GREEK COLONISATION

AN ACCOUNT OF GREEK COLONIES AND OTHER SETTLEMENTS OVERSEAS

VOLUME TWO

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GREEK COLONISATION OF THE NORTHERN AEGEAN*

Michalis Tiverios

To the memory of my teacher George Bakalakis, the pioneer Researcher of Aegean Thrace

Early Euboean Colonisation of Chalcidice

There can be no doubt that one area of Classical Archaeology which has been enriched with fresh knowledge during the latter half of the last century is that concerned with ancient Greek colonisation. Among other things, the leading rôle of the Euboeans in it has been confirmed, a rôle attested by ancient written sources, but, for various reasons, disputed by certain scholars. One of the main grounds for doubt had been the absence from the areas occupied by the Greeks in the first three centuries of the 1st millennium B.C. of excavational data relating to Euboea. But since the mid-20th century, numerous excavations in many parts of the Mediterranean, as also on Euboea itself, have not only confirmed the Euboeans' important rôle in the early historical period, but also given us a great deal of direct or indirect additional information about their activities.[1]

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[1] For Euboean colonisation, see the relevant articles in Bats and d'Agostino 1998; Tsetskhladze and De Angelis 1994; *Atti Taranto* 18 (1978); *AION ArchStAnt* n.s. 1 (1994) (= B. d'Agostino and D. Ridgway [eds.], *ΑΠΟΙΚΙΑ. Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner* [Naples]); Kopcke and Tokumaru 1992; *Contribution* 1975; *Nouvelle Contribution* 1981; Hägg 1983, including an extensive bibliography, with the literature on the excavations on Euboea itself (Lefkandi, Eretria, Cumae, Cyme, Chalcis, etc.) and elsewhere (for example Pithekoussai). See also Crielaard 1996; Ridgway 1992; Bakhuizen 1976; Parker 1997; Miller 1997.

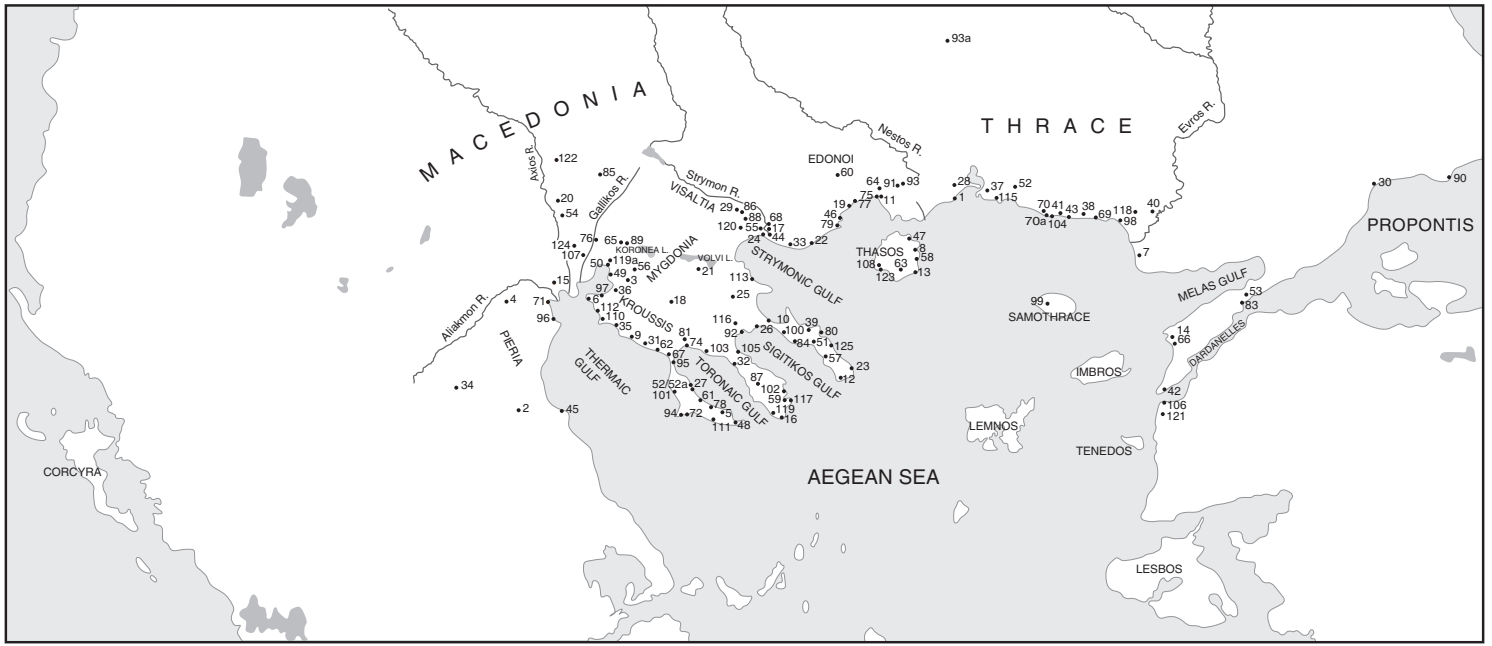

Fig. 1. Map illustrating Greek colonisation of the northern Aegean (modern place-names *in italics*).

1. Abdera
2. *Ayios Dimitrios*
3. *Ayia Paraskevi*
4. Aegae
5. Aege?
6. Aineia
7. Aenos
8. Ainyra
9. Aisa?
10. Acanthus
11. Akontisma
12. Akrothooi?
13. *Alyki*
14. Alopeconnesus
15. Aloros
16. Ampelos?
17. Amphipolis
18. Anthemus?
19. Antisara
20. *Axiohori*
21. Apollonia
22. Apollonia
23. Apollonia?
24. Argilus
25. Arnai
26. Assa
27. Aphytis
28. Bergepolis?
29. Berge
30. Bisanthe
31. Brea
32. Galepsus
33. Galepsus
34. *Gefyra of Serbia*
35. Gigonos?
36. Dikaia (*Therme-Sedes*)?
37. Dikaia
38. *Dikella*
39. Dion
40. Doriskos
41. Drys—Mesembria?
42. Elaious
43. Zone
44. Eion
45. Heraclium
46. *Heraklitsa*
47. Thasos
48. Therambos
49. Therme
50. Thessaloniki
51. Thyssos?
52. Ismara?
52a. *Kallithea-Maltepe*
53. Cardia
54. *Kastanas*
55. Kerdylion
56. Kissos
57. Cleonae
58. Koinyra
59. *Koukos*
60. Crenides (Philippi)
61. *Kryopigi*
62. Kombreia
63. *Larnaki*
64. *Lefki*
65. Lete
66. Limnae?
67. Lipaxos
68. *Hill 133* (Ennea Hodoi)?
69. *Makri*
70. Maroneia
70a. Maroneia 'Kikonian'?—Orthagoria?
71. Methone
72. Mende
73. Mesembria—Drys (see no. 41)
74. Mykeberna
75. *Nea Karvali*
76. *N. Philadelphia*
77. Neapolis
78. Neapolis
79. Oesyme
80. Holophyxos?
81. Olynthus
82. Orthagoria—Maroneia 'Kikonian'? (see no. 70a)
83. Pakyte
84. Palaiotrion?
85. *Palatiano*
86. *Paralimnion*
87. Parthenopolis
88. *Pethelinos*
89. *Perivolaki*
90. Perinthus
91. *Petropiyi*
92. Pilorus
93. Pistiros?
93a. Pistiros
94. Posideion
95. Poteidaea—Cassandreia
96. Pydna
97. Rhaikelos?
98. Sale
99. Samothrace
100. Sane—Ouranoupolis
101. Sane on Pallene
102. Sarte
103. Sermyle
104. Serreios Akra
105. Singus
106. Sigeum
107. Sindos? (*Anhialos*)
108. *Skala Marion*
109. Skapte Hyle? (see no. 75)
110. Skapsa?
111. Scione
112. Smila?
113. Stagirus
114. *Stavroupoli* (see no. 50)
115. Stryme
116. Stolos?
117. *Sykia*?
118. Tempyra—Trajanopolis
119. Torone
119a. Toumba in Thessaloniki (see no. 50)
120. Tragilos
121. Troy
122. *Tsaousitsa*
123. *Fari*
124. Chalastra
125. Charadries
126. Charakoma (see no. 40).

As we know, the written evidence referring to the colonisation of northern Greece (Fig. 1) is comparatively limited, late, and in some cases even puzzling. Typically, with some exceptions, we are not told when these colonies were founded. This, together with the lack of systematic excavations, led a number of scholars to believe that this region was colonised later than the West. But, as I pointed out a few years ago, this would be rather strange, given that a voyage from Euboea (the island which we know for sure played a leading rôle in at least the second Greek colonisation) to Chalcidice was both shorter and much more easily and safely undertaken than one to the West.[2] Certainly, there were some scholars who maintained that northern Greece must have been colonised at the same time as, or even earlier than, Magna Graecia.[3] However, based as they were only on written sources (and thus for the most part on later ones), and in the absence of excavational evidence, their views did not go down very well with historians. Even today, although recent excavations have lent strong support to their theory,[4] there are still scholars who do not share these views. With regard to Chalcidice in particular, some scholars are once again focusing on Harrison's old theory that the Chalcidians of Chalcidice had nothing to do with Euboea and Chalcis.[5] They believe that they were a Hellenic (more specifically an Ionian) tribe, which came to these parts from the north in the late 13th or early 12th century B.C.[6] One variant of this view is that these Greek-speaking 'phantoms' came to Chalcidice from the south at the end of the Middle or the start of the Late Bronze Age.[7]

But as Bradeen too has already pointed out,[8] there is nothing in the ancient written sources, no matter how taciturn and fragmentary they are, to support such hypotheses. On the contrary, they quite clearly speak of direct, close relations between Euboea and Chalcidice. Let us recall what Strabo says (10. 1. 8):

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[2] Tiverios 1989b, 57–8; *cf.* Graham 1971 (2001), 20–2.
[3] See, for example, Bradeen 1952, esp. 378–80.
[4] See, for example, Popham 1994, 30–2; Snodgrass 1994a, 88–91; 1994b, 5–6.
[5] Harrison 1912.
[6] Zahrnt 1971, 12–27.
[7] Papadopoulos 1996, 173; *cf.* Papadopoulos 1997, 191–95. For different views from those expressed in Papadopoulos 1996, see Hornblower 1997.
[8] Bradeen 1952, esp. 359.

