

IONIAN FACTOR AND DELOS (IX – IV CENTURIES BC)

Liena Kukoba

Junior Research Associate, V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, Ukraine
e-mail: lienakukoba@gmail.com, orcid.org/0000-0002-6602-9629

Summary

The purpose of the article is to reveal the significance of the Ionian factor in the development of ancient Delos. Based on ancient sources, the process of Ionian colonization and the arrival of the Ionians on Delos are considered. It is established that the Ionians developed the cult of the god Apollo on Delos and turned it into an all-Ionian, and not only, religious center. Delos became the site of Ionian religious gatherings and the center of early Ionian amphictyony. The establishment of a famous religious center led to the neighboring islands trying to expand their political influence in the Aegean region through the patronage of Delos. On the basis of archaeological and written sources it is proved that the island was under the influence of Naxos, Paros; had the patronage of the tyrant Samos Polycrates and others.

The activity of Athens was demonstrated on the island due to the Ionic factor. The purification of the island by Pisistratus, the founding of the Delian league and the Delian-Attic amphictyony, the establishing of the Delia festival were considered. Athens believed she was an Ionian mother-city and used Ionian factor, trying to present itself as the religious leaders of all Ionians. They were able not only to establish control over the sanctuary, but also to extend their hegemony to the entire Aegean.

The peculiarities of the development of the Delos polis, which were connected with the Ionic factor, have been determined. Externally, Delos was a famous religious centre and had the status of a holy place that was inviolable. Like all Ionians, the Delos had the same tribal system, but due to constant external control, especially Athenian, and the presence of Athenian officials amphictyones, the Delos was not able to develop as a full-fledged independent polis.

Keywords: Ionians, Athens, sanctuary of Apollo, religious center, amphictyony.

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1. Introduction

The ancient polis of Delos is deservedly considered a distinctive polis of ancient Greece. Throughout the ancient period, it developed in a special way, which began with the arrival of the Ionian tribes and the formation of the cult of the god Apollo. The influence of the Ionian factor on the religious and socio-political life of the ancient island of Delos is a very important and insufficiently studied problem. It is only partially present in general and specific studies on Delos (*Laidlaw, 1933; CAH, 2008; Whibley, 2001; Tomson, 1958; Hornblower, 1991; Constantakopoulou, 2007*).

Therefore, the main purpose of the article is to reveal the significance of the factor of Ionism and its derivation on Delos directly on the basis of ancient sources. The main tasks are following: considering the Ionian colonization, the main events on the island related to the Ionians, and the spread of influence of other states; researching relationships between Delos and Athens as the oldest Ionian city; determining the features of the polis of Delos, which were associated with the Ionic factor. The methodological basis of the study is the

principles of historicism, as well as a comprehensive, systematic and contextual study of phenomena. The study is based on a problem-based approach. The solution of the research problem led to the use of both general scientific (analysis and synthesis) and general historical methods such as retrospective, historical-typological, comparative-chronological, problem-chronological.

2. Ionians and Delos

The formation of Delos as an important religious center dates back to the so-called “dark ages”, at that time the cults of all the Greek gods began to emerge. According to the Homeric hymn to Delian Apollo (Hom., To Delian Apollo. I.30–78.) and to the Hymn to Delos of the Alexandrian poet of the Hellenistic period Callimachus (Callimachus. Hymn to Delos, 55–274.) the goddess Leto gave birth to two gods – Artemis and Apollo on Delos under Mount Kynthos, while embracing a palm tree. The cult of Apollo on Delos developed when the island became Ionian, due to the colonization of the Ionian tribes.

