

## The Panionion: Where Religion and Politics Met in the Early Ionian League

### 1. Her. 1.142-148.

143 But those of Asia were cut off from the other Ionians only in the way that I shall show. The whole Hellenic stock was then small, and the last of all its branches and the least regarded was the Ionian; for it had no considerable city except Athens. Now the Athenians and the rest would not be called Ionians, but spurned the name; even now the greater number of them seem to me to be ashamed of it; but **the twelve cities aforesaid gloried in this name, and founded a holy place for themselves which they called the Panionion, and agreed among themselves to allow no other Ionians to use it (nor in fact did any except the men of Smyrna ask to be admitted).**

147 Yet since they set more store by the name than the rest of the Ionians, let it be granted that those of pure birth are Ionians; and all are Ionians who are of Athenian descent and keep the feast Apaturia. All do keep it, except the men of Ephesus and Colophon; these are the only Ionians who do not keep it, and these because, they say, of a certain pretext of murder.

148 **The Panionion is a sacred ground in Mycale, facing north; it was set apart for Poseidon Heliconius by the joint will of the Ionians. Mycale is a western promontory of the mainland opposite Samos; the Ionians used to assemble there from their cities and keep the festival to which they named Panionia.**

143 ἀπεσχίσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἴωνων οὗτοι κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ἀσθενέος δὲ ἐόντος τοῦ παντός τότε Ἑλληνικοῦ γένεος, πολλῶ δὴ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ Ἴωνικὸν καὶ λόγου ἐλαχίστου: ὅτι γὰρ μὴ Ἀθῆναι, ἦν οὐδέν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον. [3] οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐφυγον τὸ οὖνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἴωνες κεκληθῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν φαίνονται μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ οὐνόματι: αἱ δὲ **δωδέκα πόλιες αὗται τῷ τε οὐνόματι ἠγάλλοντο καὶ ἱρὸν ἰδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτέων, τῷ οὖνομα ἔθεντο Πανιώνιον, ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἴωνων (οὐδ' ἐδεήθησαν δὲ οὐδαμοὶ μετασχεῖν ὅτι μὴ Σμυρναῖοι)**

147 ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται τοῦ οὐνόματος μᾶλλον τι τῶν ἄλλων Ἴωνων, ἔστωσαν δὴ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες Ἴωνες. [2] εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἴωνες ὅσοι ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων γεγόνασι καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὀρθήν. ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφονίων: οὗτοι γὰρ μόνοι Ἴωνων οὐκ ἄγουσι Ἀπατούρια, καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ φόνου τινὰ σκῆψιν.

148 τὸ δὲ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χῶρος ἱρὸς πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένος, κοινῇ ἐξαιρημένος ὑπὸ Ἴωνων Ποσειδέωνι Ἐλικωνίῳ. ἡ δὲ Μυκάλῃ ἐστὶ τῆς ἠπειροῦ ἄκρῃ πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον κατήκουσα Σάμφω καταντίον, ἐς τὴν συλλεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων Ἴωνες ἄγεσκον ὀρθήν τῇ ἔθεντο οὖνομα Πανιώνι

## 2. Strabo 14.1.4

These are the twelve Ionian cities, but at a later time Smyrna was added, being induced by the Ephesians to join the Ionian League; **for they lived together in ancient times**, when Ephesus was also called Smyrna. . . . Smyrna was an Amazon who took possession of Ephesus; and hence the name both of the inhabitants and of the city. . . . On departing from the Ephesians, the Smyrnaeans marched to the place where Smyrna now is, which was in the possession of the Leleges, and, having driven them out, they founded the ancient Smyrna, which is about twenty stadia distant from the present Smyrna. But later, being driven out by the Aeolians, they fled for refuge to Colophon, and then with the Colophonians returned to their own land and took it back, as Mimnermus tells us in his Nanno, after recalling that Smyrna was always an object of contention:

“After we left Pylus, the steep city of Neleus, we came by ship to lovely Asia, and with our overweening might settled in beloved Colophon, taking the initiative in grievous insolence. And from there, setting out from the Astæeis River, **by the will of the gods we took Aeolian Smyrna.**”

## 3. Vitr. *De arch.* 4.1.4-5

Melite, on account of the arrogance of its citizens, was destroyed by the other cities in a war declared by general agreement, and in its place, through the kindness of King Attalus and Arsinoe, **the city of the Smyrnaeans was admitted among the Ionians**. Now these cities, after driving out the Carians and Lelegans, called that part of the world Ionia from their leader Ion, and there they set off precincts for the immortal gods and began to build fanes: **first of all, a temple to Panionion Apollo such as they had seen in Achaëa**, calling it Doric because they had first seen that kind of temple built in the Dorian states.

## 4a. Hom. *Il.* 20.401-405

And as Hippodamas breathed forth his spirit he gave a bellowing cry, even as a bull that is dragged bellows, when young men drag him about **the altar of the lord of Helice**.