> . . . these cities [of Euboea] grew exceptionally strong and even sent forth noteworthy colonies into Macedonia; for Eretria colonised the cities situated round Pallenê and Athos, and Chalcis colonised the cities that were subject to Olynthus . . . These colonies were sent out, as Aristotle states, when the government of the Hippobotae, as it was called, was in power; for at the head of it were men chosen according to the value of their property, who ruled in an aristocratic manner.

Elsewhere, with reference to Macedonia, Strabo says (7 fr. 11):

> But of all these tribes [Bisaltae, Edones, Mygdones, Sithones], the Argeadae, as they are called, established themselves as masters, and also the Chalcidians of Euboea; for the Chalcidians of Euboea also came over to the country of the Sithones and jointly peopled about thirty cities in it, although later on the majority of them were ejected and came together into one city, Olynthus; and they were named the Thracian Chalcidians.

And this is not the only written evidence. Let us remember, first of all, that Aristotle (who, as we know, was born at Stagirus/Stageira and had a mother from Chalcis, with which city the great philosopher maintained close ties) gives us two interesting pieces of information. During a war, probably the Lelantine War, a Chalcidian from Chalcidice came to Chalcis to help his compatriots.[9] Moreover, according to the Stagirite philosopher, the law-giver of the Chalcidians of Thrace was Androdamas from Rhegion (Reggio-Calabria), which, as we know, was a colony of Chalcis (Aristotle *Politica* 2. 1274b). These two items confirm the connexion between Chalcidice and Euboea and there is no basis whatever for regarding them as coincidental or fortuitous. Taken together with all the other data available, this information cannot be disregarded and passed over in silence, when it comes from such an authoritative source as Aristotle. Other reputable sources too, which are hard to challenge, such as the tribute lists of the First Athenian League and Thucydides himself, tell us of Euboean colonies in northern Greece, like Mende (Thucydides 4. 123 1) and Dikaia.[10] Let us also recall the incident recounted by Plutarch, when the Eretrians who had been expelled from Corcyra in 733 B.C. (or 709 B.C.) made their way

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[9] Rose 1886, 96–7 fr. 98 (from Plutarch *Amatorius* 17 (Mor. 761 A)]; Zahrnt 1971, 17.

[10] *ATL* 1 266–7, 482–3. For other colonies in Chalcidice which written sources associate with Euboea, see Bradeen 1952, 366–8 and 375 n. 103 (for testimony which does not discount the possibility that the Thermaic Gulf was also called Chalcis is the ancient period). See also Mele 1998, 219.

to the Thermaic Gulf and founded Methone on the coast of Pieria, having first attempted to return home and been rejected by their compatriots (Plutarch *Aetia Graeca* 11 [Mor. 293 A–B]).[11] Lastly, Diodorus Siculus (12. 68. 6) refers to Torone as a colony of the Chalcidians; and it is also interesting to note Polybius' information (9. 28), to which we shall return later, that ην τι σύστημα των επί Θράκης Ελλήνων, ους απώκισαν Αθηναίοι και Χαλκιδής.

Other disciplines also testify to the relations between Chalcidice and Chalcis, and Euboea in general. Scholars have already pointed out the linguistic similarities between inscriptions and inscribed coins of these two areas.[12] Furthermore, some of their coins are of characteristic resemblance regarding their iconography.[13] There are also similarities in the numerical symbols used in the two areas;[14] and it is highly significant that the Euboeans and the inhabitants of Chalcidice had the same names for the months on their calendars.[15]

All this and more[16] confirms fully the close connexions between Euboea and Chalcidice and renders much less credible the view that the latter did not owe its name to Euboean Chalcis. Especially, also, in view of the fact that the relations between the two areas are further attested by a number of finds from recent excavations in parts of northern Greece.[17] In (mainly coastal) parts of the Thermaic Gulf, in Chalcidice and on other sites too, excavations have brought to light, *inter alia*, Protogeometric and Geometric pottery, much of which has a direct or indirect connexion with Euboea. Predominant is a characteristic Euboean shape, the skyphos, decorated with concentric semicircles.[18] Such wares have been found on the coast of Pieria (for instance, at ancient Heraclium[19] near Platamon and at Pydna:[20] Fig. 3), in areas of

[11] See Graham 1978 (2001), 224; 1971 (2001), 21–2; Parker 1997, 55–8.
[12] See, for example, Hatzopoulos 1988, esp. 40–3; Bradeen 1952, 361–5; Psoma 2001, esp. 20–1.
[13] Bradeen 1952, 362–3; Kraay 1976, 134–5.
[14] Graham 1969; Knoepfler 1990, 115.
[15] Knoepfler 1990; 1989; Hatzopoulos 1988, esp. 65–8; *cf.* Parker 1997, 45–8.
[16] Knoepfler (1998) does not rule out even the possibility that the tribal distinctions of the cities of Euboea also passed over to Chalcidice.
[17] The number of excavations being carried out in northern Greece has increased considerably in recent years.
[18] For this shape, see Kearsley 1989.
[19] They are unpublished.
[20] See, for example, Besios and Pappa 1995, 37, 39.

Fig. 2. Pydna: Mycenaean chamber tomb with its *dromos*.

Olympus,[21] on sites in the Axios valley (such as Axiohori [Vardaroftsa][22] and Tsaousitsa),[23] in western Macedonia (for example at Gefyra of Servia[24] and Vergina),[25] on various sites in Thessaloniki prefecture (such as Anhialos,[26] Stavroupoli[27] and Nea Philadelphia),[28] in Thessaloniki itself (in Toumba,[29] for instance, Karabournaki[30] and probably the old centre of the city),[31] in the Lagadas basin (for instance at Perivolaki [Saratsi]),[32] at Palatiano in Kilkis prefecture[33] and on various sites in Chalcidice (such as Mende[34] and the sanctuary of Dionysus at Aphytis).[35] Similar pottery has also been found in eastern Macedonia[36] and on Thasos,[37] though the related finds there have been limited up to now and they are completely absent from Thrace.[38]

A considerable proportion of this pottery must be directly or indirectly connected with Euboea.[39] Yet some authorities regard the quantities of Euboean Geometric pottery found in northern Greece as limited and insignificant. They attach particular importance to the analyses of the clay fabric, which frequently, though not always, produce different results from analyses of wares found on Euboea itself.[40] But even if we regard many of these wares not as Euboean but as local imitations of Euboean pottery, this is of no consequence and does not affect the view that there

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[21] See, for example, Vokotopoulou 1993, 137, fig. 97; Pandermalis 1997, 67, 88–9.
[22] Heurtley and Hutchinson 1925–26, 28–30 (D5), pl. 21.9, 11.
[23] Casson 1923–25, 10, fig. 3.
[24] See, for example, Vokotopoulou 1993, 121, fig. 70.
[25] Andronikos 1969, 168–71, pls. 34.15, 49.1, 50.21, 51.1, 63.24, 72.16.
[26] Tiverios 1998b, 248, fig. 8; 1993b, 564, fig. 6; Tiverios *et al.* 1994, 229, fig. 2; Tiverios *et al.* 1995, 300, fig. 4.
[27] Tzanavari and Lioutas 1993, 277, fig. 8, 278, fig. 11.
[28] Misailidou-Despotidou 1995, 319, fig. 3.
[29] *Thessaloniki* 1986, 87, fig. 66; Andreou *et al.* 1990, 398, fig. 3.
[30] Tiverios 1987, 255, fig. 2.
[31] Tiverios 1990a, 84, fig. 5.
[32] Heurtley and Ralegh Radford 1928–30, 141, fig. 28.1.
[33] Anagnostopoulou-Chatzipolychroni 1996, 202, fig. 22.
[34] Vokotopoulou 1990c, 407, fig. 7; Moschonissioti 1998, 258, fig. 5.
[35] [Leventopoulou-]Giouri 1971, 364, fig. 13. Similar pottery has also been found at Redina but is not published.
[36] Giouri and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1987, 385, fig. 29.
[37] Bernard 1964, 140, figs. 10 and 52; Gimatzidis 2002, 80, fig. 1.
[38] It has, however, been found even further east, in the Troad. See Lenz *et al.* 1998, 208–9, 213, pl. 2.4, 22, pl. 11. *Cf.* Crome *et al.* 1942, 170 and pl. 57.4.
[39] Apart from the pendent semicircle skyphoi, there are other Protogeometric shapes from northern Greece which are connected with Euboea, such as amphorae, for instance. See, for example, Papadopoulos 1996, 156, fig. 8, 157 (from Torone).
[40] Papadopoulos 1996, esp. 152–5.

was a Euboean presence in northern Greece. Why, for instance, are there no imitations in northern Greece of Argive Protogeometric and Geometric wares; and why is the influence of the Attic Kerameikos less apparent in the local wares than that of the Euboean Kerameikos?[41] But apart from that, to attach so much importance to the results of clay analysis is to ignore the way the ancient potters frequently worked. There can be no doubt that, apart from the permanent potteries, there must also have been the so-called itinerant workshops, which would often have used local clay from the areas where they, temporarily or permanently, settled. Thus, for example, the Euboean potters working in the colonies would rarely have imported clay from the metropolis. Since it was a material that was available in many areas, they would have sought suitable clay in the locality of their new home. I recall in this connexion the words of Athenaeus (11. 107): Χαλκιδικά ποτήρια, ίσως από της Χαλκίδος της Θρακικής ευδοκιμούντα. And as for clay analysis, there is something else to be said. None of the traditional pottery workshops still operating in Greece uses clay from a single source. The potters take clay from various sources (which are sometimes quite far apart, moreover) in proportions which are a trade secret. Each of these types of clay has its own advantages or may compensate for deficiencies in the other clays being used. It is likely that similar practices were employed in the ancient period. So there is no real reason why we should not regard as Euboean all the ceramic products made by the Euboean colonists and their descendants in northern Greece, even if they are characterised by clay of different composition.

