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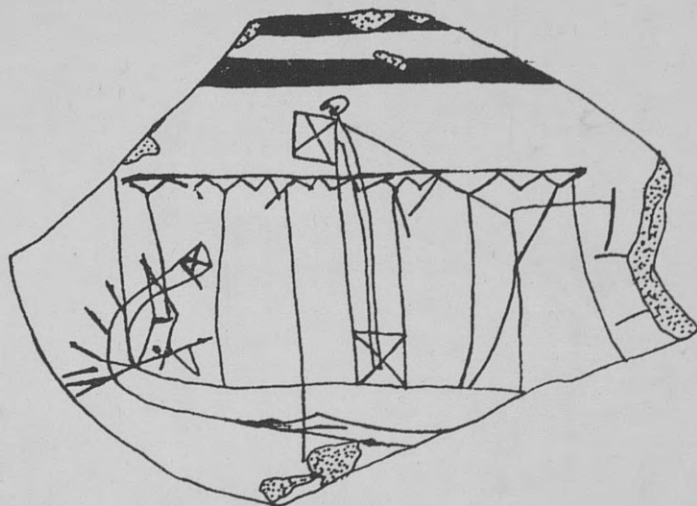
ANNALI DI ARCHEOLOGIA E STORIA ANTICA

DIPARTIMENTO DI STUDI DEL MONDO CLASSICO
E DEL MEDITERRANEO ANTICO

Nuova Serie N. 1

ΑΠΟΙΚΙΑ

SCRITTI IN ONORE DI GIORGIO BUCHNER



1994 Napoli

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I PIÙ ANTICHI INSEDIAMENTI GRECI IN OCCIDENTE:
FUNZIONI E MODI DELL'ORGANIZZAZIONE POLITICA E SOCIALE

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[a cura di BRUNO D'AGOSTINO - DAVID RIDGWAY]

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[a cura di BRUNO D'AGOSTINO - DAM KIDWELL]

In copertina: Skyphos LG da Eretria con graffito raffigurante una nave (da A. Andreiomenou, AE 1983)

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Altezza: h.; ad esempio: ad es.; bibliografia: bibl.; catalogo: cat.; centimetri: cm.; circa: ca.; citato: cit.; colonna/e: col./coll.; confronta o vedi: cfr.; *et alii: et al.*; fascicolo: fasc.; figura/e: fig./figg.; frammento/i: fr./frr.; inventario: inv.; larghezza: largh.; lunghezza: lungh.; metri: m.; numero/i: n./nn.; pagina/e: p./pp.; professore/professoressa: prof.; ristampa: rist.; secolo: sec.; seguente/i: s./ss.; serie: S.; sotto voce/i: s.v./s.vv.; supplemento: suppl.; tavola/e: tav./tavv.; tomba: t.; traduzione italiana: trad. it.

Non si abbreviano: *idem, eadem, ibidem*; in corso di stampa; nord, sud, est, ovest; nota/e; *non vidi*.

PRESENTAZIONE

Non c'è oggi studioso del mondo classico o del Mediterraneo antico che non conosca il nome e l'opera di Giorgio Buchner: pur nella vastissima gamma dei suoi interessi, egli soprattutto è e resterà sinonimo dell'euboica Pithekous-sai, e dell'autentica rivoluzione che questa scoperta ha portato in tutte le nostre nozioni riguardanti la Magna Grecia, e di conseguenza anche la Grecia arcaica da un lato, e dall'altro l'Italia antica. Questi sono fatti: ma il semplice riconoscimento di una grande impresa scientifica, benché di eccezionale portata, non dà un'idea dell'uomo stesso — come ci è offerta invece dalla sentita frase usata da uno dei colleghi che ha contribuito a questo volume, C.W. Neeft, nella dedica del suo Protocorinthian Subgeometric Aryballo (Amsterdam 1987):

To
Giorgio Buchner:
a meticulous excavator,
ever ready to share his
discoveries and insights
with the world.

Per innumerevoli studenti e studiosi queste brevi parole evocano preziosi ricordi dell'ineusabile pazienza e cortesia usata dallo scavatore di Pithekous-sai con tutti i visitatori, anche sconosciuti, e del piacere ch'egli ha sempre mostrato nello scambiare informazioni e idee con i colleghi. E i colleghi dovranno ammettere, in tutta sincerità, di aver sempre appreso da lui più di quanto non gli abbiano insegnato. Un altro degli autori che hanno collaborato a questo volume, Oswyn Murray, lo definisce molto acutamente come φιλόφιλος: «un uomo che per la sua modestia e generosità è diventato per tutti un amico».

Com'è noto, gli uomini modesti e generosi raramente riscuotono gli onori che meritano, e raramente — ed è il caso del Nostro — gradiscono l'attenzione che si accompagna agli onori. Ai curatori di questo volume è sembrato tuttavia impensabile di lasciar passare l'ottantesimo genetliaco di Giorgio Buchner senza esprimergli in alcun modo la generale ammirazione, l'affetto e la gratitudine. Ma come riconoscere il valore di tanta impresa, e di tale uomo?

Abbiamo scelto la forma del Festschrift a tema, puntando su un tema in particolare che i meticolosi scavi di Giorgio Buchner a Pithekoussai hanno contribuito più di ogni altra cosa a definire nei termini validi per la nostra generazione. Il risultato costituisce il primo tentativo cosciente e concorde di affrontare la sfida che la vita e l'opera di Giorgio Buchner presenteranno a lungo. Ci auguriamo che non gli dispiaccia, anche se ci rendiamo perfettamente conto che ancora una volta egli apprenderà dal nostro sforzo meno di quanto noi tutti abbiamo appreso e continuiamo ad apprendere da lui.

