

# Lo spazio ionico e le comunità della Grecia nord-occidentale

## Territorio, società, istituzioni



## Diabaseis 1

*a cura di*  
Claudia Antonetti

Edizioni ETS



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## INTRODUZIONE

La prima volta che ho messo piede in Etolia e in Acarnania era l'estate del 1981 e certamente non avrei mai immaginato di trovarmi un giorno a presentare un convegno sulla Grecia nord-occidentale nella mia città e nella mia Università: ne sono particolarmente felice e ringrazio tutti coloro che hanno reso possibile la realizzazione dell'iniziativa, in particolar modo l'*équipe* di ricerca cafoscarina che dal momento della fondazione, il 1999, lavora sotto la mia guida nell'ambito del Laboratorio di epigrafia greca del Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità e del Vicino Oriente: Damiana Baldassarra, Edoardo Cavalli e Francesca Crema.

Negli ultimi dieci anni le ricerche storico-epigrafiche sulla Grecia occidentale sono state l'obiettivo principale delle attività scientifiche del nostro Laboratorio attraverso alcuni progetti di respiro internazionale: l'edizione – ormai in dirittura d'arrivo – delle collezioni epigrafiche dei Musei di Tirreo ed Agrinio, condotta di concerto con la 36<sup>a</sup> Eforia Ellenica alle Antichità Preistoriche e Classiche, diretta dalla Dr. Maria Stavropoulou-Gatsi (e precedentemente dal Prof. Ioannis Papapostolou e dal Dr. Lazaros Kolonas) e congiuntamente al Seminar für Alte Geschichte della Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster diretto dal Prof. Peter Funke; la collaborazione con le *Inscriptiones Graecae* della Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften per l'aggiornamento dei *corpora* della Grecia centro-occidentale, condotto in accordo con i Prof. P. Funke e Klaus Hallof e con la partecipazione della Dr. Daniela Summa; l'edizione delle iscrizioni rinvenute nel santuario di Termo dal Prof. Photios Petsas† all'inizio degli anni '70. Sono particolarmente lieta che i partner di questi progetti abbiano preso parte attiva ai lavori del convegno<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Su questi progetti, cf. Antonetti in Antonetti, Baldassarra 2004, 28-31 e Antonetti, Baldassarra, Cavalli, Crema 2010, 312 e n. 1, oltre al sito Web del Laboratorio di Epigrafia greca: [http://www.unive.it/nqcontent.cfm?a\\_id=27506](http://www.unive.it/nqcontent.cfm?a_id=27506).

A partire da questo background, la partecipazione al progetto di rilevante interesse nazionale (PRIN) *La Grecia terza e l'Occidente*<sup>2</sup> con il programma “Fondazioni, rifondazioni, *basileis* in Grecia nord-occidentale” ha rappresentato per me e Stefania De Vido un approdo naturale, una cornice ideale nella quale inserirci con un compito specifico, quello di indagare dal punto di vista storico le dinamiche egemoniche e fondative proprie all'area greco-occidentale e sud-illirica attraverso due filoni di ricerca: il primo dedicato all'intreccio fra *fondazioni, tradizioni e identità*, il secondo mirato a focalizzare gli *aspetti politici e istituzionali delle comunità della Grecia nord-occidentale con particolare riferimento all'età classica e all'età ellenistica*. Sono i primi risultati di questa seconda ricerca che vengono qui presentati alla comunità scientifica: il gruppo veneziano, ultimamente esteso anche a Silvia Palazzo, Ivan Matijašić, Anna Ruggeri e Lazzaro Pietragnoli, ha operato un lavoro collettivo di ricerca e confronto critico che si articola in una duplice prospettiva, storico-istituzionale e storico-sociale. Il collegamento fra la ricerca e la didattica che con Stefania De Vido abbiamo fortemente voluto e realizzato ha portato all'inserimento fra i relatori del convegno anche di Elisa Bugin ed Elisa Criveller, oltre a suscitare l'interesse di qualche collega veneziano come Tomaso Lucchelli. Quello che presentiamo è dunque il lavoro di un'unità di ricerca composita, molto giovane, fortemente orientata alla formazione alla ricerca sul campo e che ha collaborato in spirito di amicizia con i colleghi delle altre unità di ricerca di Napoli, La Calabria, Roma La Sapienza e Parma, tutti rappresentati negli *Atti* del convegno.

Quest'Ellade occidentale, a lungo trascurata dagli studi sul mondo greco, è oggi portata alla ribalta e rivelata nel suo volto inedito grazie a un'attività archeologica dinamica e innovativa di cui l'uditorio veneziano ha avuto il piacere di conoscere i protagonisti, i direttori delle Eforie Elleniche alle Antichità Preistoriche e Classiche responsabili delle ricerche archeologiche nelle regioni in oggetto: l'8<sup>a</sup>, Corfù, diretta dalla Dr. G. Metallinou; la 32<sup>a</sup>, Tesprozia, diretta dalla Dr. E. Kanta-Kitsou e di cui fa parte la Dr. K. Lazari; la 33<sup>a</sup>, Epiro meridionale, Arta e Preveza, diretta dal Dr. G. Riginos; la 35<sup>a</sup>, Cefalonia, Itaca e Zacinto, diretta dal Dr. A. Sotiriou; la 36<sup>a</sup>, Etolia, Acarnania e Leucade, diretta dalla Dr. M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi. Alle loro relazioni archeologiche è stata dedicata l'intera prima sezione del convegno perché le novità, insieme di dettaglio e di prospettiva generale, sono innumerevoli. Si vedrà come esse abbiano trovato

<sup>2</sup> Sul progetto di rilevante interesse nazionale (PRIN) 2007 *La 'terza' Grecia e l'Occidente* si veda il sito Web <http://www.cdlstoria.unina.it/grecia/index.php> e Antonetti c.d.s. a. Le Unità di ricerca associate sono le seguenti: Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II (unità centrale, coordinatore scientifico: Luisa Breglia); Università degli Studi di Roma La Sapienza (responsabile scientifico: Maria Letizia Lazzarini); Università degli Studi di Parma (responsabile scientifico: Ugo Fantasia); Università della Calabria (responsabile scientifico: Giovanna De Sensi Sestito).

un'eco nelle successive sezioni del congresso che hanno affrontato il tema di una possibile *koine* interregionale nell'ambito della storia istituzionale e sociale mentre ad affermati studiosi stranieri che sono un punto di riferimento negli studi di settore oltre che vecchi amici come Peter Funke e Pierre Cabanes – il 'decano' in quest'ambito di ricerca – è stato affidato il compito di introdurre e di concludere i lavori.

Il quadro delle interrelazioni di quest'area nord-occidentale della Grecia ovviamente non si limita alle Isole ioniche e alle regioni direttamente prospicienti, in realtà coinvolge profondamente il continente greco, l'area illirica a nord e il Peloponneso, oltre a chiamare fortemente in causa l'altra sponda, quella italiana e magnogreca. Quest'ultimo aspetto tematico, quello dei rapporti con l'Occidente, introdotto nella sezione finale del convegno veneziano, è stato il 'filo rosso' che ha condotto al secondo incontro programmatico del nostro PRIN, quello di Cosenza (*Πλέοντα εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν: ἡ Ἐπὶρο, Κορκὶρα καὶ ἡ Ὀκκὶδεντε*, 5-6 maggio 2010), mentre l'insieme delle interrelazioni della Grecia 'terza' gravitante sul Golfo di Corinto e sull'area ionica verrà rappresentato nell'ambito del congresso conclusivo che sarà organizzato dall'unità centrale di Napoli nel gennaio del 2011. A testimonianza della forte coesione che ha caratterizzato i lavori del gruppo di ricerca nel suo insieme e per meglio sottolinearne l'ispirazione generale pur nella diversità delle scansioni tematiche si è deciso di pubblicare la serie degli *Atti* dei convegni di Venezia, Cosenza e Napoli sotto uno stesso titolo emblematico e benaugurante: *'Diabaseis'*.

