

# Politics, Territory and Identity in Ancient Epirus



*edited by*  
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Edizioni ETS





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# POLITICS, TERRITORY AND IDENTITY IN ANCIENT EPIRUS

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## *Introduction*

*Con questo volume di Diabaseis procede l'opera di aggiornamento del quadro storico della Grecia nord-occidentale: le intersezioni fra storia politica, storia territoriale e dinamiche identitarie nell'Epiro antico, un tema oggi di grande attualità nel dibattito scientifico, vengono focalizzate con intelligenza e originalità da un gruppo variegato di ricercatori in un lavoro cui Adolfo J. Domínguez ha dedicato un'attenta cura organizzativa ed editoriale. Mi procura particolare piacere il fatto che l'ottavo numero della serie veda il contributo di studiosi di varia provenienza universitaria, con una determinante presenza di équipes di ricerca diverse da quelle che inizialmente hanno dato vita a Diabaseis: è per me il segnale importante di un'apertura e di un dialogo interdisciplinare che ho sempre cercato e che mi pare stia dando i suoi frutti. Ringrazio perciò sentitamente gli amici e i colleghi che hanno voluto partecipare al volume.*

*Claudia Antonetti*





## INTRODUCTION

Amongst the territories that fall within the “Dritte Griechenland”, to use H.J. Gehrke’s apt expression, Epirus presents a series of extremely unusual characteristics, including a late process of urbanisation and a diverse range of peoples (*ethne*), as testified by Ancient sources, which, ultimately, would be encompassed by the three main ethnic groups: Chaonians, Thesprotians and Molossians. It is also strange how a concept that was initially simply geographic and not ethnic (*Epeiros*, the “mainland”) came to lend its name to a State, or how its inhabitants, who were sometimes considered to be Greek, were very often included under the heading of barbarians. It is also peculiar how these territories, which were remote and somewhat marginal for many Greeks, hosted the location of the Sanctuary of Dodona, which was mentioned in Homer’s Poems and, over time, came to be considered the oldest sanctuary in Greece. As if this were not enough, Dodona has provided an enormous collection of oracular inscriptions quite unlike that of any other Greek sanctuary.

In effect, this is a territory of contrasts and one that is not easy to categorise when we think of the Greek world. However, the study of this region not only opens up numerous possibilities regarding the question of the development of Epirus in Antiquity, but also the possibility of applying this knowledge to Ancient Greece as a whole.

In recent years there has been growing interest amongst researchers in studying and learning about Ancient Epirus. Some of the aspects that have attracted the priority attention of scholars include the following: new excavations, both urgent and systematic; the publication of new epigraphic texts, including the extraordinary collection of tablets from Dodona, the sanctuary mentioned above; new methodological perspectives regarding the political organisation of those Greek States, such as the Epirote State, that do not fit the city-state model; and new ideas

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regarding the construction of ethnic identities.

Many of these issues are addressed in the present volume of the *Diabaseis* Collection from different methodological perspectives. In line with other volumes from this collection, which pays special attention to this part of the Greek world, we intend to offer the reader various approaches and a series of answers regarding some of the problems that current research raises about Ancient Epirus.

In this book we do not seek to tackle all of the issues that emerge when studying Ancient Epirus. Rather we shall focus in some depth on a series of case studies regarding specific themes, such as the political development of Epirus during different historical periods and the connection with its control over its territory and the construction of identities; the role of the Sanctuary of Dodona and its relations with the outside world or realms of religion and politics; the issue of the peculiar characteristics of the Greek language spoken in Epirus; and the discovery of Epirus by the earliest travellers. We believe all sources and methodologies are equally valid when it comes to reconstructing the historical past of a territory such as Epirus, about which we do not always have as much information as we would like. In this book the reader will come across works of a historical, archaeological and philological nature, all of which will provide a special and specific perspective, an especially enriching one in our opinion.

This book is also the result of the Research Project “Ethnogenesis, Settlement, Territory and Federalism in Ancient Epirus” (HAR2014-53885) supported by the Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities. Thanks to this project and previous research, our team, made up of professors from Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, has spent a number of years pursuing different historical studies on different territories throughout Ancient Greece, and publishing the results in different media. This Research Project, which follows on from other projects we have carried out, has enabled us to study a territory that is practically new to Spanish historiography, based on an analysis of literary sources as well as an analysis of historical topography, a tool of considerable interest given that it brings together all of the information available and enables us to build up an overall historical picture. We hope to continue this line of research in the near future. Through this work and other initiatives we also seek to persuade the Spanish authorities to set up the long-desired Spanish School of Hellenic Studies, an institution that would be based in Athens and would constitute an essential means of undertaking archaeological initiatives (prospection and excavation) in Greece.

On this occasion, the prestigious *Diabaseis* Series has been kind enough

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to present the results of our research, in which respect I would like to express my gratitude to Claudia Antonetti, the Editor of the Collection, for having offered us this opportunity. My gratitude also goes to all of the authors and, in particular, to those colleagues who have not formed part of this team, but who have wished to support our initiative with works of extraordinary quality that present new details of considerable importance.

Finally, I would like to thank the doctoral research students at the Ancient History Department of Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Ms. Cristina García García and Mr. Aitor Luz Villafranca, for their considerable work in tasks relating to the publication of this volume and the compilation of its indices.

Madrid, November 2018

*Adolfo J. Domínguez*



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*Politics, Territory And Identity In Ancient Epirus*

Gloria Mora

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## NEW DEVELOPMENTS AND TRADITION IN EPIRUS: THE CREATION OF THE MOLOSSIAN STATE.

### 1. Introduction

Compared to the developments that had taken place in other parts of the Greek world as of the eighth century<sup>1</sup>, in which the *polis* emerged as a point of reference in terms of political organisation, other regions that have been considered (sometimes unfairly) peripheral to political and institutional developments witnessed different mechanisms. Amongst these peripheral areas, enormous differences also existed, given that, whilst some soon gave rise to constructions of an ethnic type that, at a certain point in time, would take on a political structure that reflected the idea of a nation or *ethnos* organised in a federal or confederal manner (featuring a greater or lesser role for the *poleis* depending on the case in question), other areas would develop in a very different way. In this article I would like to address one of the territories that, due to its geographical and economic structure, witnessed a somewhat diverse development compared to other parts of Greece. However, this did not prevent it from becoming one of the great power-centres of Greece as of the late fourth century and throughout a good part of the third century. I am referring to Epirus and, specifically, to one of the territories that made up this region, Molossia (Fig. 1).

The idea of Epirus that, over time, would take on a political meaning and only at a later stage would acquire an ethnic meaning, was initially just a simple geographical or even topographical name, given that the term was used to refer to the territories located on the mainland as opposed to the islands located off the mainland. Nevertheless, more precisely and from an early period onwards, Epirus came to refer to the land-mass of North-Western Greece that was situated opposite the islands

<sup>1</sup> All dates are B.C., except when otherwise expressly stated.

located there, as illustrated by the Homeric Poems (*Od.* 14.97; 18.84), especially Kerkyra (*Thuc.* 1.136.2).

Although we have references to the different peoples that inhabited this territory generally referred to as Epirus that pre-date Thucydides, I believe it is of interest to begin with the description that this Athenian author made of this territory. In order to introduce the Peloponnesian expedition of 429 against Akarnania, Thucydides reviews the forces at the disposal of the Spartan navarchus Cnemus, both Greek and barbarian. On the one hand, the Greek forces included Ambrakiots, Anaktorians and Leukadians, in addition to one thousand Peloponnesian hoplites that had been allocated by Sparta; on the other, “of Barbarians, there were a thousand of those Chaonians, not subject to regal government. They were commanded by Photius and Nicanor, who were of the families that were eligible to govern, and who then held the annual office of archons. With the Chaonians associated the Thesprotians, also not under regal government. Some Molossians, too, and Atintanians came, led by Sabylinthus, guardian to their king Tharyps, who was yet a minor; and some Paravaeans, commanded by Oroedus, their king; with whom also joined in the expedition a thousand Orestians, placed under the orders of Oroedus by their king Antiochus. Perdicas, too, unknown to the Athenians, sent a thousand Macedonians, who, however, arrived too late to be of any service” (*Thuc.* 2.80.5-7)<sup>2</sup>.

In this article we shall not linger on the issue of Thucydides’ consideration of all these peoples as barbarians, preferring to focus on various other questions. First, we shall consider the fact that various peoples were governed by kings, the majority in fact, whilst others, such as the Chaonians and the Thesprotians, were not subject to regal government (*ἀβασίλευτοι*), being ruled by a kind of annual authority or magistracy (*προστατεία*). Whether the transition from a monarchical regime to a regime of an aristocratic type, based on a group of distinguished families that were perhaps linked to the former monarchs (*ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ γένους*), was a recent development, as has sometimes been suggested<sup>3</sup>, is not something we can incontrovertibly state. Neither can we

<sup>2</sup> Βάρβαροι δὲ Χάονες χίλιοι ἀβασίλευτοι, ὧν ἡγούνητο ἐπετησίῳ προστατεία ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ γένους Φώτιος καὶ Νικάνωρ. Ξυνεστρατεύοντο δὲ μετὰ Χαόνων καὶ Θεσπρωτοὶ ἀβασίλευτοι. Μολοσσούς δὲ ἤγε καὶ Ἀτιντᾶνας Σαβύλινθος ἐπίτροπος ὧν Θάρυπος τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος, καὶ Παραναίους Ὀροίδος βασιλεύων. Ὀρέσται δὲ χίλιοι, ὧν ἐβασίλευεν Ἀντίοχος, μετὰ Παραναίων Ξυνεστρατεύοντο Ὀροίδῳ Ἀντιόχου ἐπιτρέψαντος. ἔπειψε δὲ καὶ Περδίκκας κρύφα τῶν Ἀθηναίων χιλίους Μακεδόνων, οἳ ὕστερον ἦλθον.

<sup>3</sup> Cross 1932, 16.



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confirm that this development was first witnessed amongst the Chaonians and that, due to the possible dominion or influence the Chaonians exercised at this point over the Thesprotians, who would fight alongside them during this campaign (ξυνεστρατεύοντο), the latter would proceed to abolish the monarchy.

However, let us focus on the Molossians. At this point during the last third of the fifth century, which is the period Thucydides is referring to, the Molossians appeared to be a people settled in the inland areas around what would become their ancestral home, the Ioannina Basin and the mountainous regions bordering it to the east and to the north; their neighbours, the Atintanians, would already have been under their authority. In spite of this inland location and the fact that, at this time, the best-known site in the whole of Epirus, the sanctuary of Dodona, was still in the hands of the Thesprotians, the Molossians had begun to be mentioned by various authors. Thus, for example, Herodotus (1.146) includes the Molossians amongst the peoples who had emigrated to Ionia and, even more importantly, a Molossian suitor, Alkon, responded to Kleisthenes of Sikyon's summoning of a competition for the marriage of his daughter, Agariste. Since this announcement took place at the Olympic Games of the year 572 and its purpose was to find the best of all the Greeks (Ἑλλήνων πάντων ... τὸν ἄριστον) (Hdt. 6.126-127) to marry his daughter, we can deduce that, at least during the first half of the sixth century, the Molossians could present themselves amongst other Greeks as a part of the Hellenic peoples; the fact that Herodotus recalled this episode shortly before Thucydides included the Molossians amongst the barbarian peoples who supported Sparta in 429 simply shows how the inclusion criteria regarding Hellenic identity depended on the commentator in question. However, let us leave this question to one side for the moment in order to focus on the figure of Tharyps.

## **2. The Molossian King, Tharyps, and Relations with Athens**

Justin, in his *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, introduces a digression regarding the history of Epirus and, in particular, the history of the Molossians, in which there are various chronological gaps and leaps forward, either because Trogus was using defective sources or because Justin, when producing his epitome, summarised the details. In relation to this king, the author states the following: “Given that (Tharyps) was the youngest and sole survivor of the noble lineage,

guardians were officially appointed, the concern of all being so much the greater to preserve and educate him. He was even sent to Athens for the sake of instruction; and, as he was more learned than his predecessors, so he became more popular with his subjects. He was the first, accordingly, who established laws, a senate, annual magistrates and the constitution of the Republic; and as a seat of government was founded for the people by Pyrrhus, so a more civilised way of life was introduced by Tharyps” (Just. *Epit.* 17.3.10-13)<sup>4</sup>.

In Justin’s account, Tharyps plays the role of the civilising hero, in the same way as Pyrrhus/Neoptolemus, Achilles’ son, founder of the kingdom and antecedent of the entire dynasty. We come across this schema again in Trogus, in his description, for example, of the history of Gargoris and Habis (Just. *Epit.* 44.4.1-12), in which each of the two characters play similar roles to those of Pyrrhus and Tharyps respectively, which would suggest similar compositional approaches. This does not mean, however, that the details regarding this king are necessarily false, as some commentators have suggested<sup>5</sup>.

More or less similar details, although devoid of the founding dualism presented by Justin-Trogus, can also be found in Plutarch’s biography of Pyrrhus. This author does not make that many references to the period between Neoptolemus-Pyrrhus and the reign of Tharyps, over and above general references to the fact that preceding monarchs had become increasingly barbarian (ἐκβαρβαρωθέντων) and their acts had fallen into obscurity (ἀμαυροτέρων). This would all change with Tharyps: “It was Tharyps, they say, who first introduced Greek customs and letters, and regulated his cities by humane laws, which made him worthy of fame” (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 1.4)<sup>6</sup>.

Tharyps’ stay in Athens and his relationship with the city, which Justin refers to, was confirmed many years ago by the discovery of a large stele at the Acropolis in Athens, in which the city recognises the citizenship of Arybbas, grandson of Tharyps, recalling that this same

<sup>4</sup> *Cui, quoniam pupillus et unicus ex gente nobili superesset, intentiore omnium cura servandi eius educandique publice tutores constituuntur. Athenas quoque erudiendi gratia missus. Quanto doctior maioribus suis, tanto et populo gratior fuit. Primus itaque leges et senatum annuosque magistratus et rei publicae formam composuit, et ut a Pyrrho sedes, sic vita cultior populo a Tharyba statuta.*

<sup>5</sup> Nilsson 1909, 43.

<sup>6</sup> Θαρρύπαν πρώτον ιστοροῦσιν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἔθουσι καὶ γράμμασι καὶ νόμοις φιλανθρώποις διακοσμήσαντα τὰς πόλεις ὀνομαστὸν γενέσθαι. Fragoulaki 2013, 272-273 sees a similarity between Plutarch’s διακοσμήσαντα and Thucydides (2.100.2) διεκόσμησε used for the (parallel) figure of the Macedonian king Archelaos.

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honour had already been granted to his father (Alcetas) and his grandfather (Tod, 173=Rhodes, Osborne, 70=IG II<sup>2</sup>, 226; ca. 342 a.C.)<sup>7</sup>.

There are very few details that establish the dates and occasion of the young Molossian king's stay in Athens, or the period of time he stayed there<sup>8</sup>, although it is possible that the defeat of the navarchus Cnemus and his Epirote allies at Stratus in Akarnania (Thuc. 2.82), in which the Chaonians and the rest of the Epirotes seem to have suffered significant losses (Thuc. 2.81.6), may have led to a change in the Molossians' alliances (taking advantage of the Chaonians' weakness, these being the tribe that had suffered the heaviest losses in the battle), leading them to pass over to Athens. Neither do we know under what circumstances his stay took place in Athens, whether he was a guest or a hostage. However, there are few doubts regarding the fact that this connection with Athens would have some interesting consequences.

Authors such as Justin seem to establish an implicit relationship between the king's stay in Athens and the founding of the institutions that this author attributes to him and a section of contemporary commentators have accepted in general terms<sup>9</sup>. Similarly, it has gradually been accepted that the inclusion of Dodona within Molossian territory (being, therefore, wrested from the control of the Thesprotians) (Str. 7.7.11) would have taken place either during Tharyps' reign or around that time<sup>10</sup>. Furthermore, this king is considered to have established the *koinon* of the Molossians in the form of a federal-type State<sup>11</sup>, and perhaps Justin's reference that he established the "*rei publicae forma*" is not at all inappropriate here. Although Justin does not refer specifically to the kind of State that emerged, he does nevertheless suggest that Tharyps was responsible for establishing a new political organisation, which would have involved the creation of cities, which is something that Plutarch also seems to suggest.

Based on these sources, it is possible that one of the fundamental changes attributed to Tharyps relates to the process of urbanisation in Molossia, even though this took on certain specific characteristics in this territory, as we shall see. In this respect, it matters little whether the king

<sup>7</sup> [— — ἐπειδὴ — — ἡ πολιτ] / εἰα ἡ δοθ[εῖ]σα [τῶι πατρι κα] / ἰ τῶι πάππῳι (ll. 1-2).

<sup>8</sup> Some scholars have placed his stay between 428 and 424: Cabanes 2010, 137.

<sup>9</sup> Cabanes 1976, 171.

<sup>10</sup> Cabanes 1976, 113; Dieterle 2007, 17.

<sup>11</sup> Beck 1997, 142; Funke 2000, 127-128.

himself was the promoter of this process or whether it occurred on its own, since either way this development strengthened his position, especially vis-à-vis the exterior, thus facilitating Molossia's emergence on the international scene, as witnessed by the fact that Molossia would come to form part of the Second Athenian League shortly after the end of his reign, represented by King Alcetas and his son, Neoptolemus<sup>12</sup>.

We can accept that in all this tradition there is a marked athenocentric bias<sup>13</sup> but it is evident the change of political orientation of Molossia, which passes from the alliance with Sparta to a good relationship with Athens. This may give (certain) credibility to the seminal paper of Tharyps in the political construction of the Molossian state and, even, to the importance of the relationship with Athens to explain, at least in part, those changes<sup>14</sup>. Some more arguments will be advanced in the following pages.

### **3. The Archaeological Context in Molossia: Late Fifth Century to the Fourth Century**

A number of commentators have sought to link the emergence of many Molossian settlements with the construction policy implemented under Tharyps<sup>15</sup>. In fact, they have sought to trace the origins of various fortified settlements in Molossia back to the reign of this king, without much archaeological evidence<sup>16</sup>. However, a detailed analysis of this question has revealed that many of them were founded much later. Amongst the sites that have been subject to analysis in recent times we might mention Megalo Gardiki, located to the north of Ioannina, where, alongside other later buildings, a stretch of wall dating from the first half of the third century has been identified, whilst another stretch would date from the second half of the second century B.C. Furthermore, the oldest

<sup>12</sup> Tod, 123=Rhodes-Osborne, 22, ll. 109-110=IG II<sup>2</sup> 43. Between Tharyps' kingship and the integration of Molossia in the Second Athenian League there are some evidence of good relations between Athens and Molossia; see Fragoulaki 2013, 273-274; this is shown also by the increasingly influence of Dodona in Athens already since late fifth century: Eleutheratou 2016, 191-192.

<sup>13</sup> Davies 2000, 253-254 suggests that "it will be as well not take it too seriously".

<sup>14</sup> See the judicious observations of Fantasia 2017, 54-55: "Ciò probabilmente non basta a liquidare come pura invenzione l'intera tradizione dell'educazione 'alla greca' di Tharyps, come pure è stato fatto passato con un eccesso di pironismo storico".

<sup>15</sup> See Pliakou 2007, 64-66.

<sup>16</sup> Dakaris 1987, 72-73.

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ceramic items discovered would date from the first half of the third century<sup>17</sup>. In Kastritsa, located to the south of Ioannina, an early unwallled settlement has been detected on the eastern side of the hill, where remains have been discovered corresponding to a long period stretching from the end of the Bronze Age to the end of the fourth century B.C. At the top of the hill, the commencement of building activities has been dated back to the first half of the third century. Meanwhile, in the necropolis areas, various items have been discovered dating from the end of the fifth century B.C., whilst some of the tombs date from the second half of the fourth century, end of the fourth century and the beginning of the third century B.C.<sup>18</sup>.

Recent excavations at the *kastro* of Ioannina have also brought various ancient remains to light. Thus, ceramics dating from the end of the fifth century and the fourth century B.C. have been discovered at the southern acropolis, whilst in the northern acropolis the remains of a building have been found that, based on the ceramics discovered there, could date from the second half of the fourth century B.C. Whatever the case may be, the site does not appear to have been walled until the beginning of the third century<sup>19</sup>. For the rest of the settlements that appear to have been fortified in the Ioannina Basin, we do not even have any reliable archaeological data at our disposal.

Partly thanks to the boost that has been provided for archaeological activities in this region due to the construction of large-scale modern infrastructures (especially the *Egnatia Odos*), we have been able to discover new settlements about which little information previously existed. These may help us to change the vision that existed regarding this territory until just a few years ago. The catalogue of sites is quite extensive, as is the diversity of these sites. However, here we shall concentrate on those that have provided us with the greatest amount of new information.

First of all, amongst the non-fortified sites, we might mention Agioi Apostoloi (Pedini), featuring remains dating from the end of the sixth century to the beginning of the fifth century; the earliest dwellings appear to date from the last few decades of the fifth century; this settlement also includes a number of tombs that date from between the fifth century and

<sup>17</sup> Pliakou 2007, 67 (walls), 78 (pottery) and 86-87 (coins); Id. 2015, 41.

<sup>18</sup> Pliakou 2007, 115 (unfortified settlement), 134-135. (acropolis), 136-137 (tombs); Giouni et al. 2015, 23-25.

<sup>19</sup> Pliakou 2007, 144 (South acropolis), 145 (north acropolis), 150 (fortification).

the second half of the fourth century B.C.<sup>20</sup>. As far as Dourouti is concerned, this is one of the best-known sites, where the remains of a non-fortified settlement and a necropolis have subject to research. In the central part of the site some 140 tombs have been excavated, dating from between the end of the Geometric Period to the Early Hellenistic Period, with the richest discoveries corresponding to the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Similarly, two circular buildings have been identified that make up a Demeter Temple, having been built during the first half of the fourth century B.C.<sup>21</sup>. Few details exist regarding the dwellings.

On the top of a hill at Rachi Platánias, a complex of dwelling areas separated by streets, together with a free public area (square), have been discovered, dating from the end of the fifth century (Fig. 2). The complex reached its most developed phase during the second part of the first half of the fourth century B.C. This settlement, where an area measuring 4,000 m<sup>2</sup> has been excavated, emerged on a site that had not been previously occupied. In the south-western part of the site (Building Complex A), a public building was excavated and in one of the rooms was discovered what appeared to be an *eschara* used for sacrifices, although hardly any items of a religious nature were found. During its second phase, at around the middle of the fourth century, the settlement acquired a more monumental character. Remains of tiles that were stamped with the lightning bolt symbol linked to Dodona and the Molossians would seem to correspond to this phase, which would confirm the official nature of Building A at Rachi Platánias, based on a function that was perhaps both religious and administrative<sup>22</sup>. The rest of the buildings discovered appear to be houses organised around a series of courtyards, which do not correspond to single dwellings, but various dwellings as part of a complex, accompanied by storage areas (*pithoi*) and cereal processing areas (mills) in auxiliary structures around the courtyards. A ceramic oven was also discovered, together with another oven used for the forging of iron objects, both weapons and tools. The housing, which would have emerged in the highest parts of the settlement, appears to have extended down towards the lowest parts during the Hellenistic Period. This site appears

<sup>20</sup> Pliakou 2007, 154-156 (settlement), 157 (necropolis); Soueref 2016, 110 (*lekkythoi*).

<sup>21</sup> Andréou, Gravani 1997, 581-626; Pliakou 2007, 159-161 (necropolis), 161-163 (sanctuary of Demeter); Andréou 2018, 111-116.

<sup>22</sup> Pliakou 2007, 167-170; there are doubts about the chronology of the tiles and they could be later than the fourth century B.C.: Soueref 2016, 58.

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to have been finally abandoned in the middle of the second century B.C., perhaps coinciding with the Roman invasion<sup>23</sup>.

Pliakou has suggested that the emergence of this settlement would have to be linked with the reformist activity of King Tharyps; similarly, the second settlement phase would appear to be connected with the destruction that Molossia suffered at the hands of the Illyrians<sup>24</sup>, who seem to have attacked the region on two occasions, in around 385-4 and around 360 (Diod.Sic. 15.13.1-3; Frontin. *Strat.* 2.5.19; Callisth. *FGrHist* 124 F 27)<sup>25</sup>, although with different consequences in each case.

For its part, the Rodotopi Temple, which has been identified in a rather unsubstantiated manner with Zeus Areius, appears to have been constructed in the third century B.C., although we cannot rule out the idea that it was used for cult purposes, perhaps in the form of a simple altar, during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. As we have mentioned, its identification as a Zeus Areius temple is somewhat questionable<sup>26</sup>.

Other site, very badly known, is Episkopi Servianon placed in the southern part of the Ioannina basin; besides findings from earliest times, it seems to have been in use since the last part of the fifth century B.C. (the same date as the previously mentioned Rachi Plataniias). The buildings of this phase are badly preserved but it was, undoubtedly, an unfortified settlement. Several terracottae of religious type were also found in this site, dated to the fifth century B.C. During the Hellenistic period, when the buildings are best known, it seems to have developed into an agricultural and trading settlement. A cemetery of Roman imperial times was also excavated<sup>27</sup>.

This outlook, in which we can observe the emergence of new settlements based on an organized urban structure and the existence of buildings of a type customary to the rest of the Greek world, including the use of tiles, contrasts with the habitual situation that appears to have existed throughout a good part of Epirus up until that time. In effect, at sites such as Vitsa and Liatovouni, situated in the most mountainous part of Molossia, settlements have been excavated, over and above the respective cemeteries. At Liatovouni two settlement phases were discovered; during both phases, the houses were of oblong or rectangular

<sup>23</sup> Pliakou 1999, 454-455; Id. 2000, 544-545; Id. 2001-2004, 3-6; Id. 2007, 170-178.

<sup>24</sup> Pliakou 2007, 182.

<sup>25</sup> Hammond 1967, 278.

<sup>26</sup> Pliakou 2007, 98-99.

<sup>27</sup> Pliakou 2007, 194-195; Soueref 2016, 59-60 (terracottae).

shape and consisted of a base of unworked fieldstones that served as a socle for walls made of mud-bricks framed by wooden posts. The first phase would have begun during the Bronze Age (in the LH III C Period) and the second phase, at the end of which the settlement was abandoned, can be dated from the end of the fifth century or the first quarter of the fourth century B.C., thanks to the pottery items that have been found there<sup>28</sup>.

At Vitsa the picture is somewhat different, given that various of the circular or oval-shaped huts dating from the Geometric and Archaic Periods were replaced as of the fifth century and during the fourth century with square and rectangular houses, although these were based on a very similar building technique to that used for the preceding huts, and these houses only had one room or, at the very most, two; in some cases (House Z) we can even see how an oval-shaped building was redesigned through the construction of straight walls. Nevertheless, one of the most recent houses, House Θ, presents a rectangular design and a more complex inner structure, including several rooms and, above all, a roof made of ceramic tiles. The site appears to have been abandoned due to the destruction that took place at the end of the third quarter of the fourth century B.C.<sup>29</sup>. The survival of settlements and necropoleis built between the end of the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age well into the Classical Period is not unusual in Epirus, especially in the more mountainous areas<sup>30</sup>.

Adjacent areas, which are linked to Thesprotia rather than Molossia, seem to present a similar situation. In this respect, we might mention Skala Aetou, in Philiates, in the middle valley of Kalamas, which has been excavated in recent years (2005-2007), although the results of this excavation have still not been published in detail. At least two rectangular buildings were found there with their ends forming an apse shape. The best preserved of these (Number 3) measured 14.50 x 3.50 metres; inside, an area was found with the remains of paving and *pithoi*. The materials can be dated back to between the Iron Age and the fourth century B.C. From the brief reports that have been published to date, it seems that the oldest imported materials correspond to the fourth century B.C., in the form of fragments of Attic black-glazed pottery<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> Douzougli, Papadopoulos 2010, 62-66.

<sup>29</sup> Vokotopoulou 1987, 53-64; Id. 1994, 189-220.

<sup>30</sup> Andréou, Andréou 1999, 77-90.

<sup>31</sup> Riginos 2005, 573-575; Metallinou et al. 2012, 349-354; Lamprou, Saltagianni 2007, 5-11.



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Thanks to these archaeological sites, we can form an idea of how the settlements of Molossia progressed before the period that began at the end of the fifth century B.C., because, throughout the rest of the region, the specific information we have at our disposal is extremely scarce, no doubt because the structures that were raised were made of perishable materials (wood, mud and straw), which leave very few archaeological traces and which, in the best of cases, have been detected thanks to the materials that have been discovered during various prospections<sup>32</sup>.

Thus, whilst Liatovouni appears to have been abandoned before a visible urban transformation took place there, Vitsa lasted somewhat longer and we can observe the presence of rectangular houses, constructions that were, nevertheless, very different to those that gradually emerged at sites such as Rachi Plataniias, which present a new design based on the models that were introduced throughout Molossia, whilst those at Vitsa appear to have been a local adaptation of the old, based on techniques very similar to those used up until that time. Having said this, House Θ, which appears to have been built at a later stage, presents clear advances, such as the use of tiles and a more complex inner structure, being similar to the houses frequently found in the settlements located on the plains.

However, contrary to the opinion of some commentators, the end of this kind of settlement does not coincide with the emergence of fortified centres such as those of Megalo Gardiki and Kastritsa<sup>33</sup> which, at least during their walled phase, appear to have sprung up later (in the early third century B.C.), but with the development of the non-fortified settlements that began to emerge between the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the fourth century B.C., of which the site of Rachi Plataniias is the best known.

All of this suggests that, as of the end of the fifth century B.C., an important change regarding the model of occupation of the region took place in Molossia, which consisted of a development from sites that are hardly perceptible in archaeological terms – but which include necropoleis of rich interest (such as that of Dourouti) – to settlements made up of dwellings and other structures of rectangular design mostly located on unfortified sites, but which already present a clear functional differentiation amongst them<sup>34</sup>. It is possible that, contrary to some

<sup>32</sup> Pliakou 2007, 226-228.

<sup>33</sup> Douzougli, Papadopoulos 2010, 66; Papadopoulos 2016, 453.

<sup>34</sup> The archaeological research in the Ioannina basin, through a diachronic approach has observed how the late fifth century B.C. is a period of great changes in the material culture

theories that believe this process to be the consequence of Molossian penetration into the Ioannina Basin<sup>35</sup>, this signified a social and political change, one of considerable importance, given that this moment marks Molossia's heyday and the shedding of its traditional allies, the Thesprotians and Chaonians, with which it had taken part in the disastrous campaign of 429 against the Akarnanians.

The period that seems to coincide with the emergence of establishments of a new kind and the end of the old-style constructions (Liatovouni) or the partial transformation of the old models (Vitsa), as well as the references to this question that appear in written sources, would be the reorganisation period that Tharyps instigated within Molossia, a period which, as we have seen, led Justin to consider him virtually the founder of Molossia. However, in spite of Justin's affirmations, Tharyps' measures do not seem to have necessarily led to the appearance of *poleis*; at least archaeology does not confirm this impression. Rather, the region witnessed the emergence of a series of organised settlements, of medium size, although endowed with a clear internal structure and even certain symbols of power<sup>36</sup>. This does not contradict the impression given by authors such as Pseudo-Skylax (§ 32), who stated that the Molossians lived in villages (*κατὰ κώμας*), a term that not only has an urban meaning, but even a political significance<sup>37</sup>. Whatever the case may be, the same text declares (§ 31) that the Cassopaeans also lived in villages (*οἰκοῦσι δὲ οὗτοι κατὰ κώμας*), when they had already undertaken a process of synoecism that would lead to the establishment of the city of Cassope between 380 and 360 B.C.<sup>38</sup>. It is difficult to precisely date the information reported by Pseudo-Skylax regarding these territories and sometimes he engages in circular arguments, but, whatever the case may be, this text also attributes a short stretch of coast (some 40 stadia) to the Molossians, which was located in the Gulf of Ambrakia.

The case of Cassope, which during this period at the beginning of the fourth century was still yet to be incorporated into the Molossian

of the región, including the changes both in building techniques and in pottery, with the arrival of imports and, mainly, with the end of hand-made pottery. See Pliakou 2018, 227-236.

<sup>35</sup> See Pliakou 2007, 298.

<sup>36</sup> For example, the tiles stamped with the lightning bolt symbol discovered in Rachi Plataniás: Pliakou 2007, 167-172.

<sup>37</sup> Hansen 1995, 51.

<sup>38</sup> In general, Dakaris 1971; about its foundation around 360 B.C., Schwandner 1985, 462; Riginos 2010, 61-78.

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State, but at least maintained neighbourly relations with it, as suggested by Pseudo-Skylax's text, indicates how different parts of Southern Epirus progressively reacted to the political changes that were taking place throughout the region. Thus, whilst Cassopaea witnessed the emergence of an important city that included part of the *ethnos* of the Cassopaeans, a few kilometres away (some 12 kilometres) an unfortified settlement continued to exist of which only the necropolis is known (Michalitsi) and whose relationship with Cassope is unclear (some commentators consider it to have been a harbour settlement linked to the city), but which flourished considerably throughout the second half of the fourth century<sup>39</sup>. This simply demonstrates how, within a very short distance, different processes were taking place at the same time.

The impression we have, therefore, is that the far-reaching changes that Justin attributes to Tharyps cannot always be understood in a literal sense, because they are being reinterpreted in accordance with criteria that neither correspond to the period or the situation that existed in Epirus during the transition from the fifth to the fourth century, but rather according to subsequent criteria. Nevertheless, neither can we rule out the idea that the traditional discourse regarding Tharyps' role and his influence in creating a new political framework in Molossia may contain some element of truth, however much it may have been reinterpreted by subsequent authors. Whether these changes were due to the experiences that the king had enjoyed in his younger days in Athens or, on the contrary, were simply the result of a generalised climate of change throughout these territories, is difficult to establish. However, there can be no doubt that Athens observed these changes with interest, given that it would not have forgotten that the Molossians fought alongside the Chaonians and Thesprotians in the campaign of 429. As we have already seen, this rapprochement with regard to Athens is reflected in the granting of Athenian citizenship, which was later extended to Tharyps' son and grandson, not to mention Molossia's participation, under Kings Alcetas and Neoptolemus, in the Second Athenian League.

As we have seen, we can accept that the new political model introduced by Tharyps or his immediate successors was the *koinon* of the Molossians. The existence of a shared structure that encompassed all Molossians is manifested in the emergence of a series of coinages in silver and bronze during the first half of the fourth century B.C., produced according to the Athenian weight standards and featuring the legend ΜΟΛΟΣΣΩΝ on the reverse side, although we cannot know for sure

<sup>39</sup> Gravani 1997, 79-93.

whether it was Tharyps himself who initiated these coinages or it was his son, Alcetas<sup>40</sup>. In this respect, various authors attribute intensive political activity to Alcetas, based on a policy of ending Molossia's isolation<sup>41</sup>. In either case, the minting of a currency in the name of the Molossians must have coincided with the emergence of a political structure that encompassed all those who considered themselves part of the Molossian *ethnos* and accepted the authority of the Aeacid Dynasty<sup>42</sup>. It was around the time of the defeat of the Epirotes in 429 that Euripides (perhaps in 428)<sup>43</sup>, wrote his tragedy *Andromache*, in which he presents (especially in verses 1231-1272) the origin of the genealogical line of the Aeacidae, which may be linked to the young Tharyps' stay in Athens after the Epirote defeat<sup>44</sup>.

There may seem to be a contradiction between the scarce presence of cities (*poleis*) recorded throughout Molossian territory during the fourth century and Plutarch's news (*Pyrrh.* 1.5) regarding the civilising work carried out by Tharyps regarding the cities. However, in the year 167 B.C., when the Romans carried out their widescale repression of the defeated Molossians, Livy (45.34.1-6) states that Aemilius Paulus sacked some 70 cities, which he refers to as *civitates* and *urbes*, whose walls he also ordered to be destroyed. Neither in this case does this information seem to have much archaeological basis, given that, although the number of fortified sites throughout Molossia was quite considerable by this time, the fact is that the majority of them were of small size<sup>45</sup>. During the campaign of L. Anicius in 168, Livy (45.26.4) talks about *oppida*, including the four main sites (Passaron, Tekmon, Phylakai and Horraon), although he later refers to the first as *civitas* (Livy 45.26.5) It would appear to be more correct to refer to the Molossian settlements of the second century B.C. as *oppida* rather than *urbes* or *civitates*.

<sup>40</sup> Franke 1961, 85-106.

<sup>41</sup> De Sensi Sestito 2011, 364-365.

<sup>42</sup> With regard to these coinages that began in the early fourth century based on the Attic standard, compared to the rest of the coinages in Epirus that followed the Korkyrean standard, see Franke 1961; Liampi 2008, 51. Among other aspects, these coins feature the lightning bolt, the symbol of Dodonaean Zeus.

<sup>43</sup> A recent discussion of the chronology of *Andromache* in Storey 2017, 123-124.

<sup>44</sup> With regard to the link between *Andromache* and Tharyps, see Robertson 1923, 58-60; this author suggested that the play was performed in Epirus itself. See also Allan 2000, 154-155, suggesting that "a performance in Molossia would make an excellent overture to the beginning of his reign in 423". Further suggestions about its possible production in Molossia in Butrica 2001, 188-197.

<sup>45</sup> Dausse 2007, 197-233.

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Whatever the case may be, with regard to this matter it is worth recalling Strabo's affirmations in criticism of Polybius when referring to the campaigns of T. Sempronius Gracchus in Hispania: "But because Polybius went on to say that Tiberius Gracchus destroyed three hundred cities in Celtiberia, Poseidonius makes fun of him, saying that the man did this merely to gratify Gracchus, for he called towers cities, just as they do in the triumphal processions. And perhaps this remark of Poseidonius is not to be discredited, for not only generals, but historians as well, are easily led to indulge in such falsification as this, in trying to embellish the deeds they describe. In fact, even those who assert that there are more than one thousand cities in Iberia seem to be led to do so by calling the big villages cities" (Str. 3.4.13)<sup>46</sup>.

In this sense, if during the period of Molossia's Roman conquest we cannot really talk about seventy cities located throughout the territory, this would have been even less likely during the early fourth century. Thus, we must understand Plutarch's reference to the cities as either an exaggeration or, perhaps, an anachronism, given that Ancient authors would have considered the city to be a basic element of any "civilised" structure. What archaeology reveals is the emergence of multiple and numerous unfortified centres of medium and small size as of the end of the fifth century and, in some cases (such as Vitsa), the survival of various older settlements which, throughout this period and before they disappeared altogether, partially adapted to the new architectural developments that were introduced at the new settlements throughout Molossia. That sites such as Vitsa and Liatovouni can be called villages (κῶμαι) is not being called into question<sup>47</sup>, although their character and structure was very different to the non-urban centres that began to spring up on the Ioannina plain at the end of the fifth century (Agios Apostolos, Rachi Platanias, etc.) and which, in the same manner, we can also consider to have been villages, at least in the sense that they were not actually cities. And, yet, these sites are quite different again to the preceding settlements, both in terms of their architectural development and even in terms of the type of society they entailed and, above all, the

<sup>46</sup> Πολυβίου δ' εἰπόντος τριακοσίας αὐτῶν καταλῦσαι πόλεις Τιβέριον Γράκχον, κωμῶδῶν φησι τοῦτο τῷ Γράκχῳ χαρίσασθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, τοὺς πύργους καλοῦντα πόλεις, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς θριαμβικαῖς πομπαῖς. καὶ ἴσως οὐκ ἄπιστον τοῦτο λέγει· καὶ γὰρ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ συγγραφεῖς ῥαδίως ἐπὶ τοῦτο φέρονται τὸ ψεῦσμα καλλωπίζοντες τὰς πράξεις, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ φάσκοντες πλείους ἢ χιλίας τὰς τῶν Ἰβήρων ὑπάρξει πόλεις ἐπὶ τοῦτο φέρεσθαι μοι δοκοῦσι, τὰς μεγάλας κώμας πόλεις ὀνομάζοντες.

<sup>47</sup> Papadopoulos 2016, 444-447.

fact that they reveal evidence (Rachi Plataniás) of the existence of a political authority that governed over them but used these settlements as administrative centres. It seems clear that a process whereby the population became more concentrated throughout the fourth century in Molossia took place, but this did not lead to cities or large urban centres. On the contrary, it resulted in an entire series of non-fortified settlements, some of which took on the role of administrative centres. In spite of this, the fact that these non-fortified centres were little more than villages ( $\chi\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ ) does not really fit in with the Aristotelean and subsequent view of political development in which the village was considered to be a primitive form of organisation, whilst a *polis* was regarded as being the consequence of the union of various villages (Arist. *Pol.* 1258 b 28-30)<sup>48</sup>. For this same reason, and in accordance with Plutarch's retrospective view, the actions of a "civilising" king such as Tharyps must necessarily be linked with cities.

#### **4. The Internal Organisation of the Molossian State**

The absence of urban centres in the strict sense of the term, together with the growing presence of non-fortified settlements of various kinds which, according to recent archaeological findings, characterised a good part of the Molossian territory, indicate that, unlike the situation witnessed at that time in other parts of Greece, the *poleis* did not play a key role in the internal organisation of the new State and, therefore, the State had to continue to rely on a series of pre-*polis* structures and institutions. When considering the nature and denomination of these institutions, commentators have considered that epigraphic analyses might provide more precise details. This formed the mission, above all, of authors such as Cabanes<sup>49</sup>, who have reviewed the somewhat limited epigraphic *corpus* that can be dated between the reign of Tharyps and that of his great-grandson, Alexander I. Here we are dealing with a small number of inscriptions which, according to some commentators, becomes even smaller when we discount those attributed to subsequent periods<sup>50</sup>. Whatever the case may be, some of these inscriptions undoubtedly

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Hansen 1995, 53-54 where he observes that, in Aristotle's view  $\chi\omega\mu\eta$  and  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$  are antagonistic concepts and, consequently, "in Aristotle's model there is no room for a  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$  κατὰ  $\chi\omega\mu\alpha\varsigma$  οἰκουμένη".

<sup>49</sup> Cabanes 1976, 157-172.

<sup>50</sup> Meyer 2013.

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correspond to the period we are focusing on and provide some interesting details regarding our analysis.

The oldest epigraphic document, based on a reliable set of dates, shows two decrees awarding citizenship to two women, inscribed on the same stone, having been discovered in Dodona, like a good part of Molossian public epigraphy. The dates are reliable, given that both decrees are headed by the formula βασιλεύοντος Νεοπτολέμου τοῦ Ἀλκέτα, which places them in the solitary reign of this king (370-368 B.C.)<sup>51</sup>. Recently, Meyer, who believes that “there is no secure or direct evidence for the existence of an entity (however defined) called ‘a *koinon* of the Molossians’ in the fourth century”<sup>52</sup>, has suggested, rather unconvincingly, that we are dealing with a rewriting of both decrees in the age of Alexander II, which would go against the commonly held belief that the Molossian State emerged during the fourth century. Although her study raises the possibility that a good part of the Molossian inscriptions that have been dated back to the fourth century must correspond to later periods, based on the fact that the majority of them feature no precise date, we find these arguments to be too elaborate to change the chronology of those that do present explicit dates. Therefore, we believe we should preserve the chronology attributed to these two inscriptions in their headings and, possibly, also that of a third inscription we shall be analysing below.

This double epigraph is of considerable interest, because, in addition to reflecting citizenship awards to both women, something that has been subject to diverse analyses by researchers without any definitive conclusions having been reached<sup>53</sup>, it presents the oldest references to the organisation of the Molossian State. The two decrees include, first of all, the king under whose reign the decrees were issued, followed by προστάτης τῶν Μολοσσῶν, the secretary (γραμματεὺς) and ten δαμιοργοί

<sup>51</sup> Hammond 1967, 525-527; Cabanes 1976, 534-535.

<sup>52</sup> Meyer 2013, 47-50. However, this author ignores the importance of currency coined in the name “of the Molossians” during the fourth century, which would indicate the existence of a political body that served as the expression of this State; her proposal that this currency is linked to the sanctuary (Meyer 2013, 76; Id. 2015, 306-307) is not only impossible to demonstrate, but does not account for the appearance of coinages of clear political context in other territories throughout Epirus. Its scarce circulation is not that surprising in view of the fact that coins were a new development in Epirus and pre-monetary economic relations continued to exist. Regarding these coinages, see Franke 1961, 85-107.

<sup>53</sup> See Meyer 2012, 205-216, in the last instance, featuring the foregoing bibliography and a preview of her ideas regarding the dating issue, presented at greater length in Meyer 2013.

(only six in the second decree), each of whom is indicated with the corresponding ethnonym denoting their origin. We shall not focus on the first two authorities, the *prostates* and the *grammateus*, since the observations made by Cabanes in his day continue to be valid in general terms regarding the role that they played in the Molossian State<sup>54</sup>. Whatever the case may be, their functions have not been very clearly defined, in spite of the different attempts that have been made<sup>55</sup>. As far as the *damiorgoi* are concerned, their appearance in Epirus is reflected in these two inscriptions alone, being unknown in subsequent years; the term *demiurgos* (*damiorgos*, in the dialect employed in Epirus) featured varying uses and meanings in different parts of Greece and, over time, came to be used to refer to either “artisans” of different kinds<sup>56</sup>, magistrates or offices of a political nature<sup>57</sup>. In the Epirote inscriptions, their function would be the latter.

Their presence in the inscriptions suggests that they played an important role, maybe that of assisting the king and the two magistrates in taking decisions, and each of them would have represented the different sections of the population that made up the *koinon*, which some commentators somewhat mistakenly have referred to as “tribes”<sup>58</sup>. Similarly, there is no evidence, contrary to what has sometimes been stated, that these *damiorgoi* constituted a council or a college and, even less so, served as a people’s counterweight vis-à-vis the monarchical authority<sup>59</sup>. Neither is it probable that the number of basic units that made up the Molossian State came to only ten; in fact, we can confidently state that there were more than ten, as we shall see below, which is why Meyer is right when she observes that it is difficult to consider these *damiorgoi* as “representatives” of the Molossians as a whole<sup>60</sup>, even though it is still

<sup>54</sup> Cabanes 1976, 164-165.

<sup>55</sup> Meyer 2013: 49-50, with previous bibliography.

<sup>56</sup> This is the view of D’Alessandro 2011, 118, who interprets them as “those who make”.

<sup>57</sup> See the comprehensive and still valid study by Murakawa 1957, 385-415.

<sup>58</sup> Hammond 1967, 527; Cabanes 1976, 167-168.

<sup>59</sup> These criticisms are expressed by Meyer 2013, 50-51.

<sup>60</sup> Meyer 2013, 51-52. In effect, the ten individuals who appear in the first decree cannot represent the entire Molossian people because, in the second decree, inscribed on the same stone, only six *damiorgoi* appear, which would suggest that the decisions could be taken, irrespective of whether all of the persons named were present. The linguistic and orthographic differences between the two decrees outlined by Evangelidis 1956, 4-5 suggests two different decisions approved in the same year, but in different moments of it and written in the stone by different stone-cutters (Davies 2000, 246). If this was so, it is understandable that the same number of *damiorgoi* were not present in the two acts.



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more difficult to question the political nature of the two inscriptions and consider them as simple documents of a religious kind<sup>61</sup>.

Some years ago, Hatzopoulos, addressing the political organisation of Upper Macedonia, with which inland Epirus appears to have shared so many characteristics, refuted previous ideas that referred to “clan-like formations” or “tribal States” and argued in favour of “federations of self-governing villages and small townships organised not on a 'gentilic' but on a local, geographical, basis. No more in Upper Macedonia than in Epirus is there the slightest vestige of groups united by parentage or descent”<sup>62</sup>. This idea, as we shall see below, offers us a much better understanding of the development of the Molossian State and, at the same time, enables us to take into account the different references we have come across in our sources and the situation suggested by our archaeological findings.

The importance of the *damiorgoi* in the first Molossian inscriptions we have referred to is linked to the internal structure of Molossia, which would have been shaped by successive kings since the time of Tharyps. The *damiorgoi* would have been the figures who exercised authority at the *damoi*, a term that designated the basic habitational and organisational unit of Molossia, whose habitual translation as “villages” does not do them much justice. This relationship can be observed in the late lexicon of Hesychius, whose entry for *δημιουργός*, in addition to meaning artisans or people who carried out manual work, indicates the following: “amongst the Dorians, those who direct and execute public affairs, like the *demarchoi* in Athens”<sup>63</sup>.

The comparison with the Athenian *demarchoi* is interesting, because, as we know, in Athens the term *δῆμος* was synonymous with *κώμη*, meaning village<sup>64</sup>, as occurs in other cases<sup>65</sup>. However, it would be difficult to consider the *demoi* of Athens as “villages” without further qualification. Although the *demoi* existed in Athens before Kleisthenes’ reform<sup>66</sup>, the emphasis that authors such as Herodotus (5.69) and works such as *Athenaion Politeia* (21) gave to them is well known, these being one of the keys to the reform, to the extent that, following its implementation, the demotic reference would accompany the Athenian

<sup>61</sup> Meyer 2013, 47-57; Id. 2015, 303.

<sup>62</sup> Hatzopoulos 1996, 103.

<sup>63</sup> Hes., s.v. *δημιουργός*: καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες, τὰ δημόσια πράττοντες, ὡσπερ Ἀθήνησιν οἱ δήμαρχοι.

<sup>64</sup> Ar. *Pol.*, 1448 a 35-37: αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ κώμας τὰς περιουκίδας καλεῖν φασιν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ δῆμους

<sup>65</sup> Hansen 1995, 47-48.

<sup>66</sup> Osborne 1985, 41; Whitehead 1986, 5-16.

citizen for life<sup>67</sup>; Kleisthenes “politicised the Attic countryside and rooted political identity there”<sup>68</sup>. In effect, acceptance in the *demos* was an essential requirement to obtain citizenship (Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 42.1; 26.4) and the *demos* held a register of all its members (Dem. 44.34; 57.26). It is also interesting to observe how, according to the *Constitution of the Athenians*, some *demoi* were named after the places they occupied, whilst others were named after the founders, given that not all of them corresponded any longer to the places (Arist. [*Ath. Pol.*] 21.5)<sup>69</sup>. Furthermore, amongst the multiple political functions exercised by the Athenian *demarchoi* (representation of the *demos* vis-à-vis other *demoi* and the *polis*, directing the meetings of *demos* assemblies, keeping the register of citizen members of the *demos*, etc.) one of the most important seems to have been in relation to their religious responsibilities (which also had a political dimension), focusing on their participation in the organisation of one of the principal Athenian festivals, the Panathenaia<sup>70</sup>. All of this was due to the fact that, as Osborne has observed, in Athens “the *deme* was a political unit, both itself, within limits, autonomous, and a part of the political organisation of the *polis*”<sup>71</sup>.

If we extend this idea to a wider context, we must bear in mind a well-known passage by Herodotus in which Thales of Miletus proposes the creation of a real federal State amongst the Ionians of Asia Minor, and which the author from Halicarnassus presents as follows: “But a good counsel too, as given before the ruin of Ionia, by Thales, a man of Miletos [...], he advised the Ionians to have one single seat of government (*bouleuterion*) and that this should be at Teos (for Teos, he said, was in the centre of Ionia) and that the other cities should be inhabited as before, but accounted just as if they were *demes*” (Hdt. 1.170)<sup>72</sup>. The use of the

<sup>67</sup> *Ath. Pol.*, 21, 4: καὶ δημότας ἐποίησεν ἀλλήλων τοὺς οἰκοῦντας ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν δήμων, ἵνα μὴ πατρόθεν προσαγορεύοντες ἐξελέγχωσιν τοὺς νεοπολίτας, ἀλλὰ τῶν δήμων ἀναγορεύωσιν. ὅθεν καὶ καλοῦσιν Ἀθηναῖοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τῶν δήμων: “And it made demotic companions of those who lived in the same *demos*, so that new citizens would not stand out for being denoted by their place of origin, but would bear the name of the *demos*, since the Athenians referred to themselves by their *demos*”.

<sup>68</sup> Osborne 1985, 189.

<sup>69</sup> Προσηγόρευσε δὲ τῶν δήμων τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν κτισάντων· οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντες ὑπῆρχον ἐν τοῖς τόποις.

<sup>70</sup> Suda, s.v. δήμαρχοι: οὗτοι δὲ διεκόσμουσαν τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν Παναθηναίων; Osborne 1985, 74-75; Whitehead 1986, 136-137.

<sup>71</sup> Osborne 1985, 64.

<sup>72</sup> Χρηστὴ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ διαφθαρῆναι Ἴωνίην Θαλέω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου ἐγένετο [...] ὃς ἐκέλευε ἐν βουλευτήριον Ἴωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέῳ (Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι Ἴωνίης), τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλεις οἰκειομένας μηδὲν ἴσσαν νομίζεσθαι κατὰ περ εἰ δῆμοι εἶεν.

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term *demes* makes clear reference to Athens and this would have been the term used by Herodotus to enable his Athenian public to comprehend the meaning of Thales' proposal, given that the relationship of the cities with the federal State would be equivalent to that of the Athenian *demoi* and the *polis* they formed part of.

A much more direct example, because it derives from an inscription dating from the early fourth century B.C. (and certainly before 385 B.C.), relates to Helisson in Arcadia. The epigraph reflects the *sympoliteia* between the city of Mantinea and the city of Helisson, with the former city absorbing the latter; amongst other clauses, the agreement guaranteed that the *polis* of Helisson would be kept at it was over time (μινόνσας τᾶς [πό]λιος τῶν Ἑλισφασίων ὥσπερ ἔχε[ι] ἰν πάντα χρόνον), but, immediately afterwards, states that Helisson would become a village of Mantinea (κώμα[ν] ἔασαν τὸς Ἑλισφάσιος τῶν Μαντινέων)<sup>73</sup>; this duality is quite interesting because, according to the point of view adopted, Helisson is both a *polis* and, at the same time, a *kome*<sup>74</sup>.

Of all the points outlined above, what can be applied to the Molossian case? First of all, we believe that the existence of *damiorgoi* presupposes the existence of *damoï*, which, judging by the mention of an ethnonym (demonym?) after the name of each (Arktanes, Tripolitai, Kelaithoi, Peiales, Genoaoi, Ethnestoi, Triphylai, Omphales, Onopernoi, Amymnoi) are equivalent to sub-ethnic groups included within the Molossian *ethnos*. The new Molossian development would consist of including these (sub-) *ethne* in the administration of the State, in spite of the fact that we have hardly any details regarding their attributions. Second, the Molossian State takes on a commitment between the "central government" of the *koinon*, represented by the king, especially perhaps in his role as the military leader and representative of the State vis-à-vis foreign authorities<sup>75</sup>, and by the *prostates* at the head of administration,

<sup>73</sup> This text has been subject to numerous analyses since it was first published: Te Riele 1987, 167-19. A complete study, with previous bibliography in Rhodes, Osborne 2003, 62-67. About the historical context in which this document must be placed, see Funke 2004, 427-435. See lastly Nielsen 2015, 254-255.

<sup>74</sup> Hansen 1995, 73-74.

<sup>75</sup> This can be observed, for example, in the ties with the Second Athenian League brought about by Alcetas and Neoptolemus and not by the political community: Rhodes, Osborne 2003, 92-105. This behaviour recalls that of other monarchies such as Macedonia, in which it is the king who personally receives the offices he is authorised to exercise, especially vis-à-vis foreign authorities, without the Macedonians being mentioned at any time. Thus, Philip II would become Archon of the Thessalians and would use their votes at the Amphiktiony, taking on the Phokian votes at the same body after the end of

and the different parts of the territory, grouped together in *damoi*. In this respect, and as occurred with the Athenian model (with which the Molossian set-up was either consciously or unconsciously related), we can distinguish between two levels, one centred on the shared government of the Molossians, and another level which allocated varying portions of authority to the constituent parts, the *damoi*. In this sense, the Molossian model may well have been organised according to the idea that Herodotus attributes to Thales in terms of designing a federal State for the Ionians, in which the constituent bodies (in this case the *poleis*) would cede part of their sovereignty in favour of a shared body. This also appears to have been the case of Helisson with regard to Mantinea. The Molossian *damoi*, headed by their *damiorgoi*, would have thus formed part of a new political organisation introduced by Tharyps and continued by his successors, at the same time as the individuals heading the internal administration of the *damoi* would have taken part in the decisions affecting all Molossians as a whole, thus reproducing the dual functions exercised by the Athenian *demarchoi*, both internally within their *demos*, and externally, in this case as representatives of the State<sup>76</sup>.

As we saw above, the commencement of a true political organisation in Molossia has been linked with King Tharyps and his stay in Athens, and also with the links that his successors maintained with this city, something that we should not rule out entirely<sup>77</sup>. In this sense, I believe we can accept a working hypothesis in which a part of the political transformation attributed to Tharyps, and already well established during the reign of Neoptolemus, may have consisted of grouping the Molossian population into units of a territorial nature, possibly known as *damoi* (δάμοι)<sup>78</sup>, managed from various newly-created centres or pre-existing centres that were updated. Some of them would have served as the central point of each *demos* and would have been the headquarters of each of the *damiorgoi*. In this respect, the discovery of a special building in Rachi Plataniás which fulfilled an administrative purpose and featured tiles marked with the stamp of the State would correspond to the possibility

the Third Sacred War, and he would become the Hegemon of the League of Corinth, and he would be the one to whom the members swore their loyalty. Although the bibliography on Philip is extremely extensive, see Worthington 2008, 65, 103, 158-159 regarding these matters.

<sup>76</sup> Whitehead 986, 121-139.

<sup>77</sup> See, for instance, the nuanced analysis by Lepore 1962, 159-160.

<sup>78</sup> In any case, whether or not Tharyps was the creator of this system “some such formal process of state formation has to be assumed” and “it will be wise not to underestimate the political engineering skills of the north-west Greeks”: Davies 2000, 256.

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that such a building may have served as the official residence of the *damiorgos* responsible for the *demos* in question. These *damiorgoi* may have possessed some of the attributions that Ancient authors described for the Athenian *demarchoi*. However, we do not know whether their role of accompanying the king, perhaps to endorse his decisions, as reflected in the Dodona inscriptions, was exercised by all of them. It seems likely that this function was only exercised by a few, chosen according to criteria that we have no knowledge of<sup>79</sup>. What is interesting to observe in the two decrees we have mentioned, which were inscribed on the same stone set up in Dodona, is how this sanctuary took on a central role in the political and religious ideology of Molossia. The fact that agreements of a political nature, such as the citizenship awards made to the two women, were made public in Dodona, featuring the endorsement of ten (and six) *damiorgoi*, constitutes a reflection of the role that these magistrates played in the festivals devoted to Zeus Naios, which we cannot confirm, but which may have been comparable to that exercised by the Athenian *demarchoi* in one of the city's main festivals, the Panathenaia.

In this sense, Quantin's suggestion is of great interest to the effect that both the *Naios* invocation relating to Zeus only as of the late fifth century and early fourth century, as well as the introduction of the *Naia* festival, may correspond (in spite of his doubts regarding a direct relationship with Athens) "à la commémoration d'un événement ou d'un processus lié comme à Athènes à l'organisation du territoire et de l'habitat, et à l'émergence de nouvelles formes institutionnelles"<sup>80</sup>. This may have been linked to an important period in the Epirote calendar in which the shepherds came down from the summer pastures towards the winter pastures during the end of the summer. We should perhaps seek the origin of these festivals in the fact that the sanctuary was changed from Thesprotian to Molossian hands, at the same time as it became the political centre of Molossia<sup>81</sup>. In august-september<sup>82</sup>, the *Naia* festivals would bring together the king and the Molossian magistrates, accompanied by representatives of the *demoi*, the *damiorgoi*, or a selection of them, at the sanctuary of Zeus. On this occasion, important political acts for the

<sup>79</sup> Unless we consider that each of these new *demoi* encompassed small groups or bodies (see, for instance, Cabanes 1976, 170) in which respect we would come even closer to the Athenian idea in the sense that the new *demoi* after Kleisthenes did not always coincide with their previous locations.

<sup>80</sup> Quantin 2008, 35.

<sup>81</sup> Quantin 2008, 37-45.

<sup>82</sup> Iversen 2017, 129-203.

community would be announced, such as the aforementioned awards of citizenship. Perhaps, as occurred with the *demarchoi* of Athens and their significant participation in the staging of the Panathenaia<sup>83</sup>, the *damiorgoi* would have taken part in the annual celebrations on behalf of the entire Molossian *ethnos* organised throughout the new territorial communities.

Neither is it improbable that, before it was annexed by the Molossians, the sanctuary of Dodona (still in Thesprotian hands) was frequented by Molossian peoples, given that travel links with this part of Epirus are not especially problematic. In fact, this would justify the new role that the Aeacidae granted the sanctuary within the process of creating the Molossian State.

With regard to the new organisation of the territory, the information we have derives from the archaeological findings mentioned above, which show a substantial shift in Molossian settlements between the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the fourth, together with the emergence of new settlements, some of which, as we have seen, present elements linked to the powers that be, such as the tiles marked with the emblem of Zeus at Dodona, thus reaffirming the importance of the sanctuary in the process, in its role as a central manifestation of Molossian political power<sup>84</sup>.

The picture we have is complicated by the fact that the *damiorgoi* only appear in this double inscription, making no further appearance at a later stage. However, another document from Dodona, which also contains an award of citizenship, features a series of other magistrates linked to the same bodies represented by the *damiorgoi*, along with various others, although the representatives no longer receive the name of *damiorgoi*, but that of *συνάρχοντες*. This inscription presents a number of significant aspects, one of them being that the name of the State now appears without any shadow of a doubt, in the nominative, namely τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μολοσσῶν (lines 15-16), this being the subject that grants the citizenship (ἔδωκε ... πολιτείας) (lines 15-16). Unfortunately, the heading of the inscription is broken, so we cannot read the name of the king, although the mention of an individual who comes from Orestis (Ὀρεστοῦ) amongst the *synarchontes* would indicate a chronology prior to the year 343 B.C., the moment when Philip II probably assumed control of the Orestai located

<sup>83</sup> The Athenian *demarchoi* appear to have controlled the distribution of meat for sacrifices amongst members of the *demos*, as well as distributing the *theorikon* amongst the members (Dem. 44.37); Osborne 1985, 75, 179.

<sup>84</sup> Pliakou 2007, 183.

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between Paravaea and Tymphaia<sup>85</sup>. In spite of the fact that some commentators have leaned towards suggesting the name of King Neoptolemus<sup>86</sup>, the broken stone prevents us from confirming (or rejecting) this possibility for sure<sup>87</sup>. Meyer has used this fact and arguments advocated by other authors that she considers to be implausible to propose a chronology for this epigraph in the third century B.C. and a certain link with religious matters, presenting as it does *damiorgoi* as *synarchontes*, which would be related to what she considers to be an organisation of an Amphictionic nature surrounding the sanctuary at Dodona<sup>88</sup>, an idea which, as we have argued throughout this article, we do not share.

Dispensing, for a moment, with the question of the chronology, the fact is that, as the first commentators to publish the epigraph of the *synarchontes* pointed out, the same ethnonyms appear as in the first two inscriptions we have mentioned and, alongside these, an additional five. Cabanes suggests that both terms are interchangeable and would represent a mere change of name for the same institution, partly based on his analysis of a couple of passages from Polybius (23.5.16; 16.6) referring to the Achaeans<sup>89</sup>. He also states that the increase in the number of individuals could correspond to the territorial expansion of the Molossian State, on this occasion towards the territories located in the upper areas of the Pindus<sup>90</sup>, which seems quite plausible<sup>91</sup>.

<sup>85</sup> Cross 1932, 38-39; Hammond 1967, 529; Cabanes 1976, 536-539.

<sup>86</sup> Hammond 1967, 529.

<sup>87</sup> Cabanes 1976, 537.

<sup>88</sup> Meyer 2013, 82-89; Id. 2015, 305-306.

<sup>89</sup> Cabanes 1976, 168-172 also argues that they are equivalent to the *hieromnamones* that appear in a third inscription, in this case made of bronze, and which he dates before 330 B.C. (539-540), a chronology and interpretation followed by other authors such as D'Alessandro 2011, 109-125, who states that the change of name could have been due to a greater sacral dimension, linked to Dodona's new role. Meyer 2013, 88-90, for her part, dates it from the third century, even though she accepts a link between *damiorgoi* and *hieromnamones*, in both cases offices linked with the sacral dimension of Dodona.

<sup>90</sup> Hammond 1967, 530; Cabanes 1976, 171; Id. 2010, 121.

<sup>91</sup> Naturally, we might also consider that, based on what we suggested some pages above, either the *damiorgoi/synarchontes* present in the inscriptions represented a selection of the total existing number or that the decisions were taken with those that were present at the meeting in question.

## 5. The Political Development of the Molossian State between Alcetas and Alexander I

The passage from the fifth to the fourth century B.C. entailed the opening up of Molossia, an inland territory, to the outside, first with its participation alongside the Chaonians in the campaign against Akarnania, and then, immediately afterwards, due to the reforms introduced by Tharyps, possibly as a result of his education in Athens, as suggested in this article. Whatever the case may be, we must banish the idea that has been widely disseminated in history books that the Molossian settlements featured an economy based on transhumant cattle-raising. As some authors have observed, even in the more mountainous parts of Molossia the economy “based on sedentary mixed farming and associated localized herding remained the primary subsistence strategy”<sup>92</sup> and, within Molossia itself, the Ioannina Basin was adapted to sedentary agriculture, not being a territory suitable for transhumance<sup>93</sup>. An isolated reference we can find in *Against Leocrates* by Lycurgus (26) indicates that by the age of Alexander the Molossian, Epirus had the capacity to export wheat, which suggests that it possessed a sufficient surplus. It is reasonable to assume that this economic boom was due to the new social and economic structure that Alexander’s predecessors had introduced in Epirus.

The creation of centres of territorial organisation, unwallled and featuring incipient urban areas, which may have been the focal point for groupings of a territorial nature or *demoi*, must have been the basic element of the process of the *rei publicae formam componere*, to use Justin’s words. In order to achieve this, it would have been necessary to introduce laws and magistrates, develop a public use of writing, etc., all of which would have transformed Molossia into a modern State. The ancestral nature of the monarchy would have been strengthened by affirming the Aeacid legacy, guaranteeing the dynasty’s pre-eminence over the rest of the local authorities that were now represented, in political terms, through the *prostates* and his secretary and, above all, by the *damiorgoi/synarchontes*, who were perhaps entrusted, amongst other tasks, with organising the festivals that revolved around the sanctuary of Dodona, one of the kingdom’s main acquisitions, which endowed Molossia with its own national cult.

Tharyps’ son and successor, Alcetas, experienced a period of exile in Syracuse, of unknown duration and for reasons that are also unknown

<sup>92</sup> Douzougli, Papadopoulos 2010, 70.

<sup>93</sup> Pliakou 2011a, 632.



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(Diod. Sic. 15.13.1-3). Sparta's meddling has been suggested<sup>94</sup>, which seems quite probable bearing in mind that after the defeat of 429, Molossia changed sides under King Tharyps, leaning towards Athens. At the same time, the conditions surrounding the return of King Alcetas would indicate, in addition to Spartan interference, the existence of conflicts within Molossian society, which the Spartans may have taken advantage of in order to force the king's exile. Alcetas returned, clearly supported by Dionysius the Elder, who provided him with two thousand mercenaries and five hundred Greek panoplies in order to arm Illyrian troops. Thus equipped, the Illyrians entered Epirus and defeated the Molossians, causing 50,000 deaths, a figure that seems somewhat exaggerated. In the end, the Spartans were forced to intervene in order to stop the barbarians (Diod. Sic. 15.13.3; 385 B.C) and prevent the annihilation of their allies, who opposed the king's return. These struggles, therefore, would have set Alcetas' followers, supported by the Syracusans and Illyrians, against the Molossians responsible for the king's exile, who would have been supported by Sparta. We cannot rule out, either, that the Illyrian invasion may have affected other territories throughout Epirus. Whatever the case may be, Sparta's intervention demonstrates that their interests in the region were still significant.

In his biography of Pyrrhus, Plutarch reports a detail of great interest according to which "it was customary for the kings, after sacrificing to Zeus Areius at Passaron, a place in the Molossian land, to exchange solemn oaths with the Epeirots, the kings swearing to rule according to the laws, and the people to maintain the kingdom according to the laws" (Plut., *Pyrrh.* 5)<sup>95</sup>. Multiple debates have revolved around the nature of this formula and, above all, how far back it dated from, given that it does not appear to have come from the age of Pyrrhus judging by the verb employed at the beginning of the description, ἔθω, which implies something of habitual and, presumably, ancient use. This formula is similar to the one used in Sparta in which the kings and the *ephoroi* exchanged oaths every month (Xen. *Lac.* 15.7), and perhaps the similarity is not coincidental<sup>96</sup>. It is tempting to think that the Spartan intervention,

<sup>94</sup> For instance, Lanzillotta 1980, 162-170; Vanotti 1996, 80; De Sensi Sestito 2011, 361-362.

<sup>95</sup> Εἰώθεισαν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐν Πασσαρῶνι, χωρὶς τῆς Μολοστίδος, Ἀρείῳ Διὶ θύσαντες ὀρκωμοτεῖν τοῖς Ἠπειρώταις καὶ ὀρκίζεῖν, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἄρξαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἐκείνους δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν διαφυλάξαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους.

<sup>96</sup> Carlier 1984, 276 sees "une difference importante entre les deux usages", but it would be surprising that the custom was exactly the same in the two States. The main idea, the control of the King by the people (in Epirus) or by its representatives (the ephors,

which halted the Illyrian campaign but, at the same time, accepted the restoration of Alcetas, may have entailed a political agreement between the two opposing factions within Molossia, which may have led to this kind of oath, one that would have persisted at least until Pyrrhus's time. If this were the result of Sparta's intervention, we might also consider that the Lacedemonians may have sought to recover their influence in this manner regarding the Molossians, who had been seriously weakened by their internal conflicts and, above all, by the terrible consequences of the Illyrian invasion.

Although Aristotle does not provide us with any specific details regarding this matter, it is interesting to observe that on the two occasions on which his *Politics* refers to the Molossian monarchy, it is depicted in a positive light. In the first passage, referring to the merits that justify monarchies, he includes the Spartan, Macedonian and Molossian kings within the group that have founded cities or conquered territories (ἢ κτίσαντες ἢ κτησάμενοι χώραν) (Arist. *Pol.* 1310b 38-40). Even more interesting is the second reference, given that the philosopher makes reference to the fact that monarchies will last longer the less despotic they are and the more they encourage customs of equality; in short, the more moderate they are and the less power they exercise (ἐλαττόνων ὧσι κύριοι). In this respect, he concludes that “moderation long upheld the monarchy of the Molossians” (Arist. *Pol.* 1313a 21-24)<sup>97</sup>. Although a somewhat general comment, Aristotle's reference suggests that the Molossian monarchs founded cities, something which is debatable in the strict sense of the term, but not in a wider sense, whilst they also limited their power. The existence of offices and institutions that were already described during the reign of Neoptolemus, and the possibility that the oath between the king and his people corresponded to a period that preceded Pyrrhus, which is when we find testimony relating to this matter, would have been aspects that, according to Aristotle's analysis, would have helped to moderate the power of the monarch and, therefore,

as Xenophon attests, in Sparta), lets to establish a (close) relationship between both institutions. If in the case of Sparta it can be interpreted as a “constitutional contract that had corresponding consequences if broken” (Nippel 2016, 92), the same interpretation fits well also with the Epirote case.

<sup>97</sup> Διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ περὶ Μολοσσοῦς πολὺν χρόνον βασιλεία διέμεινεν. It is also interesting to observe that he continues the phrase by pointing out that it also lasted a long time in Sparta because power was shared between two monarchs, and that the introduction of the Ephorate guaranteed its survival given that the monarchs ceded power.

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guarantee the monarchy's survival, something that Aristotle was able to witness himself in his own age<sup>98</sup>.

The location of Passaron<sup>99</sup> has also been subject to debate and, contrary to the traditional view that has situated this place at the fortified site of Megalo Gardiki<sup>100</sup>, other authors have suggested that it could have been located at the *kastro* of Ioannina<sup>101</sup>. As we have seen above, the occupation of Megalo Gardiki does not seem to have taken place before the reign of Pyrrhus himself, whilst Ioannina appears to have formed part of a series of establishments located throughout the basin that emerged in the late fifth century and early fourth century. Whatever the case may be, there seems to be little doubt that Ioannina was occupied during the fourth century, although, unlike the rest of these establishments, this settlement was walled in the early third century B.C.<sup>102</sup>. Significant indications also suggest that the sanctuary of Zeus (Areius?) that Plutarch linked with Passaron may have been located in this area<sup>103</sup>.

Returning to Alcetas, once he had recovered the throne and consolidated his position, the king does not appear to have maintained a very favourable disposition with regard to Sparta. In fact, he recovered the friendship that his father had promoted with Athens and perhaps instigated the reforms that Tharyps had initiated, either directly or indirectly inspired by Athens. It is perhaps in this period that the Molossians took advantage of the weakness of their Thesprotian and Chaonian neighbours, who had perhaps been affected by the Illyrian expedition, effectively occupying a stretch of coast on the Ionian Sea, with which they permitted the passage of Athenian troops heading for Korkyra in the year 373 (Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.10)<sup>104</sup>. Whatever the case may be, their membership of the Second Athenian League a couple of years before (Diod. Sic. 15.36.5; Nep. *Timoth.* 2; Rhodes, Osborne 2003, 92-105) clearly shows Alcetas' shift towards the Athenians, which the latter rewarded with citizenship, as they had with his father. Maybe he received the honour when he travelled to Athens in person in the autumn of 373 to declare in favour of Timotheus ([D.] 49.22). These links with Athens and,

<sup>98</sup> Fantasia 2017, 146.

<sup>99</sup> In Plutarch's passage, Passaron is defined as *χωρίον*, not even as a city (*πόλις*); we have already seen other names referring to this place (*oppidum, civitas*).

<sup>100</sup> Dakaris 1987, 71-73; cf. Dausse 2007, 197-233, with the proposals of identification and the previous debate.

<sup>101</sup> Pliakou 2011b, 89-108.

<sup>102</sup> Pliakou 2007, 143-151.

<sup>103</sup> Pliakou 2011b, 89-108.

<sup>104</sup> De Sensi Sestito 2011, 363-364.

as some commentators have even suggested, the fact that he had been a follower of Isocrates<sup>105</sup>, would have led him to further promote the reforms in Molossia that his father had initiated and that would, in turn, be continued by his son Neoptolemus, already associated with the throne when Molossia joined the Second Athenian League.

The ethnonyms that appear on the two inscriptions corresponding to King Neoptolemus and on the inscription of the *synarchontes*, have been traced in various Ancient sources, although not always with complete reliability<sup>106</sup>. From its analysis we can deduce that some of these places refer to territories considered Thesprotian and Chaonian by other authors, which shows how the Molossian expansion affected bordering regions. If, in spite of their annexation by the Molossians, their representatives or *synarchontes* were to have featured as the highest magistrates in the kingdom, we would have to consider that Molossian citizenship depended, above all, on territorial adscription through the organisational units or *damoí* which would have been created in the new territories as a means of integration. Whether this generous policy of inclusion in citizenship for subjugated or incorporated populations, apparently based on the same rights, may have caused internal tensions that could have justified Alcetas' exile, is something we do not know. However, the introduction of an annual oath, if this took place as we suggest after the king's restoration to the throne, would have constituted a means of establishing a balance of powers based on compromise from both sides, with a view to respecting the laws.

The *koinon* of the Molossians, in its first manifestation, may not have been a federal State throughout a good part of the fourth century B.C., such as those that existed in other parts of Greece. However, neither does it seem to have been simply a lax system based on a "dynamic monarchy"<sup>107</sup>. What the evidence presented here shows us is that the Molossians developed a State model that was appropriate to the social and economic conditions that existed in these inland regions of Epirus, territories in which *poleis* did not play any role at all, at least during the period we have studied. In these territories there were no urban centres of importance, although a dense network of smaller settlements devoted to farming activities did exist (well represented by sites such as Vitsa and Liatovouni). Nevertheless, these settlements were not closed to the arrival of products and influences from abroad, as demonstrated by the

<sup>105</sup> Vanotti 1996, 86.

<sup>106</sup> Hammond 1967, 526-527; with many more details, Cabanes 1976, 122-130.

<sup>107</sup> Meyer 2013, 90.

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necropoleis that have been excavated there. They can most probably be identified with a monarchical model that we could define as being of a “heroic type”, one in which change could only come about gradually. This change was reflected in the construction of small proto-urban settlements endowed with buildings and structures hitherto unknown in Molossia, which served as centres of a religious and administrative nature and, of course, of an economic nature, whose best example would be Rachi Platania. However, in our opinion this change did not entail the “replacement” of Thesprotians with Molossians in the Ioannina region, as some commentators have suggested<sup>108</sup>. On the contrary, we believe it marked a real structural shift from what appeared to be a pre-political model to a political one, even though this was not manifested in the establishment of *poleis*, as has sometimes been thought<sup>109</sup>, but though the emergence of villages (*komai-damoi*), which, as we have seen, constituted a form of political organisation in which they themselves integrated their citizens and served as a foundation for the political structure of the *ethnos*, as indicated by the inscriptions we have considered. This shift from an old to a new model can be observed in the abandonment of centres such as Liatovouni, which may have been sustained by a clan-like organisation, or the transformation of Vitsa, which, throughout the fourth century, gradually adapted to new trends, as demonstrated by the appearance of the odd house similar in type to those that existed in the Ioannina Basin (House Θ), a construction that coexisted with buildings reminiscent of the former huts, such as House H, a rather long and narrow structure (10 x 2.5 metres). However, the findings in House H included a splendid bronze Phrygian helmet and a number of spearheads, which suggest that the last owner would have been a member of the Molossian army, and certainly not of a lower status judging by the quality of the helmet<sup>110</sup>. In some neighbouring regions, such as Cassopaea, these changes, whose introduction may have been promoted by other Epirote peoples – possibly the Molossians, but most probably the Thesprotians –, would lead to the emergence of an important urban centre, Cassope, without implying that the entire population throughout the territory was concentrated in this new centre. In the process, the Cassopaeans developed their own ethnic identity, in spite of which they would have ended up forming part of the

<sup>108</sup> Pliakou 2007, 281-282; Id. 2011a, 641.

<sup>109</sup> Funke 2009, 97-112.

<sup>110</sup> Vokotopoulou 1987, 57.

Molossian State by force following Philip II's intervention ([Dem.] 7.32)<sup>111</sup>.

Each of these new centres, villages or *damoi*, featuring a clear agricultural and not just stock-raising profile, would have had the purpose of enhancing the political integration of a population that, up until this time, had been accustomed to living in groups based on family or place, in many cases featuring a rather inefficient exploitation of the territory. The occupation of Dodona at the beginning of this process would have served as a demonstration of power on the part of the Molossian kings, which would have been reinforced by the long line of descent of the Aeacids proposed by the monarchs, something even reflected by the Athenian Euripides. The fact that this new model worked is suggested by the commencement of Molossian coinages at some point during the first half of the fourth century, which demonstrates the introduction of a monetary-based economy in Molossia, one that, nevertheless, would coexist for some time alongside less developed forms of exchange. It also appears that the Molossian political model considered the fulfilment of a series of formalities regulated by law as one of the criteria for inclusion in the State. One of these laws, which possibly came into effect as of Alcetas' reign, one characterised by a period of internal instability, entailed a formula whereby the king and the Molossians were obliged to take a mutual oath. By the time his son, Neoptolemus, came to the throne, people that in other periods had formed part of other neighbouring *ethne* were now considered Molossian. The basic principle would have been similar to the one that Polybius described some time later when explaining the extension of Achaean citizenship, and even the designation of "Achaean", to all the Peloponnese: "None of the original members had any special privilege reserved for them, but equal rights were given to all comers" (Polyb. 2.38.8)<sup>112</sup> (and this was irrespective of how they joined, freely or by force).

## 6. Conclusions

From what we have seen above, and in spite of the fact that Ancient authors such as Justin and Plutarch present a certain degree of idealism, we believe there are no reasons to doubt that Tharyps and his successors

<sup>111</sup> Domínguez 2015, 111-143; Id. 2017, 79-88.

<sup>112</sup> Οὐδενὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ὑπολειπομένη πλεονέκτημα τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἴσα δὲ πάντα ποιῶσα τοῖς ἀεὶ προσλαμβανομένοι

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laid the foundations for a new political model for Epirus, accompanied also by changes in the settlement structure throughout Molossia. The monarchy, which still existed in this territory and in other inland regions, as testified by Thucydides in 429, in contrast to the developments that had taken place in the coastal regions of Chaonia and Thesprotia, was obliged to adapt in order to survive, and in order to do so it had to perhaps dismantle ancestral society and introduce a new organisation based on other criteria of a political nature. As suggested by our sources, these new criteria may have been inspired by the Athenian system. Whatever the case may be, we are no longer dealing with what we might call a “tribal kingdom”, which is how some authors continue to describe Molossia in the fourth century B.C.<sup>113</sup>.

The fact that Molossia entered into a new dynamic that was no longer “tribal”, but fully political, is confirmed by the fact that it is possible that these changes were not accepted immediately by the Molossians, who, in addition, witnessed a departure from the traditional Epirote alliance with Corinth and its colonies, which would have led to Alcetas’ exile. However, his blood-soaked return would have signalled the end of those who were less disposed to follow this path. Once reconciled with his people thanks to Sparta’s intervention, this king would have established an exchange of oaths as a means of mutual control. What is more, he would have proceeded with his rapprochement with Athens, as manifested in the kingdom’s incorporation into the Second Athenian League, thanks to the ties of friendship between the king and General Timotheus. The close relationship between Molossia and Athens can also be observed in the increase in the number of consultations at Dodona by the Athenians, although this contact had started some time before<sup>114</sup>. The success of the political model can be observed in the kingdom’s ongoing process of expansion, gradually taking control as it did of the coastal territories, bordering both the Ionian Sea and the Gulf of Ambrakia. As part of this process, it would gradually incorporate the settlements located in these regions into its *politeia*. As part of this process, a key role was granted to a structure in which various hierarchical magistracies (*prostates*, secretary, *damiorgoi/synarchontes/hieromnamones*) facilitated the political organisation of the territory and permitted further annexations. In a certain sense, the Molossian State, which was not

<sup>113</sup> Meyer 2015, 305; this idea of a “tribal monarchy” was already suggested by Cross 1932, 19.

<sup>114</sup> Piccinini 2017, 133-145.

organised around *poleis*, worked as a whole as if it were a city<sup>115</sup>, including a shared designation for all the territories that made up the *koinon*, which was none other than that of Molossians. Testimony to this process can also be found in other sources, in which the name of the *ethnos* was used to define a political structure, due to the importance that this idea of ethnic affinity had acquired, however fictitious (according to our criteria) it may have been<sup>116</sup>.

This process of ongoing incorporation was brought to an abrupt end when Philip II, as part of his policy of promoting Macedonia's expansion, occupied territories which, up until that time, had formed part of the Molossian State, although, at the same time, he handed over other areas to them that he had conquered<sup>117</sup>. All of this was part of a far-reaching review of his relationship with Epirus, which was initially based on an understanding with King Arybbas, Alcetas' son and brother to the now-deceased Neoptolemus, until he was exiled and replaced with Neoptolemus' son, Alexander I. Epirus, which was excessively pro-Athenian for Philip II's liking, went on to be governed by a faithful ally and supporter of Macedonia, the young Alexander, Philip's brother-in-law and future son-in-law. This period probably witnessed the creation of the much-disputed *συμμαχία τῶν Ἀπειρωτῶν*, whose origins and duration continue to give rise to multiple interpretations, but whose foundation in our opinion must correspond to the reign of Alexander I<sup>118</sup>. The strength of the Molossian State is witnessed by the fact that this king, without any fear about what he was leaving behind, could embark on an expedition to Italy, a venture that would end terribly for him, but would lead to the ordered succession to the throne of, first, his wife Cleopatra, and then his sister, Olympias, finally leading to the reign of Aeacides, (the son of the Arybbas who was deposed by Philip) with the support of her cousin, the mother of Alexander the Great.

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<sup>115</sup> McInerney 2013, 472.

<sup>116</sup> See, for example, the observations made by McInerney 2013, 477 regarding the manner in which Polybius constantly uses the term *ethnos* to refer to the *koinon* of the Achaeans, in spite of the fact that it encompassed peoples of other origins.

<sup>117</sup> Hammond 1967, 554.

<sup>118</sup> Domínguez 2014, 203-236, with previous discussions.



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*New Developments and Tradition in Epirus*

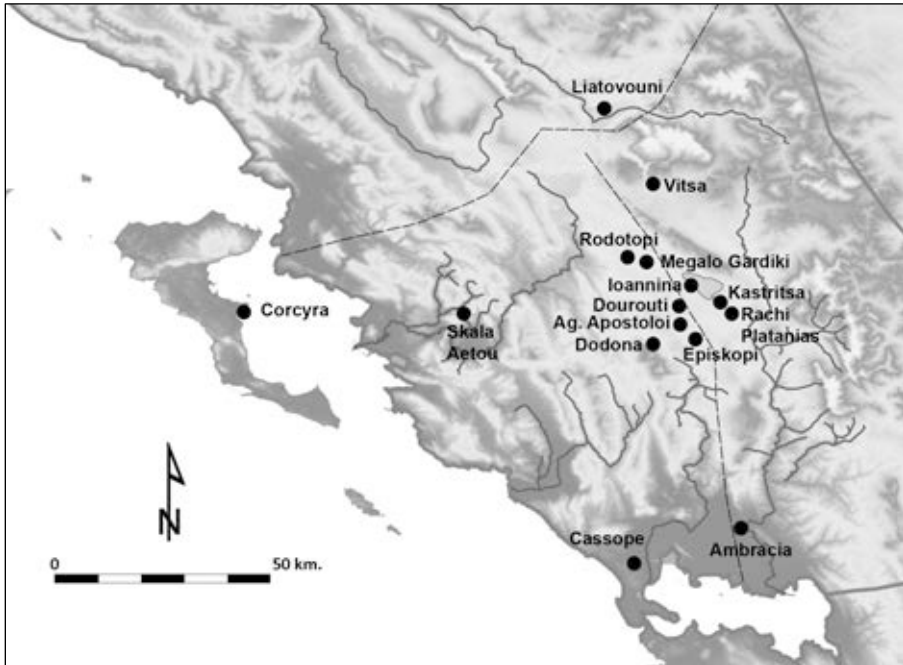


Fig. 1. Places mentioned in the text.