DAVID RIDGWAY e BRUNO D'AGOSTINO

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INSIDE AND OUTSIDE: COLONIZATION AND THE FORMATION OF THE MOTHER CITY

IRAD MALKIN

There seems to be a growing discomfort with the "political-science" kind of terminology one often encounters in the study of both the *polis* and colonization. On the one hand, historians tell themselves and others that since the second half of the eighth century Greek colonization was one of *metropolis* ("mother city") and *apoikia* ("home away from home"). There was no mass exodus, no evacuation of the country of origins, but an organized colonization with a distinctly identifiable mother city, a known leader-founder (*oikistês*), and a definite date of foundation. Sovereignty and independence are often adduced as salient features of Greek colonies. For example, unlike France's "colony" in Algeria, or the ancient Athenian *klerouchoi* ("Athenians abroad") of the fifth century, the citizens of a Greek *apoikia* would not belong to their mother country: their kinship would be expressed mainly through religious connections and rituals¹.

On the other hand, the historian's work often consists in qualifying models. Thus, in contrast to the model of sovereignty and independence, short-distance colonies were often directly dependent on their mother city. Sicilian Syracuse, for instance, was independent of its mother city Corinth, but Kasmenai and Akrai (Syracuse's short-distance colonies in Sicily) were dependent on Syracuse. Some colonies were founded as *poleis*, but without a "real" mother *polis* behind them, as was the case with Kroton and Achaia (a mother "country")². The *polis*-status of Pithekoussai (settled ca. 750 or slightly earlier) is uncertain; it was Euboian, but was this relatively short-lived settlement a *polis*? By contrast, its neighbour on the mainland, Kyme, seems to have developed into one.

In general, settlement activity ranged widely during the Archaic period. Individuals roamed the

Mediterranean and the Near East, whether as mercenaries, merchants, colonists, or all of these, changing status according to circumstances. Hesiod's father, for example, migrated and settled in Boiotia³; the brother of the Lesbian poet Alkaios served in the Near East; the poet Archilochos moved around as a mercenary in Italy (Siris), and later joined his compatriots whom his mother city Paros had sent as colonists to Thasos⁴. In Paros, around the same time, some sites were abandoned and others were settled ("settlement"? "foundation"? "internal colonization"?).⁵ Therefore, contemporary "Parians" were relocating both overseas (Thasos) and at home (Paros). Attica was "internally settled" and its countryside "filled" during the eighth and seventh centuries; Corinth, a mother city ruled by an aristocratic family-oligarchy (the Bakchiads) who sent colonies abroad (Syracuse, Corcyra), was not "urbanized" before the seventh century⁶. "Trading stations" (*emporía*), such as Naukratis, or Greek communities living among non-Greeks (Gravisa, Tell Sukas, Amphipolis), form yet another category. Argos expanded differently: it obliterated nearby cities (such as Asine) and took possession of their territory. Sparta, after winning the First Messenian War, colonized the fugitives of Asine ca. 700 and founded New Asine (a "colony"?) to serve its own interests in relation to Messenia. In addition, Sparta was busy during the eighth century with short-distance colonization both in the Peloponnese and overseas (Thera, Melos, Taras-see below).

Greek colonies after the second half of the eighth century seem to belong to the "world of the *polis*", but not in a one-sided, cause-and-effect relationship. The *polis* was not a pre-condition for colonization; no fully developed idea of a *polis* needed to be exported in order for colonization to

¹ Graham 1983, pp. 1-2; cf. Bérard 1960, ch. 2-4; Mossé 1970, pp. 27-30.

² Snodgrass 1977.

³ Hesiod, *Works and Days* 630-640.

⁴ Graham 1978.

⁵ Schilardi 1988.

⁶ Salmon 1984, ch. 4.

succeed. It would seem, rather, that the phenomenon of colonization provided the general rise of the *polis* with an enormous impetus, precisely because of the founding of new political communities. Younger men, less constricted by tradition, were sent from home; mixed groups of colonists made mutual awareness of differences, as well as the need to resolve them, more acute. *Nomima* (such as calendars, social divisions, and cults) had to be deliberately regulated and decided upon by the founders. The comprehensive foundation of a new social order necessitated the abstraction of such an order; territorial and urban planning made concrete the translation of abstract social and political concepts into a living reality.

I have pointed out some of these aspects of the dynamic and positive contributions of Greek colonies to the formation of the *polis* elsewhere.⁷ In this paper, dedicated to the scholar who brought to light the earliest Greek settlement in the west, I wish to emphasize another colonization-related factor contributing to the rise of the *polis*. The act of sending away entire groups to colonize abroad was not necessarily evidence of a well-organized, coherently formed political community (*polis*) at home. Sometimes, it was the very act of separation and colonization which formed, homogenized, and consolidated the "mother city" as *polis*. Paradoxically, distinct, inferior groups who may never have been recognized as full members had they stayed behind, were recognized as kins and (ex)citizens only upon departure.

In late sources we sometimes find the term *stasis*, (civil discord/division) as the reason for the state sending out a group of colonists. *Stasis*, however, seems to imply a well defined body-politic "within which" dissent takes place. However, in the eighth century, when some of the "mother cities" were not yet in existence and others were being formed, the term can be misleading unless we understand it more broadly as strife among social groups striving for some kind of sharing, with both social, economic, and political consequences. With this in mind we may note two famous passages by a fourth-century author, theorizing about the state. In case there are too many citizens in the state, says Plato (*Laws* 740e), «there still remains that ancient device which we have often mentioned, namely, the sending forth, in a friendly manner from a friendly nation, of colonies consisting of such

people as are deemed suitable». More generally, Plato speaks (*Laws* 708b) of occasions for colonization in the following terms: (1) «like a swarm of bees, a single *genos* goes out from a single country and settles, like a friend coming from among friends, being either squeezed out by lack of room (*stenochoria*) or forced by some other such pressing need»; (2) sometimes, «the violence of civil strife (*stasis*) might compel a whole section (*morion*) of a state to emigrate; (3) and on one occasion an entire state went into exile because of external attacks».