Mi è gradito infine esprimere la mia riconoscenza all'Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia nella persona della direttrice, Prof. Chrissa Maltezou, che ha garantito l'ospitalità dei colleghi greci offrendo una collaborazione pronta e generosa rivelatasi decisiva per la realizzazione dell'iniziativa.

Un doveroso ringraziamento va al Prof. Giandomenico Romanelli, Direttore della Fondazione dei Musei Civici di Venezia, per l'autorizzazione, esente da diritti, alla pubblicazione della bellissima carta settecentesca del Museo Correr che figura in copertina (*Mss P.D. c 842/3*).

Un pensiero riconoscente va alla segreteria del convegno che è stata tenuta con solerzia e dedizione da Damiana Baldassarra e da Edoardo Cavalli e alle laureande e ai laureandi che si sono messi a disposizione dell'organizzazione per gestire lo svolgimento ordinato delle tre giornate di lavori: Giulia Barichello, Chiara Cavin, Anna Perdibon, Elisabetta Rossi, Paolo Saccon, Elena Trolese, Rosa Maria Zumbo. Ringrazio anche il Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità e del Vicino Oriente che ha contribuito al finanziamento della pubblicazione.

Edoardo Cavalli ha realizzato la cura editoriale degli *Atti* con la precisione e la competenza che gli sono proprie mentre Stefania De Vido mi ha affiancata

nella lettura e nella revisione dei contributi dei più giovani, per molti dei quali quest'occasione rappresenta la prima esperienza di stampa: che entrambi trovino qui l'espressione della mia affettuosa gratitudine.

Venezia, 10 luglio 2010

Claudia Antonetti

When I was in Aitolia and Akarnania the first time ever, in 1981, I couldn't foresee that one day I would introduce a congress on North-Western Greece in my own town and University: I thank everyone, who made all of this possible, first of all my research team in Ca' Foscari, Damiana Baldassarra, Edoardo Cavalli, and Francesca Crema, who have been working under my guidance in the Laboratory for Greek Epigraphy of the Department of Sciences of Antiquity and Near-East since 1999. During the last ten years the main target of the Laboratory has been historical-epigraphical research on North-Western Greece, through the following international projects: the (now imminent) edition of the epigraphical collections of the Museums in Thyrio and Agrinio, thanks to the generosity of the 36<sup>th</sup> Hellenic Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities directed by Dr. Maria Stavropoulou-Gatsi (previously by Prof. Ioannis Papapostolou and by Dr. Lazaros Kolonas), and in tandem with the Seminar für Alte Geschichte of the University of Münster, directed by Prof. Peter Funke; the updating of the *corpora* of Western Greece, in collaboration with the *Inscriptiones Graecae* of the Brandenburgische Akademie Berlin, in concert with Prof. P. Funke and Klaus Hallof and with the participation of Dr. Daniela Summa; the edition of the inscriptions found in Thermo by Prof. Ph. Petsas† in the 1970s. I am glad the partners in these projects did take an active part in the Congress<sup>3</sup>.

With this background, joining the Research Project *The 'third' Greece and the West*<sup>4</sup> with the programme, "Foundations, re-foundations, *basileis* in North-

<sup>3</sup> On these projects see Antonetti in Antonetti, Baldassarra 2004, 28-31; Antonetti, Baldassarra, Cavalli, Crema 2010, 312 n. 1; and the Web site of the Laboratory for Greek Epigraphy: [http://www.unive.it/nqcontent.cfm?a\\_id=27506](http://www.unive.it/nqcontent.cfm?a_id=27506).

<sup>4</sup> On the Project of Relevant National Interest (PRIN) 2007 *The 'third' Greece and the West* see the Web site <http://www.cdlstoria.unina.it/grecia/index.php> and Antonetti c.d.s. a. The research Units involved are: Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II (central unit, scientific coordinator: Luisa Breglia); Università degli Studi di Roma La Sapienza (scientific responsible: Maria Letizia Lazzarini); Università degli Studi di Parma (scientific responsible: Ugo Fantasia); Università della Calabria (scientific responsible: Giovanna De Sensi Sestito).



Western Greece”, has been a natural choice for Stefania De Vido and me – the ideal framework to put ourselves in, with the specific task to investigate the hegemonic and foundational dynamics in the Western-Greek and South-Illyrian areas following two main lines of research: the intertwining of *foundations, traditions, and identity*, and the *political and institutional aspects of North-West communities, particularly during the Classic and the Hellenistic periods*. The first results of the latter research are now presented to the scientific community: the Venetian group, recently extended to Silvia Palazzo, Ivan Matijašić, Anna Ruggeri, and Lazzaro Pietragnoli, has carried out a collective work of research and critical confrontation, here presented under a double perspective: institutional and social. The link between research and teaching, so strongly looked after and realized by Stefania De Vido and me, has led to the inclusion of Elisa Bugin and Elisa Criveller among the congress’ speakers, arising as well the interest of some Venetian colleagues, such as Tomaso Lucchelli. All in all, we are presenting the work of a very young and composite research unit, whose efforts are oriented to the research on the field; we cooperate very friendly with our colleagues of the research units of Napoli, La Calabria, Roma La Sapienza, and Parma – all represented in these *Proceedings*.

This long since neglected Western Greece comes today to the fore thanks to a dynamic and innovative archaeological activity, whose protagonists have been introduced with great pleasure to the Venetian audience: the directors and collaborators of the Hellenic Ephorates of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of the areas we deal with (the 8<sup>th</sup>, Kerkyra, directed by Dr. G. Metallinou; the 32<sup>nd</sup>, Thesprotia, directed by Dr. E. Kanta-Kitsou, and reference Ephorate of Dr. K. Lazari; the 33<sup>rd</sup>, Southern Epirus, Arta and Preveza, directed by Dr. G. Riginos; the 35<sup>th</sup>, Kephallonia, Ithaka and Zakynthos, directed by Dr. A. Sotiriou; the 36<sup>th</sup>, Aitolia, Akarnania and Leukas, directed by Dr. M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi). The first section of the Congress has been entirely devoted to their archaeological reports: the news are uncountable and have found an echo in the other sections of the Congress, which dealt with the theme of a possible interregional *koine* within the field of institutional and social history. The task of introducing and concluding the Congress has been committed to renowned foreign scholars, who are landmark personalities in the field as well as old friends: Peter Funke and Pierre Cabanes – the ‘dean’ of scholars interested in North-Western Greece.

Interrelations in this area of Greece embrace not only the Ionian Islands and the facing regions, but concern the Greek continent, the Illyrian area, the Peloponnese, as well as Italy and Magna Graecia. This last theme – the relations with the West – has found its own place in the fourth section of the Congress,

sort of introduction to the second meeting of the research group, *Πλέοντα εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν: ἡ Ἐπὶρο, Κορκὶρα καὶ τὸ Ὀκκὶδεντε*, held in Cosenza (May 5-6, 2010), while the interrelations within the ‘third’ Greece gravitating towards the Gulf of Corinth and the Ionian area will be the main theme of the final Congress, organized by Naples’ central unit in January 2011. As a proof of the strong cohesion, characteristic of the researches of the national research group, and to better highlight its common though multifaceted inspiration, it has been decided to publish the series of the *Proceedings* of the Venice, Cosenza and Naples Congresses under the same emblematic and auspicious title: ‘*Diabaseis*’.