It was at the end of the 2nd – beginning of the 1st millennium BC that the Aegean islands were the objects of migration. Dorian pressure in the Peloponnese caused the first Mesons of Pylos, including the Neleid royal house, and other Ionian inhabitants of Achaea to leave the Peloponnese and take refuge in Attica. The Neleids received citizenship there (CAH, 2008. Vol.2. P. 2), as well as rights to land and place in the tribal system (Tomson, 1958), as it was indicated by Thucydides (Thuc. I.12.4). Some of the clans, namely the Medontides, supported the royal power in Athens; another genus – Codrides – led the migration to Ionia (Tomson, 1958). As it is known from ancient sources (Strab. XIV.I.3; Paus. VII.2.1–4), the Codrides were members of the Athenian royal family, between which the struggle for reign in Athens erupted. In the end, Medont remained to rule, and the rest went to found colonies, gathering around them mainly the Ionian population. Colonization was the only organized act prepared by Athens, which gathered many refugees from other parts of Greece (CAH, 2008. Vol.2. P. 2).

Waves of migrants came mainly from Attica and through Attica in the XI century BC. 11 islands of the Cycladic archipelago and 6 of the 13 polises of Asia Minor Ionia were withdrawn from Attica (Kolesnikov, 2003). And then Andros, Keos, Naxos, Paros, Delos and other neighboring islands of the Aegean Sea received their Ionian population. On the shores of Asia Minor were founded cities: Miletus, Myus and Priena in Caria, Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Erythrae, Clazomenae and Phocaea in Lydia, then Samos and Chios on the islands of the same name (Latyshev, 1997).

Panionium on Cape Mycale was chosen as the official center of the Ionians, but it was quite far to the south and proved inconvenient. Later, when the Ionians settled in all directions, they gathered for the festivals of Apollo on the island of Delos (Tomson, 1958). Since then, Delos has become the center of the Ionian cult of the god Apollo (Latyshev, 1997). The ancient Greek tradition explains why Apollo and his cult united all the Ionian tribes and why the Ionians developed the cult of Apollo to such an extent that the sanctuary of Apollo at Delos became of Greek significance. According to ancient Greek mythology, the Ionians descended from Ion, and Ion was the son of Apollo and Creusa, daughter of the Athenian king Erechtheus (Grejvs, 1992; Yarho, 1997). Therefore, the Ionians could consider themselves descendants of Apollo.

At the beginning of the “dark ages”, the image of Apollo as one of the important Olympian gods began to take shape, and his functions continued to increase in the following periods.

Plato (Plato. *Crat.* 404d–406b) explained the name of Apollo and found out such functions as patronage of music, the provision of prophecies, the ability to heal, archery. In addition, Apollo was the god of light, purity, patron of shepherds and guardian of herds, the god of competition, the god-protector, the founder of new cities, he headed the Muses.

Although there is no single decision on the origin of the cult of Apollo on Delos, most researchers insist on its Asia Minor origin, and its formation took place during the “dark ages”. After all, we can find evidence from Homer's poem “*Odyssey*” (Hom. *Od.* VI.162–163) that there was already an altar and the temple of Apollo on Delos, and next to it – a date palm as one of his attributes. Odysseus could compare the beauty of the daughter of the Feak king Alcinous Nausicaa with the date palm. In general, the problem of the origin of the cult of Apollo on Delos remains open. But, of course, we must distinguish the Delphic Apollo, who was a Dorian god, and Apollo of Delos, the Ionian god. Delian Apollo had no doctrine to preach even in the haphazard sense that Delphic Apollo had; or at least had no oracle through which to preach it. His mission, if such it may be called, was to act as a focus for Ionian sentiment, exclusively and inclusively (*CAH, 2008. Vol.3. P. 3: 258*).

Despite the fact that the cult of Apollo came to Delos, it made the island a place of all-Ionian and all-Greek significance. Delos has acquired the status of a “holy place”. Strabo (Strab. X.V.2) also cites an ancient legend about the birth of Apollo and claims that the neighboring islands glorified Delos for this. Thus Delos became the center of the early Ionian island amphictyony.

Amphictyonies were religious unions of neighboring peoples for the joint worship of the deity, without any relation to their tribal kinship (*Latyshev, 1997*). The original purpose of the amphictyonies was joint sacrifices and celebrations in honor of the revered deity at his temple, then – the protection of this temple and its treasures that have accumulated from private and public offerings, and the punishment of the saints. Festive meetings could also be held on the occasion of meetings on political affairs that were of common interest to the inhabitants of a particular area, so that the amphictyonies gradually gained influence on political relations. During the festivals, sacred truces were declared (*Latyshev, 1997*). The name of “amphictyony” means “inhabitants who live around” (*Jessen, 1894*).