But with regard to the relations between Euboea and Macedonia in the so-called Iron Age, it is very telling that Macedonian pottery of this period has been found in various parts of Euboea itself from as early as the Protogeometric period, and, in terms of their shape, some Euboean wares are probably modelled on Macedonian originals.[42]

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[41] Far fewer Attic or Atticising Protogeometric and Geometric wares have been found in northern Greece than, for instance, Euboean or Euboeanising pendent semicircle skyphoi. For the influence of the Geometric Attic Kerameikos in Macedonia, see Mayr 1993, 3–12, who in fact argues that Attic influence in the Late Protogeometric and Late Geometric period came to Macedonia with the help of the Euboeans. *Cf.* I. Lemos 2002, 216 n. 115. Papadopoulos (1996, 156–8) believes that in the wares found in the Early Iron Age cemetery at Torone, the influence of Athens is stronger than that of Euboea. For the 'Euboean Koine' in this area, see also I. Lemos 2002, 207, and esp. 214–7.

[42] Popham *et al.* 1990, 65, 94–5 (R.W.V. Catling and I. Lemos); 1993, 97–100. See also Tiverios 1998b, 250 and n. 42; 1993b, 556; Popham 1994, 31, fig. 2.14c, 33. The

And although there can, I think, be no doubt whatever about the relations between Chalcidice and Euboea, an accurate dating of these relations is problematic. It should be noted that even those who question whether there was any special connexion between the two areas, do not deny that there was a Euboean presence in northern Greece in the final decades of the 8th century B.C. The surviving written sources are not very enlightening as to when the Euboeans first settled in Chalcidice, but they do preserve information which allows us to posit some ideas. It has already been noted that Herodotus distinguishes the Greek colonists of Chalcidice, many of whom were certainly from Euboea, from a 'Chalcidicon genos' which was also established in Chalcidice.[43] Herodotus' 'Chalcidicon genos' probably takes us back to a time when colonisation was 'a movement of nations'—carried out, that is, by tribes, since the city-states had not yet come into existence.[44] Moreover, when referring to the Chalcidians of the West, Thucydides frequently calls them Χαλκιδής εξ Ευβοίας; while he uses the term Χαλκιδής οι επί Θράκης for the Chalcidians of Chalcidice.[45] This distinction is not, perhaps, without significance. It may well be the Athenian historian's way of telling us that the Chalcidians of Magna Graecia were not directly connected with those of Chalcidice, since the latter had settled in northern Greece much earlier, long before the first colonists arrived in the West.[46] One colonisation that was carried out by nations, by tribes, was, as we know, the so-called first Greek colonisation, led by the Ionians. According to ancient writers, Ionian colonisation began at around the end of the 11th century B.C.[47] But it is quite possible that inhabitants of Euboea had settled in northern Greece even earlier. We know that Euboea took part in the Trojan War with the Abantes, who, according to tradition, after the end of the war, wandered also around

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oinochoi from Chalcis illustrated by Andreiomenou (1998, 158, fig. 4, 161, fig. 7) may be Macedonian or influenced by Macedonia. *Cf.* Desborough 1972, 218; Coldstream 1977, 40–1.

[43] For the phrase 'Chalcidicon genos', see Zahrnt 1971, 12–3, who gives all the interpretations which have been put forward. See also the detailed discussion in Mele 1998, 221–8. *Cf.* Parker 1997, 47 n. 169.

[44] Kontoleon 1963, 14–7

[45] For these phrases of Thucydides', see Zahrnt 1971, 13–6, esp. 15. See also the detailed discussion in Mele 1998, 221–8.

[46] Tiverios 1989b, 58–9.

[47] Sakellariou 1958, 307–10.

Macedonia.[48] They even built a city near Edessa and called it Euboea (Strabo 10. 449).[49] Let us not forget that there are other traditions about heroes of the Trojan War wandering around northern Greece as well, the best known being Odysseus, Akamas (or Demophon) and Aeneas.[50] And at least two cities of Chalcidice trace their founding back to members of the Trojan campaign: Scione, which is said to have been founded by the Achaeans of the Peloponnese on their way home after the fall of Priam's city (Thucydides 4. 120. 1);[51] and Aineia, for which there is a tradition which asserts that it was founded by Aeneas himself on his flight to Latium after the fall of Troy.[52] That these traditions were not created in late antiquity is demonstrated by the fact that both Aineia and Scione chose to depict the heads of Aeneas and Protesilaos respectively on the coins they struck from the Late Archaic period onwards.[53] This means that the traditions about their founding existed from at least the 6th century B.C., if not earlier. And naturally, these traditions about the presence of known Mycenaeans in northern Greece[54] are backed up by the large and ever-increasing numbers of Mycenaean finds being turned up by excavations in this region, many of which consist of ceramic wares. The earliest Mycenaean pottery found in northern Greece to date comes from Torone and dates to LM I–II.[55]

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[48] Kontoleon 1963, 13–20. For the Abantes, see also Sakellariou 1958, esp. 199–203.

[49] And there are other cities, both on Euboea and in Macedonia, with the same names. See Kalleris 1988, 300 n. 3.

[50] See, for example, Isaac 1986, 113–4, 147; Kakridis 1986, vol. 3, 59–62 (E. Roussos), vol. 5, 205–08, 325–6, 329, 331–2, 335 (I. Kakridis). See also Danov 1988.

[51] See also Zahrnt 1971, 13–4, 234.

[52] Zahrnt 1971, 27, 143–4.

[53] See, for example, Zahrnt 1971, 27, 143–4, 234–5.

[54] For other known figures from northern Greece who took part in the Trojan War, see, for example, Mele 1998, 224–8.

[55] Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos 1993. To the same period belongs a sherd from an imported Mycenaean vessel which was probably found at Karabournaki, the ancient Therme, and is now in the Casts Museum of the Department of History and Archaeology of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki: see Tiverios 2004, 296, fig. 2. For Mycenaean presence in Macedonia and in the northern Aegean more generally, see Andreou *et al.* 1996, 567, 573–4, 577, 579–86, 590; Soueref 1999b; Donder 1999; Grammenos 1999; Pilali-Papasteriou 1999; Andreou and Kotsakis 1999; 1992, 259 n. 3 (a bibliography) and 265–70; Vokotopoulou 1984, 144–9, 155; Poulaki-Pandermali 1987a; 1987b, 705–8, 711–2, 715; Wardle 1993, 121–4, 127–33; Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos 1993; Podzuweit 1986; 1979; Hänsel 1989, 331–4; Vokotopoulou 1993d, 12 (I. Vokotopoulou), 108–10 (H. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki), 116–8 (G. Karamitrou-Mentesidi), 122–3 (E. Poulaki-Pantermali); Kilian 1990; Mitrevski 1999; Soueref

An early settling of the southern Greeks, more specifically the Euboeans, in the North Aegean is also supported by the findings of some recent excavations in Chalcidice, at Torone, colony of the Chalcidians, at Koukos near Sykia on Sithonia, and, especially, at Mende, colony of the Eretrians (Thucydides 4. 123. 1), and its extra-urban sanctuary at Poseidi. At Torone, which was known to Archilochos in the 7th century B.C., an extensive Early Iron Age (or early Protogeometric) cemetery has been uncovered, with 134 burials, of which 118 are cremations and 16 inhumations.[56] The cemetery has yielded over 500 entire and fragmentary ceramic wares, which indicate that it began to be used towards the end of the Submycenaean period and ceased to be used *ca.* 850 B.C. The presence among them of imported wares from Attica and Euboea, together with some which appear to have been made in Torone itself, though they imitate purely Greek (and sometimes quite innovative) wares from southern Greece, shows that the area had contact with southern Greece and also confirms the aforementioned written evidence of the presence of Athenians and Euboeans here. It should be noted that the remains of a pottery kiln have also been uncovered on the site of the cemetery, with wares dating to the middle or the second half of the 8th century B.C.[57] This find has given us valuable information for the study of the local pottery. Of the 14 fragmentary wares found here, ten are wheel-made (seven amphorae, one krater, one lekanis and a small pithos) and the other four are made by hand. Their decoration differs from that of the wares in the cemetery. Although the basic decorative motifs, such as concentric circles and semicircles, are still present, together, of course, with new ones (such as a row of cross-hatched lozenges), the decoration of these wares does not share the strict precision and regularity of the decoration of the wares in the cemetery. Pottery similar to and contemporary with that found in the cemetery and the kiln has also come to light during the excavations at

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1993; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992a, 553–6; 1980b, esp. 65–70; 1982b, 124–30; 1982c, 243–50; Grammenos 1979, 26–30; Jung 2002, esp. 44–6; 2003 (with recent bibliography); Andreou 2003. See also Panayotou 1986; Sampsaris 1988, 167–70; Smit 1988. There is also Mycenaean presence in Bulgaria. See, for example, Hoddinott 1988; Matthäus 1988; French 1982; Hartuche and Sirbu 1982; Kisjov and Bojinova 2006, 126. A terracotta fragment with Linear B text was found recently in the Drama (Bulgaria) prehistoric mound (excavated by J. Lichardus). I owe the last information to N. Theodossiev.