I am glad to thank the Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Postbyzantine Studies of Venice, represented by Prof. Chrissa Maltezou, who granted hospitality to our Greek colleagues; her ready and generous collaboration has been a decisive help in realizing this Congress.

Due thanks go to Prof. Giandomenico Romanelli, director of the Foundation of Civic Museums in Venice, for allowing to freely publish on the front cover the wonderful XVIII-century map, property of the Correr Museum (*Mss P.D. c 842/3*).

A thankful thought goes to Damiana Baldassarra and Edoardo Cavalli, who have managed the whole organization of the Congress with care and devotion; and to the tutors of the Congress (senior students of Ancient History), who have generously put themselves at disposal: Giulia Barichello, Chiara Cavasin, Anna Perdibon, Elisabetta Rossi, Paolo Saccon, Elena Trolese, Rosa Maria Zumbo. I thank as well the Department of Sciences of Antiquity and Near-East for helping to finance this publication.

Edoardo Cavalli is responsible for the editing of these *Proceedings*, a task he has undertaken with his usual precision and competence; Stefania De Vido has cooperated in reading and revising the articles of the youngest contributors at their editorial debut: may both of them find here the expression of my affectionate gratitude.

Venice, July 10, 2010

Claudia Antonetti

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## ABSTRACTS

**Claudia Antonetti**

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### THE AITOLIAN *KOINON* IN THE CLASSICAL ERA: INTERNAL DYNAMICS AND PANHELLENIC RELATIONS

Classical sources on Aitolia are desperately few in number, yet some original remarks can be developed as to the formative phase of the *koinon* among 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC and its Panhellenic recognition, which was achieved mainly through international relations involving Peloponnesian shrines and Athens. The historical period under study begins with a positive, traditional relationship with Korinth and Sparta during the years of the Archidamic War, and closes with the alliance with Athens at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. In between, the decisive widening of the Aitolian political horizon in relation to the events of ‘big’ history stands out patently: the *koinon* concluded far-sighted alliances with Thebes and Philip II, but also constantly pursued a policy of autonomy whose first signs are to be found in the so-called ‘War of Elis’, in which the Aitolians fought against the Spartans. Independence from external powers is mirrored within Aitolia itself by a brand new sense of self-affirmation. Besides the Messenians in Naupaktos, the case is known of Aitolian Aiolis, namely the area of Kalydon and Pleuron and their surroundings, that in 426 seems to enjoy a certain autonomy both from the *koinon* and the adjacent centres. On the religious level, recognizing the sacred Eleusinian truce and receiving the Epidaurian *theoroi* were crucial steps for Aitolia to enter the *Hellenikon*: both cults, that of the Great Goddesses and that of Asclepius, could actually have been borrowed from Athens, thanks to a wide-spread religious policy which should also include Thesprotia and Dodona. Such an outcome would not be possible without the intrinsic maturation of the *koinon* or its institutional dynamism (see e.g. the progressive extension of *sympoliteia*).

Claudia Antonetti

Università Ca' Foscari Venezia

THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF A SOCIO-CULTURAL *KOINE*  
IN NORTH-WESTERN GREECE DURING THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

This contribution aims to focus on the possible elements of a socio-cultural *koine* in North-Western Greece during the Hellenistic period beyond the common denominator of 'marginality', a key which is now inadequate to account all the historical realities developed during Hellenism in the area under study. From Alexander the Great to the arrival of the Romans these territories went through such different circumstances, that no chance is given to recognize political convergences, yet the antiquity of Roman presence in this area is historically significant – a phenomenon that justifies a comparison with the situation of Magna Graecia.

At the institutional level, it is possible to observe the widespread functionality of some civic magistracy (the *prytania* and the *proboulia* in particular), which has its roots in the first real cultural *koine* of this area, that going back to the Korinthian colonization which is also responsible for setting some *nomima* such as the calendar: a *koine* purposely tending to gravitate towards the Ionian area as well as to exclude the Aitolian zone, and possibly revived by the passage of Timoleon. But the real element of regional *koine* is the federal context, where the communities of North-Western Greece express themselves at best.

The key elements of socio-cultural history the ancient sources make clearly visible concern the sphere of the sacred in all its forms: from manumissions to the widespread worshipping of Asclepius – for whose diffusion into the Adriatic and the West (via canonical routes already set during Archaism) North-Western Greece was an important bridgehead – to the cults ministered *on behalf* and *within* the *polis* inasmuch as experienced in groups and associations. The pantheon of the *poleis* essentially remains the one we are used to, possibly renovated – as for local identity – by the re-use of traditional historical or heroic elements; the high number of brand new – as well as founded anew – civic celebrations during the Hellenistic period is astounding, as is their being often accompanied by games, clear evidence of this phenomenon. Many different cultic groups (from a linguistic point of view significantly connoted by the prefix *syn-* which expresses both sharing in the rituals and the emotional aspect of them) are well attested in these western regions; they are always related to civic life, which permits to understand them within the flow of Greek history: no cultural divide exists anymore in such a polycentric world, where mobility of individuals and groups is expected – including mercenaries and soldiers in the Aitolian territory as well as *negotiatores* in the Adriatic-Ionic area. If foreign and Oriental cults are underrepresented, except for Ambrakia, the multifaceted forms of Dionysian and Artemisian worship allow, better than other cults, to shed light on such diverse cultural phenomena and social realities, that



were deep rooted in this Greece too: from epheby to hunting practices, from life in *gymnasia* to mystic beliefs, to artistic performances and theatre.

As for women, North-Western Greece proves to be highly attractive an area for the prevalence of female religious functions expressed in a participial form rather than with a noun, as well as for the rarity of some of them, such as the *theokolia* in Aitolia (office with sacred and civic skills). Furthermore, Aitolian and Kerkyraian inscriptions attest the active exercise of testimony by women in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC: a clear sign of the fast-paced socio-economic transformation in which these communities of North-Western Greece are involved in this period.

**Damiana Baldassarra**

*Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Laboratorio di Epigrafia greca*

CULTIC LISTS FROM NORTH-WESTERN GREECE:  
TYPES, PROTAGONISTS, AND RITUAL PHENOMENOLOGY

From several *poleis* sited in North-Western Greece come some interesting epigraphical votive dedications committed by public magistrates or religious associations: this *corpus* collects 18 inscriptions – from the Akarnanian ancient *poleis* of Thyreion, Astakos and Palairos, from Kerkyra and Ambrakia – in which the dedication to the deities is followed by quite similar catalogues of religious officials lied to the sacrificial operations. These epigraphical documents resemble each other, but they never have got the same structure: it seems to be difficult to find out an external archetypal and apparently there is no hierarchy in listing the officials. However, these inscriptions always are quite synthetic, but complete at the same time: this is possible thanks to the constant mention of few, but quite significant religious officials, who underline the key-moments of the sacrifice (processions, libations and the following banquets).

In order to determine the main characteristics, the similarities and the differences of the epigraphical texts that composed this *corpus*, it will be offered an analysis of the main interesting documents, with particular attention to the duties of the most important and mentioned officials involved in the sacrifices and to the details that distinguish the catalogues of a *polis* away from the others: in this occasion will be also published two new inscriptions discovered in 1985 in the area of the so-called *prytaneion* of Ambrakia.

This *corpus* constitutes an important case, first of all because it attests the particular epigraphical exercise of the *poleis* of North-Western Greece: as a matter of fact they came more slowly than other Greek regions to the full experimentation of the *polis*-system and consequently they started later to use epigraphy to issue documents as attestation of their community life – still in the Hellenistic period these *poleis* used to employ epigraphy more assiduously and emphatically than oth-

er Greek areas. The significant number of these somewhat standardized dedications/catalogues is probably due to the pressing demand felt by North-Western Greek communities to emphasize the religious activities as key-moments of their civic life. The need of highlighting every religious official involved in the sacrificial *iter* is ascribable to the high-profile role played by them: they could carry out several duties and thanks to their versatility they used to appear both in public and private sacrifices.