An observer and theorist who chooses the framework of colonization for the discussion of the (new) state in the *Laws* (e.g., 702c-d), Plato singles out a few well-known causes for Greek colonization. Disregarding the "pulling" factors of colonization, such as the attractiveness of sites for either the mother cities (e.g., commerce) or for the colonists (a rise in social and economic status), and concentrating on the "pushing" ones, Plato provides us with an insight into a major motive cause of colonization: the integrity of the (mother-) state.

The act of founding colonies may thus be seen first and foremost as directed toward the citizens of the political community itself. The terms used, for example in foundation decrees, apply to the members of the mother city. Colonization was thus primarily an internal affair, becoming "external" only in consequence. The "Therans", for example, decided to send other "Therans" to Libya (ML 5, 25-27). By contrast, it is only «when he becomes a man of Naupaktos» that the colonist ceases to be viewed as a "Lokrian" (ML 20, 2). The worry about the integrity of the state is also expressed in Plato's term of *stenochoria*. Often translated as overpopulation—by definition an "internal" problem—this pushing factor may be understood in concrete terms as food- and land-shortage. But more often, it seems, *stenochoria* was political. Plots of land were needed not only for subsistence but also to determine social and political status; ambitious leaders, such as Dorieus in Sparta or Miltiades the Elder in Athens, found their political space "too narrow" and left as leaders of colonial expeditions. By resolving these kinds of political *stenochoria*, the citizen-body at home could be consolidated and integrated.

What is often regarded as colonial situations may be also apparent in mother cities. For example, one

familiar aspect of Greek colonization is that of "mixed colonies". In places such as Rhegion, Gela, Cyrene, Amphipolis, and Herakleia Trachinia, the mixed character and the perpetual awareness of the distinctiveness of the various groups could be detrimental to the success of the colony⁸. But this situation was not unique to colonies; "home-*poleis*" too could be composed of such groups. These could have been around "initially", or developed later. Throughout the history of Sparta, for example, various types of distinct groups emerged for whom colonization was a feasible solution for their lack of integration in the state. Similarly, it has been suggested that the colonists who left for Syracuse with Archias belonged to a specific locality, Tenea, in the Korinthiaka, where there existed a (local?) temple of Apollo⁹. The late example of the Athenians who were suddenly excluded from the citizen-body of "the Athenians" after the passage of the citizenship law of Perikles, provides a good illustration of how such groups could be created. The distinguishing mark of these half-citizens was cult: they would congregate around the sanctuary of Herakles Kynosarges¹⁰.

The extent to which departing colonists were considered an integral part of their sending community may be appreciated by observing "the right of return" to the mother city which could sometimes be exercised when either a colony failed or the individual colonist regretted his colonization. A.J. Graham has studied this right, especially with regard to the help expected from the mother city to the colony¹¹. What I wish to emphasize is that this right also implies something about the nature of the mother city and its own political community.

The earliest colony about which we hear of a right of return is Corcyra: it was colonized by Eretria but when the Corinthians arrived the Eretrians were expelled. They sailed back home, expecting to be received, but were not allowed to disembark; their fellow Eretrians shot stones at them with slings, drove them away, and eventually they settled Methone in Chalkidike. The story appears in Plutarch's *Greek Questions* (XI) and may contain a kernel of truth¹². Since Chalkidian Methone

was indeed recognized as an Eretrian colony it seems that Eretria insisted on re-colonization elsewhere as the counter-measure to re-integration. It is quite probable that in this particular case there was an added religious dimension: elsewhere Plutarch mentions Eretria together with Magnesia as examples of cities sending their sons as "First Fruits" (*aparchai*); this may be comparable to the dedication of a human tithe (*dekate*) to Pythian Apollo of which we hear in the case of Rhegion¹³. Rohrbach, following a suggestion of Roussel, suggests that since the Theran colonists were also prevented from returning home (see below) and had stones thrown at them, the Theran colonization of Cyrene was also of *dekate*-type, although the substantial numbers who soon followed the first two ships seem to contradict this (see more below)¹⁴. It is also possible to see the "repulsion by slings" (throwing stones at the colonial ships trying to return home), common to both the Eretrian and the Theran stories, as a ritual of separation.

The *dekate* of Rhegion is an exception which illustrates the rule, since it is the one case where a right of return seems to have been denied by definition. However, it teaches us something about the relation between the act of sending out colonists and the well-being of the mother city: «Rhegion is a foundation of the Chalkidians who according to an oracle were consecrated as a tithe to Apollo because of dearth; later, it is said, they set out to Rhegion as colonists from Delphi, taking with them also others from home»¹⁵. Who were the people who colonized Rhegion? We note that the founders of Rhegion consisted of at least four groups: two groups of Chalkidians, one being the consecrated *dekate*-group, a group of colonists from Zankle with their own oikist¹⁶, and a group of fugitive Messenians who escaped the hardships of the First Messenian War and joined Rhegion's colonization through Delphi's mediation¹⁷. Rhegion's *dekate* is exceptional, and paralleled only in legendary cases¹⁸, or possibly in the Eretrian episode mentioned above. Chalkis, with its intensive colonial activity, could hardly have suffered from "overpopulation" in any conventional sense. The *dekate*-colonization im-

⁸ Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1303a 25. See Graham 1983, pp. 15-22.

⁹ Strabo 380. It also possible that Tenea was a religious center and not the abode of a particular group. See Malkin 1984-5, pp. 53-54.

¹⁰ See Humphreys 1974.

¹¹ Graham 1983, pp. 110-116; pp. 230-232.

¹² Graham 1983, pp. 110.

¹³ Plut., *Mor.* 401f-402a with Malkin 1987, p. 38.

¹⁴ Rohrbach 1960, p. 33, following a comment by P. Roussel, in *REG* 49, 1936, p. VI.

¹⁵ Strabo VI, 257 tr. H.L. Jones, LCL.

¹⁶ *FGH Hist* 555 F 9 = Strabo VI, 257.