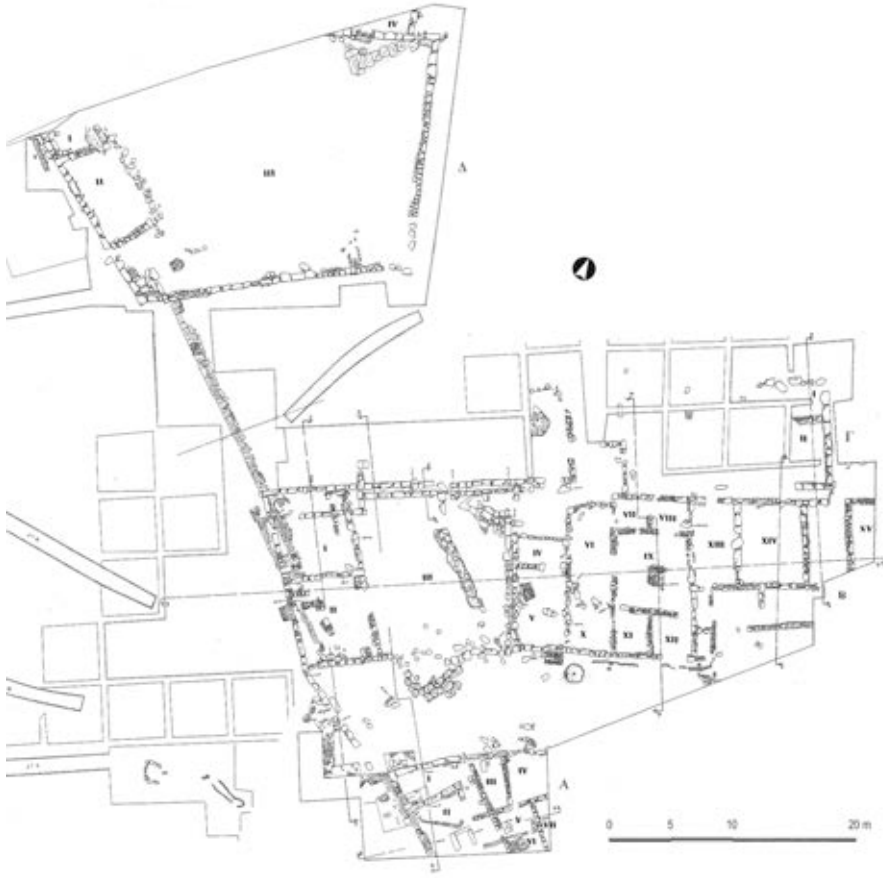


Fig. 2. The unwallied site at Rachi Platania. (After Pliakou 2007).



## FROM THE FIFTH CENTURY TO 167 B.C.: RECONSTRUCTING THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT EPIRUS.

As of the middle of last century, a certain schema has been defined regarding the historical development of Epirus, one that would encompass a period stretching from at least the end of the fifth century to the imposition of Roman rule in the year 167<sup>1</sup>. Except in certain cases<sup>2</sup>, this schema has been widely accepted<sup>3</sup>, and it would divide the region's history into three main stages:

- a) The existence, from at least the fifth century up until c. 360-355, of various independent States (even up to seven different States<sup>4</sup>), either with or without a monarchy, amongst which the Chaonians, Molossians and Thesprotians were the most important. This period would also correspond to the Molossians and their allies (c. 400-330), because as the result in large part of the expansion of the Molossian kingdom before 330 the Molossians would have incorporated all of the previous independent States, except for the Chaonians.
- b) The creation of an "Epirote Alliance" or Symmachy or "Apeiros" between 340/30 and 230. Now, around the time of the rule of King Alexander I or between c. 340/30 and the attribution of

<sup>1</sup> All dates are B.C., except when otherwise expressly stated.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Meyer 2013, featuring conclusions that are, on occasion, debatable.

<sup>3</sup> Franke 1955, 55-78, 81-86; 1961, 116-159; Hammond 1967, 557-571; Larsen 1968, 275-278; Cabanes 1976 esp. 111-134; 1993, 107; 1997a, 81-92; 1997b; 1999; 2004; 2005. Cf. also Drini 1987, 176; Ceka 1993, 122; Beck 1997, 135-145; Davies 2000; S. Funke 2000; Moustakis 2006, 60-90; Giorgi, Bogdani 2012, 368-370; Mackil 2013, 209-210, 294.

<sup>4</sup> Using the Epirote part of the *theorodokoi* list for Epidaurus IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 95, ll. 23-30 as a basis: Pandosia, Cassope, the Thesprotians, Poionos, Chaonia, Artichia and the Molossians (cf. for example Cabanes 2005, 150), although Zmaratha, a possible Epirote *polis*, also features in line 74 (about this *polis* see Funke *et al.* 2004, nr. 111, 349).

Queen Antigone's name to the Chaonian town located in the Drino Basin (297-295), the Chaonians would also have been included. At this point a unified State was formed, the Molossians and their allies were renamed Symmarchy of the Apeirotes or Apeiros. During the reign of Pyrrhus, this state achieved the political unification of a large area what we might refer to as "Greater Epirus"<sup>5</sup>.

- e) Finally, following the end of the Aeacid monarchy in 232, the *koinon* of the Epirotes (232-167) emerged, although this would no longer include the areas previously annexed by the monarchs.

Nevertheless, in recent years notable progress has been made in the field of research, which has enhanced, in unequivocally spectacular manner, our knowledge of Ancient Epirus within the realm of historiography<sup>6</sup>, not to mention regarding the publication of epigraphic corpora<sup>7</sup> and archaeological excavations and prospections<sup>8</sup>. Coinciding with this, since the 1990's three lines of research have been pursued regarding the Greek world as a whole that we believe to be especially relevant in this case: a certain reflection regarding the nature of the *polis*<sup>9</sup>; a theoretical analysis of Greek federalism<sup>10</sup>; and a more in-depth study of the Greek federal States themselves<sup>11</sup>.

In short, throughout this chapter we shall make little reference to the course of events over and above the extent to which they confirm the underlying schema and understanding of our account<sup>12</sup>, and our goal shall be to focus on the political State structures of Epirus and on the three main ethnic communities: Chaonians, Molossians and Thesprotians. Our

<sup>5</sup> Cabanes 1997a, 81 (sic).

<sup>6</sup> Especially the seven-volume *Diabaseis* Collection, as well as the last volumes of *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité*, 2002 and 2008. For the rest, see the final bibliography.

<sup>7</sup> Dakaris, Vokotopoulou, Christidis 2013 (DVC); Cabanes, Drini 2016 (CIGIME 3).

<sup>8</sup> Nikopolis, Phoinike and Thesprotia Projects (see final bibliography), and Vlachopoulou-Oikonomou 2003; Cabanes et al. 2008.

<sup>9</sup> See the publications by *Copenhagen Polis Centre*, for instance, Hansen 1994, 1995, 1996 (in final bibliography) and Hansen, Nielsen (eds.) 2004.

<sup>10</sup> Beck 1997; Rzepka 2002; 2006; 2017; Mackil 2013; Bearzot 2014; Beck, Funke 2015.

<sup>11</sup> Especially the neighbouring states, the Acarnanian and Aetolian Confederacies: Dany 1999; Freitag 2015; Pascual 2017; 2018 and Antonetti 1990; Grainger 1999; Scholten 2000; Funke 2015.

<sup>12</sup> With regard to this matter, here we might cite Cross 1932; Franke 1955; Hammond 1967 and Cabanes 1976.

approach will not only seek to describe the institutions themselves, but also their dynamics and progress over two hundred and fifty years of Epirote history. In this respect, although Epirus undoubtedly witnessed two distinct political regimes, monarchy and what is usually and rather anachronistically referred to as a “republican” *koinon* or period<sup>13</sup>, which was non-monarchical (we shall resist the temptation of calling it “republican” due to the obvious Roman connotations), we shall consider this span of years to make up a single historical period, one in which, over and above the change in regimes, a series of institutions existed and evolved that can only really be understood within this time-frame.

We shall obviously use the great works of reference<sup>14</sup>, but we will also take advantage of the latest advances that have been made regarding our knowledge of Ancient Epirus. To all this we shall add a series of theoretical reflections regarding the *polis* and federalism, as well as offering specific analyses of the different federal States, convinced as we are of the idea that by applying the conclusions of these latest studies, as well as sometimes adopting a comparative perspective, we might better understand Epirote history based on a fundamental hypothesis: the institutional history of Epirus, at least from the fourth century onwards, far from being notably different, in fact presented many common features with regard to the rest of the Greek world, especially Central and Northern Greece. In reality, one of the key characteristics of the Greek world, which consisted of a universe of *poleis*, confederacies and monarchies, was its essentially permeable, flexible and dynamic nature.

## **1. A Flimsy Point of Departure: The *Theorodokoi* Lists**

Rather than Epirote inscriptions themselves, what are known as the *theorodokoi* lists, which is to say the lists of those in each State who hosted the holy emissaries or *theoroi* who announced the religious festivals<sup>15</sup>, in our case emissaries from Epidaurus, Argos and Delphi, based on a chronology that plausibly stretches from the fourth century to the last third of the third century, have not only served as the main documentary

<sup>13</sup> Hammond 1967, 648, 653.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. n. 3.

<sup>15</sup> Perlman 2000, 13-14. Regarding the announcement of the festivals: Perlman 2000, 14-16. See also Hansen, Nielsen 2004d, 103-104.

evidence for reconstructing the history of Epirus, but have constituted the very foundations of this account<sup>16</sup>.

In this respect, a comparison of the *theorodokoi* lists for Epidaurus (IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 94-95, c. 360) and Argos (SEG XXIII, 189; XXXIII, 289, c. 330) would reveal a significant change in the political structure of Epirus, which could be interpreted in terms of the expansion of the Molossian kingdom and unification. Thus, between the two lists, an Epirote State makes an appearance, as *Symmachoi tōn Apeirōtan* or as *Apeiros*, which, under the authority of the Aeacid Dynasty, would have absorbed the Thesprotians, until their *koinon* was dissolved, and would have included Cassopaea, with the help of Philip of Macedonia in this case (c. 342)<sup>17</sup>. This new political entity would have excluded the Chaonians, who had their own State, the *koinon* of the Chaonians, which would have existed alongside Apeiros, only to be incorporated later on, effectively creating a two-headed State made up of two autonomous parts, the Molossians and the Chaonians. The *theorodokoi* list for Delphi (Plassart 1921, Charneaux, 1966 a-b), dated c. 230-220, would seem to confirm the territorial amputation suffered by the new Epirote Confederacy, consisting of the loss of Kelaitha (col. III 28), a Thessalian city, and Athamania (col. III 34)<sup>18</sup>. However, this interpretation has only taken into account the Epirote part, as it were, of the inscriptions, and not the *theorodokoi* as a whole who visited other areas and could precisely help us to interpret the “Epirote” part of the lists. First and foremost, we shall consider the documents as a whole.

In the case of Epidaurus, in relation to the *theoroi* who were entrusted with proclaiming the festival of Asclepius, we have two lists, one of them incomplete and also split into two fragments (IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 94, frgs. A-B; SEG XI, 410)<sup>19</sup>, and the other complete (IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 95 with two columns I-II)<sup>20</sup>. These date from the years 360-359 and 356-355 respectively<sup>21</sup>, and the latter mentions precisely Epirus.

<sup>16</sup> For example, Cabanes 1976, 116-120, 152-155, 172-183; 2004, 150-151; Hammond 1997, 60.

<sup>17</sup> [Dem.] 7, 32; Theopompus *FGrH* 115 FF 206-207 *apud* Harpocration ss.vv. Ἐλάτεια and Πανδοσία.

<sup>18</sup> Cabanes 1976, 354. The new Confederacy would have also lost Ambracia, Amphilochia and Cassopaea, which regained their independence (Lévêque 1997b, 80).

<sup>19</sup> Perlman 2000, Ep. Cat. E. 1, 177-179, featuring the corresponding bibliography.

<sup>20</sup> Perlman 2000, Ep. Cat. E. 2, 180-184.

<sup>21</sup> Perlman 2000, 69-74.

Fragment A of the first list (IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 94) brings together the *theorodokoi* of Central Greece, whilst Fragment B lists those of Thessaly, Macedonia, Chalcidice, Thrace and Thasos. The list includes the name of the place and, beside it, the name of the corresponding *theorodokos*. In Fragment A, lines 2 to 7, following the heading *Theorodokoi* (l. A 1), present the entries Megara (A 2), Athens (A 3), Thebes (featuring two *theorodokoi*, ll. A 4-5), Thespieae (A 6), Coroneia (A 7), Orchomenus (A 8) and, in line 9, the name of a Boeotian city whose name has not been preserved, but which could be Chaeroneia ([Χαιρόν]ει[α]) rather than Lebadeia ([Λεβάδ]ει[α]), bearing in mind the sense of the itinerary that the *theoroi* were to follow. It is obvious that Megara and Athens are two independent *poleis*, but not Thebes and Coroneia which, although they were also *poleis*, were included in the Boeotian Confederacy that undoubtedly existed during this period<sup>22</sup>. We could say that they were autonomous, in the sense that they would have enjoyed internal autonomy, but they were not independent as such. That is to say, each of them enjoyed its own *patrios* or *idia politeia*<sup>23</sup>, but they were dependent on the federal state for their foreign policy. Thebes and Coroneia would have possessed the right to take part in federal institutions, which is to say, both cities also had their federal *sympoliteia*<sup>24</sup>. However, it is highly possible that Thespieae and Orchomenus had been dispossessed of their representation at the federal institutions, of their *sympoliteia*, which means they only possessed their own *politeia*. Orchomenus may have been completely destroyed by the Thebans in 364<sup>25</sup>, which would constitute a *terminus ante quem* for this part of the list. The list does not include other Boeotian cities such as Tanagra, Acraephnum and Copae. Their absence does not mean they did not exist during this period. Quite the contrary, in fact, they were *poleis* that formed part of the Boeotian Confederacy. The Epidaurian *theoroi* simply did not visit these places<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> It is sufficient to state here: IG VII 2407, 2408 replete with archon, federal *boiôtarchoi* and assembly (*dámos*) and Buckler, 1980 passim; Hansen, Nielsen 2004d, 104.

<sup>23</sup> Vid. Xen. *Hell.* 5, 2, 14; 6, 5, 6; Bearzot 2004, 45-56.

<sup>24</sup> About the federal *sympoliteia*: Rzepka 2002, 241-247; 2017, 52-67; Pascual 2007, 171-177; Bearzot 2014, 36-42.

<sup>25</sup> Diod. 15, 64, 2; Buckler 1980, 182-184. Regarding the situation with Thespieae, see Tuplin 1986.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Hansen, Nielsen 2004d, 106.

The same could be said of Fragment B. The five Thessalian *poleis*, Oxynion, Pharcadon, Atrax, Gyrton and Larissa (B 1-5)<sup>27</sup>, with which the preserved text begins, as in the case of Boeotia, formed part of the Thessalian Confederacy, headed at this time by Larissa. This is beyond doubt since we have a preserved example of a treaty between the Thessalian Confederacy and the Athenians that dates from 361/0, which expressly mentions τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Θεσσαλῶν (IG II<sup>2</sup> 116, l. 15, cf. also ll. 34-35) as the name of the Thessalian State<sup>28</sup>. The list also mentions Macedonia, whose *theorodokos* was Perdiccas (B 9), undoubtedly King Perdiccas III himself, who reigned between 365 and 359, which also provides an essential detail when it comes to dating this part of the list. Different *poleis* on the mainland and the northern islands of the Aegean follow this (B 10-32). Amongst these, Olynthus (B 14) stands out, which, during this period, was the main city and capital of the Confederacy of the Chalcidians<sup>29</sup>, who are not mentioned on the list as an *ethnos* or State. As of line 33, the inscription has addenda (Column II ll. 33-55), created by at least three different hands, which includes, for example, the city of Cassandreia (41), which was founded by Cassander over the ruins of former Potidaea (which appears in B 12) in around 316<sup>30</sup>, which indicates that part (or all) of these addenda were added quite a long time afterwards. Cassandreia was an autonomous State (a *polis*), but obviously not independent, being subject to the King of Macedonia.

The second list for Epidaurus (IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 95) dates from the years 356-355 and is divided into two columns<sup>31</sup>. The first column begins with the *theorodokoi* destined for Acarnania (l. I 1), first of all Corinth and Delphi (I 2-3)<sup>32</sup> and then Amphissa, Oiantheia and Naupactus (I 4-5), all *poleis* incorporated in the Hesperian Locrian Confederacy<sup>33</sup>. A large number of *poleis* remained under the heading of Acarnania (l. I 8). In the following order and featuring either one or two *theorodokoi*: Oeniadae,

<sup>27</sup> Regarding the Thessalian cities, see Decourt, Nielsen, Helly 2004: Oxynion (nr. 406, 699), Pharcadon (nr. 412, 699), Atrax (nr. 395, 692), Gyrton (nr. 397, 693) and Larissa (nr. 401, 695-697).

<sup>28</sup> Tod 1946, 147, 143-137; StV 2, 293, 255-228.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Zahrt 2015, 352.

<sup>30</sup> Diod. 19, 52, 2.

<sup>31</sup> See Perlman 2000, 69-74 (Chronology) and Cat. Ep. E2, 180, with the corresponding references.

<sup>32</sup> Perhaps Delphi was still an independent *polis* or had been occupied by the Phocidians, giving rise to the Third Sacred War, cf. Diod. 16, 23, 1-24.5; Buckler 1989, 21-27.

<sup>33</sup> Daverio Rocchi 2015, 192-195.

Stratus, Phoitiaie, Coronta, Medion, Astacus, Euripus, Thyrrheum, Echinus, Torybeia, Alyzia, Palaerus and Anactorium (Il. I 9-23)<sup>34</sup>. Other Acarnanian *poleis* mentioned include Hyporeiae (35), Limneae (56) and Amphiloichium Argos (33). All of them belonged to the Acarnanian *koinon*. In the same manner, Calydon (6), Acripus, Therminea, Phylea and Proschium (34-38) are *poleis* belonging to the Aetolian Confederacy<sup>35</sup>. In the addenda in Column II we also find a good number of cities in Magna Graecia and Sicily (II 1-21) and Arcadia (II 22-25).

In effect, we are essentially dealing with the itineraries followed by the Epidaurian *theoroi*, who were hosted by the *theorodokoi* in each place along the way. Only in this way we can understand that Leucas (I 20), which does not belong to the *koinon*, appears on the Acarnanian list, or comprehend the position of Argos, precisely in the line following Ambracia (I 32), or that of Hyporeiae (I 35) alongside the Aetolian localities on the other side of the border. Second, all of the places that have an assignation of *theorodokoi* are States, including Macedonia. There is nothing anomalous about using a toponym to denote a political community, the *theorodokia* was a political institution and to participate in the Panhellenic festivals was one of the characteristics of a State<sup>36</sup>, but this does not mean that they are all independent States in the sense that they exercised their own foreign policies. On the contrary, many of them formed part of confederacies. That is to say, they were all autonomous to the extent that they possessed their own *politeia*, but not all of them, and very few of them in fact, were independent. In short, a *polis*, and also a *koinon*, could be juridically autonomous, in the sense that they possessed a monopoly over coercive measures within the territories where their laws were applied, but at the same time they could also be members of another State. Independence was not an intrinsic characteristic of the *polis* without which it could not exist<sup>37</sup>. We might also point out that, in those places where no *theorodokoi* are assigned, the list refers to extensive geographical regions that do not necessarily have to constitute States, for example Italy (II 41, 46) and Sicily (II 78, 83, 90). However, Acarnania, which is generally mentioned twice as a region (I 1, 8), was a federal State<sup>38</sup>, whose capital at that time was Stratus<sup>39</sup>. Finally, in relation to places that do not appear

<sup>34</sup> See Perlman 2000, "The Akarnanian Panel (Column I, lines 14-52)" 116-124.

<sup>35</sup> Antonetti 1987, 100-101; 1990, 278-280; Funke 1997, 183 n. 3.

<sup>36</sup> Hansen, Nielsen 2004d, 104 and 106.

<sup>37</sup> Hansen 1993 and 1995.

<sup>38</sup> Pascual 2018.

<sup>39</sup> Thuc. 2, 80, 8; cf. 3, 106, 1; Xen. *Hell.* 4, 6, 4; Pascual 2018, 63-64, 78, 80.

on the lists, this does not mean that they did not exist or that they were not States. It simply means that they were not visited.

As we mentioned above, the second list refers to Epirus-Apeiros-(I 23) in larger letters, which indicates that we are dealing with a geographical name<sup>40</sup>. This is followed by Pandosia (I 24) with one *theorodokos*, Cassope with two (I 25), the Thesprotians with two (I 26), Poionos with one (I 27), Corcyra with two (I 28), Chaonia with one (I 29), Artichia with one (I 30), the Molossians with one (I 31), and, finally, Ambracia (I 32). The list has an addendum in Column II, where, on the same line, Cassope (II 73) once again appears repeated alongside Apeiros, together with Zmaratha (II 74) with one *theorodokos* and, in line II 77, alongside the first entry for Apeiros (I 23), we find the *theorodokoi* Geron and Aristodamus. The latter has an identical name to one of the *theorodokoi* of Cassope, where he appears alongside another, Scepas (I 25). All of them could have (but only could have) originated from Cassope.

As in other parts of the list, we are dealing, first of all, with a geographical listing and an itinerary. Thus, we can understand the inclusion of Corcyra on the Epirus list. The list effectively reflects the itinerary of the Epidaurian *theoroi*, who would most likely have followed the following route: Amphilocheium Argos, Ambracia, Cassope, Pandosia, the Thesprotians, Poionos, the Molossians, Artichia, Corcyra and Chaonia. The list mentions five *poleis*: Pandosia, Cassope, Poionos, Artichia and Zmaratha. All of them were States, which is to say, they possessed their own *politeia*, a city-state *politeia*. This list proves, quite categorically in my opinion, just how extensively urbanised the whole of Epirus was<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> Ἄπειρος· Γέρων Ἀριστόδαμος.

Πανδοσία· Διόσζοτος

25 Κασσώπα· Σκέπας, Ἀριστόδαμος.

Θεσπρωτοί· Πετόας, Σίμακος

Ποιώνος· Ἄδματος

Κόρκυρα· Μνασαλκίδας, Ἀντιρήδας

Χαονία· Δόροψος

Ἄρτιχία· Σχίδας

30 Μολοσσοί· Θᾶρυψ

Ἀμβρακία· Φορβάδας, Τιμογένης

The names Geron and Aristodamus (II 77) were later added, with line II 73, probably as *theorodokos* at Cassope.

<sup>41</sup> Corvisier 1993, 87: in the fourth century; Ceka 1993, 125: towards the middle of the fourth century; Cabanes 1997b, 92-93: urbanisation at the end of the fourth century / early third century; Giorgi, Bogdani 2012, 355: in the last quarter of the fourth century; idem De Maria, Mercuri 2007, 150.



That is to say, in the mid-fourth century (c. 356/5) the growth of the *polis* in Epirus was not only a fact, but appears to have been a consolidated and widely disseminated phenomenon. It would be strange if Poionos, Artichia and Zmaratha had already been founded when the largest and best-known Epirote *poleis* had yet to emerge. Although we might associate a certain increase and development of the *polis* with walled settlements, the two phenomena do not necessarily have to be intimately linked or simultaneous<sup>42</sup>. We can infer that some of these *poleis* were not independent. Pandosia may have been dependent on Cassope, to which it was subject in the year 343<sup>43</sup>. It seems unlikely that Artichia, which must have been located between the Chaonians and the Molossians, maybe in Paravaea<sup>44</sup>, and Poionos, which may have been located between Chaonia and the Thesprotians, probably in Cestrine<sup>45</sup>, were not included in larger organisations. The list mentions something that is clearly an *ethnos*, the Thesprotians, whose *theorodokoi* were Petoas and Simacus. We know that the Thesprotians were already politically organised in the year 429 (Thuc. 2, 81, 5) and one of the habitual ways of designating a *koinon*, a federal State, was to refer to it by its *ethnos* (vid. infra)<sup>46</sup>. In the case of the Molossians, their *theorodokos* was Tharyps II, which is to say, the King of the Aeacid dynasty (Arybbas)<sup>47</sup>, which indicates that the Molossians lived under a monarchical regime. This does not necessarily mean that the *koinon* of the Molossians did not exist. The use of the *ethnos* indicates otherwise and the Epirote inscriptions, as we will see below, shows this clearly, in my opinion, in the fourth century and categorically proves, in my view, the coexistence of the monarchy and the *koinon*. Chaonia certainly appears as a region in the list, but it is assigned a *theorodokos*, in which respect we can assume that we are also dealing with a State, with the *koinon* of the Chaonians, whom we know were already politically organised in the fifth century (Thuc. 2, 68, 1, 9, 81, 5). Why do the *ethne* and not the *poleis* appear in this case? Because the *theoroi* addressed the royal seat of the Molossians and the respective capitals of the other two

<sup>42</sup> About this controversy see Hansen, Nielsen 2004b.

<sup>43</sup> See Milán in this same volume. In my opinion, we must also discard the idea of Elean colonization in this region, see Domínguez Monedero 2015. Perhaps Pandosia never was an Elean colony.

<sup>44</sup> Cabanes 1997c, 97 could be in Paravaea in the Permet Basin.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. for example Bogdani, Giorgi 2012, 369.

<sup>46</sup> Vid infra and, for instance, IG IX, 1<sup>2</sup> 1.3 (ll. 1-3): συνθήκα καὶ συμμαχία/ Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ Ἀκαρνανοῖς. / ἀγαθῶι τύχαι. συνθήκα Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ Ἀκαρνανοῖς ὁμόλογος·.

<sup>47</sup> Hammond 1967, 517-518.

*koina*; that is to say, in the same way that it can be inferred that they will travel to Pella, the capital of Macedonia, to announce the festival to Perdicas III, they will pay a visit to Tharyps II in Passaron and also to Gitana, in the case of the Thesprotians, and Phoinice, in the case of the Chaonians. In the same way in which Tharyps was the King of the Molossians, we might consider that the *theorodokos* Doropsos was the leading magistrate of the Chaonians and, in the same manner, maybe the two Thesprotian *theorodokoi* were magistrates of the *koinon*<sup>48</sup>.

The list of *theorodokoi* for Argos (SEG XXIII, 189; XXXIII, 289)<sup>49</sup>, consisting of two columns and preserved in incomplete form, dates from approximately 330 or 328, some three decades later. The preserved part of the list in Column I begins with the cities of Acarnania (ll. 1-7, highly restored). Then come Leucas (8), Amphiloichium Argos (9) and Ambracia (10). Although we might consider that in this case Leucas and Ambracia were independent *poleis*, all of the other cities formed part of the Acarnanian Confederacy<sup>50</sup>. If we take other examples after the list for Epirus (ll. 11-15), which we shall consider below, various geographical entries appear for Cyrenaica (16), the Peloponnese and Cephallenia (20), of which practically nothing has been preserved. The second column features a long list of island cities and cities in Asia Minor (ll. II 1-21). It is obvious at least that the cities in Asia Minor are not independent *poleis*, but that they had been subjugated by Alexander<sup>51</sup>.

The “Epirote” list of the Argos catalogue in Column I begins with Apeiros, for which the *theorodoka* was Cleopatra (l. 11, [Ἄπε]ιρος · Κλεοπάτρα), and continues with Phoinice and its three *theorodokoi* (l. 12, [Φοι]νίκα · Σατυρίνος, Πυλάδας Κάρχαξ)<sup>52</sup>, going on to include Coreyra, Apollonia and a name that has not been preserved (ll. 13-15). Once again, we are dealing with an itinerary that is easy to reconstruct during its Epirote stage. Thus, from Acarnania and Amphiloichia (ll. 1-9) one could reach Ambracia (l. 10), and from there Passaron, the capital of the Epirote

<sup>48</sup> For the possible location of Passaron at Ioannina and not at Megalo Gardhiki, see Pliakou 2011a.

<sup>49</sup> Charneux 1966 a-b; Perlman 2000, Ep. Cat. A1, 205-207, featuring the corresponding references.

<sup>50</sup> Argos (in Amphiloichia) may still have belonged to the Acarnanian *koinon* or may have already been occupied by the Aetolians (cf. IG II<sup>2</sup> 373, 374, 242 and Walbank 1991, 201 and n. 6: for Evenor an Acarnanian from Amphiloichium Argos, c. 337/6).

<sup>51</sup> Debord 1999, 427-478.

<sup>52</sup> Perlman 2000, 207 in line 12 between Satyrus and Carchas: “The upper portion of the vertical stroke of the rho is legible”.

Kingdom, located in the Ioannina Basin, which is where Cleopatra would have resided, who was obviously the daughter of Philip II of Macedonia and wife, most probably the widow, of Alexander II. From there the itinerary would continue on to Phoinice, and from there to Corcyra, finally ending up in Apollonia. If we consider the internal logic of the decree itself and the habitual practice in other *theorodokoi* decrees, Apeiros would refer to the name of a State under the rule of Queen Cleopatra, which means that in around 330 we would have a unified Epirus under a monarchic regime, although this does not necessarily mean that the *koina* that existed prior to unification, and obviously not the *poleis* either which formed part of the new kingdom, had disappeared. The Argos decree tells us that Phoinice was a *polis*, which is to say it possessed its own territory, its own *politeia* and its own civic body (*politeuma*)<sup>53</sup>, all different to any other, and that it was visited by the Argos *theoroi*. However, it is difficult to believe that Phoinice, although it may have been an autonomous *polis*, was also an independent *polis*. The city was the most important site and the capital of Chaonia, which means it must have been included in the *koinon* of the Chaonians<sup>54</sup>. In the same way in which Phoinice would have belonged to the *koinon* of the Chaonians, nothing proves that the *koinon* of the Chaonians may not have also formed part of the Epirote Kingdom. The Argos inscription does not prevent the Chaonians from forming part of Cleopatra's Apeiros either. It simply proves that Phoinice, a *polis*, was visited by the Argos *theoroi*. Rather the designation of Queen Cleopatra as the *theorodoka* of the whole of Epirus (cf. Molossians: Tharyps in the Epidaurian decree) would seem to indicate otherwise. In the same manner, the fact that the Thesprotians are not mentioned does not mean that their *koinon* had disappeared, dissolved after their incorporation into the Epirote State. It simply means that the Epidaurian *theoroi* did not pass through this area. As we shall see, the scarce evidence available to us would seem to suggest rather that the *koinon* of the Thesprotians persisted.

In the same respect, we can offer an even clearer interpretation of a list of *theorodokoi* from Delphi (Plassart 1921), which can be dated between 235 and 221<sup>55</sup> rather than from the first quarter of the second century<sup>56</sup>, in either case from the period of the Epirote *koinon*. To consider

<sup>53</sup> About *politeuma* see Hansen 1994, 91-98.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Polyb. 2, 5, 3, 5; 2, 6, 3; 2, 8, 2, 4; Livy 29, 12, 10; De Maria 2004 and 2011.

<sup>55</sup> Daux 1949, 23-27 the first columns, in addition to a list for the mid-second century (30). Cf. Hatzopoulos 1991.

<sup>56</sup> Plassart 1921, 42-44.

a few examples from these itineraries<sup>57</sup>, the Delphian *theorodokoi* include various cities in Macedonia, such as Pydna (III 55-56), Dion (III 54), Beroea (III, 57), Edessa (III, 60), Pella (III, 61) and Thessalonice (III, 66). Evidently these were *poleis* that possessed their own *politeia* but were incorporated into the Kingdom of Macedonia. Pella was even the capital of the Kingdom. Stratus (III 48) is also mentioned, which unquestionably formed part of the Aetolian Confederacy of this period<sup>58</sup>. In relation to Epirus and the surrounding areas, in Column IV the Delphic lists mention Dodona with its *theorodokos* Pantaleon (IV 31) and also mention Apollonia (IV 35-36), Byllis (IV 37), the capital of the *koinon* of the Bylliones<sup>59</sup>, Oricum (IV 43), Cassope (IV 51)<sup>60</sup>, Phoinice (IV 54), Ambracia (IV 50), Abantae (IV 56) and Dyrrachium (IV 57). This list supports the idea that Dodona was a *polis*, which is to say, that all of the places mentioned were *poleis*, States, and not sanctuaries. Pantaleon would therefore be a Dodonean *polites*, although this does not mean they would have been independent. Phoinice, Dodona and Cassope were, without any shadow of a doubt, included in the Epirote Confederacy. Phoinice was the capital of the *koinon* of the Chaonians and perhaps the capital of the whole of Epirus, and Dodona was, at the very least, the capital of the *koinon* of the Molossians<sup>61</sup>.

In short, between the mid-fourth century and c. 330-324, a series of State structures had developed throughout Epirus. First of all, there were a good number of *poleis* and also at least two *koina*, the Thesprotians and the Chaonians, in addition to a kingdom, which may have incorporated, in turn, another *koinon*, that of the Molossians. None of these three *koina* nor any of the *poleis*, due to their mere fact of existence, were necessarily independent, and none of them had to have necessarily disappeared during the second half of the fourth century. In fact, it is possible that in around 330 the whole of Epirus was unified, although we cannot rule out the idea that this unification may have taken place sometime earlier.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Plassart 1921, 34 for a reconstruction of the list's itineraries.

<sup>58</sup> Polyb. 4, 63, 10, 64, 2, 73, 2; 5, 6, 6, 7, 7, 13, 9, 96, 3; 6, 59, 3.

<sup>59</sup> Ceka 1987; Cabanes 1999, 374, 379-381, already present in Dodona in 360-340.

<sup>60</sup> Plassart 1921, 34.

<sup>61</sup> Dakaris *et al.* 1999, 149: the original nucleuses of both the *prytaneion* and the *bouleuterion* in Dodona date from the late fourth century/early third century.

## 2. The Chaonians and Their Allies

Possibly the first solid evidence we can glean from the history of Epirus as of the latter part of the fifth century and perhaps during the first years of the fourth century refers to the importance of one of the Epirote *ethne* compared to the rest: the Chaonians. Consequently, at a certain point in his account Strabo (7, 7, 5) introduces a reference taken from Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 382). This author, whose life can be dated between 378/7 and 320<sup>62</sup>, according to Strabo, declared that the Epirote peoples numbered fourteen, with the most famous of these being the Chaonians and the Molossians, because there had been a time when the whole of Epirus had been governed (διὰ τὸ ἄρξαι ποτὲ πάσης τῆς Ἑπειρώτιδος) first by the Chaonians (πρότερον μὲν Χάονας) and then by the Molossians (ὕστερον δὲ Μολοστούς), who still possessed greater power due to the lineage of their monarchs (οἱ καὶ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν τῶν βασιλέων), because, as Strabo goes on to write, they descended from King Aeacides and because they controlled the Oracle at Dodona. Obviously in the case of the Molossians, Strabo must be referring to the fourth century, which means that the Chaonians would have been predominant during an earlier period.

According to Thucydides (2, 68, 1), in the year 430 the Ambraciots embarked on an expedition with a large number of barbarians that they had mobilised against Amphilocheum Argos. The campaign was undertaken in the company of the Chaonians and the barbarians of the surrounding regions (Thuc. 3, 68, 9: Χαόνων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν τῶν πλησιοχώρων βαρβάρων), but they did not manage to conquer the city (Thuc. 2, 68, 1-9). It is striking that, amongst all the barbarians, Thucydides<sup>63</sup> should only mention the Chaonians. Furthermore, the barbarians from the regions close to Ambracia could have been the Molossians and, perhaps, also the Thesprotians and others. All of them were allies of the Ambraciots and, apparently, of the Chaonians too.

The following year, in 429, the Ambraciots embarked on a new expedition against the Acarnanians. Thucydides (2, 80, 1) writes that the Ambraciots and the Chaonians “wishing to subdue all Acarnania and detach it from the Athenian alliance, urged the Lacedaemonians to equip a navy from their allies and send it, with a thousand heavy-armed, to

<sup>62</sup> Shrimpton 1991, 3-8.

<sup>63</sup> Thucydides considered the Epirotes to be barbaric peoples: Hammond 1967, 498-546; Larsen 1968, 274 and especially Mari 2011.

Acarmania”, which is what they did (cf. Thuc. 2, 80, 2-4). The invasion included one thousand Chaonians, who had no monarch (ἄβασίλευτοι), at the head of which, acting as *prostatai*, were Photius and Nicanor, members of the dominant *genos* (Thuc. 2, 80, 5: προστατεία ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ γένους Φώτιος καὶ Νικάνωρ). Alongside the Chaonians, the Thesprotians, who also had no monarch, also took part, as well as the Molossians commanded by Sabylinthus, guardian (ἐπίτροπος) of King Tharyps, and also the Paravaeans, with their king, Oroedus, and one thousand Orestians, placed under the orders of Oroedus by their king, Antiochus. The Macedonians, governed by King Perdiccas, also took part, although this was unknown to the Athenians, although they failed to arrive in time (Thuc. 2, 81, 5-7). Three conclusions can be drawn from Thucydides’ account: first, all of these peoples had achieved a degree of institutionalisation sufficient to mobilise their forces; second, the Chaonians seem to have borne the initiative with regard to the alliance with the Ambraciots and the mobilisation of the peoples of the north-west; and finally, we could say that all of these peoples, not all of whom were Epirotes, seem to have been linked by a *symmachia*. During the course of the expedition, Thucydides (2, 81, 4) echoes the fact that the Chaonians were famed for being the best warriors from that part of the mainland (ἀξιόμυνοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκείνη ἡπειρωτῶν μαχιμώτατοι εἶναι), and this bears a correlation with the narration of events. Thus, the Chaonians and the other barbarians advanced, occupying the centre of the invading army with the Leucadians, Anactorians and their allies on the right and the Peloponnesians and Ambraciots on the left (Thuc. 2, 81, 3). The Chaonians and the rest of the barbarians launched themselves at the walls of Stratus, but were surprised by the Stratians, being ambushed. Many Chaonians were slain and the other barbarians panicked and fled, in which respect the barbarians had to be rallied by the Greeks (Thuc. 2, 81, 4-8). Throughout Thucydides’ account, one thing emerges quite clearly: the Chaonians appear to be predominant amongst the allies whom Thucydides does not consider to be Greek, whether they are Epirotes or not<sup>64</sup>.

Linking up the information conveyed by Thucydides with Strabo’s account (7, 7, 5) that we have already seen, we might consider the existence of a multilateral hegemonic *symmachia* during the latter part of the fifth century, one led by the Chaonians, whose allies would have been all or part of the remaining Epirotes and would also have included the other *ethne* of the North-West, located between Epirus and Macedonia,

<sup>64</sup> Cross 1932, 5-7, 10-12; Hammond 1967, 501; Fantasia 2017, 49-52.

who were not Epirotes. This hegemonic *symmachia* could be referred to as the Chaonians and their allies (and the allies of their allies) and would have entailed a period, despite the doubts raised<sup>65</sup>, of Chaonian predominance in Epirus.

Another two references would corroborate the importance of the Chaonians within the Epirote context during the last part of the fifth century. Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4 F83), probably within the same context of the joint expedition with the Ambraciots, singled out the Chaonians from the rest of the Epirotes. Second, in 425 Aristophanes (*Ach.* 599-614)<sup>66</sup> featured an Athenian embassy in Chaonia, the latter perhaps being understood as the most important State in the region, one that had aroused Athenian interest.

Finally, Pseudo Andocides (4, 41)<sup>67</sup>, whose work can be dated between the end of the fifth century and beginning of the fourth, refers to the fact that the orator had been an ambassador in Thessaly, Macedonia, Molossia and Thesprotia, in addition to Italy and Sicily. From this testimony we can infer that both regions, Molossia and Thesprotia, constituted States and were independent during this period, given that embassies could only address independent States. We do not know, however, whether the predominance of the Chaonians persisted, given that they may have been affected by their defeat in the expedition of 429.

### **3. “The King and The Epirotes”: A Kingdom and Three Main *Koina***

As we have already seen (see above), traditional view proposes an idea consisting of the existence of an Epirote *symmachia* prior to the Epirote *koinon*. First, this *symmachia* would have been the result of the union of Molossians and Thesprotians, an alliance that would have excluded the Chaonians<sup>68</sup>. The creation of this *symmachia* would have also

<sup>65</sup> Lepore 1962, 152-154; Funke 2000a, 119-122.

<sup>66</sup> Aristoph. *Ach.* 609-614: ἐτεὸν ὦ Μαριλάδη

ἤδη πεπρέσβευκας σὺ πολὺς ὦν † ἐν ἧ; †  
ἀνένευσε: καίτοι γ' ἐστὶ σὴν ἰσχυρῶν ἀρχαίων.  
τί δαὶ Δράκουλλος ἢ Εὐφορίδης ἢ Πρινίδης;  
εἶδέν τις ὅμων τὰ κβάταν ἢ τοὺς Χάονας;  
οὐ φασιν.

<sup>67</sup> Ps.And. 4, 41. ἐγὼ γὰρ πρεσβεύσας εἰς Θετταλίαν καὶ εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ εἰς Μολοσσίαν καὶ εἰς Θεσπρωτίαν καὶ εἰς Ἰταλίαν καὶ εἰς Σικελίαν.

<sup>68</sup> Cabanes 2004, 150.

entailed the dissolution of the *koinon* of the Thesprotians, which would have been subsumed into the *koinon* of the Molossians.

This hypothesis is based on a certain interpretation of the *theorodokoi* lists, the “disappearance” of the Thesprotians between the Epidaurus and Argos lists and the preservation of Chaonia/Phoinice in both, and on the sole document SGDI 1336<sup>69</sup>. However, as we have seen, these lists cannot serve to support the idea that the *koinon* of the Thesprotians actually disappeared in the second half of the fourth century or that the Chaonians were independent.

Inscription SGDI 1336<sup>70</sup>, which comes from Dodona, grants an *ateleia* and *enteleia*<sup>71</sup> to Cleomachus, an Atintan, in Epirus, when Neoptolemus, the son of Alexander (ll. 4-5) was king, during a period in which Dercas was *prostatas* of the Molossians (ll. 6-7). However, those granting these privileges are not the Epirotes, as we might suppose, but a group introduced by the expression οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ἀπειρωτᾶν (ll. 2-3), the allies of the Epirotes. The inscription is as follows:

Θεὸς τύχ[α· Κ]λεωμάχῳ Ἀτιντᾶνι οἱ σύ-  
μμαχοι τῶν Ἀπειρωτᾶν ἔδωκαν ἐ-  
ν Ἀπείρῳ ἀτέλειαν ἐ-  
πὶ βασιλέος Νεοπτο-  
5 λέμου Ἀλεξάνδρου  
ἐπὶ προστά(τα) Δέρκα Μο-  
λοσσῶν καὶ ἐντέλειαν

Given that it would be very difficult to explain how allies could grant privileges, such as exemption from taxes, in Epirus, which is to say in a territory that did not belong to them, it must have been the Epirotes themselves, linked by means of a *symmachia*, who granted these benefits. This interpretation would lead us to translate οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ἀπειρωτᾶν as “the Epirotes to the extent in which they are allies”, which is to say “ceux, parmi les Épirotes, qui sont alliés”<sup>72</sup>. However, this would be a

<sup>69</sup> The biggest differences would focus on the specific period in which this *symmachia* was born. Based on an understanding that unification would date from the time of Pyrrhus, the *symmachia* would either date from the reign of Neoptolemus II, between 317 and 312, or the reign of his father, Alexander I, between 334 and 331.

<sup>70</sup> Carapanos 1878, pl. XXVII, 1; Syll.<sup>1</sup> 324; Hammond 1967, 559-560; Cabanes 1976, 545, nr. 12; Davies 2000, 250, nr. 16. It dates from 317-312 or 302-297.

<sup>71</sup> See Chaniotis 1986.

<sup>72</sup> Will 1977, 190-191. Cf. Cabanes 2005, 152.



forced translation that would replace the customary “allies of the Epirotes” (but not the Epirotes)<sup>73</sup>, a well-known formula and one widely disseminated throughout the entire Greek world, such as, for example, the Athenians and their allies or the Lacedaemonians and their allies<sup>74</sup>. We would practically be dealing with an expression that has only ever been used once in the entire Greek world.

We do not have a precise knowledge of the succession of monarchs to the Molossian throne. Neoptolemus II could be the son of Alexander I, who reigned between 317 and 312<sup>75</sup> or a member of the royal family who was not the son of Alexander I and who would have reigned between 302 and 297<sup>76</sup>, but the key detail here is that it leads us to conclude that the unification of Epirus was subsequent to the Argos *theorodokoi* list (Apeiros, Cleopatra) and that it occurred very close to the reign of Pyrrhus, something which, as we shall see below, is not very easy to accept. This interpretation would also entail a certain terminological confusion, a rather serious one given that we are dealing with an official decree, which is to say, designating as a *symmachia* what is really a *sympoliteia*. In the words of Larsen (1968, 277-278): “Thus it can be said that, from the point of view of ordinary Greek usage, *symmachia* is a misnomer. The Confederacy was rather a *sympoliteia*”. Finally, this reading would also pose the problem of discovering the specific institution that granted these privileges, an institution that would necessarily have to be Epirote. However, it could not have been the assembly of the *koinon* of the Molossians, whose existence cannot be called into question given that the *prostatas* of the Molossians dates the inscription itself, but an institution in which the Molossians were present alongside the Thesprotians, in spite of the fact that the latter’s *koinon* had been dissolved, and in which the Chaonians did not participate, given that we are not dealing with a unified State. This all seems rather complex.

The existence of an assembly or council of allies is a very common phenomenon in Greek multilateral alliances<sup>77</sup> and it would not be at all surprising if a similar assembly existed in the case of the Epirotes and

<sup>73</sup> Cf. for example, the Acarnanians, allies of King Pyrrhus (Hammond 1967, 569; Cabanes 1976, 89; Marchetti 1992, 52; Dany 1999, 58-62; Pascual 2017, 34-37).

<sup>74</sup> For example, Thuc. 1, 110, 5; IG II<sup>2</sup> 43, ll. 18-19 (Athens) and Thuc. 1, 135, 1; 2, 71 (Sparta).

<sup>75</sup> Franke 1955, 30-46; Hammond 1967, 525-571.

<sup>76</sup> Levêque 1957, 100, 117-118.

<sup>77</sup> For example, Thuc. 1, 119-125 (Sparta); Dem. 6, 20 and Aeschin. 2, 61-62 (Athens).

their allies. We might consider the example of the assembly made up of the Lacedaemonians and their allies, in which Spartan kings and magistrates participated. In this case, before Leuctra, for instance, we know about meetings of the Lacedaemonians and their allies in 504 (Hdt. 5, 91ff), 432 (Thuc. 1, 67-72), 428 (3, 8-15), 423 (4, 118, 4, 9), 412 (8, 8, 2), 396 (Xen. *Hell.* 3, 4, 2), 382 (5, 2, 11-23), 376 (5, 4, 60) and 371 (6, 3, 3-20). In other meetings the vote of the allies is clearly attested as in 440 (Thuc. 1, 40, 5, 43, 1), 432 (1, 119-125), 421 (5, 17, 2, 30, 1), and 404 (Xen. *Hell.* 3, 5, 8) and in 378 we hear of a *dogma* of the allies (Xen. *Hell.* 5, 4, 37: *κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων*). Regarding the *synedrion* of the Athenian allies in the Second League, the allies brought *dogmata* into the Athenian assembly (IG II<sup>2</sup>, 103, ll. 8-3) or into the *boule* (StV 2, 290, ll. 12-20)<sup>78</sup>. The *synedrion* participated in the readmission of rebellious allies to the League as Ceans and enjoyed certain judicial powers<sup>79</sup>, whilst the duty of collecting and spending money was carried out theoretically in accordance with both the Athenian *demos* and the *synedrion* of the allies<sup>80</sup>. Regarding the members of the Hellenic League of 224, in the case of this League, Philip summoned (and the League presented) an assembly of its allies in Tegea, one that also featured the participation of Epirotes and Athamanians<sup>81</sup>. In short, we might think that we are dealing with an assembly of allies of the Epirotes, one in which the Epirote authorities maybe also participated. This may also be suggested by the dating formula, which is pretty habitual within the realm of Greek multilateral *symmachiai*. The *symmachia* would have granted privileges, the *ateleia* and *enteleia*, but not the *politeia*, to Cleomachus, who was Atintan but also possibly a citizen of one of the Epirote allies, a man who had rendered services to the Epirotes and was granted these honours for this reason. As an ally, the council of the allies may well have been a convenient place for the meeting in which the *ateleia* and *enteleia* was granted for the whole of Epirus.

<sup>78</sup> See also Aeschin. 2, 60-68; 3, 69-75; Dem. 19, 15, 144; 18, 7-24. Cargill 1981, 117: The *boule* could direct the *synedrion* to prepare a *dogma* on a subject prior to the consideration of it by the *demos*; the *synedrion* could produce a *dogma* prior to the consideration of its subject by either the *boule* or *demos*; the *synedrion* could pass a resolution on a topic currently under discussion by the *demos*; and the *synedrion* could direct the Athenian *prytaneis* to convene the *demos* for discussion of a specified topic.

<sup>79</sup> Cargill 1981, 120-122.

<sup>80</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 123 ll. 11-12; Cargill 1991, 125-128.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Livy 35, 27, 11.

One inscription, IG IX<sup>2</sup> 1, 4, 1750<sup>82</sup>, which dates from around 330 (Davies 2000, 249) or 295-290 (Meyer 2013, 73), has also been offered as proof for this Epirote *symmachia* as a prior step to unification. According to this inscription, Agathon, son of Echephylus, together with his descendants, from Zakynthos, present an offering to Zeus in Dodona and state that they have been *proxenoi* of the Molossians and their allies for thirty generations since Troy (ll. 6-9: *πρόξενοι Μολοσσῶν /καὶ συμμάχων ἐν τριάκοντα γενεαῖς / ἐκ Τρωϊας*)<sup>83</sup>. This inscription would seem to indicate that a *symmachia* joined the Molossians with other communities, which could have been Epirote and, therefore, we could be dealing with an integration within Epirus that was, as yet, incomplete. Over and above Agathon's exaggeration regarding his proxeny, the inscription raises numerous problems in terms of its interpretation. It is certainly true that in a unified State, such as a *koïnon*, the member States, the *poleis* for example, were able to grant proxenies<sup>84</sup>, and the allies of the Molossians do not necessarily only have to include the Thesprotians (not the Chaonians) and not other communities. The dating problem complicates the interpretation even further, but it does not prove that a *symmachia* of the Epirotes and the Epirotes alone existed as a prior step before unification.

In fact, if we interpret the expression *οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ἀπειρωτᾶν* in the usual manner, we should focus on the second part of the expression. Thus, “*τῶν Ἀπειρωτᾶν*” would refer to an Epirote State that has already been created as such in the time of Neoptolemus I or Neoptolemus II, given that it is the Epirotes, as a State, who have signed alliances with other States. This is, perhaps, the only certainty offered by the entire inscription.

Furthermore, this *symmachia*, understood as an alliance between the Molossians and the Thesprotians, would have been ephemeral. An inscription on a small bronze tablet from Dodona could be significant in this respect. This is known as DVC 3977A and it features the expression *ΑΠΟΡΕΠΙΑΝ*, and on the back (DVC 3978B): [---]ΠΑΗ[---]. It is on the back that we can see the reason for the consultation. This inscription has been interpreted as a public consultation for the creation of an Epirote *symmachia* (DVC p. 369). However, this interpretation has been too influenced by the prior belief in the existence of an Epirote *symmachia* and

<sup>82</sup> Carapanos 1878, 39-40, nr. 1 and pl. XXII; Hammond 1967, 534; Davies 2000, 249, nr.10; SEG L, 543; SEG LIII, 570.

<sup>83</sup> Hammond 1997, 61; Cabanes 1976, 175; 2004, 34-35; 2005, 150.

<sup>84</sup> See Hansen, Nielsen 2004c.

the state of the epigraph does not really enable us to make out the reason for consulting the oracle. The inscription is dated from the second half of the fourth century. In effect, it consists of a public consultation made by the Epirotes (Απειρο(δ)ταῖς), which is to say, we would be dealing with an Epirote State that existed at least at some point during the second half of the fourth century. It was a State like many others that consulted the oracle<sup>85</sup>.

Although Epirote numismatics presents certain difficulties for analysis, sometimes derived from a dating system based on a prior historical schema, such as the existence of an Epirote *symmachia*, it seems clear that the first coinages issued bearing the legend ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ took place in the fourth century<sup>86</sup>. This is the same legend that appears on the coinages dating from the third century<sup>87</sup>, in some cases bearing different abbreviations, and also during the period of the *koinon* after the monarchic period<sup>88</sup>. We do not have any examples of a single legend that might be interpreted in the sense of a *symmachia* (e.g. ΣΥΝ)<sup>89</sup>. We might ask ourselves who may have issued a coin on behalf of all the Epirotes: the Molossians with the *koinon* of the Thesprotians duly dissolved and excluding the Chaonians? This on behalf of the whole of Epirus when they, the Molossians, also issued their own coins?<sup>90</sup> It appears more realistic to believe that it was the Epirotes themselves, they who minted the coins, a unified Epirote State.

Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Ἀμόνται) tells us that Aristotle wrote a *Politeia* of the Epirotes<sup>91</sup>. This news has raised certain doubts, to the effect that not all of the *politeiai* written by Aristotle corresponded to a real State. Attempts have also been made to change the chronology, even

<sup>85</sup> For example Tyrreum (DVC 39A, 1523B); Oriae (DVC 989A, 1696); Ambracia (DVC 2089A); Astacus (DVC 2086); Elea (DVC 2357B); Oricum (DVC 1380A); Elia/Elina (DVC 3429B); Cassope (DVC 363A); the Athamanians (DVC 1259A, 4016A); Echinus (DVC 345B); Phanoteus (DVC 3822B); Elaea (DVC 670B); Elimea (DVC 671A); Nicaea (DVC 357A, 1039A); Apollonia (DVC 366A), Tarentum (Carapanos 1878, 70, nr. 1 and pl. XXXV, 4, pl. XXXIV, 1; SEG XLIII, 318; SEG XLV, 665; Lhôte nr. 5) and a Thessalian State (DVC 552A).

<sup>86</sup> Franke 1961, 125-126: Group I, the front side bearing a bull and the legend, and the back side featuring a vertical Zeus thunderbolt, and which has been attributed to the Epirote *symmachia*.

<sup>87</sup> Franke 1961, 126-133, Groups II to XII, also attributed to the *symmachia*.

<sup>88</sup> Franke 1961, 161-217, Groups I-XIII.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. for example the ΣΥΝ(MAXIKΩΝ) coins: Cawkwell 1963; Pascual 2016, 28-29.

<sup>90</sup> Franke 1961, 85-107.

<sup>91</sup> Davies 2000, 256.

considering this to be a possible work of his disciples<sup>92</sup>. First of all, there is no reason to question the reference passed on by Stephanus of Byzantium. The majority of the *politeiai* written by Aristotle did, in fact, correspond to States that existed and, although it may have been written by his disciples, it is riskier to consider that it was drafted after his death in 322. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that Aristotle was interested in monarchies and he wrote *On Kingship*, a lost work, at the time when he was about to complete the education of Alexander as his tutor<sup>93</sup>. Within the context of these interests and occupations, a *Politeia* of the Epirotes is easy to explain, and we would not have to situate it in the last years of his life either. In fact, Aristotle knows well the Epirote monarchy and mentions it twice in his *Politics* (*Pol.* 1310b 38-40; 1313a 21-24) as a form of monarchical moderate regime.

In summary, the hypothesis of a *symmachia* of the Epirotes, understood as “the Epirotes to the extent in which they are allies”, prior to the unification of Epirus under the Aeacid Dynasty, including only the Molossians and the Thesprotians, with the latter’s State or *koinon* having been dissolved, and excluding the Chaonians, is based on a debatable interpretation. What is more, it may be unnecessary and, in fact, may never have existed in the sense that has been given to the term. In this respect, the *koinon* of the Thesprotians would not have been dissolved and the Chaonians would not have been uninvolved during the early stages of unification. In my opinion, it would have been the weakening of the *symmachia* and of the Chaonian hegemony, together with the Molossian expansion and the policy of the monarchs ruling the Aeacid Dynasty, which would have led to the unification of Epirus.

The bringing together of the Epirote *ethne* under the Aeacid Dynasty, what we might call unification, was already a fact during the time of Pyrrhus. As a consequence, Pyrrhus is quite often referred to as the King of Epirus by ancient authors<sup>94</sup>, which is also reflected by the military contingents that the King had under his command. Thus, Plutarch (*Pyrrh.* 12, 7) writes that Pyrrhus invaded Macedonia with an army made up of the Epirotes and their allies. Similarly, the contingents that the

<sup>92</sup> Cabanes 2004, 152.

<sup>93</sup> DL 5, 22; *Vita Aristotelis Hesychii* 10.

<sup>94</sup> Livy *Per.* 12, 6; Florus 1, 13, 1-6. D.H. 9, 8, 1; 19, 9, 1, 13.1; Justin *Epit.* 17, 2, 11. Appianus (*Sa.* 7, 3, 8; 10, 1) all refer to Pyrrhus, King of Epirus. Polybius (8, 24, 1; 12, 25k.2) calls him Pyrrhus of Epirus, as does Plutarch in *Mor.* 307 B. In Plut. *Pyrrh.* 13, 1 and 26, 3 we might infer that he controls the whole of Epirus and in *Mor.* 194 we also understand that Pyrrhus governs over all the Epirotes.

monarch sent to Magna Graecia and Sicily included the Chaonians (D.H. 20, 1, 2, 5), even elite troops recruited from this *ethnos* (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 28, 2), Thesprotians (D.H. 20, 12, 5) and Molossians (D.H. 20, 1, 5, 2, 4; Plut *Pyrrh.* 30, 4; Florus 1, 13, 27). Furthermore, one inscription by the monarch in Dodona has been preserved regarding a victory over the Romans dating from the year 279. The dedication of this victory is highly significant:

Syll.<sup>3</sup> 392: [Βασιλεὺς Πύρρο[ς καὶ] / Ἀπειρ[ῶ]ται καὶ Τα[ραντῖνοι] / ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ / συμμάχων Διὶ Να[ίωι]<sup>95</sup>.

This dedication could prove that, in the time of Pyrrhus, the dominion of the Aeacid monarchs encompassed the whole of Epirus. Pyrrhus' dominion over Epirus would not be understood as a *symmachia*, only committing the members in times of war, but would consist of an Epirus in the form of a single unity under the king, recalling the official name of the Epirote State during the monarchic period, namely "The King and the Epirotes". Thus, this dedication could be compared to what we know about the Kingdom of Macedonia. Polybius (7, 9, 1), when reporting the literal oath sworn for the alliance between Philip V and Hannibal, states that they pledged themselves to Xenophanes, the envoy of "King Philip, son of Demetrius, sent to us on behalf of himself, the Macedonians and allies on the other side" (Φίλιππος ὁ βασιλεὺς Δημητρίου ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων). We can observe something similar in the alliance between Antigonos Dason and the Cretan city of Eleutherna signed between the years 227 and 224 featuring Antigonos and the Macedonians (StV 3, 501, ll. 3-4: Ἀντίγονον καὶ Μακεδό/[νας], as well as in the dedication at Delos relating to the victory in the Battle of Sellasia against the Spartans in 222/1 (IG XI 4, 1097; Syll.<sup>3</sup> 518: βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγο[νος βασιλέως]/ Δημητρίου κα[ὶ Μακεδόνες] καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι)<sup>96</sup>.

However, we do not necessarily have to conclude that Pyrrhus was the unifier of Epirus, but rather that his kingdom could have been a *terminus ante quem*. Cleopatra, the daughter of Philip II, who inherited

<sup>95</sup> Carapanos 1878, 115; Syll.<sup>1</sup> 147; SGDI 1368; SEG XVI, 386; Cabanes 1976, nr 32. Cf. Franke 1955, 62-63, n. 27; Lévêque 1957, 331-332; Marchetti 1992, 54-55. Another inscription has, perhaps, been over-restored: SEG XXIV, 452; SEG XVI, 386: [Ἐλενος ὁ Πύρρου τ[ὸς] / [Βασιλέως ἀ]γῆτορ[ος]· / [Διὶ Ναίωι ἀπὸ Β]ιωτ[ῶν] (... Πύρρου π[αρά(?)] ...) / [... ἡ]γῆτορ[ος] .....] / ..... -ιωτ- ..... cf. Marchetti 1992, 54. Another dedication has been preserved in Dodona from the Aetolian city of Callipolis to King Pyrrhus (Syll.<sup>2</sup> 919; Syll.<sup>3</sup> 369), as well as a dedication in the Temple of Athena Itonia in Boeotia (Paus. 1, 13, 3), in this case referring to a victory against the Macedonians.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. SEG XVI, 450: κα[ὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες] and Rzepka 2002, 233.

the kingdom upon the death of Alexander I, appears, as we have seen, as the *theorodoka* for Epirus on the Argos list, and Lycurgus (*Leocr.* 26) refers to her as Queen of Epirus. All of this would point towards an already unified Epirus circa 331-324. Although not without some problems, what we know about the monarchs who reigned between Cleopatra and Pyrrhus would support this affirmation. Diodorus calls Aeacides II the King of Epirus on various occasions (19, 11, 2, 35, 5, 74, 3-5, 88, 1) and, in fact, the latter invaded Macedonia with Epirote troops in 316 (Diod. 19, 36, 2-4)<sup>97</sup> and it was the Epirotes who condemned the king to exile, allying themselves with Cassander and naming Alcetas as king (19, 88, 1-3). In this respect, Pausanias (1, 11, 4) tells us that the Epirotes did not receive Aeacides as king in the beginning due to their hatred of Olympias, although they eventually forgave her. Furthermore, the Epirotes (Diod. 19, 81, 3) were governed for a certain time by Alcetas II (313-306), but, since he was a cruel despot, they killed both him and his two children. At the same time, Pausanias (1, 11, 5) tells us that the Epirotes took Alcetas, son of Arybbas and Aeacides' older brother, as their king, but that, as soon as he arrived, he began to vent his fury at the Epirotes, until one night they revolted and killed both him and his children<sup>98</sup>. All of these references make it difficult to sustain a hypothesis regarding the existence of an Epirote Alliance in which the union of Epirus had not been completed between 317 and 312 or between 302 and 297 (cf. SGDI 1336).

We might also believe that Epirus was already unified before Alexander I's departure for Italy. Once again here, ancient testimonies vary. Aeschines (3, 242) calls Alexander King of the Molossians, as does Diodorus (19, 51, 6), whilst Livy (8, 3, 6, 19, 9, 24, 1) and Justin (*Epit.* 9, 6, 1, 7, 7; 12, 1, 2, 2, 1) consider him to be the King of Epirus. In this case, it is evident that a unified Kingdom may well have furnished the demographic and economic resources required for Alexander's Italian expedition. In the year 342 Philip of Macedonia embarked on a campaign against Cassopaea and, according to Ps.-Demosthenes (7, 32), he attacked Pandosia, Buchetion and Elatea, handing them over to Alexander I as slaves (τὰς πόλεις βιασάμενος παρέδωκεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ κηδεστῇ τῷ

<sup>97</sup> Diod. 19, 36, 2: πυθόμενος δ' Αἰακίδην τὸν Ἑπειρωτῶν βασιλέα μετὰ δυνάμειν μέλλειν βοηθήσειν Ὀλυμπιάδι, στρατηγὸν ἐξέπεμψεν Ἀταρρίαν, δοὺς στρατόπεδον καὶ συντάξας ἀπαντὰν τοῖς Ἑπειρώταις.

<sup>98</sup> However, Plutarch (*Pyrrh.* 2, 1) states that, following a revolt, the Molossians expelled Aeacides and placed the sons of Neoptolemus in power, and he calls Aeacides King of the Molossians (Plut. *Dem.* 25, 2).

ἑαυτοῦ δουλεύειν)<sup>99</sup>. The problem here is understanding what handing them over to Alexander meant. One explanation would be that these were, together with Cassope, independent *poleis* and that they were now incorporated into Alexander's kingdom, thus culminating the unification of Epirus. This is possible, but they could not have been incorporated into the Kingdom of the Molossians, because Strabo (7, 7, 5) tells us that the Cassopaeans formed part of the Thesprotians at least from a certain point in time; neither could this have entailed separation from Cassopaea with Cassope's loss of these cities since they continued to depend on Cassope after Philip<sup>100</sup>. It is possible that Philip's campaign sealed the unification of the Epirote kingdom, but perhaps, if Cassopaea formed part of the Thesprotians in the fourth century and their territory was not reduced, the context could have been a revolt against the replacement of King Arybbas by Alexander amongst Thesprotians who already belonged to the kingdom.

Alcetas I and his son, Neoptolemus, appear as allies of the Athenians in the decree for the creation of the Second League, which dates from February/March of the year 377 (IG II<sup>2</sup>, 43 ll. B 13-14). However, the alliance and the inscription on the stele for Alcetas and Neoptolemus must date from the autumn of 375, following the expedition undertaken by Timotheus in the region<sup>101</sup>. Unfortunately for us, the stele only features their names, without any ethnic or territorial indication, which means we cannot discover whether they joined the League as Kings of the Molossians or of Epirus. Furthermore, in his *Hellenica*, Xenophon mentions King Alcetas on two occasions. At *Hell.* 6, 2, 10, corresponding to the year 373, he states that the Corcyreans, besieged by the Lacedaemonians, sent an envoy to the Athenians in order to encourage their intervention. The latter, convinced of the island's strategic importance, and whilst preparing their fleet, decided to dispatch the *strategos* Ctesicles with six hundred light infantry and requested that Alcetas should help them pass (Ἀλκέτου δὲ ἐδεήθησαν συνδιαβιβάσαι τούτους). The idea was obviously to receive them first in his territory and then provide them with ships to cross over to Corcyra. In effect, Alcetas aided them and Xenophon (*Hell.* 6, 2, 11) writes that, having entered Corcyrean territory at some point during the night, they entered the city

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Theopom. *FGrH* 115 FF 206-207.

<sup>100</sup> See Milán in this volume. SEG XXXVI, 555, which dates from somewhat after the years 130 or 129, presents a dedication to Herakles the Saviour by Philotas, Hipparchus and Cylisus (ll. 1-3) who appear to be citizens of Buchetium (l. 10), but the stele was erected in the agora of Cassope, and not in Buchetium.

<sup>101</sup> Xen. *Hell.* 5, 4, 63-66; Isoc. 15, 109; Diod. 15, 36, 5; Nep. *Timoth.* 2.



(καὶ οὗτοι μὲν νυκτὸς διακομισθέντες πρὸς τῆς χώρας εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν). The context of Xenophon's account is clear: it was necessary to cross from Epirus and enter the city without being seen, which means they must have sailed at night. This would indicate a place on the Epirote coast as close as possible to Corcyra, one that would permit a night crossing. That is to say, the expedition may have departed from Cestrine, in Thesprotia<sup>102</sup>, or from the south of Chaonia. The idea that Ctesicles and his troops would not have crossed over to Corcyra from a territory controlled by Alcetas, but that Alcetas would have to request passage through others, is difficult to comprehend within the context of this account<sup>103</sup>. An express public request issued by Alcetas to another State, when the troops are not even his own, but an urgently-sent relief contingent featuring a limited number of troops, and which sought to go unnoticed, would seem to be somewhat unlikely. Quite simply, it would have alerted the besieging army. Furthermore, although Strabo (7, 1, 5) writes that the Chaonians, Thesprotians and Cassopaeans, these also being Thesprotians, were distributed along the coast that stretched from the Ceraunian Mountains to the Ambracian Gulf, which means the Molossians had no outlet to the sea, both Ps.-Scylax (*Per.* 29) and Ps.-Scymnus (*Per.* 447, 453), both probably describing the situation circa 380-360, state that the Molossians controlled a small coastal region some forty stades in length, around seven kilometres, which could have been located on the coast of the Ambracian Gulf. Following the studies carried out by the *Nikopolis Project* it is possible that this alleged Molossian coastline was, in fact, a landscape covered in marshes and swamps, where it would have been very difficult to find a useful harbour<sup>104</sup>. However, even if this were case, the expedition would have weighed anchor in the Ambracian Gulf, subsequently crossing the Strait of Actium, passing through the Leucas Canal and finally sailing up the entire coast of Cassopaea and Thesprotia in the direction of Corcyra. In my view, Hammond's opinion would seem more likely (1997, 58): "they shipped the men from the coast by the delta of the Thyamis (Kalamas), i.e. from Thesprotian territory under his control"<sup>105</sup>.

In the events that we have just recounted, Xenophon (*Hell.* 6, 2, 9) states that Corcyra is located in a highly favourable position with regard

<sup>102</sup> According to Pseudo Scylax (*Per.* 29), Corcyra was located opposite Thesprotia, which means the Thesprotians would control Cestrine: Christophilopoulou 2004, 190.

<sup>103</sup> A hypothesis advocated by Meyer 2013, 61-62.

<sup>104</sup> Jing, Rapp 2003, 157-190.

<sup>105</sup> See Cross 1932, 32; Hammond 1967, 523.

to Epirus (ἐν καλλίστῳ δὲ τῆς τε ἀντιπέρας Ἡπείρου). We might think that Xenophon is referring to Ἡπειρος as the “mainland”, without this having any political meaning<sup>106</sup>, but maybe this interpretation is not quite as clear as it might seem. In the second mention that this author makes of Alcetas, relating to the representations Polydamas of Pharsalus made to Sparta in the year 374, in which he denounced the growing power of Jason of Pherae, Polydamas (6.1.7) states that Jason had as subjects the Maracians, the Dolopians and Alcetas, who was the *hyparchos* in Epirus (ἐπεδείκνυε δέ μοι εἰδότει ὅτι καὶ ὑπήκοοι ἤδη αὐτῷ εἶεν Μαρακοὶ καὶ Δόλοπες καὶ Ἀλκέτας ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἡπείρῳ ὑπαρχος)<sup>107</sup>. We would have to ask ourselves why Xenophon employs the term *hyparchos*, when it was obvious, and the author himself surely must have known, that he was a king. *Hyparchos* certainly has the connotation of a military command, which is to say, that of a military chief above all in the widest sense of the term or, in a more specialised sense, the head of the cavalry. However, above all *hyparchos* is a title used to indicate the subordination of a military chief to another higher command<sup>108</sup>. It is probable that Xenophon placed this name in Polydamas’ mouth (or Polydamas used the term himself) to emphasise Alcetas’ subordination to Jason. In Xenophon’s account, Alcetas is referred to as a subject of Jason (*hypekoos*), in which respect a kind of military subordination such as Jason’s “lieutenant” is perfectly understandable and would highlight this subordination and the asymmetrical alliance signed by Alcetas. We should also bear in mind that we are dealing with a speech that was given before an assembly of Spartans and their allies, one whose purpose was to encourage intervention in Thessaly. However, what is of particular interest here is that Alcetas, according to Xenophon, was *hyparchos* of Epirus, the whole of Epirus, not just the Molossians, since he would have had military control over the whole of Epirus and not just the Molossians. He does not appear to be referring to the mainland as a merely geographical location<sup>109</sup>. We might think that this was an error or a generalisation on Xenophon’s part, one designed to make the danger posed by Jason more serious, but this imprecision is surprising when he mentions the Dolopians and the dark Maracians in Aetolia. As proof of the alliance between Jason and Alcetas and their good relations with Timotheus, both testified in

<sup>106</sup> Franke 1955, 15.

<sup>107</sup> Davies 2000, 244.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Eur. *Hel.* 1432; Hdt. 3, 70; 4, 166; Thuc. 8, 31; Xen. *An.* 4, 4, 4; LSJ s.v.

ὑπαρχος.

<sup>109</sup> See Cabanes 2004, 148-149.

favour of Timotheus at the latter's trial in Athens in November 373<sup>110</sup>. But let us return for a moment to Timotheus' campaign in the Ionian Sea in 375. According to Diodorus (16, 35, 5), Timotheus sailed to Cephallenia, won over the island and the cities of Acarnania. He then made a friend of Alcetas, king of the Molossians, and he defeated the Lacedaemonians in a naval battle off Leucas. According to Xenophon (*Hell.* 5, 4, 63) Timotheus sailed round Peloponnesus and he brought Corcyra under his control. Then with sixty ships Timotheus defeated the Lacedaemonians at Alzyia in Acarnania (5, 4, 64). That is to say, Timotheus possessed a sizeable fleet and his conquests came from his naval strength (Cephallenia, Corcyra, Acarnania). As in all the other cases, we must assume that, in order to establish an alliance with Alcetas, he must have disembarked on the latter's territory, at a place capable of sheltering his fleet. In spite of the later testimony provided by Diodorus (15, 36, 5), who states that Alcetas was King of the Molossians in the year 375, Xenophon, and perhaps Diodorus, seem to be telling us that Alcetas dominated the whole of Epirus. We might consider that Alcetas and Neoptolemus feature on the inscription for the Second Athenian League as kings of the whole of Epirus and, in their capacity as allies, the Athenians decided to turn to Alcetas to allow their troops to reach Corcyra from the Epirote coast, not simply the Molossian coast.

Diodorus (15, 13, 2-3) refers to the extremely violent war that broke out in Epirus in around 385-384<sup>111</sup> as a result of Alcetas being replaced on the throne, the latter being exiled to Syracuse. Diodorus states (15, 13, 3) that the Illyrians, with the help of Dionysius of Syracuse, entered Epirus (ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Ἠπειρον) and restored Alcetas to the throne of the Molossians. They then devoted themselves to ransacking the territory, and the Molossians stood up to them but were defeated, with more than fifteen thousand Molossians perishing as a result, a number that seems somewhat excessive for a single Epirote *ethnos*. Upon receiving news of this serious defeat of the Epirotes (τῶν Ἠπειρωτῶν), Diodorus continues, the Lacedaemonians sent an army to give aid to the Molossians that managed to contain the Illyrians. Diodorus' testimony is not easy to interpret. We might assume that Diodorus confuses Epirus and the Molossians when they should be distinct, and they were not unified at the time. However, various aspects of his account can be interpreted without having to resort to the idea of a confusion. The war against the Illyrians

<sup>110</sup> [Dem.] 49, 10, 24, 31, 62.

<sup>111</sup> Cross 1932, 20-32, 103-105; Hammond 1967, 532-524.

appears to have involved the whole of Epirus and not only Molossia and could reflect the hegemony or importance of the Molossians in Epirus. At the same time, we would be providing a propitious context for unification of the kingdom. Later on in his account, Diodorus (16, 72, 1) states that in the year in which Sosigenes was *archon* in Athens, which is to say in the year 342/1, Arymbas (Arybbas) of Epirus, King of the Molossians, died after ten years of government. In Diodorus' account, Arymbas is both of Epirus and King of the Molossians. We might consider that Epirus is a mere geographical name here, but Arymbas was succeeded by Alexander I, whom Diodorus (16, 91, 4) calls King of Epirus on the occasion of his wedding to Cleopatra in 336<sup>112</sup> and he could well have already been King of Epirus at the time. As we have seen Justin also declares that Alexander was King of Epirus<sup>113</sup>. It would appear that the throne of the Molossians brought with it control over Epirus.

In short, it is possible that Epirus was unified during a period prior to Alexander I and the context of the war against the Illyrians during the reign of Alcetas may have been such a period. A unification that may have taken place earlier than previously thought, prior to Alexander I, during the first half of the fourth century, would not be that surprising and may have been the most striking consequence of a key phenomenon, together with the expansion of the *poleis*, that characterised Epirote history during this period and with which it is intimately linked: the expansion of the Molossian kingdom. Molossian expansion was a fact, even if we only advocate a minimalist hypothesis<sup>114</sup>, solely the occupation of Dodona, and it may date from the latter part of the fifth century. In this respect, at some subsequent point, around the end of the fifth century, the Molossians occupied the Sanctuary of Dodona, snatching it away from the Thesprotians. In fact, Strabo (7, 7, 11) mentions that Dodona was under the control of the Thesprotians, together with Mount Tomaros or Tmaros and says that the tragic poets such as Pindar, still in the fifth century, also referred to Dodona as Thesprotia; but subsequently it came to be under the control of the Molossians<sup>115</sup>. Hyperides (3, 25) states in the fourth century that Dodona belongs to the Molossians. This occupation was corroborated

<sup>112</sup> See Justin, *Epit.* 8, 6, 1; 13, 6. 4.

<sup>113</sup> Justin. *Epit.* 9, 6, 1, 7, 7; 12, 1, 2, 2, 1. Plut. *Mor.* 326B: Alexander the Molossian. Pliny, *NH* 3, 15: Alexander of Epirus.

<sup>114</sup> Meyer 2013, 61.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Pliny *NH*, 4, 2: the Molossians, in whose territory is the temple of the Dodonaean Jupiter, so famous for its oracle; and Mount Tomarus, so highly praised by Theopompus, with its hundred springs gushing from its foot.

by Herodotus (2, 56, 1), who expressly declares that the oracle belonged to the Thesprotians in the fifth century<sup>116</sup>. This Molossian expansion could have also been the consequence of a process of internal development and consolidation of the kingdom itself under the rule of King Tharyps (c. 430-392). With regard to this monarch, Justin (*Epit.* 17, 3, 12) tells us that he was the first to establish laws, a Senate, a series of annual magistrates and the constitution of the Republic (*Primus itaque leges et senatum annuosque magistratus et rei publicae formam composuit*)<sup>117</sup>. That is to say, Tharyps could be the monarch who definitively institutionalised the *koinon* of the Molossians. The other consequence of the Molossian expansion was the weakening of the Chaonians. It is possible that their hegemony was affected by the defeat and losses of the campaign of 429, but it seems clear that Chaonia witnessed a setback in territorial terms. According to Thucydides (1, 46, 4), in the fifth century Chaonia reached as far as the River Thyamis, which means that Cestrine formed part of the region. However, in Ps.- Scylax (*Per.* 30), which is based on Hellanicus, by circa 380 it was already attributed to the Thesprotians and so, therefore, must have been lost by the Chaonians<sup>118</sup>. We might also postulate that an emerging Molossian kingdom was also regarded by the Epirotes as a good means of facing the threats that surrounded the region and, in particular, as we have seen, that of the Illyrians. In fact, the Illyrians, commanded by the king Bardylis, seem to have attacked the region again in around 360<sup>119</sup>.

It is not our intention here to provide a detailed description of the institutions that made up the Epirote monarchy; we shall only mention them in order to show that they were different to those of the *koina* in which the kingdom was divided. In addition to the king and the royal *genos*, made up of his relatives, whom we could call the *syngeneis*, at the royal *oikos* the Aeacid monarchs surrounded themselves with a courtly circle of *philoï*, like other monarchs in the Hellenistic Age. Thus, for example, the *philoï* of Aeacides were pursued by the Molossians and condemned to death (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 2, 1). The monarchs Neoptolemus and Pyrrhus carried out the prescriptive oath in Passaron, accompanied by their respective *philoï* (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 5, 6, cf. 5, 10), amongst whom Gelon was one of Neoptolemus' right-hand men (5, 7: ἀνὴρ πιστὸς Νεοπτολέμου),

<sup>116</sup> See Domínguez Monedero 2017, 67-107, especially 96-97.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Plut. *Pyrrh.* 1.4; Cross 1932, 13; Hammond 1967, 507-508; Cabanes 1976, 164, 166. Domínguez Monedero in this volume.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Giorgi, Bogdani 2012, 363-364.

<sup>119</sup> Callisth. *FGrH* 124 F27; Front. *Strat.* 2, 5, 19; Hammond 1967, 278.

Myrtilus one of his cup-bearers (5, 8-9), Alexicrates his chief cup-bearer (5, 7-9) and Samon (5, 12) the man responsible for his sheep and oxen. Pyrrhus' *philoï* (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 7, 9; 15, 7; 20, 10; 21, 15; 34, 11) surrounded the king and kept him safe during battles and other dangers. Pyrrhus (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 17, 8) lost the friends and generals he turned to most and whom he trusted the most. Megacles is mentioned as one of his companions (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 16, 7; 17, 1), companions and generals he effectively lived with (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 20, 8; 21, 15). Pyrrhus (Justin, *Epit.* 25, 3, 4) trusted safekeeping of the Acropolis of Tarentum to his son Helenus and his friend Milon. Lisimachus (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 29, 3) was another *philos* who accompanied Pyrrhus. These *philoï* did not necessarily have to be of Molossian or Epirote origin. In this respect, we can mention Leonnatus the Macedonian (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 16, 12-15) or Cineas the Thessalian (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 14, 1-13), a *philos* whom Pyrrhus sent as an ambassador to Rome (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 18, 3-6; 19, 5-6; App. *Sa.* 10, 1) and whom he also sent (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 15, 1; 16, 1) at the head of three thousand soldiers to the aid of the inhabitants of Tarentum<sup>120</sup>. We also know of a doctor who served the king (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 21, 1, 5; *Mor.* 195B), and Livy (24, 12), when talking about the death of Alexander I in Lucania, mentions Sotimus, who he states was one of the boys who served the king. It is evident that we can identify Sotimus as a royal page, which would suggest the existence of a school for pages in the kingdom, a very common institution in Hellenistic monarchical States. In Tarentum, Appianus (*Sa.* 7, 8) tells us that the inhabitants were extremely angry with the officials serving Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, because they had forced themselves on them in their homes and had openly abused their women and daughters. In his clash with the Romans, Pyrrhus (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 16, 10) gives orders to his infantry commanders to form an army. It is possible that many of these military commanders were effectively appointed by the king. Furthermore, Pyrrhus also has a royal guard (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 15, 7; 24, 5), as well as an *agema* of two thousand riders who would have made up the royal cavalry guard (D.H. 20, 1, 7). Plutarch (*Pyrrh.* 28, 2) mentions the elite Chaonian troops, which we can understand as being a permanent contingent recruited within the kingdom itself, in this case in Chaonia, as was habitual in other Hellenistic States. Finally, the king moved his royal seat to Ambracia, where he built his palace (Polybius 21, 27, 2), a city he effectively beautified (Str. 7, 1, 6)<sup>121</sup>.

<sup>120</sup> See D'Alessandro, De Sensi Sestito 2011 and especially Fantasia 2017, 136-148.

<sup>121</sup> Lévêque 1997a, 75.

Testimony of the existence of a *koinon* of Molossians in the Epirote kingdom is provided thanks to epigraphic evidence. First, we have an inscription from Dodona that brings together, on the same stele, two decrees granting *politeia* to two women, which are commonly dated at around the years 370-368, during the reign of Neoptolemus, Alcetas' son (SEG XV, 384; XVIII, 264; XLIX, 636)<sup>122</sup>. Let us consider the first inscription. Thus, with Neoptolemus, Alcetas' son, as king (ll.1-3), and with Eidymmas as the *prostatas* of the Molossians (ll. 6-8), citizenship is granted (l. 5: ἐδόθη πολιτεία) to Philista, the wife of Antimachus, who comes from Arrhonus. The inclusion of the king in the dating formula guarantees that the Molossians formed part of the Epirote kingdom, whilst the double dating, consisting of the reign of Neoptolemus and the year in which Eidymmas served as *prostatas*, can be understood because the reign of a specific monarch can last a number of years, which made it necessary to include the name of the *prostatas* of the Molossians, which is equivalent to saying that the position of *prostatas* was an annual office. The double dating, the annual duration of the office of *prostatas* and the very name of this magistracy makes it extremely unlikely that the *prostatas* was an official of the king, a position appointed by the monarch. It is obvious that a local "sub-Molossian" *politeia* is not being granted here, because the inscription features a good number of magistrates from different communities into which the Molossians were divided (cf. infra). Neither is this a *polis*-based *politeia*. It is obvious that it cannot be an Epirote *politeia* either. This *politeia* can be no other than the type shared by all Molossians. Even though Philista may not have taken part in Molossian institutions, the *politeia* for a male was not solely limited to inclusion in a list of *polites*, at the *politeuma*, nor to the enjoyment of a series of rights, but also included participation in the institutions belonging to the State that granted such awards. That is to say, the Molossian *politeia* entailed the existence of a series of Molossian institutions, as mentioned in the decree itself, including *prostatas*, secretary and *damiorgoi*, not to mention a series of elective institutions, which would choose the magistrates and vote on the granting of rights. That is to say, this Molossian *politeia* would have entailed the existence of a Molossian *koinon* alongside the monarchy. In fact, the Molossians appear in the decree alongside the office of *prostatas*. This denomination by *ethnos* was a habitual practice throughout the entire Greek world and does not refer to a loosely organised ethnic

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Hammond 1967, 525-527; Davies 2000, 246-247, nrr.1-2.

community, but an institutionalised community<sup>123</sup>. Finally, the stele bearing both decrees comes from Dodona and does not seem to have been issued from or approved in any other place, Passaron for example, with a copy having been erected at the sanctuary. This has all the appearance of being a federal decision, contained in a federal decree, a decision made by the *koinon* of the Molossians and taken in Dodona, the federal capital. Furthermore, all of the decrees issued by the *koinon* of the Molossians that we are aware of come from Dodona. The inference is clear: whilst Passaron and, later, Ambracia were the capitals of the monarchy, Dodona was the federal capital.