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ABOUT SACRIFICE: *AOZOS* AND *HIEROPHOROS*

In several *poleis* sited in North-Western Greece have been found some epigraphical votive dedications committed by public magistrates or religious associations: they delineate a *corpus* of coherent inscriptions that evidence both interesting aspects of the religious praxis and the importance of the sacrificial rite with the communities of this Greek area. In this article we are going to analyse the epigraphical and literary evidences concerning two few attested and almost unknown religious officials mentioned by some inscriptions of this *corpus*: the *aozos* and *hierophoros*.

Next to the *mageiros*, who beats the main outstanding times of the sacrificial rite thanks to his triple function of sacrificer, butcher and cook, stand out at middle distance some officials conventionally meant as assistants of the *mageiros*. The Greek words used to define these assistants change according to the *polis*: at Kerkyra there are the *hyperetes* and *aozos*; at Ambrakia are attested the *aozos* and a *koinon* of *diakonoi*; at Thyreion and Palairos there is the *diakonos*; at Astakos there are the *paidēs*. It is not clear what exactly did these religious officials: the etymology of their names is useless – unlike the names of other officials etymologically understandable, like *σπονδοφόρος* or *κανηφόρος*, attested in inscriptions found in other Greek regions – and it is impossible to find exactly out in which way they helped the *mageiros*. Among these religious assistants only the *aozos* seems to be attested only in North-Western Greece: differently, the others are documented by several Greek inscriptions of the Classical and Hellenistic ages. *Aozos* is a rare name: its most ancient literary citation dates back to the V century BC (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*) and relates this word to the sacrificial contest; the only epigraphical attestations of *aozos* – always lied to a religious contest – are circumscribable to the North-Western Greece.

Four epigraphical dedications found at Thyreion mention the *hierophoros*, who used to bring the *hiera* – both worship's objects and the image of the divinity: although this priest is already quoted by the inscriptions of other Greek countries,

these four documents are important because they represent the most ancient evidence of this official known until now.

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ASYLIA UNDER ARTEMIS'S EYES:  
THOUGHTS FROM A KALYDONIAN DECREE

The inscription *IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 1, 135*, found carved on a mutilated stele in the *stoa* of the Kalydonian *Laphrion*, consists of a decree of *asylia* the Aitolians granted to the citizens of Lousoi. Repeatedly published during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it needs a careful commentary nonetheless; only a few lines have been written about it, in order to discuss the identity of the receivers of the *asylia*. Two are the theories thereupon: the first, the privilege was granted to the temple of Artemis *Hemera*; the second, which is the more credible, the privilege was granted to the *Lousiatai*. The ambiguous meaning of *asylia* contributed to the generation of such an interpretative dichotomy. Decrees of *asylia* granted to private citizens, to communities, and to shrines are uncountable; if we look at the cult of Artemis, however, we rarely know of grants of *asylia* to sanctuaries dedicated to this goddess. Artemis was the most important divinity in Aitolia and Arkadia and some of her epithets (e.g. *Laphria*, *Limnatis*) are recurrent only in these regions – anyway the most famous decrees of *asylia* concerning *Artemisia* were granted in Asia: Magnesia on the Meander, Ephesos, Perge. The inscriptions found at Ephesos and Perge show the words *asylia* or *asylos* in close connection with the goddess' name (e.g. Ἀρτέμιδι τὴν ἄσυλίαν, Ἀρτέμιδι Περγαία ἄσυλῳ); the inscriptions found at Magnesia have the ordinary formula τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἱερὰν καὶ ἄσυλον εἶναι and mention the sanctuary, terms that don't appear in *IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 1, 135*, where only the ethnic name of the *Lousiatai* is legible instead: Λουσιά[ταις - -] (the dative-integration unanimous). Most remarkably, evidences about a deal and relations between Aitolians and *Lousiatai* provided by Polybius (Polyb. 4, 18, 7-12; 4, 19, 2-4) date back to 220 BC, year consistent with the dating of the decree suggested by palaeography. Polybius' words, on several occasions, heavily corroborate the thesis regarding the *asylia* granted to the *Lousiatai*: their temple was declared *asylos* before the 240s BC (Polyb. 9, 34, 9), and the Aitolians ignored its inviolability and plundered it twice – in the 240s BC and in 220 BC – (Polyb. 9, 34, 9; 4, 19, 2-4): a grant of *asylia* to the shrine in 220 BC would therefore have been contradictory and useless for the Aitolians (attracted by its treasures). Besides, they apparently did not mistreat or rob the *Lousiatai*: on the contrary, they mistreated other peoples (cf. Polyb. 4, 18, 7-8: the Aitolians tortured the inhabitants of Kynaitha to make them

reveal where they were keeping their substance; Polyb. 4, 19, 2-4: the Aitolians attacked Kleitor).

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POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT  
(4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> CENT. BC): SOME HISTORICAL REFLECTIONS ON EPIRUS

Between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC the institutions of Epirus underwent important changes. In 429 Thucydides described this region of North-Western Greece as populated by barbarians, whose way of life was very different than that of the inhabitants of Central and Southern Greece. Epirus' population lived in villages without fortifications. These villages consisted of larger communities called *ethne* or *koina*. The *polis* did not really exist, with the exception of colonial foundations. In the 4<sup>th</sup> century the political map of Epirus was reorganized, as indicated by the list of *theorodokoi* in Epidaurus (360 ca.) and Argos (around 330). The seven states became but two, as the Molossians progressively incorporated the neighbouring populations to the West and South. These new members of the *koinon* of the Molossians received the same political rights as the older members. Before 296 the unification of Epirus reached a final stage, when Chaonia and the Molossian wider community joined together. The middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century saw also the beginning of urban growth in the region. Besides the king from the Aeacid family, state institutions, called the *koinon* of Molossian, included a group of representatives from the *ethne*, some magistrates (*prostates* of Molossians, along with a secretary), a people's assembly and perhaps even a council. Smaller communities had also their own magistrates in the Molossian part, as well as in the Chaonian component of the new state.

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FAMILY STRUCTURE IN THE CONTEXT OF ECONOMIC  
AND SOCIAL LIFE IN ANCIENT EPIRUS

In ancient Epirus, family structure and roles differed from those in Central and Southern Greece. The first original characteristic was family collective property, as one can discover in inscriptions found in Bouthrotos relating to

manumission. The entire family (father, mother, sons, and daughters) emancipated slaves, as if the attribution of each member of the family was required to make possible the complete freedom of a slave. The second noteworthy characteristic was the status of women in Epirus. Unlike Athenian women, who remained minors under the authority of their *kyrios* (father, husband, or eldest son), women from Epirus could emancipate their slaves on their own. After her father's death, the Epirote woman was the first named in the list of owners granting manumission, at least until her elder son came of age. Genealogical trees reveal the wealth of some of the families of Epirus, whose members administered the offices of magistrates and priests and were united through marriage. Some family lineages can be traced back six generations, from the end of the *koinon* of Epirus (before 170) to the foundation of the Roman colony of *Buthrotum* in 44 BC.

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ΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΩΝ ΟΥΚ ΑΠΟΛΩΛΕ ΑΡΕΤΑ.