From Strabo's data (Strab. X.V.3) it is known that the amphictyony first included 12 Cycladic islands, then several more were added. These include Ceos, Cythnus, Seriphus, Melos, Siphnuss, Cimolos, Prepensinthuss, Oliarus, Paros, Naxos, Syros, Mykonos, Tenos, Andros and Gyarus. This early island amphictyony was called Ionian, because most of the islands that were part of it were Ionian.

The existence of early Ionian amphictyony has been questioned. V. Chankowski believes that there was no archaic amphictyony on Delos. She agrees that Delos was an important religious center in the archaic period, but there were no official institutions, such as the Delphic amphictyony (*Chankowski, 2008*). But, based on the reports of ancient Greek authors, it can be argued that the sanctuary of Apollo at Delos was the religious center of the Ionian tribes. And they, in turn, could not fail to exercise any patronage and protection of their religious center. Thus, Delos of the archaic era was an important religious center of the Ionians, and it is possible that there was a certain agreement between the neighboring islands to protect the sanctuary of Apollo. That's why at that time the Delian amphictyony took shape, although it was not as institutionally organized as the Delphic one.

We can find from ancient sources that celebrations were held in Delos in honor of the god Apollo. The oldest reports of celebrations are in the Homeric hymn to Delian Apollo (Hom., *To Delian Apollo. II.146–161*). The Ionians gathered with their wives to glorify God. They

held fist fights, dances, choirs. The girls shot a bow. In addition to Apollo, the Ionians revered Leto and Artemis. Thucydides (Thuc. III.104.3) described that large gatherings of Ionians and inhabitants of neighboring islands on Delos. They came (as for the Ephesian Games) with their wives and children to watch the Delian games. Musical and gymnastic competitions took place, and dances with songs were arranged. Strabo (Strab. X.V.2) also mentioned about the Ionian assembly, sacrifices, maiden choirs and great national celebrations.

Such a large number of reports by ancient authors about the Ionian assemblies on Delos testifies only to the initial formation of Delos together with its sanctuary, the main religious center of the Ionian tribes. In addition, it should be noted that these meetings had not only religious but also, to some extent, economic significance: during the annual festivals in honor of Apollo on Delos, trade was mainly between Ionia and the Cyclades. Although they were insignificant throughout the archaic period and were limited mainly to ceramics (*Lapteva, 2009: 263*).

Religious influence aroused political interest in the island. As Delos gained fame as an important religious center during the archaic period, many neighboring islands and states tried to extend their control to it, which would increase their influence in the Aegean. Archaeological and written data prove that at this time Delos is traced to the influence of several states. At the end of VII – beginning of VI century BC Delos was under the influence of Naxos. But G. de Santer (*Santerre, 1958*) argued, based on the study of archaic dedications, that Naxos dominated Delos from the middle of the VII century. Archaeological evidence shows well that it was the Naxos who dedicated to Delos and the sanctuary of Apollo the terrace of lions made of Naxian marble, the temple of Apollo, the Naxian oikos (treasury) (*Santerre, 1984*), Artemision, as well as statues: Naxian kuros and the famous colossus of Apollo, which was 9 meters high (*Querrel, 2014*). Such things mean an interest greater than a simple devotion and something more than a simple desire to advertise products from their careers (*CAH, 2008. Vol.3. P. 1: 258.*).

There were also traces of the island of Paros on Delos. Following the example of Naxos, the Parians dedicated several kuroses (statues of boys and girls) to the sanctuary of Apollo, which are in the Archaeological Museum of Delos.

Delos may have been influenced by Eretria. Strabo (Strab. X.I.10) indicated that it ruled over Andros, Tenos, Keos and other islands. Eretrian influence on Delos, the great Ionian cult center of the Aegean, lasted before the VII century BC (*CAH, 2008. Vol.4*).