As we have mentioned, the decree enables us to gain an insight into Molossian institutions. First of all, the *prostatas* of the Molossians was the eponymous magistrate of the Molossians in the monarchic period, an annual post that not only lent its name to the year but headed the list of federal magistrates. He was the maximum representative of the *koinon* before the king, although he also had other duties<sup>124</sup>. The *grammateus* or secretary<sup>125</sup> constituted the secondary magistracy in the federal hierarchy and this figure's authority would encompass the inscription of the decrees issued by the *koinon*. Furthermore, we might mention the college of *damiorgoi*, of which there were ten (SEG XV, 384, ll. 9-19)<sup>126</sup>: Androcadeus, Arctan of Eurymenae, Laphyrgas Tripolitan, Eustratus Kelaethan, Amynandrus Peialan, Sabon Genoaean, Deinon Ethnestan, Agelaus Triphylan, Thenus Omphalan, Cartomus Onopernan and Damoetas Amymnan. The name *damiorgoi* would also indicate that we are

<sup>123</sup> Rzepka 2006, 5; 2017, 14; Bearzot 2014, 35.

<sup>124</sup> SEG XV, 384; SEG XVIII, 264; SEG XLIX, 636; Cabanes 1976, nr. 1; Hammond 1967, 525-527; Davies 2000, 246-247, nrr. 1-2. SEG XXIII, 471; SEG XXIV, 446; SEG XXVI, 697; Hammond 1967, 528; Cabanes 1976, nr. 2; Davies 2000, 248-249, nr. 4; Meyer 2013, 83-86. SGDI 1334; Hammond 1967, 535-536; Cabanes 1976, nr. 4; Davies 2000, 250, nr. 12. SGDI 1335; Carapanos 1878, pl. XXVIII, 3; Hammond 1967, 535-536; Cabanes 1976, nr. 5; Davies 2000, 250, nr. 13. SGDI 1337; Carapanos 1878, pl. XXXII, 5; Hammond 1967, 536; Cabanes 1976, nr. 6; Davies 2000, 249, nr. 11. SGDI 1340; Cabanes 1976, nr. 8; Meyer 2013, 139-140. SGDI 1343; Cabanes 1976, nr. 10. SGDI 1344; Cabanes 1976, nr. 11. SGDI 1346; Cabanes 1976, nr. 50. Carapanos 1878, 63, nr. 20, pl. XXXII, 2; SEG XXVI, 714; Cabanes 1976, nr. 68; Meyer 2013, 138-139, nr. 3. Cabanes 1976, nr. 74; Davies 2000, 250, nr. 13; Meyer 2013, 143-144, nr. 8. Cf. also Cabanes 1976, 164; 1997, 83, who considers him to have been the president of the Molossian federal assembly.

<sup>125</sup> Cabanes 1976 nrr. 1-3 (*grammatistas*), 4-7 and 74 and Cabanes 1976, 165; 1997, 83.

<sup>126</sup> SEG XVIII, 264; Hammond 1967, 525-527; Cabanes 1976, nrr. 1-2; Davies 2000, 246-247, nrr. 1-2; SEG XLIX, 636.



dealing with a federal institution of political and not religious nature as would the fact that it was made up of *poleis* and sub-ethnics, which would make a royal appointment more difficult. This was an important college, being included in the dating formula; it would have sanctioned the award of the *politeia*. We would certainly consider that the college of *damiorgoi* would represent the different communities into which the Molossians were divided. So, unlike the post of *prostatas* and secretary, which could feasibly fall within the same community, the Arctanes in this case, the *damiorgoi* would always come from different communities. This leads us to an important issue, a key question when it comes to understanding the *koinon* of the Molossians: either all the communities that made up the *koinon* were represented, and these came to ten in total, or some kind of system of representation by political and geographical district existed, including many other basic units, in which we cannot rule out the existence of certain communities that were dependent on others and which lacked, therefore, federal representation (and *politeia*).

Another key question relates to the means by which the federal magistrates were elected. It is difficult to believe that either the *prostatas* or the secretary were elected at a local level. Some kind of rotation system may have been established, but it seems more likely, in view of what we know about Greek magistracies, that they were elected by means of an institution shared by all Molossians. With regard to the election of the *damiorgoi*, their representation seems to indicate a locally-based election. This would imply the existence of certain forms of institutionalisation at a local level, which is to say an institution that chose its representatives, in addition to the magistrates or summoning bodies, which means we would have at least fifteen “institutionalised” territorial and demographic areas. The existence of local *politeiai*, which is to say below the *koinon*, is suggested (or declared) by the decree itself. This is case of one of the *damiorgoi*, Androcadeus, Arctan of Eurymenae. Over and above what we might understand Arctan to mean, perhaps a member of a *koinon*, Eurymenae was a *polis* that was besieged and destroyed in the last few years of the fourth century, in 312 (Diod. 19, 88, 4). As a *polis*, Eurymenae possessed its own *politeia*, body of citizens, *polis* institutions and territory. That is to say, we are looking at a *polis* incorporated in a wider territory, which was that of the Arctanes. As a consequence, we could assume that we are dealing with at least three different levels of aggregation and, perhaps, three different *politeiai* in terms of their subordination to each other: an ethnic *politeia* of the Molossians, the sub-

ethnic *politeia* of the Arctanes and the *polis*-based *politeia* of Eurymenae<sup>127</sup>.

Another inscription<sup>128</sup> that mentions a college of *synarchontes* has been variously dated to the reigns of Neoptolemus II (Hammond 1967, 446) and Alexander II (Meyer 2013, 82-86). We have lost the heading of the decree, which would supposedly indicate the name of the king, in which respect our attribution to any particular monarch is somewhat risky, and this even applies to its chronology within the monarchic period. This is a decree issued by the *koinon* of the Molossians which awards the *politeia* to two foreigners, Aristocles and Mondeus, both Naupactians. In effect, the inscription mentions a Molossian federal college, the *synarchontes*, a college of magistrates. They are fifteen in number what could reflect an expansion of the Molossian State: Thearidas Kelaethan, Alcon Peialan, Menephyllus [. . .], Anticcas Ethnestan, M[. . . .T]riphylian, Gennadas O[noperna]n, Hector Omphalan, D[amoetas] Ammynan, Aeropus Ge[noae]an, A[neretas] Arctan, N[icon] Phyllatan, Anerias Tr[ipolit]an, Phrynus Orestan, Ar[chidamu]s Parorean, and Omostac[ius Cues]tan. The *synarchontes* number fifteen in total and are all of different origin, effectively sanctioning the award of citizenship, a duty previously (or subsequently) carried out by the *damiorgoi*, in which respect they could have made up a college of magistrates that was replaced by or replaced the *damiorgoi*. In another Molossian decree from Dodona (SEG XXVI, 697)<sup>129</sup>, the Molossians grant proxeny, citizenship, ownership of land, exemption from taxes and security for himself and his properties, to Lagetas, a Thessalian Pheraeon, including himself and his descendants, when Docimus was Secretary and Lysanias was *prostatas* of the Molossians. In this decree it is the *hieromnamones*<sup>130</sup>, at least eight in number, who replace the *damiorgoi* and *synarchontes*, sanctioning the award of these privileges. In effect, we may be able to establish a certain development in this college of magistrates, which may have gone under different names according to the development of the institutions that elected these figures: probably first the *damiorgoi*, then the *synarchontes* and finally the *hieromnamones*<sup>131</sup>.

<sup>127</sup> About city-ethnics see Hansen 1996, 169-196.

<sup>128</sup> SEG XXIII, 471; SEG XXIV, 446; SEG XXVI, 697; Davies 2000, 248-249, nr. 4; Meyer 2013, 83-86. Cf. Hammond 1967, 528 and especially Drini 2011.

<sup>129</sup> SEG XXVI, 698; SEG XXXIII, 1705; Cabanes 1976, 539-540, nr. 3; SEG L, 542; SEG LIV, 576; Hammond 1967, 564; Davies 2000, 248-249, nr. 6; Meyer 2013, 79-80.

<sup>130</sup> D'Alessandro 2011.

<sup>131</sup> Cabanes 1976, 120-130, 167-172.

The hypothesis that the *koinon* of the Molossians did not exist in the fourth century would mean that the decrees Cabanes nrr. 1 and 2, dated in 370-368, were a re-inscription in the age of Alexander II, all the inscriptions linked with the monarchic period would have to belong to the third century, that the *politeia* granted in Cabanes nr. 1 were not the *politeia* of the Molossians, that the Molossians associated with the *prostatas* simply referred to the name of a non-institutionalised ethnic community, and that the *prostatas* of the Molossians, the secretary and the *damiorgoi* were all appointed by the king<sup>132</sup>. All of this seems me rather unlikely. Furthermore, the Molossians issued coins in the fourth century bearing the legend ΜΟΛΟΣΣΩΝ. Three different groups of coinages date from the first half of the fourth century and one group from between 360 and 330/25<sup>133</sup>. Franke's classification is undoubtedly influenced by his conception of Epirote history and the alleged existence of a *symmachia* of the Epirotes. However, we can assume that the Molossians minted coins in the fourth century and these coinages appear to be federal rather than royal.

The federal assembly under the name of *koinon* of the Molossians also appears in another decree awarding an *isopoliteia* (SGDI 1334)<sup>134</sup>, which can be dated back to the reign of Alexander I, around the years 343 to 331. In addition to King Alexander, this decree mentions the *prostatas* of the Molossians, Aristomachus Omphalan, and the secretary (*grammatista* in this case) Menedamus, also Omphalan. Once again, the same community holds the two most important federal magistracies at the same time, which means there was no law that prevented this. We do not know whether there was any difference between *politeia* and *isopoliteia*, but what interests us here is that it is the assembly of the Molossians (Μολοσσῶν τ'ὸ κοικόν), as was common amongst Greek federal States, that grants an *isopoliteia* to Simias, a native of Apollonia, who resides at Teptinus, for him, his descendants and the descendants of his descendants. We must assume that Simias was an Apollonian who resided in Teptinus as a foreigner. Similarly, in SGDI 1335<sup>135</sup> the confederacy's federal assembly, known here as *ekklesia*, awards citizenship to Cteson and pro-xy to his descendants. The Molossian federal assembly also appears

<sup>132</sup> Meyer 2013, 18-44, 45-60.

<sup>133</sup> Franke 1961, 99-106.

<sup>134</sup> Hammond 1967, 535-536; Cabanes 1976, nr. 2; Davies 2000, 250, nr. 12. For *koinon* as assembly see Rzepka 2006, 6-13; 2017, 17-21.

<sup>135</sup> Carapanos 1878, pl. XXVIII, 3; Hammond 1967, 535-536; Cabanes 1976, nr. 5; Davies 2000, 250, nr. 13.

simply as the Molossians (SGDI 1340)<sup>136</sup>. Finally, in the case of the Molossians, Plutarch (*Pyrrh.* 5, 1) tells us that the monarchs made a sacrifice to Zeus Areios at Passaron, in which they swore to govern according to the laws of the kingdom. This ceremony consisted of an exchange of oaths in which the other party would also be constituted, as Hammond indicates (1997, 60), by the Molossians, which would also support the existence of the *koinon* during the monarchic period<sup>137</sup>.

One of the most debatable aspects of the monarchic period refers to the ongoing existence, reduction or dissolution of the State of the Thesprotians once they were included in either what is known as the *symmachia* of the Epirotes, or in the unified kingdom with the Chaonians. In addition to our interpretation in this respect of the Thesprotian absence on the *theorodokoi* lists for Epidaurus and Argos, one inscription, together with other details, would seem to provide a clue. Thus, inscription SGDI 1351<sup>138</sup>, dating from the time of the *prostatas* Philoxenus, who was Onopernan (ll. 11-12), refers to the liberation of Gripon by means of the foreigners law (ll. 1-2: ξενι/[χ]ᾶ[τ λ]ύσει) by a series of individuals who are divided into two groups. Amongst the Molossians (l. 4: Μολλο[σ]ῶν, sic) we have Androcas, Dodonean, Philip, Dodonean, Philoxenus, Dodonean, Drepo, Dodonean, Agiles, Dodonean, Crenis, Phenatan, Amyndrus, Dodonean. Amongst the Thesprotians (l. 9: Θρεσπωτῶν, sic) we find Docimus, Larisean, Piandrus, Elaeon, Menandrus, Tiaean, Alexander, Tiaean, Deinon, Toxucharan, Philip, Philo, Onopernan. The inscription has been dated back to 334-328 by Cabanes (1976, pp. 177-179 and 454), 350-250 by Meyer (2013, 136) and *circa* 330 by Davies (2000, 250). Since we can assume that the *prostatas* who dates the decree, Philoxenus, who was Onopernan, was included amongst the Molossians, and given that another Onopernan, Philo (l. 12), is included in the group of Thesprotians, the Onopernans would have been subsumed by the Molossians<sup>139</sup>, which could be generally interpreted as the dissolution of the Thesprotians amongst the Molossians. This would be supported by other inscriptions. In this respect, in SGDI 1346<sup>140</sup>, which dates from

<sup>136</sup> Cabanes 1976, nr. 8 (after 168); Meyer 2013, 139-140, between 297-250.

<sup>137</sup> See also Larsen 1968, 278.

<sup>138</sup> Carapanos 1878, 50, nr. 2 and 201-211 and pl. XXVII, 2; SGDI 1351; Cabanes 1976, 580-581, nr. 55; Davies 2000, 250, nr. 15; Meyer 2013, 136-137, nr. 1.

<sup>139</sup> Cabanes 1997c, 102.

<sup>140</sup> Carapanos 1878, 60-61, nr. 15 and pl. XXXI, 1; SEG XVI, 384; XXIV, 455; XXVI, 706; Hammond 1967, 536-537; Cabanes 1976, nr. 50; Meyer 2013, 144-145, nr. 9.

shortly before 240 (SEG XVI, 384), between 342-341 (Hammond 1967, 536-537) or from the reign of Alexander II (Meyer 2013, 144), the Onopernan Sabyrtus, Cartatan, is *prostatas* of the Molossians (ll. 2-4). Similarly, Gennadas, an Onopernan, is *synarchon* in a decree granting a *politeia* during the reign of Alexander I or Alexander II<sup>141</sup>. Finally, Cartomus, another Onopernan (ll. 17-18), is a *damiorgos* in the decree that awards a *politeia* to Philista and dates from 370-368 (SEG XVIII, 264; XLIX, 636, supra).

As we have seen, and according to the testimony of Thucydides (2, 81, 5), the Thesprotians possessed some kind of State in the year 429. During the period of the Epirote confederacy, the *koinon* of the Thesprotians existed and in SGDI 1370<sup>142</sup>, dating from the third-second centuries, for example, was restored [τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Θεσπρωτῶν] (l. 3). Regardless of whether a *koinon* was re-established, the restoration of the Thesprotians is clear. Another inscription that has been dated between 290 and 167 mentions the *prostatas* of the Thesprotians, Alexander, in its dating formula, as part of an emancipation of slaves at the Temple of Themis<sup>143</sup>. The Thesprotians also issued coinages in the fourth century. These consisted of a brief issue bearing the legend ΘΕ, which has been dated between 335 and 330-325, solely based on the supposition *a priori* that on this date the Thesprotians were incorporated into the *symmachia* of the Epirotes. Finally, from the archives of the city of Gitana we have a series of clay sealings bearing the inscriptions ΘΕΣΠΙΡΩΤΩΝ, APEIRO(TAN), the dating of the archives is placed within the chronological framework of the town from the second half of the 4th century up to 168 B.C. which date from the Hellenistic period<sup>144</sup>. If we consider the dissolution of the *koinon* of the Thesprotians, this would lead us to assume that they would already have been incorporated in the period of Neoptolemus I, before 370, given that Cartomus is a *damiorgos* and it would also mean that, if we date SEG XVI, 384 shortly before 240, the *koinon* of the Molossians would still have remained dissolved very shortly before it was revived a few years later. But let us return to the inscription

<sup>141</sup> SEG XXIII, 471; XXIV, 1969, 446; XXVI, 697; Hammond 1967, 528; Davies 2000, 248-249, nr. 4; Meyer 2013, 83-86, dated differently during the reigns of Neoptolemus II (Hammond, 1967, 446) or Alexander II (Meyer, 2013, 82-86).

<sup>142</sup> Carapanos 1878, 64 and pl. XXXII, 3; Cabanes 1976, nr. 26.

<sup>143</sup> Cabanes 1976, 576-577, nr. 49; SEG XXVI, 717; XXXVII, 515; Davies 2000, 249, nr. 7; Meyer 2013, 162-163, nr. 28, between 290-167, but Dakaris 1972, 86 towards the middle of the fourth century.

<sup>144</sup> Preka-Alexandri 1989, 171, figs. 12, 14 and 172.

in question, SGDI 1351. This inscription brings together two groups of people, the Molossians and the Thesprotians. The Molossians obviously possess the *politeia* of the Molossians, which is why the *prostatas* elect appears and they feature as members of the Molossians. We would have to think that the Thesprotians had no *politeia*, except for the local kind, or that they have been included in the *koinon* of the Molossians, but the inscription clearly places them on an equal footing with the Molossians. We do not know what the status of the Onopernans is amongst the Molossians and Thesprotians (*isopoliteia?*)<sup>145</sup>, but the Thesprotians, just like the Molossians, could have their own *politeia*. The hypothesis regarding the dissolution of the *koinon* may be unnecessary and the *koinon*, as before and afterwards, may have existed during the monarchic period, which means the two-headed leadership of the Chaonians/Molossians that has sometimes been advocated, may not have existed<sup>146</sup>.

In the same manner as in the case of the Thesprotians, the *koinon* of the Chaonians may have also existed under the monarchy. It existed before the monarchy and it existed afterwards, during the period of the Epirote *koinon*, where the *prostatas* of the Chaonians is mentioned in various manumissions alongside the *strategos* of the Epirotes in the dating formula *προστατοῦντος δὲ Χαόνων*<sup>147</sup>. In the same way as the Thesprotians, the Chaonians issued coins throughout the fourth century in five different formats, which are also dated based on their inclusion in the Epirote alliance between 360 and 330<sup>148</sup>. In a consultation at Dodona (Lhôte nr. 11, pp.59-61), which has been commented upon on numerous occasions and is dated at around 330-320<sup>149</sup>, the *polis* of the Chaonians (l. 1) asks Zeus Naios about the possibility of moving and rebuilding the Temple of Athena Polias. Over and above the question of what this expression means, whether it refers to the *polis* of Phoinice or the State of the Chaonians (in our opinion, it refers to the *polis*, as witnessed by the shrine to a *polis*-centered divinity), we might think that, in effect, this mention of the Chaonians leads us back to the existence of a *koinon* that may have been included within the kingdom. In short, in our opinion the

<sup>145</sup> See SGDI 1334.

<sup>146</sup> Cabanes 2005, 152.

<sup>147</sup> SEG XLVIII, 683; Cabanes, Drini 2007, nrr. 1-4, dating from 232-168. Cabanes, Drini 2007, nr. 5, dating from 175-168.

<sup>148</sup> Bogdani, Giorgi 2012, 372.

<sup>149</sup> For example, Cabanes 1997a, 82; 1999, 374; Giorgi, Bogdani 2012, 370; Davies 2000, 257.

Epirote kingdom would be sub-divided into three *koina*, three federal *politeiai*.

#### 4. The Epirote *Koinon* (232-167)

Far from falling apart following the end of the monarchy in around the year 232, the Epirotes established a confederacy that encompassed the whole of Epirus. To the extent that we have no prior testimony to the fact, one of the key aspects of the new Epirote *koinon* was the pan-Epirote *politeia*<sup>150</sup>. This *politeia*, shared by the whole of Epirus, was indispensable, given that, by defining the institutions and the means of participation in these institutions, it effectively caused the *koinon* itself to exist. Stated quite simply, without an Epirote *politeia*, an Epirote confederacy could not have existed.

This general Epirote *politeia*, for which we can even infer the procedure whereby foreigners were able to obtain it, is supported by the epigraphic evidence at our disposal. In this respect, in SGDI 1338<sup>151</sup>, when Antinous Clariatan (ll. 1-2) was *strategos*, which we can date at around 175-170, an Epirote, Parmeniscus, son of Dexander, presented a proposal whereby he requested citizenship for Damarchus, an Achaean, so that this could be voted on by the assembly of the Epirotes (ll. 4-8: ποθόδ[ω]μα / γραψα[μένου] πο[τ]ὶ τὰν ἐκ/κλ[η]σ[ί]αν [Δαμάρ]χου τοῦ Δα/μέα Ἀχαι[οῦ] καὶ ἀ[ί]τουμέ/νου πολιτε[ί]αν. This proposal was effectively approved by the Epirotes (ll. 8-9: ἔδο[ξε] τοῖς / Ἀπειρώταις), which is to say, by the shared federal assembly again, and Damarchus obtained citizenship based on the same conditions as the rest of the Epirotes, which proves that a general Epirote *politeia* existed, ll. 9-12: [πολίτα]ν εἶμεν / [Δ]άμαρχον Δ[αμέα] Ἀχαιῶ[ν] κα/ὶ ὅμοιον τοῖς ἄ[λλοις] Ἀπ[ε]ιρ[ώ]τα[ις]. Another decree (Cabanes 1976, pp. 558-560, nr. 34), dated loosely between 232-167, indicates that when Derdas was *strategos* (l. 1), the *politeia* was awarded to an individual whose name has not been preserved. The procedure for granting this citizenship seems to be especially complex. First of all, Polemon is designated to take charge of the matter (ll. 1-2: ἐπὶ δὲ τᾶς χειρος ἀπο[τε]/[τ]αγμένου Π[ο]λέμωνος Ὀπαδείου). He also has the help of Menander, although it appears that, in the end, it was Antipater who took responsibility for presenting the proposal (ll.4-6: ποτιπορευ/[θ]έντος

<sup>150</sup> Hammond 1967, 652.

<sup>151</sup> Carapanos 1878, pl. XXIX, 2; Cabanes 1976, nr. 32.

Μενάνδρου τοῦ θύτα καὶ ἀπολ[ο]/[γιξ]αμένου Ἀντιπάρωι - -). We would have to say that some time passed between the proposal and the concession, given that the inscription states that the citizenship was granted without reproach (l.11: [ἀνέ]νκλητος γεγόναμε[ν]), in which respect there may have been a period in which allegations could be presented against the proposal. In short, he was granted citizenship for his good works, including both him and his descendants, in accordance with the law (ll. 13-14: δεδόσθαι πολιτεία[ν αὐτῶι] / [καὶ] ἐκγόνοις κατὰ τὸν νόμ[ον]), which may well indicate the existence of a federal pan-Epirote citizenship law. In addition to this citizenship, as granted to other *proxenoi* (l. 17: τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις]), he was awarded the right to own houses and lands, exempted from taxes and granted all rights. That is to say, citizenship here refers specifically to the possibility of taking part in federal institutions. The granting of an *ateleia* may perhaps indicate the existence of some kind of federal tax or collection for a federal treasury, which would go towards paying for federal costs<sup>152</sup>.

Participation in federal institutions would constitute the difference between *politeia* and proxeny<sup>153</sup>. In fact, another decree issued when Antinous was *strategos* (c. 175-170, Carapanos 1878, 114; SGDI 1339) grants proxeny to Gaius Polphenius from Brentesium (Brindisi), for him and his descendants, being awarded by the Epirotes, which is to say, the federal assembly (ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἀπειρώταις), in addition to exemption from taxes, full rights, *asphaleia* throughout the whole of Epirus, the right to own houses and lands in Epirus, understood clearly as the federal territory (οἰκίας ἔγκτασιν ἐν Ἀπέιροι) and all other honours as enjoyed by other *proxenoi*. However, he is not granted the *politeia*, whilst the rest of the rights are the same as those granted to new *politai* in previous decrees. From this we might infer that the difference between the two relates to participation in the federal institutions. Finally, decrees relating to the liberation of slaves also indicate the existence of a law on foreign persons, at least amongst the Chaonians, which defined this procedure<sup>154</sup>. It is possible that we are dealing with a federal law here.

The institutions of the new Epirote confederacy are brought together in epigraphic evidence, of which we might mention in particular SEG

<sup>152</sup> See Mackil 2013, 294.

<sup>153</sup> A decree dating from the end of the third century, without any dating formula (SEG XXIV, 448; Cabanes 1976, nr. 16 Roesch 1987, esp. 180) grants proxeny and citizenship to the same person.

<sup>154</sup> Cabanes, Drini 2007, nr. 5, dated between 175-168 B.C. Furthermore, Cabanes 1976, 569-573, nr. 47; Meyer 2013, 163-164, nr. 30, dated after 232.



XXXVII, 709 (SEG XL, 690), which dates precisely from the year 192<sup>155</sup>. The first line reads: Ἀπειρωτᾶν οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ σύνοδοι καὶ τὸ κοινόν. Ἀπειρωτᾶν, the Epirotes, in this case, appear as the official name of the State, as was common amongst Greek federal States. We also have the magistrates, the *synedroi*, which is to say the members of the federal *synedrion*, another highly characteristic institution in federal States<sup>156</sup>, and the *koinon*, which, in this specific case, refers to the federal assembly.

The main magistrate of the confederacy was the *strategos*, whose official title was *strategos* of the Epirotes (of the State), who appears quite frequently in inscriptions<sup>157</sup>. His duties would replace those of the previous monarch, for example as the eponymous magistrate in the dating of decrees, under the formula Στραταγοῦντος Ἀπειρωτᾶν. The *strategos* could hold his post on two occasions at least, and possibly on three or more, in which respect Antinous was *strategos* at least twice: [Στρ]αταγοῦντος Ἀπειρωτᾶν Ἀντινόου Κλαθι/οῦ το β' (Carapanos 1878, 114; SGDI 1339, 175-170 B.C.). However, re-election does not appear to have been customary<sup>158</sup>. Obviously, the federal *strategos* was the commander-in-chief of the Epirote army and also directed negotiations with foreign powers.

According to epigraphic documentation, the second magistrate in the federal hierarchy was the secretary (*grammateus*), who is always mentioned in connection with the *synedrion* as the secretary of the *synedrion* (γραμματῆς/ἱ συνεδρίου)<sup>159</sup> or of the *synedroi* (γραμματεῦντος δὲ συνέδροις)<sup>160</sup> and who is included in the dating formula. However, he is not mentioned in the dating formulas for the documents issued by the different *koina*, in which respect his role would appear to be restricted to

<sup>155</sup> Cf. Hammond 1967, 650; Etienne 1987.

<sup>156</sup> Rzepka 2017, 24-34.

<sup>157</sup> I.Magn. 32, l. 37, dating from 206 B.C. Carapanos 1878, pl. XXIX, 2; SGDI 1338; Cabanes 1976, nr. 32 dating from 175-170 B.C. Carapanos 1878, 114; SGDI 1339, featuring the same date. Carapanos 1878, 58-59, nr. 13 and pl. XXX, 4; SGDI 1349; Meyer 2013, 156, nr. 22, between 190 and 167 B.C. Carapanos 1878, 60, nr. 14 and pl. XXX, 5; Syll.<sup>1</sup> 442; Syll.<sup>2</sup> 838; SGDI 1350; Cabanes 1976, nr. 54; Meyer 2013, 161, nr. 27, featuring a date of 180-170 B.C. (Cabanes 1976, 364) or 175-167 B.C. (Meyer 2013, 161) or circa 170 B.C. (Syll.<sup>1</sup> 442). Cabanes 1976, nr. 75; SEG XXXVII, 510, 232-168 B.C. Cabanes, Drini 2007, nrr. 3-4, 232-168 B.C. Cabanes 1976, 569-573, nr. 47; Meyer 2013, 163-164, nr. 30, after 232 B.C. Cabanes, Drini 2007, nr. 5, 175-168 B.C. Cabanes 1976, nr. 34 (232-167 B.C.). SGDI 1347; Cabanes nr. 51, Meyer 2013, 152-153, nr. 17, c. 232-190. Cabanes 1976, nr. 76; Meyer 2013, 159-160, nr. 25. See also Hammond 1967, 648-650; Cabanes 1976, 359-365.

<sup>158</sup> Cabanes 1997a, 87.

<sup>159</sup> I.Magn. 32, ll. 39, 47. Cabanes 1976, 366-367.

<sup>160</sup> Carapanos 1878, 114; SGDI 1339; Cabanes 1976, nr 33, 175-170 B.C.

federal Epirote decrees. Whatever the case may be, he was linked to the federal council and not to the rest of the federal magistrates, and it is possible to venture that this link would consist of a role as president of the *syndrion*. The secretary was also responsible for recording and costing federal decrees, in which respect he must have obviously managed federal funds (I. Magn. 32, ll. 46-48)<sup>161</sup>.

In relation to an attempt at peace between the Romans and Macedonians in the year 198 through the mediation of the Epirotes, Livy (32, 10, 1) mentions that the latter held a council (32, 10, 2) in which they decided that the *praetor*, Pausanias, and the head of the cavalry (*magister equitum*), Alexander, were chosen to carry out the negotiations and that they held a meeting with King Philip and the Roman consul, T. Quinctius Flaminius<sup>162</sup>. This is the only reference we have to the existence of a federal *hyparchos*<sup>163</sup> but it appears quite realistic. In this respect, shortly beforehand in his account and for the same reason, Livy (29, 12, 8) declares that the Epirotes in the year 205 were tired of the long war and that they mediated between the Romans and consul P. Sempronius Tuditanus and Philip V of Macedonia so that they might establish overall peace. In the course of the negotiations, Livy (29, 12, 11) mentions Aeropos, Derdas and Philip as *praetores* of the Epirotes, and these figures held a meeting with Philip V<sup>164</sup>. Furthermore, the *praetor*, Philip, was the first to speak during the meeting, which indicates his pre-eminence within the group of magistrates. According to Treheux<sup>165</sup>, it is some time since we have been able to rule out the existence of three *strategoï*, in which respect we might wonder about the magistracies occupied by the three figures we have just mentioned. In the Aeolian Confederacy, the high magistracies were occupied by the *strategos*, the *hyparchos* and the secretary<sup>166</sup>. In the case of the Acarnanians at the end of the third century, there was just one *strategos* and one *hyparchos*,

<sup>161</sup> Cabanes 1997a, 88, who highlights his financial role. Cf. also Hammond 1967, 651.

<sup>162</sup> Livy 32, 10, 2: *habituque concilio delecti ad eam rem agendam Pausanias praetor et Alexander magister equitum consulem et regem, ubi in artissimas ripas Aous cogitur amnis, in conloquium adduxerunt.*

<sup>163</sup> Hammond 1967, 618; Cabanes 1997a, 89.

<sup>164</sup> Livy 29, 12, 11, *Phoenice urbs est Epiri; ibi prius conlocutus rex cum Aeropo et Derda et Philippo Epirotarum praetoribus, postea cum P. Sempronio congregitur.* See Cabanes 1976, 372.

<sup>165</sup> *Contra* Salmon 1987.

<sup>166</sup> The Aetolian Confederacy had originally only one secretary and later, c. 200, had two. See Grainger 1999, 169-187.

alongside two secretaries<sup>167</sup>. In the Epirote case, we are not dealing with the *strategos* and two *prostatai*, because there were three *koina*. One of these magistrates may have been the secretary, an important post as witnessed in epigraphic documentation. The third figure may have precisely been the *hyparchos*.

In addition to the federal magistrates, we have the federal council, which is known by the name of *synedrion* or *synedroi*, referring to the members who made up the council, who were also federal magistrates. It is possible that *hoi synedroi* was the habitual name, but both terms, *synedrion* and *synedroi*, were interchangeable. Whatever the case may be, the council never appears as *boule* and its members as *bouleutai*. The federal *synedrion* was entrusted with handling habitual affairs between meetings of the assembly. It may have had probouleutic powers in relation to the assembly, but these are never explicitly referred to in documents. Finally, we can assume that the *synedroi* were elected in a representative manner by the local autonomous bodies<sup>168</sup>.

Wide-ranging testimony exists for the pan-Epirote federal assembly<sup>169</sup>, which appears in documents under three different names: *koinon*, *ekkllesia* and, simply, the Epirotes<sup>170</sup>. The last name seems to be the most habitual. In fact, on the only occasion where we have testimony of “the *ethnos* of the Epirotes”, this name is employed to define the Epirote State rather than a specific institution<sup>171</sup>. It is possible that the federal institutions had their fixed headquarters in Phoinice, the most important city in Epirus at the time<sup>172</sup>, but the assembly could also have met at other places according to the circumstances, such as, for example, in Gitana<sup>173</sup>. Furthermore, the *koinon* was responsible for implementing foreign policy and defending the whole of Epirus. It sent and received ambassadors<sup>174</sup>,

<sup>167</sup> Pascual 2017, 49-51.

<sup>168</sup> Cabanes 1976, 372.

<sup>169</sup> Cabanes 1976, 372-377.

<sup>170</sup> *Koinon* as assembly: Cabanes 1976, nr. 13 (restored), 15, 17 (= SEG XXIV, 450). *Ekklesia*: Carapanos 1878, pl. XXIX, 2; SGDI 1338; Cabanes 1976, nr. 32. Epirotes: SEG XXIV, 448; Cabanes 1976, nr. 16; Carapanos 1878, 114; SGDI 1339; Cabanes 1976, nr. 33.

<sup>171</sup> SEG XXIV, 448; Cabanes 1976, nr. 16. See, for example, Rzepka 2006, 5; 2017, 14-15; Bearzot 2014, 35 for the name of the *ethnos* as a synonym for the State.

<sup>172</sup> Polyb. 2, 8, 2.

<sup>173</sup> Livy 42, 38, 1; 45, 34, 7.

<sup>174</sup> Reception of ambassadors: Polyb. 4, 15, 1, 30; 16, 27, 4, 6; App. *Mac.* 11, 4; Livy, 32, 14, 7. Sending of ambassadors: Polyb. 2, 5, 6, 6, 1, 6, 8-10; 5, 5, 7; 10, 41, 4; 20, 3,

established and formed part of military alliances<sup>175</sup>, sent troops and decreed mobilisation<sup>176</sup>.

We can assume with some confidence that we are formally dealing with a democratic regime, in which respect the assembly would have been open to all adult male Epirotes. Thus, Polybius (2, 7, 11) states that the Epirotes made the Gauls guardians of democracy and their laws (Ἡπειρώται τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ τῶν νόμων φύλακας), with the result that the latter cooperated with the Illyrians in sacking Phoinice<sup>177</sup>, which indicates a democratic regime; and Pausanias (4, 35, 3), talking about the Epirotes, concludes that we do not know whether democracy makes any other people great apart from the Athenians. In spite of all this, the Epirote aristocracy (πρότοποι, *principes*, *nobiles*) retained their hold over the reins of power<sup>178</sup>. In this respect, Livy (32, 11, 1, 14, 5) refers to Charops the elder as *princeps Epirotarum*. In Passaron the *principes* were Antinous and Theodotus (Livy 45, 26, 5) and another Theodotus was a young aristocrat (Livy 45, 26, 7: *nobilis et ipse adulescens*), whilst in Tecmon the *princeps* was Cephalus (Livy 45, 26, 10). In 167, at the moment in which Epirus was about to be subject to pillage, the Romans summoned the ten πρότοποι or *principes* from each city (Plut. *Aem.* 29, 2; Livy 45, 3, 42).

Finally, the Epirote Confederacy was internally split into three large *koina*: Chaonians, Thesprotians and Molossians. Testimony to all three is provided in manumission decrees issued by their leading magistrate, the *prostatas*<sup>179</sup>. Thus, the *prostatas* of the Molossians appears alongside the *strategos* of the Epirotes when dating the liberation from slavery of Antibolus and Andromenes in around 180-170<sup>180</sup>. On other manumissions

1; 21, 26, 1, 7; 23, 1, 8-9, 28.13; Livy 36, 5, 1-3, 28, 3, 35, 8-11. Reception of messages: Polyb. 5, 3, 3; 24, 10, 6.

<sup>175</sup> Polyb. 4, 9, 4; 7, 12, 7; 9, 38, 5; 11, 5, 4; Livy 41, 42, 10. Regarding the alliances of the Epirotes that were signed during this period, see Hammond 1967, 601-628.

<sup>176</sup> Polyb. 2, 5, 3; 5, 3, 4; Livy 42, 38, 1; 43, 21, 4, 23.1.

<sup>177</sup> Lévêque 1997b, 80.

<sup>178</sup> Cabanes 1997a, 87; 1997b, 91 as part of client-patron relations.

<sup>179</sup> Cabanes 1976, 368-372.

<sup>180</sup> Carapanos 1878, 60, nr. 14 and pl. XXX, 5; Syll.<sup>1</sup> 442; Syll.<sup>2</sup> 838; SGDI 1350; Cabanes 1976, nr. 54; Meyer 2013, 161, nr. 27. 180-170 B.C. The same formula is employed in another manumission (Cabanes 1976, nr. 75; SEG XXXVII, 510; Meyer 2013, 158, nr. 24) dating from between 180 and 167 B.C., and also in Cabanes 1976, nr. 76; SEG XXVI, 704; Meyer 2013, 159-160, nr. 25, dating from between 175-170 B.C.

the formula varies and the federal *strategos* is not included<sup>181</sup>. Similarly, the *prostatas* of the Chaonians is mentioned in various manumissions alongside the *strategos* of the Epirotes in the dating formula *προστατοῦντος δὲ Χαόνων*<sup>182</sup>. As we have seen, in SGDI 1370<sup>183</sup>, dating from the third-second centuries, for example, was restored [τὸ κοινὸν τ]ῶν Θεσπρωτ[ῶν] (l. 3) and in Cabanes 1976, p. 548, nr. 18, line 2 we have attested the ethnic Thesprotian. As we have seen, the archives of the city, dated from the second half of the 4th century up to 168 B.C, may prove that Gitana was the capital of the Thesprotians, as well as attesting to the existence of the *koinon* and the fact that the Thesprotians belonged to the *koinon* of the Epirotes. These *koina* were divided internally into other smaller *koina*<sup>184</sup>, into *poleis*<sup>185</sup> and possibly into wide-ranging kinships, which may have also been institutionalised<sup>186</sup>.

<sup>181</sup> Carapanos 1878, 7-8, nr.11 and pl. XXX, 2; SGDI 1352; Cabanes 1976, nr. 56; SEG XXVI, 709; Meyer 2013, 160, nr. 26, dating from 175 to 170 B.C. and, in the same manner, Carapanos 1878, 58, nr. 12 and pl. XXX, 3; SGDI 1353; Meyer 2013, 148-149, nr. 14 and SGDI 1357; Meyer 2013, 154-155, nr. 20, between 190-167 B.C.

<sup>182</sup> SEG XLVIII, 683; Cabanes, Drini 2007, nrr. 1-4, 232-168 B.C. Cabanes, Drini 2007, nr. 5, between 175-168 B.C. Cabanes 1976, nr. 44; SEG XXXVIII, 468; Cabanes, Drini 2007, nr. 6, 232-167? and Cabanes nr. 48; Meyer 2013, 164-165, nr. 32, 230-168 B.C. Another inscription, dated between 290 and 167, uses a dating formula that includes the *prostatas* of the Thesprotians in a manumission at the Temple of Themis (Cabanes 1976, 576-577, nr. 49; SEG XXVI, 717; XXXVII, 515; Davies 2000, 249, nr. 7; Meyer 2013, 162-163, nr. 28) and perhaps belonged to non-monarchical period.

<sup>183</sup> Carapanos 1878, 64 and pl. XXXII, 3; Cabanes 1976, nr. 26;.

<sup>184</sup> Thus, at the end of the third century, inside the *koinon* of the Molossians we might mention the *koinon* of the Aterargi, which had its own assembly, or the *koinon* of the Pergamii, which had its own *prostatas*, both mentioned in a Dodonean inscription: SEG XV, 411; Cabanes 1976, nr. 35; Cabanes 1997a, 87; 1993, 101 and Larsen 1968, 280. Furthermore, at the beginning of the second century, a *koinon* whose name has not been preserved consulted the oracle at Dodona whether it was safe to establish a *sympoliteia* with the Molossians. We are obviously not dealing with an equal and symmetrical exchange of federal *politeiai*, but an asymmetrical exchange; the members of a certain *koinon* are considering the possibility of being included in the Molossian State, whilst maintaining their own confederacy (SGDI 1590; Carapanos 1878, 70, 2 and pl. XXXIV, 2; Cabanes 1976, nr. 21; Lhôte nr. 9).

<sup>185</sup> A considerable number of known settlements could have been *poleis*. Regarding the multiple settlements throughout Epirus in general, see: Hammond 1967, esp. 673-705; Corvisier 1991, 220-222, 275-291; 1993, 85; Andréou 1999; Dausse 2004 and 2011; Funke *et al.* 2004, 339-349, esp. 342-349; Cabanes *et al.* 2008; Ceka 2011. Regarding specific cases, for example: Corvisier 1993, 87-88: Gardhiki 13 ha, Kastritsa 34.4 ha, Chrysorrachis 4.5 ha, Kalenji 7.2 ha, and Hieromnini 3.7 ha. Ceka 1993: Margëllic, Guzazë and Kanina. Budina 1987, 159-161 and Sala, Hysi 2011, featuring more than twenty Ancient sites in the Drino Valley and Antigone (cf. also Budina 1993). Bereti

In summary, recent advances in different fields relating to the study of Ancient Epirus can help us to shape a new and different approach when it comes to tackling the history of the region between the end of the fifth century and the year 167. Although they had yet to structure themselves around *poleis*, at least throughout the fifth century, the Epirote *ethne* did develop a sufficient degree of organisation to form alliances, create an efficient institutional structure and mobilise their military resources. Before the last third of the fifth century, the Chaonians appear to have imposed their hegemony throughout the region by means of a series of *symmachiai*. Possibly the defeat of 429, together with the consolidation and emergence of other Epirote *ethne* from the end of the fifth century and beginning of the fourth, brought about the end of Chaonian hegemony and undoubtedly led to the advent of a new power, the kingdom of the Molossians. It was the expansion of the Molossians and the policies of the monarchs of the Aecid Dynasty that very probably led to the unification of Epirus under a new State during the first half of the fourth century, the King and the Epirotes, without any need for the prior stage of a *symmachia*, understood as the union of Molossians and Thesprotians, one that would have excluded the Chaonians and entailed the dissolution of the *koinon* of the Thesprotians. Far from this being the case, the three *koina* were able to co-exist during the monarchic period and would have formed the basis of the kingdom's administration. These same *koina* survived

1999: Treport. Preka-Alexandri 1999: Gitana, featuring a fortification measuring 2,400 m in perimeter and public seals bearing the city's name. Pépin 1999: Dymokastro-Elina, featuring a walled perimeter measuring 3,500 m, Torone-Lygia and also Mastilitza (Christophilopoulou 2004). Phoinice: De Maria 2004; De Maria, Villichic, Çondi 2011; De Maria 2011 (Phoinice and also Matomara); Bogdani, Giorgi 2011 (especially Matomara), and Giorgi, Bogdani, 2012. Pliakou 2011b: focusing especially on Episkopiko. Elea featuring a first walled stage circa 340-330 in Forsén et al. 2011 and Suha 2016. For the *poleis* included in *ethne* and dependent *poleis* cf. Lasagni 2015. In my opinion, in addition to the large *poleis*, many of the centres that we sometimes consider to be secondary could really have been *poleis* similar to the largest centres, which is to say, *poleis* of primary importance, autonomous and replete with their own *politeuma*, *politeia* and territory.

<sup>186</sup> Although it is not, strictly speaking, Epirote, an inscription from Amanthia could be indicative of these groups. In this inscription (Cabanes, Drini 2016, nr. 99, 103) an offering is made to Poseidon by four people and their kinship community (ll. 6-7: *καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν συγγόνων*).

throughout the subsequent historical period, the Epirote *koinon*, which replaced the monarchy and developed a pan-Epirote *politeia*.

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*POLIS AND DEPENDENCY IN EPIRUS:  
THE CASE OF CASSOPE AND THE POLEIS OF CASSOPAEA.*

## **1. Introduction**

When analysing the political organisation of Cassopaea<sup>1</sup> and defining its territorial structure in a more precise manner, two issues of vital importance emerge, which we shall tackle as follows: the relationship between the *poleis* that, according to the testimonies of Ancient authors, formed part of Cassopaea and the integration of Cassopaeans within the *ethnos* of the Thesprotians and among the Epirotes as a whole. In this respect, we know that, at some point, the Cassopaeans were incorporated amongst the Thesprotians and that they also formed part of the Epirote State, whether this was during the Monarchic, Post-Monarchic or “Republican” period.

We shall commence our study by identifying the territory of Cassopaea and defining the various *poleis* that fell within its boundaries.

Our main source for identifying the geographical limits of the region is undoubtedly Strabo. According to this source (Strab. 7,7,5), the Chaonians, Thesprotians and, to the south of the latter, the Cassopaeans, shared the Adriatic Coast that stretched from the Ceraunian Mountains to the (northern) entrance of the Ambracian Gulf, covering a distance, according to Strabo, of one thousand three hundred stadia. The Ancient geographer tells us that after Panormos, Onchesmus, Poseidium and Buthrotum came the Sybota Islands, just opposite Leucimma at the eastern end of the Island of Corcyra. Then came the Cape of Cheimerium and “Sweet Harbour” (Glykys Limen), which is where the River Acheron

<sup>1</sup> The main works of reference relating to the region are those of N.G.L. Hammond (1967), as part of his study of Epirus, and the specific study carried out by S. Dakaris (1971) as a contribution to the *Ancient Greek Cities Project* promoted by the Athens Center of Ekistics.

ran into the sea<sup>2</sup>, forming a gulf, close to where the River Thyamis also flowed, today known as the River Kalamas<sup>3</sup>. In this Gulf we find Cichyrus<sup>4</sup>, formerly known as Ephyra, which was a Thesprotian *polis*. Close by was Buchetium, a small Cassopaeian *polis* located not far from the sea which means that the boundary between Thesprotia and Cassopaea ran through the Acheron area. After Buchetium in Cassopaea came Elateia, Pandosia and Batiae, located inland and whose territory extended up to the gulf. It is obvious Strabo was proceeding in geographical order, which means that Batiae was the last city in Cassopaea. Its location indicates that the region did not reach the Adriatic, but it did reach the coast of the Ambracian Gulf.

After Glykys Limen, we can understand that there were another two ports in Cassopaea: Comarus<sup>5</sup>, the nearer and smaller of the two, which forms an isthmus of sixty stadia with the Ambracian Gulf and Nikopolis, and then a larger, better and more distant port, which Strabo (7,7,5) does not name but which he describes as being located close to the entrance of the Ambracian Gulf and at an approximate distance of twelve stadia (a little more than two kilometres) from Nicopolis<sup>6</sup>. Furthermore, the territory of the Cassopaeians extended further than the coast of the Ionian Sea along the northern coast of the Ambracian Gulf given that our author (Strab.7,7,6) declares that, to the left of the entrance of the

<sup>2</sup> Plin. *HN*. 4.1.4, the River Acheron, which springs from the Thesprotian lake known as Acherusia, is located thirty-five thousand paces from the mouth and gives cause for admiration for its bridge, one thousand feet in length. Cf. also Paus. 1,17,5 for the Acherusia Lagoon and River Acheron.

<sup>3</sup> In reality, the ancient Kalamas is located north of the mouth of the Acheron, flowing into the Ionian Sea to the north of Igoumenitsa.

<sup>4</sup> See Paus. 1, 17, 4-5.

<sup>5</sup> In the modern-day town of Mytikas: Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 121. Geological and geomorphological studies carried out within the framework of the Nikopolis Project run by the American School of Classical Studies on the Ambracian Gulf and the Preveza Peninsula have enabled us to gain an insight into what the landscape in the region was like in Antiquity. Hammond and Dakaris interpret Strabo incorrectly when he writes “Comarus, the nearer and smaller of the two, which forms an isthmus of sixty stadia with the Ambracian Gulf, and Nicopolis, a city founded by Augustus Caesar”, in the sense that they believe this would be the distance from the Port of Comarus to Nicopolis, which in reality is almost 3.6 km and, as Jing and Rap from the Nikopolis Project declare (2004, 162), the settlement could have been even closer in Roman times due to encroachment of the sea. The second port would be located in Ormos Vathy, some 12 stadia or 2.4 km from Nicopolis (*Ibid*).

<sup>6</sup> Ormos Vathy (n.5).

Ambracian Gulf were located Nicopolis and the Cassopaeans, an Epirote people, and that these extended to the end of the gulf, close to Ambracia, which meant that a good part of this coast belonged to them, up to the boundary with this Ambracian *polis*. The coast of the Gulf stretched some three hundred stadia, featuring an entrance of four stadia<sup>7</sup>, replete with good harbours (Strab.7,6) and part of it belonged, therefore, to Cassopaea (Fig. 1).

To the south of Onchesmus (modern-day Sarande) Strabo's account (7,7,5) names the Corcyraean harbour of Cassiope, which was important enough for Strabo to mention the distance between this harbour and Brindisi, namely one thousand seven hundred stadia, a distance equivalent to the stretch between Cape Falacro (today known as Cape Drasti) and Taranto<sup>8</sup>. This reference to the Corcyraean harbour of Cassiope could cause confusion given that the *polis* of Cassope, whose territory would have encompassed a stretch of coast on the Ionian Sea, would have had its own harbours, as we shall see below<sup>9</sup>. In this respect, between the end of the first century and the early years of the second century, according to Epitectus (*Dissertations* 3,7,3), Maximus, a friend of the author, sailed to Cassiope in mid-winter, and we should understand this to mean the harbour of this city<sup>10</sup>.

In short, Strabo makes reference to a fairly extensive territory that stretches approximately from the left banks of the River Acheron on the Ionian coast to the border with Ambracia on the coast of the Ambracian Gulf, which, according to our estimates, would encompass a total area

<sup>7</sup> Plin. *HN*. 4.1.4, the Ambracian Gulf, whose entrance is five hundred paces in width, is an extensive stretch of sea measuring seven thousand paces in length and fifteen thousand in width, equivalent to some 50 km in width and 11.12 km in length (Jing & Rapp 2004, 160, offer distances of 35 km from east to west and 10 km from north to south).

<sup>8</sup> In fact, Strabo digresses with regard to the route he follows from north to south along the coast of Epirus in order to make reference to the distances from certain points to important cities in the south of Italy such as Brindisi and Taranto. Whatever the case may be, he overestimated the distance between the Corcyraean port of Cassope and the city of Brindisi, which is 195 km, whilst the distance between Cape Falacro and Taranto would be a little higher, some 222 km. However, it would never come close to the figure of 1,700 stadia that he mentions (approx. 315 km).

<sup>9</sup> Ptolemy (*Geog.* 3,14 2) mentions the Port of Cassope. As we shall explain below, it is probable that the towns of Kastrosikya and Michalisti were two ports in Cassopaea.

<sup>10</sup> This Maximus could be Sextus Quinctilius Valerius Maximus, a friend of Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* 8,24,8), who became a Roman Senator under Nerva (ILS 1018).

measuring 876.78 km<sup>2</sup><sup>11</sup>, although a good part of it would be mountainous terrain<sup>12</sup>. This area is similar, for example, to that of Thebes in Boeotia or that of Corinth<sup>13</sup>, encompassing various *poleis*, one of which was Cassiope (Cassope), which lent its name to the region and to the territory as a whole and its inhabitants (Fig. 1).

That is to say, in the fourth century four small cities measuring between five and eight hectares each belonged to Cassope, namely Batiae, Berenice, Buchetium and Elateia, as well as a medium-sized city such as Pandosia<sup>14</sup>. A form of dependence that was more common than it may appear from historical accounts relates to the subordination of certain *poleis* to others<sup>15</sup>. In Epirus, a region that seems to have undergone a gradual process of urbanisation during the fifth century – to the extent that during the following century and the two first centuries of the Hellenistic Period the archaeological and documentary evidence points to the existence of a substantial number of *poleis*<sup>16</sup> – we have a highly significant example in Cassope of a *polis*<sup>17</sup>, located in the southern part of the region, which would appear to have controlled the neighbouring *poleis* (Fig. 2).

## 2. Location and spatial analysis

In spite of the fact that Strabo refers to his own period and that Thucydides does not explicitly mention the Cassopaeans, the latter's description confirms the idea that the boundaries of Cassopaea appear to have remained relatively stable, at least until the founding of Nicopolis. Thus, according to Thucydides (1,30,3), in the year 434 B.C., the Corinthians sent a fleet to help their allies, the Leucadians and other

<sup>11</sup> Dakaris identified the present-day territory of the prefecture of Preveza with that of Cassopaea, featuring an estimated area of 1,080 km<sup>2</sup> (Dakaris, 1971, 3). Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994, 120) mention a figure of 900 sq. km.

<sup>12</sup> Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 120, 122, included the fertile lowlands along the Ambracian Gulf and the lower reaches of the River Acheron.

<sup>13</sup> Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 20; Funke. Moustakis and Hochschulz 2004, n<sup>o</sup> 100, 346.

<sup>14</sup> Corvisier 1991, 200. See map in Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 116.

<sup>15</sup> For a typology of dependent *polis*, see Hansen 2004, 87-94.

<sup>16</sup> Dakaris 1987; Corvisier 1991.

<sup>17</sup> Dakaris 197; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 123; Funke, Moustakis and Hochschulz 2004, n<sup>o</sup> 100, 346.

cities, setting up a base in Actium alongside Cheimerium, which Thucydides places in Thesprotis), and they remained there for a season in order to wage the campaign. Later in his account (Thuc.1,46,3-4) he relates that, from Leucadia, the Corinthians reached the mainland coast opposite Corcyra and dropped anchor in the harbour of Cheimerium, which is in Thesprotis<sup>18</sup>. To the north, some way from the sea, in the part of Thesprotis known as Elaeatis, stands the city of Ephyra (on the bay inland) and close by is the mouth of the River Acheron, which runs through Thesprotia. Nearby is also located the River Thyamis, which marks the boundary between Thesprotis and Cestrine, the coastal region opposite Corcyra. Between these two rivers emerges Cape Cheimerium, which is different from the port. Between Corcyra and Thesprotia are the Sybota Islands and Sybota is a desert haven of Thesprotis (Thuc.1,50,3)<sup>19</sup>. This account is consistent with the location of Cassopaea to the south of the Acheron, of Cape Cheimerium and Acheron, whilst Thesprotia would extend to the north. Pseudo-Scymnus (*Per.* 444-445) also states that Thesprotia is located opposite Corcyra and, for his part, Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. *Θεσπρωτία*) places Thesprotia outside the Ambracian Gulf, which would belong to Cassopaea; finally, according to Pliny (4,1,4), the River Thyamis (known as Kalamas today) belonged to the Thesprotians.

The polis of **Cassope** was located on a plateau that rose 550-650 metres above sea level, close to modern-day Camarina, on the slopes of Mount Zalongo, some eighteen kilometres from the site where Nicopolis would subsequently be built. Its location facilitated supervision and control of the communication links between the north and south of Epirus and also those that connect the mountainous region with access to the sea.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Thuc. 1.46.3 and 1.48.1. Following the accounts of Thucydides, the location of the Cape and the Port of Cheimerium is not very clear, whilst Pausanias also makes scarce mention of them (8.7.2). In his work on the Naval Battle of Sybota (1945, 26-37), N. G. L. Hammond placed the Port of Cheimerium to the north of Cape Varlam, in what is Vemocastro today, in the Bay of Paramythia, a preferable location to that of Arilla Bay, situated somewhat further north, whilst Cape Cheimerium would be further south, before Parga. We therefore have three different references, one to the port, another to the cape and, in the case of Pausanias, one to the area of Cheimerium, which would be between the Sybota Islands and Parga. Cf. Wilson 1987.

<sup>19</sup> The Sybota Islands bear the same name today, the western isle being called Mavron Oros or Sybota and the eastern isle known as Hagios Nikolaos. These islands offer two possible sites for anchorage: the bay which has been formed by the practical union of the islands, and the eastern part of Hagios Nikolaos. To the south-east, on the mainland, we find the modern-day Port of Mourtos, which could have been the ancient Port of Sybota.

Occupation of the area dates from the end of the Bronze Age and continues without apparent interruption up to the first century B.C. The ceramic items found there are especially abundant as of the second decade of the fourth century and encompassing the third and second centuries<sup>20</sup>. The city was built during the first half of the fourth century and is surrounded by a polygonal wall that has been especially well preserved on the west and south-west sides, dating from the middle of the fourth century and which runs round an area measuring almost 40 hectares<sup>21</sup>. Cassope has an orthogonal urban layout, featuring twenty parallel streets (*stenopoi*) which cross two large plateiai at a straight angle, the latter running the length of the city and forming a series of rectangular blocks (*insulae*). Each *insula* is occupied by two houses separated from each other by a drainage channel (*peristasis*)<sup>22</sup>. The agora is located at the westernmost point of the city and features an *ekklesiasterion* with a capacity for some two thousand persons, dating from the end of the second century, whose predecessor probably took the form of a natural theatre<sup>23</sup>. In the third century the north and west sides of the agora were also flanked by two stoas. Behind the western stoa was the prytaneum and, in front of this, an open-air shrine with three altars<sup>24</sup>. The *katagogion* or public refuge was built in the third century in the northern part of the agora, although this could also have been a market of the *macellum*<sup>25</sup> type. It consists of a two-storey building with rooms around a patio with a peristyle. The city also had a theatre dating from the fourth-third centuries that had a capacity for six thousand persons (*TGR* II.231), located in the eastern part, which probably also served as a *bouleuterion*. A temple devoted to Aphrodite outside the walls was built in the middle of

<sup>20</sup> Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 162-172, for the ceramic remnants discovered during the excavations.

<sup>21</sup> Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 121 (38.7 hectares), 123 (wall). Leake 1835 I, 244-245, in the first detailed account that we have, described the walls and the theatre, as well as the vestiges of a necropolis and he created an initial plan of the city (I, 245). See also Hammond 1967, 51-53, and Dakaris 1971, 114-115.

<sup>22</sup> Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 124, date the layout from the fourth century; cf. 145-156 for a study of the urban housing.

<sup>23</sup> Hansen, Fischer-Hansen 1994, 62-63.

<sup>24</sup> Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 131-137.

<sup>25</sup> Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 127-129.



the fourth century<sup>26</sup>. Cassope also possessed a *heroon* and an underground *tholos* tomb on the south-west side of the city<sup>27</sup>. The population has been calculated at around eight to ten thousand inhabitants and the settlement would have enjoyed its heyday in the third and second centuries<sup>28</sup>. The Romans destroyed the settlement in 167 B.C., alongside another seventy cities throughout Epirus, and the survivors were later transferred to Nicopolis.

**Pandosia**<sup>29</sup> features in the list of Epidaurian Thearodoci (IG IV 1<sup>2</sup>, 95 l, 24) which dates from 356/5, which implies that the *polis* existed before the middle of the fourth century. An oracle from Dodona, misinterpreted by Alexander I, indicates that Pandosia was built on three hills near the Acherusian Lake and the River Acheron (Strab. 6,1,5), close to the northern boundaries between Thesprotia and Cassopaea. The River Acheron was navigable up to the city and offered easy access to the sea through the Acherusian Lake<sup>30</sup>. From Strabo's account we can infer that the settlement was fortified at the time when Alexander the Molossian died, circa 331, something that is also suggested by the campaign waged by Philip II a decade earlier, given that, although the King of Macedonia sacked the territory, a tactic employed against fortified cities, he does not seem to have taken the city.

Hammond placed Pandosia in the upper river basin of the Acheron, in Gourana, close to modern-day Trikastron (accepted by *Barr.*)<sup>31</sup>. Dakaris combined the thesis of Leake<sup>32</sup> with that of Philippson<sup>33</sup>, and

<sup>26</sup> Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 120-145 figs. 94 and 95, Cf. SEG 15 383, dating from the second century. It was situated some three hundred metres from the eastern gate of the city and may date from the middle of the fourth century.

<sup>27</sup> Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 141-144. For an interesting recent proposal regarding the *heroon*, see Domínguez, 2017, 79-88.

<sup>28</sup> Dakaris 1971, 42 and table 4, 45.

<sup>29</sup> Funke, Moustakis and Hochschulz, 347-348 (n.104). For a discussion relating to its location, see Hammond 1967, 477-478, 674-675 (in Gourana close to modern-day Trikastron) or in Kastri Phanariou, between Kanalikon and Ephyra (Leake 1835, 4.55, 73, 75; Philippson, Kristen 1956, 106; Dakaris 1971, 164-170).

<sup>30</sup> Riginos 2010, 62 and 65.

<sup>31</sup> Hammond 1967, 162-163, 427, 478 and especially 672. He describes a wall with a perimeter measuring 1,050 metres, consisting of a mixture of rectangular and polygonal masonry bond patterns with three towers that may have been added later on (*Ibid.*481). They identified site is on the main route from the valley of the Lower Acheron between Cassope and Dodona (*Ibid.*643).

<sup>32</sup> Leake 1835, IV, 55, 73,75.

<sup>33</sup> Philippson 1956, 10.

identified Pandosia with the hill of Kastri Phanariou<sup>34</sup>, of rounded profile, that rises 107 metres above the Acheron plain. Contrary to the Ancient description, today the Acheron flows to the south of this hill and, in order to solve this problem, Dakaris<sup>35</sup> suggested that the course of the Acheron had changed and that in Antiquity the river-bed was located on the northern side of the hill, although he did not provide any evidence to support this idea. Studies carried out as part of the Nikopolis Project have reconstructed the course of the lower stretch of the Acheron between the fifth and the first century, including the change witnessed by the Acherusian Lake, confirming the fact that the Acheron changed its course and, in effect, now flows to the south of the Kastri hill, thus confirming Dakaris' view<sup>36</sup> (Fig. 1).

The city enjoyed an enviable natural setting, protected by the River Acheron on its northern and western sides, whilst to the south it was protected by the Acherusian Lake. Dakaris believes that a harbour existed on the south side of the lake at Dromos Skalomatos, where oak keels of ancient vessels have been found. Another port may have existed on the north side of the lake near the south wall of Pandosia, given that a series of ancient metal rings have been found affixed to the rocks which were used for tying up small ships<sup>37</sup>.

Kastri was occupied during the Prehistoric period<sup>38</sup>, although there are scarce remains from before the middle of the fourth century<sup>39</sup>, which probably has something to do with the configuration of the *polis* at this time. Dakaris declares that the city was fortified in the fifth century and in the year 343/2<sup>40</sup>. Corvisier dates the wall between the end of the fifth century and the middle of the fourth century<sup>41</sup>. Before the latter date, the city would have had an impressive polygonal wall, although this wall may have also been built after Philip's attack, enclosing an area of some 13.1 hectares, at least during the Hellenistic Period, which would correspond to around four thousand inhabitants<sup>42</sup>. The walls of the city followed the

<sup>34</sup> Riginos 2010, 62; Jing & Rapp 2003, 189; Besonen *et al.* 2003, 205.

<sup>35</sup> Dakaris, 1971, 164.

<sup>36</sup> Besonen *et alii.* 199-263, 205, 234).

<sup>37</sup> Dakaris 1971, 57.

<sup>38</sup> Corvisier 1991, 201.

<sup>39</sup> Riginos 2010, 66.

<sup>40</sup> Dakaris 1971, 42.

<sup>41</sup> Corvisier 1991, 201.

<sup>42</sup> Dakaris 1971, 43, 148.

natural incline of the terrain and featured twenty-two square towers, as well as two gates on the eastern side, one of them (the southernmost) facing towards the Acherusia Lake. The nature of the terrain suggests that the city could not have had a square-shaped design, although the remains that have been discovered do not allow us to reconstruct the layout of the city. An inner polygonal wall some 2.5 metres high divided the city into two sections and there were also two large cisterns at the very top of the hill<sup>43</sup>. According to Dakaris<sup>44</sup> the bridge mentioned by Pliny (*NH* 4,1,4) would have linked the main settlement on Kastri with the other two hillocks located further north.

**Bucheta** or Buchetium<sup>45</sup>, as mentioned by Demosthenes (7,32) and Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F206) within the context of Philip II's campaign in the year 342, was placed by both Dakaris and Hammond<sup>46</sup> on the hill where the present-day ruins of the Byzantine fortress of Kastro Rogon are located, which is to say on the right banks of the River Louros, not far from the sea, in a strategic enclave close to the Ambracian Gulf, with which it would be connected by the river, which was navigable. Dakaris suggests that this was the port of Elateia and Batiae<sup>47</sup>. Whatever the case may be, Buchetium was a *polis* located in a very strategic position.

Occupation of the site of Kastro Rogon dates back to a very early period and Corvisier suggests that part of the settlement was already fortified in the Archaic Period<sup>48</sup>. An isodomic wall with eight towers would date from the fifth century, built to protect an area measuring 1.5 hectares, access to which was provided by a single gate located at the north-west corner<sup>49</sup>. Throughout the fourth century the settlement spread westwards and a new wall was raised with towers built at intervals, enclosing an area measuring 3.5 hectares, which may have provided protection for some one thousand inhabitants. Access to the city was via a gate located on the west side of the enclosure. Constructions in subsequent periods practically obliterated all remains of more ancient remnants, which means that only one building on the southern side of Kastro can be

<sup>43</sup> Dakaris 1971, 161, 167 with fig. 42; *AR* 2000/1 167; Riginos 2010, 66.

<sup>44</sup> Dakaris, 1971, 87.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Dakaris 1971, 177-181, fig. 9; Hammond 1976; Corvisier 1991, 201; Funke, Moustakis and Hochschulz 2004, n<sup>o</sup> 90, 342-343.

<sup>46</sup> Dakaris 1971, 177, fig.9; Hammond 1976; 1967, 477.

<sup>47</sup> Dakaris 1971, 178.

<sup>48</sup> Corvisier 1991, 201.

<sup>49</sup> Dakaris 1971, 181, fig. 47.

identified, running along the side for about 80 metres. It takes the form of a stoa and has been interpreted as a shipyard for boats that sailed up and down the river<sup>50</sup>.

Today Kastro Rogon is located inland, almost 13 kilometres away from the sea (Ambracian Gulf). However, paleo-geographical studies that have been carried out close to Kastro Rogon and Strongyli, based on stratigraphic analyses of the sub-soil, have revealed that the shoreline was located at the foot of the Mts. Stavros and Rokia, at least during the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman Periods<sup>51</sup>, which means that the current hills that rise up over the plain were formerly islands. Thus, Kastro Rogon, a hill that rises 65-75 metres above sea level, would have been an island close to the mainland and would correspond closely to Strabo's description, as well as being a sea-port that enjoyed a good strategic position with regard to the mainland and commercial traffic. Nevertheless, Karatzeni has proposed that Ambracus<sup>52</sup>, the Ambracian port, was located on Kastro Rogon, and places Buchetium in Michalitsi, close to Nicopolis<sup>53</sup>, an argument refuted by Ugo Fantasia in a recent work<sup>54</sup>.

Ancient **Elateia**<sup>55</sup> was placed by Strabo (7,7,5) between Buchetium and Pandosia. Hammond and Dakaris situated it at the foot of Mount Zalongo in Paleorophoro Oropou, to the north of the modern-day town of Paleorophoro<sup>56</sup>. Dakaris states that this site was occupied from a very early period, dating back to prehistoric times, and he also suggests that the settlement was fortified by the fifth century with a polygonal wall<sup>57</sup> measuring 1,690 metres in circumference, which enclosed an area of 12.7 hectares, sufficient to hold a population of nearly four thousand people. The main gate of the walled enclosure was in the south-east facing the Louros plain and Buchetium, and the other gates were located on the south, east and north sides, respectively. Inside the enclosure, the steep

<sup>50</sup> Ibid 182-83, fig. 47; Hammond 1967, 475-482.

<sup>51</sup> Wiseman, Zachos, 2003, 189, Figs. 5.19 and 5.19b.

<sup>52</sup> Plb. 4.61.1-7; Hammond 1967, 137, 514-515, placed Ambracus in Phidhokastro. Fantasia (2017, 9-15)

<sup>53</sup> Karatzeni 2011.

<sup>54</sup> Fantasia 2017, 9-15.

<sup>55</sup> Hammond 1967, 477-478; Dakaris 1971, 171-173; Funke, Moustakis and Hochschulz 2004, n° 94, 344.

<sup>56</sup> Hammond 1967, 477-478; Dakaris 1971, 171; Riginos 2010, 62.

<sup>57</sup> Dakaris 1971, 172. Hammond indicates that there is a point in which the polygonal bond pattern merges with rectangular blocks that probably belonged to a previous wall (1964, 481).

terrain required the construction of terraces and tiered streets, although there is no evidence of grid planning within the town. At least two cemeteries have been discovered outside the centre<sup>58</sup>. The city would have controlled the eastern plain of the River Louros and also the higher northern region that extended to the north of this river<sup>59</sup>. Dakaris also mentions that Elateia would have formed part of a 'tetrapolis', adding that Pandosia would be the centre, presenting a map to this effect, but without offering any reasoning in this respect<sup>60</sup>.

**Batiae**<sup>61</sup> has been identified with the ruins of Kastri Rizovouni, located some three kilometres to the south of modern-day Rizovouni and 3.5 km to the east of modern-day Thesprotikon, an advantageous site controlling the Lelovo Plain and the main route to the centre of Epirus and Dodona<sup>62</sup> (see Fig. 1). The settlement is surrounded by a polygonal wall measuring 1,400-1,500 metres in circumference, most likely built during the Hellenistic Period after the year 343/2<sup>63</sup>, and the wall encircles the entire summit of the hill, encompassing an area of 10.1 hectares. The main gate is located on the northern flank of the wall and is protected by large towers. Another four gates have been identified, located on the north-east, south, south-west and north-west corners, respectively<sup>64</sup>. Traces of a polygonal wall can also be detected inside the city, which may indicate that the city possessed a walled acropolis. Four cisterns with a total capacity of between 300-400 m<sup>3</sup> have been recorded, along with various buildings whose exact purpose and function are impossible to determine<sup>65</sup>.

In addition to the sites we have already mentioned, various other notable settlements would have formed part of Cassopaea. Specifically, these would include the ancient settlements that are located in modern-day Kastrosykia and Michalitsi. Kastrosykia has a series of Hellenistic, Roman and subsequent remains, but it also features remnants from the Classical

<sup>58</sup> Dakaris 1971, 176.

<sup>59</sup> Dakaris 1971, 173. Cf. also Hammond 1967, 52-54, 480.

<sup>60</sup> Dakaris 1971, 135 and Fig. 58.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Dakaris 1971, 183-185; Funke, Moustakis and Hochschulz 2004, n<sup>o</sup> 88, 342. Hammond 1964, Plan 3.

<sup>62</sup> Dakaris 1971, 183; Wiseman, Zachos, 2003, 4.

<sup>63</sup> Dakaris 1971, 185.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. 186, fig. 45-46.

<sup>65</sup> Dakaris 1971. Cf. also Hammond 1967, 55-56; Riginos 2010, 66.

Period and may have been walled in the fourth century<sup>66</sup>. Similarly, Michalitsi was fortified in the fourth century<sup>67</sup>. As we mentioned above, it was here that V. Karatzeni placed the polis of Buchetium<sup>68</sup>, in contrast to Dakaris, who placed the ancient settlement of Berenice founded by Pyrrhus in Michalitsi<sup>69</sup>. Dakaris identified Kastrosykia with the Port of Cassope and believed that Michalitsi would have been another Cassopaeian port quite distinct from Kastrosykia<sup>70</sup>. It is possible that Michalitsi was also the subsequent settlement of Berenice in the third century or that this city was located in Kastrosykia. If this attribution is correct, then Pyrrhus may simply have re-named a polis that already existed and that was a dependency of Cassope. It is also possible that the two sites are the other way round or that Berenice corresponds to a site quite distinct from either. Although Cassope was not by the sea, it undoubtedly had a port of considerable importance and, in fact, Ptolemy (*Geog.* 3,14,2) mentions the Port of Cassope<sup>71</sup>.

We have also examined by means of a *GIS* approach<sup>72</sup> the Cassopaeian territory and the *poleis* pertaining to such territory. Thus, we have reconstructed the possible limits of the territory, not only following ancient sources already commented, but also, taking into account specific geographical features that constituted the physical frontiers in Antiquity such as the rivers. In our case, the Cassopaeian territory is well delimited by

<sup>66</sup> Dakaris 1971, 51; Hammond 1967, 579, states that it had a fortified acropolis, a temple and a port.

<sup>67</sup> Dakaris 1971, 31 and fig. 30. Hammond 1967, 51, 579, declares that it was not fortified and records a necropolis dating from the second half of the fourth century; he also mentions that this site would be more likely to correspond to Pyrrhus' Berenice (*Ibid.* 579).

<sup>68</sup> Karatzeni 2011, 151-152.

<sup>69</sup> Cabanes 1997, 92; Dakaris 1971, 43, 66, 73, 790, 103. Dakaris also mentions Michalitsi as one of Cassope's two sea-ports, which is where Pyrrhus would have founded Berenice on a pre-existing settlement in the year 297 B.C., whilst Hammond (1967, 578-579) refutes this argument and locates Berenice at Kastrosykia.

<sup>70</sup> Dakaris 1971, 51.

<sup>71</sup> Strabo (7,7,5) refers to a port, Cassiope, which was located between Onchesmus, to the north, and Cape Falacro, to the south, and he even indicates the distance between this port and Brindisi. However, as we clarified above, he was referring to the Corcyraean port of Casiopi.

<sup>72</sup> A Digital Elevation Model of the area of study has been obtained from ASTER GDEM (Land Processes Distributed Active Archive Center (LP DAAC), located at USGS/EROS, Sioux Falls, SD. <http://lpdaac.usgs.gov> . For the *GIS* process, ArcGIS version 10.2 has been used.

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the Acheron and the Aracthos rivers in its North and Eastern borders, the Ionic sea at the West and the gulf of Ambracia closing its south side. We have measured the territory and also have proceed to apply a brief spatial analysis to ascertain the theoretical territory of each of the Cassopaean's *poleis* and the distance between them applying the *Nearest Neighbour Analysis*<sup>73</sup>, whose results can be seen in the Fig. 2 being the following the distances between *poleis* in kilometres and, in bold, the nearest distance:

	BATIAE	BOUCHETA	CASSOPE	ELATEIA	PANDOSIA
BATIAE		<b>9,29</b>	17,62	12,91	25,12
BOUCHETA	<b>9,29</b>		16,92	12,56	29,16
CASSOPE	17,62	16,92		<b>4,80</b>	15,09
ELATEIA	12,91	12,56	<b>4,80</b>		17,34
PANDOSIA	25,12	29,16	<b>15,09</b>	17,34	

The theoretical extension of the Cassopaean *poleis* territory accounts to 196.95 km<sup>2</sup> that corresponds to the buffers outlined in our map. As we see, some *poleis* may share part of its territory (as is the case of Cassope/Elateia or Batiae/Boucheta) while Pandosia probably had a greater extension and is totally isolated. To establish a certain hierarchy of our Cassopaean polies could result in a three tier-ranking, where

<sup>73</sup> We have applied two of the primary techniques of Spatial Analysis, the *Resources Catchment Area*, to define the catchment areas from a specific settlement considering that a normal adult can cover five kilometres of a plain terrain in one hour, which means one kilometre for each 12 minutes (García Sanjuán 2005, 205) and we have added that of the *Nearest Neighbour Analysis* widely used in Ecology (Clark & Evans, 1954). This method allows us to measure the grouping or dispersion of a distribution of points. This type of analysis is specifically appropriate to be applied to agrarian societies due to its simplicity and flexibility. Furthermore, the *Nearest Neighbour Analysis* is based on the assumption that the distribution of settlements on a territory is not a matter of chance or accidental but follows the laws of human behaviour which determine that the establishment of people within a certain territory follow some rules that not only can be detected, but it can also be measured and from which we can assume a general pattern not without some exceptions. We must keep in mind that the above methods attempt to construct a model and thus, we cannot expect that its utilization as well as its results will represent exactly the reality but they can be a starting point, a valid instrument together with others, to gain an insight into the reconstruction of ancient territory. To elaborate a more realistic model a more detailed analysis is needed with additional data.

Cassopea could be the top-tier followed by a middle size one that could be Pandosia and the others in the lower rank<sup>74</sup>.

It is noteworthy to mention the proximity of the Cassopean East frontier to the main historical route between Ambracia and the sanctuary of Dodona, the “pilgrims’ route” (extensive further north up to Apollonia) and the important role that Batiae and Boucheta could play in the control of such route. We have traced such route applying the *shortest path* tool offered by the *GIS* program, considering a slope of 12% between the sites of Ambracia and Dodona. The role of both *poleis* can be spatially confirmed by the visibility areas shown in Fig. 3<sup>75</sup>.

### 3. Review of available sources

Now that we have indicated the location of the different *poleis* that formed part of Cassopaeian territory, we shall now seek to clarify the relationship between them through the sources available. In the year 342 Philip II of Macedonia waged a campaign in the north-west of Greece that penetrated as far as Southern Epirus. The main purpose of the expedition was to depose Arybbas, king of the Molossians according to Justin (7,6,11)<sup>76</sup>, in order to enthrone Alexander the Molossian, Philip’s nephew. Arybbas was married to Troas, sister of Olympias and daughter of Neoptolemus, a monarch who reigned between the years 370 and 357, sharing the throne with his brother, Arybbas. When Neoptolemus died, Arybbas also became the guardian of Neoptolemus’ two children, Alexander and Olympias. Alexander had been educated in the Macedonian Court (Justin 8,6,5-7) and, evidently, with the invasion of Epirus, Philip sought to establish control over the Molossian kingdom and turn it into a dependency of Macedonia. In effect, Philip II deposed Arybbas and put Alexander in his place (Justin 8,6,7;9,6,2)<sup>77</sup>.

In a subsidiary sense, this operation entailed the conquest of Ambracia. With regard to this campaign, Demosthenes (7,32) tells us that, precisely during the course of his campaign against Ambracia, in the

<sup>74</sup> A model already suggested by Corvisier (1991, 201-201).

<sup>75</sup> Dakaris 1971, 98-99, 187; Hammond 1967,172: “a route which pilgrims coming from the south must have used...”; Id,1997a, 48; 1997b, 16; Fantasia 2017, 14-15,44; Riginos 2010, 65;

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Justin 8,6,4.

<sup>77</sup> Treves 1942, 129-153; Errington1975, 41-50.



case of the three *poleis* known as Pandosia, Buchetium and Elateia, which formed part of Cassopaea, and were Elean colonies, Philip devastated their territories and handed them over to his brother-in-law, Alexander, as slaves: ἐπὶ δ' Ἀμβρακίαν στρατεύεται, τὰς δ' ἐν Κασσωπία τρεῖς πόλεις, Πανδοσίαν καὶ Βούχετα καὶ Ἐλάτειαν, Ἠλείων ἀποικίας, κατακαύσας τὴν χώραν καὶ εἰς τὰς πόλεις βιασάμενος παρέδωκεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ κηδεστῇ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ δουλεύειν. That is to say, according to Demosthenes, Pandosia, Buchetium and Elateia were endowed with a *polis* structure, at least in the middle of the fourth century, and, as a consequence – and here we find one of the most significant aspects of his testimony – they possessed their own territory (τὴν χώραν). Although they were *poleis* and each possessed their own *chora*, the three all formed part of the territory known as Cassopaea.

With regard to the affirmation “Ἠλείων ἀποικίας” which is accepted by all and especially strongly defended by Dakaris<sup>78</sup> and without firm evidence<sup>79</sup> of Elean colonisation, we might make reference to two recent works by A.J. Domínguez in which the author demonstrates that we do not have all the proofs required to confirm that the *poleis* of Pandosia, Buchetium and Elateia were Elean colonies. Domínguez proposes that Demosthenes’ text (7,32) reveals the construction of an Elean identity which is also linked to the lineage of Oxylus, the founder of Peloponnesian Elea<sup>80</sup>.

In relation to the same events, namely Philip’s campaign within the region in the year 342, two fragments from Theopompus have been preserved in two entries cited by Harpocration (*s.vv.* Ἐλάτεια and Πανδοσία). In the first, Harpocration (*s.v.* Ἐλάτεια) indicates that, whilst Demosthenes tells us in the *Seventh Philippic*, - if this text is originally by this orator -, that there are three cities in Cassopaea (ἐν Κασσωπία τρεῖς πόλεις), Pandosia, Buchetium and Elateia, although the latter is better written Elateia, Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 206)<sup>81</sup> in his forty- book states that the *poleis* in Cassopaea (τῶν ἐν Κασσωπεία πολέων) are four in

<sup>78</sup> Dakaris 1971, 134 and ff.

<sup>79</sup> Hammond 1967, 427; Dakaris 1971; Cabanes 1976, 114; Corvisier 1991, 200. Nobody questions this alleged Elean colonisation.

<sup>80</sup> Domínguez 2015; 2017, 81-82. See the interpretation proposed in same paper of the inscription (SEG 36, 555) found in Cassope (*Ibid.*84).

<sup>81</sup> Harpocration, *s.v.* Ἐλάτεια, Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος· πόλις δὲ ἦν μεγίστη τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι. τοῦ δὲ ῥήτορος πάλιν ἐν ζ Φιλιππικῶν, εἰ γνήσιος, τάδε, ἐν Κασσωπία τρεῖς πόλεις, Πανδοσίαν καὶ Βούχετα καὶ Ἐλάτειαν. ῥητέον ὅτι βέλτιον ἐν ἐνίοις γέγραπται διὰ τοῦ ρ Ἐλάτρεια. Θεόπομπος γοῦν ἐν μγ τέτταρας πόλεις φησὶν εἶναι τῶν Κασσωπαίων, ἀλλ' οὐ τρεῖς ὡσπερ ὁ Δημοσθένης, Ἐλάτρειάν τε καὶ Πανδοσίαν καὶ Βιτίαν καὶ Βούχετα.

total, Elateia, Pandosia, Bitia and Buchetium, in which respect this author adds Bitia (Batiae) as another *polis* in Cassopaea. In another fragment Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 207) observed in his third book, as also mentioned by Demosthenes in the *Philippics* and clarified by Harpocration (s.v. Πανδοσία), that as far as the conquest of the cities of Cassopaea was concerned (περι τῆς ἀλώσεως τῶν ἐν Κασσωπία πόλεων), Pandosia was another of the cities (ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Πανδοσία)<sup>82</sup>. That is to say, according to Theopompus we are dealing with four *poleis*, Elateia, Pandosia, Bitia and Buchetium, which possessed a polis structure and also all formed part of Cassopaea. Given that another *polis* existed in Cassopaea known as Cassope, which was inhabited by the Cassopaeans, and that they also had their own territory, it is necessary to explore the relationship that was established amongst all the *poleis* in the region, especially in terms of the political dimension.

What, then, was Cassope, and what was Cassopaea? First and foremost, Cassope was a *polis* in itself (Cassope), one that possessed its own territory (Cassopaea). Diodorus (19,88,1-5) states that after the death of King Aeacides of Epirus<sup>83</sup> in 313 B.C., the latter was succeeded to the throne by Alcetas, who was an enemy of Cassander, the son of Antipater. Lyciscus, the general that Cassander had sent to Acarnania<sup>84</sup>, invaded Epirus in around the year 314 and camped in the city of Cassopaea (Diod. 19,88,3, Κασσωπίαν πολιν). In Diodorus' view, therefore, Cassopaea was a *polis* and, what is more, a *polis* of appreciable size and importance given that it was capable of sustaining the logistical burden of a significant army, which, Diodorus (19,88,4) assures us, was larger than that of Alcetas. Furthermore, a dedication by Philoxenus that appears on a statue in Cassopaea (SEG 34 589) in honour of Hipparchus and Aischria which dates from around the same time, between the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the third, mentions Cassope as a *polis* (τᾷ πόλει)<sup>85</sup>, whilst between the end of the third century and the beginning of the second, in a *polis* decree, which is to say a public decree, the *polis* of the Cassopaeans, πόλις Κασσωπαίων (SEG 35 671), voted for an honorific decree in favour of a figure known as Alexander<sup>86</sup>. In a

<sup>82</sup> Harpocration, s.v. Πανδοσία, Πανδοσία. Δημοσθένους Φιλιππικοῖς. περι τῆς ἀλώσεως τῶν ἐν Κασσωπία πόλεων, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Πανδοσία, Θεόπομπος ἐν γ' ἱστορήκεν.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Justin (14,5,9) who calls him King of the Molossians.

<sup>84</sup> Diod. 19,36,5.

<sup>85</sup> *Ergon* (1983) 39.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. *PAAH* (1982) 84.

document that, as we shall see, could be crucial in various aspects, namely the list of Epidaurian Thearodoci (IG IV 1<sup>2</sup>, 95), which dates from the year 356/5, Cassope features in line 25 as Kassopa (Κασσώπα). Thus, under the heading of Epirus (line 23, Ἰπειρος), Pandosia appears first on the list (line 24, Πανδοσία) with one *theodorokos* and then comes Kassopa with two *theorodokoi*, which probably indicates some kind of hierarchy between the two<sup>87</sup>. Then come the Thesprotians (line 26, Θεσπρωτοί), Chaonia (line 29, Χαονία) and the Molossians (line 31, Μολοσσοί), which, as we can see, are expressly differentiated from Pandosia and Kassopa. The inclusion of Pandosia in the list implies that the inscription does not refer to Cassopaea as a territory that also includes Pandosia, but to the *polis* of Kassopa, which is also referred to by its *asty* as opposed to its *ethnos*, probably with the intention of expressly indicating the *polis*. In contrast, the Thesprotians and Molossians are mentioned according to their *ethnos*, whilst for Chaonia, which included various *poleis*, no specific *polis* is mentioned because they are all encompassed by the name of Chaonia. This inscription testifies to the existence of Cassope as a *polis* in the first part of the fourth century. We also have an oracle consultation at Dodona (DVC 363A), dating from the second half of the fifth century, in which the name Κασ(σ)όπ[αῖοι] has been restored, which means that the Cassopaeans would have established themselves as a *polis* or a city-state by this time<sup>88</sup>.