[56] Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos 1988, 187–8; Papadopoulos 1990, 13–4 and n. 3 for bibliography; and recently Papadopoulos 2005.

[57] Papadopoulos 1989, 9–12.

Lekythos:[58] *i.e.* imported wheel-made wares, together with local handmade and wheel-made vessels.

The site at Koukos, on a hill near Sykia, has yielded remains of a fortified settlement, which was probably founded in connexion with mining operations, and a cemetery.[59] The pottery connected with the settlement and the walls dates to the Early Iron Age, while the cemetery has yielded various types of graves, the earliest of which date to the end of the 10th century B.C. The graves, the latest of which date to the early decades of the 7th century B.C., contained, *inter alia*, local handmade pottery (such as cut-away oinochoi, kantharoi with elevated handles, two-handled vessels and pithoi) and imported wares. The latter (which include amphorae, kraters and lekanides with conical bases) are related mainly to Euboean pottery, specifically to similar wares found at Lefkandi.

Much more enlightening for our purpose are the findings of the excavations at ancient Mende (1.5 km south-east of modern Kalandra), most notably a sanctuary which came to light on the nearby promontory that rises appoximately in the middle of the west coast of the Cassandra Peninsula. Of the findings, I shall mention here only what is relevant to the matter in hand, while others will be discussed later. In Mende itself, more specifically on a site at the top of a hill, known today as Vigla,[60] the remains have been discovered of a settlement whose earliest phase dates to the Submycenaean period. Refuse pits have also been investigated and found to contain both imported and local pottery (some of it handmade) dating to between the 12th and 7th centuries B.C. The late excavator, Julia Vokotopoulou, found most of the imported Late Mycenaean, Submycenaean and Protogeometric wares comparable to similar pottery from Lefkandi, and they are also similar to the pottery found in the city's sanctuary at nearby Poseidi. Moreover, the pottery of the Geometric period has been found to share similarities, *inter alia*, with pottery from Eretria. Excavations at the seaward foot of the hill, where Thucydides' Proasteion must have been situated, have located a succession of habitation phases,[61] represented by brick-built houses with the lower part made of stone and

[58] Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos 1994, 141–7 and n. 3 for bibliography.
[59] Carington-Smith and Vokotopoulou 1988; 1989; 1990; 1992; Vokotopoulou 1987, 284–5.
[60] Vokotopoulou 1987, 280–1; Moschonissioti 1998, 256–7.
[61] Vokotopoulou 1987, 282; 1988; 1989; 1990c; Moschonissioti 1998, 257–60.

equipped with rectangular hearths, the earliest of which date to the Late Protogeometric period, *ca.* 850 B.C. Levels probably dating to the 8th century B.C. have yielded stone-paved circular areas (one with a diameter of about 1.80 m) which must have been connected with some domestic activity. Similar structures have been found at Lefkandi, but also in other parts of northern Greece.[62] According to Vokotopoulou,[63] the earliest—Sub-Protogeometric—pottery found here shares similarities with contemporary wares from the cemetery at Torone, which we have already mentioned, as also with pottery from Lefkandi. Local pottery, mostly large vessels and specifically amphorae, has also been found, decorated with concentric circles, hatched triangles and horizontal bands. Most notable among the imported wares are Euboean skyphoi decorated with suspended semicircles and some Thessalian skyphoi and kantharoi decorated with crosses and triangles. The characteristic pottery of the Geometric period is similar: here again we have skyphoi, which also seem to be connected with Euboea, more specifically with Eretria.

Four kilometres west of Mende, on a site by the sea with the significant name of Poseidi, Vokotopoulou, again, carried out an excavation which is of great significance for the subject at hand. She brought to light the ruins of an important sanctuary which, votive inscriptions confirm, was indeed dedicated to Poseidon Pontios (see Fig. 14 below).[64] I shall confine myself, for the time being, to the sanctuary's early history. The god's cult here began in the Late Mycenaean period and continued until Late Hellenistic times, with a vague break in the 9th century B.C. The clear remnants of a large altar of ash date to the 12th century B.C.; while the 10th century B.C. saw the erection of the first cult building, one of the oldest we know of in Greece.[65] An apsidal structure, it was strikingly large for its time, being over 14 m long and over 5 m wide. Here too the pottery of the Late Mycenaean/Submycenaean, Protogeometric and Geometric periods, both handmade and

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[62] Vokotopoulou 1990, 399–400; Moschonissioti 1998, 258–9 (with bibliography). Similar structures have also been found at, for instance, Karabournaki (see Tiverios 1995–2000, 303) and Stavroupoli (see Tzanavari and Lioutas 1993, 268, 275, fig. 3). Hammond (1998, 396) believes that the settlement at Stavroupoli presents strong Euboean features.

[63] Vokotopoulou 1988, 331–2; 1990c, 400–1; Moschonissioti 1998, 259.

[64] Vokotopoulou 1989, 416–7; 1990c, 401–10; 1991; 1992; 1993a,; 1994a; Moschonissioti 1998, 260–4.

[65] Moschonissioti 1998, 265–7.

wheel-made, is comparable chiefly to pottery from Lefkandi, but also to wares from Torone and Toumba in Thessaloniki.[66]

Owing to their important finds dating to the Late Mycenaean period, the excavations at Mende and Torone are extremely significant with regard to early colonisation in northern Greece, specifically Chalcidice. For several reasons, the Mende excavations are the more interesting. Apart from the appearance there of Late Mycenaean and Protogeometric pottery that is directly or indirectly connected with pottery from Lefkandi, Mende itself has yielded evidence of permanent habitation from the Late Mycenaean to the Classical period, again with Euboean pottery strongly present until the Geometric period. And while the presence of the southern Greeks, and more specifically the Euboeans, at Mende, as evidenced by the pottery, may be disputed, it can hardly be questioned in the sanctuary at Poseidi on the basis of the excavational data.[67] For here we have, already from the 12th century B.C., the appearance of Greek cult practices and events, with sacrifices and from a later time on with *symposia*, which continue down to the Hellenistic period (attesting the continuous presence of the same Greek population), and also with the construction of four cult buildings, one of them dating to the 10th century B.C. And this very structure is the oldest confirmed Greek cult building in northern Greece, the like of which has never yet been found in any Macedonian settlement.[68] Furthermore, it cannot be fortuitous, given what we have said so far on the basis of the ancient written sources and the excavational data, that here too the most conspicuous pottery until the Geometric period is that which is, directly or indirectly, related to Euboea. It is also worth noting that the burial customs employed in the cemeteries at Torone, Koukos and Late Geometric Mende[69] clearly reflect Greek burial beliefs and practices.[70]

In view of all this, then, it cannot be very far from the truth to assert that southern Greeks, especially Ionians from Euboea, settled in Chalcidice after the Trojan War. The southern Greeks must have got to know

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[66] Moschonissioti 1998, 267–9. For the relation of the cult of Poseidon at Mende with Euboea, see Knoepfler 2000.

[67] *Cf.* I. Lemos 2002, 216 n. 118.

[68] Moschonissioti 1998, 265–7, 269–70.

[69] Vokotopoulou 1989, 414–5; Vokotopoulou and Moschonissioti 1990. See also Moschonissioti 1998, 259–60.

[70] *Cf.* Vokotopoulou 1994b, esp. 92–6; 1989, 414–5 and n. 9.

northern Greece as early as the Mycenaean period.[71] They first settled in these parts at a time when people were still moving about in tribes or clans. Let us remember here the words of Thucydides (1. 12):

> Even after the Trojan war Hellas was still engaged in removing and settling, and thus could not attain to the quiet which must precede growth. The late return of the Hellenes from Ilium caused many revolution, factions ensued almost everywhere, and it was the citizens thus driven into exile who founded the cities…so that much had to be done and many years had to elapse before Hellas could attain to a durable tranquility undisturbed by removals, and could begin to send out colonies, as Athens did to Ionia and most of the islands.… All these places were founded subsequently to the war with Troy.
>
> (translation R. Crawley)

The Euboeans must have been the most numerous population group in Chalcidice. This conclusion is easily reached because it satisfactorily explains not only why it was Chalcis which gave its name to the region, but also why Euboean wares outnumber Attic pottery and why most of the 'good' pottery found in northern Greece from the Protogeometric and Geometric periods is directly or indirectly related to the Euboean pottery. It is especially worth noting the exceptionally large number of 'Euboean' skyphoi decorated with suspended semicircles which have been found in northern Greece and which we have already mentioned. These vessels are common mainly in the Eastern Mediterranean, where there are also traces of an early direct or indirect Euboean presence; but they are also found in the West,[72] where the Euboeans settled later, in the 8th century B.C. Therefore, Herodotus' 'Chalcidicon genos' must have settled in Chalcidice after the Trojan War. And the Greeks' very early settling in Chalcidice may account for the ancient writers' silence about when most of the Greek colonies here were founded. This is an idea which has already been put forward.[73] And, as we shall see, apart from in Chalcidice, there is also evidence that Greeks came

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[71] *Cf.* Vokotopoulou 1996a, 319.

[72] See, for example, d'Agostino 1999, pl. 1.1–3, 6, figs. 1 and 3. Most of these skyphoi should probably be dated before the mid-8th century B.C. The recent excavations on the double table at Anhialos confirm that these wares date also into the first half of the 8th century B.C. There has been a striking increase in the number of pendent semicircle skyphoi from northern Greece. Dozens of sherds from such pottery have been found at Anhialos, where there is a very strong Euboean presence. For the spread of these skyphoi and for their dating, see also Aro 1992–93, 218–25.