¹⁷ Strabo VI, 257 (Timaios? See Jacoby's commentary *FGH Hist* 555 F 9); Heraclides Lembos *FHG* 219.

¹⁸ I discuss it at length in Malkin 1987, pp. 31-41.

⁷ Malkin 1987, p. 12; ch. 8. Cf. Snodgrass 1994, pp. 8-9; Hansen 1994, p. 15.

plies a *stenochoria* of a religious nature: dearth, plague, or other natural disaster, which probably signified divine wrath against the social order. The *dekate* group became a property of Apollo, it set out to colonize not from the mother city but from Delphi. It could never return home. The major point is that the removal from the mother city of the element disturbing the peace with the gods (however arbitrarily selected—probably by lot), was tantamount to Chalkis' own social re-ordering and homogenization¹⁹.

A right of return is also mentioned in connection with the foundation of Taras²⁰, founded from Sparta in 706 B.C. Sparta had recently ended the long and exhausting First Messenian War. Distinct social groups of Spartans, variously called Partheniai or Epeunaktai, seem to have been dissatisfied with their share in the state and, especially, in the Messenian plots of land (*kleroi*) allocated to individual Spartans after the victory²¹. The possession of the latter obviously conferred some elevated civic status within the political community of the Lakadaimonians, even if we consider the official relationship between *kleros* and the definition of the Spartiate "Equals" (*homoioi*) to have been a later formulation. Sparta, about this time, was busy consolidating its territorial conquests, partly through subjugation and land division, partly through colonization²². Within about six years of the foundation of Taras (ca. 706-700), Sparta had absorbed an entire fugitive population of Greeks from Peloponesian Asine, which had just been destroyed by Argos, and settled them at New Asine, facing Messenia, where they could serve Spartan interests. Apparently Sparta also tried to resolve the internal *stasis* of the Partheniai-Epeunaktai by exporting them to another part of the Peloponnese, as we learn from the tradition of Delphi's rejection of Sparta's request to settle «between Corinth and Sikyon». Instead, Apollo gave the colonists Satyrion and Taras in southern Italy²³.

Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555 F 13) defines the Partheniai as simply those deprived of civic rights, since none of the children born during the war were granted these. Ephoros (*FGrHist* 70 F 216) adds piquant details of frustrated women going to bed with younger men who were children at the

time the older men took an oath of abstention. The inequality of social and civic status is similarly apparent in the alternative story of Taras' foundation by the disaffected Epeunaktai²⁴; *stasis* ensues in all versions. The Spartans, according to Ephoros, who regards the estranged groups as "brothers" (*adelphoi*), resolved the *stasis* through colonization. «And if the place they took possession of sufficed them, to stay there, but if not, to come on back and divide among themselves the fifth part of Mesenia».

Although the precise nature of the groups eludes us, it is clear that younger men were involved and that they constituted a discrete group, perhaps like the "new citizens", the *neodamodeis* of the fifth century whose problem was similarly resolved through colonization (see below). The detail regarding the "fifth of Messenia" is devoid of any fantastic or aitiological aspect and should not be rejected on *a priori* grounds. The proportion "fifth part" provides some indication of the size of the group and the weight of the problem. Clearly, what the Spartans were unwilling to share were civic rights and *kleroi*, which basically amounted to the same thing.

The essential aspect of the right of return to Sparta was the question of civic integration: the consolidation of the political community of Sparta, newly emerged after a war which lasted about twenty years. That consolidation was based on the sharing of land-spoils and the resulting new citizen-body, defined by and depended on that sharing. The refusal to share brings out the true nature of Plato's *stenochoria*: the place becomes "too narrow" not in the Mathusian sense of "overpopulation"; rather, the narrowness consisted in the political value attached to the *kleros*. The new political community of Sparta, in short, seems to have depended on exporting, through colonization, a significant, distinct section whose continued presence and demands threatened that community which—and there is the crux—was being newly defined through the Messenian *kleroi*.

The issue of the right of return was clearly important in the foundation of Cyrene. Its foundation decree stipulates that if the colonists consistently fail during the first five years, and if the

«Therans are unable to help them and they suffer inescapable troubles up to five years, let them return from that land without fear to Thera, to their possessions and to be citizens»²⁵. The threat of the death penalty for the colonist who refuses to sail follows immediately after this articulation of the right of return, illustrating the close link between the two. The entire community, «the assembly» (line 24), the «Therans» (line 27), makes the decision to colonize; a criterion for selecting young men is articulated, with the proviso that any other Thera may join, now or later; an oath is taken regarding the Therans who either stay or go to Libya. The decision applies to "Therans": both to those who stay and those who leave. The latter are not yet called "Cyrenaians".

The kind of troubles which beset Thera prior to colonization were, according to the Herodotean account, not a *stasis* between distinct social groups. Menekles of Barke, writing in the second century B.C.²⁶, claims there was such a *stasis*; this attempt of (explicit) rationalization should be rejected out of hand as contradicting much earlier sources (Pindar, Herodotus, the foundation decree, and even the Hellenistic Callimachus)²⁷. The comprehensive mode of selection of young men from all Thera households, also argues against *stasis*. On the other hand, there is no reason to disbelieve the account of natural disaster—of drought and hunger—which obviously caused a social crisis. The resolution of this physical and social *stenochoria* was colonization. The right of return appears here as part and parcel of the group notion of "Therans"; the dispatching of some of them ensures their continued existence as such. I noted already that the Thera colonists, like the Eretrians, tried to return very soon after they left, but were repulsed by stones. The point in the Herodotean story is that the attempt to return took place almost immediately after the colonists set out, thus not contradicting the right of return in the foundation decree, which stipulated a minimum five-year trial period before that right could be exercised²⁸.