(HI)STORY AND GLORY IN THE AGE OF THE *DIADOCHOI*

With some minor – and controversial for the most – exceptions, the only Aitolian verse-inscription come down to us is the epigram *IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 1, 51*, inscribed on a statue-base found in Thermos: this short elegy recalls *Skorpion* the Aitolian – ambushed whilst flanking with other riders the Phokian forces under attack – as well as the statue erected by *Skorpion*'s father *Drakon* in memory of his son's value. The inscription, dated to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. BC according to palaeography, provides the occasion for reflections across the board: the text refers to an episode of local history ignored by surviving ancient historians, and the inter-comparison with other epigrams found in Delphi as well as historiographical sources suggest a more precise chronology for it, also in relation to the Aitolian-Boiotian treaty *StV 463*; epigraphic data call to reconsider the more general issue of the visibility and legibility of the *epigramma*; a cross-study within the inscriptional corpus of Central and Western Greece leads to the recognition, in the first age of the *Diadochoi*, of an elegiac epigraphical production on historical subjects related to local elites, whose tones and contents are different from those of contemporary Alexandrian literature yet close to part of Posidippus' poetic production – along with his fellows 'wandering poets' he probably played a major role in the creation and dissemination of this epigrammatic 'type'; still, between the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. the historical-

laudatory epigrammatic ‘type’ seems to give way to somewhat more literary and conventional themes.

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## PRYTANY AND CIVIC SPACE

The fragmentary condition of our sources on the civic institutions of the *poleis* of North-Western Greece and of the Ionian Islands – scattered as they are in a wide area and throughout a long chronological period – gives us little chance to reconstruct the constitution of each *polis*, both in its global aspects and internal developments. Nevertheless, if we come to consider the eponymous civic officials attested in the whole area, we are to find in the eponymous *prytanis* an element of comparison which leads us first to follow backwards the spread of a certain political model and secondly to an historical insight on the meaning of this political institution in the building of self-identity.

The spread of the eponymous prytany – attested in Kerkyra, Thyrraeion, Ambrakia (?), Apollonia, Epidamnus – finds its roots in the Korinthian-Kerkyraian colonial movement and thereafter reaches out to those newly structured political autonomous entities of Hellenistic Epirus and Southern Illyria, which modelled their institutions after the powerful colonial coastal *poleis*: the *prytanis* is the eponymous magistrate of the *koinon* of the *Bylliones* and of that of the *Balaieitai* and is attested at Amantia, Dimale and Kassope as well. In terms of civic institutions, prytany is thus the most evident element of *koine* in those regions and could go back to a Korinthian model, however elusive in its details; off this very model go those contexts where civic institutions are modelled after federal structures, and – in the Ionian Islands – Same and Ithaka, whose board of three eponymous *damiourgoi* could possibly refer to an Achaian background.

Our scanty knowledge on the Korinthian constitution together with the rather poor epigraphic documentation offers little information on the political role of the *prytanis* and on the development of the institution as it concerns the *polis* administration; yet it is clear that the *prytanis* plays a central role inside the civic space, by gathering together a symbolic and institutional centrality – whose very expression lays in the religious field – and the physical centrality granted by the *prytaneion* and the *hestia*. Inscriptions and dedications address our attention to the civic cults attested in the *poleis* of this area and to the role of the *prytanis* as vital junction knot in this dialogue between real and ideal civic space, which together outline *polis* identity.

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**AITOLIAN AND ACARNANIAN FUNERAL EPIGRAMS**

(3<sup>RD</sup>-2<sup>ND</sup> CENT. BC)

Scarce evidence remains of the funerary epigrams from Aitolia and Acarnania; in this production do emerge seven epigrams, dating back to a period that goes from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC: they stand out for extension (four couplets generally speaking) and legibility. This article focuses on these epigrams. Although they are all edited, it is worth reconsidering this production in order to give a unitary and updated vision. Among the six more complete epigrams, five come from Thyreion (*IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 2, 298 = T1; IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 2, 312a = T3; IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 2, 313 = T4; IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 2, 314+321 = T5; IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 2, 340 = T6*), one from Stratos (*IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 2, 408 = T7*); finally, an extremely fragmentary epigram from Agrinion (Klaffenbach 1936, 359 = T2). The commentary on each text highlights the richness of these epigrams in four main fields. With regard to onomastics, T5 offers another attestation of a typical name of West Greece, Ἐμινάβτα; T2 and T6 confirm the importance and frequency of the name Πανταλέων in Aitolia and Acarnania. As far as the vision of death is concerned, it is remarkable that T4 testifies the belief in afterlife: it offers the unique attestation of the term μύσσης in funerary epigrams of North-Western Greece. Furthermore these epigrams reflect a change of the kind of values which have to be stressed in order to glorify the dead: the expression σωφροσύνης κανόνα (T5, 6) conveys the importance of education in the Hellenistic period. Finally, it has been assumed that two of the seven epigrams, T1 and T4, are to be ascribed to the epigrammatist Damagetus: they indeed stand out among the others but maybe it is better to think about an influence of Damagetus on the anonymous poets who composed these epigrams.

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**INSTITUTIONS, MAGISTRATES, *POLITEIAI*:**

**FRAGMENTS OF DOCUMENTATION AND RESEARCH IDEAS**

Evidence from Aristotle's school is scanty and epigraphic documentation from North-Western Greece very fragmentary, yet we may suggest for this area the existence of institutional 'isoglosses', fitting the Hellenistic political *koine* very well. First of all we proceed to census the actors in decision-making

procedures (*halia*, *ekklesia*, *damos*; *boula/boule* and related cults); to consider civic partitions, if only partially known; and to analyze names and functions of attested *archai*. Then we focus on two main targets: the institutional structure of the ancient *polis* of Kerkyra, which allows significant considerations if compared with its mother-city Korinth and the West; and the role of the *prostates*, which probably had functions of guarantee, protection, and representation within the delicate *poleis-koina* relationship, in particular in Epirus and Southern Illyria. As well as in the rest of the Greek world, the *polis* stands out as one of the essential very models of political organization in North-Western Greece.

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#### REMARKS ON CIVIC ORGANIZATION IN LOKROI EPIZEPHYRIOI

The Tablets of Lokroi, a *corpus* of 37 bronze inscriptions dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, attest the criteria for the registration of the civic body in force under the democratic regime created after the expulsion of Dionysius II in 346 BC. A symbol composed of three letters, which points out the unit to which each citizen belonged, appears before the name of each magistrate. The total number of abbreviations could be 33 or 36: however, this second option seems preferable, because in this case there would be a perfect identity between the number of the symbols of each tribe, i.e. 12, and the number of the phratries, or rather of the *phatarchoi*, attested in these inscriptions. But what are the possible models of the organization of the Lokrian civic body? While some elements recall the reality of Opuntian Lokris, such as the presence of the *Hekaton Oikiai* and of the *Chilioi* mentioned by Polybius, further aspects recall Ozolian Lokris, e.g. the presence of a *theukolos*, which seems otherwise confined to Western and Central Greece. However, new developments in the research have been opened by some inscriptions discovered in recent years, such as the documents found in Argos and still under investigation by Ch. Kritzas, and other inscriptions found in Sicily, mostly attributable to Kamarina. The evidence of 12 phratries for each of the 4 tribes in Argos in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and the presence of a board of *Duodeka* suggest that even in Lokroi Epizephyrioi between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC the civic body was not divided in *demoi* but rather in *phratriai*, exactly 36, i.e. 12 for each tribe: the transition from the decimal system, as reflected by the *Hekaton Oikiai* and by the assembly of the *Chilioi*, to the duodecimal system could have coincided with the enlargement of the citizenship by 20%, as it exactly happened in Argos, where a new tribe was created in addition to the three traditional ones. As for the Sicilian inscriptions, edited by G.



