to an island' (Thucydides 4.121.2). And again, the Athenians themselves, according to Thucydides, were 'furious at the idea that now *even islanders* dared to revolt from them' (Thucydides 4.122.5, my emphasis). Scione, I repeat, was not an island, but a city on a peninsula in Chalkidike. It is transformed into an island in Thucydides' account exactly because it is understood as a 'natural ally' of Athens.

Scione's tragic fate perhaps sealed its identification as an island for Thucydides – and later for Arrian. In another short sentence, Thucydides narrates the events of 421 BC: in the summer of that year, 'the Athenians won the siege of Scione, killed the adult males and enslaved the women and children, and gave the land to the Plataeans to live' (Thucydides 5.32.1). The wording is remarkably similar to the fate of Melos later on; in a succinct sentence, Thucydides suppresses a truly horrible event. While he does not use the term 'island' in this context, the insular connotations of Scione repeated at key moments in the previous narrative, create a context for explaining the massacre. Scione and Melos become the key exemplars of Athenian atrocity.[11] The insular connotations of subjugation and consequent massacre may explain how Arrian later referred to the Scione massacre. In a passage discussing Athenian atrocities during the Peloponnesian war, he calls Melos and Scione 'island cities' (*Anab.* 1.9.5). For Arrian, Scione has been transformed into an island exactly because of its horrible fate as an 'insular' subject, which attempted to break away from Athenian imperial rule.

I have argued that the small-scale insularity that exists in the Aegean affected the ways that Greeks understood insularity more general. Islands were considered parts of an unstable geography, in contrast to the mainland or continent, which was stable and unchanged. As such places, islands could emerge, float, or disappear altogether, depending on the context and the narrative. Islands were also understood as prone to imperial control and subjugation, exactly because of their position within the context of the Athenian empire, as sea-power, which brought the entire Aegean and its littoral under its rule over the course of the 5th century. The need to control islands and use them as convenient stops for merchant and military use affected the way they were perceived. Islands became synonymous with weakness and subjugation even though they had experienced and continue to experience wealth and heavy traffic (Brun 1996; Constantakopoulou 2007; Rutishauser 2012; Bonnin 2015). The conceptual understanding of empire and sea-power transformed the image of insularity.

In all this conceptual expression of insularity in the classical Greek world, size was a key parameter. I have argued that ancient Greek authors considered a true

island a small island, that is an island typical of the Aegean, with an area sometimes as little as Sphacteria, outside Pylos, which has a surface of 3.2 km^2 or 1.2 square miles. Delos, the other famous island in the Aegean, which formed the conceptual, mythical religious, often economic and even, at times, political centre of the Cyclades (Constantakopoulou 2017), was equally small at 3.43 km^2 or 1.32 square miles. Yet, despite its size, Delos was the island around which the Cyclades formed a 'circle' (the Cyclades 'circling Delos' in Strabo 10.5.1; Pliny *NH* 4.12.65; Dion. Perieg. 526), and she was the centre of the dance of the islands in Callimachus's poetic imagination. Delos and Sphacteria were insular islands; Sicily or Crete were not.

The association of small size with insularity may be viewed as an intellectual game. But it was not just that: it had real repercussions for the lives of the islanders and for the choices made by external imperial power in their policies. I have discussed in detail how Sicily was presented in Thucydides, and the way that his narrative was framed by insularity, especially in the 'most tragic' of his historical episodes, the narrative about the Sicilian expedition and the consequent Athenian disaster in 413 BC, in books 6 and 7. For Thucydides and his audience and I would argue for contemporary Athenian political decision-making processes, the association of insularity with weakness, and with the understanding of islands as ideal subjects for sea-power was part of their context for understanding how things work in the world. The Athenians subjugated Melos, killed all the men, and enslaved all the women because Melos was an island. The Athenians mistook Sicily for an island and, as a consequence of this misunderstanding, they suffered a horrendous defeat. The understanding of small size as a feature of insularity did not just shape ancient perceptions of insularity. It created a context for imperialist control and ultimately paved the way for the Athenian imperial defeat at Sicily in 413 BC.

Notes

1 Diodorus 5.23.3 is aware of the transformation of islands into peninsulas through the presence of tides in his discussion of the islands between Europe and Britain.
2 The island of Minoa, off Megara, is an island in Thucydides 3.51, but a peninsula in Strabo 9.1.4, and an island again in Pausanias 1.44.5.
3 Indicatively, Harris 2005; Malkin 2005; Walsh 2014, Bekker-Nielsen and Gertwagen 2016; Ellis-Evans 2019; Horden and Purcell 2020; Kouremenos and Gordon 2020; König 2022; Ramgopal 2022. See also Weiberg and Finné 2022 for a bibliographical summary on research on human-environment dynamics, with an emphasis on archaeological research.
4 In order of size Crete, Euboea, Lesbos, Rhodes, Chios, Cephalonia, Corcyra, Lemnos, Samos, Naxos, Zakynthos, Thasos, Andros, Lefkas, Carpathos.
5 Delos floating in Pindar *Paean* 7b and *Hymn to Zeus* 243–252, Callimachus *Hymn to Delos* 36–52.
6 Nishimura Jensen 2000 for an excellent analysis of the trope of stability and instability and its deconstruction in Apollonius Rhodius's *Argonautica* and Callimachus's *Hymn to Delos.*
7 Description of the Sphacteria episode in Thucydides 4.3–38. The number of the Peloponnesian and Spartan captives included in 4.38.5.
8 Thuc. 3.86 for events in 427 and the first Athenian Sicilian expedition, 3.115 for events in 426/5, and 5.4–5 for events in 422.

9 See the excellent discussion by Fragoulaki 2013, 162–179, who explains the anonymity through the lens of ethnic affiliations.

10 See Hornblower 2008, 254–256 for an analysis of the passage and a comparison with Scione.

11 In addition to the episode of Mycalessos in 7.29–30, which however, is attributed to the Thracian mercenaries: for the important Homeric resonances of the episode, see Fragoulaki 2020.

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