The Cassopaeans struck silver and bronze coins between the years 342-330/25 featuring the head of Aphrodite wearing a crown or a *boucranium* on the obverse side and a serpent or a dove on the reverse side, sometimes also with the legend ΚΑΣΣΩΠΑΙΩΝ on the obverse side<sup>89</sup>. A number of public weights for this *polis* have also been found stamped with the legend Κασσώπατων] (SEG 35 673).

<sup>87</sup> Dakaris repeatedly mentions the fact that Pandosia would have been an Elean colony, and he also endows it with a special category based on its inclusion in the list of Epidaurian Thearodoci and the fact that, for a brief period of time, it produced its own coins between 168 and 148 B.C. (Franke 1961, 107-109), even conferring on it the status of capital of the Elean State: "So, up to the end of the 5th cent. B.C., Cassopaia included the state of the Eleans with its capital at Pandosia ..." (Dakaris 1971, 50; *ibidem* 98, 135).

<sup>88</sup> Cf. DVC 364B, from the same period and restored as Κ(ασσώπαῖοι).

<sup>89</sup> Franke 1961, 69-75; SNG *Cop.* Epirus 43-45; Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 172-174.

In the list of Delphic Thearodoci, dating from the end of the third century<sup>90</sup>, Cassopaea also features predictably as a *polis* (ἐν Κασσώπαι), cited amongst another two *poleis* in Ambracia (col. IV line 50) and Phoenice (col. IV line 53), with a vacant space between Kassopa and Phoenice. Another inscription for the *polis* of Thyrraeion in Acarnania, also dating from the third century (IG IX 1<sup>2</sup>, 2.243), grants honours to a Cassopaeian (line 4, Κασσωπαῖον) whose name has been lost. We can interpret this reference as a mention to a city-ethnic, as opposed to the territory as a whole that included other *poleis*. That is to say, we are dealing with a citizen who originated from Cassope and not from any other *polis* within the territory. Similarly, another example of a collective use of the city-ethnic consists of a reference to the Cassopaeian judges (IG VII 188 lin.11, οἱ Κασσωπαῖοι) who, together with other judges from Thyrraeion, mediated during the early years of the second century (rather than the third century) in a territorial conflict between Aigosthena and Pegae (the latter subject to Megara), which belonged to the Boeotian and Achaean Leagues, respectively<sup>91</sup>.

In a reference that could be important, although made at a later date, Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Κασσώπη) stated that Cassope was a *polis*, which he placed erroneously amongst the Molossians, although he gave a name to their territory, which he called *Kassopaia*, (Κασσώπη, πόλις ἐν Μολοσσοῖς, ἐπώνυμος τῆς Κασσωπίας χώρας), as well as citing Herodorus (*FGrH* 31 F35), for whom the city-ethnic was Κασσωπός.

Finally, Ptolemy (*Geog.* 3,14,7-8), stated that Cassiope was a *polis*, also included erroneously on this occasion amongst the Chaonians, but which had its own port and whose boundary was marked by the River Achelous.

Testimony of the existence of the leading magistrates of Cassope as of the second century is provided by a dedication to Aphrodite (SEG 15 383)<sup>92</sup> that brings together the names of the four *strategoi*, Lykotas, Satyrus, Phillandrus and Sotion, who held this position during the prytaneion of Andromenus (line 1-2), when Aristarchus was secretary. Andromenus is the eponymous magistrate of the *polis* and, perhaps, the name of this position leads us to conclude that we are dealing with the president of an institution, council or assembly. Aristarchus would have

<sup>90</sup> Plassart 1921, col. IV line 51, 23.

<sup>91</sup> IG VII 188 + 189; SEG 13 327; L. Robert *RPh* 13 (1939) 97-122; Ager 1996, n<sup>o</sup> 85, 233-235; cf. SEG 39 420, 46 520.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Dakaris 1952, 356/8, fig. 42.

been more an assistant to the *strategoï*, rather than a secretary of the council. Furthermore, the honorific decree in favour of Alexander (SEG 35 671) in which *πόλις Κασσωπαίων* appears, has been interpreted as the assembly of citizens of Cassope that voted for the decree. According to Hoepfner and Schwandner (1994, 119), the archaeological evidence also indicates the presence of institutions in the fourth century, especially an *ekklesiasterion* (cf. *infra*).

In short, at least during the first half of the fourth century, and even during the last part of the fifth century, a *polis* known as *Κασσώπα* (IG IV<sup>2</sup>, 1 95, lin. 25)<sup>93</sup>, *Κασσώπη* (in *koine*, SEG 36 555; Steph. Byz.) or *Κασσωπία* (Diod. 19.88.3) existed, whose city-ethnic was *Κασσωπαῖος* (coinages dating from the fourth century; *I. Magnesia* 32, line 51, referring to the year 206; IG VII 188, line 11; IG IX 1<sup>2</sup>, 2.243; SEG 35 673, perhaps DVC 363A, B)<sup>94</sup> and whose territory was known as *Kassopaia* (St. Byz).

However, in addition to Cassope, Cassopaea included other *poleis* at the very least and, following the order proposed by Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 206) and according to Harpocration (*τῶν ἐν Κασσωπεία πολέων*), these were Elateia, Pandosia, Bitia (Batiae) and Buchetium.

Elatrion or Elateia was mentioned by Demosthenes (7,32) and Theopompus (F 206) as a *polis*. Strabo (7,7,5) placed Elateia between Buchetium and Pandosia and, although Batiae was located further inland, evidently all of these settlements were located in Cassopaea. According to Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.* Ἐλάτεια, 264,3-5) Elateia was also a *polis* of Thesprotia, also being called Elatrion.

As we saw above, Pandosia is mentioned in the list of Epidaurian Theaorodoci (IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 95, l. 24) as being part of Epirus (l. 23) and is cited by the name of its *asty*. This *polis* is distinct from *Kassopa*, which is also mentioned in the inscription (line 5). Both, Pandosia and *Kassopa*, the only two cities mentioned, are differentiated from the Thesprotians (l. 26), Chaonia (l. 29) and the Molossians (l. 31). The city issued a small number of bronze coins for local circulation, separately from Cassope, which Franke (1961, 107-109) dated as belonging to the second century for stylistic reasons (after the year 168) and he specified at least two

<sup>93</sup> Plassart 1921, IV.51. Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 116, 119, date the creation of the *polis* at the middle of the fourth century, at around 350 B.C. See Funke, Moustakis, Hochschulz, 2004, 346. Suidas *s.v.* Κασσιόπεια, *s.v.* Κασσιέπεια, classified as proper nouns.

<sup>94</sup> *Κασσωπός* in Herodorus (*FGrH* 31 F35).

distinct issues between the years 168 and 148; the first depicting the head of Zeus with a laurel crown and thunderbolt and the legend ΠΑΝ, and the second featuring the same reverse side and the legend ΑΓΙΑ on the obverse side<sup>95</sup>. Strabo (7,7,5) also mentions this settlement between Elateia and Batiae and implied that it was located inland and possessed its own territory that extended to the coast. From an oracle that was misinterpreted by Alexander I we can infer that Pandosia was fortified at the time when Alexander the Molossian died, something that is also suggested by the sacking campaign waged by Philip II throughout the territory, a tactic employed against fortified cities<sup>96</sup>. Justin (12,2,3-4) also declares, in relation to the same oracle, that Pandosia was a city linked to the River Acheron and Livy (8,24,2-4) records the same tradition regarding the oracle and the death of Alexander, which he dates in the same year as the founding of Alexandria in Egypt. In Livy's account (8,24,1-4), Pandosia is a city in Epirus linked to the Acherussian waters and the River Acheron, which springs from the infernal marshes of Molossia and flows into the Gulf of Thesprotia. The River Acheron marked the border between Cassopaea and Thesprotia<sup>97</sup>, in which respect Pandosia constituted the first Cassopaeian settlement in this part of the region. In short, as indicated by the list of Epidaurian Thearodoci, Pandosia was a *polis* that already existed as such at this date<sup>98</sup>.

Bitia or Batiae is mentioned by Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 206) as one of the *poleis* located in Cassopaea. Strabo (7,7,5), after mentioning Buchetium, Elateia and Pandosia, declares that Batiae was located inland but that its territory stretched to the coast of the Ambracian Gulf. It is obvious that Strabo was following a geographic order, which means that Batiae was the last city in Cassopaea. We can have few doubts regarding the existence of Batiae as a *polis*, at least as of the middle of the fourth century, featuring a political centre located inland and its own *polis* territory that extended to the coast.

Regarding the *polis* of Bucheta or Buchetium, in addition to being mentioned by Demosthenes and Theopompus, a funeral inscription (IG IX 1<sup>2</sup>, 2.512, line 2) from Palairos in Acarnania, which dates from the third

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Head *HN*<sup>2</sup> 31; Dakaris 1971, 169.

<sup>96</sup> Strab.6,1,5; Livy 8,24; Justin 12,2; Hammond 1967, 554.

<sup>97</sup> Besonen, Rapp, *Jing* 2003, 2003, 205.

<sup>98</sup> An oracle consultation in Dodona dating from the middle of the fourth century (DVC 552A) has been restored with the name of Pandosia, ἐν Πανδοσίαν π(α)ραμῆνο ἦ ἐν / ...] ἦ Θεσσαλίαν.

century B.C., includes the city-ethnic Βουχέτιος. Furthermore, in the year 189 the Epirotes confined a number of ambassadors that the Aetolians had sent to Rome at Buchetium, whom they had captured and transferred from Charadra<sup>99</sup> and for whom they demanded a ransom (Plb. 21,26,8). This reference talks about the relative importance of the city and we can perhaps also infer that the city was fortified. An inscription (SEG 36 555) that we shall mention again later on and that is dated shortly after the year 129 attests to a collective use of the city-ethnic for Buchetium (line 10, οἷδε Βουχετίων ἄπο), this being the place of origin of three persons who took part in the war undertaken by the Romans against Aristonicus of Pergamum. Strabo (7,7,5) describes the approximate location of the city and states that Cichyrus, a city of the Thesprotians that was called Ephyra in ancient times, was located in the Gulf, which is to say, in the north part of the Ambracian Gulf where the Acheron flows into the sea. Close to Cichyros was Buchetium, a small *polis* belonging to the Cassopaeans (πολίχιον Βουχέτιον Κασσωπαίων μικρόν) located a short distance from the sea. After Buchetium, Strabo mentions Elatria, Pandosia and, further inland, Batiae, whose territory extended to the Gulf. Suidas (s.v. Βούχετα) states that Buchetium was a *polis* of Epirus (πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Ἠπείρου) and quotes Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F166), who wrote that the city received its name due to the fact that Themis reached this site on the back of an ox during the flood of Deucalion<sup>100</sup>. For his part, Harpocration (s.v. Βούχετα), also declares that Buchetium was a *polis* belonging to Epirus (πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Ἠπείρου), as it appears, he claims, in the *Seventh Philippic* by Demosthenes. In relation to this city, Philostephanus (FHG fr. 9a) – and not Philochorus – states in his *Epeirotika* that it owed its name to the fact that Themis reached this site riding on the back of an ox during the flood of Deucalion<sup>101</sup>. The *Etymologicum Magnum* (210,34) indicates that Bucheta or Buchetium is a *polis* belonging to Epirus and refers to the same story relating to Themis, attributing this account to Philochorus. It also states that the *ethnos* appears in Callimachus in a poorly preserved fragment (frg. 509),

<sup>99</sup> See Plb. 4,63,4.

<sup>100</sup> Suidas s.v. Βούχετα, πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Ἠπείρου, οὐδετέρως καὶ πληθυντικῶς λεγομένη, ἦν φησι Φιλόχορος ὠνομάσθαι διὰ τὸ τὴν Θέμιν ἐπὶ βοῦς ὄχουμένην ἐλθεῖν ἐκεῖ κατὰ τὸν Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμὸν, cf. s.v. Θέμιν, δικαιοσύνην. Βούχετα.

<sup>101</sup> Harpok. s.v. Βούχετα, Δημοσθένης ἐν Φιλιππικῶν ζ. πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Ἠπείρου, πληθυντικῶς οὐδετέρως λεγομένη, ἦν Φιλοστέφανος ἐν τοῖς Ἠπειρωτικαῖς ὠνομάσθαι φησὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν Θέμιν ἐπὶ βοῦς ὄχουμένην ἐκεῖσε ἐλθεῖν κατὰ τὸν Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμὸν.

referring to the fact that the men of Buchetium failed to gain any benefit from the sea, which has been interpreted as some kind of taboo against a particular type of fish and also enables us to infer that Buchetium had a port.

Plutarch, Stephanus of Byzantium and Appian all record the founding of the *polis* of Berenice in the third century. Plutarch (*Pyrrh* 6,1) states that, in memory of Ptolemy and Berenice, Pyrrhus named his son by Antigone, Ptolemy, and called the city he had founded in the Chersonesos of Epirus, Berenice (βερηνίκη), this founding having taken place before his intervention in Macedonia. This city had been built in honour of his mother-in-law, in around 294, and probably commemorated his return to the throne with Lagid help. Epirote Chersonesos would be the modern-day Preveza Peninsula. Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Βερηνίκα) specifies that Berenice was a *polis* founded by Pyrrhus the Younger (which is to say, Pyrrhus II). For his part, Appian (*Mith.* 1,4-5) records that Berenice (Βερνίκη), a small *polis* in Epirus, πολισματιον, was also a sea-port<sup>102</sup>. Berenice may have been a newly-founded settlement or a *polis* already in existence that was renamed, or perhaps even a settlement that was promoted to *polis* status, but everything would appear to indicate, at least as of the first half of the third century, that Berenice was a small *polis* located in Cassopaea<sup>103</sup>.

This idea of an extensive territory encompassing various *poleis*, in addition to being present in Strabo's account, can also be inferred in the account presented by Pseudo-Scylax (*Per.* 31), in which Cassopaea is also referred to as the territory of the Cassopaeans and extends along the coast of the Gulf of Anactorium (Ampracia), taking half a day to cross by sea. That is to say, Pseudo-Scylax is defining quite an extensive region, one that stretched from the boundaries of Thesprotia to the Ambracian Gulf, encompassing some one hundred kilometres of coastline. This shoreline, included within Cassopaea, not only encompassed the territory of a single *polis*, Cassope, but undoubtedly also the territory of all the other *poleis*.

<sup>102</sup> We cannot rule out the possibility that the Βερηνίκα that appears in the list of Delphic Thearodoci, dating from the third century, may not be a reference to the one located in Epirus, but a reference to the city of this name located in Cyrenaica (*BCH* 45 1921, IV 19; cf. Hammond 1967, 579).

<sup>103</sup> See the different opinions regarding its location (see n.69). Cabanes 1976,508.



#### 4. Conclusions

In short, Cassopaea, before the middle of the fourth century, was not only made up of the territory of a single *polis*, Cassope<sup>104</sup>, but also encompassed a more extensive area that included other *poleis*, at least four others, and possibly as of the third century, at least five *poleis*: Buchetium, Batiae, Elateia, Pandosia and Berenice or its preceding settlement. We can also suggest that Cassopaea was something more than a mere geographical concept, given that if Cassope itself was designated as a *polis* (Diod. 19,88,3; SEG 34 589) or *polis* of the Cassopaeans (SEG 35 671), the rest are referred to as *poleis* in Cassopaea (Dem. 7,32; Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F206-207) or of the Cassopaeans (Strab. 7,7,5), in which respect the region was divided into a series of states (*poleis*) that were somehow linked to one another within a relationship that was political.

In this respect, we can consider three hypotheses: the Cassopaeans formed part of an ethnic community (*ethnos*) that had been endowed with a federal structure, which is to say, they made up a *koionon* whose members included the *poleis* of Cassopaea, which were linked by a *sympoliteia* under the hegemony of the *polis* of Cassope; or they constituted an *ethnos* that lacked political significance; or, finally, the term Cassopaeans refers exclusively to the citizens of the *polis* of Cassope, and the neighbouring *poleis* were dependencies of the latter.

Pseudo-Scylax (*Per.* 31) states that after Thesprotia came Cassopaea (Κασσωπία), which constitutes an *ethnos* – ἐστὶν ἔθνος – who also lives (in reference to the Chaonians and Thesprotians) in villages – Οἰκοῦσι δὲ καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ κώμας –, and inhabits the area along the coast up to the Gulf of Anactorium, which is to say, Ambracia, and that sailing past the territory of the Cassopaei (sic) – τῆς Κασσωπῶν χώρας – takes half a day<sup>105</sup>. Furthermore, he goes on to say (*Per.* 32) that after Cassopaea come the Molossians, who also make up an *ethnos*, and whom he obviously considers to be different to the Cassopaeans, these people also living in villages, and, after the Molossians comes Ambracia, which is (by now) a Greek *polis* (*Scyl. Per.* 33), stressing the contrast between a

<sup>104</sup> Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 120. IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1 95 line 25; *BCH* 45, 1921, IV.51; SEG 36 555; Steph. Byz. s.v. Κασσώπη; Diod.19,88,3; *I. Magnesia* 32 line 51; IG VII 188, line 11; Herodorus *FGrH* 31 F35; Ps.-Scyl. *Per.* 31; SEG 34 589; Ager 1996, n° 85 233-235; SEG 35 673; IG IX<sup>2</sup>.1 243 line 4.

<sup>105</sup> Müller CPC I, 35. After Cassopaea came the Molossians (cf. Ps. Scylax, *Per.* 32; Müller CPC I, 35).

Greek *polis* and non-city-state settlements that, according to his way of thinking, were possibly barbarous.

As we can infer from the text, Pseudo-Scylax considers the Cassopaeans to be an *ethnos* that was loosely organised, directly without any kind of defined state or *polis* structure or, apparently, any federal structure. He may have thought they made up a community that possessed certain shared identity characteristics, but obviously one that featured a low level of civilisation. This mention by Pseudo-Scylax is something of a complex matter, given that, although the date of the work is debated, a certain consensus dates it at around 330-320, which is to say at a time when Cassopaea was divided into *poleis* that dated from at least the first half of the fourth century. It is possible that Pseudo-Scylax is using an older source, one that predated urban development throughout the region, but then perhaps he is also reflecting a Greek historical and literary *topos* that regarded the Epirotes as barbarous peoples, lacking “civilised” political institutions, peoples who continued to live like their ancestors in villages; this view was recorded and established by ancient historiography, for example in the work of Thucydides<sup>106</sup>, Pseudo-Scymnus<sup>107</sup>, Plutarch<sup>108</sup> and, to a certain extent, in Herodotus<sup>109</sup>.

<sup>106</sup> In Thucydides’ view, the Epirotes were barbarian peoples, which does not have anything to do in this case with the fact that they spoke Greek, but with the form of political organisation; he refers to them as barbarians on various occasions. In the year 429, during the campaign that the Chaonians and Ampraciotes would wage against the Acarnanians with the help of the Lacedaemonians, Thucydides (2.80.5-6) states that the Chaonians, Thesprotians, Molossians, Atintanians, Paravaeans and Orestians were all barbarians. During the course of the expedition, the invaders split into three armies, which meant that whilst the Greeks advanced along the flanks, the centre was occupied by the Chaonians and other barbarians (Thuc.2,81,3). When they were opposite Stratus, the main city in Acarnania, the Greeks camped each body of men separately. The Chaonians, however, did not set up camp and attacked the city alongside the other barbarians (Thuc.2,81,4). The Acarnanians laid an ambush for them “thinking that if they should defeat them thus separated, the Greeks would be no longer so eager to advance” (Thuc.2,81,5). The Chaonians were defeated and the other barbarians took flight (Thuc.2,81,6). The Greeks were not aware of the battle because the barbarians had forged well ahead and, when the fleeing barbarians met the Greeks, the latter received them under their protection and they drew their camps together (Thuc.2, 81, 7-8). Later on, the Stratians set up a trophy for their victory over the barbarians (Thuc.2,82,1). Furthermore, in relation to the campaigns that preceded the Peloponnesian War, Thucydides (2,68, 9) refers to a campaign that the Ampraciotes waged against the Amphiloichians in the company of the Chaonians and various barbarian peoples in the surrounding areas, during the course of which they managed to seize Amphiloichian Argos itself. Similarly, at the time when the Corinthian fleet was anchored at the Port of Sybota on the mainland, he states

Nevertheless, although the Cassopaeans as a whole may have had a common feeling of belonging to an ethnic community, we must recognise that we do not have a single document that states that the Cassopaeans formed part of a federal state, or that refers to them belonging to a *koinon*<sup>110</sup>. We do not have any mention either of any kind of institution (council, tribunal or assembly) or federal magistracy. Furthermore, we are not aware of any federal state in Greece that was named after one of its member states. The coins of Pandosia do not add the legend of the Cassopaeans, which would have been a fairly reliable indication of the existence of a League, whilst the coins of Cassope only appear to correspond to this settlement. We certainly cannot confirm the existence of a federal Cassopaeian state from this absence of evidence, although we cannot rule out the idea either. According to the current knowledge we have, all we can state is that the Cassopaeian League is not proven, which allows us to analyse other hypotheses.

What we do possess is fairly extensive documentation regarding the *poleis*. This is to say, the region known as Κασσωπία (Dem. 7,32; Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 206-207; Ps.-Scyl. *Per.* 31-32), Κασσιοπαια (Plut. *Mor.* 297B) or Κασσιόπη (Ptol. *Geog.* 3.14.8) or of the Cassopaeans (Strab. 7,7,5) was divided into *poleis*, each of which had its

(Thuc.1,47,3) that they were accompanied on the mainland by a large number of barbarians as auxiliary troops, their traditional allies; and further on, in relation to the Battle of the Sybota Islands (Thuc.1,50,3), he once again refers to the barbarian ground forces that had come to their aid.

<sup>107</sup> Pseudo-Scymnus (*Per.* 444-445) states that after Corcyra come the *ethne* of the Thesprotes and the Chaonians, barbarians that do not inhabit many places. Even the Oracle of Zeus in Dodona was founded by the Pelasgians (Ps.Scymn. *Per.* 450), a non-Greek people.

<sup>108</sup> Plutarch (*Mor.* 297 B) states that the Aenianes (from Central Greece, close to Thermopylae) were expelled from their land by the Lapiths and settled in Molossia and Cassopaea, but they gained no benefit from the country, having to deal with difficult neighbours, and so returned to their country of origin.

<sup>109</sup> Although Herodotus (8,47,1) stated that all the lands located east of Thesprotia and the River Acheron, which runs through the country of the Thesprotians (Hdt. 2,56,2), formed part of Greece, which is to say, also Cassopaea, and he considered Dodona to be a Greek oracle (Hdt. 1,46,2), he nevertheless records the tradition regarding the original barbarism of the Epirotes and refers to (Hdt. 2,56,2) “the territory of the Thesprotians, who inhabited that part which is now called Hellas, and in that time known by the name of Pelasgia”, which is to say, a non-Greek region. Cf. Hdt. 6,127 mentions the country of the Molossians, a different ethnic group compared to the Thesprotians.

<sup>110</sup> As indicated by Dakaris (1971,84).

own *politeuma* or civic body, its own *politeia* or institutions and its own *chora* or territory (cf. Dem. 7,32). As additional evidence, returning to the text attributed to Demosthenes (7,32), the other *poleis* of Cassopaea could be handed over to Alexander the Molossian, εἰς τὰς πόλεις βιασάμενος παρέδωκεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ κηδεστῇ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ δουλεύειν, without them losing their status as *poleis* with their own citizen body and territory, and, we can infer, without being separated from Cassopaea and the Cassopaeans.

It appears evident that Cassope was the principal *polis* in Cassopaea. In addition to what we can infer from other references (cf., for example Theopomp *FGrH* 115 F 206-207; Strab. 7,7,5), one inscription can be interpreted in this sense. This consists of a stele that features an epigram and most probably dates from somewhat after the years 130 or 129 (SEG 36 555)<sup>111</sup>. The stele presents a dedication to Herakles the Saviour by three characters, Philotas, Hipparchos and Kylisos (line 1-3) who fought in the revolt of Aristonicus in Pergamum (130-129) under the orders of the Roman consul, Marcus Perpenna, and that would be raised upon his return at the end of the revolt. The inscription reads as follows: “those who went to Asia in chariots from Cassope (line 6, οἱ ἀπὸ Κ[α]σ[σ]ώπηος) when Marcus, the general, brought an army against Aristonicus and, having defeated him with weapons in hand, the Buchetians (line 10, οἷδε Βουχετίων ἄπο)<sup>112</sup> returned. The descendants of Oxylus, the ancient inhabitant of this land, offered a sacrifice for their safe return to their homeland and offered this statue to Herakles, who was ever by their side in all the battles”. That is to say, we are dealing with three rich aristocrats who go to Asia in chariots and consider themselves descendants of a noble ancestor, who appear to be citizens of Buchetium, which, in turn, forms part of Cassopaea<sup>113</sup>. This inscription could indicate the possible dependency of the *polis* of Buchetium in relation to Cassopaea and the *polis* of Cassope. In fact, the stele is preserved in the base of a statue that was found in the northern part of the agora of Cassope<sup>114</sup> during the excavations, and not in Buchetium.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. SEG 41 541; Dakaris *ΚΑΣΣΩΠΗ* 1984, 25-27; Dakaris, 1987, 16-18.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. SEG 41 541, Ῥώμην ἄγουσιν οἷδε Βουχετίων ἄπο.

<sup>113</sup> See Domínguez 2017 on the same inscription in relation to the interpretation of Demosthenes' text on the alleged Elean colonies, especially 79-80 and n.2 featuring the text and translation of the inscription SEG 36555.

<sup>114</sup> Dakaris 1987, 16.

That is to say, Buchetium would have had its own political entity, its own body of citizens and its own *politeia*. However, it would have been somehow linked to Cassope, which is evidently the main city in whose agora it was erected and where the statue was dedicated. All of the *poleis* throughout the region could have been linked by an *isopoliteia*, an exchange of citizenship rights, but then it is difficult to comprehend why sources refer to the *poleis* of the Cassopaeans. The most plausible explanation is that the Cassopaeans were only citizens of Cassope, that no federal state actually existed, and that this *polis* had subjected the rest of the *poleis* throughout the region to a state of dependency. These *poleis* would not have had their own separate foreign policy, but would have had the obligation to contribute military contingents, as perhaps reflected by the inscription and other tributes to the dominant *polis*. This means that, at least during the first half of the fourth century, and perhaps during the last part of the fifth century, the *polis* configuration throughout the region would have run parallel to the subjection of the rest of the *poleis*, as cities dependent on the *polis* of Cassope, in such a manner that the citizens of these *poleis* were subject to Cassope but not strictly citizens of Cassope. These dependent *poleis*, although dominated by Cassope and included in Cassopaea, maintained their *polis* structure and their internal autonomy.

Strabo (7,7,5) states that after the Thesprotians came the Cassopaeans, which is to say, further south, and that they were also Thesprotians *καὶ μετὰ τούτους ἐφεξῆς Κασσωπαῖοι (καὶ οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶ Θεσπρωτοί)*. This means that, although he considered them an Epirote sub-tribe of the Thesprotians, Strabo (7,1,1, *Θεσπρωτοὶ καὶ Κασσωπαῖοι καὶ Ἀμφίλοχοι καὶ Μολοττοὶ καὶ Ἀθαμᾶνες, Ἑπειρωτικὰ ἔθνη*) distinguished them from other Epirote peoples, including the Thesprotians themselves and the Amphilocheians, Molossians and Athamanians<sup>115</sup>. As we have seen, Pseudo-Scylax (*Per.* 31) considered Cassopaea to be an ethnically distinct region, given that it was inhabited by the *ethnos* of the Cassopaeans, which was different to that of Thesprotia and Molossia, located to the north and to the south respectively. Plutarch (*Mor.* 297 B) also distinguishes Cassopaea as a region of Epirus that was distinct from others, in this case, Molossia. For his part, Pliny (*NH* 4.1.2) also mentions the Cassopaeans as an Epirote people distinct from the Molossians and the Thesprotians. Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. *Χαονία*)

<sup>115</sup> Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F382) considered that there were fourteen Epirote *ethne* and it is possible that he included the Cassopaeans among them.

also differentiates the Cassopaeans (Κασσωποί) from the Thesprotians (Θεσπρωτοί) amongst the Epirote peoples and states (s.v. Πανδοσία) that Pandosia was a *polis* belonging to the Thesprotians. Pliny (*NH* 4.1.4), however, claims that it was a settlement belonging to the Molossians. Returning to Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Ἐλάτεια, 264.3-5), he declares that Elateia/Elatrìa was in Thesprotia and that Cassope (s.v. Κασσώπη) was a *polis* belonging to the Molossians - not the Thesprotians - lending its name to the territory known as Cassopaea, Κασσωπία. For Ptolemy (*Geog.* 3.14.7-8), Cassope was a *polis* he included amongst the Chaonians.

In short, ancient authors reflect two different possibilities that are not mutually exclusive: on the one hand, the Cassopaeans are distinct from the rest of the Epirotes, and, on the other hand, they are included in a larger ethnic community (leaving the varying errors aside), specifically the Thesprotians. Based on this view, we would need to address two questions that, in our view, are quite essential: the exact moment in which the Cassopaeans were included amongst the Thesprotians; and whether, once they were incorporated into this Epirote ethnic group, they maintained some kind of juridical or political entity.

As we have seen, the list of Epidaurian Thearodoci (IG IV 1<sup>2</sup>, 95), dating from the year 356/5, implies that Pandosia and Cassope were two poleis and were distinct from the Thesprotians, Chaonians and Molossians, apparently not being included amongst any of them. In this respect, we can suppose that during this period the Cassopaeans had yet to be included amongst the Thesprotians. However, although the view held by Pseudo-Scylax (*Per.* 31) to the effect that Cassopaea was an *ethnos* organised around villages with a loose structure could have come from a more ancient author, what is certain is that, at least before the year 342, the region was structured around different poleis. What interests us about this author, whose work may have ended in around 330-320 B.C., is that he seems to be reflecting, in terms of the Cassopaeans being a different *ethnos* to the Thesprotians, on a period prior to their incorporation amongst the Thesprotians<sup>116</sup>. For his part, Pseudo-Scymnus (*Per.* 444-445) indicates that opposite the Island of Corecra lies Thesprotia, and then come the Molossians (*Per.* 446-448). After the Molossians comes Ambracia (*Per.* 453)<sup>117</sup>. As we can see, Pseudo-Scymnus does not

<sup>116</sup> The very paragraph that refers to them is headed 'Cassopaeans' (Ps.-Scyl. *Per.* 31).

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Müller CPC I, 214-215.

mention Cassopaea or the Cassopaeans, which means that he may be referring to a period in which the Cassopaeans were already incorporated into Thesprotia. The Cassopaeans joined the Epirote League between the years 330 and 325<sup>118</sup>.

Thus, in spite of the fact that we do not have any evidence to prove that the *poleis* we have mentioned, Elateia, Pandosia, Batiae and Buchetium, formed an ethnic community endowed with a federal structure, which is to say a *koinon* under the hegemony of the *polis* of Cassope, from the sources available to us we can deduce that we are dealing with a series of *poleis* that made up an *ethnos* within Cassopaea, the territory of the Cassopaeans, which maintained a relationship of dependency or submission regarding the *polis* de Cassope, founded as of the first half of the fourth century B.C.

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<sup>118</sup> Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994, 116.

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Polis and Dependency in Epirus

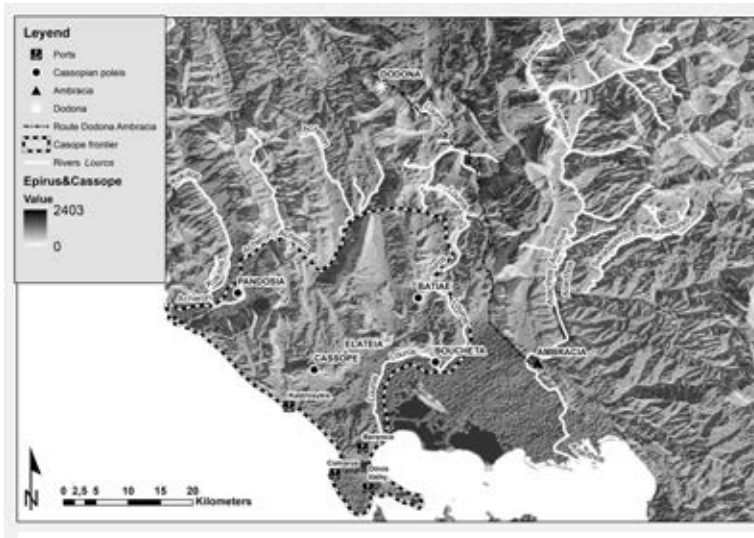


Fig. 1. Map of Cassopaeian territory and its *poleis* (Author's elaboration).

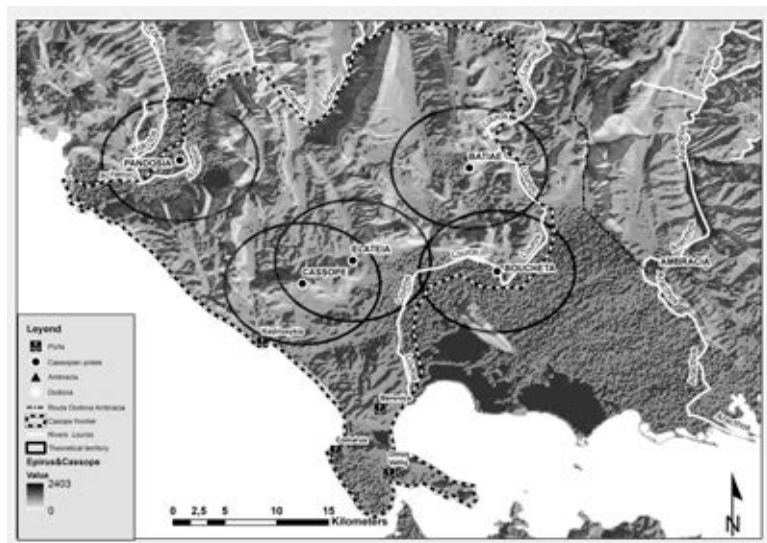


Fig. 2. Map of Cassopaea and the theoretical territory of each *polis* (Author's elaboration).

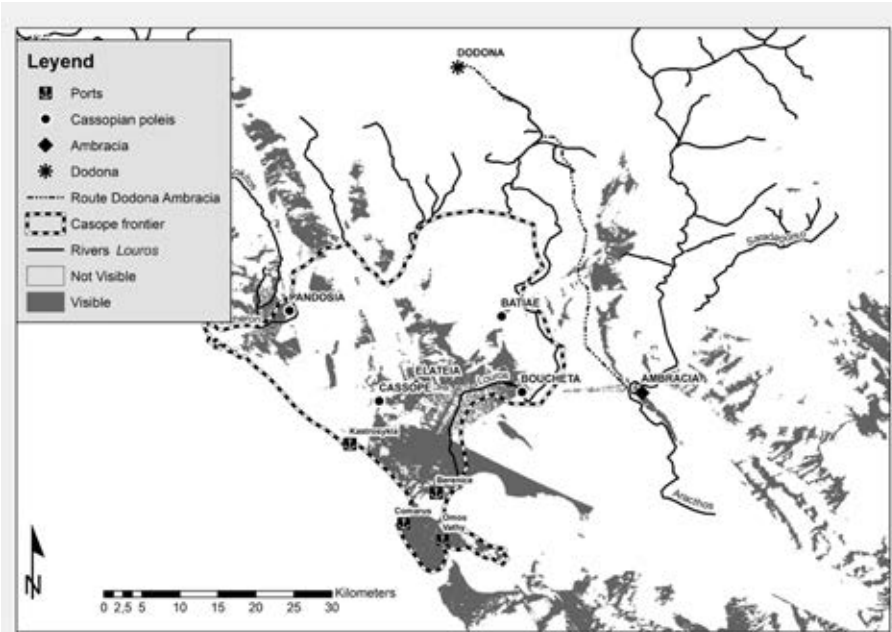


Fig. 3. Map of viewsheds from each polis (Author's elaboration).

L'ISOLA, L'EPEIROS E IL SANTUARIO:  
UNA RIFLESSIONE SULL'ANATHEMA CORCIRESE A DODONA

### 1. Il “bronzo dodoneo”

Negli studi dedicati alle relazioni fra Corcira e il santuario oracolare di Dodona un giusto rilievo è stato dato a un peculiare *ἀνάθημα* connesso nella tradizione antica all'espressione proverbiale *Δωδωναίων χαλκείον*. Esso era costituito, secondo una dettagliata descrizione conservata nella voce *Δωδώνη* del lessico di Stefano di Bisanzio risalente a Polemone d'Ilio<sup>1</sup>, attraverso la mediazione del più tardo paremiografo Aristeide<sup>2</sup>, da due colonne affiancate recanti rispettivamente la statua di un giovanetto, che reggeva nella mano destra una frusta, e un vaso di bronzo non grande simile ai lebeti ancora visibili in loco<sup>3</sup>. Ogni qualvolta il vento soffiava, le

<sup>1</sup> Vd. Polem. FHG III, 124 F 20 = fr. 30 Preller. Sulla figura di Polemone (fine III-primo quarto del II sec. a.C.), definito da Stefano di Bisanzio *ἀκριβῶς* conoscitore di Dodona, cf. Angelucci 2003, 165-184; Engels 2014, 65-98.

<sup>2</sup> Aristid. FHG IV, 326 F 30. Il passo è tratto, come attestato dallo stesso Stefano, dal libro II di un'opera, in più volumi, identificabile nel *Περὶ παροιμιῶν*, come si evince da una citazione di Ateneo (14, 641a) in cui, in riferimento a un diverso proverbio, si specifica ὡς Ἀριστείδης φησὶν ἐν τρίτῳ *Περὶ παροιμιῶν* (vd. Aristid. FHG IV, 326 F 31). Poco è possibile dire su Aristeide, identificato dal Müller (FHG IV, 320) con Aristide di Mileto, la cui datazione va posta verosimilmente nel II sec. a.C. fra Polemone e Lucillo di Tarra: Cook 1902, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. *Δωδώνη* [δ 146 Billerbeck, Zubler 2011] ἡ παροιμία δὲ οὐ φησὶν εἰ μὴ χαλκίον ἔν, ἀλλ' οὐ λέβητας ἢ τρίποδας πολλούς· προσθετέον οὖν τῶι περιηγητῆι Πολέμωνι ἀκριβῶς τὴν Δωδώνην ἐπισταμένῳ καὶ Ἀριστείδῃ τὰ τούτου μεταγεγραφότι, λέγοντι κατὰ τὴν β “ἐν τῇ Δωδώνῃ στῦλοι β παράλληλοι καὶ πάρεργυς ἀλλήλων· καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν θατέρου χαλκίον ἔστιν οὐ μέγα τοῖς δὲ νῦν παραπλήσιον λέβησιν, ἐπὶ δὲ θατέρου παιδάριον ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ μαστίγιον ἔχον· οὐ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος ὁ τὸ λεβήτιον ἔχων κίων ἔστηκεν. ὅταν οὖν ἄνεμον συμβῆ πνεῖν, τοὺς τῆς μᾶστιγος ἱμάντας χαλκοῦς ὄντας ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀληθινοῖς ἱμάσιν αἰωρουμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος συνέβαινε ψαύειν τοῦ χαλκίου καὶ τοῦτο ἀδιαλείπτως ποιεῖν, ἕως ἂν ὁ ἄνεμος διαμένη”.

cinghie in bronzo della frusta, oscillando, percuotevano il vaso producendo un suono incessante. Nonostante nel I sec. d.C., secondo la testimonianza dello storico ed erudito Lucillo di Tarra, solo il manico della frusta fosse ancora visibile, mentre le cinghie erano ormai cadute, gli abitanti del luogo possedevano ancora contezza delle origini dell'antico proverbio<sup>4</sup>.

Stefano si sofferma sulla descrizione del 'bronzo dodoneo' offerta da Polemone e Aristide in polemica con quanto narrato dall'attidografo Demon di Atene, il quale, in chiaro contrasto col riferimento insito nell'espressione Δωδωναίων χαλκεῖον ad "un solo oggetto in bronzo e non a molti calderoni o tripodi"<sup>5</sup>, aveva collegato il proverbio al suono incessante emesso dai molti tripodi che circondavano il *manteion* di Zeus ancor privo di mura. Accostati gli uni agli altri essi consentivano infatti, qualora se ne fosse urtato uno, una incessante diffusione del suono fino a quando col tocco della mano non se ne interrompeva la propagazione<sup>6</sup>.

Il confronto fra le due tradizioni trova spazio anche nella voce dedicata al proverbio nel lessico *Suda*<sup>7</sup>. Nel ripetere sostanzialmente

<sup>4</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. Δωδώνη [δ 146 Billerbeck, Zubler 2011] "καὶ κατὰ μέντοι τοὺς ἡμετέρους <χρόνους>" φησὶν ὁ Ταρραῖος "ἢ μὲν λαβὴ τῆς μάστιγος <διασέσωσται>, οἱ δὲ ἰμάντες ἀποπεπτώκασιν. παρὰ μέντοι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τινὸς ἠκούσαμεν ὡς, ἐπεὶ περ ἐτύπτετο μὲν <τὸ χαλκίον> ὑπὸ μάστιγος ἤχει δ' ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον, ὡς χειμερίου τῆς Δωδώνης ὑπαρχούσης, εἰκότως εἰς παροιμίαν περιεγένετο". Sullo storico ed erudito Lucillo di Tarra (I sec. d.C.) cf. Linnenkugel 1926, 68-114, cf. Gudeman 1927, 1785-1791.\*\*\*

<sup>5</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. Δωδώνη: ἢ παροιμία δὲ οὐ φησὶν εἰ μὴ χαλκίον ἔν, ἀλλ' οὐ λέβητας ἢ τρίποδας πολλοὺς. Il preciso accenno a "lebeti" o "tripodi" sembrerebbe dar conto della coscienza da parte del lessicografo dell'alternativa menzione delle due tipologie nei frammenti attribuiti a Demon (vd. infra n. 6).

<sup>6</sup> Demon *FGrHist* 327 F 20a (ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Δωδώνη [δ 146 Billerbeck, Zubler 2011]): ἔστι καὶ "Δωδωναίων χαλκίον" παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν πολλὰ λαλούντων, ὡς μὲν ὁ Δήμων φησὶν "ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Δωδωναίου Διὸς τοίχους μὴ ἔχοντα, ἀλλὰ τρίποδας πολλοὺς ἀλλήλων πλησίον, ὥστε τὸν ἐνὸς ἀπτόμενον παραπέμπειν διὰ τῆς ψάυσεως τὴν ἐπήχησιν ἐκάστω, καὶ διαμένειν τὸν ἤχον ἄχρις ἂν τις τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐφάψηται". Su Demon, l'attidografo autore, tra l'altro, di un'ampia raccolta di proverbi, la cui *acme*, sulla base del rapporto con Filocoro, che ne avrebbe criticato fortemente l'*Atthis* (vd. *Suda* s.v. Φιλόχορος = Φ 441 Adler), può essere presumibilmente posta nell'ultimo quarto del IV sec. a.C., cf. Schneidewin 1839, VIII-IX; Jacoby 1949, 79-86; Harding 2008, 1-12; Jones 2016.

<sup>7</sup> Demon *FGrHist* 327 F 20b (ap. *Suda* s.v. Δωδωναίων χαλκεῖον = δ 1445 Adler): Δωδωναίων χαλκεῖον · ἐπὶ τῶν μακρολογούντων. Δήμων γάρ φησὶν ὅτι τὸ τοῦ Διὸς μαντεῖον ἐν Δωδώνῃ λέβητι ἐν κύκλῳ περιεῖληπται· τούτους δὲ ψάυειν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ κρουσθέντος τοῦ ἐνὸς ἠχεῖν ἐκ διαδοχῆς πάντας, ὡς διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου γίνεσθαι τῆς ἠχῆς τὴν περίοδον. Ἀριστοτέλης (?) δὲ ὡς πλάσμα διελέγχων δύο φησὶ στύλους εἶναι, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ ἐτέρου λέβητα, ἐπὶ θιατέρου δὲ παῖδα κρατοῦντα μάστιγα, ἧς τοὺς ἰμάντας χαλκεύουσιν ὄντας σειομένους ὑπ' ἀνέμου τῷ λέβητι προσκρούειν, τὸν δὲ τυπτόμενον ἠχεῖν. κέχρηται τῇ παροιμίᾳ Μέγανδρος Αὐλητρίσι πρὸς Δήμωνα· εἰ δὲ πολλοὶ ἦσαν, οὐκ ἂν ἐνικῶς ἐλέγετο ἢ

quanto già riferito da Stefano, il lessicografo introduce una lieve modifica, nell'identificazione in "lebeti" e non "tripodi" dei bronzi posti intorno al *manteion*, e due novità: l'attribuzione ad Aristotele e non ad Aristeide della confutazione di quanto riferito da Demon e un sintetico richiamo alla menzione del proverbio nell'*Arrefora* di Menandro dove, come è possibile ricostruire dalla citazione del passo riportata da Stefano<sup>8</sup>, veniva spiegato in modo dettagliato il valore del proverbio quale richiamo a persone, soprattutto di sesso femminile, dall'irrefrenabile parlantina<sup>9</sup>.

Se pur Menandro usava anch'egli il singolare (*χαλκίον*), la descrizione del suono incessante capace di durare per un giorno intero, fino a quando non se ne interrompeva la propagazione col tocco della mano, lungi dal costituire una prova a sfavore della descrizione offerta da Demon ne offre una ulteriore conferma<sup>10</sup>: solo un suono che si diffonde per propagazione può essere, infatti, interrotto in modo permanente col semplice tocco della mano, mentre nel caso del lebete percosso dalle cinghie in bronzo della frusta, in una giornata ventosa il suono sarebbe ripreso immediatamente una volta allontanata la mano dall'oggetto, sempre che l'altezza delle colonne ne avessero consentito il tocco.

Un tentativo di soluzione dell'aporia fra le due versioni relative alla struttura del *Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον* è stato offerto in un noto saggio di A.B. Cook pubblicato nell'ormai lontano 1902 e tuttora ineludibile in alcune delle sue linee di fondo. Lo studioso proponeva di riconoscere nel quadro offerto da Demon un chiaro riferimento ad una fase arcaica della vita del

*παροιμία*. Il testo greco riportato è quello dell'edizione BNJ 327 F 20b curata da Jones 2016, che accoglie le correzioni proposte da Jacoby all'ed. Adler della Suda e pone in dubbio la correttezza della menzione di Aristotele. Su quest'ultimo punto vd. infra 140-141.

<sup>8</sup> Men. fr. 65 Kassel-Austin (= fr. 60 Sandbach) ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Δωδώνη [δ 146 Billerbeck, Zubler 2011, 255-260]: ἐὰν δὲ κινήσῃ μόνον τὴν Μυρτίλην ταύτην τις, ἢ τίτθην καλῆ, πέρας <οὐ> ποιεῖ λαλιᾶς· τὸ Δωδωναῖον ἂν τις χαλκίον, ὃ λέγουσιν ἡχεῖν, ἂν παράψῃθ' ὁ παριῶν, τὴν ἡμέραν ὄλην, καταπαύσαι θᾶττον ἢ ταύτην λαλοῦσαν· νύκτα γὰρ προσλαμβάνει.

<sup>9</sup> Il passo di Menandro doveva essere all'origine già della spiegazione del proverbio offerta, sia pur senza alcun riferimento, sin dall'inizio da Stefano (ἐπὶ τῶν πολλὰ λαλούντων [δ 146 Billerbeck, Zubler 2011, 249, 5]), presente già in Zenobio (6, 5) e Diogeniano (8, 32). Vd. anche *Mantissa Proverbiorum* 3, 2: <Τὸ Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον> ἐπὶ τῶν πολλὰ λαλούντων; Greg. Cypr. cod. Mosq. 2, 81; Mac. Chrys. 3, 42; Apost. 6, 43; Eustath. II. β 750; *Schol.* Philostr. ab Osanno in *Auct. Lex. Gr.* 14 editus. Come correttamente notato da Piccinini 2017, 81 n. 39, poche invece le attestazioni in ambito letterario: Callim. fr. 483 Pfeiffer e *Hymn.* 4, 286 (e *schol.*: <ἀσιγήτοιο λέβητος>) ὅθεν Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον).

<sup>10</sup> Come rilevato da Parke 1967, 89, si tratta di una tradizione unica risalente ad una medesima fonte, a meno che non si debba ipotizzare una rielaborazione di Menandro direttamente dal testo di Demon.

santuario quando la quercia oracolare, non ancora protetta da mura, sarebbe stata circondata esclusivamente da un recinto di tripodi o lebeti di bronzo il cui semplice urto sarebbe stato capace di provocare l'effetto descritto da Demon<sup>11</sup>. Questi, al pari di Menandro, avrebbe recepito da una fonte precedente una descrizione coerente con le prime fasi di vita del santuario e, dunque, non più consona agli sviluppi subiti dalla struttura fra fine V e IV secolo<sup>12</sup>. Con la progressiva monumentalizzazione del santuario, il circolo di tripodi sarebbe stato infatti sostituito da un più elaborato e artistico χαλκεῖον montato su due colonne<sup>13</sup>.

## 2. ἡ Κερκυραίων μάστιξ

Nessun cenno ai Corciresi, come si è potuto notare, è presente negli autori antichi interessati a chiarire le origini dell'espressione proverbiale Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον. Il primo a farne menzione in riferimento all'ἀνάθημα è Strabone. Il geografo, che ne introduce anch'egli la descrizione a partire dall'espressione proverbiale τὸ ἐν Δωδώνη χαλκίον, riferisce infatti che il proverbio aveva avuto origine dalla presenza nel tempio di un vaso di bronzo "sormontato" (ὑπερκείμενον) dalla statua di un uomo (ἀνδριάντα) che reggeva con la mano destra una frusta di bronzo, "dono dei Corciresi" (ἀνάθημα Κορκυραίων)<sup>14</sup>. A differenza di quanto riferito dalle tradizioni raccolte da Stefano, egli precisa che la frusta era costituita da tre cinghie a forma di catena recanti degli astragali. Spinte dal vento, le ossa urtavano il vaso di bronzo producendo un suono persistente. Da ciò, conclude Strabone, avrebbe tratto origine il proverbio ἡ Κερκυραίων μάστιξ, "la frusta dei Corciresi"<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Cook 1902, 7. In merito alle obiezioni già mosse in antico riguardo all'uso del singolare χαλκεῖον, lo stesso studioso sottolineava il valore collettivo del termine, mentre Parke 1967, 86-87 nota come fosse il tocco di un singolo lebete a causare l'avvio quanto l'interruzione del suono. Sull'originaria connotazione di Dodona quale oracolo a cielo aperto cf. Parke 1967, 40-42 e 86-89; Dakaris 1971, 27-32 e 39-41; Johnston 2008, 62.

<sup>12</sup> Cook 1902, 13.

<sup>13</sup> Cook 1902, 13.

<sup>14</sup> Un tentativo ben noto di ricostruzione visiva dell'*anathema*, realizzato soprattutto sulla base delle indicazioni offerte da Strabone, e generalmente ripreso negli studi successivi, si deve a Cook 1902, 12; vd. anche Δωδώνη 2016, 49.

<sup>15</sup> Strabo 7 fr. 3 Radt: "Ὅτι ἡ παροιμία "τὸ ἐν Δωδώνη χαλκίον" ἐντεῦθεν ὀνομάσθη χαλκίον ἦν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἔχον ὑπερκείμενον ἀνδριάντα κρατοῦντα μάστιγα χαλκῆν, ἀνάθημα Κορκυραίων· ἡ δὲ μάστιξ ἦν τριπλῆ ἀλυσιδωτὴ ἀπηρτημένους ἔχουσα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀστραγάλους, οἱ πλήττοντες τὸ χαλκίον συνεχῶς, ὁπότε αἰωροῦντο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων, μακροῦς



Come notato da quanti si sono occupati nel corso del tempo di tali tradizioni, la correlazione straboniana fra i due proverbi deriva dall'errata sovrapposizione di due piani diversi. Se l'espressione proverbiale Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον, utilizzata in riferimento a persone eccessivamente loquaci, traeva origine dai caratteristici suoni persistenti che era dato ascoltare ai frequentatori del santuario dodoneo, Κερκυραίων μάστιξ affondava le sue radici in un diverso contesto come mostrano i più antichi riferimenti ad essa presenti nei commediografi ateniesi di V sec. a.C.

Il valore paradigmatico delle “fruste corcirese” è infatti richiamato per la prima volta in due opere teatrali portate in scena ad Atene negli anni della guerra del Peloponneso: i *Satiri* di Frinico e gli *Uccelli* di Aristofane.

Negli *Uccelli*, commedia, rappresentata alle Grandi Dionisie del 414 a.C., Pisetero invita il Sicofante a ‘provare’ le sue “splendide ali corcirese”, κάλλιστα Κορκυραῖα ... πετρά, e cioè la sua frusta, come a proprie spese scoprirà ben presto il malcapitato<sup>16</sup>. Tale riferimento, evidentemente immediatamente comprensibile nell'Atene del tempo, non ha mancato di richiamare l'attenzione dei commentatori alessandrini. È dallo scolio b ad *Av.* 1463 che si ha notizia, infatti, di una loro menzione già nei *Satiri* di Frinico con una citazione che, sia pur lacunosa, lascia supporre un'allusione ironica ai loro effetti: Κορκυραῖαι δ' οὐδὲν < > / ἐπιβάλλουσιν μάστιγες, «e/ma le fruste di Corcira nulla < > infliggono»<sup>17</sup>.

A commento del passo di Frinico, lo scoliaste rilevava il valore proverbiale delle fruste corcirese (ὥστε καὶ εἰς παροιμίαν ἤδη ἐλθεῖν), legato alla loro peculiare conformazione come attestato da una descrizione attribuita ad Aristofane di Bisanzio<sup>18</sup> (257-180 a.C.): διὸ καὶ τὰς κώπας αὐτῶν ἐλεφαντίνιας ἐποίησαντο καὶ τῷ μεγέθει περιττάς, “poiché sia le loro impugnature erano fatte d'avorio sia per grandezza erano superiori al normale”<sup>19</sup>. Si deve al Nauck, insuperato editore dei frammenti del filologo alessandrino, la difesa del tradito Ἀριστοφάνησος rispetto alla correzione

ἡγους ἀπειργάζοντο, ἔως ὁ μετρῶν τὸν χρόνον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ ἡγού μέχρι τέλους καὶ ἐπὶ τετρακόσια προσέλθοι· ὅθεν καὶ ἡ παροιμία ἐλέχθη “ἡ Κερκυραίων μάστιξ”.

<sup>16</sup> Aristoph. *Av.* 1462-1464.

<sup>17</sup> Phryn. fr. 47 Stama = fr. 45 Koch (= Schol. [VENeap.; Ald.] Aristoph. *Av.* 1463b); trad. di Stama 2014, 257-260.

<sup>18</sup> Aristoph. Byz. *Par.* fr. 9 Nauck.

<sup>19</sup> ὅθεν – prosequit lo scoliaste – ἡ Κορκυραῖα ἐπεπόλασε μάστιξ, καὶ εἰς παροιμίαν ἤλθε.

Ἀριστοτέλης proposta dal Coraes, e di norma accolta dalla critica<sup>20</sup>, sulla base di una citazione di Zenobio trasmessa da Esichio<sup>21</sup> dove, tuttavia, ad Aristotele viene espressamente attribuita solo l'equazione fra la particolare imponenza delle fruste e l'arroganza dei Corciresi dettata dalla loro prosperità. Se è senz'altro verosimile che il filosofo, o il peripatetico autore della *Costituzione dei Corciresi*, possa aver indugiato nella loro descrizione, ciò non sembra autorizzare né una correzione 'a tappeto' dei nomi traditi, né un necessario riferimento all'*anathema* dodoneo. Lo stesso ruolo attribuito al filosofo nella diffusione delle tradizioni relative al Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον, fondato sull'attribuzione della descrizione del gruppo bronzeo presente nell'omonima voce del lessico Suda<sup>22</sup>, sembra nutrirsi, infatti, del legame fra il suo nome e la descrizione della Κερκυραία μάστιξ.

La sostanziale ripresa da parte della Suda di quanto riportato da Stefano di Bisanzio dovrebbe piuttosto indurre, come proposto a suo tempo dal Müller, ad una correzione in *Aristeides* del tradito *Aristoteles*<sup>23</sup>. Quello offerto da Stefano si presenta, infatti, come un percorso ermeneutico assolutamente coerente. Il lessicografo parte dal cenno all'esistenza del proverbio Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον, riferito a quanti sono afflitti da un'eccessiva loquacità, per chiarire attraverso il richiamo alle tesi di Demon, Polemone, Aristeide e Lucillo, in un percorso cronologicamente ineccepibile dal più antico al più recente, il contesto di origine del proverbio e chiudere con la menzione più antica e completa dello stesso in un'opera letteraria. Nell'opporsi alla tesi di Demon, Stefano di Bisanzio fa infatti

<sup>20</sup> Vd. Dübner 1843; Miller 1868, 370 (su Zenob. Ath. 3, 14); White 1914, 262 (*ad sch.* Aristoph. Av. 1463) il quale, tuttavia, mi sembra si limiti a riportare le diverse attestazioni; Rupprecht 1949, 1742; Pfeiffer 1968, 285; fra i *Fragmenta spuria* (431), lo colloca decisamente Slater 1986.

<sup>21</sup> Vd. Aristot. fr. 513 Rose. Zenob. 4, 49 = Hesych. s.v. Κερκυραία μάστιξ· περιττήν τινα τὴν κατασκευὴν εἶχον αἱ Κερκυραῖαι μάστιγες. οἱ δὲ καὶ διπλᾶς αὐτὰς ἔφρασαν εἶναι. εἶχον δὲ ἐλεφαντίνους κώπας καὶ τὰ μεγέθη περιτταὶ ἦσαν. ὑπερῆφάνους δὲ [καὶ] εὐπράγοῦντας τοὺς Κερκυραίους φησὶ Ἀριστοτέλης [ποιεῖσθαι, ἦ] γενέσθαι (fr. 513 Rose); Zenob. Ath. 3, 14 = Miller 1868, 370: ὁ Κερκυραῖος μαστιγούμενος ἅμα αὐτὸν ἠργολάβησεν: αἱ μάστιγες αἱ Κερκυραῖαι λέγονται διάφοροι εἶναι παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας, ὡς καὶ <Ἀριστοτέλης> ἴστορεῖ ἐν τῇ Κερκυραίων πολιτείᾳ, anche in questo caso con attribuzione ad Aristotele del solo riferimento alla loro diversità rispetto alle altre.

<sup>22</sup> Vd. anche Apostol. 6, 43; Eustath. *Od.* ξ 1760, il quale, tra l'altro, nel suo commento attribuisce a Pausania Atticista (δ 30 Erbse = F 139 Schabe) la descrizione risalente a Demon.

<sup>23</sup> Vd. i commenti del Müller ad Aristid. FHG IV, 326 F 30; Demon FHG I, 382 F 18, in riferimento alle menzioni di Aristotele sia nella Suda sia in Eusth. *ad Od.* Ξ 1760. Sulla stessa scia sostanzialmente Jacoby, *FGrHist Komm.* a 20a; Jones 2016, commento a BNJ 327 F 20b; *contra* Cook 1902, 8-9.

appello all'ἀκριβῶς Polemone attraverso la descrizione del bronzo dodoneo offerta da Aristеide<sup>24</sup> per poi richiamare, scendendo nel tempo, la testimonianza di Lucillo di Tarra e quindi ritornare, in una sorta di *ring composition*, all'*Arrefora* di Menandro. Il nesso esplicito fra l'acribia di Polemone e la descrizione, evidentemente a lui risalente, offerta dal più tardo Aristеide, non sembra lasciare spazio ad Aristotele: perché citare prima Polemone per poi chiamare in causa il più antico e autorevole filosofo?

Dalla menzione del proverbio nell'*Arrefora* di Menandro trae del resto avvio anche Zenobio, nella spiegazione dedicata al proverbio Δωδωναῖον χαλκείον nella sua epitome da Lucillo di Tarra e Didimo, per poi offrire, senza alcun riferimento ad autori precedenti (ma è chiaro che riprende Lucillo) una rapida descrizione del gruppo bronzeo (giovane con frusta / lebete)<sup>25</sup>.

Pur di fronte all'innegabile interesse di Aristotele e della sua scuola per la sapienza contenuta nei proverbi<sup>26</sup>, credo sia dunque lecito interrogarsi sul ruolo reale attribuibile allo Stagirita in merito alle due espressioni proverbiali di cui ci stiamo occupando e se il suo nome non sia in realtà collegabile solo alla specifica attenzione per le “fruste corciresi” elevate dal filosofo a simbolo della ricchezza e dell'arroganza degli abitanti dell'isola.

Al di là degli accenni di fine V secolo a.C., che le fruste corciresi godessero di fama proverbiale – indipendentemente dal donario dodoneo – ancora alla fine del IV sec. a.C., è del resto attestato, oltre che dall'attenzione riservata loro da Aristotele, anche da un'esclamazione attribuita nella ps.-plutarchea *Vita dei dieci oratori* (842d) all'ateniese Licurgo, contemporaneo del più noto Demostene. Di fronte alle contestazioni della folla ad una delle sue arringhe egli avrebbe infatti esclamato: ὦ Κερκυραία μάστιξ, ὡς πολλῶν ταλάντων εἶ ἀξία, “O frusta di Corcira, di molti talenti sei degna!”.

<sup>24</sup> Vd. supra n. 3.

<sup>25</sup> Zenob. 6, 5: Τὸ Δωδωναῖον χαλκείον: > κείται παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ ἐν τῇ Ἀρρήφορῳ. Εἴρηται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν πολλὰ λαλούντων καὶ μὴ διαλειπόντων. Φασὶ γὰρ ἐν Δωδώνῃ χαλκείον ἐπὶ κίονος ἐν μετεώρῳ κείσθαι· ἐπὶ δὲ ἐτέρου πλησίον κίονος ἐστάναι τὸν παῖδα ἐξηρτημένον μάστιγα χαλκῆν· πνεύματος δὲ κινήθentos μεγάλου τὴν μάστιγα πολλάκις εἰς τὸν λέβητα ἐκπίπτειν, καὶ ἡχεῖν οὕτω τὸν λέβητα ἐπὶ χρόνον πολύν.

<sup>26</sup> Tosi 1994, 179-180.

### 3. Le fruste corcirese

Notevoli per dimensioni<sup>27</sup> e pregiata fattura, dotate di una preziosa impugnatura in avorio e di una duplice correggia<sup>28</sup>, cui si deve forse il gioco analogico con le ali della frusta di Pisetero instaurato da Aristofane<sup>29</sup>, le fruste corcirese si erano dunque imposte all'attenzione per la loro diversità<sup>30</sup>, fino a diventare proverbiali, almeno a partire dall'ultimo terzo del V secolo a.C., ad Atene dove gli autori teatrali ne fanno un uso metaforico sicuri di essere ben compresi dal pubblico<sup>31</sup>. Certamente il legame venutosi ad instaurare fra la *polis* attica e Corcira con l'*epimachia* stipulata nel 433<sup>32</sup> e il subitaneo intervento navale a sostegno dell'isola contro Corinto<sup>33</sup> doveva aver stimolato una rinnovata attenzione<sup>34</sup> verso una comunità tenutasi lontana fino a quel momento dalla grande politica internazionale, ma la cui opulenza non era certo sconosciuta se si considera che

<sup>27</sup> La loro inusitata dimensione è indubbiamente la caratteristica costantemente evidenziata da lessicografi e paremiografi. Oltre ai passi degli autori già citati nelle note precedenti vd. anche Diogen. 5, 50 (CPG I, 261, 9-10): Κερκυραία μαστίξ: > ἐπὶ τῶν μεγάλων μαστίγων. Τοιαύτας γὰρ εἶχον, “Frusta corcirese: per le grandi fruste. Ne avevano di tali”; seguito da Apostol. *Coll. paroem.* 9, 69 (CPG II 476, 6-7). Fuori dal normale le definisce Esichio (*Lex.* K 2338 Latte): περιττήν τινα τὴν κατασκευὴν εἶχον αἱ Κερκυραῖαι μαστίγες.

<sup>28</sup> Tale particolare si deve a Zenobio (4, 49), che ne indica la fonte in non meglio precisati autori: οἱ δὲ καὶ διπλᾶς αὐτάς ἔφασαν εἶναι, εἶχον δὲ ἐλεφαντίνους κόπας καὶ τῷ μεγέθει περιτταὶ ἦσαν, “alcuni dicono che erano doppie, avevano impugnature d'avorio ed erano fuori dal normale per grandezza”.

<sup>29</sup> Aristoph. *Av.* 1464; cfr. Zanetto 1987, 297; Totaro 2006, 271 n. 304.

<sup>30</sup> Vd. Ps.-Plut. *Prov.* 1, 12 (= Zenob. *Ath.* 3, 14 = Miller 1868, 370): αἱ μαστίγες αἱ Κερκυραῖαι λέγονται διάφοροι εἶναι παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας, “le fruste corcirese si dice fossero diverse dalle altre”.

<sup>31</sup> Per Piccinini 2017, 84 l'espressione *Kerkyraion mastix* sarebbe stata originariamente riferita, almeno nelle fonti di V secolo, semplicemente ad una caratteristica arma corcirese, per divenire proverbiale solo successivamente, come testimoniato da Aristotele.

<sup>32</sup> Vd. Thuc. 1, 44.

<sup>33</sup> Per la battaglia delle Sibota vd. Thuc. 1, 45-55.

<sup>34</sup> Non vanno, infatti, dimenticati né l'approccio al tempo della spedizione di Serse (Hdt. 7, 168), né gli stretti rapporti fra l'isola e Temistocle rammentati da Tuciddide (1, 136, 1) e Plutarco (*Them.* 24, 1); vd. anche Aristod. *FGrHist* 104 F 1; Nep. *Them.* 2, 8, 3. Sulla precoce attenzione di Atene nei confronti di Corcira cf. Vallet 1950, 47-51; Braccesi 1977, 135-158; Raviola 1999, 66.

l'isola doveva costituire uno dei porti di attracco per le navi ateniesi e non dirette in Adriatico o verso l'Italia e la Sicilia<sup>35</sup>.

Grande impressione, come emerge anche da un frammento di Ermippo<sup>36</sup>, doveva aver poi destato negli Ateniesi la violenta *stasis* che aveva scosso l'isola fra il 427 e il 425, ai cui passaggi più drammatici avevano assistito, spesso freddi testimoni, strateghi ed equipaggi delle navi ateniesi giunte a sostegno della fazione democratica<sup>37</sup>. Non stupisce, dunque, che a tali eventi si faccia riferimento nello scolio  $\alpha$  al verso 1463 degli *Uccelli* di Aristofane<sup>38</sup>, quanto nelle note allo stesso verso di Jo. Tzetzes<sup>39</sup>, ove si collega esplicitamente l'uso delle fruste alle  $\alpha\tau\alpha\zeta\iota\alpha\iota$  che  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\chi\omega\varsigma$  avevano scosso Corcira. Collegamento che, per altri versi, non ha mancato di incidere sulle proposte di datazione agli anni fra il 425 e il 420 della messa in scena dei *Satiri* di Frinico<sup>40</sup> avanzate sulla base, tra l'altro, dei contenuti del frammento dello stesso autore richiamato dagli scoliasti, interpretato da taluni come preciso riferimento al massacro degli oligarchici corcirese del 425<sup>41</sup> in una sezione dell'opera considerata non priva di richiami intenzionali al presente<sup>42</sup>, guardata da altri con sospetto quale possibile autoschediasma<sup>43</sup>.

È infatti nel racconto della fase finale della *stasis* nel 425, segnata dalla vittoria del *demos* e dal massacro indiscriminato degli esponenti della fazione oligarchica, che nella ricostruzione tucididea fanno la loro

<sup>35</sup> Vd. Thuc. 1, 36, 2; 1, 44, 3; Diod. Sic. 12, 54, 2; Cic. *Att.* 5, 9, 1; 7, 2, 5; 15, 21, 3 (distanza fra Idrunte e l'Epiro); 16, 6, 1-3 (imbarco a Brindisi per l'Epiro); Cic. *Fam.* 16, 9, 1-2; Caes. *B. Civ.* 3, 100; Liv. 36, 21, 5-6; Strabo 2, 4, 3 C 105; 7, 7, 5 C 324; Luc. 2, 622-624; Plin. *HN* 2, 244; Tac. *Ann.* 3, 1; Joseph. *B. Jud.* 7, 2, 1, 22; *It. Mar.* 520, 4-521, 1 Cuntz; cf. Kiechle 1979, 173-191; Marangio 1998, 79-104; Intriери 2010, 186-189 part. (con ulteriore bibl.).

<sup>36</sup> Hermip. fr. 63 Kock (= Athen. *Deip.* 27f):  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\text{Κερκυραίους } \acute{\omicron} \text{ Ποσειδῶν ἐξολέσειεν ναυσὶν ἐπὶ γλαφυραῖς, ὅτι ἡ δίχρα θυμὸν ἔχουσιν}$ . Cf. Intriери 2002, 16-17; diversamente Piccinini 2017, 58 collega l'espressione alla volontà corcirese di staccarsi da Corinto attraverso l'identificazione con gli omerici Feaci.

<sup>37</sup> Si vd. in particolare il comportamento di Eurimedonte che, al contrario dei tentativi di pacificazione operati in precedenza da Nicostrato (Thuc. 3, 75), assiste impassibilmente (Thuc. 3, 81, 4-5 e 85, 1; 4, 46-47) alle stragi perpetrate dal *demos*. Cf. Intriери 2002, 103-108 e 111-119.

<sup>38</sup>  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\chi\omega\varsigma$  δὲ  $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$   $\text{Κορκυραίοις } \alpha\tau\alpha\zeta\iota\alpha\iota$  γίνονται. διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν ὃν ἐπεπόλασε παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡ μάστιξ, ὥστε διπλαῖς χρῆσθαι μεγάλαις (καὶ ἐλεφαντοκόποις [ed. Dübner 1843]).

<sup>39</sup> *Schol.* 1463β: (κάλλιστα -) λέγεται τις κερκυραία μάστιξ παρὰ τὸ στασιάζειν  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\chi\omega\varsigma$  (ed. Koster 1962).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Stama 2014, 250.

<sup>41</sup> Cfr. in particolare Muhl 1881, 90 (424-421 a.C.); Edmonds 1957, 465 (424 a.C.).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Bakola 2010, 103-104.

<sup>43</sup> Dunbar 1995, 686-687, nel commento ad *Av.* 1463.

comparsa a Corcira dei *μαστιγοφόροι*. Lo storico narra che, allontanati con la forza dagli Ateniesi dalla fortezza sul monte Istone da cui infliggevano gravi danni ai Corciresi della città, i sostenitori dell'oligarchia si erano consegnati a Sofocle ed Eurimedonte a seguito di un accordo che prevedeva la loro sottoposizione a giudizio ad Atene<sup>44</sup>. Trasportati sull'isola di Ptichia, in attesa del loro trasferimento in Attica, erano stati tuttavia tratti in inganno dai capi del *demos* che li avevano convinti a tentare la fuga di modo che, venuti meno ai patti, fossero consegnati dagli Ateniesi nelle loro mani<sup>45</sup>. Verificatosi quanto previsto e presi in consegna dai loro avversari, gli oligarchici corciresi erano stati rinchiusi in un edificio dal quale, fattili uscire a gruppi di venti legati fra loro, li si era fatti passare fra due file di opliti che ne trafiggevano i corpi, mentre, come precisa Tucidide, “al loro fianco procedevano degli armati di frusta (*μαστιγοφόροι*) che acceleravano il passo di chi era più lento a camminare”<sup>46</sup>.

Se gli eventi della *stasis* possono senz'altro aver attirato ulteriormente l'attenzione degli Ateniesi dell'ultimo quarto del V secolo sulla presenza a Corcira di *μαστιγοφόροι*, non credo tuttavia si debba necessariamente legare la notorietà delle fruste corciresi esclusivamente a tale episodio in considerazione dell'innegabile influenza che il passo tucidideo può aver esercitato sugli autori degli scolii<sup>47</sup>. Entrambi i richiami alle fruste corciresi nella Commedia sono infatti legati all'uso della frusta quale strumento disciplinare, garante di una esigenza di obbedienza sociale, nella quotidianità della vita della *polis*<sup>48</sup>. Giova a tale riguardo ricordare quanto ampia fosse la presenza a Corcira di schiavi<sup>49</sup>, nella gestione dei quali la frusta doveva rappresentare, come ovunque nel mondo greco, il principale strumento di correzione o punizione<sup>50</sup>. Interessante in tal senso risulta quanto narrato da Senofonte in merito al comportamento tenuto nel 373 a.C. dallo spartano Mnasippo impegnato in un duro assedio

<sup>44</sup> Thuc. 4, 46, 2.

<sup>45</sup> Thuc. 4, 46, 3-5

<sup>46</sup> Thuc. 4, 47.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. in tal senso, contro l'ipotesi di Kalligas 1976, 61, che lega a tale episodio l'origine del proverbio, la posizione di Ducat 1995, 365 secondo il quale “l'épisode des guerres civiles illustre le proverbe, il ne lui a pas donné naissance”.

<sup>48</sup> È la lettura proposta, e.g., da Bakola 2010, 104, per il frammento di Frinico in una più ampia proposta di lettura dei *Satiri* “in the light of the satyr-play motifs of slavery, bondage, and escape”.

<sup>49</sup> Vd. Thuc. 1, 55, 1; 3, 73. Cf. Intriери 2016, 246-250.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Mactoux 2009, 59-64.

alla *polis* corcirese<sup>51</sup>. Di fronte all'alto numero di uomini che, spinti dalla fame, abbandonavano la città cercando rifugio fra le sue file "fece proclamare che i disertori sarebbero stati venduti come schiavi. Ma dato che continuavano a disertare, alla fine li rimandava indietro a colpi di frusta (τελευτῶν καὶ μαστιγῶν ἀπέπεμπεν). Tuttavia i cittadini all'interno non raccoglievano gli schiavi al di qua delle mura, e in molti trovarono la morte all'esterno"<sup>52</sup>.

L'uso in tale circostanza della frusta da parte degli Spartani di Mnasippo, o degli *oligoi* Corcirese schierati al loro fianco, a fronte della minaccia di riduzione in schiavitù dei disertori e della presenza massiccia di schiavi fra gli stessi<sup>53</sup>, oltre a testimoniare la pertinenza di quest'arma non convenzionale alle dotazioni di quanti erano impegnati nell'assedio, evidenzia con chiarezza il valore altamente simbolico dello strumento quale "segno differenziatore della condizione socio-giuridica degli uomini"<sup>54</sup> quale risulta, sia pur riferito ad un contesto e a protagonisti ben diversi, da un curioso episodio riportato da Erodoto<sup>55</sup>. Lo storico narra infatti che, al rientro nelle loro terre dopo ben ventotto anni di assenza, a seguito della penetrazione in Asia all'inseguimento dei Cimмери e della campagna contro i Medi, gli Sciti si erano trovati a dover far fronte alla ribellione di un'intera generazione di giovani nati dall'unione delle loro donne con i loro servi. Non riuscendo a fiaccarne la resistenza con le armi, avevano deciso infine di affrontarli con le sole fruste usate per i cavalli certi che, ripresa coscienza del loro statuto e, quindi, della loro indegnità, avrebbero messo da parte qualsiasi idea di resistenza, cosa che di fatto avvenne<sup>56</sup>.

#### 4. *Mastigophoroi*

A voler schematizzare, due sono gli ambiti nel mondo greco in cui risulta attestato l'impiego di specifici corpi di *mastigophoroi*: l'educazione

<sup>51</sup> Sul contesto storico e le circostanze dell'assedio cf. Intriery 2015, 98-107 part.

<sup>52</sup> Xen. *Hell.* 6, 2, 15 (trad. Bultrighini, Mari).

<sup>53</sup> Gli schiavi si erano già schierati al fianco del *demos*, sostenuto da Atene, nel corso della *stasis* del 427: Thuc. 3, 73.

<sup>54</sup> Come sottolineato da Dione di Prusa (*Sulla schiavitù e la libertà*, 14, 12), caratteristica precipua dello schiavo è quella di essere frustato. Cf. Rodriguez Gervaz 2007, 342.

<sup>55</sup> Hdt. 4, 3.

<sup>56</sup> Sulla frusta come simbolo politico della costruzione sociale di un corpo di non liberi cf. Flaig 2001, 38-40.

dei giovani e il mantenimento dell'ordine pubblico in contesti e circostanze diverse.

Relativamente al primo ambito la menzione d'obbligo è quella degli *hebontes*, giovani fra i venti e i trent'anni armati di frusta che affiancavano a Sparta il *paidonomos*, di cui si attribuiva l'istituzione allo stesso Licurgo<sup>57</sup>.

Per il secondo ambito vorrei in primo luogo richiamare l'attenzione su un passo della *Ciropedia* di Senofonte che trova una significativa consonanza con l'immagine tucididea dei *μαστιγοφόροι* corceiresi. Nella descrizione della prima uscita ufficiale di Ciro dalla reggia, Senofonte fa, infatti, riferimento alla presenza, accanto a due file di soldati schierati su entrambi i lati della strada, di *mastigophoroi* che avevano il compito di percuotere chiunque avesse dato molestia<sup>58</sup>: evidentemente, un corpo militare o paramilitare con una funzione differenziata rispetto a quella dei soldati schierati, nella circostanza, quale guardia d'onore per il nuovo re.

Reparti specializzati di *mastigophoroi* sono noti anche per l'Atene di V-IV sec. a.C. Si tratta dei cosiddetti "arcieri sciti" e degli odiati trecento *ὕπηρέται μαστιγοφόροι* istituiti nel 404 dai Trenta<sup>59</sup>. Quello degli *Σκύθαι*, come si evince dallo stesso nome, era un corpo di schiavi pubblici di origine scita armati di frusta<sup>60</sup>, attivi nella *polis* attica fra il secondo quarto del V sec. e i decenni iniziali del IV a.C. Essi erano incaricati del mantenimento dell'ordine pubblico in occasione delle riunioni della *boule* e dell'*ekklesia* agli ordini dei pritani o dei probuli<sup>61</sup> quanto, con buona probabilità, del controllo quotidiano dell'area urbana quali agenti di polizia sempre agli ordini dei magistrati<sup>62</sup>.

*Mastigophoroi* sono tuttavia attestati nel mondo greco, con una più ampia diffusione nel periodo ellenistico-romano, anche al servizio di varie

<sup>57</sup> Vd. Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 2, 2: ἔδωκε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἡβόντων μαστιγοφόρους, ὅπως τιμωροῖεν ὅποτε δέοι, ὥστε πολλὴν μὲν αἰδῶ, πολλὴν δὲ πειθῶ ἐκεῖ συμπαρεῖναι; Plut. *Lyc.* 17, 2-6, col commento di Lipka 2002, 119 e 131; e, per l'età degli *hebontes*, Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 4, 3; cf. Lupi 2000, 31-36.

<sup>58</sup> Xen. *Cyrop.* 8, 3, 9: στοῖχοι δὲ εἰστήχεσαν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἴστανται ἢ ἂν βασιλεὺς μέλλῃ ἐλαύνειν. ὧν ἐντὸς οὐδενὶ ἔστιν εἰσιέναι τῶν μὴ τετιμημένων· μαστιγοφόροι δὲ καθέστασαν, οἳ ἔπαιον εἴ τις ἐνοχλοῖται.

<sup>59</sup> Vd. Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 35, 1. Si trattò di una misura temporanea di ordine tirannico in parte analoga all'istituzione di un corpo di mazzieri attribuita a Pisistrato.

<sup>60</sup> Vd. Aristoph. *Thesm.* 931-934, 1125, 1135.

<sup>61</sup> Vd. Andoc. III 5; Plato, *Prot.* 319c; Aristoph. *Acharn.* 54 ss.

<sup>62</sup> Sul corpo degli *Σκύθαι* cf. Tuci 2004 e 2005.



categorie di magistrati<sup>63</sup>, quanto nella tutela dell'ordine in alcuni santuari, come ad Olimpia al servizio degli *hellanodikai*<sup>64</sup> o a Korope in Tessaglia presso l'oracolo di Apollo (II sec. a.C. ca.)<sup>65</sup>. Significativa infine, ai nostri fini, è la pertinenza dell'uso della frusta agli *agoranomoi*, gli addetti alla sorveglianza delle attività mercantili che si svolgevano nell'agorà<sup>66</sup>, della cui presenza si ha chiara attestazione per Corcira<sup>67</sup>.

Un'ampia casistica, dunque, se pur non confortata da una consistente documentazione, di cui non si può non tener conto nei tentativi di decodificazione della realtà corcirese, quanto dello stesso *anathema* dodoneo. La rapida rassegna offerta credo consenta infatti di riconoscere nei *mastigophoroi* menzionati da Tucidide – al di là dell'eccezionalità del contesto in cui si colloca la notizia – un corpo civico<sup>68</sup> impegnato nel mantenimento dell'ordine pubblico<sup>69</sup> nell'ambito di una *polis* sede, per la

<sup>63</sup> Nell'Egitto ellenistico, eg, *mastigophoroi* sono ricordati a servizio di alti dignitari come l'*oikonomos*: vd. PTeubnium 121, 58; cf. Welwei 2006.

<sup>64</sup> Vd. Paus. 6, 2, 2 in merito alla fustigazione subita dallo spartano Lica che aveva partecipato alla corsa dei carri presentandosi come tebano nonostante gli Spartani fossero stati esclusi dai giochi perché in guerra con l'Elide; *Etym. M.* s.v. <Ἀλυτάρχης>: Ὁ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπιακῷ ἀγῶνι εὐκοσμίας ἄρχων. Ἡλεῖοι γὰρ τοὺς ῥαβδοφόρους ἢ μαστιγοφόρους παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις καλουμένους <ἀλύτας> καλοῦσι, καὶ τὸν τούτων ἄρχοντα ἀλυτάρχη. Portatori di frusta compaiono anche in immagini vascolari sempre relative a gare: cf. Finley, Pleket 1976, 34 pl. 14, 40 pl. 17. Spostandoci in età imperiale romana vanno ricordati i 20 *mastigophoroi* scelti dall'agonotheta per il mantenimento dell'ordine nel teatro della piccola città di Oinoanda in Licia in occasione delle feste *Demostheneia* citati in una lunga e interessante iscrizione; cf. Wörle 1988, 10-11 (ll 63-65) e 219-220; traduzione in inglese del testo in Mitchell 1990, 183-185. Tale feste traevano nome da C. Iulio Demostene, che ne aveva finanziato lo svolgimento e ottenuto il riconoscimento nel 124 da parte dell'imperatore Adriano. Per ulteriori esempi di *mastigophoroi* menzionati in iscrizioni greche di età imperiale cf. Robert 1979, 160-165.

<sup>65</sup> Vd. IG IX 2, 1109, ll. 24-26.

<sup>66</sup> Vd. Aristoph. *Acarn.* 724, dove la frusta è chiamata ἰμάς; Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 1. Cf. Mactoux 2009, 65.

<sup>67</sup> La loro presenza nell'isola è infatti attestata dal ritrovamento di due pesi iscritti: vd. IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 4, 1158 e 1160; cf. Fantasia 2008, 197 e n. 81.

<sup>68</sup> A soggetti che svolgevano la loro opera “per mercede” sembra far riferimento un passo, tuttavia corrotto, dell'opera ps.-plutarchea *Παροιμιαὶ αἷς Ἀλεξανδροῦ εἰρηκῶντο* (1, 12): <Ὁ Κερκυραῖος μαστιγοῦμενος ἅμα αὐτὸν † ἠργολάβησαι:> αἱ μαστιγες αἱ Κερκυραῖαι λέγονται διάφοροι εἶναι παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας (CPG 1, Leutsch, Schneidewin): “Il portatore di frusta corcirese in quel tempo lavorava per mercede”: le fruste corcirese dicono fossero diverse dalle altre.

<sup>69</sup> Non intendo con ciò escludere che le fruste potessero far comunque parte del normale equipaggiamento militare tipico degli *aristoi* corcirese, come ipotizzato da Piccinini 2017, 85, che trae da ciò motivo per riconoscere nei frammenti di fruste bronzee rinvenuti nel santuario epirota appunto delle dediche di membri dell'aristocrazia corcirese, al pari

sua posizione lungo la rotta verso l'Adriatico e l'Occidente greco, di fiorenti traffici e scambi commerciali<sup>70</sup>.

Di certo l'equazione aristotelica fra la ricchezza raggiunta dai Corcirese e la loro arroganza, testimoniata dall'uso di fruste di grandi dimensioni e valore, presuppone una notevole visibilità dello strumento, quanto dei *mastigophoroi*, non giustificabile solo in relazione al valore simbolico assunto dall'*anathema* corcirese a Dodona, indipendentemente dal fatto se dono corcirese debba essere considerata la sola frusta o l'intero gruppo<sup>71</sup>. Palese è infatti la differenza fra la descrizione delle fruste corcirese offerta in Zenobio da "alcuni" autori<sup>72</sup> – doppie, con impugnature d'avorio e fuori dal normale per grandezza –, evidentemente riferibile alle fruste effettivamente in uso, e quella dell'*anathema* fornita da Strabone<sup>73</sup> in cui le cinghie bronzee a catena, arricchite da astragali, diventano tre<sup>74</sup>: modifiche di cui va evidentemente valutato il senso nell'ambito di un'*anathema* di non facile decodificazione.