Manganaro and studied by F. Cordano, they shed a new light on the reform of the civic body made in Sicily by Timoleon as part of his broader political vision: also in these inscriptions people appear to be divided into civic groups, indicated with numerals. It could be that the reorganization of the citizenship in Lokroi Epizephyrioi belongs to the same reform plan – Korinthian in the method and maybe Argive in the essence – created by Timoleon in respect of local autonomies as well as of the institutional history of each *polis*.

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THE AKARNANIAN *ETHNOS* 454-424 BC:  
LOCAL DYNAMICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

As far as we know, the earliest contacts between Akarnania and the world of the Greek *poleis* are an unsuccessful attempt at conquering Oiniadai made by an Athenian expedition led by Perikles in 454, as part of a strategy aiming at ‘encircling’ Korinth in the first Peloponnesian war, and another, undated one by the Messenians from Naupaktos.

After a gap in our evidence, the alliance concluded in or about 435 between Athens and that part of the Akarnanian *ethnos* centred on Stratos, the biggest and most important among the inland Akarnanian cities, was a response to the aggressive policy of the Korinthian colony of Ambrakia. Before and during the Archidamian War till 424, when the crushing defeat suffered by Ambrakia in 426/5 stopped warfare in this region, the Akarnanian *ethnos* allied with Athens – a few *poleis* and some small ethnic subgroups, with an army made up of local contingents led by a board of generals, that acted as a unitary entity on the military and diplomatic planes – behaving loyally to Athens, at the same time going on pursuing its own interests.

The Thucydidean evidence, though focused on military events rather than on institutional aspects, allows us to go beyond the widespread representation of the Akarnanians as a mere *symmachia* strengthened by the ethnic solidarity, and to grasp some real ‘federal’ hints in its political organization. This is shown, for example, by the different ways the *ethnos* gradually came to annex, apparently through a purposeful plan, all the Akarnanian communities that still in 431 were under Korinthian control or shared a pro-Korinthian stance (Astakos, Sollion, Anaktorion, Oiniadai). Moreover, a closer reading of Thuc. 3, 105, 1 shows that the *koinon dikasterion* at Olpai in Amphilochia here mentioned was likely to be a ‘common court’ of the Akarnanians (not of the Akarnanians and the Amphilochians), an institution that anticipates a similar one reported in

a decree of the Akarnanian League of 263. At the same time, Thucydides himself in his narrative partly disproves the oversimplified picture given in the *archaiologia* of the Akarnanian (as well as Lokrian and Aitolian) primitive way of life as a consequence of lack of security in human settlements and relations.

On the whole, the subject here investigated is an interesting test-case of the interplay between the international relations, which brought about a deeper implication of North-Western Greece in the expansionist policy of Greek superpowers, and the development of a Greek *ethnos* towards more complex political and institutional forms peculiar to federal States.

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**NORTH-WESTERN GREECE:  
IN THE SHADOW OF THE GREEK WORLD?**

The Northwest of Greece is still one of the least-accessible regions of the country. Until recently, many inland areas were to be reached only from the coast: for this reason in ancient times this part of Greece opened up to the stranger primarily from the sea and the offshore islands, and it has always been characterized by a strong orientation to the Ionian Sea.

These specific geographical conditions influenced the historical development of North-Western Greece in a decisive manner, as well as its perception from the outside: this applies to the medieval and modern travel books, but much more so to the historiographical and literary representations produced in antiquity. The image of this region, which is reflected in the ancient sources, accordingly runs ambivalent: while on the one hand Dodona and its oracular sanctuary was seen as an integral part of Greek *oikoumene*, on the other hand the inhabitants of North-Western Greece were perceived by the "citizens of classical *po-leis*" as semi-barbarians (*meixobarbaroi*), being hence granted just a limited membership to the Panhellenic community. The image is ambivalent in another respect too: ancient sources are clearly interested in the coastal regions and the islands, but not in the inner land, proving themselves largely ignorant of local conditions. Accordingly, the historical information we can obtain from literary and historiographical texts are unbalanced.

This desolate situation of the sources does condition the analysis of the political and social changes occurred in North-Western Greece during the Classical and Hellenistic times heavily. Coastal areas and offshore islands have always been an important bridgehead and a central link between the Greek mainland and the landscapes beyond the Ionian and the Adriatic Seas. At the

same time they acted also as a cultural contact-area for the North-Western inland and thus a zone of exchange and acculturation. This in turn created conditions and prerequisites for the genesis of entirely new forms of political and social existence, bound to shape the rest of the Greek world.

The available literary and historiographical source material has so far allowed just a very limited view of that development: even more significant, therefore, comes the archaeological research, whose results constitute an important addition to our present knowledge, and can help get the history of North-Western Greece out from the shadows of History, thus contributing to a better understanding of historical processes.

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**CULT, PITHAGORISM, AND SOCIAL PRESTIGE:  
THE ROLE OF WOMEN AT LOKROI EPIZEPHYRIOI**

The thesis takes as a starting point the existence of a clear pre-eminence of female cults within the *polis* of Lokroi Epizephyrioi, if compared with other cities in Magna Graecia. The *Persephoneion* on Mannella Hill and the Aphrodite sanctuaries in northern and southern Marasà have raised two fundamental questions: Why does the feminine goddesses predominate in Lokroi? And is there a connection between feminine goddesses and women's life? This theory has allowed to trace social and institutional analogies, as well as political, military, and religious ones, between Lokroi and the Doric world, in particular with Lakonian and Spartan sites in ancient Greece. It has been possible, in this way, to reread some Lokrian archaeological evidences, such as the presence of strigils within female tombs or some iconographies with women holding strigils in their hands. This has followed the hypothesis that in Lokroi as well as in Sparta, *poleis* both aristocratic and war-like, women had a particular kind of life that assured them a certain freedom and the access to typically male-related activities and places, such as the gymnasium. Briefly, by overcoming the indemonstrable matriarchy theory, this study tries to explain the social hierarchy, assuming the existence of more plausible gender-dynamics in Lokroi, where women lived supplementary relationships with men's world.

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**AUTARKEIA.**

**REMARKS ON KERKYRA'S ECONOMY (5<sup>TH</sup>-4<sup>TH</sup> CENT. BC)**

In the speech held in 433 BC before the Athenian assembly gathered to decide whether to grant Kerkyra's request for alliance, Corinthians accused Kerkyraians to "be themselves judges of the damage they do to others rather than submit to agreed terms" inasmuch they were in a position of '*autarkeia*', because, "while they have little need to seek the assistance of others, it is the others who mostly fall into their hands necessarily" (Thuc. 1, 37, 3). This complaint tended to unmask – from the Korinthian point of view – the false justifications the Kerkyraians had brought with regard to their previous policy of independence from the factions then emerging in the Greek world; from *our* point of view, it contains an explicit reference to the peculiarities of Kerkyra's economy. In a recent interpretation of the passage, A. Bresson has proposed to identify in a 'smart' use of foreign traders as vectors of both imports and exports the foundation of Kerkyra's *autarkeia* and thus of its golden isolation.

In order to better define this *autarkeia*, it is our intention to put to the test – more comprehensively, and analytically – all the fragmentary news offered by the literary and epigraphical sources, as well as the data retrievable from the archaeological evidence, to build up – as far as possible – a picture of Kerkyra's economy (agricultural production, port operations, commercial assets and relationships, directions) and its incidence on the events that mark the island's internal and international life between the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC.

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**THESPROTIA DURING LATE CLASSIC AND HELLENISTIC PERIODS.  
THE FORMATION AND EVOLUTION OF THE CITIES**

In this paper we discuss the residential development and, in general, topography of Thesprotia during late Classic and Hellenistic periods (4<sup>th</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC), when the area evolves rapidly and the first fortified settlements and cities are established, following the example of the south Greek colonies, which have been set up on the coast of Epirus.