The influence of the Naxos on Delos led to the formation of patronage of the sanctuary of other ancient Greek tyrants. The help to the Naxian tyrant Ligdamid from the Athenian tyrant Pisistratus (*CAH, 2008. Vol.3. P. 1*) opened the way for him to Delos, which will be expanded later.

Another tyrant of Samos Polycrates, sought to establish trade hegemony in the Aegean and paid attention to Delos. He tried to become the saint patron of the Temple of Apollo. Thus, in Thucydides (Thuc. III.104.2) one can find a message about the gift of Polycrates (*Parke, 1946*). He conquered the island of Rhenea and dedicated to Apollo of Delos by attaching with the chains.

Throughout the archaic and subsequent period, even the inhabitants of Delos began to realize that their island-sanctuary began to gain importance throughout the Hellenic world. However, already at this time the Delos festival began to decline because the Ionians of Asia Minor were forced to fight the Persian state. Now the approaching war drew the attention of the mainland Ionians to their ancient religious association Panionium.

3. Athens and Delos

The role of Athens as one of the oldest Ionian polises in the religious and socio-political life of Delos should be considered separately. As it is known from ancient sources, Delos came under the influence of Athens, and in 540 BC Pisistratus purified the island (Hdt. I.64; Thuc. III.104). He ordered to dig up all the dead who had been buried in the area visible from the temple and transfer them to another part of Delos. At the same time a new temple of Apollo was built, which was made of Attic stone (*CAH, 2008. Vol. 3. P. 1*).

Pisistratus decided to raise his authority with the support and patronage he gave to the great Ionian celebrations held at Delos. It is well-known fact, that Pisistratus was a descendant of the Neleid family, descended from the revered founders of Ionia. So with great perseverance he began to implement this idea. And it should be emphasized that not without significance for the future of Athens was a close relationship, which entered Pisistratus with Delos and his temple of Apollo, a tribal shrine of all Ionians. The purification of the island was an example of Athens' claims to supremacy among the Ionian cities. In addition, according to Athenaeus (VIII. 330 E), the Athenians received a prophecy at Delos that they would dominate the sea. In this case, Pisistratus, fulfilling this prophecy, began to establish relations with the Apollo of Delos. Purification and supremacy over Delos helped Athens to spread its control throughout the Aegean, especially among the Ionian population of the islands and Asia Minor, which will be important for the policy of Athens in the future (*Hornblower, 1991; Laidlaw, 1933*). This could be the basis for the further establishment of Athenian hegemony throughout the Aegean.

Another view on this was in Berve G. He, in particular, notes that Pisistratus had a very tense relationship with the Sanctuary of Delphi, which, apparently, was sympathetic to the Alcmeonids (*Berve, 1967*). He further argues that the idea that Pisistratus dominated in the Aegean Sea by conquering Naxos and other islands is hardly true, at least not confirmed. If for religious purposes he ordered the purification of Delos, the sacred island of Apollo, from burials and contributed to the expansion of the sanctuary, it means that he actively sought the favor of the Delos god, who to some extent competed with the Delphic god and no more. If he really ruled the sea, it would not go unnoticed in the ancient sources (*Berve, 1967*).

The British authors of Ancient Cambridge history (*CAH, 2008. Vol.3. P. 1.*) also had a similar opinion that Pisistratus refused to get closer to the Delphians, who were supporters of the Alcmeonids, in addition, it was influenced by marriage with the Argives and rapprochement mainly with the Ionian Apollo of Delos (as noted earlier, rapprochement with this sanctuary was also characteristic of the friend of Pisistratus Lygdamis of Naxos and Polycrates of Samos). But the conclusions about the tyranny of Pisistratus state that the tyrant's activities in the Aegean, and especially the purification of Delos, point in the direction in which Athens was destined to move in the fifth century BC (*CAH, 2008. Vol.3. P. 1*).

The Athenians, as representatives of the Ionian tribes, took part in the Delian festivals and amphictyony. In addition, they sent a sacred embassy to Delos every year (Plato. *Phaed.*58a10 – p. 9; Paus. VIII.48.3; Plut. *Thes.*21). After the successful return of Theseus from Crete, the Athenians promised to send a sacred theory to Delos. It is this legend that has linked the Athenians to Delos since kings' times. By the way, the sending of one such sacred embassy to Delos delayed the execution of the philosopher Socrates.