The foundation decree of Naupaktos, a fifth-century (re)colonization by the Western Lokrians, specifies very comfortable terms for the right of return. It is obvious that the colony was not sent because of economic *stenochoria* at home²⁹. Opus, perceived as the mother city of all the various Lokrian communities according to an inscription set up at Thermopylai ca. 480³⁰, was not a "model" city state. Therefore, the concepts of citizenship and political sharing which are revealed in this inscription are of particular interest especially in terms of the personal position of the colonist (which are the main concern of the foundation decree). It is the variability of the Hypoknemidian Lokrians which allows for a more intricate interplay, adding the local community as a third angle to the "metropolis-apoikia" formula. The colonist, for example, loses his citizenship «when he becomes a Naupaktian»; however, if he returns to the Hypoknemidian Lokrians, «he shall have it proclaimed in the marketplace of Naupaktos, and among the Hypoknemidian Lokrians he shall have it proclaimed in the marketplace of the city of origin» (lines 19-22). On the other hand, the colonist also swears not to «secede» from Opus, which does point to some sort of dependency (lines 11-14). The colonist retains the right to share in the most evident expression of political participation—cult: a few provisions allow him and his family to «make offerings and receive a share both in the sacrifices of the people and those of the societies»³¹. In addition to individual choice, the right of return is also granted communally, if the colonists are compelled «by necessity» to abandon Naupaktos.

The promised conditions of "fair and equal terms" for the colonists is a well-known formula, appearing, for example, in the foundation decree of Cyrene. Suspicions of anachronism³² in the case of seventh-century Thera now seem out of place, especially since the revolutionary excavation of eighth-century Megara Hyblaia, where land-parcellation of precisely this kind seems to have been practiced³³. In a much quoted passage Homer speaks of the colonial founder as allotting

¹⁹ See for a full discussion of the sources and the role of Delphi Malkin 1987, pp. 31-41.

²⁰ The case is not discussed by Graham in the context of the right of return.

²¹ On the use and abuse of Taras' foundation story see Malkin 1994, ch. 4.

²² Malkin 1993.

²³ D.S. VIII, 21, 3. Malkin 1987, pp. 47-52; pp. 216-221.

²⁴ D.S. VIII, 21; cf. Theopomp. *FGrHist* 115 F 171 = Athen VI, 271c-d: they were supposedly the Helots who were assigned to the nuptial beds of the dead Spartans. Here the *epeunaktai* seem to be fathers, the *partheniai* sons.

²⁵ ML 5, 34-37, trans. Graham 1983, p. 225. Cf. Graham 1960.

²⁶ *FGrHist* 270 F 6.

²⁷ Cf. Chamoux 1953, pp. 120-124.

²⁸ I disagree with Graham's interpretation (Graham 1983, p. 53n) that the provision for right of return was relevant only during the first five years; rather, the five years should be seen as the minimum trial period. The whole point of the strict enforcement of the departure is otherwise lost and stands in contradiction to

Hdt. IV, 156, 3 which reports the failed attempt to return as immediate (*i.e.*, within the first five years).

²⁹ For a full treatment of the Naupaktos decree see Graham 1983, ch. IV, pp. 226-228.

³⁰ Strabo IX, 425.

³¹ Lines 1-4; I follow Graham's interpretation here.

³² Dušančić 1978.

³³ Vallet-Villard-Auberson 1976.

lands for temples and fields³⁴; Archilochus, a contemporary of the Therans who decided about the foundation of Cyrene (ca. 650-640)³⁵, tells of Aithiops, a colonist who had gambled away his *kleros* already on the boat sailing with the Corinthian Archias to the colonial destination of Syracuse (foundation: 733)³⁶. A colonist, therefore, could expect a definite kind of share *a priori*. Apart from Archilochus we have later evidence that the activity connected with measuring out and allotting lands was essential to the foundation act³⁷. A certain compensatory balance between what the colonist left behind and what was promised him abroad should be understood here. A younger son may have had nothing to expect at home and colonized in order to receive a *kleros*; someone already owning land probably expected to receive a greater and richer plot. Accordingly, both would enjoy a new social status, not only because the personal colonial *kleroi* would be more significant, but also because they would begin on a footing at once higher (larger *kleroi*) and "equal", at least for the first-generation colonists. One may even go as far as to say that all colonists could aspire to become not only full sharers in the political community but, at least potentially, aristocrats. Aristotle, in fact, speaks of an aristocracy of first settlers³⁸, and the *Gamoroi* (sharers in land plots) of Syracuse, whom poor Aithiops did not join, seem to provide an apt example³⁹. In an illuminating discussion of "old", or "original" *kleroi*, Aristotle emphasizes both their equality, their size, and their aristocratic implication. At Leukas, for example, the extraordinary permission to sell the "old *kleroi*", changed the political character of the community to a democracy. Aristotle, of course, recommends medium-size *kleroi* to avoid excessive luxury⁴⁰.

In the case of Thera, the minimum number of colonists included at least one eligible male from each household, probably "one son from each" (where there were at least two sons)⁴¹. In the case of Naupaktos we see the same parameter from the opposite end: if a Naupaktian chose to leave Naupaktos and return to the Hypoknemidian Lokrians he could do so provided he left one son behind to up-

hold the number of households. Plato also speaks of a fixed "number of hearths" and of *kleros*-holders, by always taking care to leave one son as possessor⁴². The sense of "counted community", that is, a political community, is strong in these cases.

It is precisely in terms of the relation of the number of *kleros*-holding heads of households to land available for the parcellation of minimum-size *kleroi* that we should understand the salient aspect in the emergence of the eighth- and seventh-century *polis* and the primary motive of the individual colonist. *Stenochoria* occurred not only when some scientific food-to-land ratio had been disturbed⁴³ (although natural disaster and literal "overpopulation" may have been a recurring phenomenon, especially in the Cyclades)⁴⁴; the question, rather, was political.