## 5. Ripartire dall'*anathema*

Ad eccezione della, apparentemente, precoce identificazione del gruppo bronzeo come  $\Delta\omega\delta\omega\nu\alpha\tilde{\iota}\omega\nu \chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\omega\nu$ , contrariamente a quanto si

dell'*anathema*, anch'esso una dedica dell'élite aristocratica cittadina, ben lontano, almeno nelle intenzioni originali, da qualsiasi connessione con la divinazione, il rituale o qualsivoglia pratica apotropaica.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Intriери 2010; Psoma 2015.

<sup>71</sup> Vd. infra 149 ss.

<sup>72</sup> Zenob. 4, 49: *οἱ δὲ καὶ διπλᾶς ἀντὰς ἔφασαν εἶναι*. Vd. supra n. 20.

<sup>73</sup> Vd. supra n. 14.

<sup>74</sup> La frusta descritta da Strabone risulta più simile a quelle cui ancora oggi si suole dare il nome di "discipline": piccoli flagelli costituiti da più cinghie unite ad un manico usate nell'autoflagellazione. Come già notato da Cook 1902, 12-13, essa trova una significativa conferma visiva nel *flagrum* che reca astragali infilati su tre cordicelle raffigurato, accanto ad altri strumenti rituali, su un rilievo in marmo pertinente al monumento sepolcrale di un sacerdote di Cibele rinvenuto nel 1737 nel territorio di Lanuvio e databile ad età adrianea per il quale cf. ora Della Giovampaola 2012. Complessa tuttavia, la decodificazione dell'arricchimento con astragali della frusta. Accanto al più ampio uso nella sfera del gioco, variegata sono, infatti, le funzioni in ambito rituale che sembra possibile attribuire agli astragali in considerazione dei luoghi e contesti di ritrovamento: simboli di status, amuleti o talismani, offerte votive, oggetti utilizzati nelle pratiche divinatorie. In particolare sull'*astragalomanteia*, che si inserisce nel più ampio campo della cleromanzia, vd. Paus. 7, 25, 10 (oracolo di Eracle a Bura in Acaia); cf. Bouché-Leclerq 1879, 189-197 e 1882, 145-159; Amandry 1984, 347-380; Graf 2005, 51-97; Carè 2013.

verifica per altre dediche corcirese in santuari come Olimpia o Delfi<sup>75</sup>, nulla è dato ricavare dalle fonti in merito alle circostanze della dedica corcirese, né sulla sua collocazione all'interno del santuario epiroti. Nulla è dato sapere, dunque, su quel processo, spesso articolato, che soggiace alle dediche, di cui il dono in sé rappresenta solo l'esito finale. Esso trae, infatti, sempre origine da un evento o da una situazione che induce una richiesta di intervento soprannaturale e stimola un grato contraccambio, che viene appunto a realizzarsi con l'esposizione dell'oggetto stesso: "somma espressione della devozione privata e documento altamente rappresentativo di quella ufficiale"<sup>76</sup>. A ciò si uniscono, soprattutto in aree sacre che assumono anche una particolare valenza civica o areale, motivazioni di ordine propagandistico, affermazione identitaria o rivendicazione politica.

In assenza di dati di altra natura è dunque dall'*anathema* stesso, in un complesso percorso a ritroso, che occorre partire in un tentativo di individuazione, per quanto ciò sia possibile, almeno dei sostrati ideali presumibilmente sottesi alla dedica o all'erezione del gruppo bronzeo attraverso l'enucleazione di un più ampio quadro di possibili piste di ricerca o ipotesi interpretative.

A completamento della sua ipotesi relativa alla sostituzione con un più elaborato e artistico χαλκεῖον montato su due colonne dell'originario circolo di tripodi/lebeti, il Cook tendeva a spiegare l'intreccio fra le due espressioni proverbiali Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον e Κερκυραίων μάστιξ con l'attribuzione ai Corcirese del dono, originario o frutto di un successivo ripristino, della sola frusta<sup>77</sup>. Per lo studioso, infatti, nell'ambigua frase di Strabone (χαλκίον ἦν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἔχον ὑπερκείμενον ἀνδριάντα κρατοῦντα μάστιγα χαλκῆν, ἀνάθημα Κορκυραίων) ἀνάθημα Κορκυραίων andrebbe intesa come apposizione a μάστιγα χαλκῆν, piuttosto che a χαλκίον ο ἀνδριάντα<sup>78</sup>.

Come mostrato dall'analisi delle tradizioni relative alle due espressioni proverbiali, l'intreccio di piani diversi non offre elementi dirimenti in merito al problema di una eventuale voluta erezione del monumento – ruolo dei Corcirese a parte – volto a sostituire, nella fase di

<sup>75</sup> Vd. Paus. 5, 27, 9 e 10, 9, 3-4 per la dedica rispettivamente ad Olimpia e Delfi di due tori in bronzo a seguito di una pesca eccezionale; per la base di pietra calcarea con iscrizione identificata come base del toro dedicato a Delfi vd. FD III 1, 521; IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 4, 1199. Sull'episodio cf. Intrieri 2010, 192-193.

<sup>76</sup> Burkert 2003, 209.

<sup>77</sup> Cook 1902, 13. Diversamente per Parke 1967, 88 "we need not doubt the additional fact that the statue of the boy was dedicated by the Corcyraeans".

<sup>78</sup> Cook 1902, 12 n. 5; Katsadima 2017, 497.

monumentalizzazione del santuario, l'antica cintura di bronzi sonori che circondavano la quercia sacra<sup>79</sup> e dunque a consentire, sia pur in altra forma, il perpetuarsi della fama del santuario quale *μαντείο των ἤχων*<sup>80</sup>. Nonostante la datazione dell'*anathema* alla seconda metà del IV sec. a.C., proposta sulla base del confronto con la comparsa di altri monumenti a doppia colonna in santuari greci<sup>81</sup>, renda difficile giustificare l'assenza di un preciso cenno in tal senso in un autore pressoché contemporaneo come Demon, si tratta di una eventualità che la prudenza invita a non escludere del tutto. Qualora, infatti, fosse lecito realmente circoscrivere l'offerta dei Corcirese alla sola frusta e, dunque, ipotizzare un intervento diretto delle autorità locali nella scelta del soggetto, si potrebbe forse pensare ad un monumento evocativo di una delle tradizioni relative all'originaria rivelazione dell'oracolo. La statua del giovane *mastigophoros* avrebbe potuto, infatti, idealmente richiamare, integrata o meno nel ripristino di un meccanismo sonoro dal valore apotropaico<sup>82</sup>, la figura dell'anonimo pastore che, secondo uno dei miti locali dodonei significativamente accolto dallo storico epirota Prosseno, aveva interrogato il dio per conoscere l'identità di un ladro ricevendo per la prima volta risposta dalla quercia<sup>83</sup>. Tale ipotesi potrebbe assumere consistenza se, come proposto, ormai alcuni anni fa da F. Quantin, nei frammenti di piccole fruste bronzee, originariamente rinvenuti negli scavi condotti dal Carapanos<sup>84</sup>, si possa riconoscere la replica in forma ridotta e l'offerta al dio di Dodona degli utensili adoperati

<sup>79</sup> Sull'accidentalità del fenomeno dei lebeti/tripodi sonori descritti da Demon, non deposti originariamente in circolo allo scopo di diffondere il suono, cf. Parke 1967, 91, che considera invece possibile una influenza di tale tradizione sull'artista incaricato di realizzare la dedica corcirese, espressamente pensata per produrre dei suoni.

<sup>80</sup> Come recita il titolo di una recente pregevole mostra ad esso dedicata: cf. Δωδώνη 2016.

<sup>81</sup> Chiara analisi del problema in Piccinini 2017, 82-83 cui si rimanda anche per la bibl. precedente.

<sup>82</sup> Va escluso invece, come dimostrato da Parke 1967, 89-90, qualsiasi legame del risuonare del bronzo con la divinazione, significativamente suggerito solo in fonti tarde e in autori cristiani.

<sup>83</sup> Vd. *Schol. Od.* 14, 327 = Proxen. *FGrHist.* 703 F 7. Sull'origine epirota di tale tradizione cf. Parke 1967, 36-38.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Carapanos 1878, 102. Considerati dal Carapanos come pertinenti ad archi votivi, i frammenti bronzeei oblungi sono stati convincentemente assegnati a fruste votive dal Kalligas (1976, 64-66) sulla base di un confronto con analoghi ritrovamenti nel santuario di Apollo Korynthos a Longa in Messenia. Per le immagini dei frammenti di fruste rinvenute a Dodona, databili fra IV e III/II sec. a.C., vd. in particolare Δωδώνη 2016, nrr. 59-61.

dai pastori dell'area<sup>85</sup>. Come notato dallo studioso, la *mastyx* infatti non costituiva solo uno strumento di supplizio, ma anche un utensile adoperato dai pastori per radunare le loro greggi e spingerle nella giusta direzione. In tal caso il piccolo bronzo “simile a un lebete” montato sulla seconda colonna e posto *κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος*, “a destra” della statua del giovane, secondo quanto precisato nella descrizione attribuita a Polemone e Aristeide, potrebbe evocare più che uno dei tipici oggetti di pregio offerti alla divinità<sup>86</sup>, l'urna contenente i responsi oracolari per l'estrazione a sorte<sup>87</sup>, una fra le diverse forme di divinazione praticate a Dodona<sup>88</sup>, e nota da un aneddoto riportato da Cicerone, ma risalente a Callistene di Olinto, relativo ad una consultazione oracolare fatta dagli Spartani prima della battaglia di Leuttra<sup>89</sup>.

## 6. Antiche e nuove ipotesi interpretative

Scenari ben diversi apre, invece, l'attribuzione ai Corcirei dell'intero *anathema*, quanto dei frammenti di fruste portati alla luce dal Carapanos.

<sup>85</sup> Quantin 1999, 86-87. Sulla pastorizia quale principale attività economica degli Epiroti vd. Hes. *Eoiai* fr. 240 Merkelbach, West; Pind. *Nem.* 4, 51-53; Aristot. *H.A.* 3, 21, 522b; 8, 7, 595b; Varro *R.R.* 2, 1, 2; 2, 20; 5, 6; 5, 10; 6; 9, 3; Plin. *N.H.* 8, 45 e 176. Sulla centralità di Dodona nei percorsi della transumanza cf. Piccinini 2017, 37-39 (con bibl.).

<sup>86</sup> Accanto alla tradizione ripresa da Demon sul circolo di tripodi/lebeti che circondava la quercia sacra (vd. supra 136-138), la dedica di tripodi e calderoni in bronzo a Dodona è ben attestata sin dalle origini del santuario: cf. Dieterle 2007, 169 ss.; Piccinini 2017, 41-43

<sup>87</sup> Sulla presenza anche di tale pratica divinatoria, accanto alle altre già note, confortata da alcuni dei nuovi testi pubblicati in Dakaris, Vokotopoulou, Christidis 2013, cf. Parker 2015, 111-114.

<sup>88</sup> Sulle diverse modalità di funzionamento dell'oracolo note dalla tradizione (attraverso lo stormire delle fronde della quercia o il tramite delle “colombe”, le profetesse in estasi, l'estrazione delle sorti, il mormorare della sacra fontana), sintetico quadro in Johnston 2008, 63-72.

<sup>89</sup> Callisth. *FGrHist* 124 F 22a-b = Cic. *De Div.* 1, 34, 76; 2, 32, 69). Lo storico di Olinto narra, infatti, che in occasione di una consultazione dell'oracolo da parte degli Spartani prima della battaglia di Leuttra, dopo che era stata posta l'urna contenente le sorti, una scimmia cara al re dei Molossi le aveva scompigliate insieme agli altri oggetti portati per compiere il sorteggio, inducendo dunque la sacerdotessa preposta all'oracolo ad invitare gli Spartani a pensare alla loro salvezza più che alla vittoria. Sulla veridicità dell'episodio cf. Parke 1967, 83-84.

Come è noto, si deve al Kalligas<sup>90</sup> la proposta di una connessione fra le fruste bronzee dedicate a Dodona e la pratica della *mastigosis* ben attestata in ambiente dorico nei riti di iniziazione/educazione dei giovani, come quelli che si svolgevano presso il tempio di Artemide Orthia a Sparta<sup>91</sup>. A partire da tale tesi, nell'ambito di uno studio più ampio dedicato ad evidenziare gli aspetti simbolici sottesi alla narrazione erodotea del peculiare salvataggio operato dai Sami dei trecento giovani corcirese sottratti per vendetta da Periandro alle loro famiglie e inviati per farne degli eunuchi ad Aliatte<sup>92</sup>, J. Ducat ha ipotizzato esplicitamente un'origine corcirese delle fruste dedicate a Dodona in connessione alla loro utilizzazione nel processo educativo dei fanciulli, uso da cui, per la sua crudezza, avrebbe tratto origine lo stesso proverbio *korkyraia mastix*<sup>93</sup>.

Tale ipotesi, senza dubbio suggestiva, presuppone un preciso legame fra il santuario dodoneo e i percorsi di educazione/iniziazione dei giovani corcirese<sup>94</sup>, quanto fra tali pratiche e l'affermazione del valore proverbiale delle fruste, fenomeno quest'ultimo che, come si è cercato di dimostrare<sup>95</sup>, sembrerebbe tuttavia prescindere dalla notorietà successivamente assunta dalla frusta dell'*anathema* dodoneo in un emblematico intreccio col (successivo?) riconoscimento in esso del *Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον*. Un intreccio che ha finito per distogliere l'attenzione, già a partire dai commentatori antichi, dalla figura del *mastigophoros*: un *παιδάριον* secondo Stefano, la statua di un uomo (*ἀνδριάντα*) secondo Strabone<sup>96</sup>.

Al di là della gravidanza del culto di Artemide a Corcira<sup>97</sup> e del valore propagandistico dei temi mitici trattati nelle raffigurazioni del grande frontone dell'Artemision sito nel cuore politico della *polis* che,

<sup>90</sup> Kalligas 1976, 67.

<sup>91</sup> Per le fonti e le problematiche connesse alle varianti in esse attestate relativamente ai riti che prevedevano l'uso della *mastyx* praticati presso il tempio spartano cf. Lembessi 1991, 99-103; Bonnechere 1993.

<sup>92</sup> Hdt. 3, 48.

<sup>93</sup> Ducat 1995, 365-366. Vd. anche Antonetti 2006, 69; D'Alessandro 2016, 276; Katsadima 2017, 498.

<sup>94</sup> Non apportano elementi in tal senso, almeno allo stato attuale della documentazione complessiva, le sette laminette oracolari di non agevole interpretazione in cui viene evocata Artemide, di cui due, tra l'altro, non redatte in dialetto dorico; vd. Dakaris, Vokotopoulou, Christidis 2013, nrr. 1012A, 3192A (non in dorico); 540A, 541B, 1611B, 2091A, 3393A.

<sup>95</sup> Vd. supra 142 ss.

<sup>96</sup> Vd. supra nn. 3 e 14.

<sup>97</sup> Per una efficace sintesi cf. Preka-Alexandri 2010, 400-407.

come evidenziato da Claudia Antonetti<sup>98</sup>, rivelano la grande attenzione rivolta da Corcira agli inizi del VI sec. all'entroterra epirota ed illirico, se volgiamo lo sguardo alle tradizioni che interessano l'isola, due figure mitiche giovanili, entrambe significativamente pertinenti ad un medesimo orizzonte mitico, quello della saga argonautica, contribuiscono ulteriormente a delineare modi e forme dello sguardo rivolto dall'isola verso l'area continentale.

La prima figura, di cui dà notizia Pausania attingendo ai *Naupaktia*<sup>99</sup>, è quella di Mermero, il figlio maggiore di Giasone. Secondo tale versione del mito, che dopo la morte di Pelia vedeva il trasferimento di Giasone da Iolco a Corcira, Mermero aveva trovato la morte ἐν τῇ πέραν ἡπεύρω, ucciso da una leonessa mentre era impegnato in una battuta di caccia.

La seconda figura è quella di Illo, il figlio che Eracle, secondo una versione alternativa di chiara origine corcirese, aveva avuto nell'isola dalla naiade Melite<sup>100</sup>. Insofferente al controllo del re Nausitoo sin dall'adolescenza, con l'aiuto dello stesso sovrano, Illo aveva abbandonato l'isola "con una schiera di Feaci autoctoni" per portarsi verso il mare di Crono dove aveva successivamente trovato la morte per mano dei Mentori mentre difendeva i propri buoi al pascolo<sup>101</sup>.

Entrambe le tradizioni offrono elementi di interesse ai nostri fini. In primo luogo esse lasciano trasparire il diverso modo dell'isola di rapportarsi con le due aree. Se il mito di Mermero evidenzia il rapporto peculiare fra Corcira e l'area tesprotica<sup>102</sup>, nell'affiliazione a Giasone di una figura che nell'*Odissea* (1, 259) viene collocata appunto nell'Efira tesprotica<sup>103</sup>, quello di Illo tradisce una non velata rivendicazione da parte

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Antonetti 2001 e 2006.

<sup>99</sup> *Naup.* fr. 9 Bernabé = Paus. 2, 3, 9. Sul poema, variamente attribuito in Paus. 10, 38, 11 a Carcino di Naupatto o a un Milesio, i cui frammenti mostrano una particolare attenzione per la saga argonautica, cfr. Huxley 1969, 68-73; Matthews 1977, 189-207; Debiasi 2003, 91-101.

<sup>100</sup> Apoll. Rhod. *Arg.* 4, 537-543. Secondo tale versione, Eracle si era recato nel paese dei Feaci per purificarsi dall'atroce morte dei propri figli verosimilmente presso Macride (cf. Vian 1981, 31 e n. 3), la figlia di Aristeo nutrice di Dionisio, cui l'isola aveva offerto rifugio (*Arg.* 4, 1131-1140). Sulla complessa tradizione di Illo, figlio di Eracle e Deianira nella tradizione più diffusa, cf. Eitrem, 1916, 124.

<sup>101</sup> Apoll. Rhod. *Arg.* 4, 544-551.

<sup>102</sup> Un "tentative pour récupérer le mythe au profit de Corcyre (et au détriment de Corinthe)" secondo Moreau 1994, 51

<sup>103</sup> Cf. a tale riguardo West 2003, 33 e 281 nt. 45; e sulle "allusioni, nell'*Odissea*, a tradizioni epirote" Malkin 2004, 158. Sul Mermero epirota vd. anche *Schol. ad Pind. Nem.*

di Corcira dei propri diritti sul più ampio entroterra illirico, meta di fondazioni coloniali nel mito quanto nella realtà storica<sup>104</sup>.

Prescindendo in questa sede dalle variegata ipotesi avanzate dalla critica in merito al legame probabilmente presente nei *Naupaktia* fra lo stesso Mermero, Medea e Giasone o il fratello Ferete ed Efira<sup>105</sup>, il frammento conservato da Pausania, nel suo riferimento al continente come area in cui un giovane Mermero ‘corcirese’ si dedica alla caccia, riveste senz’altro valore quale trasposizione nel mito dell’interazione fra Corcira e il continente antistante, ma forse anche, data la giovane età del protagonista, del ruolo giocato dalla pratica venatoria nel percorso educativo dei giovani corcirese, coerentemente alle tradizioni doriche<sup>106</sup>. Con le sue montagne facilmente raggiungibili dalla costa attraverso le valli fluviali che ne innervano il territorio, l’Epiro offriva infatti un contesto ambientale senz’altro adatto a tale pratica di cui è nota la funzione anche in riferimento a quei riti di passaggio che nel mondo dorico prevedevano

7, 53: Ἐφύραν δὲ εἶπε ὄν τὴν ἐν Ἠπειρῷ, ἣν Κιχυρόν φησι μετωνομάσθαι ἀπὸ Κιχύρου τοῦ Μέρμου. Ad un “ordito euboico” sotteso a tali tradizioni pensa Debiasi 2004, 64-67.

<sup>104</sup> Come precisato da Vian 1981, 30 nt. 1, l’espressione λαὸν ἀγείρας usata da Apollonio Rodio a 4, 548 (come per altro contesto ad 1, 893) fa esplicito riferimento alla partenza di un gruppo di coloni. Il riferimento d’obbligo è, tuttavia, alla fondazione di Epidamno (Thuc. 1, 24; Strab. 7, 5, 8; Ps.-Scymn. 434-439) e alla mediazione corcirese nella fondazione cnidia di Corcira Melaina (Ps.-Scymn. 428; Strab. 7, 5, 5 C 315; Plin. *HN* 3, 152; cf. Braccesi 1977, 104-106; Mastrocinque 1988, 7-11 e 19-24). Per Epidamno va ricordato come la sua fondazione risulti significativamente connessa, nel segmento mitico della ricostruzione offerta da Appiano (*BC* 2, 6, 39), all’azione di Eracle intervenuto a sostegno dell’illirico Dyrrachos, nella contesa che lo vedeva opposto ai propri fratelli, su esplicita richiesta di questi, ma anche a fronte dell’offerta di una parte del territorio, chiara metafora di quell’intrusione corcirese nella dialettica interna al mondo illirico che, nel segmento storico dello stesso passo di Appiano, porta alla fondazione della città. Su tale tradizione e la sua connessione con altre leggende eraclee cfr. Intriери 2002, 45-46; Antonetti 2007, 93-96. Il richiamo della colonia corcirese ed Eracle è confermato sia dall’ampia presenza, dal IV sec. a.C. in poi, di immagini e simboli eraclidi sulle monete coniate dalla *polis*, sia dalla menzione del dio nell’iscrizione più antica (VI-V sec. a.C.) rinvenuta nel sito (vd. Cabanes, Drini 1995, nr. 1). Su Epidamnos/Dirrachium si cf. ora il bel volume di Sassi 2017.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Huxley 1969, 72-73; Debiasi 2004, 63-67.

<sup>106</sup> Vd. Plat. *Leg.* 633b-c; sulla caccia quale occupazione più nobile per gli Spartiati vd. Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 4, 7; Plut. *Lyc.* 24, 5. Per il ruolo della caccia nei percorsi educativi cretesi Ephor. *FGrHist* 70 F 149 (ap. Strab. 10, 4, 21), suoi legami con la flagellazione rituale cf. Lembessi 1991, 103-113. Più in generale sul valore della caccia quale elemento indispensabile nell’educazione dei giovani vd. Xen. *Cyneg.* 2, 1; Plat. *Leg.* 823c-824b. Sui molteplici aspetti e valori della caccia a Sparta e in ambiente dorico cf. David 1993, 393-413, cui si rimanda per i riferimenti ad ulteriori fonti e bibliografia.



periodi di isolamento<sup>107</sup>. Non sarebbe in questo senso strano che, data la conformazione dell'isola di Corcira e il suo ampio sfruttamento agricolo, tali pratiche potessero aver trovato, almeno in alcune fasi della sua storia<sup>108</sup>, il proprio svolgimento naturale sul continente antistante. Ciò potrebbe contribuire a spiegare, qualora si voglia riconoscere nel *mastigophoros* dell'*anathema* un preciso riferimento a tali pratiche, il perché della sua dedica nel santuario dodoneo, non in quanto sede di qualche forma di fustigazione rituale o di altri riti di iniziazione, ma quale centro sacrale di un'area dove una parte del rituale avrebbe potuto trovare il proprio svolgimento<sup>109</sup>.

Spostiamoci ora sulla figura di Illo. La gravidanza "corcirese" della tradizione ripresa da Apollonio Rodio è stata da tempo riconosciuta dalla critica<sup>110</sup>. Come precisato da F. Vian, essa parte, infatti, da toponimi locali per creare, giocando sull'omonimia, una leggenda volta a sostenere i diritti di Corcira sull'area adriatica<sup>111</sup>. In particolare essa potrebbe aver tratto spunto dal legame, senz'altro antico, fra l'isola e la figura di Illo testimoniato dal conferimento del suo nome a uno dei porti corciresti, menzionato dallo stesso Apollonio<sup>112</sup> ma già noto a Tucidide<sup>113</sup>, e

<sup>107</sup> Come rilevato da Lembessi 1991, 116, il legame con la vegetazione e la caccia delle divinità al cui culto risulta connessa la flagellazione o l'autoflagellazione (Hermes Kedrites a Creta e Artemide Lygodesma a Sparta) e lo svolgimento del rituale, in tali casi, in santuari di area montana fanno pensare ad uno stadio iniziatico anteriore alla flagellazione rituale che doveva contemplare appunto un periodo di isolamento in un'area montana.

<sup>108</sup> Senz'altro dall'età arcaica fino agli inizi del IV sec. e cioè fino al mantenimento da parte di Corcira del controllo sulla perea nei cui *teiche* è possibile ipotizzare un impiego anche degli efebi corciresti.

<sup>109</sup> Che Dodona rappresentasse anche sul piano territoriale una sorta di punto focale di riferimento può evincersi, tra l'altro, da alcuni versi di Pindaro (*Nem.* 4, 51-53) che la indicano quale punto di partenza dei percorsi (nel caso specifico della transumanza) che portavano allo Ἴόνιος πόντος.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Vian 1981, 29-33. Diversa la posizione di Braccesi 2014, 18-19 che, nell'identificare in Corcira Melaina (odierna Korčula nell'arcipelago dalmata) la prima localizzazione in occidente di Scheria, considera riferibili alla stessa isola anche l'accento all'attività colonizzatrice in Adriatico (4, 546-550).

<sup>111</sup> Vian 1981, 29-33; cf. anche Antonetti 2001, 13.

<sup>112</sup> Apoll. Rhod. *Arg.* 4, 1125 e *Scholia ad. loc.*

<sup>113</sup> Vd. Thuc. III 72, 3. Sull'identificazione del porto Illaico ad Ovest della *polis*, nella laguna di Chalikiopoulos, cfr. Lechat 1891, 4-5; Spetsieri-Choremi 1991, 7 fig. 1; Kanta-Kitsou 2001, 273-304; per una diversa proposta di localizzazione nella baia a Nord della cosiddetta Fortezza Vecchia cfr. Gomme 1956, 370-372; Hornblower 1992, 471. Alla presenza di un terzo porto fa riferimento Ps.-Scyl. 29; per una ipotesi di localizzazione di quest'ultimo cfr. Metallinou 2010, 19-20.

dall'attestata presenza di una *phyle* di *Hylleis*<sup>114</sup> nota solo da un documento di II sec. a.C.<sup>115</sup> ma la cui introduzione ha buone probabilità di essere antica.

Eroe eponimo di una delle tre *phylai* doriche, Hyllos doveva richiamare nello stesso tempo l'identità dorica dei Corciresi, a fronte di quella proclamata volontà di distinzione da Corinto testimoniata dall'identificazione dell'isola con l'omerica Scheria attestata dal nome di Alcinoο attribuito al secondo porto e a un vicino *temenos*<sup>116</sup>, e la loro proiezione colonizzatrice oltre i monti Cerauni significativamente posta, come testimoniato dalla tradizione sulla fondazione di Epidamno, sotto il segno di Eracle<sup>117</sup>. È pertanto verosimile che con la diffusione della tradizione evocata da Apollonio, elaborata a partire da toponimi presenti nell'isola o omonimie con elementi onomastici di area adriatica, si fossero voluti ribadire i diritti di Corcira sull'area adriatica<sup>118</sup>. Se non è agevole stabilire l'epoca di elaborazione di tale tradizione, se non altro significativamente rievocata fra IV e III sec. a.C.<sup>119</sup>, e dunque l'eventuale connessione con un preciso contesto storico, di certo essa ribadisce la specificità del ruolo attribuito alla figura dell'eraclide Hyllos nel patrimonio mitico corcirese.

<sup>114</sup> Sull'ipotesi di una derivazione di tale nome dall'*ethnos* illirico degli Ὑλλῆες cf. Kalligas 1971, 87, che interpreta in tal senso i dubbi espressi da Dow 1942, 103 n. 19, e, soprattutto, Hammond 1967, 373, sull'origine dei nomi *Hyllos*, *Hylleis* etc. Tale ipotesi mi sembra non tenga, tuttavia, adeguatamente conto della forte valenza identitaria dei nomi attribuiti ai due porti dell'isola.

<sup>115</sup> Vd. IG IX, 1<sup>2</sup> 4, 798 ll. 3 e 5, in cui i filetici <Ὑλ>λεός e Ὑλλίς vengono attribuiti agli autori di una donazione alla *polis*. Sull'iscrizione vd. anche Robert 1963, 128 nr. 50 e Robert 1964, 142-143 nr. 73; Kalligas 1971, 79-94, partic. 87. Per una efficace ricostruzione del percorso esegetico di emendazione del testo in riferimento ai due filetici cfr. Del Monaco 2011, 308.

<sup>116</sup> Per il porto e il *temenos* di Alcinoο vd. Thuc. 3, 70, 4; IG IX, 1<sup>2</sup>, 4, 787, 928, 970. Sulla collocazione orientale dello stesso vd. Eust. *Comm.* in Dionys. Per. 492; bibliografia in Intriери 2002, 16 n. 19.

<sup>117</sup> Vd. supra n. 104.

<sup>118</sup> Come suggerito da Vian 1981, 32, l'operazione implicata dalla tradizione fatta propria da Apollonio Rodio somiglia a quella sottesa ad un frammento di Paniassi (17 Kinkel = Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4, 1149-1150) in cui, giocando sull'omonimia, si pretendeva che Eracle avesse dato il nome di Hyllos ad uno dei suoi figli in ricordo di un omonimo fiume della Lidia, bagnandosi nelle cui acque l'eroe era stato guarito da una "malattia" da cui era stato colpito mentre si trovava a servizio della regina Onfale.

<sup>119</sup> A Timeo quale fonte di Apollonio pensa Vian 1981, 32 sulla base di cenni che la presuppongono in Ps.-Scyl. 22 e, in particolare in Ps.-Scymn. 405-412 che richiama lo storico siceliota ed Eratostene; a "materiali arcaici anteriori all'identificazione di Scheria con Corcira/Corfù" secondo Braccesi 2014, 19-20.

## 6. Corcira, l'epiros, Dodona

Rivolgiamo ora lo sguardo al profilo storico dell'isola nella seconda metà del IV sec. a.C. A fronte dei pochi e complessi squarci aperti dalle fonti, due sembrano essere i dati emergenti: lo sviluppo di un diverso rapporto col continente e la progressiva acquisizione di un ruolo di tutela nei confronti delle colonie corinzie/corinzio-corciresti dell'area ionico-adriatica a fronte di un rinnovato rapporto con la madre patria Corinto<sup>120</sup>. Come ben mostrato da Pierre Cabanes in una recente sintesi<sup>121</sup>, nel corso del IV sec. a.C., con una particolare accelerazione nella seconda metà, la partizione in piccole comunità che aveva fino a quel momento caratterizzato l'area macedone e quella epirota subisce, sia pur con velocità diverse, un'evoluzione verso l'unità con la creazione della grande Macedonia di Filippo II e la progressiva estensione del territorio soggetto al *koinon* dei Molossi, fino all'integrazione al proprio interno delle tribù tesprotiche e l'assunzione del controllo della costa a sud del Thyamis, mentre la parte a nord vedeva il consolidamento dei Caoni<sup>122</sup>. A ciò corrisponde una progressiva urbanizzazione del territorio con la nascita di nuove città<sup>123</sup> e l'evoluzione in senso strutturale dello stesso santuario di Dodona che, considerato ancora tesprota verso la fine del V sec.<sup>124</sup>, dovette passare agli inizi del IV sec. sotto il controllo dei Molossi per divenirne ben presto quasi una sorta di capitale politica<sup>125</sup>.

<sup>120</sup> Accanto alla partecipazione di due navi corciresti alla spedizione di Timoleonte nel 344 (vd. Plut. *Tim.* 8, 4; Diod. 16, 66, 2; SEG XI, nrr. 126; 217), va ricordata la comune adesione nel 340 alla Lega ellenica promossa da Demostene (Demosth. *De cor.* 237; Plut. *Demosth.* 17, 5; *Vitae decem orat.* 845a). Tale rinnovato legame è visibile anche nella monetazione che, successivamente alla metà del IV sec., vede un'ampia produzione di stateri corinzi che coinvolge anche Corcira, *Dyrrachion* e Apollonia accanto alle altre colonie corinzie (cf. Lucchelli 2010, 294 e n. 26 per ulteriore bibl.). Sul ritrovato ruolo di metropoli da parte di Corinto nella seconda metà del IV sec. a.C. cf. Antonetti 2011, 53-63.

<sup>121</sup> Cabanes 2010, 117-123 part.

<sup>122</sup> Si tratta di un processo ricostruibile sulla base sia dei pochi cenni offerti per l'area dalle fonti letterarie (vd. Xen. *Hell.* 6, 2, 10; Ps.-Scyl. 32) quanto, soprattutto, attraverso i dati offerti dalla documentazione epigrafica dodonea (vd. Cabanes 2010, 131 ss. [Annexe Épigraohique]) e dalle due liste dei teorodochi di Epidauro (360 a.C. ca.) e di Argo (330 a.C. ca.) che a distanza di circa trent'anni mostrano una radicale diminuzione delle comunità epirote visitate. Vd. IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 95 (Epidauro); Charneux 1966a; 1966b (Argo).

<sup>123</sup> Cf. Lazari, Kanta-Kitsou 2010, 35-49.

<sup>124</sup> Vd. Eur. *Phoen.* 981-984: la tragedia venne rappresentata nel 410.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. Dieterle 2007, 103-168; Quantin 2008, 43-45; Piccinini 2016, 167-183. Sul peculiare ruolo assunto successivamente da Pirro nella monumentalizzazione del santuario e nell'elevazione del ruolo politico di Dodona cf. da ultima Meyer 2013, 126-130.

La limitatezza delle notizie offerte dalle fonti non consente una ricostruzione dettagliata, ma è presumibile che, privata della propria perea<sup>126</sup>, Corcira dovette essere costretta a riconfigurare i propri rapporti in termini politici e, verosimilmente, economici con l'*epeiros* antistante.

Se nelle vicende che la vedono coinvolta negli anni '70, percepibile è la mediazione ateniese nelle relazioni con i Molossi<sup>127</sup>, più complesso si fa il rapporto col continente nei decenni finali del IV e in quelli iniziali del III sec. a.C. quando l'isola si trova a dover far fronte alle ripetute aggressioni del macedone Cassandro alle quali, almeno fino al 'tradimento' di Agatocle<sup>128</sup>, riesce ad opporsi intervenendo, nel contempo, a difesa e tutela delle altre *poleis* corinzio-corciresi minacciate dall'espansionismo macedone<sup>129</sup>. In tale frangente l'isola doveva aver anche operato in funzione di una ridefinizione dei rapporti di forza nell'area attraverso la stipulazione di precisi accordi in funzione antimacedone, e probabilmente anche filoepirota<sup>130</sup>, con l'illirico Glaucia cui viene consegnata Epidamno dopo l'allontanamento dei Macedoni<sup>131</sup>.

<sup>126</sup> Due fenomeni dovettero contribuire a ciò: l'indebolimento dell'isola a seguito delle vicende della guerra del Peloponneso e la contemporanea evoluzione in senso politico delle tribù epirote, che dovette portare ad un consolidamento della presenza dei Caoni a nord del Thyamis e dei Molossi in area tesprotica (cf. Cabanes, Drini 2007, 49) come testimonia, tra l'altro, l'aiuto concesso nel 373 dal re dei Molossi Alceta nel traghettamento sull'isola di 600 peltasti ateniesi guidati da Stesicle, giunti via terra in aiuto dei Corciresi assediati dalle truppe dello spartano Mnasippo (Xen. *Hell.* 6, 2, 10). Cf. a tale riguardo Carusi 2011, 101 e, sugli eventi che vedono coinvolta l'isola negli anni '70 del IV sec. a.C., Intriери 2015, 81-88 e 91-107 part.

<sup>127</sup> Nel 375 a.C., a seguito della spedizione di Timoteo nell'area, sia Corcira che i dinasti Molossi stipulano alleanze con Atene entrando a far parte, sia pur forse in momenti diversi, della II lega attica (cf. Intriери 2015, 79-98 cui si rimanda per fonti e bibl.). Tale legame trova espressione, nel 373, nell'aiuto offerto dal re Alceta al trasbordo dal continente all'isola di 600 peltasti ateniesi cui si è accennato nella nota.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Intriери 2011, 438-450, cui si rimanda per le fonti e bibl. precedente.

<sup>129</sup> Si vd. l'aiuto offerto dall'isola nel 314/13 ad Epidamno, Apollonia e Leucade di fronte ai tentativi egemonici di Cassandro (Diod. 19, 78, 1; 89, 3). Su tali eventi cf. Intriери 2011, 432-438.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Islami 1993, 155; Bearzot 1994, 248-250. Sull'appoggio offerto in quegli stessi anni da Glaucia al re Eacide e al suo giovanissimo erede Pirro cf. Lévêque 1957, 93-98. Si assiste, dunque, ad una convergenza di interessi che avvicina Corcira e le comunità epirote, diversamente da quanto attestato per gli anni della guerra del Peloponneso quando queste ultime risultano schierate al fianco di Corinto (Thuc. 1, 47, 3).

<sup>131</sup> Per una lettura di tale consegna come un affidamento condiviso dagli stessi Epidamni, che dovevano preferire un più stretto rapporto con gli Illiri rispetto al dominio macedone, cf. Intriери 2011, 434-435. Sul complesso equilibrio nell'area fra Illiri, Epiro e Macedonia, cf. Hatzopoulos 1985, 24-26.

Nessuna flessione significativa sembra possibile cogliere, tuttavia, nel rapporto fra Corcira e Dodona che, a quanto è possibile evincere dalla documentazione superstite, sembra anzi intensificarsi. Difficilmente avvertibile come un santuario “lontano” e “inaccessibile”<sup>132</sup>, essendo facilmente raggiungibile dalle coste della Tesprozia attraverso quella via di penetrazione naturale costituita dalle valli del Thyamis e dello Smolitsas<sup>133</sup>, Dodona è per i Corciresi che intendevano interrogarne l’oracolo su questioni private<sup>134</sup> ma anche per la stessa *polis*, “advanced port for Epirus”<sup>135</sup>, uno dei, se non “il” santuario di riferimento. Lo testimoniano le tre consultazioni pubbliche databili nel corso del IV sec.<sup>136</sup> in cui i Corciresi interrogano Zeus e Diona in merito alle divinità o eroi cui offrire sacrifici o rivolgere preghiere a salvaguardia della propria sicurezza o concordia<sup>137</sup>, ma soprattutto una quarta, sia pur variamente datata fra IV e III sec. a.C.<sup>138</sup>,

<sup>132</sup> Percezione diffusa negli autori antichi che ne giustifica, eg, le insistenti affermazioni erodotee sulla sua ellenicità (vd. Hdt. 2, 52, 2; 4, 33, 2), ma che, come ben ribadito da Piccinini 2017, 34-40 e *passim*, non trova conferma nella realtà storica. Su questo aspetto e per un quadro generale sulle peculiarità di Dodona cf. Bosman 2017.

<sup>133</sup> Sui percorsi che consentivano di raggiungere il santuario cf. Piccinini 2016, 178.

<sup>134</sup> Vd. Dakaris, Vokotopoulou, Christidis 2013, nr. 1088a. Per Lhôte 2006, 22, che sottolinea gli stretti rapporti col santuario di Corcira, è probabile che buona parte delle consultazioni private in alfabeto corinzio possano essere attribuite ai Corciresi.

<sup>135</sup> Espressione riferita all’isola da Hammond 1967, 36.

<sup>136</sup> Vd. Lhôte 2006, nrr. 1 e 3-4.

<sup>137</sup> Diverse le interpretazioni sul valore di tali richieste: significativamente dettate dalle fasi di violenta conflittualità interna attraversate dall’isola fra V e IV sec. a.C. secondo Parke 1967, 113; Lhôte 2006, 21; Katsadima 2017, 500 e 505; da ricondurre “in the way of general and customary requests of reassurance for a polis consulting the (closest) trusted oracular centre” per Piccinini 2017, 80. In merito a nuovi episodi di conflittualità che avrebbero segnato la comunità corcirese nel IV sec., cenni sono offerti dalle fonti in riferimento al rinnovato confronto fra Ateniesi e Spartani nell’area del 374/3 (Diod. 15, 46, 1-3) e per il 361 quando si verifica un tentativo di colpo di stato da parte degli oligarchici sostenuto in questo caso dall’ateniese Carete (Aen. Tact. 11, 13-15; Diod. 15, 95, 3); cf. Intriery 2015, 99 ss. (cui si rimanda anche per la bibl. pregressa).

<sup>138</sup> Ad esclusione della datazione al V sec. a.C. proposta da Dakaris, Christidis, Vokotopoulou 1993, 60; verosimili, per motivazioni diverse, risultano quella al 350-300 a.C. di Lhôte 2006, nr. 2 (su base soprattutto paleografica) e quella al III sec. a.C. per quale vd. Parke 1967, 261 nr. 6; Hammond 1967, 609; Hallof (IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 4, 1203); e, da ultima, Katsadima 2017, 506, sulla base della menzione della stessa città, come destinataria di un’analoga stele, in un decreto corcirese del 208 a.C. relativo alle feste per l’Artemide Leucophriene di Magnesia sul Meandro (*I. Magnesia* 44 l. 46 = IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 4, 1196).

condotta insieme agli abitanti di Oricos e interpretata quale attestazione dell'esistenza fra le due comunità di una *sympoliteia*<sup>139</sup>.

A fronte di tali interrogazioni pubbliche, credo sia lecito chiedersi, a completamento del ventaglio delle possibili interpretazioni sin ora proposte, se la possibile datazione dell'*anathema* corcirese a Dodona sullo scorcio del IV sec. a.C., proprio mentre l'isola è impegnata in un'azione di resistenza nell'area, non possa conferire ad essa un valore più ampio di quello di una dedica votata alla divinità da sezioni del corpo civico, siano essi i giovani efebi corciresi o rappresentanti dell'élite cittadina. Pur solo a livello di suggestione e nella piena consapevolezza di un'ipotesi non altrimenti provabile, vien da chiedersi se nella figura del giovane *mastigophoros* non sia possibile ravvisare i tratti di una figura rappresentativa dell'identità corcirese quale, *e.g.*, Hyllos con tutto il carico propagandistico che la sua figura doveva evocare in un santuario in cui ben attestata è la presenza cultuale di Eracle<sup>140</sup>.

Suggestioni a parte, mi sembra che una più ampia analisi delle varieguate possibilità di interpretazione dell'*anathema* dodoneo, possa aver consentito, al di là di qualsiasi soluzione interpretativa netta, se non altro una rivalutazione della sua ricchezza simbolica e, nello stesso tempo, della necessità di un approfondimento degli studi sulle relazioni fra Corcira e l'area epirota, senz'altro più intense e articolate nel tempo di quanto sia dato ancora cogliere, e sul ruolo, senza dubbio rilevante, rivestito in tali dinamiche dal santuario di Dodona.

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<sup>139</sup> Cf. Lhôte 2006, 21 e 33. Su Orikos vd. Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 fr. 106; Hdt. 9, 93, 1; Ps.-Scyl. 26; Ps.-Scym. 441; Polyb. 7, 14d; Strab. 7, 5, 8; Cass. Dio 41, 45, 1; per il sito, identificato su un piccolo promontorio all'estremità meridionale dell'odierno golfo di Valona, cf. Bereti et al. 2013, 95-185.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. Dieterle 2007, 126-131 e passim.

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THE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG GREEK ORACULAR  
SANCTUARIES.  
RIVALRY, COOPERATION OR DESISTANCE?

The main purpose of this paper is to revise the often-taken-for-granted claim that Greek oracles were rivals, or, at least, competitors. The issue will be dealt with by focusing on a rather wide amount of literary evidence arguing against this view. After a brief assessment of the *communis opinio* and of the current discussion, two clusters of evidence highlighting two different standpoints – i.e. external and internal – will be examined. The focus will be, first, on the ancient sources documenting multiple oracular consultations and, second, on the foundation legends, elaborated at some points by the officials of the sanctuaries, stringing together two or more oracles. In the conclusion, I will try to envisage a possible different outlook.

**1.1. The *communis opinio***

For anyone approaching the study of Greek oracles Parke's works are an essential reading. In almost three decades he managed to take stock of the major oracular sanctuaries of the Greek world, by producing monographs on Apollo's and Zeus' oracles<sup>1</sup>, in which he surveyed the available sources, mainly literary, concerning the history and the mantic procedure of the most important oracular shrines. Although nowadays his approach is outdated, the value and importance of his research are unquestionable.

A *leitmotif* pervading all his production is the belief that the shrine of Apollo at Delphi was either challenged or imitated by the other oracular sanctuaries, whose religious officials constantly, though not always

<sup>1</sup> Parke 1956; Parke 1967a; Parke 1967b; Parke 1985.

successfully, strove to promote their oracles ‘at the expenses’ of Delphi. In dealing with all the other oracular seats, Dodona in particular, Parke, consistently, defines them as the ‘rivals’ of Delphi<sup>2</sup>. Such a claim, though basically unsupported, is nowadays widely accepted<sup>3</sup>. Only once Parke provides an explanation, referring to some lines of Apollonius Rhodius’ *Argonautica*. In one passage Jason sought and received the blessing of Apollo Pythios<sup>4</sup>. Such a consultation and guidance is in contrast, according to Parke, with the assistance guaranteed, implicitly, by the divine beam from Dodona oak tree fitted in the middle of the stem, mentioned by Apollonius Rhodius few lines below<sup>5</sup>. Parke explains what he feels like a contradiction by saying that the antiquity of Dodona “was its chief ground for asserting superiority over Delphi” and that “in the archaic period, when the legends as known to classical Greece were being formed, Apollo had tended to intrude into such stories as that of the Argonauts and oust Dodona in their source of prophetic guidance<sup>6</sup>”. What he does not take into account is the possibility of consulting one oracle and of looking for further divine protection from another.

Elsewhere, commenting on the story of Evenius’ acquisition of divinatory abilities, Parke makes another point<sup>7</sup>. Herodotus writes that the Apolloniatas in Illyria went to both Delphi and Dodona – *πρόφαντα δέ σφι ἔν τε Δωδώνη καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐγίνετο* –<sup>8</sup> to enquire about the cause of the plague affecting their flocks, bearing no offspring, and land, yielding no fruit<sup>9</sup>. It turned out that, according to both oracles, the infertility was a divine retribution caused by the unfair punishment inflicted by the Apolloniatas, some time before, to Evenius, who was blinded as guilty of having not paid enough attention to the *polis*’ flock sacred to Helios he was supposed to guard<sup>10</sup>. In this case Parke dismisses the similar

<sup>2</sup> Parke 1956, 1; 309; Parke 1967a, 90-96; Parke 1967b, X, 13-15, 50, 59, 76, 120, 124, 135, 160, 246, 254, 255, 257, 284, 286; Parke 1985, 122. On the competition among Apollo’s oracles (Claros, Delphi and Didyma), Sakellariou 1958, 153-154.

<sup>3</sup> Defradas 1972<sup>2</sup>, *passim*; Simonetta 1994; Iles Johnson 2008, 60, but not 62; Scott 2010, 266-267; Castrucci 2011.

<sup>4</sup> Apollon. Rhodius 1, 410-424.

<sup>5</sup> Apollon. Rhodius 1, 526-527. Parke 1967b, 13-15.

<sup>6</sup> Parke 1967b, 255.

<sup>7</sup> Hdt. 9, 93, 4. Evenius of Apollonia in Illyria was Deiphonus’ father, the seer of the Greeks at the battle of Mycale in 479 B.C. (Hdt. 9, 92).

<sup>8</sup> It is in fact unlikely that both gods were consulted simultaneously and answered with the same words, rather Herodotus should have summed up the interpretations of the two oracular utterances (Asheri-Vannicelli 2006, 307).

<sup>9</sup> Hdt. 9, 93, 3.

<sup>10</sup> Hdt. 9, 93, 1-3.

judgment attributed to Delphi and Dodona, “working in complete collaboration”, by defining it as “curious”<sup>11</sup>.

Recently Eidinow attempted to move away from the cliché of the rivalry among oracles<sup>12</sup>, focusing on prophecies and omens as well as on the relationship between oracular sanctuaries and oracle-sellers. Adopting Bendlin’s notion of religious economies<sup>13</sup>, which acknowledges the existence of “a market of customers and a range of cults and temples to serve that market” in Late Republican Rome<sup>14</sup>, Eidinow highlights the different perspective of those, who, by profession, were keen to interpret divine responses and the ‘service’, on request, supplied by oracular sanctuaries. Looking at what she calls the Greek “divinatory market”, she reaches the conclusion that only itinerant seers competed with each other, but cooperated, inevitably, with the ‘real’ dispensers of divine answers, i.e. the oracular sanctuaries. “The idea that the oracle sanctuaries themselves were in competition with each other needs reappraisal<sup>15</sup>”, and, in particular, – Eidinow concludes – the relations between Delphi and Dodona should be seen in terms of cooperation and complementary rather than competition<sup>16</sup>.

Thus, whereas the analysis of ancient sources does not suggest – I agree with Eidinow – rivalry among oracular sanctuaries, however, they do not indicate, necessarily, as will be seen, any proper collaboration.

## **1.2. Multiple and double consultations**

The practice of consulting an oracle was very common in the ancient world. Gods were enquired for almost any important private and public matter. Uncertainties and critical situations, especially in time of war, required divine intervention: divine omens and god(s)’s responses, then,

<sup>11</sup> Parke 1956, 358. In his monograph on the oracles of Zeus, Parke defines this story as “suspicious”, remarking that “in the sixth century there is every reason to suppose that the two oracle-centres were bitter rivals and it is equally improbable that accidentally or in collusion they would have produced the same oracle” (Parke 1967b, 135).

<sup>12</sup> Recently Eidinow 2014.

<sup>13</sup> Bendlin 2000; also Stark 2006.

<sup>14</sup> Bendlin 2000, 134.

<sup>15</sup> Eidinow 2014, 89.

<sup>16</sup> Eidinow 2014, 58-76. She mainly examines Croesus’ test of oracles, which, however, as will be seen below, should be considered very carefully because of its nature, a test and not a proper multiple consultation, and because of the identity of the consultant, a non-Greek.

had to be interpreted, giving short shrift to ambiguity and doubts<sup>17</sup>. The simultaneous recourse to several oracles might be so read in the light of Greek anxiety to unravel divine messages and make the right move.

Leaving aside the epigraphic evidence which is most problematic<sup>18</sup>, literary sources testify to several accounts concerning either the same question addressed to more than one god or the intention to consult and/or visit more oracular shrines; the story of Evenius, mentioned above is indeed not the only account of a double consultation recorded. More specifically literary evidence testifies both multiple and double consultations of oracles, which will be here considered separately.

Of the three cases of multiple consultations recorded<sup>19</sup>, two are mentioned by Herodotus. In his Lydian *logos* the historian writes that the Lydian king Croesus sent messengers to Delphi, Abae in Phocis, Dodona, Amphiaraus, Trophonius, Branchidae and Siwa “to ascertain the knowledge of the oracles”, so to consult eventually only those which “were found to know the truth”<sup>20</sup>. The oracles were asked to reveal what Croesus was up to on a given day: he boiled a tortoise and lamb in a bronze cauldron<sup>21</sup>. Herodotus writes that once the messengers brought back the written oracles to Croesus, “he read the Delphian message, he acknowledged it with worship and welcome, considering Delphi as the only true place of divination, because it had discovered what he himself had done”<sup>22</sup>. Delphi and Amphiaraus passed the test and were, indeed, consulted about the possibility of undertaking an expedition against the Persians<sup>23</sup>. In this case, thus, a double consultation, i.e. at Delphi and at

<sup>17</sup> Parker 1985; Parker 2016, 69.

<sup>18</sup> Perhaps Lhôte 2006, 10B, 107A, 134. On this topic Bonnechère 2013, 84-92.

<sup>19</sup> Lysander’s attempt to bribe oracles at Dodona, Delphi and Siwah cannot be listed among the evidence for Greek multiple consultation, as no effective consultation is mentioned, rather he “offered much money to the prophets” – τοῖς προφήταις πολὺ χρυσίου δίδόντα – (Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F 206; Diod. 14, 13, 4; Plut., *Lys.* 25, 3; Nep., *Lys.* 3, 2; Cic., *De div.* 1, 43, 96; Piccinini 2011; Richer 2012, 272 n. 164; Piccinini 2017, 91-94).

<sup>20</sup> Hdt. 1, 46, 2-3. On Croesus’ test Kindt 2006; Kindt 2016, 24-27; Eidinow 2014, 74-76 (with previous bibliography); Thonemann 2016. Only the oracles of Delphi and Amphiaraus passed the test (Hdt. 1, 49, 1) and received rich offerings (Hdt. 1, 50-52, 1). According to Nicolaus of Damascus *FGrHist* 90 F 68 (8), a true oracle also came from Zeus: it is not possible to say whether he meant Zeus Trophonius or Dodonaeus. On Croesus lavish offerings in Greek sanctuaries Kaplan 2006, 131-132

<sup>21</sup> Hdt. 1, 48, 2.

<sup>22</sup> Hdt. 1, 48, 1.

<sup>23</sup> Hdt. 1, 53-56, 1.

Amphiaraus, on the same issue was preceded by the scrutiny of eight different Greek and non-Greek oracles<sup>24</sup>.

The second multiple consultation reported by Herodotus concerns Mardonius, the military commander of Darius' troops. During the Persian wars, while wintering in Thessaly, Mardonius sent Mys, a man from Europus in Caria<sup>25</sup>, "charging him to inquire of all the oracles which he could consult"<sup>26</sup>. Thus, Mardonius seemed not to have a precise strategy for seeking divine help. Like Croesus, he tested oracles as inferred by the verb ἀποπειράομαι "to test, make trial", used by Herodotus in both accounts<sup>27</sup>. Mys went to Trophonius at Lebadaea, to Abae in Phocis, to Thebes, where he consulted the oracle of Apollo Ismenion, to the sanctuary of Amphiaraus<sup>28</sup>, and near the town Acraephia at Apollo Ptoan shrine<sup>29</sup>. Although Herodotus himself affirms "what it was that he desired to learn from the oracle when he gave this charge, I cannot say, for no one tells of it", it is reasonable to assume that the inquire concerned Mardonius' present situation<sup>30</sup>.

The last multiple enquiries we are aware of are recorded by Pausanias<sup>31</sup>. According to the Periegetes' Theban sources, before the battle of Leuctra the Thebans consulted various oracles as well as the god at Lebadeia. The answers of Apollo Ismenion and Apollo Ptoan were listed along with those from Abae and Delphi. The response in hexameters by Trophonius was also registered<sup>32</sup>.

In examining these multiple consultations, framed in turning points of ancient Greek history, one *caveat* must be made. The cases recorded by Herodotus differ from the one mentioned by Pausanias in a crucial point: both accounts in the *Historiae* were tests, preceding real oracular enquiries, done by non-Greek consultants. Croesus, the Lydian king, and Mardonius, the Persian commander, sent trusted men 'to play the field', checking the reliability of the oracles. Such a skeptical attitude is

<sup>24</sup> According to Herodotus, once Croesus consulted Delphi three times, "having received true answers, wanted to use it to the full" (1, 55, 1).

<sup>25</sup> On the Carian Mys and the oracles, Robert 1950; Daux 1957.

<sup>26</sup> Hdt. 8, 133-135.

<sup>27</sup> Hdt. 1, 48, 1; 8, 133, 1.

<sup>28</sup> Here actually he paid someone, not from Thebes, to sleep in the shrine (Hdt. 8, 134, 1). On this consultation of Amphiaraus also Plut., *Mor.* 412 A-B; Plut., *Arist.* 19, 1-2.

<sup>29</sup> Hdt. 8, 134-135.

<sup>30</sup> Hdt. 8, 133.

<sup>31</sup> Paus. 4, 32, 5.

<sup>32</sup> A funerary epigram, dating after 371 B.C. and commemorating the Theban victory at Leuctra might allude to Zeus' oracle (Paus. 4, 32, 5-6) as it mentions the νικαφόρα τρόπαια brought by Xenocrates at Leuctra IG VII, 2462 (= *CEG* II, 632).

highlighted in the case of Croesus, for which Herodotus provides the full story, but it is only hinted in Mardonius'. It should be kept in mind that both accounts reveal the perspective of a Greek narrator, describing the actions of non-Greeks. As Asheri rightly pointed out "in entrambi i casi, chi chiede è un barbaro, che non ha l'obbligo di credere ciecamente alla veridicità degli oracoli greci"<sup>33</sup>. Further proof of such a Greek mindset comes from Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*: in a fictional dialogue between Cyrus and Croesus, the Lydian king 'admits' his initial skepticism towards oracles and affirms that the gods "do not love those who do not trust them"<sup>34</sup>. Xenophon, the second Greek to report Croesus' story, sought to interpret the Lydian king's intention and judged his attitude as non-Greek: Greeks would have never dared to discuss such a divine authority through a test<sup>35</sup>.

The multiple consultation before Leuctra, reported by Pausanias, is different because the Thebans did not test any god. Theban oracular enquiries were in line with the general Boeotian 'obsession' with (oracular) sanctuaries: the region indeed hosted the highest number of shrines, most of which were oracular<sup>36</sup>. Not by chance, in fact, the great majority of the oracles enquired by the Thebans, in this particular circumstance, were located within or nearby Boeotia.

More often Greeks resorted to double consultations, which are reported both in historical and fictional accounts. One of the most famous is in Xenophon's *Hellenika*<sup>37</sup>. Agesipolis consulted both Olympia<sup>38</sup> and Delphi before the Spartan campaign against Argos in 388 B.C., when the Spartans "were about to invade their territory" and the Argives "pleaded the sacred months". The Spartan king asked Zeus' opinion whether "it would be consistent with piety if he did not acknowledge the holy truce claimed by the Argives". The god answered that "it was consistent with piety for him not to acknowledge a holy truce which was pleaded unjustly". But, Agesipolis apparently needed a further opinion as he proceeded straight from there to Delphi and asked Apollo in his turn "whether he held the same opinion as his father Zeus in regard to the

<sup>33</sup> Asheri 1988, 291.

<sup>34</sup> Xen., *Cyr.* 7, 2, 17.

<sup>35</sup> Parker 1985, 298.

<sup>36</sup> Schachter 1981-1994.

<sup>37</sup> Xen., *Hell.* 4, 7, 2-5; Bowden 2004, 236-237; Piccinini 2011, 692-693; Piccinini 2017, 92.

<sup>38</sup> For the minor oracular activity at Olympia, mainly focusing on prophecies on athletic competition Parke 1967b, 164-193.

truce” – εἰ κάκεινῳ δοκοῖη περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν καθάπερ τῷ πατρὶ –. “And Apollo answered that he did hold quite the same opinion”<sup>39</sup>.

A very similar story, having as protagonist Agesilaus, was reported by Plutarch<sup>40</sup>. Before starting the war against the Persians, the Spartan king asked the opinions of both Zeus Dodonaeus and Apollo Pythios. After having consulted Dodona, Agesilaus reported the favourable answer to the ephors – ελεύσαντος δέ, εἴπερ ἐστίν, ᾧ δοκεῖ, στρατεύεσθαι, τὸ χρησθὲν ἀνήγγειλε τοῖς ἐφόροις –, who, evidently in need of further support before giving their assent to the war, sent him to Delphi to seek Apollo’s opinion as well. Agesilaus, then, asked Apollo Pythios if he agreed with his father – “Ἀπολλῶν, ἤ δοκεῖ σοι ὁ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ;” –. “And Apollo concurring” – the *apophthegma* ends – “Agesilaus was chosen, and began the campaign”.

In another passage Plutarch reports a variation of the same oracular consultation: the consultant, i.e. Agesilaus, and the historical background do not change, but the first oracle consulted is that of Olympia – Χρησμὸν δὲ λαβὼν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς ὃν ἤθελεν –<sup>41</sup>. Again Plutarch writes the question addressed to Apollo: “if his opinion was the same as his father’s” – εἰ ἄπερ τῷ πατρὶ δοκεῖ καὶ αὐτῷ.

The similarities between Plutarch’s passages and Xenophon’s account are too evident not to suggest that both *apophthegmata*, reported by Plutarch and referred to Agesilaus, were modelled on Agesipolis’ double oracular consultation mentioned first by Xenophon<sup>42</sup>. Although the reliability of Plutarch’s account on Agesilaus is questionable, the evidence he provides that double consultations of oracles was regarded as normal practice in the Greek world it is not, as confirmed by numerous occurrences in fifth and fourth centuries B.C. dramas.

In Aeschylus’ *Prometheus* Io’s father sent messengers to both Delphi and Dodona to learn the reasons of his daughter’s frightening dreams<sup>43</sup>. In Euripides’ *Phoenissae*, Menoeceus, Creon’s son, in planning his flight, ponders where to go. His father charts an oracular route, suggesting him to reach Delphi, Aetolia, the land of Thesprotia and Dodona<sup>44</sup>. In Euripides’ *Ion*<sup>45</sup>, Creusa, whining about her long childless

<sup>39</sup> Xen., *Hell.* 4, 7, 2.

<sup>40</sup> Plut., *Mor.* 208F-209A; Parke, Wormell 1956, 75.

<sup>41</sup> Plut., *Mor.* 191 B.

<sup>42</sup> Giuliani 2001, 179 n. 2; Piccinini 2017, 92.

<sup>43</sup> Aesch. *Prom.* 659-661.

<sup>44</sup> Eurip., *Phoen.* 977-985.

<sup>45</sup> Eurip., *Ion* 299-306.

marriage, says that her husband Xunthus, went to consult both Trophonius and Phoebus on their fertility problems<sup>46</sup>.

Further evidence comes from Athenian fourth century B.C. orators and historians, who often paired Delphi and Dodona as the oracles to consult in Athenian public matters: Demosthenes refers to oracles given at Delphi and Dodona for the *polis*<sup>47</sup>; Xenophon suggests to seek divine advice from both oracles for some economical reforms to be undertaken by Athens<sup>48</sup>.

Thus, the practice of double and multiple oracular consultations was not perceived as exceptional, on the contrary Greeks often resorted to it in private and public matters. As Parker affirms, “where matters of collective importance were concerned, that decision was a public one and was taken by whatever individual or body normally determined policy. The corollary is that the group that had resolved to seek a sign came close to a commitment to accepting the god’s advice or verdict”<sup>49</sup>. In Parker’s words “divination was corollary used as a guide to action”<sup>50</sup>. Double or multiple consultations, thus, should be considered in this frame, i.e. the approval and guidance of more than one oracle were most welcome.

Another point to highlight is that the oracles consulted always agreed, as Parke, who was puzzled by the coincidence, noticed in Evenius’ account; whenever recorded, the phrasing of the question addressed to the second god has always a positive spin – “whether he [i.e. Apollo] held the same opinion as his father Zeus<sup>51</sup>”; “if he [i.e. Apollo] agrees with his father [i.e. Zeus ]<sup>52</sup>”; and “if his opinion [i.e. Apollo’s] was the same as his father’s [i.e. Zeus ]”<sup>53</sup> – suggesting that the Greek enquirers needed further confirmation and, somehow, consciously or unconsciously, did not expect any negative answer.

Finally, as a matter of fact, most of the times Delphi is one of the oracles involved, and Dodona is the other oracular authority often paired with it. In no case is one sanctuary subordinate to the other, not even when the second oracle is asked to confirm the response of the first.

<sup>46</sup> Eurip., *Ion* 302.

<sup>47</sup> Demosth. 21, 51.

<sup>48</sup> Xen., *De Vect.* 6.

<sup>49</sup> Parker 1985, 298.

<sup>50</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>51</sup> Xen., *Hell.* 4, 7, 5.

<sup>52</sup> Plut., *Mor.* 209A.

<sup>53</sup> Plut., *Mor.* 191B.



### 1.3. Oracles founding oracles

Another significant cluster of evidence arguing against the rivalry among oracles is provided by many legends testifying filiation-relationships between oracular shrines. Beside the fact that Apollo Pythios often addresses himself as the spokesman of Zeus<sup>54</sup>, thus, delegating the supreme divinatory skill to his father, ancient sources tell several foundation stories in which one oracle is held responsible for the institution of, at least, another one. These accounts, although differing as far as timing and context of their elaboration, could provide a better understanding of the relationships among oracles.

The best known story is supplied by Herodotus, who reports that two doves from Thebes in Egypt originated the oracular sanctuaries of Zeus at Dodona and at Siwah<sup>55</sup>. He tells first the story heard in Egypt and then the one listened at Dodona. According to his Egyptian sources two women consecrated to Zeus Ammon were kidnapped by the Phoenicians; despite careful searching, the priests in Thebes had never been able to find them, but, finally, learnt that one was sold in Libya and the other in Hellas: in both places they established oracles of Zeus<sup>56</sup>. In Dodona Herodotus heard a different story: two black doves flew from Thebes in Egypt, one reached Libya and the other Dodona, where it alighted on an oak tree and proclaimed with a human voice the sacredness of the place. The priestesses at Dodona said that the dove that reached Libya also told the Libyans to make an oracle of Zeus Ammon<sup>57</sup>. After having reported both accounts, Herodotus expresses his own opinion, trying to harmonise and rationalise the tales, highlighting the common elements and smoothing out the differences<sup>58</sup>. Herodotus thinks the story of the two priestesses kidnapped in Egypt plausible: if one was sold in Libya, the other was sold

<sup>54</sup> Hom., *Hym. Apoll.* 131-132: εἴη μοι κίθαρίς τε φίλη καὶ καμπύλα τόξα, / χρήσω δ' ἀνθρώποισι Διὸς νημερτέα βουλῆν; *Hym. Merc.* 471; Pind., *Ol.* 8, 43-46; Aesch., *Eum.* 17-19; 615-619; 713; Soph., *OT* 151. See also Parke, Wormell 1956, 320.

<sup>55</sup> Hdt. 2, 52-55. The most ancient version of this legend is by Pindar. According to a *scholion* to Sophocles' *Trachiniae* (schol. Soph., *Trach.* 172) and the inferences from the interlinear *scholia* to Pindar's fr. 59 (Maehler), Pindar wrote a paean mentioning the foundation of the oracles of Dodona and Siwah by two doves from Thebes in Egypt. Pindar's main purpose was to tie the sanctuary with Thessaly, relating the alternative name of Helloi, the officials of the sanctuary, to Hellos, son of Thessalos, but he also included the story of two doves which at this time was probably already well established, Piccinini 2017, 102-122.

<sup>56</sup> Hdt. 2, 54, 2.

<sup>57</sup> Hdt. 2, 55, 3.

<sup>58</sup> Parke 1967b, 54-55; Lloyd 2004, xv-v-xxi; Hawes 2016, 329-331.

to the Thesprotians “in what is now Hellas, but before, although it was the same, was called Pelasgia”. The woman came to Epirus “as a slave” and “founded the sanctuary of Zeus under an oak tree, born spontaneously”<sup>59</sup>. Herodotus, then, says that later the woman learnt the Greek language, established an oracle and told her story and that of her sister sold in Libya by the Phoenicians. That the priestesses at Dodona were called doves, according to Herodotus, is a metaphor pointing to the fact that the first woman founding the oracle was barbarian and, at least at the beginning, could not speak Greek, communicating in an incomprehensible language and emitting sounds like the cooing of the birds<sup>60</sup>. Herodotus adduces the black colour of the dove, a detail in the Dodonaean story, as further proof of the priestess’ Egyptian origin as referring to the dark skin of the woman. He concludes his critical harmonization by stating that the mantic practice at Thebes in Egypt and Dodona were like one another<sup>61</sup>. The first story, the one about the two priestesses kidnapped by Phoenicians, had an Egyptian source: the historian asked his informants “how it was that they could speak with such certain knowledge” about the women founding oracles in Hellas and Libya, if they had never been able to find them. The Egyptian priests replied that they “had learned later the story”, so implying that someone else supplied them full information about the two women. On the contrary, according to Herodotus, the Dodonaean source was internal, namely the first priestess of the oracle, i.e. the black dove herself, who once she had learned the Greek language told her story to the locals.

It is likely that the account, involving three sanctuaries of Zeus was first produced not at Thebes in Egypt, but either at Dodona or at Siwah, that is to say two sanctuaries which could have profited the most from the connection with the Egyptian shrine<sup>62</sup>. Most probably the Dodonaean priestesses were responsible for elaborating and circulating such a story, likely in connection with the blooming of Dodona as international sanctuary between the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C., when the need of an adequate and solid foundation myth, honouring its antiquity, became imperative<sup>63</sup>.

The desire to establish a connection with famous and remote sacred places and priesthood is also apparent in the foundation myth linking Dodona, the Galeotae, i.e. the Sicilian seers, and the oracular sanctuary of

<sup>59</sup> Hdt. 2, 56, 2.

<sup>60</sup> Hdt. 2, 57, 2.

<sup>61</sup> Hdt. 2, 57, 3.

<sup>62</sup> Rutherford 2001, 351-353.

<sup>63</sup> Piccinini 2017, 123-126.

Apollo Telmessios in Caria. Dodona, founded by Thebes in Egypt, according to the above-mentioned legend, established, in turn, a prophetic *ethnos*<sup>64</sup> in Sicily and a mantic clan and an oracular shrine in Caria<sup>65</sup>. The story is reported by Stephanus of Byzantium, whose primary source, as recently pointed out by Moscati Castelnovo, was Proxenus<sup>66</sup>, and not Philistus, as the majority of scholars believe<sup>67</sup>.

According to Stephanus, Galeotes, son of Apollo and Themisto, the daughter of Zabios king of the Hyperboreans, and Telmessus went to Dodona to consult the god, which ordered them to sail one eastwards and one westwards, and to build an altar in the place in which an eagle would have snatched the limbs of a sacrifice. So Galeotes reached Sicily and Telmessus Caria, where he established the sanctuary of Apollo Telmessios.

According to Parke, the oracle's instructions to travel towards opposite directions, to stop and to settle where a rather improbable omen should be fulfilled, suggest that this story was "modelled on the pattern of

<sup>64</sup> According to the definition of Stefanus of Byzantium (s.v. Γαλεῶται).

<sup>65</sup> St. Byz., s.v. Γαλεῶται, ἔθνος ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἢ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ἀπὸ Γαλεῶτου υἱοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Θεμιστοῦς, τῆς θυγατρὸς Ζαβίου, τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ὑπερβορέων, ὡς εἰρήσεται ἐν τῷ περὶ Τελμησοῦ. τινὲς δὲ ὅτι Γαλεῶται μάντεων εἶδος Σικελῶν. γαλεός δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀσκαλαβώτης. Φιλύλλιος Αἰγεῖ „ὁ πάππος ἦν μοι γαλεός ἀστερίας“, ἴσως διὰ τὸ πεποικίλθαι παίζων. καὶ Ἀρχιππος Ἰχθύσιν „τί λέγεις σύ; μάντεις εἰσὶ γὰρ θαλάττιοι; γαλεοί γε πάντων μάντεων σοφώτατοι“. φασὶ δὲ τὸν Γαλεῶτην ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων Τελμησοῦν [δὲ ἐκ... ἐλθεῖν] οἷς ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν Δωδώνῃ τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ ἀνατολᾶς τὸν δ' ἐπὶ δυσμᾶς πλεῖν, ὅπου τε ἂν αὐτῶν θυομένων ἀετὸς ἀρπάσῃ τὰ μηρία ἐνταῦθα βωμὸν ἰδρῦσαι. Γαλεῶτης οὖν ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ Τελμησοῦς ἐν Καρίᾳ ἦλθεν, ἔνθα Ἀπόλλωνος Τελμησοῦ ἱερόν.

<sup>66</sup> Moscati Castelnovo 2014.

<sup>67</sup> Catturini 1987; Braccesi 1991, 91-93; Sordi 1999, 109; Sordi 2001, 21-23; Marotta 2003, 221; Prestianni Giallombardo 2006, 144. Modern scholarship, attributing the paternity of the story to Philistus, historian and faithful supporter of Dionysus I of Syracuse, often interpret the legend as a propagandistic tool exploited by the tyrant in order to give mythical support to his expansionist purposes in Sicily and Epirus as well as to his endeavour at establishing ties with the Celts (Catturini 1987; Braccesi 1991, 91-93; Sordi 1999, 109; Sordi 2001, 21-22), who were believed to be descendents of the Hyperboreans (Heraclides Ponticus fr. 102 (Wehrli) = 42 (Schütrumpf); cfr. Zecchini 2002, 26-27; Brigdman 2005, 117-125). As Moscati Castelnovo rightly pointed out, such a reading of the legend focuses exclusively on the Galeotae's side and does not explain why Telmessus and the Telmessians were equally mentioned as protagonists. On the contrary "l'equilibrio tra i due percorsi si recupera restituendo a Dodona la centralità che Stefano stesso le ha attribuito" (Moscati Castelnovo 2014, 18). On the other hand, that the focus was not exclusively on the Galeotae can be deduced by Stephanus' words too, who intended to give more details in the lemma 'Telmessios' – ὡς εἰρήσεται ἐν τῷ περὶ Τελμησοῦ, which has not been preserved in the Epitome.

a typical legend of colonization”<sup>68</sup>, but, more relevant, I think, is the intention to tie Dodona with two very important prophetic circles, the Galeotae and the Telmessians<sup>69</sup>, especially since this foundation legend somehow echoes Herodotus’ account of the two doves, mentioned above. The story of the Galeotae and Telmessians, thus, should have been elaborated only after the creation and/or spread of that about Dodona at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> - beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C., when the fame of the sanctuary of Zeus Dodonaeus crossed the boundaries of North-western Greece<sup>70</sup>. All the religious authorities involved in the story benefited from the legend: on the one hand, the Galeotae, the Telmessians, and the sanctuary of Apollo Telmessios, gained prestige by linking their origin to the most ancient oracle of the Greek world<sup>71</sup>, on the other, Dodona reinforced its position and reputation through the role of founding oracle.

The foundation of the oracular sanctuary of Trophonius at Lebadeia is rather peculiar as, although no ancient source mentions explicitly Delphi as its founding oracle, hints and allusions to a filiation between Trophonius and Apollo Pythios are numerous<sup>72</sup>.

In the context of the intricate genealogy of the Orcomenian kings, Pausanias records the story of Agamedes and Trophonius, sons of Eriginus, who longing for children in old age<sup>73</sup> consulted the oracle of Delphi. The response of the Pythia was to take a young wife.

Pausanias, at this point, changed his source, a local one, enriching the account with a variant, which he himself was “inclined to believe as does everyone who has gone to Trophonius to inquire of his oracle”<sup>74</sup>; he writes that others report that Trophonius – he alone – was Apollo’s son<sup>75</sup>. Pausanias, then, resumes his narration with the achievements of Agamedes and Trophonius, who built the temple of Delphi and the treasury of Hyrieus, Poseidon’s son. In designing this latter project they came up with a trick through which they could take a stone of the

<sup>68</sup> Parke 1967b, 179. Very similar the foundation legend of Gela and Phaselis by Laciis and Antiphemus, two Rhodian brothers guided by Delphi (Steph. Byz., s.v. Γέλα).

<sup>69</sup> Parke 1967b, 179; Moscati Castelnuovo 2014, 18-19, 20-21.

<sup>70</sup> Piccinini 2017, 102-122.

<sup>71</sup> Hdt. 2, 54, 2.

<sup>72</sup> Paus. 9, 37, 4-7.

<sup>73</sup> Paus. 9, 37, 3-4.

<sup>74</sup> Paus. 9, 37, 5; Pirenne Delforge 2008, 80-81; 329.

<sup>75</sup> Hes., *Eoiai* fr. 157 Most (= p. 190a post fr. 245 Merkelback-West); *Hymn. Ap.* 3, 294-299; Pind., *Isth.* fr. 2, 3; Plut., *Mor.* 108F-109B; Philostr., *V.A.* 8, 19. According to Suida s.v. Τροφωνίου κατὰ γῆς παίγνια, Trophonius, brother of Agamedes, was the son of Ersinus, whose name relates to one of the epithets of Apollo, Hersos ‘of the dew’ (IG I<sup>2</sup> 783 = IG I<sup>3</sup> 981; cfr. Ustinova 2009, 62, 121).

structure away from the outside so to steal, from time to time, part of the treasury stored in it. Since the keys and the seals remained untampered, Hyrieus, “dumbfounded”, eventually figured out a plan to discover the trick: “he set over the vessels, in which were his silver and gold, snares or other contrivance, to arrest any who should enter and lay hands on the treasure”. In this way, Agamedes was kept fast in the trap; to avoid that “his brother should be tortured, and he himself be informed of as being concerned in the crime” Trophonius cut off Agamedes’ head. As a punishment “the earth opened and swallowed up Trophonius at the point in the grove at Lebadeia where is what is called the pit of Agamedes, with a slab beside it”<sup>76</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> Another version of the story is attested by Charax of Pergamus *FGrHist* 103 F 5 (= Tzetzes, *Schol. Aristoph. Nub.* 506a): οὕτως Χάραξ ἐν τῷ δ' «Ἀγαμήδης ἄρχων Στυμφήλου τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἐγάμει Ἐπικάστην, ἧς παῖς ἦν Τροφώνιος σκότιος. οὗτοι τοὺς τότε πάντας ὑπερεβάλλοντο εὐτεχνίαι τὸν τε ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀπόλλωνος ναὸν ἠργολάβησαν. ἐν Ἥλιδι δὲ ταμιεῖον χρυσοῦν κατεσκευάσαν Ἀυγείαι· οἱ καταλείψαντες ἄρμὸν λίθινον, νυκτὸς εἰσιόντες ἔκλεπτον τῶν χρημάτων ἅμα Κερκυόνη, ὃς ἦν γνήσιος Ἀγαμήδους καὶ Ἐπικάστης υἱός. ὡς δὲ ἠπόρει λίαν Ἀυγείας, ἐπιδημήσαντα Δαίδαλον διὰ Μίνως ἐλιτάνευσεν ἐξιγνεῦσαι τὸν φῶρα ὃ δὲ παγίδας ἔστησεν, αἷς περιπεσὼν Ἀγαμήδης ἀναιρεῖται. Τροφώνιος δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τεμὼν πρὸς τὸ μὴ γνωρισθῆναι, ἅμα Κερκυόνη φεύγει εἰς Ὀρχομενόν. Ἀυγείου δὲ κατὰ κέλευσιν Δαιδάλου πρὸς τὴν τῶν αἱμάτων ἔκχυσιν ἐπιδιώκοντος, καταφεύγουσιν ὁ μὲν Κερκυὼν εἰς Ἀθήνας – Καλλίμαχος «ὃς ῥ' ἔφυγεν μὲν Ἀρκαδίην, ἡμῖν δὲ κακὸς παρενάσαστο γείτων» –, ὃ δὲ Τροφώνιος εἰς Λεβᾶδειαν τῆς Βοιωτίας, οὗ κατωρυχὴν ποιησάμενος οἴκησιν διετέλει. τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ μαντεῖον ἀτρεκέες ἐφάνη αὐτοῖς, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ ὡς θεῷ. περιλείπετο δὲ υἱὸν Ἄλκανδρον» – “This is what Charax (relates) in the fourth book: ‘Agamedes, governor of Stymphelos in Arcadia, married Epikaste, mother of an illegitimate son named Trophonius. Agamedes and Trophonius were superior to everybody else at that time for their technical skills. They constructed Apollo’s shrine in Delphi. Furthermore, they set up a golden treasury for Augeias in Elis but they left a hole in the stone. Then they crept in at night and stole the treasure, taking with them Cercyon, legitimate son of Agamedes and Epikaste. As Augeias was extremely poor, he begged Daidalos, who had returned home after a period of time spent with Minos, to find the thief. He set traps and Agamedes fell in them and was captured. Trophonius, to avoid being discovered, cut the head of his step-father off, running away with Cercyon to Orchomenos. Augeias, on Daidalos’s suggestion, set out to look for the killer. Thus, Cercyon fled to Athens (according to Kallimachos ‘he took refuge in Arcadia and dominated us as a wicked neighbour’). Trophonius fled to Lebadeia in Boeotia. There he built an underground dwelling. After his death it became a reliable oracle for the citizens. They offered sacrifices to Trophonius as to a god. He had a son named Alkandros” (transl. G. Squillace, *Charax of Pegamon (103)*, in *BNJ*). For the differences between Pausanias and Charax on Trophonius’ account Moscatti Castelnovo 2013, 82-83, who highlights that “le divergenze vanno dalla sede del tesoro (Elide, alla corte di Augia, per Carace; Beozia, alla corte di Irieo, per Pausania) al rapporto di parentela dei principali attori, Agameda e Trofonio (patrigno e figliastro per Carace, fratelli per Pausania) alla presenza/assenza di altri personaggi (Dedalo e Cercione per Carace,

According to another legend, strictly connected with Apollo Pythios, but not mentioned by Pausanias, Agamedes and Trophonius died after having built the temple at Delphi<sup>77</sup>. Plutarch writes that after having completed the construction Agamedes and Trophonius asked for a reward<sup>78</sup>. Apollo “promised them to make the payment on the seventh day, bidding them in the meantime to eat, drink and be merry”. On the established time they “lay down to sleep and their life came to an end”.

Thus, in neither version, Pausanias’ and Plutarch’s, a proper foundation is recorded, but as Bonnèchere pointed out both accounts underpin a link between the death of Trophonius and his acquisition of the *manteia*<sup>79</sup>.

Moreover, other ties connect the oracle of Trophonius at Lebadeia and Delphi. In two cases the Pythia recommends her consultants to address instead the oracle of Trophonius to solve their problem. Pausanias writes that the Boeotians in the second year of no rain sent *theoroi* to consult Delphi, asking “for a cure for the drought”<sup>80</sup>. The priestess sent them to Trophonius at Lebadeia “to discover the remedy from him”. Once arrived in Lebadeia they could not find the oracle, so Saon, one of the *theoroi* from Acraephnum and “the oldest of all the envoys”, ordered his fellows to follow a swarm of bees he saw<sup>81</sup>. The bees, then, flew into the ground and Saon went with them into the oracle<sup>82</sup>. It is also said that Trophonius taught this Saon the customary ritual and all the observances kept at the oracle. Likewise, Pausanias dealing with Aristomenes tells that the hero of the second Messenian war, having lost his shield went to

nessun co-protagonista per Pausania, anche se il nome di Dedalo è ricordato successivamente come autore della statua di culto di Trofonio a Lebadea”.

<sup>77</sup> Paus. 9, 37, 5; but also *Hymn. Ap.* 3, 294-299; Pind., *Isth.* fr. 2, 3; Plut., *Mor.* 108F-109B.

<sup>78</sup> Plut., *Mor.* 108F-109B.

<sup>79</sup> Bonnèchere 1999, 268; Bonnèchere 2003, 65-78.

<sup>80</sup> Paus. 9, 40, 1; Panessa 1991, 577-578.

<sup>81</sup> According to Giuman 2008, 129-136, following Elderkin 1939, 209 and Roscalla 1998, 93, there are numerous ties between Trophonius and the bees. Elderkin 1939, 209 pointed out that he had connection with bees (his treasury was built in the form of a beehive) and Rocalla 1998, 93 that the name of the king Hyrieus, eponymous of Hyria in Boeotia, “sembra portare in sé il nome creterese dell’alveare”. According to Hesychius the word <ὕριατόμος>· ὁ τὰ κηρία τέμνων τῶν μελισσῶν means the one who cuts bees’ beehives and the word <ὑρον>· συμῆνος. Κρητες. ἤσυχον means at the same time “swarm” and “Cretan”.

<sup>82</sup> Paus. 9, 40, 2.

Delphi, where the Pythia ordered him to descend “into the holy shrine of Trophonius at Lebadeia” to find the buckler<sup>83</sup>.

It should be added that Heraclides Ponticus writes that Trophonius founded in turn the oracular shrine of Apollo at Pagasae<sup>84</sup>.

The last piece of evidence to be considered is the foundation of the sanctuary of Claros in Ionia under the oversight of Delphi. According to a *scholion* to Apollonius Rhodius, the sanctuary of Apollo Claros in Ionia was founded by Manto, Teiresias’ daughter, who arrived from Thebes to Delphi as prisoner of the Epigoni and, in accordance with an oracle got married with Rhacius, Lebes’ son, from Mycenae, and moved to Colophon<sup>85</sup>. Once in Ionia, Manto’s copious tears, shed over the

<sup>83</sup> Paus. 4, 16, 7. Aristomenes dedicated the shield at the sanctuary of Trophonius at Lebadeia where Pausanias saw it (Paus. 4, 16, 7; 9, 39, 14).

<sup>84</sup> Heraclides Ponticus fr. 137a-b (Wehrli) = 122 A-B (Schütrumpf): 137 a): Πάγασος πόλις τῆς Θεσσαλίας, τόπος ὀνομασμένος παρὰ τὸ ἐκεῖ τὴν Ἀργὴν πεπηγχαί. Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ χρηστηρίων τὸν ἐν Παγασαῖς Ἀπόλλωνα ὑπὸ Τροφωνίου ἰδρῶσθαι φησι – “Of (Apollo) Pagasaeon. Pagasus is a city and a place in Thessaly so named because there the Argo had been built. Heraclides Ponticus in his *On Oracles* says that the sanctuary of Apollo in Pagasae was founded by Trophonius” – (137b): Παγασαῖος λέγεται ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἀπὸ Παγάσης. ἔστι δὲ τόπος τῆς Θεσσαλίας καὶ πόλις παρὰ τὸ ἐκεῖ τὴν Ἀργὴν πεπηγχαί. Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ χρηστηρίων διὰ τὸ ἐν Παγασαῖς ὃ ἔστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Τροφωνίου ἰδρῶσθαι – “Apollo is called Pagasaeon after Pagase. This is a place in Thessaly and a city, (named) after the fact that Argo had been built there. Heraclides Ponticus in his *On Oracles* (says it was so named) because that (oracle), which is in Pagasae, had been founded by Trophonius” –. See Mili 2015, 166-267.