In the mid-4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC the population of the small unfortified villages of Thesprotia is organized in new larger fortified settlements, which take control

of greater areas that correspond generally to the most important Thesprotian tribes: Elea, the centre of the Eleates tribe; *Phanote* in the middle course of Kalamas River, the centre of *Phanoteis*; Elina (today's Dymokastro), centre of Elinoi; as well as smaller settlements such as those in today's villages Raveni and Polyneri. A little later, by the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC, Thesprotians expanded to the north, in the area of Kestrini, and established their political and commercial capital, Gitana, by the shore of Kalamas River. Each of the aforementioned settlements develops specific characteristics which are directly related to their geographical position and the contacts evolved along the existing trade routes.

We focus on historical and geographical circumstances which lead to this evolution, the influence from the other Epirote tribes, especially the Molossians, and finally the complete change in the region and the life of its inhabitants during this period.

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COINAGE IN NORTH-WESTERN GREECE:  
INTEGRATION AND LOCAL IDENTITIES

North-Western Greece was an area where coinage spread and developed very slowly, except for some Corinthian colonies, such as Kerkyra, Leukas, and Ambrakia, which possessed a mint before ca. 480 BC. Besides, it is worth noting too that finds of Archaic and Classical Greek coins are quite rare in the region. This situation is quite remarkable, on the one hand because this area is located on the maritime route to South Italy and Sicily, where coinage was widely used since the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century; on the other because comparable 'peripheral' parts of the Greek world (e.g. Macedon and Thrace) seem in general to be much more receptive to adoption of coinage. Furthermore, the coinages of the Corinthian colonies (with the exclusion of Kerkyra) are modelled on that of the Mother City in every detail, except the letter of the mint signature; and Corinth exerted a decisive influence not only on the design of coins but also on the monetary matters of her colonies, which did not develop a truly autonomous coinage before the Hellenistic period.

In many centres of North-Western Greece, and in particular in inland areas of Epirus and Akarnania, coinage makes only occasional appearances before the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, when two events caused a change in the nature of the locally available coinage: Macedonian expansionism and Timoleon's expedition to Sicily. These two external factors created the conditions for a greater

production of coins in many mints of the area (especially Korinthian colonies which coined silver *pegasi*), but the whole region remained scarcely monetized until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, in spite of the emergence of more powerful and stable political entities such as the Akarnanian Confederacy and the kingdom of Epirus.

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MILITARY MAGISTRATES IN NORTH-WESTERN GREECE?  
CONSIDERATIONS ON CIVIC INSTITUTIONS

This paper analyzes the epigraphical documents attesting municipal magistrates in North-Western Greece, whose names refer to a military context – the *strategos*, the *polemarchos*, and the *toxarchos*, mainly attested in inscriptions from the Hellenistic period (in particular 3<sup>rd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC).

The *toxarchos*, known only from two dedications from Apollonia of Illyria, had a role in the defence of the city and was probably bond to the cultic aspects of civic institutions.

The magistrates known as *strategoi* and *polemarchoi* had various duties in Greek Hellenistic *poleis*. As Aristotle asserts, these city-magistrates were supposed to inspect the defences and organize the citizens both in times of war and peace. They were fundamental members of the citizenship and had not only military, but principally civic functions. This is the case of a *strategos* and a *polemarchos* attested in a Leukadian decree from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

The most frequent mention of *strategoi* in a local context in North-Western Greece is connected to Aphrodite. Several dedications attest a particular bond between poleic institutions and the goddess, as well as the existence of an Aphrodite *Stratagis* in Thyrraeon. Some ancient authors, above all Plutarch, give the most suitable evidence to understand the political function of Aphrodite related to civic magistrates in Hellenistic and later Greek *poleis*.

These considerations mark the similarity of the institutional models adopted by the communities of North-Western Greece with those of better-known areas of the Greek Hellenistic world.

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KERKYRA THROUGH THE EXCAVATIONS OF THE LAST YEARS.  
MYTHS AND REALITIES

The gulf known as “Ionian Adrian Gulf” extended from Adria in the north to the island of Kerkyra further south. The name derives from the Ionian voyagers who got lost in this area trying to open the first trade sea-routes. The early Ionian presence at this area that coincides with the first Euboean seafarers there foretells the significant role of Kerkyra regarding this region and the high level of its future development as well.

Despite the fact that the city of Kerkyra is well known as a Korinthian colony – the identity of the first mother-city, whether being Euboea or Korinth, is thoroughly discussed – Kerkyra’s role is more important as that of an independent city-state. Kerkyra is indeed the sole city-state in the north-western part of Greece and its history follows the same paths as the city-states of mainland Greece.

Kerkyra is situated in the sea-route towards the West, opposite of the Thesprotian tribes and the Chaonians further east. It is this position that constitutes Kerkyra a critical factor of the area and moreover, a cosmopolitan centre. Beyond the ancient literal sources that directly or indirectly refer to this role of the island, the archaeological finds are equally essential.

Ancient Kerkyra since the late 8<sup>th</sup> century BC spreads throughout the Karoni peninsula. The agora on the northern part of this peninsula was the centre of the city-state, while the extra-mural cemeteries were developed northern and western as well. Two ports that have been deduced so far provided all the support for the commercial and naval activities. The sanctuaries, at the edge of the peninsula and close to the harbours, constitute an amalgam of different ideas with cosmopolitan features.

Manufacture installations archaeologically deduced around the ports as well as incorporated in the settlement produced all the necessary for local communities, but also for exportation. Literal evidence attest the Kerkyraian wine that, as it seems, was an export to the West and the Greek markets transferred within the Kerkyraian trade amphora. However, it is quite possible that goods were imported to Kerkyra from its Epirotan and Illyrian conquests.

Kerkyraian markets were supplied with locally produced Korinthian pottery since the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. By the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC Kerkyra regained its role in the Adriatic routes.

A distinctive trait of the island’s cosmopolitan role is the numismatic type that was established here. The Kerkyraean stater that was firstly coined in the

late 6<sup>th</sup> century BC and the denominations that followed served the international trade as they favoured the exchange from the Korinthian numismatic standard to that of the Chalcidian colonies at Sicily.

Fifth century BC is marked by the Athenian presence in the West and the civil strife between aristocrats and democrats. The evolvement of Kerkyra into the dispute between Sparta and Athens and its support to the latter give the features of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, just before the city-state loses its autonomy and becomes a conquest itself by the new powerful authorities of the region.

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ETHNE AND POLEIS ALONG THE FIRST STRETCH  
OF THE VIA EGNATIA:  
THE PERSPECTIVE OF A SOURCE

The area extending from the Adriatic coast to the western borders of Macedonia was already of great interest to Macedonian rulers and then to the Romans since their first contact with the Hellenistic kingdoms, yet it does not mean – for us, anyway – a detailed knowledge of this land of *ethne*. In order to recover the sources' perspective however cursory, and to focus the many problems facing those who attempt to reconstruct and understand these realities, we tried to isolate the Polybian voice, seeking the perceivable aspect of this section of 2<sup>nd</sup>-century *Illyris* at the “coming of Rome”.

Starting from a passage of Polybius (5, 108) that actually mentions some realities (mostly *poleis*) in the area rather in detail, we observe how the ancient tradition has incorporated such information, with particular attention to place-names and their reception (and processing) in Livy, who largely depends on Polybius for the period we are dealing with. The Livian trend to ‘translate’ names of regions into ethnics seems to have caused some major misunderstanding: see e.g. *Parthos* in Polyb. 18, 47, 12 and *Parthini* in Liv. 33, 34. The picture of *Illyricum* at the time of Roman political rearrangement in 167 BC (Liv. 45, 26), read in the mirror of what survives of Polybius' *Histories*, makes clear also the ambiguous position and the unsolved extension of some *ethne* (*Taulantoi*, *Dassaretai*).