[73] See, for example, Bradeen 1952, 380.

and settled in areas around the Thermaic Gulf after the Mycenaean world had come to an end.

The Second Greek Colonisation of Northern Greece

During the second Greek colonisation, more specifically in the 8th century, new colonists must have come to Chalcidice from Euboea and in fact from its two most important cities, Chalcis and Eretria. An early Greek settling in Chalcidice may also explain why so many colonies are found here. More specifically, it is reasonable to suppose that the 'Chalcidicon genos' established settlements in Chalcidice *komedon*—*i.e.* as small clustered habitations—which was common practice at that time.[74] When the new colonists arrived in the 8th century B.C., most of them settled in the existing small but closely packed settlements. Numerous city colonies thus developed (for instance, Strabo [7 fr. 11] tells us that the Chalcidians had around thirty colonies on the middle prong of Chalcidice alone), most of which, however, did not have sufficient living space. Owing to their limited hinterland, these colonies never became as important as those in the West, while their proximity to the metropolis probably made it difficult to detach themselves from it. Their inability to cope alone with external perils had as a result the preservation of the ties among them for a long time and frequently made them act or be regarded by others as a tribe, a *genos*, at a time when the city-state was the predominant political system in Greece proper.[75]

The Thermaic Gulf

On the west coast of the Thermaic Gulf, the only Greek colony confirmed by the written sources was Methone. According to Plutarch, it was founded by Eretrians immediately after 733 (or 709) B.C.[76] So Ps.-Skylax (*Periplous* 66) is quite correct when he refers to Methone as a

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[74] For *komedon* settlements, see, for example, Rhomaios 1940.

[75] Let us not forget the presence of the *koinon* of the cities of Chalcidice, under the leadership of Olynthus, which predominated in the region throughout the first half of the 4th century B.C. See, for example, Zahrnt 1971, esp. 80–97.

[76] See p. 6 above, and n. 11 for bibliography. See also Papazoglou 1988, 105–6.

Greek city.[77] It was founded at the time of the so-called second Greek colonisation, in which the Euboeans played a leading part. Strabo (7 fr. 20) specifies its position as 40 stadia from Pydna and 70 from Aloros, which was probably the ancient settlement near the modern village of Kypseli.[78] The site of Methone has been firmly located on two hills directly to the north of the Nea Agathoupoli cemetery. Excavations, which have recently began here, have revealed—among others finds—public buildings dating to the Archaic period and have shown that habitation on the east hill had been continuous from the Late Neolithic to the Archaic period.[79] When the Euboean colonists arrived here in the Iron Age, the settlement was extended to the west hill, which offered a higher, better fortified position. In the Archaic period both hills were occupied, as well as the area between them. The harbour, protected from the strong southerly winds which lash the coast of Pieria, must have been located where the marsh is now, its present state being due to silt from the banks of the nearby Haliakmon.[80] Late Geometric Euboean pottery and Protocorinthian kotylai found here must be more or less contemporary with the arrival of the Eretrians, whom Charicrates' Corinthians had expelled from Corcyra. These Eretrians must have found Thracians here and more specifically the Pierians, with whom they probably co-existed peaceably, until the latter were expelled by the Macedonians and fled east of the Strymon to the Pieris valley, which was named after them (Thucydides 2. 99. 3).[81] This is precisely why this Methone is also known as Thracian Methone, in order to be distinguished from the other cities with the same name (Strabo 9. 436). The archaeological data so far indicate that it must have been the most important urban centre in the area until the Archaic period. Moreover, it occupied a very important location, for it was also near

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[77] For the significance of the phrase '*polis* Hellenis', see Kahrstedt 1958, 85–8. *Cf. RE* suppl. X (1965), 834 *s.v.* Pydna (C. Danov); Zahrnt 1997b.

[78] Hatzopoulos 1987, 39–40; Papazoglou (1988, 158) disagrees.

[79] Besios 1993b, 1114 and n. 4; 2003; Besios *et al.* 2004; Hatzopoulos *et al.* 1990, 639–42. For Methone, see also Vokotopoulou 2001, 743–4; Hatzopoulos and Paschidis 2004, 804.

[80] Besios 1993b.

[81] For the 'Pieron Chora', east of the Strymon, see recently Pikoulas 2001. According to Plutarch (*Aetia Graeca* 11), the colonists named their new settlement Methone after the Thracian Methon, an ancestor of Orpheus, who had controlled the area in olden times. Stephanus of Byzantium connects the name with the word μέθυ ('πολύοινος γάρ εστι'), while his information about the existence of a Euboean Methone may also be of interest.

the Haliakmon, which was a navigable river. All the same, with the progress of excavations in the area, there may well turn up Mycenaean finds, since the written sources, though they have little to say about the area in this period, they may allude to the presence of Mycenaeans here.[82] After all, as we shall see, Mycenaean finds are not unknown in Pieria. Consequently, when the Euboean colonists arrived, these parts were not entirely unknown to the Greek world.

But while the excavations at Methone have just begun, the same is not true of nearby Pydna, which lies about 2 km south of Makriyalos on a key site controlling the fertile plain of Katerini and is naturally fortified, having also a harbour. In recent years, major public works have prompted extensive excavations, which have added considerably to what we know about the history of this important site.[83] The new data indicate that the area was already known to the Greeks in the Mycenaean period, for interesting Mycenaen finds have come to light, such as a number of Mycenaean chamber tombs with a *dromos* (Fig. 2) and Mycenaean pottery, both imported and local.[84] And, as we have already said, the written tradition may also allude to Mycenaean activity in this area. Besides, this is not its only site to have yielded Mycenaean finds: their presence is appreciable on sites on Olympus (such as Ayios Dimitrios) and at Kastanas, Anhialos, Karabournaki and Toumba in Thessaloniki at the head of the Thermaic Gulf.[85] The excavational data indicate that the first settlement dates to the Late Bronze or Early Iron Age and is located in the most northerly part of the ancient city, directly to the north of the Byzantine castle, which must stand on the site of the ancient *acropolis*. There is also an important and extensive Neolithic settlement in the wider area. The Bronze Age settlement occupies a far from insignificant area of about 20 ha and is surrounded by a trench.[86] We do not know when Greeks first settled here, and anyway no written evidence survives which describes Pydna as a Greek

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[82] See Krebber 1972. *Cf.* Merkelbach 1973; Kramer and Hubner 1976.

[83] Besios 1987, 209–10; 1988; 1989; 1990; 1991; 1992; 1993a, 203–4; 1996, 233–36; Besios and Krachtopoulou 1994. See also Besios 1993b; 1985. For Pydna, see also Papazoglou 1988, 106–10; Vokotopoulou 2001, 742–3; Hatzopoulos and Paschidis 2004, 806.

[84] Besios and Krachtopoulou 1994, 147–8; Besios 1996, 236; 1993b, 1111–2.

[85] For the Olympus areas, see Poulaki-Pandermali 1987. For Kastanas, see Podzuweit 1986; Hänsel 1989. For Anhialos, see Tiverios 1993b, 554. For Karabournaki, see Tiverios 1987, 249–50. For Toumba, see Andreou *et al.* 1996, 581–2 (including bibliography).

[86] Besios 1996, 236–7; 1993b, 1111–2.

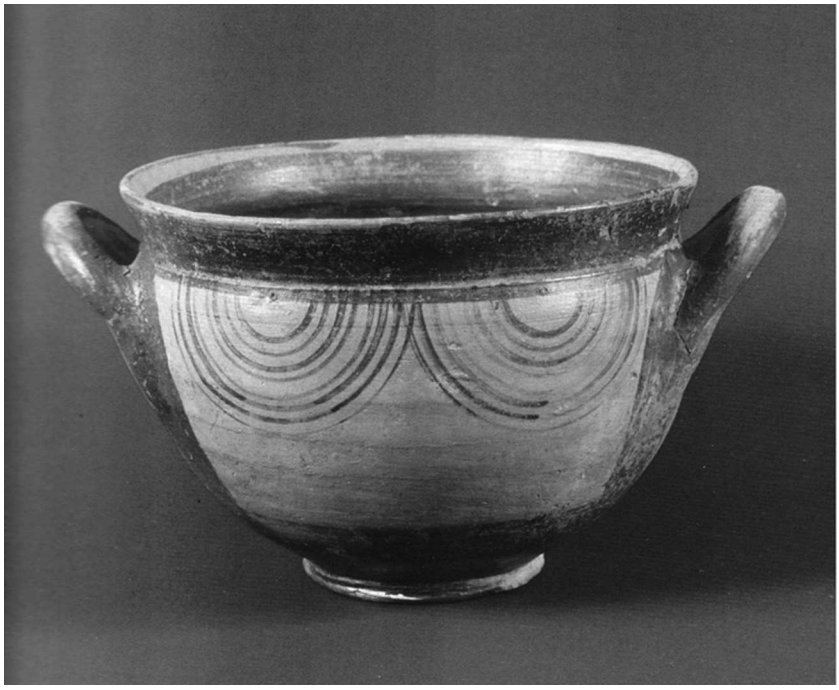

Fig. 3. Pydna: 'Protogeometric' skyphos.

colony; nor do the available excavational data help in this respect. M. Besios[87] believes that the first ones probably settled here immediately after the Trojan War, possibly tolerated by the Thracians. At any rate, its Hellenic character was clearly apparent in later years and Ps.-Skylax terms Pydna, like Methone, a Greek city.[88] The name is reminiscent of Pytna/Hierapytna on Crete and it is worth remembering the tradition that Cretans settled in nearby Bottiaia.[89] The archaeological data so far indicate a limited Greek presence in the Geometric and the Archaic period[90] and Besios suggests that this may be due to the fact that the Macedonians expelled the Thracians from the area.[91] Still, we should mention here a fragment from a large Late Archaic marble building,