We may now return to the division of Messenian lands which was probably also conducted according to some criterion of "fair and equal terms". Towards the end of the eighth century, after some fifty years of Greek overseas colonization, and after conquests and short-distance colonization by Sparta in the Peloponnese itself, awareness of the social and political consequences of "equal" land-division must have been quite sharp. The potential "one-fifth" which the returnees might have gotten (implying the need to re-divide should they return) illustrates this as well. In later generations this exclusive equality would result in the "equal" system of Spartiate *homoioi*. The principle of "fair and equal", which we normally associate only with colonies, seems therefore to have mattered also at home. Since land division was a salient aspect of city foundation, providing the base for a share in the political community, both colonies and mother cities appear to have undergone similar, contemporary processes. Both were "(re)founded".

It was only through the export of the disaffected group that Sparta could consolidate itself into the city-state it became. By contrast, containing that apparently substantial group, perhaps suppressing it, would have fragmented a society not yet homogeneous. One may object that all this may seem too much of a reconstruction for Sparta at the end of eighth century. However, the pattern-

especially in Sparta—is quite consistent both in historical or quasi-historical accounts.

Herodotos (IV, 145-148) recounts the story of the Minyans who came to Sparta claiming kinship and demanding both political rights (*timai*) and land-allotments. While acknowledged and admitted, the Minyans did not achieve full political integration and trouble soon followed. The conflict was resolved through colonization: the Spartans let the Minyans join the official Lakadaimonian colony (Spartan colonists were selected «from the tribes»), which was about to go to Kalliste-Thera under the leadership of Theras. Eventually some Minyans went to Thera, the rest moved on to Triphylia, where they founded six cities in the frontier zone between Elis and Messenia, evidently also serving Spartan interests there. Theras himself is portrayed as a leader whose *stenochoria* was purely political: a regent of the two princes who had just matured, he did not wish to remain in Sparta under their rule.

Two accounts in Plutarch⁴⁵ and Conon⁴⁶ discuss Sparta's colonization of Melos in roughly the same terms as Herodotos' account of Thera. According to Plutarch, Lemnians who were expelled from their island landed in Tainaron, where they helped the Spartans fight the Messenians. They received Spartan citizenship and the right to marry Spartan women but no share in the magistracies or membership in the council. *Stasis*, arrest, and escape followed. The Lemnians then went to Taygetos, incited «the Helots», and joined forces with them. Negotiations and resolution followed: it was decided that «having found land and a city elsewhere they be considered as colonists and kin of the Spartans». Their leaders were official Spartan founders—Pollis, Delphon, and Krataidas who founded Melos and Lyktos in Crete. Obviously confounding two distinct traditions regarding Lemnians and Minyans⁴⁷, but still referring dis-

tinctly to Melos (whose historicity as a Spartan colony should probably not be doubted)⁴⁸, we are left with a story of a group excluded from a full share in citizenship and whose status as colonists and kin was ensured only when it left Lakadaimon⁴⁹. Conon places the story in the context of Sparta's initial integration: the annexation of Amyklai. Philonomos, who had received Amyklai as a reward for betraying Lakonia to the Dorians⁵⁰, settled Lemnians and Imbrians⁵¹ at Amyklai; these revolted in the third generation after the Return of the Herakleidai. The conflict was resolved through colonization, with the Lemnians eventually emigrating with some of the Spartiates under the leadership of Pollis and Delphos. They sailed to Crete, colonizing Melos *en route*, and founded Gortyn and some of the Cretan perioikic communities⁵².

The chronology in Plutarch (a specialist in Spartan affairs and in general less legendary than Conon), seems contemporary with the Taras-Partheniai affair: he mentions Helots and Messenians, and thus seems to refer to the First Messenian War. As with the Partheniai, colonization created at once two civic statuses in relation to the mother city. Whereas before the decision to colonize some had a full share in the community and others had none, with colonization, the "haves" got to keep it, the "have-nots" were acknowledged as both "kin and colonists". The apparent social and political paradox was nonetheless authentic: a "share" in the home was granted only on condition one left it.

Sparta's settlement of foreign populations takes us one step further. Sparta settled, as we have seen, in New Asine on the south-eastern Rhion peninsula, the refugees from Asine in the Argolid⁵³. New Asine's corollary, Mothone, in the south-west (on the Pylos side) of the same peninsula, was settled ca. 600 by refugees from Nauplia⁵⁴. In 431 Sparta

³⁴ *Od.* VI, 7-10.

³⁵ Cyrene-city was founded in 631; before reaching the site the colonists spent nine years in preliminary settlements (Platea, Aziris); Herodotos' account tells of years of agonizing at Thera about sending the colony before that, which brings us to the decade of 650-640.

³⁶ Archilochos frg. 293 West.

³⁷ See Malkin 1984 for discussion of the evidence.

³⁸ Cf. Arist., *Pol.* 1290b, 12; *Rb. Al.* 1423a, 37.

³⁹ Dunbabin 1948, pp. 57-58; cf. Asheri 1966, pp. 31-32.

⁴⁰ Arist., *Pol.* 1266b, 21; 1319a, 12. Cf. Asheri 1966, p. 11.

⁴¹ Cf. Jeffery 1961.

⁴² *Laws* 740b-e.

⁴³ Cf. Plato, *Laws* 707e.

⁴⁴ Cf. Kolodny 1966, 1974 e 1976.

⁴⁵ *Mul. virt.* 247; *QG* 21.

⁴⁶ *FGrHist* 26 F i., p. 47; cf. Strabo 653. For an assessment of Conon's sources see Jacoby's commentary and Brillante 1983, p. 74.

⁴⁷ In general, it seems that Plutarch's account confounds the Lakadaimonian foundation story with the Athenian justifications for conquering and settling Lemnos as revenge against the Pelagians who had once abducted their wives, an episode carefully kept distinct by Herodotos. Cf. Hekataios *FGrHist* 1 F 127 with *Hdt.* VI, 137.

⁴⁸ *Hdt.* VIII, 48: Μήλιοι μὲν γένος ἔόντες ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμόνιος; cf. Xen. *Hell.* II, 2, 3; D.S. XII, 65, 2; Th. V, 112, 2; cf. V, 84, 2; V, 106, 1; cf. Brillante 1983; Malkin 1994b.