To conclude we examine a tradition about the city of *Harpyia* (Steph. Byz., s.v. = Polyb. fr. 21): could it really be included in the area under consideration, the fact that it recognized Baton (Amphiaraus' char-iotter) as its own founder could be an example of the link between the Theban and the Illyrian areas,



which is otherwise clearly detectable in the mythical complex around Cadmus and Harmony, and some of their descendants.

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*PROBOULOI*

IN POLITICAL THOUGHT AND INSTITUTIONAL PRAXIS:  
AN ATTEMPT AT SYNTHESIS

Aristotle considers the *probouloi* as one of the distinguishing features of the oligarchies, giving them the deliberative functions of democratic *boule*: the only difference between the two magistracies would be their numerical size. In one passage Aristotle focuses on the authority they had to execute taken decisions. This importance, however, has no immediate feedback in historiography and epigraphical documentation – anyway, the best data about the *probouloi* comes from the Ionian Sea area and North-Western Greece, which allows us to better contextualize the role of these magistrates and to assess the tasks assigned to them.

Particularly significant are the documents found in Kerkyra (a group of proxy decrees), from which we can deduce that the *probouloi* performed executive functions – to be also exerted in discretionary form on behalf of the Assembly – and would be elected for a fixed period (they did not rotate, as in other contexts). The presence of *probouloi* in Eretria (first motherland of Kerkyra, according to tradition) and in the mother-city Korinth (probably under the Bakchiads already) gives us some indication for the continuity of this *arche* and its origin on the island.

Interesting documentation comes from Lokroi Epizephyrioi, where, despite the uncertainties on the overall picture, the *probouloi* seem to be one of the main government magistrates with functions of approval, promulgation and implementation of civic decrees.

Kerkyraian and Lokrian examples allow us not only to integrate Aristotle's analysis by considering the *probouloi* as judges with extensive executive powers, but also to assume an institutional continuity between the Ionian Islands and Southern Italy, perhaps in the sign of Korinth.

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ANCIENT KASSOPEIA AND ADJACENT AREAS  
DURING THE CLASSIC AND HELLENISTIC PERIODS

Human presence in Southern Epirus dates back to the middle Palaeolithic; the earliest settlements of Greek-speaking Thesprotian tribes – Kassopaia (Preveza) and Dryopes (Arta) – are to be dated in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC.

The *tholos* tomb at Kiperi (Parga) and the acropolis of Ephyra, near the *Nekromanteion*, are associated with the Mycenaean expansion to the West. 8<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC Elaian colonies were founded in key positions on the coastline and in the adjacent inner land: Bouchetion, Baties, Elatreia, and Pandosia.

In 625 BC the Corinthians established their colony, Ambrakia, which soon became an important urban, political, and economic centre. In the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC the Epirote tribes abandoned their nomadic lifestyle and gathered in fortified settlements, some of which evolved into proper poleis, such as Kassope in Kassopaia and Gitane in Thesprotia.

When Pyrrhos made Ambrakia the new capital of the Molossian kingdom in 295 BC, the former Corinthian colony became the bridgehead of the raids of the king of Epirus into Greece and Italy: the city knew at this point a second period of splendour, as shown by the temples and public buildings (such as the theatre) built by Pyrrhos. More generally, the end of the Classical and especially the Hellenistic period were times of prosperity of the Epirote cities, which – if built in environmentally defensible positions – were fortified by means of isodomic and especially polygonal walls, with towers and angled structures that follow the natural topography.

The organization of settlements and *poleis* of Epirus, though following the Hippodamæan model of Ambrakia, adapts to the topography of the area, with parallel roads that intersect with wider streets (*leophoroi*) to form housing *insulae*, which have a highly developed drainage system. A special area is devoted to public life – religious, political, administrative, and economic.

In the housing *insulae* there developed – on one (Orraon) or two (Ambrakia and Kassope) orders – houses of the same size, 15 × 15 m approximately, facing South, with the main entrance onto the street, stone foundations and walls in mud bricks – except at Orraon, where houses are built entirely of stone. In Hellenistic times houses were equipped with internal courtyards and patios, monumental entrances and rooms with mosaic floors.

The water supply of settlements and *poleis* was secured by springs (Kassope, Elatreia, etc.), cisterns to collect rainwater (Kassope, Orraon, Baties, Elatreia, Pandosia), and wells (Ambrakia).

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CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC KEPHALONIA.  
THE EVOLUTION OF FOUR MAJOR CITY-STATES

The island of Kephallonia, in the light of present day research, stands out as a powerful political and military centre, which played its part in the shaping of the Greek world. There were outstanding moments in its history and times, when it played a decisive role in the outcome of political events.

Among the monuments of Kephallonia, the remains of four organized cities stand out, claiming their share in the history of the island. Their significance, power and role became apparent soon after the Roman Conquest. Titus Livius, the historian who describes their surrender, mentions that the fall of Krane, Pale and Pronnoi was an unexpected event, welcomed by Rome in the same way as an unexpected peace: “insperata pax Cephalleniae affulserat”.

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NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCHES  
IN AITOLIA, AKARNANIA, AND LEUKAS

A great number of archaeological investigations – systematic and rescue excavations as well as interdisciplinary survey projects – have been undertaken during the last twenty years in many areas at Aitolia, Akarnania and Leukas, resulting in a better consideration of their archaeological material and historical evolution. This paper focuses on the recent researches carried out on three of the most important ancient towns of these regions and their territories, which are Kalydon in Aitolia, Stratos in Akarnania and the Korinthian colony of Leukas on the homonymous island.

In Kalydon the recent Greek-Danish field project inside and outside its fortification walls has brought to light parts of the lower town, a large public building with attested cult activities and the theatre. In addition, several structures on the east slopes towards Evinos River and near the harbour provide more data about the evolution of the city. In Stratos, the centre of the Akarnanian League until the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, when the city was integrated into the Aitolian League, the Greek-German field survey project combined with the excavations at the agora and the theatre offered important information about the development of the town and its territory from the prehistoric until the Roman pe-

riod. Recent rescue excavations enrich our knowledge on its necropolises. Finally, the archaeological data coming from the recent research in the urban and suburban area of Leukas, as well as in its cemeteries, reveal the social and economical structure of the city in the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman period.

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A NEW LIST FOR ARTEMIS

Whilst collecting Akarnanian inscriptions in order to compose an *Addendum* to *IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 2*, I focussed on a somewhat unclear document (*IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 2*, 451) from the ancient city of Palairos in Akarnania, dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. This is a list – quite complete except for gaps at ll. 3-4 and 9-10 – containing the names of the members of a religious association and those of the man directly responsible for the sacrificial banquet. Very unusually, in the text no office does characterize any of the names. The name of the god does not appear either, to whom those people offered the dedication: this is not so unusual or surprising, yet so far this circumstance has not allowed to link the dedication to any specific cult. We present here a new reading of ll. 3-4 of the inscription, which leads to a full restoration of a *hiereus* (ll. 1-2), eight *syn(e)iereis* (ll. 3-20), as well as the name of the worshipped god (l. 4), Artemis. In the same area other epigraphical and archaeological finds were excavated, yet our list cannot be attributed to the same nearby sanctuary of Artemis as they are. Anyway, these finds from the sanctuary of Artemis and its surroundings consist of votive statuettes of Artemis and dedications attesting the names of eponymous priestesses. From all of which an unexpected picture emerges of the personnel of cult of Artemis' sanctuary in Palairos.