The respectful attitude of the Athenians to the sanctuary of Apollo at Delos, the authority and special position of the sanctuary of Delos and Delos in general led to the fact that this sacred island became in 478/7 BC the center of the Delian league. This event is well preserved in the ancient tradition and is mentioned by more than one author (Thuc. I.96; Arist. *Athen.*

Pol.23.5; Diod. XI.37 – 84; Plut. Arist. 24 – 25). The creator of the union is considered to be Aristides, and its goal was to further fight the Persians. Athens had about two hundred allies. The the Delian league repeated the forms of earlier alliances, such as the Peloponnesian, led by Sparta.

The Delian league included all the islands in the Aegean Sea and colonies. The fact that Delos with the famous ancient Greek shrine became the center of this league was natural. Here it is necessary to point out again the importance of the Ionic factor. Delos with its sanctuary of Apollo was important to the Ionians in the literal sense. Initially, Naxos had the dominant influence, the Athenian interest was demonstrated by the tyrant Pisistratus. The use of the term “Ionian” in relation to a union whose members included the eastern Greeks on all shores is not accidental, according to sources: with the founding of the union it was presented as Ionian (which was to help justify Athens' leadership and make it acceptable to Sparta), and all eastern Greeks assimilated to the Ionians (*CAH, 2008. Vol.5*).

The Delian league had a peculiarity: it was necessary to wage a naval war. A congress of all commissioners from individual cities convened in Delos to decide the general affairs of the league, and all members of the league had equal voting rights at this meeting. But Athens had the leadership in the alliance, Athenians determined the conditions and activities of the Allies. Thucydides (Thuc. I.96) described the founding of the league quite fully: crews (the reason was the desire to avenge the barbarian for his troubles by devastating the Persian land). Then, for the first time, the Athenians introduced the office of treasurers for Hellas, who accepted phoros (so-called payment of monetary contributions). The first phoros was set at 460 talents. The treasury was at Delos, and a meeting of Allied delegates was held there. The amount of phoros changed further. Part of the money paid by the Allies was dedicated to Apollo at Delos (a similar offering was intended for the goddess Athena in Athens itself).

The Allied treasury was in Delos until 454 BC, at the same time Pericles (Plut. Per. 12.1) ordered the treasury was moved to Athens so that it would not be captured by the Persians. The Persians defeated the Athenian fleet on the Nile. And Pericles successfully used this as evidence of a new and possible Persian invasion to move the union treasury from Delos to Athens, where it would be safer and under the direct control of Athens. But opponents opposed the transfer of the treasury from Delos to Athens. The treasury was placed in the temple of Athena, and it symbolized the patronage of the union not of Apollo, but of Athena. The league no longer became all-Greek, but Athenian (*Strogeckij, 1991:131*). The First Athenian league lasted until 404 BC, when, as a result of the defeat of Athens by Sparta in the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BC), the dissolution of the league was one of the requirements of the peace treaty.

If we talk about the Delian league, then its formation and further development were more important for Athens than for Delos, on which it was founded. This island continued to retain peace, its status as a “holy place” and privileges. Delos was exempted from paying phoros, which other allies were required to pay.

After the establishment of the league's treasury on Delos, construction activity continued on the building of the marble temple of Apollo. After the transfer of the treasury to the Acropolis, work on the temple slowed down, its construction was completed only in the III century BC (*Vallois, 1953*).

The founding of the Delian league led to the formation of the Delian-Attic amphictyony (IG II² 1633-1653), in which Athens played a leading role. After the transfer of the common treasury from Delos to Athens in 454 BC, the island lost its significance for the union for some time. For Athens, however, this opened up new opportunities for further subordination of the sanctuary to its control.