<sup>85</sup> Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I, 308b: b ἢ Κλάρων: τόπος τῆς Κολοφῶνος ἀνιερωμένος Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ χρηστήριον ἔχων τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑπὸ Μαντοῦς τῆς Τειρεσίου θυγατρὸς καθιδρυμένον ἢ ὑπὸ Κλάρου τινὸς ἥρωος, ὡς Θεόπομπος. Νεάνθης δὲ φησιν, ὅτι κατὰ κλήρον ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἔλαχε τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κλήρου οὕτως αὐτὴν ὀνομάσθαι. ἢ διὰ τὸ αὐτόθι κληρώσασθαι Ποσειδῶνα Δία Ἄϊδην. οἱ δὲ τὴν Θηβαῖδα γεγραφότες φασίν, ὅτι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐπιγόνων ἀκροθίνιον ἀνετέθη Μαντῶ ἢ Τειρεσίου θυγάτηρ εἰς Δελφοὺς πεμφθεῖσα, καὶ κατὰ χρησμὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐξερχομένη περιέπεσε Ῥακίῳ τῷ Δέβητος υἱῷ Μυκηναίῳ τὸ γένος. καὶ γημαμένη αὐτῷ—τοῦτο γὰρ περιεῖχε τὸ λόγιον, γαμῆσθαι ᾧ ἂν συναντήσῃ—ἐλθοῦσα εἰς Κολοφῶνα καὶ ἐκεῖ δυσθυμήσασα ἐδάκρυσε διὰ τὴν τῆς πατρίδος πόρθησιν. διόπερ ὀνομάσθη Κλάρου ἀπὸ τῶν δακρύων. ἐποίησεν δὲ Ἀπόλλωνι ἱερόν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ κρήνην ἀναβλύσαι ἀπὸ τῶν δακρύων Μαντοῦς κατὰ Κλάρων. – “or Claros: a site of Colophon made sacred to Apollo and containing an oracle of the god, established by Manto, the daughter of Teiresias, or by a certain hero Claros, according to Theopompus. Neanthes says that Apollo received the city by lot and that it is called, thus, from the lot; or on account of Poseidon, Zeus, and Hades having drawn lots there. Those who wrote the *Thebais* say that Manto, the daughter of Teiresias, was sent to Delphi by the Epigoni as a first fruit of their spoil, and that, setting out in accordance with an oracle of Apollo, she met Rhacius, the son of Lebes, of Mycenae. She married him – as the oracle included that she should marry whomever she encountered – and coming to Colophon, she felt melancholy there and wept over the destruction of her homeland. And so the place was

destruction of her homeland Thebes, gave the name at Claros, allegedly from *κλαίω* “to weep”, and founded there a sanctuary of Apollo.

As Parke rightly observes, “the legend of Manto provided a pedigree for the prophets of Claros” and “Manto is obviously invented as a link to connect Claros with the mainland of Greece and the great traditions of Hellenic mythology”. This reading is in line with the general tendency, seen in other foundation legends, according to which raising oracular shrines, prophetic clans and (minor) cults leaned on major, more well-established and prestigious ones. It is indeed reasonable to assume that this legend was created when the sanctuary of Claros enjoyed its greatest rise in popularity from the Hellenistic period onwards<sup>86</sup>. To this period, thus, should be dated the elaboration of a story, linking two of the major oracles of Apollo, Delphi and the Ionian shrine of Claros.

#### 1.4. Rivalry, collaboration or desistance?

Competition and rivalry permeated almost every aspect of ancient Greek society and culture, especially religion. Besides the obvious reference to athletic and musical *agones* performed in PanHellenic sanctuaries, the rich offerings and the strain in hoarding crucial spaces through the construction of symbols of power, prestige and success within sacred *temene* reveal ancient Greeks’ constant effort to claim self-affirmation as well as reciprocal superiority<sup>87</sup>. Similarly, but at a higher and more significant level, the external interventions of *poleis* and *ethne* in controlling interstates sanctuaries, especially those whose oracles could influence collective decisions, indicate equally competitive behaviour and desire of primacy.

Within this frame Parke developed his claim of the rivalry among oracles, but - point of fact – no evidence suggests that oracular shrines competed and fought for supremacy. Admittedly, certain oracles were

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called Claros after those tears. She established the temple of Apollo. It is also said that there has been a gush of water at Claros from Manto’s tears”. Other sources mention the story of Manto, but not her foundation of the sanctuary: Apollod. 3, 85; Diod. 4, 66, 5; Paus. 7, 1-2; 9, 33, 2 (cfr. mainly Prinz 1979, 18-21 and Moscati Castelnovo forthcoming).

<sup>86</sup> The activity of the shrine in the archaic and classical time is highly controversial (Parke 1985, 115-124, 126-128 contra Buresch 1889, 29-32; Scheer 1993, 177-178). As for the blooming of the oracular sanctuary in the Imperial period, Busine 2005, passim; Müller-Prost 2013 and Oesterhold 2008.

<sup>87</sup> Scott 2010.



more popular and more ‘trustful’ than others, Delphi *in primis*<sup>88</sup>, but no proof of open competition nor attempts of a shrine to overshadow another are attested.

Rather, the numerous double and multiple consultations reveal that enquirers could freely seek divine help from more than one oracular shrine: not only they could address the same question to two or more gods, but also venture to ask, without fear, whether the second god had the same opinion as the first. This reveals, on the one hand, that private and public multiple and double consultations were common practice in the ancient world, on the other, that their aim was not to assess the reliability of the oracles as the respectful and God-fearing Greek consultant would have never dared to distrust or to defy his gods. Rather, the intention was to profit, when the situation so required, from a sort of double ‘blessing’. The enquirers indeed were, somehow, confident about gods’ matching responses. The issue was to interpret correctly the response as the gods were always right<sup>89</sup>.

Filiation legends lead to the same conclusion: the numerous stories of oracles founding other oracles indicate that rivalry among oracular shrines did not exist at any time. These legends linking together oracular shrines, not necessarily belonging to the same god, were elaborated mostly by emerging shrines, eager to gain further authority and prestige, exploiting the fame and antiquity of another more ancient oracle. Founding oracles equally benefited from these stories, which enhanced their PanHellenic role and reputation.

The raise and blooming of an oracular sanctuary was a rather self-centred process, which, although often sponsored or favoured by an external force, never impacted on, or was influenced by, another more ancient, closest and kindred oracle. Once found its own room, the sanctuary easily was prompted to become an arena of competition of aristocracies and political entities<sup>90</sup>.

Thus, whereas it is, not possible to talk about the rivalry among oracles, equally evidence for cooperation, as suggested by Eidinow, is rather scant. Apart from the Pythia’s suggesting Aristomenes to consult another oracle, i.e. Trophonius, in Pausanias’ romantic account on the Messenian war<sup>91</sup>, no literary source attests an oracle either recommending

<sup>88</sup> Pind., *Pyth.* 3, 29; A., Ch. 559; Hdt. 1, 49; E., *IT* 1254; Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F 31 (= Strabo 9, 3, 11 C 422); Plaut, *Pseud.*, 480; Lucr. 5, 110; Cic., *Ep. ad Brut.* 1, 2a, 3; Jul., *Caes.* 314d; cfr. Parke 1956, 2.

<sup>89</sup> Naerebout, Beerden 2012.

<sup>90</sup> Morgan 1990; Giangiulio 1993; Scott 2010.

<sup>91</sup> Paus. 4, 16, 7.

a consultant to look elsewhere or working intentionally together with another oracular seat.

Therefore the question arises of whether, instead of either rivalry or cooperation, it is not more convenient to talk of desistance, a tacit plan of action of non-disruption, implying mutual recognition of prestige, authority, and remits, which were never challenged by emerging sanctuaries, particularly those looking for an illustrious lineage.

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## TERRITORI E PAESAGGI SACRI NELLA CAONIA ELLENISTICA E ROMANA

### 1. Geografia, storia, culture e culti della Caonia antica

Terra di pastori e villaggi, con scarsa propensione ai commerci marittimi, che furono appannaggio piuttosto della pirateria illirica e dei *mercatores* italici, dominata dai lenti ritmi della transumanza e da un'economia assai poco incline alle trasformazioni, anche nel lungo e lunghissimo periodo, la regione settentrionale dell'Epiro, la Caonia appunto (Fig. 1), rivela – nel suo paesaggio storico – una corrispondente e limitata vocazione agli insediamenti urbani<sup>1</sup>. Certo, le poche città – prima fra tutte *Phoinike* – mostrano una vivacità particolare, fatta di esperimenti urbanistici e di imprese monumentali rilevanti. A *Phoinike*, futura capitale del *koinon* degli Epiroti, si segnala innanzi tutto la poderosa cinta muraria, la cui prima fase, più tardi ampliata, può corrispondere all'ingresso nella *symmachia* a guida molossa, sullo scorcio del IV sec. a.C., se non è precedente di qualche decennio almeno<sup>2</sup>. Ma il rapporto con il territorio e le interazioni fra ambiente fisico e attività dell'uomo restano probabilmente legati a un'antica struttura *kata komas*, senza *basileus* come già riconosce la tradizione scritta, a cominciare da Tucidide e dallo Pseudo-Scilace<sup>3</sup>. A questo schema d'insediamenti sparsi, diffusi nelle pianure e soprattutto sui rialzi collinari o anche montuosi<sup>4</sup>, ci si aspetterebbe che corrispondesse una devozione di carattere religioso, una ritualità

<sup>1</sup> Come generale premessa agli argomenti qui trattati rimando a Cabanes 2010 e Bogdani c.st.

<sup>2</sup> Sulle fasi più antiche della città rimando ad alcuni miei precedenti lavori: De Maria 2002a; 2005; 2008; 2011; 2012a; 2014.

<sup>3</sup> Thuc. 2, 80, 5; Ps.-Scyl. 29. Cf. Cabanes 2007.

<sup>4</sup> Per l'assetto del territorio in Caonia si veda in generale Giorgi, Bogdani 2012; De Maria, Bogdani, Giorgi 2017.

frammentata e diffusa, anche intensamente. Ma non è così, come vedremo. I luoghi di culto che conosciamo, accertati archeologicamente, sono davvero pochi in rapporto all'estensione del territorio, sia nell'area costiera verso l'Adriatico e il lembo settentrionale dello Ionio, sia nelle aspre regioni dell'interno<sup>5</sup>.

Gli abitati a fisionomia urbana propriamente intesa sono pochissimi, come dicevo. Essenzialmente tre: *Phoinike*, Butrinto e, più nell'interno, presso la valle del fiume Drinos, Antigonea. Le prime due città gravitano verso la regione costiera a ovest, e Butrinto ne è pienamente parte, mentre Antigonea è città dell'interno, nella lunga valle del fiume che costituisce la naturale via di comunicazione fra il confine con Molossia e Tesprozia a sud e il bacino del fiume Vjosa a nord, al confine con il territorio illirico. Se *Phoinike* e Butrinto sono strettamente collegate anche dal sistema idrografico, costituito dai bacini dei fiumi Kalasa e Bistrica, dalla Pavla (Pavlës) e dal lago di Vivari sul quale sorge Butrinto, Antigonea ne è separata dalla catena montuosa del Mali i Gjerë, aspra ed elevata fin quasi a 1400 metri<sup>6</sup>. Dunque la regione appare divisa in due parti, a est e a ovest di questa catena montuosa: i territori delle prime due città sono ovviamente a contatto e hanno a lungo fra loro dialogato<sup>7</sup>, mentre quello di Antigonea è più appartato e quasi proiettato piuttosto verso l'area macedone. È attestata poi un'intensa serie di insediamenti minori, costituiti da ville fortificate, siti protetti da poderose cinte murarie, posti a presidio del territorio, o semplici punti di avvistamento<sup>8</sup>. Una gerarchia nelle forme dell'insediamento che è stata recentemente chiarita nelle sue morfologie e nelle sue funzioni<sup>9</sup>.

Questo è il quadro per l'età ellenistica, alla quale è da ricondurre la scarsa urbanizzazione della regione, sostanzialmente avviata nella seconda metà del IV secolo e soprattutto sviluppata nel corso del secolo seguente, osservando in particolare quanto è documentato sinora a *Phoinike*<sup>10</sup>. Butrinto ha una storia diversa e certamente più antica, avendo attestazioni già nella tarda età del Bronzo e poi uno sviluppo dalla fine del VI secolo, con un insediamento alla sommità della collina

<sup>5</sup> Sul tema generale sono importanti alcuni contributi di François Quantin: vd. ad es. Quantin 1999; Id. 2009.

<sup>6</sup> Giorgi, Bogdani 2012, 31-41.

<sup>7</sup> Sul rapporto fra i due centri: De Maria 2007.

<sup>8</sup> Bogdani, Giorgi 2011; Bogdani 2012.

<sup>9</sup> Bibliografia a nota 4.

<sup>10</sup> De Maria 2011 e Giorgi, Bogdani 2012, 355-395.



della c.d. acropoli di evidente carattere anche religioso<sup>11</sup>. Va detto in ogni caso che tracce di un edificio sacro non sono attestate con sicurezza nella parte centrale della spianata dell'acropoli, mentre sono noti dispersioni di ceramiche o depositi votivi con ceramica protocorinzia, corinzia e poi attica (VII-VI sec. a.C.)<sup>12</sup>. Torneremo fra poco sul punto cruciale della specificità dei culti e delle sequenze cronologiche, ma intanto occorre brevemente notare, con un drastico salto cronologico, come in età romana, a partire soprattutto dal I sec. a.C., l'assetto territoriale muti profondamente<sup>13</sup>. Ma non tanto nel sistema poleografico, che resta praticamente immutato, con la continuità di vita a Butrinto (colonia cesariano-antoniano-augustea) e a *Phoinike* (che gli scavi recenti qualificano di una monumentalità accresciuta e imponente nel II-I sec. d.C.)<sup>14</sup>, ma con il quasi abbandono di Antigonea, che pare devastata nel corso della prima metà del II sec. a.C.<sup>15</sup>, e con un ridimensionamento, o talora anche abbandono, dei siti di altura, mentre le ville fortificate ellenistiche subiscono drastiche trasformazioni (ad esempio nei siti di Metoqi, Çumpora e Malathrea), riadattate a un nuovo sistema di sfruttamento agricolo dei territori<sup>16</sup>.

Nella valle del Drinos all'abbandono di Antigonea fa seguito il sorgere nel fondovalle della città romana di *Hadrianopolis*, su un possibile e più antico insediamento ellenistico minore, che prenderà il nome di *Iustinianopolis* in età proto-bizantina<sup>17</sup>. Infine, nei territori di *Phoinike* e di Butrinto, così come nella valle del Drinos, si riconoscono

<sup>11</sup> Per Butrinto dall'età arcaica all'ellenismo vd. soprattutto: Hansen, Hodges, Leppard 2013.

<sup>12</sup> Sulle testimonianze archeologiche dell'acropoli di Butrinto vd. Greenslade, Leppard, Logue 2013.

<sup>13</sup> Sulle trasformazioni nel territorio d'età romana: Giorgi, Bogdani 2012, 115-136. Più in generale, anche per lo scenario storico complessivo: Shpuza 2016. Del periodo di Carope il Giovane, immediatamente dopo la terza Guerra Macedonica, si occupa Cabanes 2012.

<sup>14</sup> Gli scavi nel settore a sud della basilica paleocristiana, sorta sull'*agora* del III sec. a.C., rivelano ora un poderoso sistema di strutture imponenti su terrazzamenti lungo il pendio della collina che accrescono di molto le conoscenze su *Phoinike* in età romana. Le indagini sono ancora in corso. Vd. per ora Villicich 2015.

<sup>15</sup> Per Antigonea vd. alcuni lavori del suo principale scavatore: Budina 1975, 1990, 1993. Inoltre: Rinaldi, Gorica c.st. Sul problema della città ortogonale in Epiro: Rinaldi 2015a.

<sup>16</sup> Per la villa di Metoqi: Giorgi, Bogdani 2012, 167-169, nr. SA010; per quella di Çumpora: ibid., 173-175, nr. SA014; per quella di Malathrea: ibid., 253-254, nr. SA044. Cf. in generale Bogdani 2012.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Perna 2012.

ora evidenti i segni dell'appoderamento agrario regolare di chiara impronta romana<sup>18</sup>.

Il quadro culturale è particolare per Butrinto: essa appare strettamente legata all'orbita corinzio-corcirese, almeno fino all'inoltrato V secolo a.C., come tutta la regione interposta fra Tesprozia a sud e Caonia a nord, ovvero quella che gli antichi chiamavano *Kestrine*, fino a quando essa rientrerà nella sfera propriamente Caona<sup>19</sup>. Il resto della regione vive con quella struttura economica che abbiamo già delineato, mentre i contatti culturali si svolgono soprattutto con le regioni del Peloponneso e con la Macedonia, come mostrano sia la cultura materiale<sup>20</sup> che quella figurativa e architettonica, quest'ultima in particolare per gli aspetti della decorazione<sup>21</sup>. *Phoinike* ha certamente svolto un ruolo della massima importanza per non dire egemone nel periodo del *koinon* repubblicano a guida caona (230-167 a.C.), mentre Butrinto, forte del suo *status* di importante e significativa colonia di veterani, avrà particolare sviluppo dal I secolo d.C. in poi. Antigonea appare forse più appartata, ma con aspetti di grande importanza: ad esempio, per la documentata presenza di un ginnasiarca è la sola città della Caonia per la quale si possa presupporre l'esistenza di un ginnasio<sup>22</sup>; mostra inoltre un'interessante produzione di plastica in bronzo.

In questo quadro abbozzato sotto il profilo storico e territoriale dobbiamo ora far rientrare gli aspetti della religione e del culto, parte importante delle pratiche sociali e delle proiezioni culturali. Le testimonianze non sono relevantissime, ma, come si anticipava, concentrate nei centri urbani appena richiamati. Di contro alla forma puntiforme e diffusa dell'occupazione del territorio, appunto del tutto prevalente, le testimonianze di un culto sparso nelle *komai* o comunque in rapporto con il sistema abitativo più diffuso sono molto limitate. Questo può dipendere certamente da una fortuita carenza di dati, ma forse ancor più da modalità di culto che poco lasciano alla documentazione di rilevanza archeologica. Sta di fatto che il maggior numero delle testimonianze sono ancorate ai tre centri urbani che

<sup>18</sup> Sulla centuriazione del territorio: Giorgi 2004; Id. 2017; De Maria, Bogdani, Giorgi 2017, 58-61.

<sup>19</sup> CIGIME 2, 49. Cf. Cabanes 1976, 172-185.

<sup>20</sup> Gamberini 2016, 157-163.

<sup>21</sup> Per la scultura di *Phoinike*: Mercuri 2005a e 2005b; per quella di Butrinto: Bergemann 1998; Gilkes 2003, 195-252 (L.M. Ugolini e I. Pojani); Hansen 2013. Per la decorazione architettonica: Podini 2014, part. 117-131.

<sup>22</sup> CIGIME 2, 63-64 nr. 64.

abbiamo ricordato. I due culti che paiono prevalenti a Butrinto, *Asklepios* e *Zeus Soter*, sono documentati da numerosissimi atti di affrancamento incisi nel teatro (*parodos* occidentale e *diazoma*) o sui blocchi reimpiegati nella celebre “Torre delle iscrizioni” (nella parte est delle mura)<sup>23</sup>. Inoltre alcune vere e proprie dediche alla divinità salutare, cui si accompagna anche *Igea* e più tardi *Stata Mater*<sup>24</sup>. Mentre l'*Asklepieion* di Butrinto è interamente conservato fra i monumenti della città<sup>25</sup>, ancora ignoto resta il tempio, che certamente è esistito, di *Zeus Soter*. Nella città è documentato anche il culto di *Artemis*, che resta una delle divinità più popolari nel mondo agreste della Caonia<sup>26</sup>. La sua immagine compare massicciamente nella monetazione al tempo del *koinon* degli Epiroti ed è effigiata ripetutamente a *Phoinike*, pure in assenza, per ora, di un santuario che ne possa localizzare il culto in città. Una stele votiva figurata di età ellenistica (perduta) ad *Artemis Iberia* (?) proviene dal territorio di Saranda, l'antica *Onchesmos* porto di *Phoinike*, così da estendere il suo culto anche alla zona prossima alla costa e non solo nel mondo della selva e dei margini del territorio interno. Ma la provenienza esatta non è nota<sup>27</sup>.

Al pari di Artemide divinità molto popolare è *Poseidon*, probabilmente nella sua valenza di divinità delle acque interne e stagnanti e anche dei terremoti<sup>28</sup>: un atto di manomissione con consacrazione a questa divinità è documentato a *Phoinike*<sup>29</sup>, dove certamente nel piccolo tempio in pianura, prossimo alla necropoli a sud della collina, in età tardo-ellenistica ne veniva celebrato il culto, richiamato iconograficamente da un *pinax* a mosaico bianco-nero con delfino e tridente inserito nella pavimentazione davanti alla base per le

<sup>23</sup> Cf. CIGIME 2, 67 ss. La maggior parte reca una consacrazione ad *Asklepios* e pochi soltanto risalgono al periodo del *koinon* epirota. Molto più numerosi quelli del periodo del *koinon* dei *Prasaiboi* (post 163 a.C.), al quale risalgono anche tutte le menzioni di *Zeus Soter* come divinità della consacrazione. Seguo ovviamente le cronologie suggerite dagli editori del *Corpus*. Sul periodo post-163 e la figura di Carope il Giovane: Cabanes 1998; Id. 2012.

<sup>24</sup> CIGIME 2, 175-177, nrr. 170-178. Per la dedica latina a *Stata Mater*: ibid., 177, nr.180.

<sup>25</sup> Melfi 2007.

<sup>26</sup> CIGIME 2, 179, nr. 184, la sola dedica a questa divinità a Butrinto, mentre in generale *Artemis* è appunto molto polare in Epiro e anche in Illiria meridionale: in generale vd. Quantin 2010 e infra.

<sup>27</sup> CIGIME 3, 76, nr. 80.

<sup>28</sup> In generale, per l'Epiro e l'Illiria meridionale: Quantin 2004.

<sup>29</sup> CIGIME 3, 40-43, nr. 8 (datato alla fine del III sec. a.C.).

statue di culto (metà circa del I sec. a.C.)<sup>30</sup>. La popolarità di questo dio delle acque e dei terremoti coinvolge anche Antigonea, dove un ex-voto del III sec. a.C. ne attesta la presenza<sup>31</sup>, replicata probabilmente anche da altre testimonianze relative al territorio della città, dove poteva esistere un santuario extra-urbano, almeno nel II sec. a.C.<sup>32</sup>. Sempre ad Antigonea è attestato il culto a Hermes ed Eracle, altrimenti ignoto altrove nella regione, ma significativamente legato alla figura del ginnasiarca *Lykophron*, già ricordato, che nel II sec. a.C. offre una dedica a queste divinità (o forse a una sola divinità riunita sincretisticamente) in quanto protettrici degli efebi e strettamente connesse al mondo della palestra<sup>33</sup>. A *Phoinike* è noto, ma soltanto per una piccola ara del III sec. a.C., il culto di Afrodite, documentato anche a Butrinto, ma assai più tardi, in piena età romana (I-II sec. d.C.), da una dedica che forse comportava anche la presenza di una statua<sup>34</sup>. Ancora una volta siamo però in assenza di un preciso contesto monumentale a cui riferire i culti. L'iscrizione incisa sul parapetto di una fonte entro quest'ultima città, prossima alla porta del lago, ricorda la devozione di una Iunia Rufina alle Ninfe nel II sec. d.C., dunque nella Butrinto di età imperiale, che ancora evidenzia la religiosità connessa alle acque e alle loro divinità<sup>35</sup>.

Per Butrinto un pur breve discorso a parte richiede il culto di *Athena*, spesso invocata come divinità importante nella città, cui si attribuisce talora il mai ritrovato tempio arcaico sull'acropoli. Stando alla documentazione, questo culto nella città sarebbe attestato soltanto dal teonimo *Atha[nas]* graffito su un vaso corinzio del VII-VI sec. a.C. rinvenuto nel 1938 nel corso di sondaggi eseguiti a est del Castello veneziano da Domenico Mustilli<sup>36</sup>. A ragione Pierre Cabanes sostiene che è davvero poco per concluderne la presenza del culto a Butrinto, ancor meno per ipotizzare sull'acropoli un tempio a lei consacrato<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> Su questo piccolo tempio in mattoni crudi e decorazione architettonica fittile nella "città bassa" di *Phoinike* vd. *Phoinike IV*, 92-98 (G. Lepore); De Maria, *Mercuri* 2007, 168-169, fig. 16; Lepore, *Muka* 2018, 131-136.

<sup>31</sup> CIGIME 3, 64-65, nr. 66.

<sup>32</sup> Si veda la stele figurata con dedica probabilmente a *Poseidon* dal territorio della città: CIGIME 3, 65, nr. 67.

<sup>33</sup> CIGIME 3, 63-64, nr. 64.

<sup>34</sup> Vd., rispettivamente, per l'arula di *Phoinike* CIGIME 3, 45, nr. 12; per la dedica di Butrinto CIGIME 2, 179, nr. 185.

<sup>35</sup> Ugolini 1942, 69-75. Per l'iscrizione: CIGIME 2, 180, nr. 188.

<sup>36</sup> Mustilli 1941, 685-688.

<sup>37</sup> CIGIME 2, 181, nr. 189bis.

Dunque resta tale l'ipotesi, recentemente espressa<sup>38</sup>, che il ben noto tempio di *Athena polias* menzionato in una laminetta oracolare di Dodona, di cronologia discussa e che testimonia la richiesta della *polis* dei Caoni di liceità del suo spostamento, si trovasse sull'acropoli di Butrinto e che a esso appartenesse il rilievo arcaico con il leone che azzanna al collo un toro, poi reimpiegato nell'omonima porta urbana ricostruita in età tardoantica o medievale<sup>39</sup>. Come ricorda lo stesso Cabanes si potrebbe aggiungere, a questa scarsa documentazione di Butrinto, il frammento di una rozza statuetta di Atena in calcare, rinvenuta da Luigi Ugolini nel corso dei suoi scavi all'interno di una cisterna medievale al centro del pianoro dell'acropoli, ma anche questa è testimonianza del tutto insufficiente e probabilmente di età tardoromana<sup>40</sup>. Occorre dunque sottolineare che il tempio di Atena, come peraltro quello di *Zeus Soter* (che però è sicuramente esistito), sono in definitiva nulla più che delle ombre senza consistenza, almeno per ora. Tanto più che il tempio prostilo scavato dalla Missione Italiana anteguerra sopra il teatro è senz'altro da interpretare come edificio sacro all'interno dell'*Asklepieion*, come era già stato supposto<sup>41</sup> e come ora dimostra il mosaico policromo ellenistico con immagine del serpente del dio (Figg. 2 e 9), che recentemente è stato possibile ricondurre a questo tempio e che si trovava *in situ* prima del distacco dal pavimento della cella e del suo trasferimento a Tirana<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Hernandez 2017, part. 230-244.

<sup>39</sup> La laminetta di Dodona viene variamente datata, su basi squisitamente epigrafiche, dal 330 circa a.C. a un secolo dopo. In passato si è pensato (Quantin S., Quantin F. 2007) che il tempio di *Athena Polias* in questione fosse da identificare nel piccolo prostilo *in antis* scavato da Ugolini nell'*agora* di *Phoinike* e che io stesso avevo proposto di restituire con quella forma architettonica (De Maria 2002b, più volte ribadita in seguito: ad es. De Maria, Gjongecaj 2014, 208-211). Ma gli scavi più recenti – ancora inediti – nell'*agora* di *Phoinike* sembrano mettere in dubbio che quello che avevo ipotizzato essere il *naos* del tempio possa essere effettivamente tale. Si tratterebbe più probabilmente del vano conclusivo o esedra di una *stoa* che poteva bordare a ovest la piazza dell'*agora*, successivamente occupata dalla basilica del V-VI secolo d.C. Gli scavi in profondità davanti alla costruzione superstite (poi riutilizzata come battistero della basilica) sembrano escludere la presenza di fondazioni per il supposto pronao e la fronte dell'ipotizzato tempio, mentre le fondazioni delle ante si prolungano in realtà per diversi metri, tanto da indurre a pensare che si tratti piuttosto delle fondazioni di una lunga *stoa*. Si tratterà ancora, più avanti, di questo problema, ma intanto metto qui opportunamente in dubbio la mia precedente ipotesi ricostruttiva.

<sup>40</sup> Ugolini 1942, 174-175, fig. 175.

<sup>41</sup> Bibliografia a nota 25.

<sup>42</sup> È in corso di preparazione la pubblicazione del tempio da parte dell'équipe italo-albanese (Istituto Archeologico Albanese, Università di Bologna) che ha eseguito

Come si vede, dunque, i culti in Caonia sono attestati nella maggioranza dei casi all'interno dei centri urbani. Il che può, almeno in parte, destare meraviglia, se pensiamo al quadro del popolamento – soprattutto fra IV e II secolo a.C. – come lo abbiamo sopra in breve delineato. Sembra mancare, in definitiva, la traccia di una religiosità diffusa e connessa alla forma degli abitati distribuiti *kata komas* appunto. Va tenuto nel dovuto conto il fatto che diversi piccoli santuari o più semplici espressioni di culti rurali e agresti non abbiano lasciato traccia archeologica, per la precarietà delle forme e l'inconsistenza dei materiali. Ma naturalmente esistono delle eccezioni, che potrebbero far pensare comunque a una presenza religiosa maggiormente distribuita sul territorio, come nel caso di un possibile santuario extraurbano di *Poseidon* nei pressi di Antigonea, come abbiamo visto. Per *Artemis* abbiamo incontrato testimonianze soprattutto urbane, a *Phoinike* e a Butrinto, ma esiste una sicura documentazione, del resto ben logica, di un santuario extraurbano nel tempio di Dobra (Dobër), nel territorio di *Phoinike*, a sud della città, non lontano da Butrinto, dalla quale è però separato nettamente da una catena collinare<sup>43</sup>. Pur in assenza di documentazione epigrafica, la presenza di parti di due sculture femminili (Fig. 3), una seduta e una stante, oltre a una testa, da riportare al II sec. a.C. anche per la vicinanza col celebre gruppo di *Lykosoura*, rendono certa la presenza qui di un santuario di Demetra, divinità alla quale è associata, come è documentato anche altrove, *Artemis*. Del tempio è noto soltanto un basamento-terrazzamento in bella opera quadrata (Fig. 4), mentre nei pressi, poco a monte, è sorta una villa fortificata del tipo che abbiamo già menzionato per l'età ellenistica. Questa coppia di divinità femminili, intimamente legata ai culti della fertilità, ma anche dei boschi e dei “marginati” – siamo ai confini meridionali del territorio della capitale caona – è dunque accertata in questa zona fertile e di confine. E va sottolineata anche la qualità delle sculture, che appunto possiamo avvicinare se non proprio riferire alla bottega di Damofonte<sup>44</sup>.

Riguardo a questa religiosità rurale e agreste vorrei da ultimo richiamare il caso di una divinità della cui assenza fra i culti delle comunità caone ci si stupirebbe, ovvero quel Pan che la tradizione

nuove ricerche e nuovi rilievi di questa costruzione, rimasta sostanzialmente inedita dopo lo scavo anteguerra. Vd. infra, L. Mancini e nota 120.

<sup>43</sup> Su questo sito: Giorgi, Bogdani 2012, 193-194, nr. SA039.

<sup>44</sup> Il santuario di Dobra è studiato in De Maria, Mercuri 2007.

riferita da Plutarco riteneva morto proprio nella regione di Butrinto<sup>45</sup>. Un suo possibile santuario può essere riconosciuto nella località di Mali Mile, una collina a sud est della città e non lontano dal già citato santuario di Dobra<sup>46</sup>. Qui si sono rinvenuti resti di strutture murarie e materiali vari, fra i quali una statuetta incompleta di questa divinità in bronzo, di cronologia discussa ma probabilmente ellenistica (III o II sec. a.C.)<sup>47</sup>. Nel sito poteva dunque esistere un non meglio definibile luogo di culto del dio dei boschi e degli animali, in un ambiente naturale particolarmente idoneo ad accoglierlo. Più tardi, in piena età romana (probabilmente nel III sec. d.C.) un rilievo votivo (Fig. 5) è documentato a *Phoinike*, nel quale compare la figura di un devoto davanti a un piccolo altare e al simulacro (mutilo) del dio, eretto, con le gambe caprine e itifallico, secondo l'iconografia consueta. Il significato votivo del rilievo può indurre a credere alla presenza almeno di un sacello per Pan nella città, in età romana, che resta peraltro sconosciuto<sup>48</sup>.

Ancora in un contesto urbano, a Butrinto, una duplice documentazione, di cronologia controversa, propone la presenza di Pan fra i culti della città. Si tratta di un'assai interessante dedica a Pan Teletarco, ovvero che presiede ai misteri (probabilmente quelli di Dioniso), operata da un italico, di nome *Kasianos*, grecizzazione del latino *Cassianus*. Pierre Cabanes data l'iscrizione al II-I sec. a.C., ma altri ne spostano drasticamente la cronologia al II d.C. (l'iscrizione è davvero poco curata e apposta su un grosso blocco rinvenuto fuori contesto)<sup>49</sup>. Da notare è l'epiclesi, che riferisce la divinità a culti misterici non consueti per questa divinità o demone. Lo stesso *Kasianos* dedica ancora a Butrinto una basetta per piccola scultura alla divinità "paredra" femminile di Pan, *Pasa*, il cui culto non è molto diffuso ma che qui può essere associato al tema della devozione alle ninfe, come abbiamo visto ben presente in una località dominata dalle

<sup>45</sup> È noto il racconto di un navigante che, al tempo dell'imperatore Tiberio, nei pressi dell'isola di Paxos, ode una voce che grida: "...annuncia che Pan, il grande, è morto": Plut., *Il tramonto degli oracoli*, 17.

<sup>46</sup> Giorgi, Bogdani 2012, 271, nr. SA137.

<sup>47</sup> *Albanien* 1988, 385, nr. 300 (scheda di N. Ceka, che indica una provenienza dai dintorni di Butrinto e una cronologia al III sec. a.C.).

<sup>48</sup> Il rilievo fu rinvenuto nel 1926 da Luigi Ugolini nel corso dello scavo della "cisterna B" di età romana imperiale, alla sommità della collina di *Phoinike*. È in calcare bianco e ha un'alt. mass. conservata di 27 cm.: Ugolini 1932, 143-146, fig. 78. Cf. Lepore 2016, 168-169 (dove, nella scheda relativa a questo rilievo, si suggerisce una cronologia tra la fine del II e la metà del III sec. d.C.).

<sup>49</sup> CIGIME 2, 178, nr. 182.

acque del lago, delle fonti e delle paludi<sup>50</sup>. Secondo François Quantin, che si è brillantemente e approfonditamente occupato di queste iscrizioni e del culto di Pan-*Pasa* a Butrinto, questa divinità parebbe avrebbe un'origine italica e sarebbe un'importante attestazione dei contatti fra le due sponde dei mari, che ovviamente comprendono scambio di merci e soprattutto di uomini, ma anche di proiezioni religiose<sup>51</sup>.

S.D.M.

## **2. *Sacra Chaonum*. Paesaggi sacri e paesaggi architettonici nell'Epiro settentrionale**

### **2.1. Identità etnica e culti nell'Epiro settentrionale**

*[...] la comunità etnica dei Chaoni sembra essere, fin dalle prime notizie storiografiche, formazione non chiara e più recente, per tracciare le origini della quale è da auspicare più abbondante ed antica documentazione di quella finora disponibile.*

Così, nel 1962, scriveva Ettore Lepore a proposito del più settentrionale degli *ethne* epiroti<sup>52</sup>. A oltre mezzo secolo di distanza, nonostante l'intensificarsi delle ricerche sul territorio e nei principali centri urbani della regione, l'etnogenesi dei Caoni rimane un problema complesso e di non facile soluzione<sup>53</sup>. Ciò che manca è soprattutto l'attestazione di una sicura continuità tra la *facies* del Bronzo finale e del primo Ferro, documentata dalle necropoli tumulari e da abitati in alcuni casi recintati, e gli insediamenti maggiormente strutturati dell'età tardo-classica ed ellenistica, segno di un mutamento degli assetti socio-economici e delle strategie insediative più radicale di quello riscontrabile negli altri comprensori etnici dell'Epiro<sup>54</sup>. Gli autori

<sup>50</sup> Per questa dedica: CIGIME 2, 178, nr. 183.

<sup>51</sup> Quantin 2005.

<sup>52</sup> Lepore 1962, 114.

<sup>53</sup> Per un quadro sintetico del problema dell'etnogenesi dei Caoni vd. Giorgi, Bogdani 2012, 357-359.

<sup>54</sup> Giorgi, Bogdani 2012, loc. cit. (con bibliografia) e 69-73, 362-363. Mancano in Caonia, allo stato attuale, testimonianze di siti insediati ininterrottamente tra la fine del II - inizi del I millennio e il IV sec. a.C., come le *komai* molosse di Vitsa (Vokotopoulou 1987, con bibliografia precedente) e Liatovouni (Douzougli, Papadopoulos 2006), o fino alla piena età ellenistica, come numerosi insediamenti del



antichi, a partire da Ecateo, hanno sottolineato la contiguità dei Caoni alle genti illiriche stanziato a nord dei monti Acrocerauni (odierno Karaburun), tanto che anche recentemente sono stati avanzati dubbi sull'effettiva pertinenza della lingua parlata dalle tribù caone al gruppo greco occidentale al quale afferiscono gli altri dialetti epiroti<sup>55</sup>.

Al quadro incerto delle più antiche fasi di occupazione dell'entroterra indigeno corrisponde, ben percepibile al di là della frammentarietà delle testimonianze, la solida proiezione di Corcira sul "Continente", tradottasi nel VII sec. a.C. nell'insorgenza paracoloniale di Butrinto<sup>56</sup>. Un'indagine sul paesaggio sacro della Caonia ellenistica non può dunque ignorare la lunga coesistenza, nelle precedenti fasi della storia regionale, di due distinte anime dell'*Hellenikon* il cui confronto – spesso conflittuale – ne ha profondamente condizionato lo sviluppo: un'anima allogena e "urbana", di matrice coloniale, l'altra autoctona e organizzata secondo codici socio-culturali radicalmente diversi. Due mondi che, come argomentato in altra sede<sup>57</sup>, conoscono tempi e modalità differenti anche nel processo di definizione architettonica degli spazi del culto, precoce nel primo caso, tardivo e perlopiù modesto nel secondo.

Ugualmente permeabile agli apporti esterni è la storia più recente della compagine caona: frequentata dal III sec. a.C. da *mercatores* italici i cui interessi minacciati diedero a Roma l'occasione per una prima *diabasis* dello spazio ionico<sup>58</sup>, al centro di processi di concentrazione fondiaria da parte di esponenti della *nobilitas* romana<sup>59</sup>, la Caonia, anche in virtù della sua lungimirante scelta di campo in occasione dello scontro decisivo fra Roma e la Macedonia, conobbe nel tardo ellenismo una sorte privilegiata in rapporto al resto dell'Epiro<sup>60</sup>; di qui l'assenza di brusche cesure tra il paesaggio sacro ellenistico e

bacino di Ioannina in Molossia (Pliakou 2010a) e della valle del Kokytòs in Tesprozia (Forsén, Galanidou 2016, 16-20).

<sup>55</sup> Sui confini dell'*ethnos* dei Caoni vd. Cabanes 2007, 227-228. Cabanes 1979, 192-196, ipotizza per la Caonia una situazione di sostanziale bilinguismo (greco e illirico). *Contra* Hernandez 2017, 220 n. 98, che sulla scorta di Méndez Dosuna 1985, 17-20 ritiene più probabile la pertinenza del dialetto caone al gruppo greco occidentale.

<sup>56</sup> Sul problema della genesi di Butrinto vd. infra.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Mancini 2013; Id. c.st. a.

<sup>58</sup> Polyb. 2, 8, 2.

<sup>59</sup> Sugli *Epirotici homines* che dalla prima metà del I sec. a.C., se non già dalla fine del II (Forsén 2011, 17-19), acquisirono ingenti proprietà fondiarie tra l'alta Tesprozia e la piana di *Kestrine* a nord del *Thyamis* vd. Giorgi, Bogdani 2012, 62-63, con bibliografia.

<sup>60</sup> Sull'impatto della conquista romana sui santuari dell'Epiro vd. Mancini c.st. c.

quello dell'età augustea, nonostante le innegabili discontinuità dovute all'installarsi sul territorio, ancora una volta a Butrinto, di un centro con caratteristiche allogene e status coloniale.

Nel presente contributo intendiamo tracciare un bilancio delle conoscenze sui santuari e i culti dell'*ethnos* dei Caoni nella sua fase di massima visibilità storica e archeologica, nel tentativo di metterne in luce le eventuali specificità in rapporto alle altre compagini epirote. È noto del resto come gli *hiera*, in accordo con la celebre enunciazione erodotea degli indicatori di etnicità<sup>61</sup>, abbiano rappresentato un efficace strumento di demarcazione non solo tra Greci e barbari ma anche tra le diverse “famiglie” dell'*Hellenikon*. Le potenzialità di un simile approccio in rapporto alle strutture tribali dell'antico Epiro sono già state illustrate da chi scrive in riferimento alla realtà tesprota, la cui autonoma configurazione etnica sembrerebbe emergere tanto sul piano delle opzioni cultuali quanto su quello, strettamente interrelato, delle forme dell'edilizia sacra<sup>62</sup>. Si tratta per ora di uno spunto di ricerca, bisognoso di ulteriori verifiche che l'ineguale distribuzione dei dati sul territorio epirota non è in grado al momento di fornire. L'Epiro settentrionale, da questo punto di vista, rappresenta un terreno d'indagine ancora più difficoltoso, dal momento che la maggior parte delle informazioni proviene da iscrizioni e materiali mobili non sempre facilmente contestualizzabili e gli esempi di edilizia culturale, al di fuori di Butrinto, si conservano in modo troppo frammentario per consentirne un inquadramento. Uno sforzo di sintesi a scala sub-regionale, anche alla luce dei risultati incoraggianti evidenziati per l'area immediatamente a sud, rimane tuttavia auspicabile quale collegamento tra le indagini – ormai numerose e di diverso orientamento – sulla religiosità dell'intero Epiro e quelle su singoli culti o divinità dei Caoni<sup>63</sup>. È necessario, in primo luogo, mettere a sistema i dati – compresi quelli provenienti dalle fonti letterarie e da segnalazioni isolate di materiali votivi o architettonici, spesso trascurate – ed

<sup>61</sup> Hdt. 8, 144, 2. Cf. Mari 2010, 554-556.

<sup>62</sup> Mancini 2017a, 327-328; Id. 2017b; Id. c.st. b.

<sup>63</sup> Per uno *status quaestionis* degli studi sulla religione epirota vd. Piccinini 2012. Tra le sintesi a scala regionale si segnalano per quantità e qualità i lavori di F. Quantin (in part. Quantin 1999), ma vd. anche Tzouvara-Souli 1979, 1993 e 1997 e Moustakis 2006. Per la Caonia si vedano gli studi sui culti di Artemide (De Maria, Mercuri 2007), Asclepio (Melfi 2007), Pan (Cabanès 1988; Quantin 2004) e *Poseidon* (Quantin 2004) e sul problema della localizzazione del tempio di Atena *Polias* (Quantin 2007; Hernandez 2017, 230-244). Per l'età romana vd. Deniaux 2010 (Butrinto) e Shpuza 2016, 163-172.

evitare la cristallizzazione delle ipotesi immettendo nel discorso storico-religioso le novità che emergono dagli scavi. A tali scopi, per esigenza di brevità, non è possibile assolvere che parzialmente in questa sede, al di fuori di ogni pretesa di esaustività e con il fine di delineare un metodo che potrà forse contribuire, con il procedere delle ricerche, a rendere meno nebulosi i confini dell'identità di un *ethnos* che, nella tradizione antica, si è spesso configurato come una “vaga entità”<sup>64</sup>.

## **2.2. Eroi, naviganti e coloni sulle coste della Caonia: culti e rotte marittime tra archeologia e mito**

L'Epiro, tra l'epoca formativa dei poemi del ciclo epico e la piena età classica, consolidò la propria fama di luogo di passaggio e soggiorno di eroi dei *nostoi*, sia greci che troiani. All'origine di queste tradizioni, che ancora in età ellenistica e romana forniranno un motivo legittimante per rivendicazioni territoriali e più o meno effimere avventure egemoniche, si è oggi propensi a riconoscere un *middle ground*<sup>65</sup> nel quale le esigenze di realtà spesso in reciproca competizione seppero trovare una forma di mediazione: da un lato le velleità di autodefinizione etnica delle tribù locali, desiderose di dotarsi di un retroterra mitico e genealogico nobilitante<sup>66</sup>, dall'altro gli interessi dei naviganti di provenienza greco-meridionale – forse, in un primo tempo, soprattutto euboici<sup>67</sup> – impegnati in un'opera di prospezione del litorale epirota che si sarebbe presto tradotta nella creazione di capisaldi coloniali. È in questo contesto che dobbiamo collocare la genesi delle tradizioni troiane che, pur coinvolgendo inizialmente anche altre parti dell'Epiro, sembrano concentrarsi di preferenza nell'area a cavallo tra l'alta Tesprozia e la Caonia, con epicentro a Butrinto. Non è questa la sede per proporre una rassegna delle fonti – del resto ampiamente note e commentate<sup>68</sup> – che collegano

<sup>64</sup> Lepore 1962, 117.

<sup>65</sup> Il concetto, ripreso da Malkin 1998, è applicato alla realtà epirota da Castiglioni 2013, 65.

<sup>66</sup> Lamboley, Castiglioni 2011, 12-13.

<sup>67</sup> Lamboley, Castiglioni 2011, 13. La tesi di una “protocolonizzazione” euboica (eretriese) di Corfù, allo stato attuale, trova il suo unico appiglio in Plut. *Mor.* 293, la cui attendibilità è discussa. Per una rassegna delle posizioni vd. Calce 2011, 82; Hernandez 2017, 215.

<sup>68</sup> Vd. Lepore 1962, 55-58; Moscatti Castelnuovo 1986; Cabanes 2002; Hansen 2007; Lamboley, Castiglioni 2011.

il centro di *Bouthrotos* alle vicende di eroi ed eroine troiani come Eleno, Enea e Andromaca. Questi racconti sono senza dubbio anteriori alle versioni tardo-repubblicane e augustee che ce li hanno tramandati, rimontando almeno al tardo V sec. a.C.<sup>69</sup> Essi, nell'area della *Kestrine* tra Butrinto e la valle del *Thyamis*, trovano riscontro in una toponomastica troiana nota agli autori antichi e confermata da attestazioni epigrafiche interne all'orizzonte epirota<sup>70</sup>.

A queste tradizioni genealogiche, toponomastiche ed ecistiche doveva corrispondere una precisa geografia sacra, se diamo credito alla testimonianza di Dionigi di Alicarnasso, che agli esuli troiani diretti in Italia dopo la tappa a *Bouthrotos* attribuisce la fondazione di un santuario di Afrodite nei pressi di *Onchesmos* (*limen Anchisou*, il "porto di Anchise")<sup>71</sup>. Sporadiche segnalazioni di materiali architettonici ellenistici nell'area del porto di Saranda<sup>72</sup>, se suggeriscono l'esistenza di un qualche edificio monumentale, nulla ci dicono circa l'ubicazione dell'*Aphrodision*, che si è proposto in alternativa di localizzare sulle alture retrostanti la città<sup>73</sup>. La bontà dell'approdo, all'origine della fortuna del sito fino all'età contemporanea, lo inserirebbe a pieno titolo nella sequenza dei santuari marittimi – dedicati ad Afrodite o ad altre divinità femminili funzionalmente omologhe – situati lungo le rotte paracostiere che dalla sponda occidentale della Grecia raggiungono il versante tirrenico della

<sup>69</sup> La prima menzione di Eleno in relazione all'Epiro, come noto, è nell'*Andromaca* di Euripide (1243-51), mentre il mito ecistico che lo lega a Butrinto, riportato da St. Byz., s.v. Βουθρωτός e attribuito a Teucro di Cizico (FGrHist 274, fr. 1a, 1b), risale probabilmente a Ellanico di Lesbo. In Lamboley, Castiglioni 2011, 13 non se ne esclude un'origine più antica, legata forse all'elemento euboico (vd. supra). Sulle fonti del più celebre racconto virgiliano (*Aen.* 3, 291-507) vd. Biraschi 1981-1982.

<sup>70</sup> Vd. Lepore 1962, 57, con rassegna delle fonti. Cf. Hansen 2007, 45; Lamboley, Castiglioni 2011, 12. L'etnico *Pergamioi*, noto da un'iscrizione da Rodotopi in Molossia (SEG XV 411 = Cabanes 1976, 561-562, nr. 35), è stato messo in relazione con la *Pergamis* epirota di Varrone (*Rust.* 2, 2, 1), che Robert 1940 proponeva di identificare con il sito di Çuka e Aitoit. Cf. Hernandez 2017, 211 e n. 24. Stato della questione in Giorgi, Bogdani 2012, 251-252.

<sup>71</sup> D.H. 1, 51, 1-2. Una tradizione recepita da Procopio (*Goth.* 8, 22, 31) ambientava a *Onchesmos* (deformata in *Anchialus*) la morte di Anchise. Su Saranda-*Onchesmos*, tradizionalmente considerata il porto di *Phoinike* e nota soprattutto per le fasi imperiale, tardoantica e medievale, vd. Hodges 2006 e 2007; Giorgi, Bogdani 2012, 164-166, nr. SA005.

<sup>72</sup> Lako 1986, 273. Cf. Hodges 2006, 229, che riporta anche la notizia, reperita nell'archivio D. Budina presso l'Istituto di Archeologia di Tirana, del rinvenimento di una "Doric base" (sic) sul pendio alle spalle della città, nei pressi dell'ospedale.

<sup>73</sup> Hammond 1967, 111; Hodges 2006, 229.

Penisola italiana<sup>74</sup>. Questa topografia culturale tipicamente eneadeica, a sua volta, rientra in un più ampio paesaggio sacrale ionico-adriatico del quale recenti studi hanno mostrato la coerenza sulle due sponde del Canale di Otranto<sup>75</sup>; un paesaggio dalle spiccate caratteristiche “visive”<sup>76</sup> dove insenature protette, isole, promontori e grotte costiere costituiscono ancoraggi reali e insieme mitopoietici che hanno attratto la devozione dei naviganti nel corso dei secoli. È il caso dei santuari di *euploia*, punti notevoli del paesaggio dove timori e speranze dei marinai di fronte ai pericoli della navigazione hanno lasciato una traccia epigrafica sulla roccia di falesie o cavità naturali<sup>77</sup>.

Ricade in quest’ultima categoria il sito di Grammata, una baia raggiungibile solo dal mare al confine nord della Caonia, nella regione degli Acrocerauni<sup>78</sup>. Le più antiche tra le migliaia di iscrizioni incise sulle pareti di roccia calcarea, oggetto fin dall’epoca arcaica di attività estrattive, si datano tra il III sec. a.C. e la fine dell’età ellenistica. Si tratta di espressioni di ringraziamento rivolte ai Dioscuri da personaggi di diversa provenienza<sup>79</sup> ed estrazione sociale – marinai, ma anche soldati e schiavi – secondo un formulario fisso che richiama quello dei proscinemi egiziani: “il tale si è ricordato al cospetto dei Dioscuri” (ἐμνήσθη παρὰ τοῖς Διοσκόροις) di qualcun altro il cui nome figura in genitivo. Oltre ai divini gemelli, il cui ruolo di protettori dei naviganti è ben noto, le iscrizioni menzionano altre divinità come Iside (spesso assimilata ad Afrodite e *Tyche* in qualità di *Euploia*) e *Themis*<sup>80</sup>. Dalle coste dell’attuale Albania a quelle del Salento, per dirla

<sup>74</sup> Fenet 2005, 46, 48 (consacrazione ad Afrodite di approdi naturali); Musti 2002, in part. 32, 34-38, con bibliografia. In un’insenatura poco a nord di *Orikos* si segnala un’iscrizione su roccia comprendente la dedica di un’*apeleuthera* e un rilievo raffigurante Afrodite ed Eros: CIGIME 3, 153, nr. 162 (età imperiale).

<sup>75</sup> Fenet 2005; D’Ercole c.st. In generale sui culti legati alla navigazione vd. da ultimo Fenet 2016.

<sup>76</sup> D’Ercole c.st., 8.

<sup>77</sup> Fenet 2005, 46.

<sup>78</sup> Drini 1999; Hajdari et al. 2007; CIGIME 3, 159-209; Cabanes et al. 2008, 138-140. Cf. Fenet 2005, 45; Giorgi, Bogdani 2012, 235, nr. VL001.

<sup>79</sup> Tra le provenienze dei dedicanti, oltre all’Epiro, si segnalano diverse località dell’Asia Minore (Focea, Ilio, Eraclea Pontica), della Palestina (Sebaste) e della Macedonia (Pelagonia): Hajdari et al. 2007, 368.

<sup>80</sup> CIGIME 3, 171, nr. 178, 192-193, nr. 251 (Iside), 172, nr. 182 (*Themis*). A differenza della Macedonia (Falezza 2012, 107 ss. e n. 48), l’Epiro e le antistanti isole Ionie appaiono scarsamente permeabili ai culti di matrice egizia, che al di fuori di Ambracia sono attestati perlopiù a titolo di espressioni di devozione individuale: Antonetti 2010b, 313 (con riferimenti). Su Iside *Euploia* (e.g. a Delo) cf. Miranda

con Virgilio, *iter Italiam cursusque brevissimus undis*<sup>81</sup>: non stupisce quindi trovare, nelle grotte costiere della Puglia sud-orientale, attestazioni di una frequentazione culturale che, come a Grammata, si spinge fino ai secoli centrali del Medioevo<sup>82</sup>.

Il ruolo di *seamark*<sup>83</sup> culturale risulta più incerto nel caso del *Poseidon* localizzato da Strabone tra *Onchesmos* e *Bouthrotos*, sulla costa della penisola di Ksamili<sup>84</sup>: il toponimo, come ipotizzato da A. Fenet, va infatti probabilmente riferito a un punto importante per la navigazione – un promontorio o un’insenatura – piuttosto che a un santuario<sup>85</sup>. Depongono a favore di questa tesi tanto il carattere “continentale” di *Poseidon* in ambito epirota, come meglio si vedrà più avanti, quanto la sua scarsa popolarità nell’universo religioso dei marinai, che ne temevano l’imprevedibilità e preferivano affidare le loro preghiere a divinità maggiormente legate agli aspetti benigni della vita sul mare<sup>86</sup>.

Tra queste ultime va annoverato Zeus *Kassios*, destinatario di una dedica tardo-ellenistica incisa su un cippo rinvenuto nelle terme di Butrinto, nei pressi dell’*Asklepieion*<sup>87</sup>. Almeno dalla metà del I sec. a.C. il dio, il cui culto promana dall’area siriana<sup>88</sup>, possedeva un importante santuario a *Kassiope*, sulla sponda nordorientale di

1989, 137-138; Bricault 2005, nrr. 202/0329, 202/0365; Hajdari et al. 2007, 369, 384. Sul culto di *Themis* in Epiro vd. Mancini c.st. d.

<sup>81</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 3, 507.

<sup>82</sup> A Grammata, dopo che in età romana le dediche ai Dioscuri erano state sostituite da iscrizioni di carattere profano, la valenza culturale del sito riaffiora nell’alto Medioevo sotto il segno di Gesù Cristo, perdurando almeno fino al XIV sec.: CIGIME 3, 196-209. All’altezza di Grammata, sulla costa del Salento a nord di Otranto, la Grotta S. Cristoforo a Torre dell’Orso ha restituito materiali d’importazione databili al tardo VI sec. a.C., anche se la frequentazione culturale risulta documentata con sicurezza solo dal IV sec. a.C. (culto di una divinità maschile più tardi nota come *Aniketos*, *Ypekoos* e *Ypsistos*) per poi proseguire in modo quasi ininterrotto fino al XII sec.: Lamboley 1996, 196-197, 444-445; Mastronuzzi 2002, 66; Fenet 2005, 43-44; Fenet 2016, 89-90; D’Ercole c.st., 11.

<sup>83</sup> Hodges 2006, 238.

<sup>84</sup> Strab. 7, 7, 5.

<sup>85</sup> Fenet 2005, 44. *Contra* Quantin 2004, 161-162, che pensa a un promontorio marcato dalla presenza di un santuario, forse non anteriore all’età romana.

<sup>86</sup> Fenet 2005, 47.

<sup>87</sup> CIGIME 2, 180, nr. 186 (con bibliografia precedente), datata alla fine del I sec. a.C.

<sup>88</sup> Collar 2017.

Corcira<sup>89</sup>; di qui la tesi, sostenuta dagli editori J. e L. Robert, che l'iscrizione sia transitata sulla costa dell'Albania dall'opposta sponda del canale di Corfù<sup>90</sup>. Non è tuttavia improbabile che la dedica, che ha per oggetto un'"imbarcazione più grande" (presumibilmente un modellino) di quella donata in precedenza dallo stesso personaggio, sia stata fatta a Butrinto a seguito di un felice attraversamento dello stretto di Corfù<sup>91</sup>.

Nonostante la sua vocazione "continentale" e lo scarso interesse degli autoctoni per il mare, la Caonia<sup>92</sup>, per la sua posizione strategica sulle rotte di collegamento con l'Italia, ci appare dunque precocemente e continuativamente toccata dai percorsi della navigazione trans-ionica e trans-adriatica, i quali, come si è visto, esigono il loro paesaggio culturale. Il livello più antico al quale ci è possibile pervenire ripercorrendo a ritroso la stratificazione dei paesaggi sacri della regione è appunto un paesaggio "coloniale", la cui precocità si comprende unicamente all'interno dell'orizzonte culturale della *peraia* di Corcira. Malgrado la tradizione storiografica non lo annoveri tra le *apoikiai* propriamente dette, il centro di *Bouthrotos* presenta infatti caratteristiche "coloniali" che le scarse vestigia di età arcaica e classica – soprattutto per quanto concerne la sua consistenza urbanistica e monumentale, che ci sfugge quasi integralmente<sup>93</sup> – non valgono a mettere in discussione. Non rientra tra gli obiettivi di questo lavoro ricostruire le fasi formative del paesaggio sacro di Butrinto, le cui problematiche sono già state in parte evocate nella precedente sezione<sup>94</sup>. Nel prossimo paragrafo ci si soffermerà invece brevemente sulla controversa transizione del centro dall'orbita di Corcira a quella dell'*ethnos* dei Caoni, al cui termine si colloca un'importante realtà di carattere santuarioale con la quale la Butrinto ellenistica finirà quasi per identificarsi.

<sup>89</sup> Il santuario, noto dalle fonti letterarie (e.g. Procop. 4, 22, 23-29, che ricorda la dedica da parte di un mercante di una nave in blocchi di pietra bianca), epigrafiche e numismatiche, non è stato localizzato sul terreno. Cf. Fenet 2005, 44; Falezza 2009, 245, 343; Collar 2017.

<sup>90</sup> BE (1944) 119(a). Cf. CIGIME 2, loc. cit. e Fenet 2005, 44, n. 29, dove si istituisce (sulla scorta di F. Quantin) un parallelo tra l'aspetto salvifico di Zeus *Kassios/Kasios* e il culto di Zeus *Soter* a Butrinto.

<sup>91</sup> Fenet 2005, 44. Cf. Antonetti 2010b, 313-314 e n. 71.

<sup>92</sup> Giorgi, Bogdani 2012, 368 e supra, S. De Maria.

<sup>93</sup> Per un tentativo di lettura complessiva dei dati archeologici vd. da ultimo Hernandez 2017.

<sup>94</sup> Vd. supra, S. De Maria.

### 2.3. Butrinto tra Corcira e i Caoni: il problema della genesi dell'*Asklepieion*

È stato giustamente rilevato come l'assenza di Butrinto nei documenti epigrafici e soprattutto nei portolani che utilizzano fonti anteriori alla metà del IV secolo, piuttosto che alla sua perdurante inclusione nella perea corcirese, si adatti alla situazione di un centro che ha visto ridimensionate le sue capacità di proiezione marittima e commerciale, coerentemente con i diversi interessi della componente indigena<sup>95</sup>. L'affrancamento di *Bouthrotos* dalla sfera almeno politica di Corcira, conseguentemente, è stato collocato tra gli ultimi decenni del V e l'inizio del IV sec. a.C.<sup>96</sup> Questa ricostruzione sembra trovare una conferma nei dati archeologici, di recente divulgazione, dai rari saggi in profondità eseguiti a Butrinto<sup>97</sup>, i quali dalla metà del IV secolo rivelano una ripresa nell'occupazione del centro in conseguenza, evidentemente, del consolidarsi del dominio dei Caoni dopo una fase di ripiegamento che si riflette nel silenzio delle fonti. Non è infatti improbabile, a parere di chi scrive, che il vuoto di testimonianze materiali del quale l'archeologia consente ora di fissare il limite alto nel primo quarto del V secolo<sup>98</sup> corrisponda a una prima fase di interruzione dei rapporti con l'isola dello Ionio, che si è tentati di mettere in relazione con la discussa "egemonia" dei Caoni ricordata dalle fonti<sup>99</sup>; difficilmente, infatti, ancora nei primi anni della guerra del Peloponneso, gli indigeni avrebbero potuto controllare la *Kestrine* ed estendere i loro interessi addirittura al sud dell'Epiro in presenza di una forte *enclave* corcirese ai confini meridionali del loro territorio<sup>100</sup>. Solo dopo i rovesci militari del 429, pertanto, sarebbe iniziata la fase di ripiegamento di cui si diceva, all'origine di una temporanea rioccupazione corcirese delle *teiche* sulla terraferma (427 a.C.) e, se è giusta l'ipotesi di L. Moscati Castelnuovo, di effimere pretese tesprote

<sup>95</sup> Giorgi, Bogdani 2012, 368, con riferimento al *Periplo del Mediterraneo* dello Pseudo-Scilace e alla lista dei teorodochi di Epidauro (IG IV<sup>2</sup> 94-95). *Contra* Melfi 2012, 23.

<sup>96</sup> Cabanes 2007, 230.

<sup>97</sup> Hernandez 2017, 220-230, 256-258.

<sup>98</sup> Sull'assenza di ceramica, negli scavi in profondità nell'area del foro, per il periodo 475-350 a.C. vd. Hernandez 2007, 220, 229, 260, che non avanza ipotesi sulle ragioni di questo vuoto.

<sup>99</sup> Strab. 7, 7, 5, che si rifà a Teopompo di Chio. Cf. Cabanes 2007, 229-231; Giorgi, Bogdani 2012, 363-366.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.* per le fonti sulle spedizioni epirote-ambraciote contro l'Acarnania.



sulla *Kestrine* che avrebbero contribuito al diffondersi delle tradizioni troiane nel sud della Caonia<sup>101</sup>.

Strettamente legato alla componente caona – anche se forse, all’origine, maturato in un contesto culturale che risente ancora dell’influenza corcirese – è invece il culto asclepiadeo che nel corso dell’età ellenistica, come convincentemente dimostrato da M. Melfi<sup>102</sup>, impronterà alle proprie esigenze rituali la strutturazione architettonica dell’intero quartiere alle pendici sud dell’acropoli (Fig. 6). È sul momento iniziale del culto salutare a Butrinto che occorre soffermarsi prima di ripercorrere brevemente le tappe dello sviluppo monumentale dell’*Asklepieion* ellenistico. Si è infatti generalmente sostenuto che l’impianto del culto di Asclepio nel centro epirota sarebbe avvenuto nel tardo IV secolo o, più realisticamente e in coincidenza con la più antica documentazione da Corfù, tra la fine del IV e l’inizio del III sec. a.C.<sup>103</sup> A sostegno di tale assunto si sono perlopiù evocati, in assenza di dati stratigrafici in grado di certificare la cronologia delle strutture, alcuni dei materiali ceramici restituiti dalla stipe del cd. Sacello di Esculapio<sup>104</sup> e un rilievo in marmo greco, raffigurante forse il dio, rinvenuto da D. Mustilli dietro la scena del teatro dell’*Asklepieion*<sup>105</sup>.

Relativamente ai primi, raccolti apparentemente in un unico momento all’interno di un piccolo vano comunicante con la cella del tempio sul lato ovest del teatro, va però rilevato che nessuno di essi, a un primo esame, può essere datato con certezza in età alto-ellenistica<sup>106</sup>. È il caso del *kantharos* con iscrizione graffita di *Nikadas* figlio di *Nikaïos* (Fig. 7), che per forma e decorazione trova confronto in esemplari inquadrabili tra la seconda metà del III e l’iniziale II sec.

<sup>101</sup> Moscati Castelnovo 1986. Sull’occupazione delle fortezze della terraferma da parte degli *oligoï* corcirese, avvenuta secondo Hernandez 2017, 220-221 in una fase di abbandono dell’abitato di Butrinto: Thuc. 3, 85, 2.

<sup>102</sup> Melfi 2007.

<sup>103</sup> Melfi 2012, 24-25, con riferimenti a due iscrizioni corfiote relative alla sistemazione di un edificio e di un altare consacrati ad Asclepio.

<sup>104</sup> Ugolini 1942, 125-146.

<sup>105</sup> Mustilli 1941, 700-701 e fig. 19. Il rilievo è attualmente esposto nel Museo di Butrinto.

<sup>106</sup> I materiali della “favissa” dell’*Asklepieion*, della maggior parte dei quali rimangono solo le fotografie pubblicate da Ugolini, sono stati oggetto di uno studio preliminare da parte di Anna Gamberini e Nadia Aleotti (Università di Bologna), che ne hanno presentato i risultati insieme allo scrivente in occasione del 19° Convegno Internazionale di Archeologia Classica organizzato dall’AIAC (Colonia-Bonn, 22-26 maggio 2018). Ringrazio Anna Gamberini per aver condiviso con me i risultati emersi nella fase preliminare dello studio.

a.C.<sup>107</sup> Quanto al rilievo (Fig. 8), lo scopritore ne proponeva una datazione al principio del IV sec. a.C., abbassata di qualche decennio, ma mai radicalmente ridiscussa, dalla letteratura successiva<sup>108</sup>. Lo schema iconografico della divinità “in maestà”, con il braccio sinistro levato a reggere uno scettro e il destro piegato lungo il fianco o poggiato al bracciolo del trono, deriva effettivamente da modelli tardo-classici e compare in rilievi votivi di soggetto asclepiadeo<sup>109</sup>. Vari elementi dell'esemplare di Butrinto, tuttavia, ne suggeriscono una datazione recenziore, a partire dall'impostazione rilassata della figura, con il petto e l'addome girati di tre quarti verso l'osservatore, che ha i suoi referenti formali nell'ambito della prima età ellenistica<sup>110</sup>. È però soprattutto la resa stilistica a contrastare con la cronologia alta: tanto il modellato classicistico delle masse muscolari quanto il trattamento dei panneggi, a pieghe parallele e ripetitive nell'avvolgimento dell'*himation* intorno ai fianchi e al di sotto dell'addome<sup>111</sup>, a solchi regolari ottenuti con scalpello a punta dritta nella caduta del pannello dal braccio sinistro<sup>112</sup>, hanno infatti i loro migliori confronti nella scultura dell'età augustea, alla quale si può proporre prudentemente di riferire il frammento.

<sup>107</sup> Ugolini 1942, 131 e tav. XVII (datato al I sec. a.C.). *Contra* Melfi 2007, 30, n. 49 (fine IV-inizi III sec. a.C.). Per i confronti vd. Dekoulakou 2011, tav. 2,  $\alpha$ - $\epsilon$  (da Patrasso, Corinto, Istmia e Atene); Zachos 2008, 122 (dal cd. *nekyomanteion* di Mesopotamon). Un esemplare molto simile, proveniente da una tomba di via G. Cugini a Taranto e ugualmente databile alla fine del III-inizi II sec. a.C., è esposto al Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Taranto (inv. 118927).

<sup>108</sup> Da ultimo Melfi 2012, 24-25.

<sup>109</sup> E.g. Comella 2002, Atene 179 (205 e fig. 42), Epidauro 3 (211 e fig. 78), Gortyna 1 (212 e fig. 85), Pergamo 2 (217-218 e fig. 84). Per questi rilievi della fine del V sec. l'A. ipotizza un comune modello statuario, probabilmente epidaurio: *ibid.*, 55, 84. Come confronto di IV sec. si può citare lo Zeus in trono della Tribuna di Eshmun: Stucky 1984, 14, n. 11 e tav. 9, 4.

<sup>110</sup> Vd. i confronti richiamati da Di Franco 2016 per un rilievo del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (inv. 6694), con bibliografia.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. un rilievo con danzatrice di Baia (Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei) databile nella piena età augustea: Di Franco 2017, 172-173 e fig. 110, cat. 52. Ringrazio l'amico e collega Luca Di Franco (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Taranto) per i preziosi suggerimenti e il fondamentale aiuto nella ridefinizione della cronologia del rilievo. Un analogo trattamento del pannello, a Butrinto, si osserva nella lastra marmorea con Vittoria appoggiata a una corazza, rinvenuta da Ugolini nella piana di Vrina e ora ritenuta augustea: Hansen 2007, 52 e fig. 4.10, con bibliografia.

<sup>112</sup> Ai rilievi di Ravenna e del Museo Archeologico di Algeri (De Maria 2015, con bibliografia) si può affiancare quello ercolanese cd. di Telefo: Di Franco 2017, 137 ss. e fig. 98, cat. 23.

La tesi che situa la genesi dell'*Asklepieion* tra la fine del IV e l'inizio del III sec. a.C., di per sé non impossibile alla luce del quadro storico generale, non trova dunque allo stato attuale alcuna conferma a livello di documentazione materiale. Per quanto attiene alle fasi edilizie del complesso, il solo caposaldo cronologico sufficientemente affidabile del quale si disponga è fornito dall'iscrizione di dedica del teatro, realizzato con le rendite sacre del dio nel periodo del *koinon* degli Epiroti (232-167 a.C.)<sup>113</sup>. La motivazione della dedica implica tuttavia l'esistenza di un santuario già sufficientemente affermato, in grado di tradurre la ricchezza accumulata in un'opera di incremento della propria attrezzatura monumentale. Dall'iscrizione si ricava inoltre un sia pur vago *terminus ante quem* per quelle che si è portati a ritenere le più antiche componenti architettoniche del complesso, la cui preesistenza è all'origine delle vistose irregolarità del *koilon* del teatro: la *stoa* a est, interpretata come *enkoimeterion* e in collegamento con un apprestamento idraulico, e il precedente ellenistico del Sacello di Esculapio sul lato opposto<sup>114</sup>. Per queste strutture, in linea di massima, è ammissibile una datazione anteriore all'ultimo quarto del III secolo, per quanto le iscrizioni dall'*Asklepieion*, ancora una volta, non risalgano più indietro del 232. Si tratta di un numero limitato di testi<sup>115</sup> sufficienti a collocare in questa fase l'inizio della prassi dell'*apeleutherosis*, che conoscerà un sensibile incremento nel successivo periodo del *koinon* dei *Prasaiboi* (*post* 163 a.C.)<sup>116</sup>. È questa la stagione di massima fioritura del santuario, destinata a trapassare senza soluzione di continuità nelle ristrutturazioni e addizioni architettoniche di epoca alto e medio-imperiale. In questa sede non è possibile delineare le complesse problematiche concernenti lo sviluppo edilizio dell'*Asklepieion* e il rapporto funzionale tra le sue componenti, a partire dal sacello-*thesauros* e dal tempio prostilo sulla terrazza che domina il teatro<sup>117</sup>. Se per quest'ultimo si può ormai confermare la dedica ad Asclepio, come già intuito da M. Melfi, resta sostanzialmente da chiarire la relazione cronologica con il sottostante sacello, la cui destinazione prevalentemente utilitaria (*thesauros*)

<sup>113</sup> CIGIME 2, 71-72, nr. 7. La menzione del solo *prostates* dei Caoni e non dello *strategos* degli Epiroti, secondo gli autori, non esclude del tutto l'ipotesi "d'une dédicace à l'époque royale avant 232", ritenuta tuttavia meno probabile.

<sup>114</sup> Melfi 2007.

<sup>115</sup> Quelli sicuramente anteriori al 167 sono solo sei: CIGIME 2, 67-71, nrr. 1-6.

<sup>116</sup> CIGIME 2, 79-125, nrr. 14-65.

<sup>117</sup> Per una prima proposta vd. Mancini 2013, 79-81, 88-90.

potrebbe essersi venuta affermando nel tempo<sup>118</sup>. All'interno del tempio prostilo (verosimilmente tetrastilo) al di sopra del teatro (Fig. 9) si nota del resto un avvicinarsi di fasi che hanno lasciato una traccia nel palinsesto delle stesure pavimentali<sup>119</sup>: vi si riconoscono due fasi principali, ascrivibili preliminarmente a un momento non troppo alto dell'età ellenistica (fascia periferica con motivo a onde correnti ed pseudo-*emblema* con serpente arrotolato<sup>120</sup>) e all'età romana imperiale (tappeto di rombi a tessere bianche e nere), separati dalla posa di un basamento funzionale a sostenere il plinto della statua di culto e probabilmente una *trapeza*; basamento che sarebbe allettante relazionare, sulla scorta di una recente ipotesi di M. Melfi, alla dedica di un *hedos* che un appunto di L. Morricone consente forse di attribuire a Damofonte di Messene<sup>121</sup>. Quanto all'ordine architettonico dell'edificio, il capitello ionico figurato attualmente conservato sulla terrazza – del quale si ignora il luogo di rinvenimento – presenta un diametro al collarino (m 0,32 ca.) in apparenza troppo ridotto per risultare compatibile con le dimensioni della fronte<sup>122</sup>.

#### 2.4. *Phoinike*: le novità dall'area della presunta *agora* ellenistica

Venendo all'altro dei principali centri urbani della Caonia, la cui genesi si conforma a dinamiche più consuete all'orizzonte indigeno, le novità senza dubbio più rilevanti per la storia del paesaggio sacro riguardano la rilettura funzionale dell'edificio ellenistico indicato convenzionalmente con il nome di *Thesaurus*. Saggi in profondità eseguiti a partire dal 2014 nell'area antistante, come anticipato nella prima parte di questo lavoro, hanno infatti imposto di ripensare radicalmente la destinazione di quello che, in base ai resti visibili, era

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Melfi 2007; Mancini 2013, 89-90.

<sup>119</sup> Su questo edificio, oggetto di una recente revisione, è in preparazione un contributo di dettaglio: supra, n. 42.

<sup>120</sup> Dalla pubblicazione di Marika, Nesturi 2009-2010 [2014] si è potuta ricostruire la vicenda, passata quasi sotto silenzio, dell'asportazione dello pseudo-*emblema* nel corso degli anni '80 e del suo trasferimento a Tirana, dove si trova tuttora. Per un primo inquadramento del mosaico vd. ora Raynaud, Islami 2018, 24-34, 213-218.

<sup>121</sup> Melfi 2016.

<sup>122</sup> Podini 2014, 147-148, cat. nr. 26 e tavv. 3, c, 14, f, 15, a: avanzato III-II sec. a.C.

stato interpretato come un tempietto *in antis*<sup>123</sup>. Decisive si sono rivelate in particolare le campagne 2016-17, che hanno confermato la prosecuzione in fondazione del perimetrale est della struttura (Fig. 10) ben al di là della lunghezza ammissibile per il pronao di un piccolo tempio<sup>124</sup>. Un analogo prolungamento si è riscontrato sul lato ovest, a partire da quella che si riteneva essere l'anta della porta di accesso alla cella: questa può essere ora interpretata come il primo di una serie di contrafforti a pilastro che articolavano il muro di fondo di una costruzione a sviluppo longitudinale<sup>125</sup>, probabilmente una *stoa* a navata unica destinata a delimitare verso est un'area aperta (la presunta *agora* ellenistica) e a contenere sul lato ovest una terrazza ubicata a una quota superiore<sup>126</sup>. Il riutilizzo del lato breve nord del supposto portico come battistero della basilica edificata in età proto-bizantina al centro della piazza, di contro alla sistematica spoliazione delle altre parti della costruzione fino a una quota di un metro e mezzo e più al di sotto del calpestio antico, ha quindi isolato visivamente quella che di fatto era solo una parte di un edificio più ampio, la sola che abbia conservato alcune assise dell'elevato. Alla luce dei risultati delle ultime indagini, pertanto, il principale centro amministrativo del *koionon* degli Epiroti è rimasto privo di un edificio cultuale.

Non sono comunque mancati, nelle recenti campagne di scavo, i rinvenimenti in grado di confermare almeno indirettamente lo svolgimento di attività rituali in connessione con il settore centrale del pianoro sommitale della collina, per quanto il loro rapporto topografico con l'area pubblica interpretata come *agora* non possa essere al momento precisato. Si allude in particolare al rinvenimento, effettuato nel 2012 e preliminarmente pubblicato<sup>127</sup>, di un deposito di materiale

<sup>123</sup> Per i risultati della campagna 2014, l'ultima edita, vd. Mancini 2015, 21-25, dove già si apriva alla possibilità di una diversa ricostruzione dell'edificio. Per la bibliografia precedente sul cd. *Thesauros* vd. supra, S. De Maria e n. 39.

<sup>124</sup> Un saggio nella navata nord della basilica ha intercettato, al di sopra del banco roccioso affiorante a una profondità di - 2 m ca. rispetto alla quota 0 (m 261,78 s.l.m.), due assise di una fondazione rettilinea allineata col perimetrale est del cd. *Thesauros*, che con esso raggiunge la lung. di m 11 ca. La fondazione, che non è stato possibile mettere in luce nella sua interezza, prosegue al di là del limite sud del saggio.

<sup>125</sup> Del secondo pilastro verso sud, nel 2014, era stata individuata la fossa di spoliazione, allora riferita al perimetrale ovest del pronao: Mancini 2015, 23 e fig. 2.23. Nel corso della successiva campagna lo scavo del riempimento ha rivelato la presenza sul fondo di alcuni blocchi superstiti del piede della fondazione, chiaramente pertinenti a un pilastro.

<sup>126</sup> Rinaldi 2015b, 16 e fig. 2.11.

<sup>127</sup> Mancini 2015, 18-21.

coroplastico a una distanza di ca. 25 m dal cd. *Thesaurus*, presso l'angolo nord-ovest dell'*atrium* della basilica cristiana. Il deposito, al di là della sua limitata consistenza, ha una certa importanza, dal momento che è la prima volta a *Phoinike* che materiale votivo viene rinvenuto in un contesto deposizionale sicuramente intenzionale, anche se frutto di dinamiche di collazione secondaria di non immediata decrittazione. Si è rilevato, infatti, il legame tra la formazione del deposito e l'azione di sistemazione urbanistica preliminare all'impianto del complesso ellenistico, consistente in un livellamento delle asperità del banco roccioso mediante il riporto di terreno contenente elevate concentrazioni di ceramica<sup>128</sup>. Analoghe caratteristiche composizionali presentava il riempimento del deposito astrutturato, localizzato in una fenditura della roccia, comprendente quattro protomi-busto frammentarie (Fig. 11) e una grande quantità di ossi animali, malacofauna e frammenti di ceramica non sempre chiaramente riconducibile a un uso rituale ma importante per riferire la formazione del contesto a un orizzonte di avanzato III o II sec. a.C.<sup>129</sup> Non è dunque improbabile che l'azione deposizionale, effettuata all'interno di una più ampia colmata avente finalità almeno in parte utilitarie, abbia assunto un valore sacralizzante in rapporto alla preparazione dell'area della futura *agora*, come ipotizzabile per le monete rinvenute in più punti del pianoro a contatto diretto con il substrato roccioso<sup>130</sup>. Rimane però il problema della provenienza dei materiali depositi, che potrebbe legarsi alla dismissione di votivi e suppellettile sacra a seguito dell'occasionale risistemazione di un'area di culto o della cessazione dell'attività rituale. La natura delle offerte, da questo punto di vista, è particolarmente interessante. Si tratta, come si diceva, di protomi-busto che in almeno tre casi appartengono al tipo abbigliato, con avambracci direzionati in alto, recante sul capo un diadema liscio e

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Si tratta sia di v.n. (*cyma kantharoi*, piatti, ciotole a echino piccole e grandi, balsamari lekythoidi) che di ceramica comune (*lopades*, una pentola ansata, *chytrai*, *lekanai*, mortai, *unquentaria*, anfore corinzie B): Gamberini 2015, 93-94 e fig. 10.2; Ead. 2016, 13-15 (saggio 15). Un uso rituale è ipotizzabile per il piatto a tesa frastagliata, rappresentato da un orlo, del quale erano finora noti pochi esemplari, uno dei quali (interamente ricostruibile) mesonfalico: Gamberini 2015, 93 e fig. 10.5.

<sup>130</sup> Il reiterato rinvenimento di monete sul banco roccioso sottostante i livelli di riporto ellenistici fa ormai decisamente propendere per il riconoscimento dell'intenzionalità della deposizione. Il fenomeno delle offerte monetali di fondazione è stato indagato soprattutto per il mondo romano: Facchinetti 2013 (con bibliografia precedente).

svasato<sup>131</sup>. È noto come tale tipologia di offerta, oggi perlopiù ritenuta rappresentare in forma ‘abbreviata’ l’offerente nel suo status di legittima sposa (*gyne*)<sup>132</sup>, si associ a manifestazioni rituali convenzionalmente definite ‘di passaggio’, i cui referenti divini possono variare a seconda delle regioni e degli usi culturali locali<sup>133</sup>. In Illiria meridionale destinataria della dedica delle protomi è soprattutto Artemide, il cui inequivocabile riconoscimento quale titolare del santuario di Dauta nei pressi di *Epidamnos-Dyrrachion* ha aperto la strada alla rilettura di diversi complessi votivi dell’attuale Albania, in precedenza riferiti (in assenza di appigli epigrafici o di altro genere) al culto di Afrodite<sup>134</sup>. È quindi perfettamente plausibile, vista la contiguità all’ambiente sud-illirico e la centralità assunta da Artemide – almeno dalla fase del *koinon* repubblicano<sup>135</sup> – nel pantheon dei Caoni, che anche nell’Epiro settentrionale si debba ipotizzare un referente artemideo per questo genere di espressioni votive<sup>136</sup>. Un uso simbolico della coroplastica in relazione al patronato di Artemide sui riti di passaggio della fase puberale e adolescenziale femminile è stato di recente evidenziato, almeno per la fase tardo-ellenistica, nella necropoli meridionale di *Phoinike*, dove una sepoltura di giovane subadulta ha restituito una serie di figurine diademate e una testa appartenente al tipo della cd. *Artemis Bendis*<sup>137</sup>. Non sembra finora documentata, invece, la presenza di protomi-busto nelle necropoli dell’Epiro e dell’Illiria meridionale, dove questi materiali si concentrano

<sup>131</sup> Il diadema (termine da preferirsi a *polos*: Mancini 2015, 18, n. 24, con bibliografia) si riconosce chiaramente negli esemplari invv. 146, 147. L’inv. 146 regge un’offerta, probabilmente un frutto, nella mano dx. L’inv. 144, per quanto frammentario, deve essere verosimilmente ricondotto allo stesso tipo.

<sup>132</sup> Huysecm-Haxhi, Muller 2007; Muller 2009.

<sup>133</sup> Lippolis 2001, 236 ss.

<sup>134</sup> Muka 2010, 429-431; Ead. 2015. Sull’*Artemision* di *Dyrrachion* vd. Muka, Muller, Tartari 2014, con riferimenti alla vasta bibliografia precedente.

<sup>135</sup> De Maria, Mercuri 2007, 149-150; Pliakou 2010b, 418.

<sup>136</sup> L’ipotesi di un diverso culto femminile, per quanto meno probabile, non può essere esclusa a priori. Protomi-busto, oltre che negli *Artemisia*, sono infatti documentate in gran numero nei santuari di Demetra e Kore (Sicilia e Magna Grecia) e, in percentuale di gran lunga inferiore, delle Ninfe, di Afrodite, di Era e di Atena: Lippolis 2001, 241-243; Huysecm-Haxhi, Muller 2007, 234. Per un possibile caso di dedica a Kore-Persefone in ambito epirota (santuario di Kyrà Panaghìa presso Paramythià, Tesprozia) vd. Mancini 2017b, 213.

<sup>137</sup> Lepore, Muka 2018, 68 (S5, tomba 39), 340-341. Per un’interpretazione della pelle ferina della cd. *Bendis* in relazione al travestitismo rituale delle giovani sotto il patronato di Artemide vd. Lippolis 2001, 245. Tale interpretazione è accolta da Muller, Tartari 2006, 84-85 per le occorrenze del tipo nell’*Artemision* di *Dyrrachion*.

di preferenza nei santuari e in contesti abitativi<sup>138</sup>. Anche per le protomi feniciote, uscite da matrici differenti e oggetto apparentemente di una scelta preliminare al loro occultamento, la pertinenza a un'area sacra è dunque l'ipotesi più probabile. Resta da chiarire l'ubicazione di quest'ultima e il rapporto cronologico con l'espansione urbanistica di III-II secolo, in relazione alla quale si pone la chiusura del deposito. Il conservativismo del tipo iconografico, purtroppo, impedisce di andare al di là di una generica attribuzione delle protomi al IV-III sec. a.C.<sup>139</sup> Potrebbe dunque trattarsi di materiali anteriori di qualche generazione all'opera di sistemazione urbanistica, forse pertinenti a un santuario obliterato o dislocato in occasione dell'estensione dell'area urbana al settore centrale del pianoro<sup>140</sup>. Ciò sarebbe coerente con l'usuale situazione topografica delle manifestazioni culturali connesse alla dedica delle protomi, le quali, per una sorta di trasferimento sul piano spaziale della nozione antropologica di 'marginie', trovano spesso la propria ambientazione all'esterno o in settori periferici dei nuclei insediativi<sup>141</sup>; circostanza che si verifica, in Epiro e Illiria meridionale, tanto per le realtà urbane di più antica fondazione coloniale (*Artemision* suburbano di *Dyrrachion*) quanto per la rete delle *komai* e dei siti fortificati sparsi sul territorio<sup>142</sup>. Non bisogna tuttavia escludere, allo stato attuale, neppure la possibilità di un'area sacra compresa nell'espansione dell'abitato e della cinta muraria destinata a contenerlo. Si verrebbe in tal modo a

<sup>138</sup> È il caso delle protomi-busto dal cd. *nekyomanteion* di Mesopotamon, con ogni probabilità una fattoria fortificata del tipo a *pyrgos*: Mancini 2017b, 210-212 (con bibliografia) e fig. 3. Per un altro esemplare tesprota da contesto d'abitato (Avlotosos Souliou): Kanta-Kitsou, Palli, Anagnostou 2008, 76.