[87] Besios 1993b, 1112. *Cf.* Besios and Pappa 1995, 5 (M. Besios).
[88] See pp. 17–18 above and n. 77.
[89] Kalleris 1988, 300 n. 3; Hammond 1972, 153; Papazoglou (1988, 106 n. 13) gives a different interpretation.
[90] Methone was probably the principal centre in the area at that time.
[91] Besios 1996, 236–7.

probably an Ionic temple, which has been found built into the wall of a Byzantine church in the castle.[92]

The presence of Euboeans during the so-called second Greek colonisation has also been revealed by excavations in the ancient settlement near Anhialos and modern Sindos,[93] which have yielded abundant Euboean Geometric pottery, together with large quantities of local wares (Figs. 4–6).[94] The latter include some categories which clearly reflect the influence of painted Geometric pottery from southern Greece. The site was very probably an *emporion*, a trading post, with a mixed population at a time when the relations between the Euboeans and the local Thracians on the west coast and at the head of the Thermaic Gulf must have been generally good. It was perhaps at this time that the myths about the Thracian Orpheus and the Pierian Muses were established, while the myths relating to the 12 gods of Olympus had probably already evolved in the Mycenaean period.[95] The Sindos settlement was on the coast, for the north-western part of the Thermaic Gulf penetrated much further inland than it does today.[96] There can be no doubt that the Euboeans were attracted here chiefly by the gold in the Gallikos river, to which they themselves probably gave the descriptive name Echedoros ('having gifts'). They too must have been the instigators of the cult of the Echedorian Nymphs here, which is mentioned in the sources. Furthermore, gold found in Geometric Euboea may well have come from the Echedoros.[97] It should be noted that traces have been found at Sindos of coppersmiths' workshops dating to as early as the Geometric period (Fig. 7).[98] We have very little Mycenaean pottery from this site at present, but the area is known to have been inhabited already in the Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age. The archaeological site at Sindos may probably be identified as ancient Sindos, since Chalastra, which was also a coastal city in the Geometric and Archaic periods and which Hecataeus describes as a Thracian city, must be identified

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[92] Marki 1990, 45, 52, fig. 2; Schmidt-Dounas 2004, 136–7.

[93] Tiverios 1990b; 1991b; 1992; 1993a; Tiverios *et al.* 1994; 1995; 1997; Tiverios and Gimatzidis 2000. See also Tiverios 1991–92, 209–12; 1993b; 1996; 1998b.

[94] It is worth noting here the similarities which the Geometric pottery found at Sindos shares with that from Eretrian Mende in Chalcidice.

[95] Regarding the Euboeans' part in the formation of myths, which have as their protagonists gods and heroes of the Greek pantheon who were active in northern Greece, see pp. 43–44 and n. 201 below. *Cf.* Tiverios forthcoming.

[96] Vouvalidis *et al.* 2003.

[97] Tiverios 1996, 415; 1998b, 248–9.

[98] Tiverios 1996, 416, 424, fig. 6; 1998b, 250.

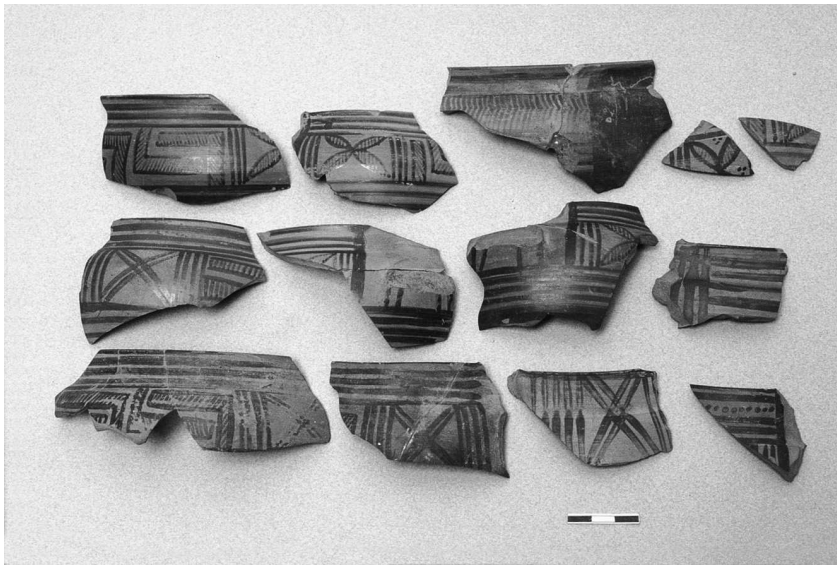

Fig. 4. Sindos: Euboean Atticising Geometric sherds.

Fig. 5. Sindos: imported Geometric pottery.

Fig. 6. Sindos: local oinochoe of the Geometric period.

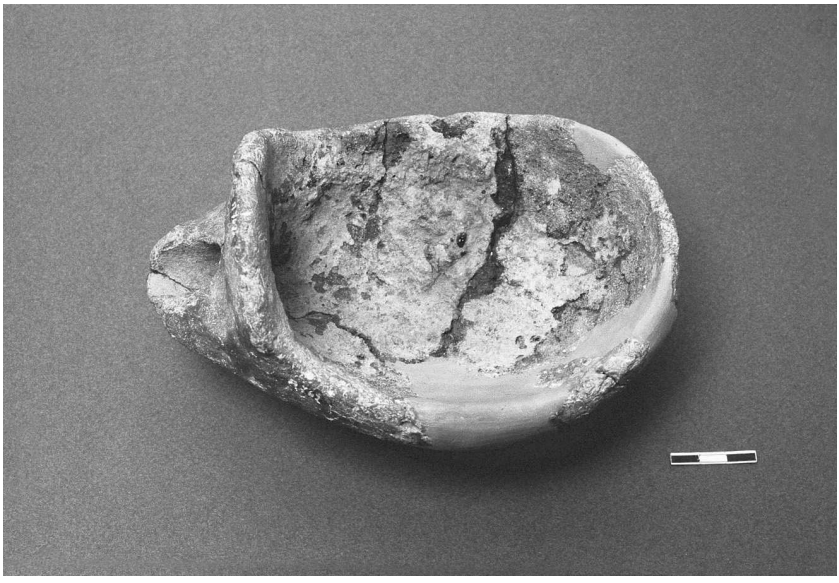

Fig. 7. Sindos: choane (receptacle for pouring bronze into a mould) of the Geometric period.

with the archaeological site at Ayios Athanassios.[99] That the settlement of Sindos maintained its importance also in the Archaic period, when there is no longer any sign of Euboean presence, is indicated by the wealth of the grave goods found in a cemetery which was excavated here in the early 1980s and which also yielded stone fragments of a monumental building, perhaps a temple, probably of the early 6th century B.C.[100]

The presence of Eretrians on the Thermaic Gulf is also confirmed by the presence here of another Eretrian colony. The Athenian tribute lists mention the Eretrian Dikaia, which minted silver coins as early as the end of the 6th century B.C.[101] Unfortunately, its precise location has not yet been determined with certainty. N. Hammond recently placed it on the western outskirts of modern Thessaloniki, in the area of Polihni and Stavroupoli,[102] where recent excavations have uncovered an ancient settlement (Fig. 8).[103] However, this settlement is probably one of those synoecised by Cassander when he founded Thessalonica. According to Pliny (*NH* 4. 36), Dikaia must have stood to the east of ancient Therme. Also, we know from an inscription that *theorodokoi* from Epidaurus went to Aineia and continued to Dikaia and Poteidaea (*IG* IV 1. 94 I b [10–12]). Given that route, it is very difficult to place Dikaia west of Therme, the basic nucleus of which, in the so-called historical period, must have been on the site of modern Karabournaki. It is also difficult to place Dikaia south of Aineia, because Herodotus does not mention it in his account of Xerxes' journey. Some scholars, on the basis of its position in the Athenian tribute lists, seek it east of Aineia and place it at Trilofos, Neo Ryssio or Ayia Paraskevi, or even on the so-called Gona Toumba near Thessaloniki airport.[104] On the other

[99] Tiverios 1996, 418–9; 1998b, 252; Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos (1985, 62–4) locate a Mygdonian Heracleia here.

[100] Vokotopoulou *et al.* 1985, 12 (A. Despini).

[101] Zahrnt 1971, 181–2; Hammond 1998, 395–8.

[102] Hammond 1998, 395–8; Rhomiopoulou (1989, 199) locates the city of Pyloros, known only from Pliny, in the area.

[103] Tzanavari and Lioutas 1993. See also Lioutas and Gioura 1997, esp. 322–5; Tzanavari and Christides 1995, 13.

[104] Zahrnt 1971, 181. For the locating of Dikaia on the site of the prehistoric settlement of Gona, see Vokotopoulou 2001, 745–6; Sismanidis (1998b 34) locates Dikaia at Ayia Paraskevi, a hypothesis probably supported by the discovery near Ayia Paraskevi of an interesting inscription, which has been announced by Voutiras and Sismanidis at the 7th International Symposium on Ancient Macedonia in 2002. However, the circumstances in which this important find was made, together with some information

Fig. 8. Stavroupoli: local Archaic pithos-amphora.

hand, one could suggest its identification with Nea Kallikratia, where recent excavations have brought to light a certain number of bronze coins minted by Dikaia in the 4th century B.C.[105] It is not impossible, however, that it was on the site of the important settlement which is being excavated to the east of Thessaloniki, where modern Thermi (formerly Sedes) is located.[106] The excavations confirm that this was the site of an important ancient township.[107] The numerous and interesting

provided by the finder, suggest that the inscription could have been brought here from an area on the coast nearby. For Dikaia, see also Flensted-Jensen 2004, 826–7.