In 425 BC, the Athenians again purified Delos. This time (Thuc. III.104.2; Paus. II. XXVII.1) all the graves with the dead were ordered by the Athenians to be taken out of the island and those who were to die were forbidden to stay there, and women who were to give birth were ordered to be transported to a neighboring island Rhenea. It was even forbidden to keep dogs there (Strab. X.V.5).

The external aspect played an important role in the second purification. After all, carrying out another purification was to resemble the activities of Pisistratus (*Hornblower, 1991*). Thus, Athens seemed to continue the policy aimed at establishing Athenian hegemony in the Cyclades and in the Aegean in general. The Athenians considered themselves the mother-city of all the Ionian states united by the cult of Apollo at Delos, so the next subordination of the island and the sanctuary of Apollo on it to its power for Athens meant, as already mentioned, the establishment of supremacy among the Ionian and some other tribes. And the Athenians continued to manipulate the legend of the origin of Ion. It is not in vain that Delos became the center of the Delian league). Athens' activity on Delos during this period can be explained by the fact that they sought to restore a kind of Delian "Ionism" at a time when Olympia and her strong Dorian association, holding a meeting, expressed their hostility to Athens. And Delphi, as another center of the cult of Apollo, had pro-Spartan sympathies at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (*Hornblower, 1991*).

Then, in 422 BC the Athenians evicted the Delos from their island (Thuc. V.32.1). Although the following year, when the plague began in Athens, perceived as the punishment of Apollo, they returned them to the island. And Athens never stopped sending the annual sacred embassies – theories to the island (Plato. Phaed. 58a.10 – p. 9; Plut. Nic. 3.4.1 – 3.6.2.).

In the new Delian-Attic amphictyony, the Delos temple was run by Athenian officials amphictyones. There are different views on the origin of the term "amphictyones" and its connection with the archaic Ionian amphictyony. Here is just the best explanation: By using the term "amphictyones", Athenian officials adopted the role of the representatives from the entire network of participants that constituted in a previous era the religious network around Delos and now the official allies of Athens. Athens as single city wished to embody the network of participants in the cult, while also manifesting her power over a prestigious religious centre (*Constantakopoulou, 2007: 70*).

It should be emphasized once again that the Athenians positioned themselves as leaders of the Ionians. Ionian propaganda began in the time of Pisistratus, with the aim of presenting Athens as the mother-city of all of Ionia. She needed to emphasize the long relationship between Athens on the one hand, and Delos with the Cyclades on the other, and the mention of amphictyony could help. This, first of all, should be considered for explaining the origin of the name of the Athenian magistracy.

In addition to establishing a board of amphictyones on Delos, the Athenians took several measures to promote their further consolidation on the island. Among them was the establishing of Delia (Δηλια), a new festival in honor of the god Apollo. The establishing of this festival was another step of the Athenians to subdue the island and the Cyclades in general. Thucydides (Thuc. III.104.2) reports that after the purification, the Athenians first founded the festival of Delia and began to hold the Delian games every four years. Musical and gymnastic competitions took place here and round dances with singing were arranged by the polis. Further Thucydides (Thuc. III.104.3 – 4.) also explains that these competitions have existed since Homeric times, but became obsolete due to the conquest of Ionia by the Persians. The Athenians again introduced a four-year competition along with horse racing, which did not exist before.

The first festival took place in 425 BC and was probably the occasion for the majestic theory of Nicias (*Whibley, 2001*), described by Plutarch (Plut. Nic. 3.4.1 – 3.6.2.). Although there is an assumption that the theory of Nicias took place in 417/6 BC (*Ziebarth, 1917*). According to Plutarch, Nicias organized a lavish festival for the delicacies, dedicated a copper palm tree and a place bought for 10,000 drachmas to the temple of Apollo. From the income received from it, the dealers had to offer sacrifices to Apollo, organize feasts and pray to the gods to send all the blessings to Nicias. So Delia was accompanied by choir performances, sacrifices, banquets, games. It was obligatory to dedicate the golden crown to Apollo (*Freely, 2006*).

Reports from Athenian officials show that the holiday on the island itself was prepared by Athenian amphictyones. In addition, the Athenians celebrated this holiday in the month of Thargelion (*Chankowski, 2008*). The Delians celebrated the feast of Apollo in the month of Hieron, when, according to legend, their patron god was born.