αὐται μὲν δώδεκα Ἴωνικαὶ πόλεις, προσελήφθη δὲ χρόνοις ὕστερον καὶ Σμύρνα εἰς τὸ Ἴωνικὸν ἐναγαγόντων Ἐφεσίων: **ἦσαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς σύνοικοι τὸ παλαιόν**, ἠγνίκα καὶ Σμύρνα ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ Ἐφεσος . . . Σμύρνα δ' ἦν Ἀμαζῶν ἢ κατασχοῦσα τὴν Ἐφεσον, ἀφ' ἧς τοῦνομα καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τῇ πόλει . . . ἀπελθόντες δὲ παρὰ τῶν Ἐφεσίων οἱ Σμυρναῖοι στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ νῦν ἔστιν ἡ Σμύρνα, Λελέγων κατεχόντων: ἐκβαλόντες δ' αὐτοὺς ἔκτισαν τὴν παλαιὰν Σμύρναν διέχουσαν τῆς νῦν περὶ εἴκοσι σταδίου. ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ Αἰολέων ἐκπεσόντες κατέφυγον εἰς Κολοφῶνα, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐνθένδε ἐπιόντες τὴν σφετέραν ἀπέλαβον: καθάπερ καὶ Μίμνερμος ἐν τῇ Ναννοῖ φράζει μνησθεὶς τῆς Σμύρνης ὅτι περιμάχητος αἶε

“ἡμεῖς δηῦτε Πύλον Νηλήιον ἄστῳ λιπόντες ἡμερτὴν Ἀσίην νηυσὶν ἀφικόμεθα: ἐς δ' ἐρατὴν Κολοφῶνα βίην ὑπέροπλον ἔχοντες ἐζόμεθ' ἀργαλέης ὕβριος ἡγεμόνες. κείθεν δ' ἀστήεντος ἀπορνούμενοι ποταμοῖο θεῶν βουλῇ Σμύρνην εἴλομεν Αἰολίδα

haec Melite propter civium adrogantiam ab his civitatibus bello indicto communi consilio est sublata; cuius loco postea regis Attali et Arsinoes beneficio **Zmyrnaeorum civitas inter Ionas est recepta**: hae civitates, cum Caras et Lelegas eiecissent, eam terrae regionem a duce suo Ione appellaverunt Ioniam ibique deorum immortalium templa constituentes coeperunt fana aedificare. **et primum Apollini Panionio aedem, uti viderant in Achaia**, constituerunt et eam Doricam appellaverunt, quod in Dorieon civitatibus primum factam eo genere viderunt.

αὐτὰρ ὁ θυμὸν αἴσθε καὶ ἤρυγεν, ὡς ὅτε ταῦρος ἤρυγεν ἐλκόμενος **Ἑλικώνιον ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα** κούρων ἐλκόντων:

#### 4b. Strabo 8.7.2

For the sea was raised by an earthquake and it submerged Helice, and also the temple of the Heliconian Poseidon, whom the Ionians worship even to this day, offering there the Pan-Ionian sacrifices. And, as some suppose, Homer recalls this sacrifice when he says: "but he breathed out his spirit and bellowed, as when a dragged bull bellows round **the altar of the Heliconian lord.**"

#### 5. Her. 1.170

When the Ionians, despite their evil plight, nonetheless assembled at the Panionion, Bias of Priene, I have learned, gave them very useful advice, and had they followed it they might have been the most prosperous of all Greeks: for he advised them to put out to sea and sail all together to Sardinia and then found one city for all Ionians: thus, possessing the greatest island in the world and ruling others, they would be rid of slavery and have prosperity; but if they stayed in Ionia he could see (he said) no hope of freedom for them. This was the advice which Bias of Priene gave after the destruction of the Ionians; and that given before the destruction by Thales of Miletus, a Phoenician by descent, was good too; he advised that the Ionians have one place of deliberation, and that it be in Teos (for that was the center of Ionia), and that the other cities be considered no more than demes.

ἐξαρθὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ τὸ πέλαγος κατέκλυσε καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἑλικωνίου Ποσειδῶνος, ὃν καὶ νῦν ἔτι τιμῶσιν Ἴωνες, καὶ θύουσιν ἐκεῖ τὰ Πανιώνια. μέμνηται δ', ὡς ὑπονοοῦσί τινες, ταύτης τῆς θυσίας Ὅμηρος ὅταν φῆ "αὐτὰρ ὁ θυμὸν ἄισθε καὶ ἦρυγεν, ὡς ὅτε ταῦρος ἦρυγεν ἐλκόμενος Ἑλικώνιον ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα."

κεκακωμένων δὲ Ἴωνων καὶ συλλεγομένων οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἐς τὸ Πανιώνιον, πυνθάνομαι γνώμην Βίαντα ἄνδρα Πριηνέα ἀποδέξασθαι Ἴωσι χρησιμωτάτην, τῇ εἰ ἐπέιθοντο, παρεῖχε ἄν σφι εὐδαιμονέειν Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα: ὃς ἐκέλευε κοινῶ στόλῳ Ἴωνας ἀερθέντας πλέειν ἐς Σαρδῶ καὶ ἔπειτα πόλιν μίαν κτίζειν πάντων Ἴωνων, καὶ οὕτω ἀπαλλαγθέντας σφέας δουλοσύνης εὐδαιμονήσειν, νήσων τε ἀπασέων μεγίστην νεμομένους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἄλλων: μένουσι δὲ σφι ἐν τῇ Ἴωνίῃ οὐκ ἔφη ἐνορᾶν ἐλευθερίην ἔτι ἐσομένην. αὕτη μὲν Βίαντος τοῦ Πριηνέος γνώμη ἐπὶ διεφθαρμένοισι Ἴωσι γενομένη, χρηστὴ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ διαφθαρήναι Ἰωνίην Θάλεω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου ἐγένετο, τὸ ἀνεκαθεν γένος ἐόντος Φοίνικος, ὃς ἐκέλευε ἐν βουλευτήριον Ἴωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέῳ (Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι Ἰωνίης), τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλιας οἰκεομένας μηδὲν ἦσσαν νομίζεσθαι κατὰ περ ἐς δῆμοι εἶεν: οὗτοι μὲν δὴ σφι γνώμας τοιάσδε ἀπεδέξαντο.



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