⁴⁹ Cf. Polyæn. VII, 49; the eventual resolution: καὶ ὡς ἀποίκους Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξέπεμψαν.

⁵⁰ Conon in fact says that he colonized Amyklai *together* with men from Lemnos and Imbros (συνοικίζει ταύτην); cf. Nic. Dam. *FGrHist* 90 F 28.

⁵¹ Cf. Nic. Dam. *FGrHist* 90 F 28.

⁵² *FGrHist* 26 F 1 c, 36.

⁵³ Paus. II, 36, 4; III, 7, 4; IV, 14, 3; 34, 9; cf. Persson-Frödin 1938, p. 437 for the date of the destruction of Argive Asine, before 700; cf. Courbin 1966, p. 565 n. 6 (725-715 B.C.); Kelly 1967, pp. 422-431.

⁵⁴ These were expelled by the Argive king Damokratides; Paus. IV, 24, 4; 35, 2; cf. Theopomp. *FGrHist* 115 F 383. Some of the original inhabitants of Mothone, having been expelled by the Spartans, says Pausanias, found refuge in Rhegion; cf. Kiechle 1957, pp. 65-71; 311-333.

settled in Thyreatis, on the problematic frontier between Argos and Lakonia, the Aiginetans who were driven out by Athens. These three cases (Asine, Mothone, Thyreatis) involved non-Lakedaimonian populations. A similar use of Lakedaimonian "have-nots" is mentioned by Herodotus in the case of the Minyans and the six cities in Triphylia⁵⁵, and by Thucydides in the case of Lepreon, one of the six Minyan cities, which was resettled by Sparta in 421. After the Peace of Nikias and the return of the Brasidaeioi, the latter, with the *neodamodeis*, were sent by Sparta to colonize it⁵⁶.

These *neodamodeis* are vitally important. Apart from the well-known enslaved Helots and *peri-oikoi*, classical Sparta had known various distinct groups, which somehow belonged to, yet were not fully integrated in, the political community: the *hypomeiones* ("inferiors"), the *neodamodeis* ("new citizens") or the *mothakes*⁵⁷. This in-between situation and lack of integration, of being at once far superior to Helots yet distinctly inferior to the *homoioi*, probably engendered the metaphor of "bastards" which we find in some versions of Taras' foundation story (*ktisis*). It is also possible that, sometimes, members of such groups were in fact illegitimate descendants of Spartiates. However, most of the time we know nothing beyond the fact of a group's distinct existence and appellation. We know a little more about the *neodamodeis*. Obviously excluded from the Spartan citizenry, but not servile, the *neodamodeis* were sent by Sparta to settle Lepreon in 421 in order to guard the frontiers of Triphylia against Elis; Sparta then augmented their numbers with the (now liberated) "Brasidaeioi" Helots who had served in the army of Brasidas. Thucydides seems to imply that the entire body of *neodamodeis* at the time was sent⁵⁸. Similarly, if we return for a moment to Taras, our sources are explicit that *all* the Epeunaktai and the Partheniai had left, and these too were at first intended to settle in the Peloponnese ("between Corinth and Sikyon"), that is, in a similar relation of Lepreon to Sparta⁵⁹. Why not see in them an analogy to the "official" *neodamodeis* and Brasidaeioi colonists?

With the undisputed case of the *neodamodeis*, as well as the fact of Spartan colonization of Taras following the First Messenian War, and the highly probable colonization of Thera and Melos, we are now in a better position to appreciate Plato's summary of colonization as means to resolve *stasis*. Plato insists twice on the friendly nature of this resolution⁶⁰. Such a friendly—even familiar—nature is expressly mentioned in the foundation decree of Lokroi referring to Epizephyrian Lokroi. It opens with the declaration: «as parents to children»⁶¹. The expression reveals an idealized image of direct kinship, implying both a hierarchy—parents and children—and a reason for colonization: children grow up and leave home. We have observed several cases where the image was less than ideal. There were even those who slandered—apparently unjustly—the Lokrian colonists as having originally been criminals⁶². Plato speaks of a *genos* departing, like a «swarm of bees», «as a friend coming from among friends», because of *stenochoria*. Notwithstanding what Plato meant by *genos* it is clear that he meant a distinctly identifiable, discrete group from within the society. The other possibility which he mentions, *stasis*, might force a whole "section" (*morion*) of a state to emigrate. Again, although less kinship-oriented than *genos*, *morion* also seems to imply a discrete group. In both cases, it is the well-being and integrity of the mother city which are Plato's concern, not the success of the colony. If, after all is said and done, the state proposed in *Laws* gets into trouble, colonization is the solution.

In *Laws* the city state which might need to become a mother city sending out a colony could itself be a colony; it is not impossible, then, that some of what we call "mother cities" could fall into this category. Sparta, for example, was regarded as an "*apoikia* of the Dorians" with Doris as the mother city, and it acted accordingly in the fifth century, by twice sending military help and even colonizing Herakleia Trachinia⁶³. Eretria too, as has been suggested, was being "founded" at the time it was founding colonies⁶⁴. Corinth may have been undergoing similar processes⁶⁵. Rather than

suggesting a regression *ad infinitum*, namely, that all mother cities were themselves colonies founded from other colonies etc., I propose that colonization be considered as a formative force in the rise of the city state. The process was both simultaneous and reciprocal: by sending out colonies cities could close ranks and crystallize more sharply as *poleis*.

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⁵⁵ Hdt. IV, 148, 3-4; cf. Strabo 347, speaking of the Minyans as having been driven out of Lemnos into Lakedaimon and thence into Triphylia.

⁵⁶ Th. V, 34, 1.

⁵⁷ Lotze 1962; Willets 1954; Alfieri Tonini 1975; cf. Myron *FGH* 106 F 1 with Cartledge 1987, p. 175; cf. Nilsson 1912.

⁵⁸ Thus Cartledge 1987, p. 175.