<sup>139</sup> Ringrazio la prof.ssa Belisa Muka (Istituto di Archeologia di Tirana) per i preziosi suggerimenti in merito alla datazione. Sul conservativismo delle protomi-busto: Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2006, 11-12.

<sup>140</sup> Per il rinvenimento, in uno dei riporti artificiali del settore nord-ovest dell'*agora*, di una coppetta miniaturistica simile a quelle rinvenute nell'*Artemision* di *Dyrrachion* e, poco a sud dell'*agora*, di un altro fr. di protome-busto vd. Mancini 2015, 21, n. 32.

<sup>141</sup> Lippolis 2001, 236, 239.

<sup>142</sup> Per l'Epiro si segnalano il santuario rurale di Kyrà Panaghìa in Tesprozia (Svana 2015, con bibliografia precedente; Mancini 2017b, 212-213) e, in Molossia, il deposito di Vaxià sulla sponda est del lago di Ioannina (Pliakou 2010b, 416-417). Illiria meridionale: deposito lacustre di Belsh et Seferan (Muka 2010, 430-431; Ead. 2015). Una collocazione intramuranea, pur in riferimento a un abitato di modesta estensione, è indicata soltanto per il deposito di Gradishtë (Symiza): Muka 2010, 429-430. Due protomi-busto sono state rinvenute anche nella grotta di Konispol, al confine tra i comprensori tribali dei Caoni e dei Molossi: Amore 2006, 111, nrr. 22-23.



configurare una prossimità topografica a quello che si presume essere il centro (fisico e verosimilmente anche istituzionale) della *Phoinike* medio-ellenistica, anomala per un tipo di religiosità così connesso al concetto di *eschatia*. Avremmo una conferma, per il momento soltanto ipotetica, di quella capacità aggregante in rapporto alla geografia dei culti che nella prima parte di questo lavoro si è attribuita ai centri urbani della Caonia, all'origine di un assetto del paesaggio sacro che in rapporto ad altre aree dell'Epiro manifesta una minore aderenza al sistema *kata komas*.

Un discorso analogo riguarda l'attestazione epigrafica di un culto a *Poseidon* nell'area urbana di *Phoinike*, la cui precisa ubicazione, anche in questo caso, non può essere purtroppo precisata. Si tratta del già citato atto di affrancamento per consacrazione al dio, inciso su una stele reimpiegata come segnacolo di una sepoltura medievale, che in base alla forma delle lettere e alla menzione dello *strategos* degli Epiroti può essere datata nella seconda metà del III sec. a.C.<sup>143</sup> Il dato che interessa evidenziare è la dimensione istituzionale e politica chiaramente attribuita a *Poseidon*, sotto la cui tutela – secondo un uso ben documentato in Epiro in relazione a diversi referenti divini<sup>144</sup> – si pone una prassi socialmente rilevante come l'*apeleutherosis*. Una dedica al dio all'incirca contemporanea proviene dal versante est dell'altura di Jerma e attesta la presenza di un culto *extra moenia* ma probabilmente in qualche relazione con il centro di Antigonea, che ne occupa il pianoro sommitale<sup>145</sup>. Il signore delle acque interne e dei terremoti, che in Illiria meridionale si tiene lontano dagli agglomerati urbani – a eccezione di *Byllis*<sup>146</sup> – e predilige gli spazi aperti e montagnosi toccati dai percorsi della transumanza, nella vicina Caonia intrattiene dunque un legame non occasionale con la vita religiosa e

<sup>143</sup> Vd. supra, S. De Maria. Ugolini 1932, nel paragrafo di sintesi sulle sepolture di età bizantina (212), menziona il rinvenimento della stele già pubblicata a p. 147 s. (nr. 1), senza specificare la pertinenza della tomba al “gruppo più folto” intorno alla “chiesa bizantina e presso il tesoro-battistero” (cf. Mancini 2011) ovvero al secondo gruppo “nella parte sud-est dell'acropoli”, identificabile con l'area A5 recentemente oggetto di nuove indagini. In assenza di altre indicazioni, non è possibile stabilire la provenienza dell'iscrizione dalla zona dell'*agora* o dal settore est della collina.

<sup>144</sup> Mentre a Dodona prevale la formula cd. di tipo ‘civile’, l'affrancamento in forma di dedica sacra, oltre che a *Phoinike*, è attestato a Butrinto (Asclepio, Zeus *Soter*) e *Gitana* (*Themis*). Cf. Antonetti 2010b, 305-306, con bibliografia.

<sup>145</sup> Vd. CIGIME 3, 64-65, nr. 66 (con datazione al III sec. a.C. di contro alle precedenti attribuzioni al II-I sec.) e supra, S. De Maria. Cf. Quantin 2004, 174, nr. 9 e 161, con bibliografia su una probabile figurina bronzea di *Poseidon* da Antigonea.

<sup>146</sup> Quantin 2004, 161, 173-174, nrr. 6-7; CIGIME 3, 217-218, nrr. 304-305.

istituzionale delle città, pur mantenendo gli stessi caratteri di divinità “continentale” perfettamente a suo agio tra colline e alture<sup>147</sup>. Non è pertanto escluso che l’assenza di testimonianze di una più capillare presenza di *Poseidon* sul territorio della Caonia, in particolare nel bacino del Drinos, affluente dell’*Aoos/Vjosa* lungo il cui corso si concentra la maggior parte dei documenti sud-illirici<sup>148</sup>, sia imputabile alla casualità dei rinvenimenti e alla mancanza di strutturazione architettonica di questo genere di santuari.

Una qualche veste monumentale – eventualmente anche modesta, come quella che doveva caratterizzare, nell’Epiro meridionale, il santuario individuato a breve distanza dalla cinta muraria di Ambracia, che il rinvenimento di figurine di tori ha indotto ad attribuire a *Poseidon* o ad una divinità fluviale<sup>149</sup> – è invece ipotizzabile per i luoghi di culto urbani o suburbani. Quel che manca, allo stato attuale, è proprio una matura conoscenza dell’edilizia di culto dei Caoni nei suoi aspetti planimetrici, tecnico-costruttivi e decorativi. Al di fuori di Butrinto, come si è visto, i principali centri urbani della Caonia non offrono contesti sicuramente identificabili, a parte qualche sporadica segnalazione di materiali architettonici e, per la fase tardo-ellenistica, l’enigmatico sacello 6 alle pendici sud della collina di *Phoinike*, il cui rapporto con l’adiacente necropoli presenta ancora molti punti oscuri<sup>150</sup>. Per supplire alla carenza di dati dagli insediamenti urbani occorre rivolgersi a due siti del territorio fenichiota, che per quanto indagati in modo molto parziale presentano vestigia interessanti e non ancora sufficientemente valorizzate sotto il profilo architettonico.

<sup>147</sup> Sul culto di *Poseidon* in Epiro e Illiria meridionale e sul suo legame con l’allevamento bovino, con interessanti paralleli a est del Pindo: Quantin 2004.

<sup>148</sup> Sulle stele con rilievi taurini e dediche a *Poseidon* (in un caso con Anfritre) dalla valle della *Vjosa* a nord di Tepelene cf. Quantin 2004 e CIGIME 3, 65-66, nrr. 67-68; 102-103, nrr. 98-99; 246-247, nr. 391.

<sup>149</sup> Kernos 18, 2005, *ChronARG*, 480-481 (F. Quantin), con bibliografia.

<sup>150</sup> Sul tempio 6 della necropoli di *Phoinike* e sul suo precedente alto-ellenistico si rimanda alla recentissima messa a punto di Lepore, Muka 2018, 131-136 (S18). I resti di un basamento in opera trapezoidale che potrebbe aver ospitato un edificio pubblico (sito B10) – largamente compromessi da escavazioni moderne – sono stati individuati nel 2000, nel corso di una ricognizione non lontano dal tratto centrale della cinta muraria nord: Lepore et al. 2002, 47-48 (R. Villicich) e figg. 30, 33. Cf. De Maria, Mercuri 2007, 168-169, dove si ipotizza che possa trattarsi di un edificio sacro.

## 2.5. Edilizia di culto nel territorio di *Phoinike*: Dobra e Mesopotam

L'esistenza di un santuario ellenistico nel sito di Dobra, lungo l'importante asse di comunicazione della valle della Pavla, che costituiva l'accesso al territorio di *Phoinike* dalla *Kestrine* e dalla Tesprozia ancora più a sud<sup>151</sup>, è indiziata dal rinvenimento di due sculture senza dubbio cultuali delle quali si è già detto nel § 1. Non si intende in questa sede ritornare sull'interpretazione delle statue (Fig. 3) – che sembrano attestare un culto congiunto di Demetra e Artemide, con forti rimandi al *milieu* peloponnesiaco – e sulla loro attribuzione a un ambito cronologico e formale che risente della lezione di Damofonte di Messene<sup>152</sup>. Si cercherà invece di fornire un più preciso inquadramento degli unici resti architettonici riferibili con buone probabilità al santuario. Si tratta di una struttura lineare in opera quadrata (Fig. 4), conservata per una lunghezza di poco più di m 15,70 e per un'altezza massima di quattro assise (m 1,90), ubicata a valle della residenza fortificata che occupa il punto più elevato del ripiano terrazzato. Al di sopra dell'*euthynteria*, appena affiorante dalla superficie del terreno, le assise presentano un'altezza variabile e una diversa sporgenza rispetto al filo dell'elevato: il secondo filare, alto m 0,57, si presenta infatti notevolmente arretrato in rapporto al sottostante *toichobates*, la cui faccia di attesa viene dunque a creare un gradino della profondità di m 0,30 ca.; seguono due ulteriori assise di altezza decrescente, leggermente aggettanti, che dovevano segnare la transizione tra lo zoccolo e uno o più filari di coronamento, la cui facciavista riprendeva il filo dello zoccolo<sup>153</sup>. La conservazione pressoché integrale dell'assisa sovrastante il *toichobates* attesta che la struttura appena descritta si estendeva per l'intera lunghezza del basamento, mentre non è rimasta traccia di un eventuale ripiegamento di quest'ultimo sui lati. Si trattava pertanto di una muraglia continua provvista inferiormente di una sorta di gradino o seduta e destinata a contenere la terrazza retrostante, il cui riempimento raggiungeva la quota dell'ultima assisa superstite<sup>154</sup>. In rapporto a un normale muro di

<sup>151</sup> Giorgi, Bogdani 2012, 193-194 (SA03).

<sup>152</sup> De Maria, Mercuri 2007.

<sup>153</sup> La faccia di attesa dell'unico blocco superstite della quarta assisa è preparata per la posa di un ulteriore filare e presenta solchi per leva per facilitarne la messa in opera.

<sup>154</sup> Il retro del blocco di coronamento e degli elementi dell'assisa sottostante presenta un profilo irregolare e appena sbozzato, come nel caso dei blocchi del lato

terrazzamento, tuttavia, la struttura ci appare realizzata in una tecnica più raffinata, costituendo un prospetto architettonico non privo di valenze estetiche: i blocchi, di taglio molto regolare, presentano un trattamento delle facce a vista analogo a quello dei paramenti interni del cd. *Thesauros* di *Phoinike* e dell'adiacente gradinata, con superfici finemente picchiettate e tenoni triangolari (quadrangolari sull'ultimo filare) dall'indubbia funzione decorativa. Nel suo complesso, dunque, la struttura di Dobra sembrerebbe interpretabile come la fronte di una terrazza funzionalmente paragonabile a quella che a Butrinto sorreggeva il tempio al di sopra del teatro, ma con una più spiccata valenza scenografica che potrebbe lasciar presagire una maggiore elaborazione monumentale. Del tempio che doveva costituirne il coronamento non si conservano resti, a eccezione delle due statue rinvenute nelle vicinanze e custodite verosimilmente al suo interno. Proprio il confronto con il tempio di Butrinto può fornire un seppur labile spunto alla ridefinizione della cronologia della struttura, avvicinandola a quella proposta per le sculture: al di là della generica analogia della tecnica costruttiva, infatti, si può notare l'impiego nella seconda assisa di grappe a doppia coda di rondine della stessa lunghezza (m 0,22) di quella visibile nell'angolo nord-ovest della cella del tempio dell'*Asklepieion*<sup>155</sup>. Da un particolare tecnico non si può naturalmente dedurre un'omogeneità di datazione, ma è senza dubbio significativo che i materiali dalla fattoria fortificata subito a monte del santuario rimandino a un orizzonte medio-ellenistico (fine III-II sec. a.C.)<sup>156</sup> coerente con quello suggerito dai confronti.

Ancora più vicino a *Phoinike*, a poco più di 6 km in direzione nord-est, nell'area del moderno villaggio di Mesopotam doveva sorgere un piccolo agglomerato comprendente almeno un'area di sepoltura<sup>157</sup> e un santuario. Quest'ultimo può essere ubicato in corrispondenza del monastero alto-medievale di San Nicola (Shën Kollit: Fig. 12), su un poggio la cui originaria situazione topografica – di isola compresa tra

ovest del prolungamento del cd. *Thesauros* di *Phoinike*, contro i quali poggiava la terra dell'adiacente terrazza.

<sup>155</sup> Nell'architettura templare dell'Epiro, grappe a doppia coda di rondine – ma di maggiore lunghezza: cm 30 – sono attestate nell'*oikos* dell'Edificio E1 di Dodona (fase I): Evangelidis, Dakaris 1959, 37, fig. 29  $\alpha$ . Più frequente è l'impiego di grappe a II, che nella struttura di Dobra si osservano nella terza assisa.

<sup>156</sup> Giorgi, Bogdani 2012, 194, con bibliografia.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 228-229 (SA156).

due rami del fiume Bistrica – è alla radice del toponimo Mesopotam<sup>158</sup>. La presenza in questo luogo di un tempio è indiziata da una grande quantità di membri architettonici e materiali edilizi, reimpiegati nelle murature della chiesa o conservati nei paraggi e in alcuni casi al suo interno. Si tratta di materiali eterogenei dal punto di vista cronologico e tipologico, una parte dei quali, tuttavia, può essere ordinata in serie che per consistenza numerica, dimensioni e qualità degli elementi appaiono riferibili a un edificio monumentale che si è portati a localizzare nel sito della chiesa. La costruzione cristiana, infatti, si imposta su una piattaforma di grandi lastre di calcare – in parte verosimilmente *in situ*, in parte dislocate e inzeppate con frammenti laterizi – che sembrerebbero appartenere allo stereobate di un unico edificio. All'elevato di quest'ultimo si riferiscono invece i blocchi, di taglio regolare e accuratamente lisciati sulla facciavista, di un elegante apparecchio rettangolare in calcare bianco, incorporati fino a un massimo di sette assise nei muri esterni della chiesa<sup>159</sup>. È verosimile che questi resti fossero i “soubassements d'une enceinte” che i monaci di San Nicola mostrarono al console francese F. Pouqueville nella prima metà del XIX secolo, ascrivendoli a un tempio dedicato a Marte<sup>160</sup>. A esso erano poi attribuiti i fusti di sette colonne di granito, uno dei quali può essere ancora osservato all'esterno del lato sud della chiesa<sup>161</sup>. Si tratta di parte del fusto monolitico di una colonna liscia (Fig. 13, a sx.), del diametro massimo di m 0,44, in granito grigio misio o della Troade, di un tipo ben noto in Caonia in relazione a commesse edilizie di età severiana o di poco successive<sup>162</sup>. Compatibile sul piano dimensionale, materico e cronologico con queste colonne è un capitello corinzio-asiatico in marmo probabilmente proconnesio (Fig. 13, a dx.) che si conserva attualmente all'interno della chiesa<sup>163</sup>. A un edificio di una certa dimensione genericamente databile all'età ellenistica – forse, ma è solo un'ipotesi, un precedente del probabile

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 49 e, part. sul monastero di San Nicola, 175-178 nr. SA016, con bibliografia.

<sup>159</sup> Anche per la maggior parte di questi blocchi, dei quali Meksi 1972, 88-89 nega la provenienza da un edificio antico, è ipotizzabile una rimessa in opera.

<sup>160</sup> Riferimenti e ampio commento alla fonte in Rambaldi 2007, 198-200.

<sup>161</sup> Podini 2014, 196, cat. nr. 159 e tav. 42, e, che attribuisce alla medesima serie gli esemplari intonacati messi in opera all'interno della chiesa.

<sup>162</sup> Podini 2014, 116.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., 160-161, cat. nr. 51 e tav. 21, c. Su questa tipologia di capitello e il suo legame coi fusti in granito microasiatico, entrambi documentati soprattutto a Butrinto: Podini 2014, 115-116, con bibliografia.

tempio dell'inizio del III sec. d.C. – pertiene infine una serie di frammenti di fusti di colonne in calcare di ordine dorico (Fig. 14), con scanalature poco profonde e un diametro massimo di m 0,55-0,57<sup>164</sup>.

## 2.6. Conclusioni

Ettore Lepore, con la cui citazione si è aperta questa sintesi sui paesaggi sacri dell'Epiro settentrionale, attribuiva ai Caoni strutture economiche e sociali più evolute di quelle degli altri *ethne* epiroti, frutto di un più precoce e duraturo contatto “con lo sviluppo economico di tipo greco di Corcira”<sup>165</sup>. Questa idea, che risente di una concezione ancora in parte evoluzionistica della storia delle istituzioni, destinate a muoversi dal semplice (l'*ethnos*) al complesso (la *polis*) a seguito del contatto con realtà maggiormente strutturate, ci appare oggi decisamente superata. Alla base di essa vi è una conoscenza ancora troppo parziale delle dinamiche insediative della regione<sup>166</sup>, che proietta nel V sec. a.C. l'insorgere di formazioni urbane e tradizioni costruttive che al di fuori della perea corcirese sappiamo essere un fenomeno molto più tardo. Tuttavia, ancora oggi, se vogliamo cercare una qualche specificità della Caonia in rapporto agli altri comprensori etnici dell'Epiro, finiamo inevitabilmente per riconoscerla in una modalità di organizzazione dello spazio “qui rappelle le système de la *polis* en Grèce centrale et méridionale”<sup>167</sup>. I Caoni cioè, pur in presenza di un quadro socio-politico dominato non dalla città-stato, ma dalla tribù e dall'*ethnos* con le loro tipiche espressioni associative (i *koina*), a partire dal III sec. a.C. ci appaiono organizzati intorno a due grandi centri urbani – *Phoinike* e Antigonea – posti al centro di territori ben definiti anche sul piano fisiografico<sup>168</sup>. Ai confini e nei punti nevralgici di questi comprensori si collocano insediamenti e fattorie fortificati che, pur fungendo da centri di *koina* minori e controllando un limitato areale,

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., 190, cat. nrr. 132-134 e tav. 38, a-d. I frr. superstiti appaiono dimezzati lungo il diametro e spesso rilavorati, tanto che l'A. non ne esclude la pertinenza a semicolonne.

<sup>165</sup> Lepore 1962, 155.

<sup>166</sup> Giorgi, Bogdani 2012, 366, n. 55.

<sup>167</sup> Cabanes 2007, 228.

<sup>168</sup> Butrinto, nonostante la sua precoce fama di *polis* già nota a Ecateo (FGrHist 1, 106 = St. Byz., s.v. Ἐπίροτος), rimane per lungo tempo in disparte, per poi riemergere all'indomani del terzo conflitto romano-macedonico come centro religioso e amministrativo di un *koinon* autonomo.

risultano aggregati a un più ampio sistema strategico, funzionale alla difesa e allo sfruttamento economico del territorio della città “capitale”<sup>169</sup>. Tale sistema, non sconosciuto alle altre regioni epirote, in Caonia assume un carattere particolarmente vistoso, finendo per occultare la pur onnipresente rete delle *komai*.

Possiamo parlare di un riflesso di questo sistema sulla morfologia dei fatti religiosi e sulla loro distribuzione territoriale? In un certo senso sì, a patto di non estremizzarlo e di ammettere che il riconoscimento di una specificità “etnica” dei Caoni sul piano dei culti e, a maggior ragione, su quello dell’edilizia cultuale è comunque vanificato dalla scarsità delle testimonianze. È però significativo che l’unico culto in qualche modo comune noto, purtroppo, unicamente dalla documentazione epigrafica<sup>170</sup> sia quello di un’Atena la cui epiclesi – *Polias* – si associa alla menzione di una *polis ton Chaonon*: non una città-stato ma la ‘comunità politica’ dei Caoni che ha certamente una propria “capitale” (*Phoinike*) ma non si identifica con essa, pur mutuando dal lessico delle città-stato un termine istituzionale – e un’epiclesi da esso derivata – che evoca istintivamente la nozione di ‘centro’<sup>171</sup>. Atena è dunque la divinità armata che si erge a difesa dell’integrità dell’*ethnos* e ne sorveglia i delicati confini, così come le fortezze poste alle frontiere e in corrispondenza dei valichi di accesso ai territori di *Phoinike* e Antigonea ne assicurano l’integrità e l’ordinata conduzione.

Un’analoga funzione di salvaguardia, a ben vedere, è svolta dai luoghi di culto che si dispongono lungo i confini e le direttrici viarie disegnati dall’orografia e dall’idrografia: non è dunque improprio, in relazione a santuari come quelli di Mesopotam (valle della Bistrica) e più ancora di Dobra<sup>172</sup> e forse Mali Mile – dislocati lungo un’unica dorsale che segna il limite sud della piana controllata da *Phoinike* – recuperare la nozione di ‘santuari di confine’ ritenuta inadatta a una realtà come quella epirota<sup>173</sup>, purché se ne comprenda il valore strumentale in rapporto a un assetto organizzativo comunque irriducibile all’universo delle *poleis*. A una certa compattezza del

<sup>169</sup> Giorgi, Bogdani 2012, 103-104 e supra, S. De Maria.

<sup>170</sup> Sul problema della localizzazione del tempio di Atena *Polias* noto da una laminetta di Dodona (Lhôte 2006, 59-61, nr. 11) vd. supra, S. De Maria e n. 39 (con bibliografia).

<sup>171</sup> Quantin S., Quantin F. 2007, 178-179 ipotizzano un legame tra l’istituzione del culto e l’abolizione della monarchia presso i Caoni (Thuc. 2, 80, 5).

<sup>172</sup> De Maria, Mercuri 2007, 152-157.

<sup>173</sup> Quantin 1999, 71.

territorio corrisponde, a fare da contrappeso, una permeabilità dei confini urbani all'universo tribale e agro-pastorale che le ruota attorno. Non stupisce così ritrovare, con un ruolo centrale all'interno delle città, divinità e manifestazioni culturali (*Poseidon*, Pan, la ritualità 'di passaggio' artemidea) che altrove dimorano di preferenza all'esterno delle cinte urbane.

Se all'origine di questo carattere 'urbano' dei Caoni debba essere riconosciuta, come credeva Ettore Lepore, un'eredità della lunga e burrascosa convivenza con l'elemento corcirese non è possibile dirlo. È certo però che la regione, in maniera più spiccata rispetto al resto dell'Epiro, abbia beneficiato di connessioni con la sponda occidentale dello Ionio-Adriatico delle quali è rimasta testimonianza nella ricca topografia religiosa e mitopoietica delle sue coste frastagliate. Le conseguenze di questi contatti si avvertono sul piano dei culti<sup>174</sup> così come su quello della decorazione architettonica<sup>175</sup>, preparando il terreno al vantaggioso sodalizio con Roma in qualche modo prefigurato dalle radici troiane degli Epiroti del nord. I "semibarbari" Caoni, se indagati sotto il profilo dei costumi religiosi, si rivelano una delle realtà più dinamiche e capaci di aggiornamento dello scenario greco nord-occidentale<sup>176</sup>.

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<sup>174</sup> Sembra questo il caso del culto di Pan e *Pasa* a Butrinto: vd. supra, S. De Maria.

<sup>175</sup> La Caonia, relativamente alla ricezione di forme architettoniche e motivi decorativi, sembrerebbe condividere con l'Illiria meridionale una maggiore apertura agli apporti transmarini, mentre nel resto dell'Epiro prevale la direttrice sud-nord: Podini 2014, 122-124. È il caso di capitelli figurati come quello di Butrinto (supra, n. 122), pressoché sconosciuti negli altri comprensori epiroti. Un capitello ionico a quattro facce figurate, di provenienza ignota ma sicuramente ellenistico, è recentemente comparso al Museo Archeologico di Saranda ed è in corso di studio da parte di chi scrive.

<sup>176</sup> Anche il culto di Asclepio, recepito in una fase cronologica relativamente alta, è un elemento di dinamismo religioso che inserisce a pieno titolo la Caonia in una *koine* nord-occidentale: Antonetti 2010b, 307-309.



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Fig. 1. Carta della Caonia con l'ubicazione dei siti menzionati nel testo (elaborazione da Giorgi, Bogdani 2012).

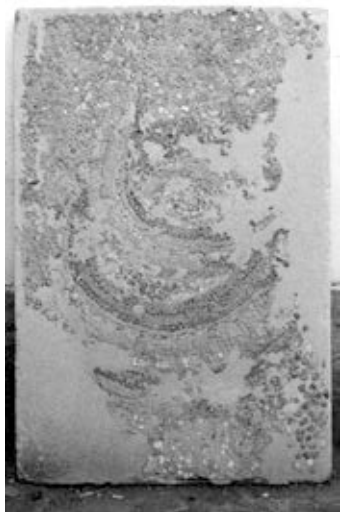


Fig. 2. Pseudo-emblema a mosaico con serpente dal tempio di Asclepio a Butrinto (Tirana, depositi dell'Istituto Albanese di Archeologia. Foto Missione Archeologica Italiana a Phoinike e Butrinto).



Fig. 3. Statue culturali dal santuario di Dobra (Vagalat). Torsi di Demetra (a sx.) e Artemide (a dx.), Museo Archeologico di Butrinto (foto Missione Archeologica Italiana a Phoinike). Al centro testa di divinità femminile, Museo Archeologico di Ioannina.



Fig. 4. Dobra (Vagalat), basamento in opera quadrata (foto L. Mancini).



Fig. 5. Rilievo votivo raffigurante Pan da Phoinike (foto Missione Archeologica Italiana a Phoinike).



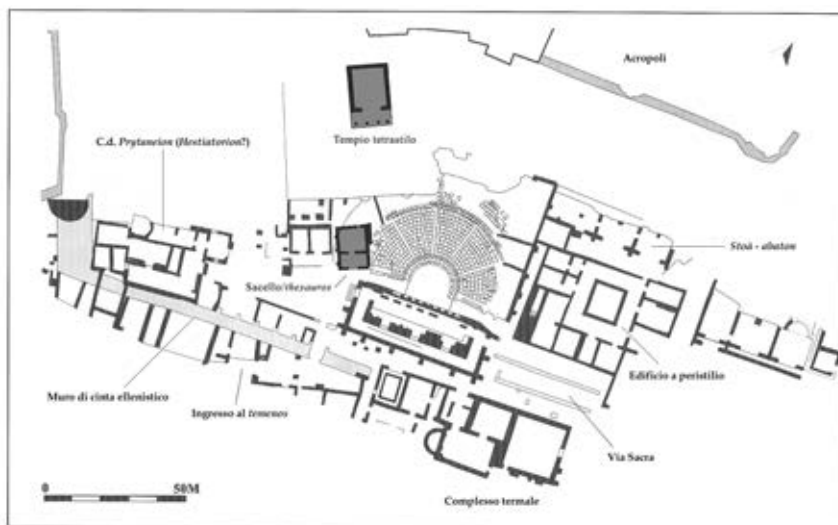


Fig. 6. Butrinto, Asklepieion (elaborazione L. Mancini da Melfi 2007).



Fig. 7. Butrinto, stipe del Sacello di Esculapio. Kantharos di Nikadas (da Ugolini 1942).

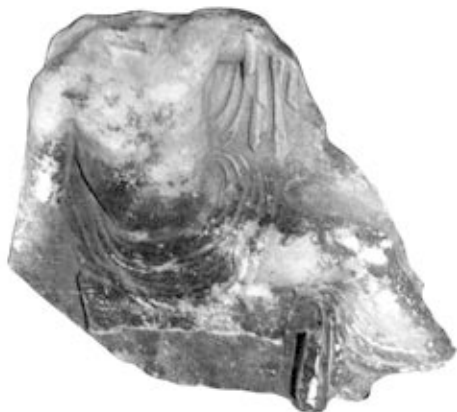


Fig. 8. Rilievo in marmo con divinità seduta da Butrinto. Butrinto, Museo Archeologico (foto L. Mancini).

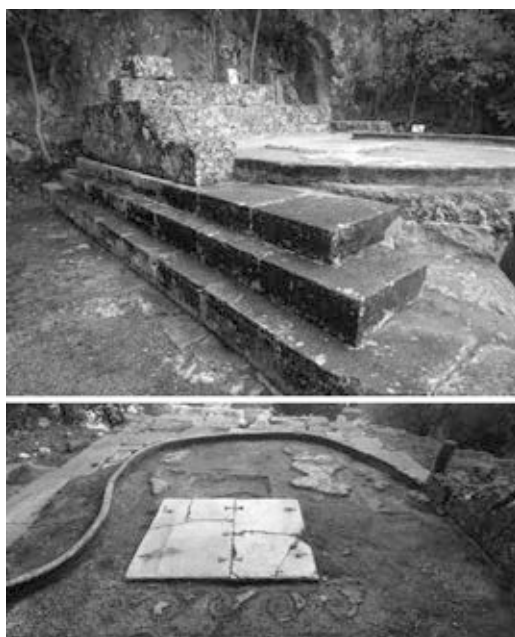


Fig. 9. Butrinto, tempio di Asclepio. Lato sud-ovest della crepidine e pavimento della cella (foto Missione Archeologica Italiana a Phoinike e Butrinto).



Fig. 10. Phoinike, fondazione del perimetrale est del presunto portico ellenistico (cd. Thesauros) all'interno della navata nord della basilica bizantina (foto Missione Archeologica Italiana a Phoinike).



Fig. 11. Protomi-busto dal deposito a ovest dell'agora di Phoinike (foto ed elaborazione L. Mancini).



Fig. 12. Mesopotam, monastero di San Nicola con i blocchi di opera quadrata reimpiegati nei muri esterni (foto L. Mancini).



Fig. 13. Mesopotam, monastero di San Nicola. Fusto di colonna liscia in granito e capitello corinzio-asiatico (foto L. Mancini).



Fig. 14. Mesopotam, monastero di San Nicola. Fr. di fusto di colonna dorica in calcare (foto L. Mancini).



## I LUOGHI DELLA VITA POLITICA E AMMINISTRATIVA NELLE CITTÀ DELL'EPIRO

Il presente intervento tratta degli spazi e degli edifici legati alla gestione della vita politico-amministrativa delle città dell'Epiro e pone l'attenzione sulla complessa, e non chiaramente definibile, organizzazione istituzionale di questi centri. L'analisi che qui si presenta è parte di una ricerca più ampia che ha inteso ricostruire, per la prima volta, l'edilizia pubblica civile delle realtà urbane sorte in Epiro in età tardo-classica ed ellenistica<sup>1</sup>, una regione ritenuta spesso ancora "marginale" rispetto alla Grecia propria e sostanzialmente assai poco studiata sotto questo profilo specifico. L'approccio multidisciplinare allo studio dell'architettura pubblica civile, analizzata nella sua totalità, in relazione ai singoli complessi, al tessuto urbano di cui essa fa parte e al suo sviluppo su scala regionale, ha consentito di individuare le forme e le funzioni degli spazi pubblici delle città e di ricostruire la loro evoluzione, dalla genesi della cultura urbana (IV sec. a.C.) fino alla fine del I sec. a.C., in relazione ai modelli architettonici e urbanistici adottati nei centri greci del Mediterraneo. Lo studio interpretativo basato sull'analisi incrociata del dato archeologico e delle informazioni desunte dalle molteplici categorie di fonti disponibili (letterarie, epigrafiche e numismatiche) ha permesso inoltre di individuare nuovi elementi utili a una più precisa definizione del profilo istituzionale e amministrativo dei centri urbani e del ruolo che essi hanno svolto all'interno delle compagini etnico-tribali e dello stato federale epirota.

<sup>1</sup> In questa sede sono resi noti alcuni risultati della ricerca di Dottorato in Storia Culture Civiltà (XXX ciclo) svolta presso l'Università di Bologna, dal titolo *Spazi ed edifici pubblici nelle città dell'Epiro in età tardo-classica ed ellenistica* (tutores Proff. Sandro De Maria e Giuseppe Lepore).

Nel territorio preso in esame, che si estende dal Golfo di Ambracia fino a Capo Linguetta (penisola del Karaburun) e al Monte Qelqës, comprendendo il territorio della tribù dei Caoni, estrema propaggine nord-occidentale dell'Epiro<sup>2</sup>, l'analisi dettagliata dell'evidenza archeologica ha portato all'identificazione di una ventina circa di edifici con probabile funzione politico-amministrativa e almeno sei *agorai*, inquadrabili cronologicamente in età ellenistica, e riferibili unicamente a quei centri indigeni<sup>3</sup> che a partire dall'età tardo-classica ed ellenistica si configurano come centri urbani e che conservano tracce più o meno evidenti di spazi pubblici: Antigonea, Phoinike, Butrinto, Gitana, Elea, Dymokastro, Cassope, Orraon (Fig. 1).

## **1. L'Epiro e le realtà urbane**

La genesi della città in Epiro, non solo come spazio fisico e costruito ma soprattutto come entità politica con proprie istituzioni, è un fenomeno piuttosto tardivo, che segue uno sviluppo del tutto particolare condizionato inevitabilmente dalle caratteristiche geografiche, sociali ed economiche del territorio, e dai processi storici che l'hanno interessato. L'Epiro è una regione caratterizzata sin dalla preistoria da un popolamento sparso in piccoli villaggi (*kata komas*) e dalla presenza di realtà familiari e numerosi *ethne* sviluppatasi autonomamente all'interno di comunità più ampie strutturate in senso tribale (Caoni, Tesproti, Molossi)<sup>4</sup> che a partire dalla fine del V sec. a.C., e soprattutto in età ellenistica, si strutturano come veri e propri sistemi "statali" (*koina* e stati monarchici), conferendo voce politica ai singoli *ethne* e dotandosi di una propria capacità deliberativa e di propri organismi politici e magistratuali. Nonostante il modello culturale urbano fosse conosciuto nella regione almeno dall'VIII sec. a.C., legato alle fondazioni di nuovi empori e colonie (Epidamnos, Ambracia,

<sup>2</sup> Hammond 1967, 7.

<sup>3</sup> L'analisi ha riguardato anche Butrinto, che seppur nata come proiezione sulla terraferma della *polis* di Corfù, a partire dalla seconda metà del IV sec. a.C. è interessata da una nuova crescita edilizia in relazione alla piena assimilazione nel tessuto politico-amministrativo del *koinon* dei Caoni, mentre ha escluso gli edifici pubblici, con sicure o possibili funzioni politico-amministrative, facenti capo al santuario di Dodona, riguardo al quale non è noto se vi fosse un abitato ad esso connesso.

<sup>4</sup> Cabanes 1989; Hammond 2000.



Butrinto, Apollonia) ad opera di Corfù e della metropoli di Corinto<sup>5</sup>, il processo di poleogenesi si compie solamente tra IV e III sec. a.C. con l'ingresso definitivo delle popolazioni epirote nelle dinamiche politiche della Grecia continentale. Si assiste così alla formazione di vere e proprie città greche (spazi residenziali, sedi di istituzioni, luoghi di culto, spazi attrezzati per la difesa della popolazione, siti di produzione e commercio, centri di educazione e intrattenimento), con la fortificazione e ripianificazione di abitati preesistenti o la creazione *ex novo* di centri urbani con modalità di tipo "sinecistico". Le città adottano i principi urbanistici e si dotano delle architetture e degli spazi tipici del mondo ellenico (*agorai*, santuari, teatri, edifici civili e abitazioni). Questi centri urbani sono tendenzialmente privi di un'organizzazione statale differente da quella della comunità (*ethnos*) che abita il territorio sul quale la città è stata edificata, e sono ritenuti da alcuni vere e proprie capitali politiche dell'*ethnos*<sup>6</sup>, mentre in alcuni casi sembrano dotarsi sin da subito di un proprio profilo giuridico-istituzionale di stampo poleico che convive in piena autonomia con un'organizzazione del territorio in *ethne* e *koina*, tipica della regione<sup>7</sup>.

Il processo di urbanizzazione del territorio registra una forte accelerazione tra fine IV e III sec. a.C., periodo nel quale le città e gli *ethne/koina* partecipano progressivamente al c.d. *Apeiros* o *Symmachia* degli Epiroti sotto la guida della dinastia molossa degli Eacidi, che secondo alcuni è attestazione della formazione di un primo stato unitario in Epiro<sup>8</sup>, secondo altri, invece, la testimonianza di un'alleanza militare tra realtà locali indipendenti, nella quale è certamente forte l'influenza politica del regno dei Molossi e dei loro capi carismatici che, in qualità di *hegemones*, assumono in caso di guerra il comando delle forze alleate<sup>9</sup>. Con Pirro (297-272 a.C.) e la nascita del "Grande Epiro", la regione diventa più unita economicamente, militarmente e, forse, politicamente; l'attuazione della

<sup>5</sup> Alcune fonti itinerarie (Ps.-Scymn. 441-443; Strab. 10, 1, 15) fanno riferimento anche a una colonizzazione euboica, sfuggente dal punto di vista delle tracce archeologiche: vd. Consagra 2008. In egual modo, la storicità della colonizzazione elea di VII sec. a.C. nella regione, attestata da un'unica fonte (Dem. 7, 32) in riferimento alle città di Pandosia, Bouchetion e Elateia nel sud dell'Epiro, è stata recentemente messa in discussione da A.J. Domínguez (Domínguez 2015).

<sup>6</sup> Dakaris 1987; Cabanes 2010, 126.

<sup>7</sup> Funke, Moustakis, Hochschulz 2004; Funke 2009.

<sup>8</sup> Cabanes 2010; Funke 2000; Di Leo 2003, 226-231; Liampi 2017; Raynord 2017.

<sup>9</sup> Hammond 2000; Davies 2000; Meyer 2013; 2015.

politica espansionistica del sovrano consente all'Epiro di porsi alla pari della Macedonia e degli altri regni ellenistici e facilita i contatti con il resto del mondo greco, favorendo così lo sviluppo urbanistico e architettonico delle nuove città.

Nel 232 a.C., in seguito alla fine della dinastia eacide, si costituisce uno stato federale, il *koinon* degli Epiroti, che riunisce le compagini tribali maggiori, gli *ethne/koina* minori e le realtà poleiche della regione, le quali partecipano, in maniera autonoma e secondo modalità non ancora ben definite, a un sistema di governo comune caratterizzato da organi politici di tipo federale<sup>10</sup>. La formazione del nuovo stato favorisce una trasformazione delle istituzioni cittadine e una maggiore definizione e crescita delle realtà urbane che mettono in atto nuove politiche urbanistiche, in virtù anche di una diffusa prosperità economica, nonostante la regione sia teatro in quegli anni delle guerre tra Roma e la Macedonia.

In seguito alla sconfitta di gran parte dell'Epiro nella Terza guerra macedonica (171-168 a.C.), Roma prende definitivamente il controllo delle politiche regionali determinando la fortuna o il declino dei centri urbani e favorendo la sopravvivenza di un sistema territoriale incentrato su *poleis* e piccoli *koina* frammentati, secondo una sapiente strategia politica volta alla suddivisione del territorio per un suo più facile controllo, che sfocerà nella deduzione delle prime colonie nella seconda metà del I sec. a.C.

## **2. Le *agorai***

Le città di Antigonea, Phoinike, Butrinto, Gitana, Elea e Cassope<sup>11</sup>, al momento della prima pianificazione urbana o in seguito a nuove espansioni urbanistiche, si dotano di un'*agora* (probabilmente due nel caso di Phoinike) concepita e progettata sin da subito come il più importante spazio pubblico simbolico e funzionale alla corretta regolamentazione delle attività collettive; ad essa viene riservato un settore specifico nel tessuto urbano, situato lungo i più importanti assi

<sup>10</sup> Sul *koinon* degli Epiroti cf. Hammond 1967, 648-657; Salmon 1987; Cabanes 1999; Davies 2000; Meyer 2015.

<sup>11</sup> A Dymokastro non è stata ancora identificata un'area pubblica interpretabile come *agora* (Lazari, Tzortzatou, Kountouri 2008, 80-81), mentre ad Orraon non è possibile attribuire con certezza la funzione di *agora* all'ampio terrazzo con cisterna su cui si affaccia l'Edificio D e che rappresenta un rilevante spazio pubblico dell'insediamento (Rinaldi 2015, 126).

stradali che ne garantiscono un facile e veloce accesso, tendenzialmente a ridosso delle mura cittadine e di porte urbane la cui presenza contribuisce ad un migliore collegamento con il territorio esterno, secondo una tendenza attestata ampiamente nelle città della Grecia nord-occidentale e dell'Iliria meridionale.

L'approfondita analisi dell'organizzazione degli spazi e degli edifici pubblici di ogni centro urbano e la rilettura in chiave politica di alcuni di essi consentono di giungere alla rivalutazione della funzione ricoperta dalle *agorai* delle città prese in esame, intese spesso quasi esclusivamente come luoghi di commercio<sup>12</sup>. L'*agora*, invece, si configura essenzialmente come il cuore politico cittadino<sup>13</sup>, ancor più che economico, dotato di un forte significato simbolico e di rappresentazione sociale, dove la comunità civica manifesta la propria identità e la propria coesione; uno spazio che ospita sin da subito i principali edifici funzionali alla gestione della vita politico-amministrativa della città e forse anche dell'*ethnos/koinon* a cui essa fa capo. D'altronde, l'architettura politica è di gran lunga quella che caratterizza maggiormente le città greche di IV-III sec. a.C., sulla scia della tradizione classica che considerava l'*agora* come il cuore amministrativo della *polis*<sup>14</sup>.

Per comprendere pienamente l'organizzazione funzionale delle *agorai* delle città epirote è bene sottolineare come la loro formazione si adegui sin da subito ai fenomeni di settorializzazione, moltiplicazione e specializzazione degli spazi monumentali, attestati nel mondo greco già dall'età classica, che diventano sempre più prassi comune nel corso dell'età ellenistica<sup>15</sup>. Così a Gitana, già nella prima metà del III sec. a.C., il settore settentrionale dell'*agora* si configura come la sede di organi politici ed amministrativi, mentre lo spazio meridionale della piazza rappresenta un'area a vocazione economica e produttiva, con un lungo edificio commerciale dotato di ambienti in cui queste attività venivano amministrare<sup>16</sup> (Fig. 2). In altri casi, come a Cassope, sin dalle prime fasi di monumentalizzazione dello spazio pubblico (fine IV-inizi III sec. a.C.), si attua una completa separazione tra spazio civico ed economico con la costruzione del più importante complesso commerciale a nord dell'*agora* (c.d. *Katagogion* o *Marktbau*), separato

<sup>12</sup> Lazari, Kanta-Kitsou 2010, 44-45; Vasileiadis et al. 2010, 155.

<sup>13</sup> Katsikoudis 2012 e Sielhorst 2016.

<sup>14</sup> Dickenson 2017, 120.

<sup>15</sup> Dickenson 2017, 119-121.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Kanta-Kitsou 2008, 49-51; Katsikoudis 2012, 32-33; Sielhorst 2016, 662 nr. 7.

da essa per mezzo della *plateia* (a) e di un lungo edificio rettangolare (*hestiatorion*?) che delimita il lato settentrionale della piazza, sostituito successivamente dalla *Stoa* nord<sup>17</sup>. A Elea, invece, nel periodo di massima fioritura economica a cavallo tra III e II sec. a.C., le attività economiche vengono escluse progressivamente dall'*agora*, come attestato dalla monumentalizzazione del settore occidentale con la costruzione dell'importante complesso politico-amministrativo (*Stoa* con *oikoi* o c.d. *Stoa* ovest) e dell'Edificio commerciale (c.d. *Édifice public* 26), quest'ultimo non rivolto sulla piazza ma aperto sulla strada che delimita l'*agora* a ovest<sup>18</sup> (Fig. 3). Infine, a Phoinike, i processi di moltiplicazione e specializzazione degli spazi pubblici trovano una perfetta applicazione con la costruzione della nuova *agora* negli ultimi decenni del III sec. a.C., che risponde alle nuove esigenze istituzionali della città da mettere anche in relazione alla sua adesione allo stato federale. La tendenza alla frammentazione dello spazio pubblico, tipica dell'età ellenistica, giustifica la mancanza di edifici sacri nelle *agorai* dei centri analizzati, nelle quali vi era un'associazione sistematica tra determinate divinità protettrici, che presiedevano le attività della vita pubblica, e i più importanti edifici politici ed amministrativi che costituivano anche gli spazi fisici e simbolici in cui si celebravano le cerimonie del culto pubblico, come avviene certamente nell'Edificio E di Gitana e nel Pritaneo di Cassope (infra).

L'*agora* si configura come una complessa realtà che certamente riflette nel corso del tempo alcune tendenze generali visibili in molti centri del Mediterraneo, ma allo stesso tempo subisce, in quanto spazio centrale della comunità civica, ogni mutamento che interessa la struttura politica, economica, sociale e urbana della singola realtà locale e del territorio in cui essa si trova, evolvendo secondo modalità eterogenee da centro a centro. In particolare, l'impatto che gli eventi politici e i mutamenti sociali e urbanistici producono sulle *agorai* epirote è evidente non solo nella loro conformazione architettonica, quanto piuttosto nei cambiamenti di funzione e nella percezione che la comunità ha di esse. Il periodo storico connesso con la politica dello stato federale epirota (232-170 a.C.) e la presenza sempre più ingombrante di Roma e della Macedonia nella regione, coincide

<sup>17</sup> Le fasi originarie degli edifici che si affacciano sull'*agora* e del c.d. *Katagogion* o *Marktbau* sono le medesime (Dakarīs 1984, 19-31, 35; Hoepfner et al. 1994, 124-126, 130-140). Cf. le ipotesi differenti di Emme 2013, 165; Sielhorst 2015, 160-161, fig. 66.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Riginos, Lazari 2012.

tendenzialmente con una fase di crescita economica e urbanistica delle città analizzate, con relativa monumentalizzazione delle *agorai* e rafforzamento delle attività politiche svolte al loro interno, che subisce un repentino arresto in diversi centri urbani in seguito alla loro sconfitta nella Terza guerra macedonica (168/7 a.C.). A Gitana, già intorno all'ultimo quarto del III sec. a.C., la costruzione di un imponente muro di fortificazione (*diateichisma*) esclude l'*agora* dal settore più protetto della città determinandone la perdita progressiva delle funzioni politico-amministrative ricollocate nel settore urbano più protetto, e sostituite da una sempre maggiore presenza nel suo spazio di attività commerciali, che diventeranno pressoché esclusive dopo il termine della Terza guerra macedonica e prima del definitivo crollo dei suoi edifici avvenuto al massimo nella seconda metà del II sec. a.C.<sup>19</sup>. Allo stesso modo, l'*agora* di Elea, in seguito alla possibile sconfitta della città nel 168/7 a.C. con conseguente perdita di autonomia politica, vede venir meno le proprie funzioni politiche e i suoi edifici vengono riutilizzati esclusivamente in chiave commerciale e privata<sup>20</sup>, fino al definitivo abbandono del centro tra II e I sec. a.C. La crescita delle attività produttive e commerciali nelle *agorai* e l'appropriazione da parte di privati dei suoi spazi sono costanti rintracciabili spesso nel mondo antico nelle fasi di transizione e di forti cambiamenti politici<sup>21</sup>. Le trasformazioni in chiave commerciale dell'*agora* appena descritte non si verificano invece a Cassope, che per tutto il II e I sec. a.C. e fino al definitivo abbandono, successivo alla fondazione di Nicopolis, conserva la propria identità politica ed istituzionale, anche se ridotta ormai a mero titolo onorifico a seguito delle ingerenze dei Romani. L'*agora* cittadina conserva la propria funzione politico-amministrativa, assumendo un significato religioso e di autorappresentazione dell'*élite* locale quasi esclusivo e divenendo il luogo nel quale la comunità civica celebra sé stessa e manifesta sempre di più la propria identità e coesione con le istituzioni della *polis*, secondo fenomeni ampiamente documentati nelle *agorai* di molte città greche in età medio e tardo-ellenistica.

Con l'ingresso dell'Epiro nella Provincia di Macedonia (146 a.C.) e con il conseguente assoggettamento alle politiche di Roma, solamente le *agorai* di Butrinto e Phoinike in Caonia, centri nevralgici per il controllo del territorio, continuano a crescere e monumentalizzarsi per

<sup>19</sup> Preka-Alexandri, Stoyas 2011, 667.

<sup>20</sup> Riginos, Lazari 2012, 67.

<sup>21</sup> Coqueugniot 2015.

poi essere sostituite dai fori in età augustea<sup>22</sup>. I fenomeni documentati in queste due importanti città confermano tendenze già note in molte *poleis* greche, che in età romana vedono i propri spazi politici restaurati o ricostruiti, conservandone però le funzioni originarie<sup>23</sup>.

### **3. Gli edifici politico-amministrativi**

L'identificazione dell'*agora* come il cuore della vita politica e amministrativa dei centri urbani epiroti è motivata dalla presenza in essa della maggior parte dei complessi edilizi connessi con la gestione di tali attività. Le piazze delle città più importanti (Antigonea, Phoinike, Gitana e Cassope) sono dotate di grandi edifici quadrangolari caratterizzati da un unico ambiente con dimensioni costanti (ca. 9-11 m) e con un ingresso posto al centro del lato frontale, a volte preceduto da un piccolo portico (Fig. 4). La presenza di un'unica grande sala caratterizza questi complessi come spazi ricettivi in cui le persone potevano riunirsi in assemblea ("Edifici per riunioni"), nonostante non siano state rinvenute iscrizioni che possano aiutare a identificare gli organi politico-amministrativi che si riunivano al loro interno. Le dimensioni simili degli edifici testimoniano la presenza di uno standard progettuale utilizzato dagli architetti e urbanisti per la realizzazione di complessi destinati a ospitare riunioni; tuttavia, potrebbe risultare rischioso accostare a priori le affinità costruttive a una destinazione d'uso univoca dell'ambiente coperto e alla presenza di medesimi organi istituzionali nelle città che adoperano tale standard edilizio<sup>24</sup>. Certamente, la presenza di un unico edificio con tali caratteristiche all'interno dell'*agora* della maggior parte delle città documenta le crescenti esigenze delle comunità di attribuire la giusta autonomia e

<sup>22</sup> Hernandez, Çondi 2011; Rinaldi, Mancini, Villicich 2015.

<sup>23</sup> Dickenson 2011.

<sup>24</sup> E.g. nel santuario di Zeus a Dodona la prima fase costruttiva (fine IV - inizi III sec. a.C.) dell'edificio (O-01-02) o c.d. Pritaneo consiste in una grande sala quadrata (12 x 12 m), preceduta da una corte a peristilio, utilizzata certamente per riunioni, come dimostra una panca continua in pietra che corre lungo le pareti, che è stata identificata come l'ambiente in cui era conservato il fuoco sacro di Estia; l'edificio è stato dunque interpretato come un pritaneo (Dakaris et al. 1999; Gravani 2007-2008, 59-71), ma più probabilmente la sala rappresentava uno spazio di ricezione che ospitava attività di carattere culturale all'interno di un edificio più ampio, un "*Festgebaude*" in cui si svolgevano riunioni e pasti rituali nell'ambito delle cerimonie religiose del santuario (Emmerling 2012, 212-228).

sacralità alle attività politiche e amministrative nel momento in cui i centri urbani, o gli *ethne/koina* a cui essi fanno capo, acquisiscono un proprio profilo istituzionale; non può essere un caso se essi sono riferibili cronologicamente alle fasi iniziali della vita delle città, come a Cassope, Gitana e Antigonea, o sono da mettere in relazione con importanti trasformazioni urbanistiche e istituzionali interne, come a Phoinike. L'importante funzione civica ricoperta dall'Edificio E di Gitana<sup>25</sup>, ad esempio, è documentata dalla possibile presenza di una tribuna per oratore, da due frammenti di un'iscrizione riportante un atto di affrancamento e dall'attestazione al suo interno del culto di Apollo Agyeus che nella Grecia nord-occidentale, e non solo, assume un valore spiccatamente politico e identitario, figurando come simbolo dell'autorità statale e garante della vita politica della città<sup>26</sup> (Fig. 5). Gli edifici per riunioni delle città epirote non sono mai isolati nello spazio dell'*agora*, ma vengono progettati contestualmente a complessi architettonici civili più ampi, come *stoai*<sup>27</sup>, o, comunque, a ridosso dei più importanti edifici politico-amministrativi. Ad esempio, l'edificio quadrangolare di Cassope, realizzato tra seconda metà IV e inizi III sec. a.C. per ospitare probabilmente assemblee politiche come quelle del Consiglio cittadino, è concepito sin dall'inizio come un corpo ben distinto dal pritaneo<sup>28</sup>, situato subito a nord, con il quale definisce architettonicamente il lato occidentale dell'*agora* come il nucleo politico-amministrativo della città<sup>29</sup> (Fig. 6). È probabile che anche le costruzioni delle altre città dell'Epiro possano essere state utilizzate per ospitare, se non esclusivamente, le riunioni di organi politici deliberativi (*boule?*), che dovevano essere necessariamente presenti nell'organizzazione istituzionale delle città e dei *koina* epiroti. In tal senso, non si può non tener conto del fatto che edifici simili per planimetria, attestati in molte città greche tra V e II sec. a.C. dalla

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Preka-Alexandri 1999, 169; Kanta-Kitsou 2008, 22-23, 50.

<sup>26</sup> Quantin 2011.

<sup>27</sup> Grandi sale quadrangolari costruite in connessione con *stoai*, attestate in Epiro a Gitana ed Antigonea, si ritrovano spesso in Grecia, Sicilia e Asia Minore, e anche nelle vicine Oiniadai e Stratos in Acarnania (Serbeti, Panagou, Efstathopoulos 2013, 240; Lang 2013, 141).

<sup>28</sup> Emme 2013, 92-94, 333. Secondo un'altra ipotesi l'edificio quadrato costituirebbe la prima fase del pritaneo, ampliatisi verso nord nel corso del III sec. a.C.: vd. Hoepfner et al. 1994, 138; Sielhorst 2015, 160-164.

<sup>29</sup> Sistemazioni urbanistiche analoghe (complesso *bouleuterion-prytaneion*) sono presenti nell'*agora* di Megalopolis e in quella di Priene (Emme 2013, 93, n. 59; Donati 2015, 208, 213).

Sicilia all'Asia Minore e ben presenti anche in regioni limitrofe come l'Acarmania e l'Etolia<sup>30</sup>, vengono solitamente identificati, seppur a volte in maniera arbitraria, come *bouleuteria*<sup>31</sup>. Inoltre, la trasformazione della sala quadrata del c.d. Pritaneo del santuario di Zeus a Dodona alla metà del II sec. a.C. in un edificio per riunioni, con una gradinata di sette gradini preceduta da uno spazio pianeggiante in funzione di tribuna, interpretato come il *bouleuterion* del rinato *koinon* degli Epirota del 148 a.C.<sup>32</sup>, avvalorava ulteriormente l'idea di un utilizzo nelle città di questo schema planimetrico come sede di organi politici.

Nelle *agorai* sono stati identificati anche alcuni complessi edilizi interpretabili genericamente come sedi delle più alte cariche istituzionali. A Cassope, adiacente al grande edificio per riunioni, si trova un importante complesso edilizio con corte centrale porticata su tre lati e vani intorno, interpretabile come un pritaneo-*strategeion* grazie all'analisi incrociata del dato architettonico (presenza di ambienti di culto, di *hestiatoria*, di ampi spazi ricettivi e di un ricco apparato decorativo)<sup>33</sup> e di quello epigrafico<sup>34</sup>. Ad Elea, invece, la *Stoa* con *oikoi* o c.d. *Stoa ovest* rappresenta il più importante edificio politico-amministrativo, probabilmente la sede dei più alti magistrati, lo spazio di rappresentanza della comunità intera; la localizzazione del complesso, la sua veste architettonica, lo schema planimetrico e i numerosi rinvenimenti materiali, tra i quali si ricordano la concentrazione notevole di vasellame da mensa e l'*oinochoe* con iscrizione ΔΑΜΟΣΙΑ sulla spalla, permettono di identificare gli ambienti come sale per banchetti, uffici, ambienti per riunioni, vani di servizio, luoghi di culto<sup>35</sup> (Fig. 7).

<sup>30</sup> Si ricordano alcuni esempi in Acarnania a Oiniadai (Serbeti, Panagou, Efsthathopoulos 2013, 240) e Stratos (Lang 2013, 141), in Etolia a Nea Pleuron (Sielhorst 2015, 319-320), Thermos (Papapostolou 2014) e Kallion/Kallipolis (Laffineur 1980, 742-744).

<sup>31</sup> Gneisz 1990, 72-102; Isler 2003; Hellmann 2013, 142-146; 2016, 624-626.

<sup>32</sup> Dakaris et al. 1999, 158-159. Si ritiene che l'edificio abbia sostituito il più monumentale *Bouleuterion* del santuario di Zeus a Dodona (prima metà III sec. a.C.), caratterizzato da una grande sala rettangolare preceduta da un portico (ca. 32,50 x 43,60 m), che ospitava in certe occasioni la *boule/synedrion* dello stato federale epirota (Pliakou, Smyris 2012, 89-96).

<sup>33</sup> Dakaris 1984, 27-31; Hansen, Fischer-Hansen 1994, 35-36; Hoepfner et al. 1994, 137-139.

<sup>34</sup> In due iscrizioni rinvenute nel vicino *Katagogion* o *Marktbau* sono riportati i nomi di un pritane, di quattro strateghi e di un segretario (SEG XV, 383; XXVI, 718; XXXVII, 515).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Riginos, Lazari 2012, 66-67.



L'analisi approfondita del record archeologico e delle relazioni che intercorrono tra i singoli edifici pubblici all'interno del tessuto urbano ha permesso di riconoscere, inoltre, un utilizzo frequente degli spazi coperti delle *stoai*, edifici polifunzionali per eccellenza, come luoghi di riunione per organi politici, amministrativi e giudiziari, secondo una prassi ampiamente documentata nel mondo greco dalle fonti di età tardo-classica e proto-ellenistica. Si ritiene, ad esempio, che la *Stoa* est dell'*agora* di Elea (seconda metà IV-inizi III sec. a.C.), caratterizzata da una pianta rettangolare allungata con fila di colonne centrale e facciata probabilmente chiusa con porte, con una panca in muratura continua lungo le pareti, sia stata progettata e costruita con una funzione primaria di sede di assemblee politiche e giudiziarie<sup>36</sup>, come gli edifici simili realizzati tra l'età arcaica ed ellenistica ed interpretati nella maggior parte dei casi come luoghi per riunioni pubbliche e *bouleuteria* (Delo, Delfi, Olinto, Olimpia, Agia Pelagia, Orcomeno, Agrigento)<sup>37</sup>. In maniera analoga, la *Stoa* nord dell'*agora* di Gitana caratterizzata da una lunga panca in muratura interna, costruita in stretta connessione con l'Edificio per riunioni E, ha costituito un importante spazio di aggregazione comunitaria e di manifestazione di *status* sociale, intriso di significati civici e istituzionali<sup>38</sup>. Risulta così evidente che le *stoai* situate nelle *agorai* delle città epirote, interpretate sino a oggi come luoghi adibiti perlopiù ad attività commerciali, siano state in realtà concepite e progettate soprattutto per assolvere a importanti funzioni politiche e amministrative<sup>39</sup> e, che, come documentato dallo studio dei rinvenimenti materiali e del quadro storico delle città, siano state utilizzate solo successivamente e più frequentemente in chiave economica in alcuni centri urbani, come Elea e Gitana, in relazione a specifici mutamenti del quadro politico-istituzionale e sociale, a partire dalla fine del III sec. a.C., e soprattutto dopo gli eventi della Terza guerra macedonica.

La concezione che la maggior parte delle *agorai* in Epiro avesse una vocazione essenzialmente commerciale, è strettamente connessa

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Riginos, Lazari 2012, 64, 70.

<sup>37</sup> Gneisz 1990, 58-72; Hansen, Fischer-Hansen 1994, 42. È bene comunque ricordare come l'interpretazione di alcuni di questi edifici rimanga tuttora incerta.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Preka-Alexandri 1999; Kanta-Kitsou 2008, 49-50.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Katsikoudis 2012, 43. E.g. di fronte all'estremità nord-occidentale della *Stoa* nord di Cassope è stata rinvenuta una pallina in argilla con monogramma ΚΑΣ(σωπαίων) adoperata probabilmente nell'ambito delle attività giudiziarie (Hoepfner et al. 1994, 134, fig. 119).

con l'idea che vi fosse un accentramento delle principali funzioni politiche in edifici situati a ridosso delle fortificazioni caratterizzati da uno schema planimetrico simile, con dimensioni costanti (ca. 30/40 m di lato), costituito da una pianta quadrangolare con corte a peristilio centrale; in questo modo sono stati interpretati l'Edificio A di Gitana, l'Edificio A di Dymokastro e l'Edificio E di Elea<sup>40</sup>. L'analisi puntuale degli sviluppi architettonici e dei rinvenimenti materiali associati a questi complessi, tuttavia, ha dimostrato come ogni edificio debba essere analizzato nel contesto di riferimento urbanistico, istituzionale, economico e sociale, e come l'impiego di schemi planimetrici pressoché identici non possa sempre giustificare una funzione analoga svolta da questi complessi, soprattutto quando la tipologia di pianta adoperata risulta essere piuttosto comune anche nell'edilizia abitativa. In tal senso lo studio del contesto archeologico ha permesso di riconoscere nell'Edificio A di Dymokastro la residenza di un ricco personaggio<sup>41</sup> e nell'Edificio E di Elea un complesso produttivo e commerciale<sup>42</sup>. Solo l'Edificio A di Gitana presenta caratteristiche tali da considerarlo un importantissimo edificio politico-amministrativo (Fig. 8); il complesso ha restituito tegole e antefisse di proprietà pubblica, archivi che conservavano documenti papiracei di carattere politico-militare, economico-finanziario e giuridico, riguardanti principalmente l'intera comunità, e *hestiatoria* riccamente decorati con mosaici, di dimensioni differenti e collocati in aree diverse dell'edificio, che potevano ospitare un elevato numero di persone durante occasioni ufficiali. L'edificio è stato interpretato come il possibile spazio di rappresentanza della comunità cittadina a livello del *koinon* dei Tesproti e degli Epiroti, la sede in cui si riunivano i magistrati (*prostatai* con i loro segretari?) incaricati di dialogare con le strutture "superiori" del *koinon*, che svolgevano una funzione di raccordo nel sistema *poleis/koina*, piuttosto che come pritaneo o archivio pubblico<sup>43</sup>, solitamente collocati presso l'*agora*. Forse non a caso l'edificio è posto nei pressi del teatro dove è probabile si svolgessero assemblee politiche anche a livello federale (Liv. 42, 38, 1); allo stesso modo non si può escludere che all'interno dell'edificio si riunissero i più alti magistrati del *koinon* dei Tesproti.

<sup>40</sup> Vasileiadis Christodoulou 2006, 123-125; Lazari, Kanta-Kitsou 2010, 46; Vasileiadis et al. 2010, 153-154.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Lazari, Tzortzotou, Kountouri 2008, 79-80 nr. 12; Lazari, Kanta-Kitsou 2010, 43-44.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Riginos 1992, 354-355; Riginos, Lazari 2007, 51-53.

<sup>43</sup> Kanta-Kitsou 2008, 55-59; Lazari, Kanta-Kitsou 2010, 46; Katsikoudis 2012, 33.

Nell'ambito del processo di specializzazione delle funzioni anche la formazione civica e militare dei cittadini doveva richiedere spazi dedicati ed essere affidata probabilmente all'istituzione del ginnasio, attestata epigraficamente ad Antigonea<sup>44</sup> e ipotizzata dal punto di vista architettonico in almeno due città; d'altronde, il ginnasio faceva parte dell'assetto istituzionale di una città greca ed ellenizzata e certamente l'educazione fisica e culturale dei giovani era un aspetto da sottolineare in un territorio che cercava di affermare e legittimare la propria grecità. I casi ipotizzati (Edificio con esedra di Antigonea ed Edificio B di Gitana)<sup>45</sup>, situati nei pressi dell'*agora*, come accade per la maggior parte dei ginnasi di età ellenistica<sup>46</sup>, presentano forme semplici con corti porticate e spazi pubblici ricettivi di grandi dimensioni in gran parte connessi con l'azione rituale, come documentato dagli oggetti mobili rinvenuti (basamenti di altari, supporti di erme, *escharai*, vasi miniaturistici, lucerne, figurine fittili, vasi potori).

L'analisi degli spazi pubblici ha evidenziato quanto sia lacunoso il quadro architettonico connesso con la gestione dell'amministrazione civica. La limitatezza del dato epigrafico non permette di ricostruire con chiarezza la struttura delle *archai* nelle città epirote, e non è possibile stabilire se con la definizione dell'architettura istituzionale dei centri urbani si fosse verificata una tendenza alla proliferazione delle magistrature o, al contrario, alla concentrazione di diverse funzioni nel campo di competenza di un numero ristretto di *archai*. Il dato archeologico documenta una certa polifunzionalità degli edifici, con il possibile utilizzo degli spazi di un medesimo complesso da parte di più organi di magistrati (vd. le *stoai* o gli edifici per riunioni), ma allo stesso tempo evidenzia come vi potessero essere complessi all'interno dei quali i magistrati, solitamente le più alte cariche istituzionali, svolgevano numerose mansioni, come nel caso della *Stoa* con *oikoi* di Elea o del Pritaneo di Cassope. Il limitato numero di edifici al quale è possibile attribuire chiare funzioni amministrative non è legato unicamente alla mancanza di tipologie edilizie standardizzate per lo svolgimento di precise funzioni, ma probabilmente anche a un'organizzazione molto complessa delle *archai*. L'analisi dei contesti

<sup>44</sup> Cabanes 2016, nr. 64 con bibliografia precedente.

<sup>45</sup> Sull'edificio di Antigonea, anche noto come Ginnasio, Pritaneo ed Edificio 11, cf. Budina 1993, 118; Pediglieri 2012, 31; Rinaldi, Gorica c.d.s. Non è escluso che l'edificio potesse essere la sede di un'associazione di culto, professionale o politica, per le peculiarità architettoniche e per il materiale in esso rinvenuto. Sull'Edificio B di Gitana cf. Kanta-Kitsou 2008, 52.

<sup>46</sup> Trombetti 2013, 152-153.

archeologici potrebbe indicare la possibilità che residenze private abbiano giocato un ruolo pubblico non trascurabile, perché di proprietà di cittadini che in un dato momento hanno ricoperto incarichi istituzionali di primo piano, che ivi vivevano e potevano svolgere le loro attività di funzionari pubblici insieme ad altri colleghi di magistrati. Infatti, le ricerche archeologiche condotte nelle città del mondo greco hanno ampiamente dimostrato che all'interno di singoli edifici vi potesse essere una complessa interconnessione tra sfera pubblica e privata di difficile decifrazione<sup>47</sup>. La presenza di questo duplice carattere è ipotizzata sulla base di diversi aspetti compresenti, quali il rinvenimento di oggetti legati alla sfera pubblica o a quella domestica, elementi strutturali, planimetrici e dimensionali che nella loro totalità non sono inequivocabilmente indicatori di un contesto pubblico piuttosto che privato. Così accade nella Casa 5 di Antigonea, interpretabile forse come abitazione di un cittadino che ha ricoperto un incarico di governo; in essa sono stati rinvenuti oggetti di chiara pertinenza pubblica, come tessere di voto/gettoni di presenza, per la cui produzione la città si qualifica come responsabile, e una tessera in argilla/cretula con riferimento alla carica di stratego<sup>48</sup>.

Occorre certamente menzionare i grandi teatri delle principali città di Phoinike, Gitana e Cassope, costruiti nel corso del III sec. a.C. per ospitare performance teatrali e in determinate occasioni anche assemblee politiche e tribunali, dal momento che si tratta di spazi polifunzionali, per natura deputati all'accoglimento di un gran numero di persone<sup>49</sup>.

Infine, è importante ricordare come, nonostante i rinvenimenti numismatici forniscano informazioni in merito alle emissioni e alle zecche dei diversi *ethne*, delle città, dell'*Apeiros* e del *koinon* federale durante l'età tardo-classica ed ellenistica<sup>50</sup>, al contrario non si conosca praticamente nulla riguardo al procedimento di coniazione che poteva svolgersi nei centri più importanti in *ateliers* di artigiani specializzati. Un possibile esempio è fornito dall'officina monetaria di Antigonea, situata nei pressi dell'*agora*, nella quale è probabile fossero prodotte

<sup>47</sup> Vd. la Casa IV di Kallion/Kallipolis in Etolia, identificata come la residenza privata dei membri della famiglia di Agetas e di suo figlio Lochagos, strateghi degli Etoli tra il 224 e il 139 a.C., o come il pritaneo della città (Coqueugniot 2013, 80–81 con bibliografia di riferimento), o alcune abitazioni di Eretria (Etienne 2006, 105).

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Budina 1972, 307–311; Rinaldi, Gorica c.d.s.

<sup>49</sup> Hellmann 2016: 619; Tozzi 2016.

<sup>50</sup> Papaevangelou-Genakos 2013; Liampi 2017.

monete del *koinon* degli Epiroti, nonostante non si possa escludere che i proprietari della casa fossero in realtà dei contraffattori<sup>51</sup>.

#### **4. Ruolo e statuto delle città**

Dall'analisi dell'edilizia pubblica civile è emerso chiaramente come le complesse realtà urbane epirote, attingendo a modelli trasmessi dal mondo greco, si siano dotate progressivamente, tra seconda metà IV e II sec. a.C., di un'architettura politico-amministrativa strettamente connessa con lo spazio dell'*agora*, che caratterizza queste città come importanti sedi di istituzioni. Inoltre, è evidente come l'evoluzione architettonica di questi spazi rispecchi in modo concreto le trasformazioni che interessano il corpo civico, le sue dinamiche storiche e il ruolo di alcune esperienze istituzionali, sia a livello cittadino che del quadro etnico-tribale di riferimento. L'individuazione di determinate tipologie di spazi civili all'interno delle città analizzate ha portato a ritenere che lo studio dell'edilizia connessa alla gestione delle attività politiche e amministrative possa essere utile per tentare di ricostruire il complesso profilo istituzionale delle città e il ruolo politico che hanno rivestito all'interno di un quadro sociale e territoriale incentrato su comunità claniche e tribali, soprattutto quando le fonti letterarie ed epigrafiche non forniscono notizie utili a riguardo. Allo stesso modo si è ritenuto di dover approfondire l'analisi dei numerosi oggetti (tessere, cretule con sigilli, bolli, stele, elementi architettonici) iscritti con "*Marks of State Ownership*"<sup>52</sup>, poiché, esaminati contestualmente allo sviluppo degli spazi pubblici e alle vicende storiche che interessano ogni singolo sito e più in generale la regione, permettono non solo di proporre ipotesi sulle funzioni dei complessi civici, ma anche di acquisire nuovi possibili elementi per meglio definire le dinamiche interne al quadro politico-istituzionale dei centri urbani e del territorio. Certamente, la principale difficoltà che si incontra nel trattare questa tematica riguarda prima di tutto la limitatezza e allo stesso tempo la complessità di lettura del dato epigrafico. È noto, infatti, come si diffonda l'utilizzo di un lessico giuridico comune adoperato indifferentemente negli ordinamenti politici delle città, degli *ethne* e dei *koina*, che si esemplificano su quelli poleici (Consiglio, assemblea,

<sup>51</sup> Si tratta della c.d. Casa 4 o Casa della zecca: cf. Budina 1972: 303-305; Rinaldi, Gorica c.d.s.

<sup>52</sup> Donati 2010.

magistrature) delle vicine colonie corinzio-corcirese<sup>53</sup>. Dunque, l'attestazione in ambito urbano di termini come *polis* o *damos* potrebbe costituire la prova dell'esistenza di una comunità politica a livello cittadino oppure indicare, più in generale, l'entità etnico-tribale maggiore di cui la città fa parte; allo stesso modo l'utilizzo dell'etnico sulla monetazione, sui bolli, su oggetti di appartenenza pubblica, nell'onomastica, non sempre permette di riconoscere un profilo istituzionale a livello cittadino, in particolare nei casi in cui non è chiaro se esso si riferisca piuttosto all'*ethnos*<sup>54</sup>. Tuttavia, in alcuni casi esaminati, nei quali è riservato uno spazio centrale alla complessa gestione della cosa pubblica, è stato possibile riconoscere nella terminologia giuridica impiegata nelle iscrizioni conservate un chiaro riferimento alle istituzioni cittadine piuttosto che a quelle degli *ethne/koïna*.

Nelle città di Antigonea, Gitana, Phoinike, Elea e Cassope sono stati rinvenuti diversi oggetti che alludono in maniera più o meno diretta alla comunità politica cittadina (*damos?*), quale organo centrale nella regolamentazione delle attività politiche, giudiziarie ed edilizie. Così, ad esempio, i quattordici dischetti bronzei con iscritto ANTIGONEQN rinvenuti nella Casa 5 di Antigonea, utilizzati molto probabilmente come tessere di voto o come gettoni di presenza per la partecipazione alle assemblee pubbliche e alle corti giudiziarie<sup>55</sup>, richiamano il corpo civico e certamente sono indicatori di un'amministrazione della giustizia e/o della politica cittadina. Inoltre, il ritrovamento nell'archivio dell'Edificio A di Gitana di due cretule in argilla con sigillo impresso con iscritto il medesimo etnico<sup>56</sup> documenta come la città e il suo corpo civico, in piena autonomia, intrattenessero rapporti politici ed economici con istituzioni esterne al territorio caono tra III e II sec. a.C.<sup>57</sup>. Nella città di Gitana, nel corso del III sec. a.C., si costruiscono edifici pubblici utilizzando laterizi sui quali un potere centrale attesta la proprietà; i termini ΔΑΜΟΣΙΑ e ΔΑ su tegole e antefisse richiamano il nome tecnico della comunità statale (*damos*), che detiene l'autorità per edificare propri spazi in città con denaro pubblico, e non può essere escluso a priori che fosse la stessa Gitana, in

<sup>53</sup> Antonetti 2010; 2011; Crema 2010; De Vido 2010.

<sup>54</sup> De Vido 2010, 268; Palazzo 2010, 275-280.

<sup>55</sup> Budina 1972, 276, fig. 5, 309-310; Cabanes 2016, nr. 57.

<sup>56</sup> Preka-Alexandri, Stoyas 2011, 680; Preka-Alexandri 2013, 225.

<sup>57</sup> Antigonea, fondata o ripianificata da Pirro agli inizi del III sec. a.C., viene ricordata con il termine di *polis* in Tolomeo (3, 14, 7) e Stefano di Bisanzio (s.v. Ἀντιγόνηα, πόλις Χαονίας ἐν Ἡπειρώ. Ὁ πολίτης Ἀντιγονεύς).

quanto organismo politico, e non un'entità etnica superiore, a provvedere alla costruzione di determinati edifici, tanto più che quattordici cretule con sigillo ΓΙΤΑΝΑ<sup>58</sup> testimoniano un'evidente autonomia istituzionale a livello civico nel III e II sec. a.C., così come una laminetta bronzea di fine II sec. a.C. rinvenuta nel c.d. *Mikros naos* attesta la comunità dei ΓΙΤΑΝΟΙΣ<sup>59</sup>, mentre, alcune cretule con sigillo con testa femminile menzionano probabilmente la *boule* cittadina (ΒΟΥΛΑΣ)<sup>60</sup>. Cassope rappresenta il migliore esempio in cui la comunità cittadina caratterizzata in senso politico ha un ruolo accertato nella vita pubblica; diversi monumenti onorari situati nell'*agora*, databili tra fine IV e II sec. a.C., sono realizzati dalla πόλις Κασσωπαίων o dedicati alla *polis* stessa, mentre monete, pesi in bronzo, laterizi e oggetti utilizzati nelle votazioni sono iscritti con le sigle ΔΑ(μοσι-), ΚΑΣ(σωπαίων) e ΚΑΣΣΩΠΑΙΩΝ<sup>61</sup>.

Informazioni si ricavano anche sulle possibili magistrature che operano nei diversi centri, nonostante di esse vi siano pochissime attestazioni. A Cassope l'eponimia civica è ricoperta dal pritane, mentre quattro strateghi svolgono importanti compiti politico-amministrativi interni alla *polis* e provvedono alla difesa della città e all'organizzazione dei cittadini, sia in pace che in guerra. Le magistrature sono attestate epigraficamente tra inizi II e metà I sec. a.C., ma il bollo ΕΠΙ ΚΕΡΚΙΩΝΟΣ su una tegola corinzia certifica probabilmente la presenza di un magistrato cittadino eponimo, forse lo stesso pritane, già nella prima metà del III sec. a.C. (SEG XXXII, 616). In città sono presenti anche funzionari incaricati di sorvegliare la produzione di monete che potevano ricoprire la carica di stratego, pritane, magistrato monetario, o altro ancora<sup>62</sup>, e sicuramente un collegio di agoranomi che vigilava sulla correttezza delle transazioni commerciali e l'utilizzo delle giuste misure, come suggerito dai pesi in bronzo con monogrammi ΔΑ, Τ, ΚΑΣ, rinvenuti nella Casa 7 e 14 (SEG XXXV, 673a-c). La carica del ginnasiarca, figura non presente in Epiro e nota in età ellenistica, con funzione eponimica, a Klos, in Illiria meridionale<sup>63</sup>, è attestata ad Antigonea nel II sec. a.C., mentre a

<sup>58</sup> Preka-Alexandri, Stoyas 2011, 677; Preka-Alexandri 2013, 223.

<sup>59</sup> Cabanes 2013.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Preka-Alexandri, Stoyas 2011, 679; Katsikoudis 2012, 34.

<sup>61</sup> SEG XXXIV, 589-590; XXXV, 671, 672, 673a-c; Hoepfner et al. 1994, 134, fig. 119; Funke, Moustakis, Hochschulz 2004, 346; Papaevangelou-Genakos 2013, 134, 142-145.

<sup>62</sup> Leschhorn 2013, 163, 166.

<sup>63</sup> Cabanes 2016, nr. 369.

Phoinike, su alcuni bolli su tegola rinvenuti nell'*agora* (III-II sec. a.C.) è espressa la datazione con il nome del magistrato eponimo a capo della comunità civica o a cui era stato dato l'incarico di garantire la qualità dei laterizi, insieme al toponimo della città proprietaria del materiale impiegato certamente in costruzioni pubbliche (ΦΟΙΝΙΚΑΣ)<sup>64</sup>. Infine, le cretule con sigillo rinvenute nell'Edificio A di Gitana attestano la probabile presenza di cariche magistratuali civiche nella medesima città e in quella di Elea<sup>65</sup>.

Ripercorrendo quanto noto sul quadro urbanistico e istituzionale dei siti esaminati, è evidente come essi non assumano una forma propriamente urbana secondo identici processi e si dotino di un proprio profilo politico-amministrativo strettamente dipendente da situazioni contingenti. In secondo luogo, le strutture urbane si formano certamente all'interno di un'organizzazione sociale, economica, territoriale e politica che ha alla base l'*ethnos* e che è composta da una moltitudine di piccole comunità autonome. In tal senso, uno dei fattori che contribuisce alla genesi di una cultura urbana risiede nella volontà di gruppi locali di dotarsi di centri di controllo, sedi amministrative, luoghi di culto e spazi di commercio, che certamente possono aver acquisito, in base all'importanza ricoperta, la funzione di centri direttivi di comunità dal chiaro profilo statale (*koina*). Quello che sembra trasparire, tuttavia, è una tendenza alla trasformazione di alcune di queste città in vere e proprie *poleis*, con un territorio abitato da una comunità con un chiaro profilo istituzionale e giuridico a livello cittadino, che in alcuni casi continuano a partecipare all'ordinamento politico dei *koina* maggiori (Caoni, Tesproti, Molossi) e delle strutture federali superiori. Tali processi non si verificano ovunque e nello stesso momento e soprattutto sono influenzati il più delle volte da eventi esterni alle singole comunità e mutamenti storici importanti che vanno analizzati singolarmente. La qualità del dato archeologico influisce fortemente nella ricostruzione del quadro generale; è evidente, infatti, come tali dinamiche siano più riconoscibili in alcuni centri per l'abbondanza del dato archeologico, epigrafico e storico, assente nella

<sup>64</sup> Solo uno dei bolli è pubblicato: cf. SEG LIII, 579.

<sup>65</sup> Un sigillo appartiene all'*agogeus* di Elea, probabilmente una guida o accompagnatore, o un *prosecutor* in atti giudiziari, mentre un secondo al *grammateus*, forse il segretario di un organo istituzionale e politico di Elea, carica ampiamente nota nelle comunità della Grecia nord-occidentale. Altri sigilli ricordano il collegio degli agoranomi e il corpo giuridico degli *epamforodikai*, che non è escluso fossero magistrature presenti nella stessa città di Gitana non essendo accompagnati da un etnico. In generale, Preka-Alexandri, Stoyas 2011, 678-679.



stragrande maggioranza dei casi, e come la documentazione epigrafica, nota soprattutto a partire dalla formazione del *koinon* degli Epiroti (232 a.C.), non permetta di valutare in pieno l'entità dei fenomeni in età alto-ellenistica. Ad esempio, Cassope all'inizio del II sec. a.C. presenta lo stesso ordinamento politico che mostra Ambracia nello stesso periodo<sup>66</sup>, con un pritane come magistrato supremo della *polis*<sup>67</sup> e un collegio di strateghi quali cariche civili/militari più alte<sup>68</sup>. Le iscrizioni e le importanti trasformazioni urbanistiche che si verificano intorno alla fine del III sec. a.C. a Cassope, periodo nel quale la città conia una sua serie monetale in argento, sono segno tangibile della piena acquisizione dello *status* di *polis* in questo periodo; tuttavia, è molto probabile che i diversi *ethne*, che secondo un processo "sinecistico" fondano Cassope, avessero già adottato nella seconda metà del IV sec. a.C. un profilo istituzionale di tipo poleico (influenzato certamente da Filippo II, che proprio intorno alla metà del IV sec. a.C. interviene militarmente nel sud della regione) documentato dalle prime iscrizioni e dai primi importanti edifici politici e amministrativi realizzati sull'*agora* tra IV e III sec. a.C.<sup>69</sup>. Diversamente, Phoinike sembra acquisire pienamente lo *status* di *polis* solamente negli anni successivi alla fine della Terza guerra macedonica<sup>70</sup> con la coniazione della prima monetazione riportante l'etnico cittadino ( $\Phi\text{OINIKAI}\epsilon\text{QN}$ )<sup>71</sup>, come punto di arrivo di un processo che è già in essere negli ultimi decenni del III sec. a.C. Vi sono situazioni, ovviamente, dove tali sviluppi non paiono prendere piede come, ad esempio, a Orraon e Dymokastro dove l'evidenza archeologica non permette di proporre ipotesi differenti se non ritenere gli insediamenti come centri direttivi degli *ethne* degli Orraitai Molossoi e degli Elinoi Thesprotoi, con spazi pubblici sacri e civili. In altri casi, invece, vi sono *ethne* che continuano a vivere *kata komas* e privi di un centro di riferimento strutturato in senso urbano ma con una serie di nuclei

<sup>66</sup> Crema 2010, 206-207.

<sup>67</sup> Anche in diverse città dell'Iliria meridionale si ritrovano attestazioni di un pritane eponimo sia a livello di *poleis* che di comunità autonome o di organizzazioni a struttura federale (*koinon* dei Bylliones, Amantia e Dimale): vd. Cabanes 2016, 100, 215-216, 258.

<sup>68</sup> Matijašić 2010.

<sup>69</sup> Hoepfner et al. 1994, 119; Hansen, Nielsen 2004, 105-106.

<sup>70</sup> Dal settore orientale della città, nel luogo della probabile prima *agora* cittadina, proviene un frammento di architrave dorico con iscrizione [- - - Π]ΟΛΕΙ databile al pieno II a.C.: vd. De Maria, Gorica c.d.s., fig. 2.

<sup>71</sup> Gjongecaj 2011, 138.

fortificati a protezione delle vie legate alla transumanza come visibile nel complesso sistema di popolamento presente in Molossia<sup>72</sup>.