[105] Bilouka and Graikos 2002, 381. *Cf.* Psoma 2002b, 80 n. 20.

[106] Hammond (1972, 187) places Gareskos here. Ancient Therme was once believed to have been situated here. See Ignatiadou 1997, esp. 57–61.

[107] Moschonissioti 1988; Ignatiadou and Skarlatidou 1996; Allamani *et al.* 1999, 153–6 and n. 3 (for further bibliography); Grammenos 1997; Ignatiadou 1997 Grammenos and Pappa 1989–90, 223–6, 278–80 (M. Tsigarida); Skarlatidou 1990b; 2002.

finds, mainly from an extensive cemetery,[108] include most notably a silver coin attributed to Dikaia.[109] With the presence of Eretrians at the head of the Thermaic Gulf confirmed, we can better understand Peisistratos' activities in this area in around the mid-6th century B.C., for he founded Rhaikelos here.[110] It was probably the Eretrians, with whom he is known to have been on good terms, who brought him to these parts.[111] Of the sites which have been proposed for Rhaikelos, the most lilkely is in the area of Peraia in Thessaloniki prefecture.[112] Also, a workshop which was producing local Attic column-kraters somewhere at the head of the Thermaic Gulf, immediately after the mid-6th century B.C., was probably connected with Peisistratos' foundation in the area.[113] According to some scholars, Rhaikelos, like Kissos (in the area of modern Hortiatis),[114] Dikaia and Anthemus (possibly at modern Galatista[115] or in the area of Ayia Paraskevi, where, *inter alia*, an important cemetery of the Archaic and Classical periods has been excavated),[116] must have been located in the fertile area of Anthemus, to the east of the head of the Thermaic Gulf.[117]

The presence of Greeks at the head of the Thermaic Gulf may also be indicated by the name of the most important settlement in the area, Therme.[118] Unfortunately, there is no written evidence to prove that Therme, either, was a colony.[119] However, Hecataeus does describe it as a city of Ελλήνων Θρηίκων (Greeks Thracians).[120] Excavations in the

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[108] The finds indicate that there was an important ancient city here, as was Dikaia, judging by the contribution which it was paying into the treasury of the First Athenian League. See Hammond 1998, 395.

[109] Lazaridou and Moschonissiotou 1988, 359; Lazaridou 1990, 308–9.

[110] Zahrnt 1971, 218–9.

[111] *Cf.* Viviers 1987a.

[112] Tiverios 1997, 80, 86 n. 24. For Rhaikelos, see also Edson 1947.

[113] Tiverios 1993b, 557–8. See also Skarlatidou 1999; 1033–6; *CVA* Thessaloniki 1, 13 (with bibliography), pls. 1–29 (C. Sismanidis).

[114] Bakalakis 1953–55; Papakonstantinou-Diamantourou 1990, 101–2 (with bibliography); Flensted-Jensen 2004, 830. Vokotopoulou (1990a, 127) believes that Holomondas, as well as Hortiatis, was probably called Kissos in antiquity.

[115] Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1992, esp. 27–8, 39 for other views on the site of the city. See also Soueref and Chavela 1999, 126–7; 2000, 174–5; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 824–5.

[116] Sismanidis 1987, esp. 802.

[117] *Cf. ATL* 1, 482–3 (Δικαιοπολίται Ερετριών άποικοι). For Anthemus, see recently Poulaki 2001, 137–40.

[118] For the name, see Bakalakis 1953–54 (including bibliography).

[119] B. Head, without strong arguments, asserts that it was a colony of the Corinthians. See Liampi 1994, 12.

[120] Tiverios 1990a, 79 and n. 52.

Fig. 9. Toumba in Thessaloniki: remains of houses, 6th–4th centuries B.C.

area leave no doubt that the city was established *komedon*—it was made up, that is, of a number of small habitations scattered about the head of the Thermaic Gulf.[121] In the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age, the basic nucleus of the city must have been the area of what is now the Toumba district in Thessaloniki (Fig. 9).[122] However, from the 8th and mainly from the 7th century B.C., when maritime communications increased and maritime trade was firmly established, the city's centre of gravity must have shifted towards the coastal settlement on the site of what is now Karabournaki, where parts probably of the most important port in the Thermaic Gulf have recently been uncovered.[123] That Therme was

[121] Rhomaios 1940, esp. 4 and 6. *Cf.* Tiverios 1995–2000, 315. For Therme, see also Papazoglou 1988, 190–3; Vokotopoulou 2001, 744–5; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 818–9.

[122] For the excavations in Toumba, see Andreou and Kotsakis 1996 (with older bibliography); Soueref 1996, 389–91 and nn. 1–3: older bibliography; 1997b; 1998; 1999a, 177. See also Soueref 1997a, 407–10 and nn. 3–4 for bibliography; 2000; 2004. Except for the remains of houses etc. of the Geometric, Archaic and Classical periods found in the archaeological site of Toumba, it is also interesting to note the presence here of the cult of Korybantes from the third quarter of the 4th century B.C., see Soueref 1990–95, 37–40.

[123] For the excavations at Karabournaki, see Tiverios 1995–2000 (including older bibliography). See also Tiverios *et al.* 1997; 1998; 1999; 2000; Pandermali and Trakosopoulou 1994; 1995. For the most recent excavations on the site, see Tiverios *et al.* in *ΑΕΜΘ* from 2001 onwards.

the most important township in the area until Thessalonica was founded is evident from the fact that Xerxes chose to camp his army and anchor his fleet there. Furthermore, it gave its name to the Thermaic Gulf. And it cannot be by chance that excavations at Karabournaki to date (Fig. 10) have brought to light Attic Middle Geometric sherds, Cycladic Geometric, Euboean Geometric and Protocorinthian pottery; whilst from the 7th century there is a strong presence of pottery from East Greece (Fig. 11). The latter is also found in the next century, together with Attic, Corinthian and Laconian wares. There is an impressive number of Archaic Chian, and also Attic SOS (Fig. 12), amphorae. From the Archaic period there are amphorae from other parts of the ancient Greek world as well, including Corinth, Lesbos and Ionia.[124] Its cosmopolitan character is also attested by the discovery of commercial inscriptions in foreign languages, such as Carian.[125] The imported Archaic pottery found at Toumba includes wares from Corinth, East Greece, Athens, Thasos/Paros and probably Euboea. The fragments of a large Ionic marble temple which turn up from time to time in the centre of modern Thessaloniki are probably indicative of Therme's importance. This temple dates to the early decades of the 5th century B.C. and the recent location of its site in the city centre has shown that it was a 'wandering' temple. All the same, as we shall see, the original site of this important temple may not have been in Therme.[126] The local element at Therme has been located through the discovery of both local pottery[127] and semi-subterranean dwellings (Fig. 13), mostly round, but also rectangular in shape, which are well known mainly in areas of the Black Sea.[128]

Another important city at the head of the Thermaic Gulf was undoubtedly Aineia, as is attested by its strategic site and by the splendid

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[124] Tiverios 1987; 1995–2000, 305–12. For pottery from East Greece, see Tsiafaki 2000. For Attic SOS amphorae, see also Tiverios 2000. Phoenician and Cypriote pottery of the Archaic period has also been discovered at Karabournaki recently (see Tiverios 2004, 297, fig. 4; Tiverios *et al.* 2004, 341, 344, fig. 8).

[125] Tiverios 1999.

[126] For this temple, see Tiverios 1998a, and bibliography at n. 1; 1995–2000, 316–7; more recently Tasia *et al.* 2000; Voutiras 1999, 1338–42; Schmidt-Dounas 2004. See also pp. 31, 82 below.

[127] Tiverios 1995–2000, 309–12.

[128] Tiverios 1995–2000, 304–5. For semi-subterranean dwellings, see, for example, Kuznetsov 1999 (including bibliography); Tsetskhladze 1997, 46 nn. 19–20, 47, fig. 3a, 50 n. 29; 2000a; Solovyov 2001, 120–40 and n. 4. For more recent discussion and bibliography, see Tsetskhladze 2004.

Fig. 10. Karabournaki: cellar of a house of the Archaic period.

Fig. 11. Karabournaki: Archaic pottery from East Greece.

Fig. 12. Karabournaki: Attic SOS amphora.

Fig. 13. Karabournaki: semi-subterranean house of the Archaic period.

silver coins which it minted as early as the 6th century B.C., as also by its contribution of 3 talents to the treasury of the First Athenian League. Its site has been firmly located, with the help of the written sources and excavational data, on the southern shore of Megalo Karabournou.[129] As we have already seen, there was a tradition, from at least the 6th century B.C., which traced Aeneas' founding of the city, that belonged to ancient Krousis, to just after the Trojan War. Skymnos' somewhat unclear assertion that it was a Corinthian colony (626–628) is not convincing. However, Ps.-Skylax (*Periplous*) describes it as a Greek city. Limited excavations confirm that the site was inhabited from the Early Iron Age and perhaps even earlier. This was very likely the original site of the Late Archaic marble temple which graced the centre of Thessalonica in the Roman period.[130] Let us not forget that Dionysius of Halicarnassus (chap. 49) tells us that there was a temple of Aphrodite at Aineia.