The festival was modeled on the great Pan-Hellenic festivals and was undoubtedly open to the Aegean states and perhaps to all Greeks (*Whibley, 2001*). V. Chankowski calls Delia the second Panathenaic (*Chankowski, 2008*). It was important to the Athenians that the inhabitants of other polises recognize them as religious leaders in the Cyclades and in the whole Aegean.

The pro-Athenian feast of Delia was thus to unite both the Ionian and other islands around Delos, Apollo, and their Athenian patrons.

In 314 BC Delos gained independence and, most importantly, control over the sanctuary of Apollo. And the Athenian amphitheaters ceased their activities on the island.

4. Ionian Delos

Now it is necessary to move on to the main features of the development of Delos, which was influenced by the Ionian factor. All of them determined the external development of Delos, which secured him the status of a sacred and inviolable place. Its inhabitants had nothing to sell except religion (*CAH, 2008. Vol.3. P. 3: 258*).

All this, in turn, influenced the internal development of the Delos policy. The population of Delos belonged to the Ionian tribes, so it had a traditional division into four branches. In the inscriptions (IG XI 4 1026) the name of only one is preserved – Argades (*Αργάδης). Each of the philes was divided into trittyes. They were headed by tritttyarchons. Of the twelve thirds (IG XI 2, 287; 199; ID 1416; 1417), only five have been named: Tvestades (Θυεστάδαι), Okunides (Ωκυνεΐδαι), Purrakides (Πυρρακίδαι), Mapsichides (Μαψιχίδαι), Teandrides (Θεανδρίδαι). The division of tritium into demes remains problematic, and the small area of Delos made it impossible (*Laidlaw, 1933*). In several inscriptions (IG XI 4 547; ID 298.) there is evidence of division on the phratry.

In connection with the formation of Delos as a religious center there were no military formations, and archaeological excavations have not found any remains of defensive walls, which at one time allowed to easily attack the island and plunder it with the troops of Mithridates (89 BC) and pirates (69 BC). Delos himself did not take part in any military campaign.

Sources, especially epigraphic, do not allow to study in detail the polis organization of this period. Aristotle (Athenaeus. VII, 296 p.) described the Delian politia, but this source has not reached us. It is known that the Boule and the Assembly existed and functioned. With the formation of the Delian-Attic amphictyony, the Delian sanctuary of Apollo was ruled by Athenian amphictyones. Epigraphic inscriptions, especially from the so-called “Sandwich marble” (IG II² 1635), allow us to reveal their activities. They controlled the sanctuary, kept records of all offerings and donations to the temple of Apollo, organized Delia. In addition, amphictyones

issued financial loans to both individuals and policies. In this way, Athens could control all the debtors of the temple. The presence of the Athenian administration proves once again that Delos could not be independent and fully realized as a polis. It was not until 314 BC that Delos gained independence, was able to fully implement all polis institutions while the rest of the polis was in decline, and most importantly, control of the sanctuary of Apollo passed to the Delians and their officials.

5. Conclusion

The factor of Ionism became one of the determinants in the development of ancient Delos. The arrival of the Ionian tribes developed the cult of the god Apollo on Delos and turned it into one of the most famous Greek sanctuaries. And this, in turn, led to the patronage of the island of other polises and tyrants. After all, the establishment of good relations with Delos raised their authority in the Aegean region.

Athens, which considered herself the oldest metropolis of Ionia, also managed to establish its influence on the island. From the tyrant Pisistratus to the founding of the Delian-Attic amphycyony and the establishing of the festival of Delia, they were able to present themselves as leaders of the Ionians, to subdue and establish control over the sanctuary of Apollo. This was one of the factors that allowed them to establish their hegemony in the Aegean.

The presence of the well-known sanctuary of Apollo led to the development of Delos as a sacred place. And this, in turn, determined a different path from the development of the Delian polis. Under the control of Athens, Delos was not independent and could not fully develop its polis institutions until the Athenians left the island.

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