Le trasformazioni urbanistiche attestate nel cuore civico di Cassope alla fine del III sec. a.C. e documentate anche negli spazi pubblici di diverse città dell'Epiro (Phoinike, Gitana, Elea) nello stesso periodo potrebbero dipendere anche da mutamenti sul piano dell'ordinamento politico interno ai singoli centri; si tratta forse della prova di una trasformazione dello statuto interno e di un adeguamento delle forme di governo, non esclusivamente a livello di *ethne* maggiori, ma probabilmente a livello di città con un proprio ordinamento politico autonomo, nel momento in cui le diverse realtà locali si riuniscono nello stato federale epirota (232-170 a.C.) per non soccombere alle spinte espansionistiche provenienti dall'esterno (Illiria, Etolia, Macedonia, Roma)<sup>73</sup>. Dunque, si ritiene che la coesistenza di *poleis* ed *ethne* presente nei vicini *koina* degli Acarnani e degli Etoli<sup>74</sup> in età ellenistica abbia caratterizzato anche il territorio epirota, sicuramente durante il periodo dello stato federale a cavallo tra III e II sec. a.C.

Infine, uno degli aspetti che caratterizza il sostrato sociale e politico dell'Epiro è la continua e stretta interazione tra la dimensione etnica e quella cittadina, basata su una distribuzione pluristratificata delle competenze politiche e amministrative, ripartite tra le *komai*, i centri urbani, le entità tribali maggiori (Caoni, Tesproti e Molossi) e certamente le strutture superiori dello stato federale, più chiaramente definibile solo dopo la creazione del *koinon* degli Epirota. La complessa struttura piramidale, che presenta più livelli distinti, ognuno dei quali amministrato in modo autonomo e rappresentato da propri magistrati (*prostatai*), ha lasciato traccia nelle fonti epigrafiche<sup>75</sup>, pur risultando poco definibile nel suo reale funzionamento. Lo stato federale accordava un buon grado di autonomia alle realtà locali come documentato dal fatto che i *prostatai*, con funzione eponimica, compaiono unicamente in ambito locale nelle concessioni di onori e negli atti di affrancamento da parte di privati cittadini, mentre non compaiono nelle formule datanti dei decreti del *koinon* degli Epirota<sup>76</sup>. Tra le numerose competenze riservate dal centro federale alle città vi

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Dausse 2017 con bibliografia precedente.

<sup>73</sup> Meyer 2015, 313. Dinamiche simili, con la formazione di entità autonome e indipendenti legalmente simili a *poleis*, si verificano anche in Etolia con la formazione del *koinon* degli Etoli nel III e II sec. a.C.: vd. Funke 2015, 93-94.

<sup>74</sup> Freitag 2015; Funke 2015.

<sup>75</sup> Vd. e.g. SEG XV, 411; Cabanes 2012, 53 nr. 6.

<sup>76</sup> Meyer 2015, 315.

era forse l'autorizzazione a battere moneta in bronzo del *koinon*, pratica che potrebbe essere attestata ad Antigonea nell'officina monetaria. Allo stesso modo, alcuni bolli su tegole recuperati a Phoinike, Antigonea e Orraon, con monogrammi riferibili all'etnico cittadino e tribale e databili nel III e II sec. a.C., testimoniano come la produzione di laterizi fosse posta sotto il controllo dei *koina* maggiori e delle singole città<sup>77</sup>. In quest'ottica di relazioni tra le diverse componenti giuridiche dello stato federale si inserisce perfettamente la città di Gitana, pienamente associata a esso, in cui si è riunita l'*ekklesia* del *koinon* degli Epiroti, il "*concilium Epirotarum*", nel 172 a.C. (Liv. 42, 38, 1). Le circa tremila piccole cretule in argilla che sigillavano i documenti papiracei, rinvenute nell'Edificio A, evidenziano una stretta rete di rapporti politici e commerciali tra la città e le istituzioni dei *koina* e delle *poleis* dell'Epiro e non solo; in particolare, l'Edificio A potrebbe essere lo spazio di rappresentanza della comunità cittadina a livello del *koinon* dei Tesproti e degli Epiroti. Inoltre, i dischetti circolari in bronzo con foro centrale, marcati con il monogramma del *koinon* degli Epiroti, utilizzati probabilmente per attività giudiziarie, identici agli esemplari rinvenuti a Dodona<sup>78</sup>, testimoniano la creazione di tribunali comuni, aspetto tipico delle formazioni federali<sup>79</sup>.

La forte autonomia delle realtà etniche e poleiche si esprime chiaramente nelle posizioni divergenti assunte da esse nel corso della Terza guerra macedonica che portano alla conseguente disgregazione del *koinon* degli Epiroti. L'ingerenza di Roma nelle politiche epirote causerà in alcuni casi l'arresto dei processi di definizione istituzionale di alcuni centri urbani che verranno distrutti e gradualmente abbandonati, in altri consentirà una continuità di vita degli insediamenti fortificati utilizzati anche come centri amministrativi da parte di funzionari romani, in altri ancora contribuirà alla definitiva acquisizione dello *status* di *polis*, pur certo dipendente dalle politiche di Roma, da parte di città come Phoinike e Butrinto, che continueranno a ricoprire un ruolo primario nella regione nel corso dei secoli.

In conclusione, l'applicazione di un nuovo approccio alla storia delle istituzioni dell'Epiro di età ellenistica che prenda le mosse dalle

<sup>77</sup> Ad Antigonea e a Phoinike sono stati rinvenuti due frammenti di tegole con lo stesso bollo con monogramma XA(όνων). Nella Casa 1 o A di Orraon sono stati rinvenuti due frammenti di tegole con bollo MO(λοσσών) e ΚΑΣ[ΣΩΠΑΙΩΝ]: vd. Dakaris 1986, 143, tavv. 41β-γ.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Carapanos 1878, 97, tav. XXXIII nr. 17; Kanta-Kitsou, Palli, Anagnostou 2008, 43 nr. 1.

<sup>79</sup> Lasagni 2011, 71-73.

realtà locali non ha la pretesa di giungere a risposte definitive, ma piuttosto di evidenziare la complessità del quadro analizzato fornendo alcune possibili letture riguardo alla struttura dell'ordinamento politico e amministrativo delle città, che potrebbero trovare ulteriori conferme solo attraverso uno studio ancora più puntuale della documentazione archeologica e delle attestazioni epigrafiche tuttora inedite.

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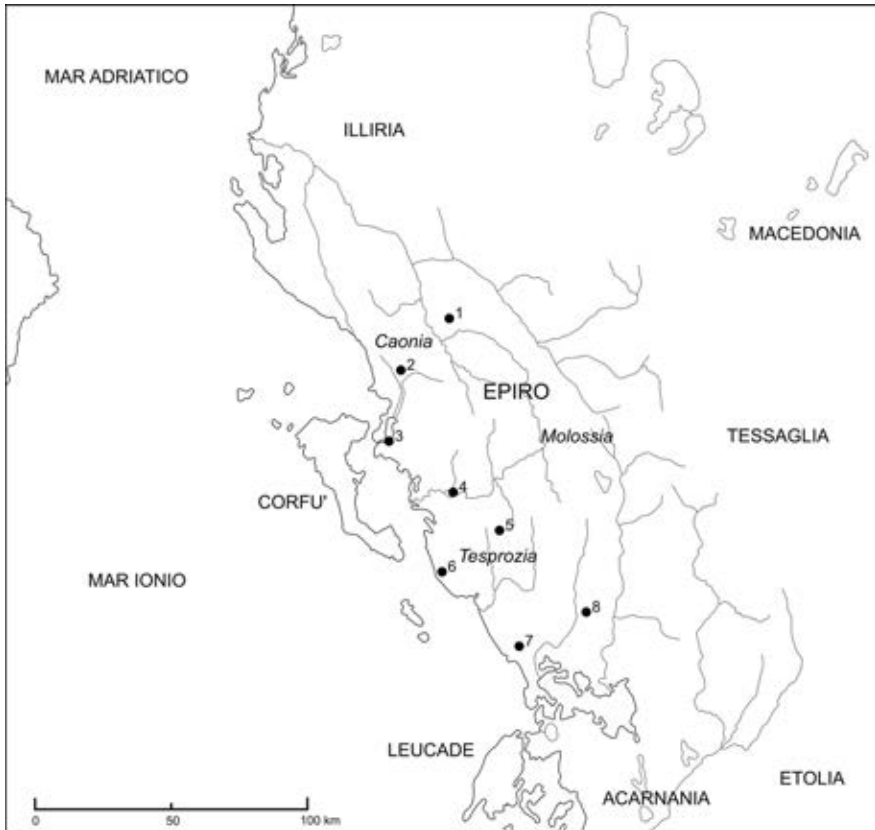


Fig. 1. Carta dell'Epiro con la posizione dei centri urbani analizzati: (1) Antigonea, (2) Phoinike, (3) Butrinto, (4) Gitana, (5) Elea, (6) Dymokastro, (7) Cassope, (8) Orraon.

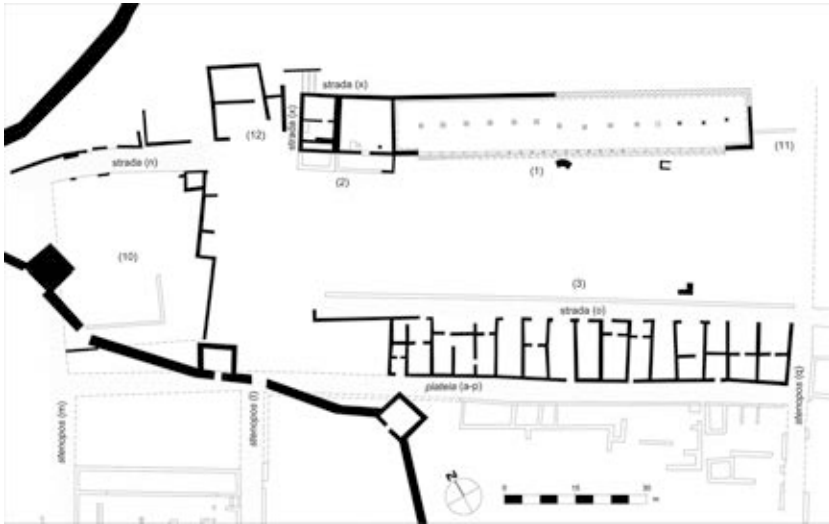


Fig. 2. Pianta dell'agora di Gitana: Stoa nord (1), Edificio E (2), Edificio commerciale (3), Complesso edilizio quadrangolare (10), Edifici (11) e (12).

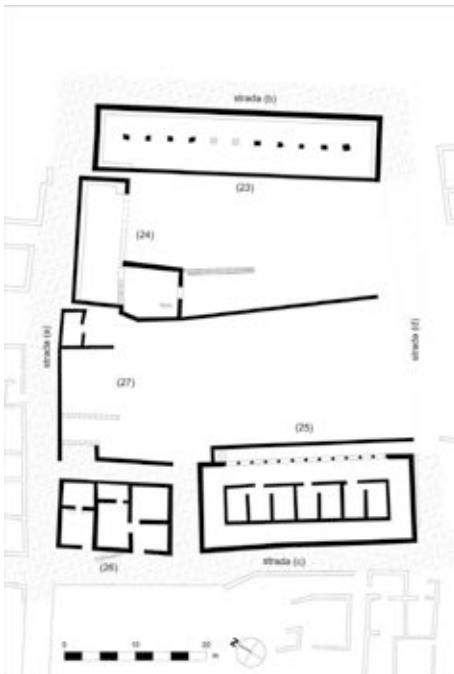


Fig. 3. Pianta dell'agora di Elea: Stoa est (23), Stoa nord (24), Stoa con oikoi (25), Edificio commerciale (26), Edificio pubblico nord (27).

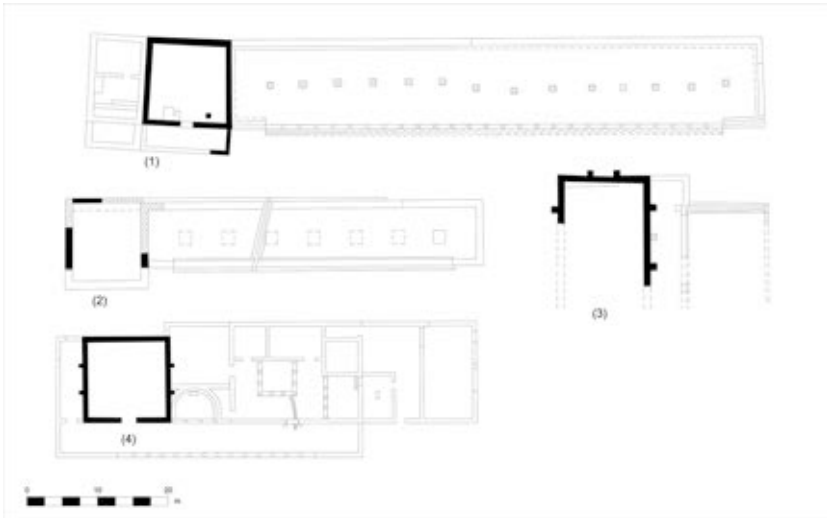


Fig. 4. Gli “Edifici per riunioni”: (1) Edificio E, Gitana; (2) Edificio per riunioni, Antigonea; (3) Edificio con contrafforti, Phoinike; (4) Edificio per riunioni, Cassope.



Fig. 5. L’Edificio E di Gitana.

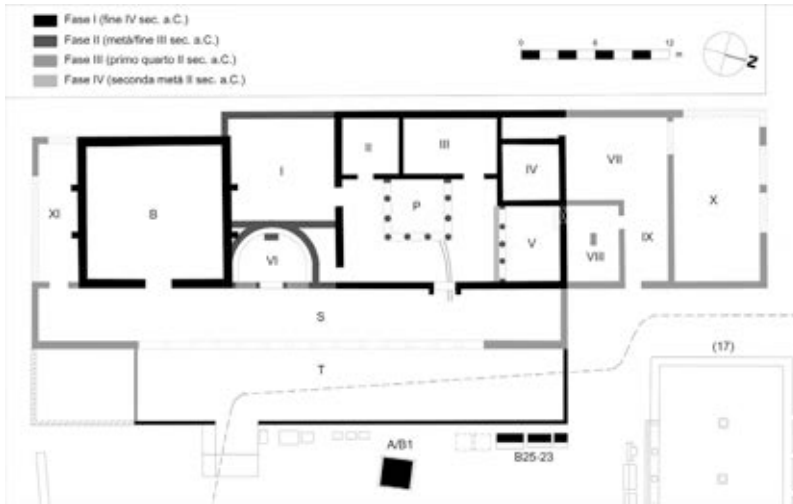


Fig. 6. Il complesso politico-amministrativo nell'agora di Cassope: Edificio per riunioni (B) e Pritaneo (P).



Fig. 7. La Stoa con oikoi nell'agora di Elea.

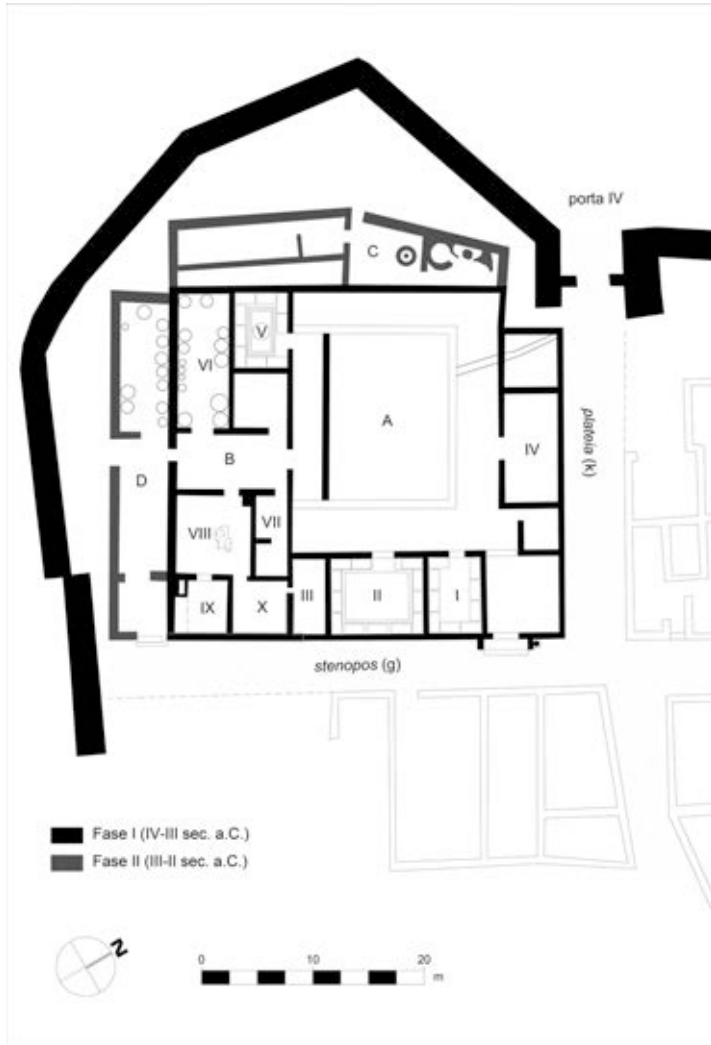


Fig. 8. Pianta dell'Edificio A di Gitana.



## LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF EPIROTE ETHNICS

### 1. Introduction

The publication of two emblematic works on the history and archaeology of ancient Epirus nearly half a century ago by N. Hammond (1967) and P. Cabanes (1976) respectively, was a two-fold milestone in modern research on this remote area of the ancient Greek world. Subsequent studies have advanced significantly our knowledge of these two, but also of many other scholarly fields, notably epigraphy, numismatics, art, language, topography, etc.<sup>1</sup>.

On the other hand, Epirote onomastics, with its various ramifications (historical, ethnological, linguistic, etc.), is still lacking a comprehensive account, especially from a linguistic point of view, despite the large number of published studies over the past 3-4 decades, which have primarily focused on historical, epigraphic, prosopographic and other aspects. A comprehensive linguistic analysis of Epirote onomastics, or just even of Epirote personal names alone, obviously falls outside the scope of this short study, which aims to address some major issues pertaining to linguistic features of ancient Epirote ethnics.

### 2. Epirote onomastics

#### 2.1 General

Onomastic studies normally focus on a variety of topics, ranging from personal names and onomastic formulae to demonyms, ethnics, and of course also place names (toponyms).

<sup>1</sup> In what follows, all references to terms like 'Epirus', 'Epirote', 'Greece', 'Greek' etc. refer to antiquity unless otherwise stated.

As already mentioned in the ‘Introduction’ (1) above, this study is concerned with linguistic aspects of ethnic names from Epirus. Nonetheless, ethnics and personal names are comparable linguistic entities from various points of view, not least with regard to some particular qualities (e.g. opaque etymology, common use beyond the domain of the original language, etc.) that often make them stand out and differ from common nouns, notably appellatives; in that respect, it is worth referring very briefly below (2.2) to a few basic issues concerning Epirote proper names in general, particularly personal names, which may be of relevance and could also help us set out the broader picture.

Proper names form a particular part of the lexicon and are often characterized by unique features as regards their morphology and semantics; note, for instance, compounded personal names with (almost) identical parts in reverse order, e.g. *Θεόδωρος* vs. *Δωρόθεος*, a phenomenon far less common in compounded common nouns (but cf. e.g. cases like Homeric *πιδώκης* vs. *ὠκύπους* ‘swift-footed [Achilles]’)<sup>2</sup>.

On the other hand, some other categories of proper names like ethnics or place names are often considered topics even less suitable for proper linguistic analysis, not least because of their ‘unsystematic’ character and opaque etymology (note for instance the large number of Pre-Greek place names, e.g. in *-νθός*, *-ττός/-σσός*, etc.). Nonetheless, this is not always the case, especially as regards their formation, since ethnics too tend to be formed according to the more common morphological patterns of each language<sup>3</sup>.

## **2.2 Onomastic studies on Epirus**

Modern research on Epirote onomastics has focused on personal names, even though Epirote ethnics have also attracted considerable

<sup>2</sup> On some special linguistic features of Ancient Greek personal names see Morpurgo Davies (2000).

<sup>3</sup> Lhôte (2011, 105) is probably right to note that ethnics can be analyzed linguistically inasmuch as anthroponyms, but have simply attracted less attention. Nonetheless, it sounds like an oversimplification to claim that personal names belong to two major categories (compounds and sobriquets), while ethnics to four (forms derived from sobriquets, hero names, toponyms and foreign names). Among others, such a classification mixes up semantic with morphological criteria.

attention due to their large number, on the one hand, and their coexistence in complex onomastic formulae, on the other (see below).

Personal names from ancient Epirus are now listed in volume III.A (1997) of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (LGPN III.A)<sup>4</sup>. LGPN III.A lists 3330 different persons from Epirus (online: <http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/publications/vol3a/places.html>), with male names making up around 80% of them and female names ca. 20% of them (cf. Matthews 1993, 177). On the other hand, geographic names, including ethnics, are not normally included unless they are used as personal names (e.g. Ἀκαρνάν as a personal name).

Previous scholarly works referring to the onomastics of Epirus include, among others, Bechtel (1923, 80-82), Thumb & Kieckers (1932, 314), and Bartoněk (1972, 67-68). Cabanes (1993b) and (occasionally) Cabanes et al. (1987-2004) contain a number of studies on Illyrian-Greek (not necessarily Epirote) onomastics. Katičić (1976, vol. I, 122-124), who essentially cites examples from V. Georgiev (1966), and Lhôte (2011) discuss Epirote ethnics; cf. also some references in Restelli (1969, 821-822). Méndez Dosuna (1985, 181-182) and Lhôte (2006, 12-13) also make references to onomastic issues, while De Simone (1985) focuses on select forms of Epirote onomastics, including ethnics. Finally, Curbera (2013) discusses a number of personal names from Dodona.

### **3. Epirote ethnics**

#### **3.1 General**

Ethnics constituted a special category of Greek proper names and were often part of the onomastic formula used for a Greek individual, especially outside his home city/place (e.g. Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδών).

<sup>4</sup> There are obviously new forms to be added (post LGPN III.A), most importantly from the oracular tablets from Dodona (DVC 2013), the epigraphic corpus from Bouthrotos (Cabanes et al. 2007), which was however taken into account in the publication of LGPN III.A, and from the inscriptions from the other parts of Chaonia (Cabanes et al. 2016). Note also the forthcoming publication of the corpus of inscriptions from Molossia (Cabanes et al.). For epigraphic texts and onomastic evidence from Epirus in general note also SEG and PHI online.

The word *ethnic* (Gk. τὸ ἐθνικόν) in the context of Greek was a term corresponding to the broader meaning of ‘people living together’ or of ‘people belonging to a community’. In that respect, it was rather different from the narrower, modern meaning of ‘belonging to an ethnic group’, Nonetheless, the original meaning of ethnics was not so broad since they were not associated to the notion of citizenship, i.e. of civic membership in the literal sense; that special meaning was based on the concept of ancestral descent, genuine or fictitious, and was normally linked to the Greek word γένος. However, from the Hellenistic period onwards, ethnics were used in that respect too, and their difference from similar terms was no longer very clear (cf. Fraser 2009, 58)<sup>5</sup>.

### 3.2 Epirus

Epirus in antiquity was an area characterized by its numerous tribes, *koïna* and local communities of various kinds (cities, towns, etc.), which often led to a multi-tier structure of affiliations for its inhabitants<sup>6</sup>. Epirote tribes often formed a *κοινόν*, which could be interpreted as ‘league’ in the case of multi-tribal associations or simply as ‘community’ in the case of single-tribe institutions. This complex picture is often reflected in the onomastic formulae of the inhabitants of Epirus, whose name could be followed by as many as three different ‘ethnics’, a (major) tribe name, a lesser tribe name (phylonym), and finally a clan name, e.g. Σαβυρ[τίου Μολο]σσῶν Ὀνοπέρονου [Καρτά]του; or, Μολοσσοὶ Ὀμφαλες Χιμῶλιοι (Cabanes 1976, 577, no. 50; Hammond 2000, 348). On the other hand, it is worth noting that Epirotes mentioned in texts found outside the confines of their homeland are normally modified by the generic ethnic term ‘Epirote’ (Ἡπειρώτης) (cf. e.g. Hammond 1967, 536 ff., 652 ff., 701-14; Cabanes 1976, 356 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> Note some relevant Greek terms, such as *topics*, i.e. adverbs of place, such as Ἀθήνηθεν, Μεγαρόθεν, and *ketics*, namely possessive adjectives that normally end in -ι(α)κός and may be used like ethnics proper, e.g. Ἀθηναϊκός, Ἀρκαδικός (but occasionally also in an absolute sense, e.g. τὸ Ἑλληνικόν) (cf. Fraser 2009, 35ff.).

<sup>6</sup> Hammond (2000) argues that *ethne* in Epirus (and in W. Macedonia) were basically tribal states, as was also the case in older times across Greece, rather than ‘rural communities’ of the later periods. In that respect, he differs from the view of other scholars, such as M. B. Hatzopoulos.

Epirote ethnics (in the broader sense) are more than 160, of which 102 occur in Bouthrotos (Lhôte 2011, 105)<sup>7</sup>. The historical, political and other (geographic, prosopographic, etc.) aspects of the numerous ethnic names found in inscriptions from Epirus have been examined in various studies, such as Hammond (1967; 2000) and Cabanes (1976). Nonetheless, the linguistic makeup of these ethnics is also of considerable interest, especially from the point of view of morphology and word-formation (suffixation, compounding), as the interesting linguistic study of (selective) ethnics from Bouthrotos by Lhôte (2011) has demonstrated.

In what follows, I attempt to compare the features of two different sets of Epirote ethnics: on the one hand, I analyze briefly the main semantic and morphological traits, in particular, of the eleven major tribe names of Epirus; on the other, I am going to compare my findings with those cited by Lhôte (2011), on the basis of the ethnics from Bouthrotos, which are of a different type (lesser tribe and clan names). Eventually, my aim is to highlight possible common and diverse patterns as regards their semantics, and their formation in particular.

### 3.3 Major Epirote ethnics

The inhabitant of Epirus was commonly known as ‘Epirote’ (Att. Ἡπειρώτης, fem. Ἡπειρώτις; Dor. Ἄπειρώτᾱς), obviously an ethnic derived from Epirus (Att. Ἡπειρος, Dor. Ἄπειρος), with the addition of the suffix -τᾱς/-της, which was originally meant for *nomina agentis*, but was also often used in the formation of Greek ethnics (cf. e.g. Σπαρτιάτης/-τᾱς)<sup>8</sup>.

As mentioned above (3.2), the ethnic name ‘Epirote’ was normally employed for an individual from Epirus when (s)he found

<sup>7</sup> Hammond (2000, 350) notes that in 1993 there were, according to P. Cabanes, around 80 ethnics known from inscriptions found in Dodona and Bouthrotos. Matthews (1993, 180) estimates ethnics in Epirus at around 150.

<sup>8</sup> ‘Epirus’ seems to be a Greek exonym, i.e. a name given to it by outsiders (e.g. southern Greek colonists of Doric provenance?) as its meaning indicates: ‘continent (vs. sea, offshore islands); coast (vs. hinterland)’; cf. Att.-Ion. Ἡπειρος, Dor. Ἄπειρος, Aeol. Ἄπερρος. It is probably linked to an IE root *\*Héh<sub>2</sub>per-*: note possible IE cognates like Germ. *Ufer* ‘shore’ (< Proto-Gmc. *\*ófera* < IE *\*Héh<sub>2</sub>pero-*). Cf. Fillos (2018, 215, fn. 1).

him-/herself outside the borders of Epirus (cf. Fraser 2009, 142). But the term ‘Epirote’ was in fact used in Epirus too, normally in the plural, in the context of official documents, such as decrees and coins, e.g. Ἀπειρωτᾶν ‘of the Epirotes’ (gen. pl.).

From the classical period onwards, it seems that Epirus had eleven major tribes: Μολοσσοί/-ττοί, Χάονες, Θεσπρωτοί, Κασσωπαῖοι, Ἀμφίλοχοι, Ἀθαμᾶνες, Αἰθίκες, Τυμφαῖοι, Ὀρέσται, Παρωραῖοι, Ἀτιντᾶνες. Strabo (*Geogr.* 7.7.1, 7.7.8) who wrote on the basis of previous historians, such as Hecataeus, Theopompus and others, points to 14 tribes instead, since one must also take into account here three more tribes (Λυγκησταί, Πελαγόνες, Ἐλιμιῶται) which most classical and contemporary authors considered Macedonian<sup>9</sup>. In any case, the three prominent tribes were the Molossians (Μολοσσοί/-ττοί), Thesprotians (Θεσπρωτοί) and Chaonians (Χάονες).

The etymology of some of these major ethnic names is problematic, even though their morphology is not equally opaque, namely it is generally possible to discern their morpheme boundaries, particularly between the root/stem and the suffix.

The ethnic Μολοσσοί (Att. Μολοττοί), the name of the most prominent Epirote tribe, points to a stem \*molak(h)- (rather than \*molot(h)-) followed by a -yo- suffix. The proposal by V. Georgiev (1966, 182; cf. also Katičić 1976, I.122) in favor of a link between this ethnic name and the Greek adjective μαλακός ‘soft’ is problematic, both for semantic (‘softground’?) and morphophonological reasons (cf. -ολο- vs -αλα-)<sup>10</sup>. Lhôte (2011, 109, fn. 13) analyzed this ethnic as \*Molo-k-yo-, namely as a proper name built on a root \*molo-, which would potentially make it correspond to Skt. *malam-* ‘mud, dung’. In other words, the tribe name Μολοσσοί could potentially stand for a meaning ‘muddy people, peasants’. This suggestion is morphologically more robust than the previous ones (but cf. the requirement for an anaptyctic (?) -k-), but obviously not really compelling, especially as regards its supposed semantics<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> In fact, tribes like the Ὀρέσται must have lived in the border areas between Epirus and W. Macedonia.

<sup>10</sup> It is true that syllabic \*l can have various reflexes in the context of Greek, namely not only αλ / λα, but also -ολ/λι-, especially in the context of certain dialects (e.g. Aeolic). Nonetheless, a major discrepancy -ολο- vs. -αλα- is more difficult to explain in terms of Greek phonology.

<sup>11</sup> Lhôte also refers, in the context of this brief etymological analysis, to the special secondary meanings of the words μολοβρός, μολύνω, which may be of relevance. In

The same etymological uncertainty surrounds the ethnic *Χάονες*. As is also the case with *Μολοσσοί*, who were allegedly named after the eponymous hero *Μολοσσός*, Chaonians too supposedly received their name from their eponymous ancestor *Χάων*, a Trojan hero (brother or friend of Helenus) who settled in Epirus (cf. Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.333-35). It is obvious, though, that the actual etymology ought to be analyzed outside the realm of mythology, which in the case of Epirus was largely linked to the *nostoi* of the Trojan War heroes, probably at a posterior time (cf. Malkin 2001). Nonetheless, there is still no reliable etymology for this ethnic name either. A link to words like *χάος* ‘void’ and *χάσσω* ‘to yawn, gape’, as proposed by V. Georgiev (1966, 181; cf. also Katičić 1976, I.122) seems semantically odd at first sight, even though it could in fact point to a rugged area. In addition, important phonemic differences between the two words in question (note e.g. the obvious vowel quantity difference between *Χάων-* vs. *χᾶF-*) render the association between the two forms even more improbable<sup>12</sup>.

On the other hand, we seem to be on safer ground with regard to the etymology of *Θεσπρωτοί* since this may well be a compound name, with *θεσ-* (< *\*dh(e)h<sub>1</sub>s-*) ‘god’ as its first member (cf. similar Greek compounds: *δέσφατος*, *δέσκελος*, *θεσπέσιος*, etc.) The identification of the second member of the compound is less straightforward an enterprise, though. For instance, an identification with the ordinal numeral *πρῶτος* ‘first’ (Katičić 1976, I.122) is not much convincing, both for semantic and other (cf. e.g. accentuation reasons). In that respect, De Simone (1985, 53-55; 1993, 53) appears to have put forward a much more reliable suggestion linking it to *πρωτός* (< *\*prh<sub>3</sub>t-*), a word that must be a cognate of Ved. Skt. *pūrtá-* (: *pūrti-*) ‘present, concession’ and which can also have a religious meaning (cf. *πεπρωμένον* ‘destined to’, a perfect participle with an adjectival meaning; later, it acquired a substantive meaning, ‘destiny’). In that respect, the tribe name *Θεσπρωτοί* could be interpreted as ‘attributed

addition, he mentions a potentially relevant semantic (?) example, that of the Attic *demos* of *Κόπρος*.

<sup>12</sup> Note that the root *\*χᾶF-* (cf. e.g. the cognate adj. *χαῦνος* ‘porous, spongy, frivolous’), may point to some kind of uneven surface (or terrain). But in any case, one may hardly rule out a completely different original root, which for some reason (e.g. phonological change, adaptation, contamination, folk etymology, etc.) may have become unrecognizable in due course.

by god' (in relation perhaps to their land, which originally also included the area of the oracle of Dodona)<sup>13</sup>.

The names of some other major Epirote tribes are also difficult to etymologize: for instance, the ethnic Ἀθαμᾶνες apparently includes a semantically opaque stem \*ἄθαμ- and a suffix -αν(-ες) (cf. below on the use of this suffix in Epirus). Georgiev's conjecture (1966, 182; cf. also Katičić 1976, I.122) of a possible link to θαμέες 'crowded' (cf. also θαμά 'often') seems weak; for instance, a meaning 'crowded' seems hardly fitting for a mountainous Epirote tribe. Moreover, there are morphological concerns in place: is the initial ἄ- to be interpreted as copulative (< \*sm-, 'together with'), along with Georgiev's interpretation above, or is it perhaps its more common privative counterpart (< \*n- 'non-, un-/in-')? In that case, though, the meaning 'crowded' would be untenable. Alternatively, it could simply be a prothetic vowel to be attributed to the presence of an initial laryngeal (\*h<sub>2</sub>). But after all, the root may well not be analyzable at all into ἄ + θαμ-, i.e. it may be unetymological within the context of Greek.

Similarly, Κασσωπαῖοι (or Κασσωποῖ) could be a compound form with a second part -ωπ- (cf. ὄψ 'face, eye'). A morphosemantic analysis of this form would leave us struggling with the problem of an assumed first member Κασσ-. Georgiev (1966: 181-182; cf. also Katičić 1976, I.122) linked this morpheme to the verbal form κέκασμαι 'to shine'. In that way, the name of the tribe should correspond to a meaning 'people with brilliant eyes (or shining face)'. Nonetheless, that is far from certain. Apart from the questionable overall meaning, one ought to point out that κέκασμαι is normally linked to the meaning 'to excel, surpass, raise, etc.' (cf. e.g. τέχνησι κεκασμένος or δόλοισι κεκασμένε in Homer). In addition, we must take into account that the few words starting with Κασσ- in Greek may of course be linked to Indo-European roots, i.e. \*(s)kend- 'raise' or \*KeNs- 'order' (cf. e.g. Κάσσανδρος, Κασσάνδρα), but can also be loanwords, especially from the East (e.g. Anatolian κασσίτερος 'tin') (cf. Beekes 2010, s.vv.).

The name of the tribe Ἄτιντᾶνες is also hard to etymologize with certainty, except for the fact that it sports the common suffix -ᾶν-ες

<sup>13</sup> The oxytone form Θεσπρωτός may be indicative of its more archaic formation; cf. e.g. the later, quasi-identical personal name Θεόπρωτος, with its recessive accentuation (plus the later, more 'regular' form of its first member, Θεό- < θεός < θεός < \*θεσός), perhaps after names like Θεόδοτος, Θεόγλωτος, etc.) (cf. De Simone 1985, 54).



(but that could also be a matter of morphological adaptation). Any attempt to discover an etymology within Greek (e.g. ἀντι- + adv. ἄντα ‘face to face’, or even ἀντι- + ἄνται ‘winds’, with possible regressive dissimilation nt...nt > t...nt), would hardly be anything more than mere guesswork. Georgiev (1966: 181) postulated a root *\*kwind-o-* > *-tint-* here, allegedly linked to Πίνδος (Aeolic!); but that is too far-fetched a hypothesis obviously. In addition, there has been a long-term debate, which goes back to conflicting views expressed by ancient authors (e.g. Appian (*Illyr.* 7): Ἰλλυριῶν τοὺς Ἀτιντανούς vs. Strabo (*Geogr.* 3.26) Ἠπειρώται δ' εἰσί...καὶ Ἀτιντᾶνες) whether this ethnic name should be related to the Illyrian tribe of *Atintani*<sup>14</sup>.

The remaining major ethnicities of Epirus seem to have a safer etymology: Ἀμφίλοχοι (also used as a personal name) can be analyzed as a compound made up of the preposition ἀμφί ‘around’ and the noun λόχος ‘childbirth, ambush, military band’. The last meaning (‘military band’) may be related, to some extent, to the etymology of the tribal name (‘people living around (a certain area?)’). Alternatively one may look at Indo-European cognates (esp. Germanic and Slavic) deriving from the same root, which point to the meaning ‘position, basin, bed, valley’ (cf. also Gk. cognates λέκτρον, λέχος ‘bed’ (lit.)) (see Beekes 2010, s.v. λέχεται).

The tribe name Αἰθίτες could apparently be linked to an IE root *\*aidh-* ‘emitting, light, burning’ (cf. αἶθω, αἶθουσα, etc.)<sup>15</sup>. Nonetheless, this is not certain, given the common etymological

<sup>14</sup> Hammond (1989), among others (M. Hatzopoulos, F. Papazoglou), challenged this view espoused by previous scholars (from M. Holleaux down to P. Cabanes, to mention only the two main proponents) and posited on a number of historical, epigraphic, topographic and archaeological grounds that Ἀτιντᾶνες were a distinct Epirote tribe. Hammond argued that Atintanes were situated to the north-west of Molossia, namely to the north of river Thyamis, with Chaonians to their north-west, Thesprotians to their south and Parauaei to their north-east (cf. maps nos. 2, 3 in Hammond 1989, 18, 24). Hammond (1989, 11) also cites several cases of quasi-identical names used in parallel by Greek and non-Greek tribes, especially in the area of Epirus and Illyria. For instance, Illyr. *Amantini* (Pannonia) vs. Gk. *Amantes* (N. Epirus), Illyr. *Autariatae* (Illyria) vs. Gk. *Autariatae* (Epirus), Illyr.(?) *Dassareti* (Dalmatia) vs. *Dassaretae* (between Macedonia and Epirus), Illyr. *Perrhaebi* (Illyria) and Gk. *Perrhaebei* (N. Thessaly).

<sup>15</sup> Note here the similar problem with the foreign ethnic name Αἰθίοπες which since antiquity has been interpreted as ‘people with burnt faces’, but whose etymology poses a number of problems, e.g. -οπ- rather than -ωπ- (cf. Beekes 2010, s.v.). See also Hatzopoulos (1993).

problems with proper names (adaptation, folk etymology, substrate/adstrate influence, etc.). Note also the rather unusual *-ιx-* morpheme (?), at least in the context of Epirote ethnics.

The next two tribe names, *Τυμφαῖοι* and *Παρωραῖοι* must have derived from their particularly mountainous homelands respectively (*παρά* ‘living next to...’), which in the former case is specifically Mt *Τύμφη*<sup>16</sup>.

Finally, the tribe *Ὀρέσται*, who were at times considered Epirote (Molossian) but at (later) times Macedonian, may be related to the meaning ‘mountain dwellers, mountainous people’ (cf. Photius, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ὀρέστης*), as was also the case with the personal name *Ὀρέστης/-ᾶς*. Note here some similar Greek compounds (common nouns) like *ὀρέσ-βιος* (also a personal name) ‘mountain-dwelling’ (vs. synonym *ὄρεσι-δαίαιτος*).

### 3.4 Ethnics in Bouthrotos

Ethnic names of minor tribes or communities (local *koïna*, cities, towns, etc.) also show a mixed character as regards their etymological as well as their semantic and morphological traits. Lhôte (2011) examined the basic linguistic features (etymology, morphology, semantics) of a selective number of ethnics (out of 102 in total), primarily of ‘minor’ populations (tribes, clans) found in the corpus of inscriptions from Bouthrotos (Chaonia). His remarks have been grouped in a somewhat modified form below (cf. also Lhôte 2011, 107, 111).

(1) The vast majority of the ethnics from Bouthrotos can be etymologized in the context of Greek, without any recourse to other languages, notably Illyrian. For instance, *Χ(ε)ῖλιοι* ‘a thousand, numerous’, *Αἰγιδόριοι* ‘goat flayers’, *Ἄσαντοι* ‘inflexible (?)’ (cf. Aeschylus, *Choeph.* 421). The only real exception are *Τέμουσι*, which is built on the Illyrian stem *Tem-* (cf. Illyrian personal names like *Temus* (masc.), and *Temeia*, *Τεμω*, *Τεμιτευτα* (fem.)) suffixed with

<sup>16</sup> Note also the tribe name *Παραναῖοι* which clearly links this ethnic to their tribal homeland near the river *ἌΦῶτις* (or *Αῤῥος*).

Greek -ουο- (< -Fo-) (cf. also here the Molossian ethnic Γενοαῖοι or Γενουαῖοι < \*ΓενF-αῖοι)<sup>17</sup>.

(2) the ethnics of Bouthrotos can be classified into four semantic categories: (i) ethnics derived from/relating to common nouns, notably appellatives, which often pertain to the sphere of strength and war: e.g. Μυωνοί ‘muscular, strong’ (from μυών, -ῶνος < μῦς, μύς ‘muscle’), Αἰγιδόριοι ‘goat flayers’ (from αἶξ, αἰγός ‘goat’ + δέρω ‘to skin, flay’; cf. also δορά ‘skin, hide’), Ἄσαντοι (from ἄσαντος ‘inflexible’; cf. above), etc.; (ii) ethnics derived from (or relating to) place names<sup>18</sup>, normally pointing to nature or rural activities<sup>19</sup>: e.g. Βουθρώτιοι ‘people living in Βουθρωτός (νῆσος?)’, namely ‘the peninsula where cows can become impregnated (?)’ (< Βου-θρω-τός)<sup>20</sup>, Κλαθραῖοι (cf. Κλάθριοι in Dodona) ‘people living in a place with alders’ (cf. Att. κλήθρα ‘alder (kind of bush)’), etc.<sup>21</sup>; (iii) ethnics *potentially* – if not a posterior etymological affiliation- derived from hero names: e.g. Μήδ[ε]ιοι ‘the descendants of an eponymous hero Μήδειος (?)’, etc.; (iv) ethnics built on foreign ethnic names: e.g. Παρθαῖοι, Φαρναῖοι, which may have been built upon an Iranian stem (see also discussion in fn. 17), etc.<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> Note also two other tribes with possible non-Greek roots, i.e. Παρθαῖοι (well attested) and Φαρναῖοι (*hapax*), which Lhôte (2011, 111) considers ultimately Iranian, but acclimatized to Greek long time before. Such a hypothesis about two oriental ethnics would also require a convincing historical account, for instance, a reference to some (past?) links with the eastern Mediterranean and the Near East in general.

<sup>18</sup> Lhôte (2011, 107) is right to note that ethnics relating to place names do not necessarily derive from them since on a number of occasions, especially as regards non-sedentary populations, it may be the other way round. This holds particularly true for a number of transhumant populations in Epirus, W. Thessaly and W. Macedonia, and in fact not only in antiquity but also in more recent times (cf. Hammond 2000, 346-347).

<sup>19</sup> Note, though, exceptions like the ethnic Ἄσπεατοί ‘citizens, city people’ (from ἄστυ, -εως, root ἌσπεF-).

<sup>20</sup> See the detailed etymological analysis of this place name in Lhôte (2011, 108).

<sup>21</sup> Lhôte (2011, 108-109) argues that Ἀμόργιοι is also a clan name relating to a ‘microtoponyme épirote’ Ἀμοργός ‘place for pressing olives/grapes’ (cf. also here the homonymous Aegean island). However, this ethnic may alternatively have derived from an agent noun ἀμοργός ‘a person who presses’ (cf. *LSJ*, s.v.).

<sup>22</sup> It is obvious that forms of category (iii) in particular, but also of (iv) to some extent, are open to debate as regards their etymology, with the obvious exception of Τέμουοι, which had better be discussed in the context of category (iv) rather than of

(3) The morphological analysis of the ethnic names reveals a considerable variety, especially as regards ethnics derived from simple appellatives (cf. category (i) in (2) above): (i) simple nouns: e.g. Χίλιοι ‘a thousand, numerous’, Ἄσαντοι ‘inflexible’, Κεστρῖνοι ‘fishermen (of the fish κέστρα/κεστρῖνος?)’, Θυῖοι ‘furious, followers of Dionysus’<sup>23</sup>; (ii) (few) compounds: e.g. Αἰγιδόριοι (and possibly Βουθρώτιοι, Λοιγύφιοι, even though these two ethnics are in essence derivatives from compounded base forms, i.e. Βουθρωτός, \*Λοίγυφος); (iii) augmented/suffixed forms of various kinds: thematized (-o-vowel) forms (e.g. Μυωνοί, Τέμουοι), properly suffixed forms (-ιος, e.g. Βουθρώτιοι, Κερκώπιοι; -ῖνος, e.g. Ὀπτασῖνοι (< ὀπτασία ‘vision, bellevue’); -αιο-, e.g. Παρθαῖοι, Φαρναῖοι; -ατός, e.g. Ἄστεατοί), and finally, forms with a double suffix (e.g. Τυκ-ών-ιοι ‘stone masons’; cf. τύκος ‘mason’s hammer’).

### 3.5 Semantic remarks

It has become evident from the above examples that Epirote ethnics had a mixed character as regards their etymology: (i) the more ancient, major tribe names look etymologically more opaque (e.g. Molossoi, Chaones, Atintanes, Athamanes, etc.), even though others are less ambiguous (e.g. Kassopaioi) or display an etymology that is possible to interpret in the context of Greek (Thesprotoi, Paroraioi, Tymphaioi, Orestai, Amphilochoi, etc.). From a semantic point of view, those major ethnic names that look etymologically safe are those relating to geographical/topographical terms (mountains, rivers, etc.).

On the other hand, minor ethnics (tribes, clans), as those found in Bouthrotos, are semantically more transparent. This may (partly) be due to their later date of their formation and/or to the fact that they have been built on well-known appellatives on some occasions.

(iii), as Lhôte himself (2011, 110) opted to do on the basis of its affiliation to the Illyrian hero \*Τέμυς.

<sup>23</sup> It is interesting to note that ethnics (deemed to have been) built upon non-Greek roots take on different suffixes, especially in cases where an alternative suffix (e.g. Πάρθιοι) would also be possible. Of course, one may think here of other reasons, such as analogy; but eventually, it may simply be prudent to reconsider the overall etymological analysis of Φαρναῖοι.

### 3.6 Morphological remarks

An analysis of the morphological structure of proper names can always be carried out on a safer linguistic ground than any attempt to determine their semantics, which may often be an inconclusive or even outright futile enterprise, given their generally idiosyncratic character. In that respect, it is interesting to compare the main morphological features of the two sets of ethnics examined above, namely those used for the major Epirote tribes, on the one hand (category (I)), and those found in Bouthrotos (Chaonia), on the other (category (II)).

Epirote ethnics, regardless of their etymology, which is by and large dependent on the semantic transparency or opacity of their root, have a clear morphological structure.

(1) A number of ethnics seem to be deriving from plain appellatives, even though on some occasions this may be simply due to the fact that we cannot analyze their morphological structure: e.g. Ὀρέσται (I); Χίλιοι, Ἄσαντοι, Θυῖοι (and possibly Κεστρίνοι, if the actual base form is the homonymous fish) (II).

(2) A rather small number of them are clear-cut compounds, e.g. Θεσπρωτοί, Ἀμφίλοχοι, Παρωραῖοι, (Παραναῖοι), and possibly Κασσωπαῖοι (?) (I); on the other hand, note Αἰγιδόριοι (II). Some of these compound ethnics may also be suffixed, e.g. Τυμφαῖοι, Παρωραῖοι, Κασσωπαῖοι (?) (-αι-ο-), Αἰγιδόριοι (-ιο-) (see also below). From the point of view of compound typology, these are mostly compounds with a prepositional first member (with a locative meaning 'next to', 'around'), such as Ἀμφίλοχοι, Παρωραῖοι, (Παραναῖοι) (I); or verbal compounds like Αἰγιδόριοι 'goat-flayers' (active verbal meaning) (II). Note also two other possible forms of category (I), i.e. Θεσπρωτοί (active verbal meaning) and (probably) Κασσωπαῖοι (determinative compound?).

(3) The majority of forms are suffixed regardless of whether their stem is simple or compounded (cf. (2) above). The variety of suffixes employed is noteworthy:

(a) -ιος: a very common adjectival suffix that is inter alia used for patronymics and ethnics, particularly for those deriving from thematic place names (e.g. Κορίνθιος). In the case of Epirus, it is mostly found in minor ethnics in Bouthrotos, e.g. Βουθρώτιοι, Κερκώπιοι, Μήδ[ε]ιοι, Κλάθριοι (II), etc. Note also, though, the major tribe name of Μολοσσοί (I), which apparently comprises a -yo- suffix,

even though this was no longer discernable in the historic period of Greek (first millennium B.C.).

(b) *-αιο-*; originally an augmented form of the suffix *-ιος* due to morphological resegmentation of *a*-stem nouns in *-ιος*, i.e. *-αιος* > *-αιος* (cf. Ἄθηνάϊος). In the case of Epirote ethnics, it is used extensively, both at the level of major ethnics, e.g. Κασσωπαῖοι, Τυμφαῖοι, Παρωραῖοι, (Παραναῖοι) (I) and on that of minor ethnics, e.g. Παρθαῖοι, Φαρναῖοι (II)<sup>24</sup>. From a semantic point of view, the stems suffixed with *-αιο-* denote a place (river, mountain) in the case of category (I) or a possible foreign proper name (personal name, ethnic) in category (II).

(c) *-ῖνος*: a suffix that is mostly related in Greek to adjectives relating to material/origin (e.g. λίθινος) and time (e.g. νυκτερινός). It is also common among Greek ethnics of S. Italy and Sicily (Ἀκραγαντῖνοι, Ταραντῖνοι) as well as in Epirus, particularly in Bouthrotos: e.g. Κεστρῖνοι, Ὀπτασῖνοι (II). Note also other ethnics from that area, such as Χραυσῖνοι, Ἀργυρῖνοι, Παργῖνοι (cf. Lhôte 2011, 109)<sup>25</sup>.

(d) *-τος*: a suffix which is often used in Greek for verbal adjectives, normally with the root in the zero grade (e.g. δοτός), but occasionally also in the full grade (e.g. θρεπτός, rather than \*θραπτός). Nonetheless, it was also used as a denominative suffix, especially in the form of augmented *-ωτος*. In Epirus, we come across a termination *-ωτος* in the case of Θεσπρωτοί (I), however it is debatable whether it is *-ω-τος* proper or *-ωτ-ος* (see above). On the other hand, the minor ethnic Ἀστεατοί found in Bouthrotos (II) is considered by Lhôte (2011, 109) as the thematic variant (*-ο-*) of *-άτ-ᾶς* as e.g. in Ἀμβρακι-άτ-ᾶς<sup>26</sup>.

(e) *-άν* (pl. *-ᾶνες*): this is probably the most well-known ethnic suffix of ancient Epirus since there are many forms in *-ᾶνες* (nom. pl.), e.g. Ἀτιντᾶνες, Ἀθαμᾶνες (I). In Bouthrotos, however, it is not much common. Instead, we find ethnics with the corresponding *-ων-* suffix,

<sup>24</sup> Note also other cases like ΓενΦαῖος.

<sup>25</sup> Note also its Latin counterpart *-inus*, which from the late Hellenistic period onwards reinvigorated the use of *-ῖνος* within Greek, even though the use of the suffix *-ῖνος* with Greek ethnics in Magna Graecia should not really be attributed to any early Latin influence.

<sup>26</sup> Note some other Epirote ethnics in *-τος*, such as Φοινατός.

e.g. Μυωνοί (thematized, i.e. -ων-ο-)<sup>27</sup>. It is worth noting here, though, that although this suffix is considered to be characteristic of Epirote ethnics, but also of its surrounding W. Greece regions in general<sup>28</sup>, there are hardly any personal names in -άν from that broader area: note, for instance, that there is only one instance of a personal name in -άν from W. Greece, namely Ἀκαρνάν found as a personal name in Acarnania (cf. LGPN III.A). One may wonder with reason whether this stark discrepancy between ethnics and personal names as regards the use of this suffix is indicative of a possibly more archaic pattern, i.e. whether it was used for more ancient ethnics, or it is also a matter of different spheres of use for some suffixes, i.e. suffixes used for ethnics (embedded collective meaning?) vs. suffixes used (also) for personal names.

(f) Finally, one may also cite a number of ethnics sporting less common suffixes, such as -ιχ- (e.g. Ἀῖθικες (I)), -ωπός (e.g. Κοιλωπός); or, even ethnics without any clear suffix employed specifically for its formation (e.g. Ὀμφαλες; cf. gen. sg. Ὀμφαλος too).

## 5. Conclusions

The linguistic analysis of two representative sets of Epirote ethnics, namely those of the major Epirote tribes, on the one hand, and of (a select number of cases of) predominantly minor clans from Bouthrotos, on the other, indicates both common tendencies and discernible discrepancies. Most importantly, it has become clear that a good number of Epirote ethnics display a safe etymology within Greek, even though there are still some problematic cases, especially as regards the ethnics of some major tribes (e.g. Μολοσσοί, Χάονες). On the other hand, Epirote ethnics show in their vast majority a transparent morphology which is often characterized by the use of well-known Greek suffixes.

<sup>27</sup> The ending *-ανες* is already found in the Linear B tablets, e.g. *pa-ki-ja-ne* (= \*Σφαγιᾶνες (?)), probably an ethnic (or a toponym?) in the area of Pylos. Its provenance is still debated, even though it is very common in Greek, especially with Greek ethnics, including Ἑλλ-ηγες/*-ᾶνες*; note here the presence of recessive accentuation, which may be analogical, e.g. on the basis of Πανέλληγες (?) (cf. De Simone 1985, 59–60).

<sup>28</sup> Note some other Epirote ethnics in *-ᾶνες*, such as Ταλαιᾶνες, Ἀρχταᾶνες, etc., but also a number of NW Doric Greek ethnics in general, e.g. Ἀκαρνᾶνες.

Almost half a century ago, A. Bartoněk (1972, 67-68) argued that onomastics was probably the most promising field for the study of the dialectal variety of Epirus, given that the epigraphic material from Epirus mostly dated to a very late period. Even if this argument is no longer valid thanks to the continuous publications of epigraphic corpora from all over Epirus and the appearance of new studies on their language (cf. Filos 2018), a comprehensive study – probably in the form of many more words than just a mere monograph – of Epirote onomastics, especially of personal names and ethnics, remains an important *desideratum*.

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“ON THE BOUNDARIES OF GREECE”: REFERENCES TO THE  
TOPOGRAPHY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF EPIRUS IN THE  
ACCOUNTS OF THE EARLIEST TRAVELLERS TO THE  
REGION (18<sup>TH</sup> AND 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES)

The aim of this article is not to provide an exhaustive list of all the travellers who passed through Epirus in contemporary times<sup>1</sup>, but to highlight the interest of some of these travellers in rediscovering the region’s archaeology, at the same time as these travellers – at least until the mid-19th century – carried out certain diplomatic or military missions, as was the case with Pouqueville and Colonel Leake. We might also mention the undoubted interest of the accounts and illustrations produced by poets and artists such as William Haygarth (1814), Edward Dodwell (1819) and Edward Lear (1851), all of which, however, we shall not discuss here<sup>2</sup>.

At the beginning of the 19th century, our lack of knowledge regarding most of Greece’s territory was still considerable. In the words of one of the region’s first scholars, the diplomat Sir William Gell, “... we are at present as ignorant of Greece as of the interior of Africa”<sup>3</sup>. This ignorance was especially great in the case of the regions north of the imaginary Arta-Lamia line (Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia), which up until 1913, following the Second Balkan War, remained

<sup>1</sup> For an initial analysis of this question, see Dausse 2011, which focuses on the Region of Molossia.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, exhibitions on the works of Dodwell and Lear based on the north-western region of Greece: respectively, Zernioti & Mackesson Camp II 2014, and Hyman 1988.

<sup>3</sup> Gell 1810, I.

under Ottoman dominion, forming part of what was then known as “European Turkey”<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 1).

At the end of January 1844, the French architect Antoine-Marie Chenavard and the painter Étienne Rey, both teachers at the School of Fine Arts in Lyon, embarked in Corfu in order to return to France after a five-month trip around Greece, Asia Minor and Egypt. In the account of his travels, Chenavard wrote the following about this moment: “Notre vaisseau remit à la voile, & nous sortimes du canal qui sépare Corfou de l’Épire. C’étoient là, pour nous, les limites de la Grèce, vers laquelle nous regards se tournoient encore”<sup>5</sup>. This was the habitual view of travellers, whatever their training or goals, regarding the north-western part of Greece: a region on the boundaries of Greece, one in which Hellenic civilisation had allegedly never arrived and whose inhabitants continued to live “according to Ancient customs”. As Gell wrote in the foreword to *The Itinerary of Greece*, unlike other nations Greece had not changed since Antiquity and “the Acarnanians and Epirots are yet the most lawless [men]...”<sup>6</sup>. In effect, this perception came from Classical sources, on which travellers based their routes using already-published guides and, in some cases, military maps.

The travel map for Greece produced by Fani-Maria Tsigakou<sup>7</sup> presents a very obvious lack of interest in these regions, especially Epirus. It features a large blank space where the only places that have been visited include the cities of Parga, Souli and Ioannina. The absence of significant Classical sights and important cities mentioned by written sources, as well as difficulties in circulating throughout the region due to its rough terrain, all help to explain this blank space. The travellers themselves make reference to the imposing mountains and crags, the deep ravines and the danger posed by bandits or *klephts*, not to mention the fierce nature of the traditionally isolated inhabitants. A “Romantic” image was established and disseminated, both in specialised works such as travel guides and in literature and art<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Gallant 2001, 55-56, 60, 128-129. The Region of Arta and Thessaly had been ceded to Greece by the Turks in 1881.

<sup>5</sup> Chenavard 1858, 24.

<sup>6</sup> Gell 1810, II.

<sup>7</sup> Tsigakou 1985, 80.

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, the accounts brought together by Tomkinson 2002, 167-198, and various citations in Dausse 2011, as well as the works on Lear and Dodwell cited in n. 2, and the Jeanne & Isambert Guide 1861, 420-421, regarding the route that was “pénible et périlleuse” between Ioannina and Parga, or the route between

Nevertheless, travellers soon discovered that there were interesting remains of cities, which they sought to identify using Greek and Roman sources and the accounts of previous travellers (the most effective method according to Jacob Spon, whose book constituted a veritable milestone in travel literature<sup>9</sup>), together with many sights worthy of being visited, such as the ruins of Nicopolis, or sites that needed to be correctly identified, such as the Oracular Sanctuary of Dodona.

As of the turn of the century, the archaeology of Greece became something of a subject of rivalry amongst the great powers: French, English and German travellers and archaeologists toured the country describing and sketching its monuments, siting cities mentioned in written sources, identifying ruins and collecting antiquities<sup>10</sup>. In England, the Society of Dilettanti financed study trips to Greece, such as those of James Stuart and Nicholas Revett (and published the series *The Antiquities of Athens*, 1762-1830), trips that intensified following the occupation of Rome and part of Italy by the French at the end of the 18th century, featuring the consequent difficulties in travelling around the country that had become the main focus of the Grand Tour up until that time. To this we might add the flowering of Greek studies throughout the whole of Europe thanks to the emergence of a philhellenic movement. Amongst the English, the most interesting topographic and archaeological studies regarding the north-west region of Greece and Albania during the first two decades of the 19th century, were produced by Sir William Gell and Colonel William Martin Leake<sup>11</sup>.

As far as France was concerned, various important works regarding the topography and antiquities of Greece had been published since the end of the 17th century, such as that of the antiquarian Jacob Spon and the botanist George Wheler in 1678, which served as a model for subsequent antiquarian travellers. At the end of the 18th century, a work was published in Paris which, together with Winckelmann's thesis on the relationship between art and freedom, would serve to support and promote the philhellenic movement that

Ioannina and Souli and Prevetsa. Some travellers, such as Chenavard and Rey, had to refrain from travelling to Northern Greece due to political developments (in this case the Revolution of 1843) which made these routes even more dangerous (Chenavard 1858, 11).

<sup>9</sup> Spon & Wheler 1678.

<sup>10</sup> Gran-Aymerich 2007, 178.

<sup>11</sup> Michaelis 1882, 129-130.

was fighting to liberate Greece from Ottoman dominion, and whose impact is reflected by the many re-editions and translations of this work that were produced as of the year following its publication in 1788. This work was the *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce*, by Abbé Jean-Jacques Barthélemy, a royal antiquarian and Head of the Cabinet de Médailles at the Louvre. It was accompanied by a *Recueil* featuring maps, plans, illustrations and coins by the geographer Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage, which practically ended up as a separate work<sup>12</sup>.

The young Anacharsis, a Scythian, travels to Greece between 363 and 337 B.C., witnessing the main historical events of the age, such as the conquest of Philip of Macedonia. Abbé Barthélemy chose to write a travel account instead of a history, because this permitted him to include aspects that his sources did not tend to describe, and which would be unfitting for a modern historian to imagine, such as customs, rites or legends and traditions<sup>13</sup>. In Chapter XXXVI, Anacharsis tours Epirus and visits Dodona, although Barthélemy does not provide any further particulars regarding its location.

At the beginning of the 19th century, Epirus became the focus of attention of travellers. For one thing, Ali Pasha of Tepelena had turned Ioannina into the seat of his Court and an artistic and cultural centre, in which respect it began to appear in travel itineraries. The poet William Haygarth, a fellow student of Byron's and, like him, fascinated by the Hellenic world, marvelled at the scientific activities promoted by Ali Pasha: "In the barbarous districts of Epirus, we must now seek for the glimmering of that light which once illumined the territory of Attica"<sup>14</sup>. At the same time, news began to reach Europe (partly thanks to philhellenic poets such as Lord Byron) of the Souliotes, who resisted the domination of Ali Pasha's Turks in the mountains in the middle of the region. Their heroic resistance was much admired and they were compared to the Spartans at the Battle of Thermopylae.

In his capacity as a lieutenant of marine artillery in the British Royal Navy, Leake was sent by his government to Constantinople to work as an instructor for the forces of the Ottoman Empire. In the year 1800 he travelled through Asia Minor and that was where his interest in Ancient topography was born. His following mission was to teach

<sup>12</sup> Barthélemy 1788; Barbié du Bocage 1799.

<sup>13</sup> Barthélemy 1788, "Avertissement".

<sup>14</sup> Haygarth 1814, 128.



the Turks how to use modern artillery so that they could withstand the attacks of the French on the north-west coast of Greece. He took advantage of his stay in order to explore the country and collect antiquities. Subsequently, he served as a representative of the British Government in the Court of Ali Pasha for a year, in 1804<sup>15</sup>. Once he retired from active service, he recorded his explorations in several books: *Researches in Greece* (1814) and, above all, the four volumes of *Travels in Northern Greece* (1835), whose Volumes I and III contain information relating to North-Western Greece. In the foreword for the first volume he describes the two main themes of the work: history and Ancient geography. In effect, he visited the sites after carrying out a careful study of the corresponding sources, and he produced maps and plans featuring measurements *in situ*, together with details provided by official reports<sup>16</sup>.

Leake's contemporary, François Pouqueville, was one of the leading promoters of the philhellenic movement. Between 1798 and 1820 he served as Napoleon Bonaparte's General Consul at the Court of Ali Pasha in Ioannina, where he coincided with Leake (and with Byron). Both of them carried out diplomatic missions as envoys of their respective countries at the Court of Ali Pasha, in addition to carrying out a detailed exploration of the territory (perhaps even for reasons of espionage, as well as archaeology). Both were certainly fascinated by archaeology and topography, possessed a thorough knowledge of ancient and modern sources, and their works continue to be fundamental, in spite of the errors of identification that were cleared up many years later thanks to excavation work. With regard to Epirus, Books IV and VI of the second volume of *Voyage de la Grèce* (in its second edition dating from 1826) are devoted to Western and Eastern Epirus, respectively.

As of the mid-19th century, a large part of the archaeological activity that took place in Epirus was linked to the École Française d'Athènes, founded in 1846, an organisation which, although mainly focused on the excavations in Delos and Delphi, also organised exploration missions in the northern and western regions in order to create a series of archaeological maps and reconstruct their Ancient history. Once again here, the reports produced by ÉFA refer to an Epirus “as foreign to present-day Greece as it was to the Hellenic peoples themselves, an almost barbaric country that they had to

<sup>15</sup> Tsigakou 1985, 188, n. 28.

<sup>16</sup> Leake 1835, I, VI.

civilise”. However, this was accompanied by an important new development, namely an acknowledgement of the region’s historical and archaeological value, given that it preserved “the most Ancient recollections of its religion, its primitive civilisation and, at the very least, its first settlements in Europe”<sup>17</sup>. In this region, the works of Léon Heuzey, the architect Honoré Daumet and Xavier Gaultier de Claubry in the mid-19th century would be fundamental, as we shall see. Another new development was that the guidelines of the École were not restricted to studies on historical topography, toponymy, archaeology and epigraphy, but encouraged members to also study geography, languages and dialects, customs, legends and traditions, effectively searching for their roots in Antiquity<sup>18</sup>.

Thus, Léon Heuzey, who would later become a curator at the Louvre and would have a special link with the realm of Spanish archaeology, undertook two explorative missions in Northern Greece, which was still under Turkish rule. The first was carried out within the framework of the work being pursued by ÉFA in Thessaly (1855-1856) and Acarnania (1856-1857), reaching up to the borders of Epirus<sup>19</sup>. Although his exploration did not go beyond the border, his commentaries regarding these remote regions are especially significant because they continue to reflect the perception, now a veritable *topos*, of ancient and modern travellers regarding a country that was far removed from civilisation. A few years later, in 1861, he was commissioned by Napoleon III to study the historical topography of Macedonia, Thrace, Thessaly, Illyria and Epirus in order to provide the Emperor with archaeological information and maps so that he could document the battles of Caesar, within the framework of the biography that Napoleon III himself was writing. Heuzey was accompanied by the architect Honoré Daumet, a former grant-holder at the École Française in Rome, who was entrusted with studying the architecture and assisting him in the excavations that they also carried out. In the *Rapport* presented to the Emperor, Heuzey stated that, whilst the Greece that had already been liberated (Attica, the regions of Central Greece, Morea and the Peloponnese) had traditionally been studied, the North had been ignored by historians and archaeologists

<sup>17</sup> Cited in Radet 1901, 127.

<sup>18</sup> Gran-Aymerich 2007, 147. Regarding the history of ÉFA cf. Radet 1901, and Cabanes 1996 about ÉFA’s work in Epirus.

<sup>19</sup> Heuzey 1860.

until Napoleon III’s project to explore the southern part of “European Turkey”<sup>20</sup>.

In reality, the region of Epirus was the least explored by Heuzey and Daumet. It was dealt with in the fifth and last chapter of the book, “Recherches sur la côte, Apollonie, *Oricum* et les monts Acrocérauniens”. The study focuses on the ruins of Apollonia and the neighbouring port of *Oricum*, which constituted the end of their trip. It was from there that they embarked for Corfu; then from Corfu they returned to France in 1862. Heuzey himself admits that the remains and monuments in the northern regions of Greece could not be compared with those of Attica or the Peloponnese, either in terms of number or quality, but that they could provide valuable new details regarding the political history of the Greeks and the history of their art<sup>21</sup>. Amongst the antiquities that they took with them back to France we might mention various architectural and sculptural fragments from Apollonia, which appeared in a *Catalogue* prior to the publication of their report on the mission<sup>22</sup> (Fig. 2). After the First World War, another “athénien”, Léon Rey, managed to persuade the Albanian Government to grant him permission to excavate in Apollonia. These excavations were interrupted during the Second World War and could not be resumed afterwards due to lack of official support; in 1926 the Italians got the site of Pheniki<sup>23</sup>.

Undoubtedly the most important site in Epirus is Dodona: the fame of the Oracular Sanctuary of Zeus Naios in Antiquity (cited by Homer, *Il.* XVI 233) had lasted into the modern age, producing numerous imaginary reconstructions in atlases and treatises during the 16th and 17th centuries (Fig. 3). In general, the site was mentioned by all travellers, and some began to attempt to identify its exact location towards the end of the 18th century, such as Barbié du Bocage. They did not always achieve their goal. According to Leake, Dodona was Kastritsa, even though he sketched the visible ruins in Dramesi (Fig. 4). For his part, Pouqueville described a series of imposing remains to the south-west of Ioannina, close to the town of “Dremichoux” (Dramesi), which he mistakenly identified as Passaron: the acropolis, a theatre (amongst the best preserved in Greece), a temple ..., but he located Dodona in Gardiki, close to Ioannina. When

<sup>20</sup> Heuzey 1876, I-II.

<sup>21</sup> Heuzey 1876, XIII.

<sup>22</sup> Heuzey 1862, 29-31, n° 50-58.

<sup>23</sup> Gran-Aymerich 2007, 362, 365.

he returned to the site in 1813 he found that excavations had taken place and the ruins had been plundered “par un amour mal entendu de découvertes”<sup>24</sup>. Leake<sup>25</sup> also described the temple and provided some measurements, although these were inexact; neither he nor Pouqueville were aware that they were dealing with the ruins of Dodona<sup>26</sup>.

The first correct identification of the ruins of Drameši as being the site for Dodona was made by the erudite minister of the Anglican Church Christopher Wordsworth, the nephew of the poet William Wordsworth. During his trip to Greece in 1832-1833 he searched for the site using the indications provided by ancient sources and travellers’ accounts, subsequently describing the theatre and, close by, the remains of two temples, the furthest of which preserved fragments of 14 columns that were still standing (something quite exceptional in Epirus)<sup>27</sup>. However, Wordsworth’s proposal was forgotten and was not seriously taken into account for the four decades that followed, until the explorations undertaken by Xavier Gaultier de Claubry, a member of the École Française d’Athènes, in 1876-1877. The Guide for Greece published by Joanne & Isambert, for example, continued to cite the Greek ruins in Kastritsa, close to Ioannina, as the site for Dodona, whilst the ruins located close-by at “Dramisius” (Drameši) – including those of a very well-preserved theatre – belonged to “an Ancient sanctuary of the Molossians known as Passaron”<sup>28</sup>. In this respect, the Guide simply repeated the affirmations made by Leake and, above all, Pouqueville.

Gaultier de Claubry explored the region and studied the ruins, identifying them correctly as those of the Sanctuary of Dodona (without excluding the possibility that Passaron may have developed around the sanctuary). He published his findings, with plans and drawings of the remains, in the *Revue Archéologique*<sup>29</sup>, but he could not continue the excavations because his thesis was rejected by the members of ÉFA and l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, the institution that supervised the work carried out by the École, and his grant was not renewed<sup>30</sup>. At the same time, Wordsworth’s correct

<sup>24</sup> Pouqueville 1826, II, 78-84.

<sup>25</sup> Leake 1835, I, 267.

<sup>26</sup> Carapanos 1878, 19, n. 1.

<sup>27</sup> Wordsworth 1840, 247-252, featuring a lithograph of one of the columns on p. 251.

<sup>28</sup> Joanne & Isambert 1861, 419-420 (Routes 63 and 64).

<sup>29</sup> Gaultier de Claubry 1877.

<sup>30</sup> Radet 1901, 316.

identification is not universally acknowledged: F. Quantin, for example, recently stated that Gaultier was “l’inventeur du site de Dodone”<sup>31</sup>. And, in turn, Constantin Carapanos, who excavated the site between 1875 and 1877, discovering the main buildings and the first oracular tablets, did not mention the work of Gaultier de Claubry, but did include the details that Pouqueville recorded regarding the remains during the period in which he visited the site.

In short, even in the age of scientific archaeology, the accounts and illustrations of former travellers can be of considerable use, especially in the case of a region such as Epirus that has been so little explored. Although their identifications may be wrong, they provide valuable information regarding the state of preservation of the sites and the antiquities that could be found there at the time of their visit, given that, as highlighted by Pouqueville in the case of the ruins at Dramesi (Dodona), these antiquities could easily deteriorate or disappear altogether in the hands of plunderers and collectors.

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<sup>31</sup> Quantin 2008, 10-11, n. 3.

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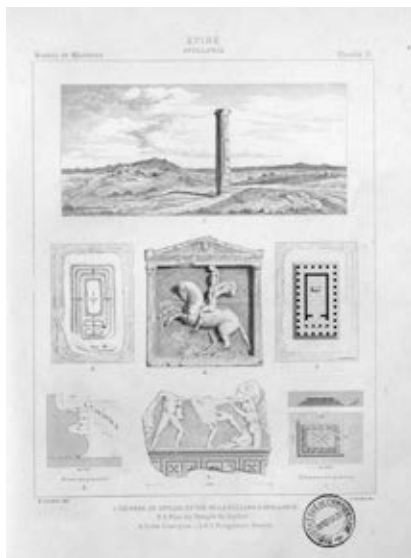


Fig. 2. L. Heuzey & H. Daumet, *Ruines d' Apollonie: Catalogue de la mission archéologique de Macédoine et de Thessalie*, Paris 1862, pl. 31.



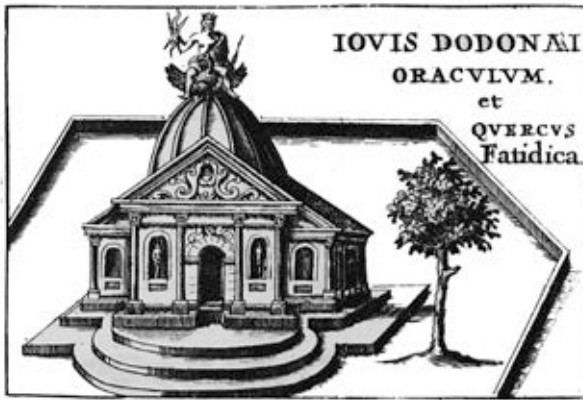


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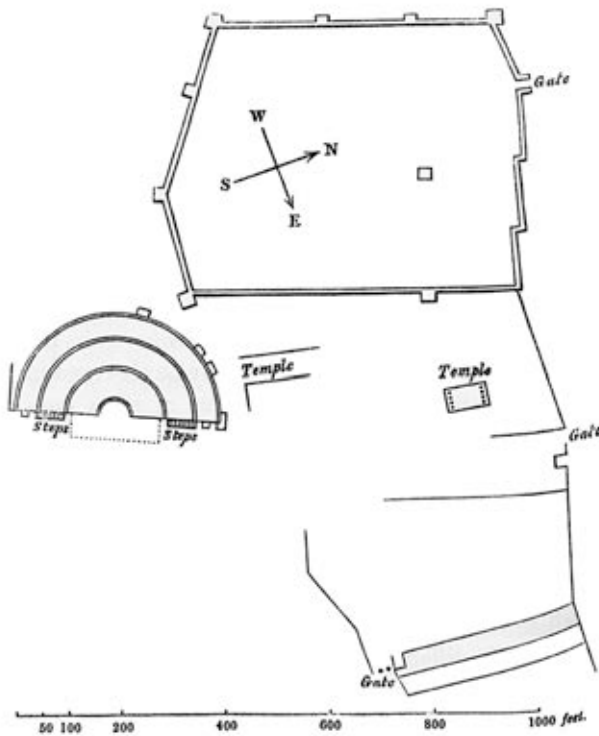


Fig. 4. W.M. Leake, Plan of Dodona: *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, London 1835, 266.



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## ABSTRACTS

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### NEW DEVELOPMENTS AND TRADITION IN EPIRUS: THE CREATION OF THE MOLOSSIAN STATE

This article analyses literary references to the political changes introduced by King Tharyps in Molossia, combining them with new archaeological findings in the Ioannina Basin that reveal the emergence of new unwalled settlements as of the end of the fifth century B.C., settlements that featured a new urban structure within a Molossian context. Combining this information with the scarce epigraphic details that exist and other examples, we seek to present a reconstruction of how a federal-type State developed in Molossia throughout the fourth century B.C.

**Keywords:** Molossia, Tharyps, settlements, federal state, territory

**José Pascual**

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### FROM THE FIFTH CENTURY TO 167 B.C.: RECONSTRUCTING THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT EPIRUS

Going beyond traditional schemas, this article seeks to reconstruct the history of Epirus between the end of the fifth century, circa 430 B.C., and the definitive Roman domination of the region in the year 167 B.C. In this respect, the *theorodokoi* lists for Epidaurus, Argos and Delphi do not prove the existence of numerous independent States throughout Epirus in the fourth century, and neither do they confirm the disappearance of the *koinon* of the Molossians or the emergence of a form of organisation prior to unification, namely the *symmachia* of the Epirotes, which would have excluded the Chaonians. Thus, during the last third of the fifth century, a *symmachia* would have emerged under the hegemony of the Chaonians, one that would have included the rest of the Epirote peoples and other peoples from North-West Greece.

Subsequently, the weakening of Chaonian power and the emergence of other Epirote *ethnes*, especially the Molossians under the royal Aeacid Dynasty, would have led to a unified Epirus in the form of a State known as “The King and the Epirotes”, without any need for intermediate aggregation. This would have been made up of the monarch and the three *koina* of the large Epirote ethnic communities: the Chaonians, the Molossians and the Thesprotians. Following the end of the monarchy in 232 B.C., the subsequent Epirote Confederacy would have maintained and included these three *koina*.

**Keywords:** Ancient History, Greece, Epirus, Monarchy, Federalism

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**POLIS AND DEPENDENCY IN EPIRUS: THE CASE OF  
CASSOPE AND THE *POLEIS* OF CASSOPAEA**

The main objective of this paper is to analyse the territory of Cassopaea and its political organisation according to the sources available, ancient authors, epigraphy, archaeology and the support of the spatial analysis and *GIS* tools to have a more comprehensive idea of the geographical limits of the region, the locations of the sites and to ascertain the possible relationship between the different *poleis* included in the Cassopean territory.

**Keywords:** Cassopaea, ethnos, polis dependency, Thesprotia.

**Maria Intriери**

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**THE ISLAND, THE *EPEIROS* AND THE SANCTUARY: A  
REFLECTION ON THE CORCYRAN *ANATHEMA* IN DODONA**

In studies concerning the relations between Corcyra and the Oracular Sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona, proper emphasis has been given to an impressive *anathema* dedicated by the *polis*: a young man with a whip in his right hand and a cauldron placed on two columns side by side. Known only from literary sources, since Ancient times this has been linked to the emergence of two proverbs: “the gong of Dodona”

(Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον), and “the Corcyraian whip” (ἡ Κερκυραίων μάστιξ).

Through a renewed analysis of the literary sources, this paper reconstructs the evolution of the tradition in order to clarify the origins of the proverbs, and to offer new possible hypotheses concerning the interpretation of the *anathema*, not to mention the reasons for this dedication in the Epirote sanctuary.

**Keywords:** Corcyra, Dodona, *epeiros*, *anathema*, whips

**Jessica Piccinini**

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THE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG GREEK ORACULAR  
SANCTUARIES. RIVALRY, COOPERATION OR DESISTANCE?

A closer examination of Ancient literary sources concerning multiple and double consultations, as well as filiation legends of oracles founding oracles, contradicts the often-taken-for-granted claim that Greek oracular shrines, namely Delphi, Dodona, Claros, etc., were rivals. The evidence points to the fact that no proper rivalry or cooperation existed among the oracles. Rather, there was a tacit plan of non-disruption, which implied mutual recognition of prestige, authority and remits.

**Keywords:** rivalry, oracles, oracular filiation, multiple/double consultations, desistance

**Sandro De Maria, Lorenzo Mancini**

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SACRED TERRITORIES AND LANDSCAPES IN HELLENISTIC  
AND ROMAN CHAONIA

This paper aims to investigate the connections between the settlement system of Chaonia, located in the northernmost part of Ancient Epirus, and the cultic landscapes which stratified in the region from the Early Hellenistic period to Roman times. In the first section, Sandro De Maria analyses the general picture regarding settlement in Chaonia and the distribution of cults over the territory. These seem to concentrate especially around the few urban centres, namely Phoinike, Antigonea and Butrint, without presenting any clear correspondence with the sparse settlement typical of Epirote tribes. This fact can

certainly be ascribed to a gap in archaeological research. However, in comparison with the features of the sacred landscape among the other Epirote *ethne*, one may legitimately speculate whether it might depend, at least partially, on the somewhat ‘urban’ character of Chaonian tribes. In an attempt to address this question, Lorenzo Mancini proposes a reassessment of archaeological, epigraphic and literary sources regarding Chaonian cult sites, both in the urban settlements (Butrint and Phoinike) and in the few non-urban sanctuaries in the hinterland of Phoinike. Following an introduction on the mythical and religious landscapes relating to maritime routes, the focus will be placed on the issue of the early phases of the Sanctuary of Asklepios at Butrint, on new data from excavations at Phoinike, and on evidence relating to sacred architecture among the Chaonians.

**Keywords:** Epirus, Chaonia, Hellenistic and Roman Greece, Sanctuaries, Epirote religion

**Elia Rinaldi**

*Università di Bologna*

PLACES OF POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE LIFE IN THE  
CITIES OF EPIRUS

Today, amongst studies devoted to public spaces and buildings in the urban centres of Late Classical and Hellenistic Epirus, a contribution that thoroughly researches the architecture of political and civil character, focusing on both its uniqueness and its connections with the urban and regional context, is still lacking. This paper seeks to fill this gap through a contextual approach that focuses on the *agorai* and buildings that fulfilled an administrative and political function in eight major cities in present-day Southern Albania and North-Western Greece. First of all, this research enables us to identify the functions and architectural forms of these political and administrative spaces, as well as tracing their development from the beginnings of Epirote urban culture during the 4th century up until the end of the 1st century B.C., in reference to the architectural and urban models distributed throughout the Mediterranean Basin from the end of the Classical period. Secondly, the study provides further useful details that help us to understand the institutional and administrative framework of the

urban centres of the region, on the one hand, and their role within ethnic and tribal groups and the Epirote federal state, on the other.

**Keywords:** Epirus, *Agora*, public buildings, institutions, Hellenistic period

**Panagiotis Filos**

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LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF EPIROTE ETHNICS

In Antiquity, Epirus was famous for its numerous *ethne*, *koina* and other kinds of 'communities'. This short study provides a concise linguistic analysis of major Epirote ethnics, in comparison with select lesser ethnic names from Bouthrotos, with the aim of tracing common patterns, on the one hand, and discerning clear discrepancies, on the other, particularly at the levels of morphology/word-formation and semantics.

**Keywords:** Ethnic, Illyrian, morphology, semantics, suffix

**Gloria Mora**

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“ON THE BOUNDARIES OF GREECE”: REFERENCES TO THE  
TOPOGRAPHY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF EPIRUS IN THE  
ACCOUNTS OF THE EARLIEST TRAVELLERS TO THE  
REGION (18<sup>TH</sup> AND 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES)

This article seeks to highlight the contributions made by various travellers to our knowledge of the archaeology and topography of Epirus, mainly during the 19th century. Irrespective of whether some of their identifications and sitings of cities mentioned by Ancient authors were erroneous, the considerable merit of these travellers consists of the fact that they explored regions that, until that time, were as distant and remote with regard to the habitual destinations of the “Grand Tour” in Greece (Athens and Attica, Central Greece, the Peloponnese, the Ionian Islands and the Aegean, the Ionian Coast) as they had been in Antiquity, as various Graeco-Roman sources confirm.

**Keywords:** Epirus, Dodona, travellers, topography; antiquarianism

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Τῶν μὲν οὖν Ἑπειρωτῶν ἔθνη φησὶν εἶναι Θεόπομπος τετταρεσκαίδεκα, τούτων δ' ἐνδοξότατα Χάονες καὶ Μολοττοὶ διὰ τὸ ἄρξαι ποτὲ πάσης τῆς Ἑπειρώτιδος πρότερον μὲν Χάονας, ὕστερον δὲ Μολοττούς, οἱ καὶ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν τῶν βασιλέων ἐπὶ πλεόν ἠϋξήθησαν (τῶν γὰρ Αἰακιδῶν ἦσαν), καὶ διὰ τὸ παρὰ τούτοις εἶναι τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ μαντεῖον, παλαιόν τε καὶ ὀνομαστόν ὄν. Χάονες μὲν οὖν καὶ Θεσπρωτοὶ καὶ μετὰ τούτους ἐφεξῆς Κασσωπαῖοι (καὶ οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶ Θεσπρωτοὶ) τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Κεραυνίων ὄρων μέχρι τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ κόλπου παραλίαν νέμονται χώραν εὐδαίμονα ἔχοντες.

*Now as for the Epirotes, there are fourteen peoples of them, according to Theopompus, but of these the Chaonians and the Molossians are the most famous, because of the fact that they once ruled over the whole of the Epirote country - the Chaonians earlier and later the Molossians; and the Molossians grew to still greater power, partly because of the kinship of their kings, who belonged to the family of the Aeacidae, and partly because of the fact that the oracle at Dodona was in their country, an oracle both ancient and renowned. Now the Chaonians and the Thesprotians and, next in order after these, the Cassopaeans (these, too, are Thesprotians) inhabit the seaboard which extends from the Ceraunian Mountains as far as the Ambracian Gulf, and they have a fertile country.*

Strabo and the historical tradition on peoples and territory of Epirus

(Strabo, 7, 7, 5)

In copertina:

G. Mercator, *Atlas sive Cosmographicae Meditationes de Fabrica Mundi et Fabricati Figura*, part., Duisburg, 1596.