⁵⁹ D.S. VIII, 21, 3.

⁶⁰ Plato, *Laws* 708b; 740e.

⁶¹ Plb. XII, 9 [Timaios]; cf. Graham 1983, p. 40.

⁶² Plb. XII, 5ff.; cf. Bérard 1957, pp. 204ff.

⁶³ Pind. *Isthm.* VII, 12-15; Hdt. VIII, 31; Thucydides I, 107, 2; III, 92.

⁶⁴ Cf. Krause 1982.

⁶⁵ Salmon 1984, ch. 4.

SUMMARY

I. MALKIN, *Inside and outside: colonisation and the formation of the mother city.*

Did colonies create their mother cities? Seemingly a paradox, the act of sending out a distinct group of people was nonetheless a formative, if not a constitutive, act of consolidation and definition of the sending society as a political community. Often threatening fragmentation or *stasis*, non-integrated social groups could be recognized as kin and sharers in the community—only on condition they left it. Plato's term, *stenochoria*, is given here a political and social meaning, aside from the familiar «over-population». The «Right of Return» to mother city is studied in order to understand concepts of sharing and belonging, as well as the terms of definition of the political community at «home». In contrast to the view which sees the rise of the *polis* as the precondition to Greek colonization, this article claims that (in the cases under discussion) colonization and the formation of mother cities was a reciprocal, simultaneous, and interdependent process.

E. GRECO, *Pithekoussai: emporion o apoikia?*

The question synthetically presents the two horns of a dilemma that recurs constantly in the literature on the origins of Greek colonization in the West, and therefore has a central role in the debate on the most ancient history of Pithekoussai.

After overviewing about twenty-five years of discussion on this theme, the author proposes to go beyond this question, regarding it to be a false problem, and asks himself instead in Pithekoussai's *emporía* (the existence of which cannot be denied) should not be seen as taking place within the structure of a *polis* of the early Archaic period whose development was halted by its becoming very soon *chora* of Cumae, and had thus already concluded its experience as an autonomous political center by the beginning of the 7th century B.C.

B. D'AGOSTINO, *Pitecusa. Un'apoikia di tipo particolare.*

The case of Pithekoussai is reconsidered in the light of the new evidence. The settlement founded in the middle of the 8th century is too complex to be a mere *comptoir*, and does not have requisites to answer Polanyi's definition of «port of trade». It has, instead, the characteristic of an *apoikia*, but differs from the most ancient colonial foundations in that its economy is adjusted to the opportunities offered by a local environment favorable to crafts and trade. The economic motivations of Pithekoussai are the same as those of the pre-colonial frequentation of its territory, of which it represents a more structured stage. In its relationship with

the local populations, it succeeded in creating a specific economic niche for itself by working the metal of Etruria and giving technical expertise and artisanal products in exchange. Its function ended when the colonial foundations asserted their political and territorial presence with respect to the indigenous world.

C. AMPOLO, *Tra empòria ed emporia: note sul commercio greco in età arcaica e classica.*

After a brief overview of the main archaeological and epigraphical novelties concerning Greek trade up to the 5th century B.C. and of the studies on *emporía* and related problems, the author affirms that taxation and dues played a fundamental role in *emporía*. At least from the 6th century B.C. on, the payment of various kinds of taxes on sea trade and transported goods not only guaranteed revenues to the controllers of the *emporía*, but also entailed the formation of miscellaneous loads on merchant ships, the result of multiple stops along the way, at each of which goods were traded and exchanged, and taxes paid. The circulation of goods could also be a reflection of these payments (taxes and/or gifts).

S. DE CARO, *Appunti per la topografia della chora di Pithekoussai nella prima età coloniale.*

Besides the well-known sites in the area of Lacco Ameno, the urban settlement of Monte di Vico and the «metallurgic quarter» of Mezzavia, the topography of Pithekoussai between the 8th and 7th century B.C. shows traces of Greek presence in several other areas of the island.

On the north side, near Porto d'Ischia, there certainly existed a site on the hill of S. Alessandro. On the west side, in the area of Forio, traces are very scarce (contrada Bocca), as on the east side (Carta Romana), since on these slopes the ancient soil of the colonial period is buried by volcanic and alluvial strata more deeply than on the rest of the island.

On the south side, more abundant traces have emerged in the area of Succivo and Panza, where the most noteworthy find is the settlement of Punta Chiarito, which is presently being excavated (cf., in this volume, C. Gialanella's report).

These data, sparse but disseminated over the entire territory of the island, could be evidence of a regularly settled *chora*, occupied by farms where the constant presence of imported fine ceramic wares is especially noteworthy.

sos-type cups, LG Corinthian and EPC kotylai, plus a fragment of a spiral-decoration amphoriskos from the Etruscan-Latial area and numerous sherds of Attic SOS-type and Corinthian freight amphorae) was obliterated, no later than the beginning of the 7th century B.C., by an eruption that also destroyed other small agricultural settlements of the 8th century B.C., documented between Panza and S. Angelo. At Punta Chiarito, the eruptive materials sealed a long dry stone wall, probably pertaining to an enclosure, and another short segment of a slightly curving wall, which lies today at the top of a steep cliff overlooking the sea, and possibly belonged to a house.

The more recent settlement, dated between the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th century B.C., partially overlies the preceding one. Excavation has re-

vealed a sort of bench, made of dry stone masonry, delimiting a courtyard placed in front of a residential building with an oval plan. The settlement was destroyed by a dense mud-flow composed of tiny particles of Mt. Epomeo tuff. These volcanic formations cover most of the south side of the island, so thickly that the ancient layers of the 8th and 7th centuries are only visible in natural sections produced by erosion, or in artificial sections.

The village of Punta Chiarito must have been inhabited by a group of people whose economic activities included agriculture, livestock-raising, fishing and mollusc gathering, and who were familiar with the working of stone and horn, a community of medium social level, making use of fine table pottery and oil imported from Greece.

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