The fact that the Euboeans do not seem to have settled at Karabournaki and Aineia—two key sites on the Thermaic Gulf—and instead colonised nearby Dikaia strengthens the view that these areas were already 'taken'. That is to say that when the Euboeans of the second Greek colonisation arrived in these parts they found them already inhabited by other Greeks, who had settled here probably after the Trojan War and were for the most part living alongside the local Thracians. Cities such as Pydna or Therme, which the ancient writers do not describe as Greek colonies and whose foundation dates have not been transmitted to us, must have been occupied by Greeks after the Trojan War. It is worth noting here that, on the basis of Early Iron Age building remains with Mycenaean characteristics at Kastanas, some scholars have suggested that Mycenaeans settled there after the collapse of the Mycenaean centres.[131] The Paionians, and probably the Mygdonians and Krousians, who were living in these parts at the time of the Trojan War, were allies of the Trojans. Therefore, it seems reasonable that after the war the victors should have settled in the areas inhabited by the defeated. Furthermore, as we have seen, there is no

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[129] Zahrnt 1971, 142–4; Papazoglou 1988, 418; Vokotopoulou 1990d, 13–4, and esp. 112–6; Tsigarida 1994; Vokotopoulou 2001, 746; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 822. See also Pazaras 1974, 268–70; 1993, 17 and n. 17, 20–4 and n. 39.

[130] Voutiras 1999, esp. 1338–42. See also p. 28 above.

[131] See Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 124, 252. *Cf.* Hänsel 1989, 334–5. For reservations, see Andreou *et al.* 1996, 580–1.

lack of Mycenaean finds either at Pydna or at Therme, which indicates that these parts were probably known to the southern Greeks already in the Mycenaean period. The gaps created by the reduction of the Paionians' and the Mygdonians' living space here were filled not only by Greeks, but also by Thracians, such as Pierians and Edonians. The relations which developed among them on the coast of Pieria and at the head of the Thermaic Gulf do not seem to have been hostile, at least in many cases.[132] We are given to understand this by certain archaeological data, such as the absence of fortifications, and also by the mythological tradition,[133] with very few exceptions, such as the tradition about the single combat between Heracles and Kyknos near the River Echedoros.[134]

The Greek settlements, colonies and *emporia*, which we have mentioned on the Pierian coast and around the Thermaic Gulf provided agricultural produce, timber, fish, salt and precious metals. And they were certainly not the only ones. Recent excavations at ancient Heraclium, for instance, in the area of modern Platamonas, have brought to light Euboean, East Greek Geometric and Protocorinthian pottery, which makes it likely that there was a Greek presence there as early as the 8th century B.C.[135] By contrast, Lete, a city near modern Derveni which derived its name from the goddess Leto, must have flourished at a later date than the period we are dealing with here. The Archaic coins which have been ascribed to Lete and were the main proof of its importance in the Archaic period probably do not belong to Lete at all;[136] which explains why Herodotus does not mention it.

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[132] *Cf.* Danov 1988, esp. 227–30.

[133] The Greeks placed the house of their gods on Olympus and some of their important myths relate to Pieria. See Poulaki-Pantermali 1985; 1986; 1987b; 1990; 1990–95. See also Bonano Aravantinou 1999.

[134] Frazer 1967, 220–4 and 221 n. 3. See also Tiverios forthcoming.

[135] Poulaki-Pantermali 2001, 335–6. See also the relevant announcement made by Poulaki-Pantermali at the 7th International Symposium on Ancient Macedonia in 2002 (publication in progress). For Heraclium, see also Edson 1947, 96–100; Papazoglou 1988, 114–5; Hatzopoulos and Paschidis 2004, 802.

[136] Smith 1999.

Chalcidice

We have already referred to the colonisation of Chalcidice, at the beginning of this study. It is an area in which the southern Greeks, especially Chalcidians from Euboea, probably settled right after the Trojan War. But Euboeans, mainly and again, one of the principal powers of that time, must have reached these parts also during the second Greek colonisation.[137] They settled mainly on the three prongs of the peninsula because these were narrow enough for the comparatively small groups of early colonists to be able to keep them under their control. They also offered access to the resources of the entire peninsula, specifically its fertile soil, rich forests and important mines. Often, the colonists' settling was probably not a peaceful process, but they must usually have overcome the resistance they encountered, either with ease or with difficulty. The Krousians, for instance, who dwelt in the north-west of the εν Θράκη Χερσονήσου, would not have been favourably disposed towards the Greeks.[138] Apart from Aineia, where Greeks probably settled just after the Trojan War, none of their other known cities, such as Smila (probably on the elevation known as Pyrgos on the shore at Epanomi), Skapsa or Kampsa[139] (probably on the coast south of Epanomi on the site of the table and the *toumba* of Kritziana), Gigonos (probably in the area of Nea Iraklia on the site of the so-called Missotoumba and Messimeriani *toumbas*), Haisa or Lisai (probably in the area of Nea Kallikratia),[140] Kombreia (somewhere near Nea Playa), Lipaxos (possibly in the area of Nea Moudania), Tinde and Kithas or Skithai[141] (one of the two was probably on the site of modern Messimeri), seems to have been a Greek colony. And they were all of limited importance, judging by the amount of tribute they paid into the treasury of the First Athenian League.[142] The Athenian colony of

[137] Bérard 1960, 64–70. For the presence of Euboeans in Chalcidice, see also Consolo Langher 1996. For Chalcidice, see also Winter 2006.

[138] For the Krousians and their relations with the Trojans, see Vokotopoulou 1997, 65–6, 73–4. See also p. 38 below.

[139] For Skapsa (Kampsa or Kapsa), see Flensted-Jensen 1997, 122–5; 2004, 829; Psoma 2000a. For Smila, see Flensted-Jensen 2004, 843.

[140] For the possibility of identifying the area of Nea Kallikratia as the Eretrian Dikaia in the, see pp. 24–25 and n. 105 above.

[141] For Kitha, which was near Poteidaea, see Flensted-Jensen 1997, 125–7; 2004, 830; Psoma 2000a.

[142] For these cities, see Zahrnt 1971, 236, 231–3, 179–80, 145–6, 198–9, 247, 193–4 respectively; Pazaras 1993, 15–24. See also Feissel and Sève 1979, 243–50;

Brea (or Beroia?) must also have been in the same area, more specifically on the coast south of Nea Syllata, near the village of Sozopoli, and not in Bisaltia, as a number of scholars contend.[143] An inscription of *ca.* the mid-5th century B.C. (or of 426/5 B.C.) gives important information about the structure of this colony, telling us about the social provenance of the settlers and the financial support they received, the distribution of land by the *geonomoi*, the drawing of the boundaries of the *temeni* and much more besides.[144] The same site has yielded Bronze Age and Iron Age pottery.

In the 7th century, expelled by the Macedonians, the Bottiaians must have settled in the interior of Chalcidice, mainly north of Pallene and Sithonia. They originally lived in Bottiaia, an area between the Haliakmon and the Axios, and, according to some authorities, they too were a Greek race, who remained in the north when the rest of the Greeks went south.[145] There was also the aforementioned tradition that the Bottiaians had ties with Crete.[146] In Chalcidice their most important cities were Spartolos and Olynthus. We shall discuss the latter further on.

Pallene

We have already mentioned the Euboean colonies of Mende and Torone. With regard to Eretrian Mende (Thucydides 4. 123.1), whose original name, Minde, also betrays its Eretrian origins,[147] I should like to add that in the Archaic and Classical periods it was one of the most important cities of Chalcidice. It had been striking coins already in the Late Archaic period and these circulated widely, in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Italy, for instance. This, coupled with the two colonies which it founded, Neapolis and Eion, shows that its economy was not based solely on the products of agriculture (predominant among which was

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Flensted-Jensen 2004, 828 (Gigonos), 828–9 (Haisa), 830 (Kombreia), 831 (Lipaxos), 846–7 (Tinde). Late Mycenaean pottery has reportedly been found on the table at Kritziana and Missotoumba: *RE* suppl. 6, 611 *s.v.* Mykenische Kultur: Makedonien. Epanomi (G. Karo).

[143] Pazaras 1996 (including bibliography).

[144] Tod 1951, 88–90.

[145] Vokotopoulou 1986, 101–2 and nn. 41, 42; Kalleris 1988, 300–1. For Bottike, the land of the Bottiaians in Chalcidice, see Zahrnt 1971, 171–8.

[146] Hammond 1972, 153, 171, 295–6, 335–6, 370, 393–4, 410; Vokotopoulou 1986, 101 n. 42.

[147] Oikonomos 1924.

wine),[148] but also on wider-ranging commercial activities.[149] This also accounts for the considerable sum of 8–15 talents which it was paying into the treasury of the First Athenian League at a certain time of the 5th century B.C.[150] The city's importance in this period is also confirmed by the excavations to date, both in the city itself and in its extra-urban sanctuary at Poseidi (Fig. 14). The city proper stood on a hill by the sea, with its *acropolis* at the top on a site known as Vigla ('watchtower'). Traces probably belonging to a temple have been found here, while the hill was surrounded by fortifying walls.[151] On a coastal site a little further south, where Thucydides' Proasteion was located, public buildings have been found, probably connected with commercial activities; and a little further east are the remains of pottery kilns and smelting furnaces. In addition houses of the Archaic period, with spacious rooms, have come to light, separated by streets approximately 1.50 m wide.[152] Archaic pottery from Corinth, the islands and East Greece has been found, as has local pottery showing the influence of the Cyclades, Ionia and, especially, Aeolis. The most distinctive local pottery comes from a cemetery on what is now the site of the Mende Hotel near a sandy area (in Chalcidice, and in northern Greece as a whole, sandy areas were preferred for cemeteries).[153] This cemetery had been used from the end of the 8th to the 6th century B.C. mainly for child burials in pithoi and amphorae.[154] In the Archaic and Classical period, the sanctuary of Poseidon was supplemented with new temples (Fig. 14), while the

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[148] Salviat 1990, esp. 470–5. *Cf.* Papadopoulos and Paspalas 1999 (including full bibliography). Pottery workshops that had been producing commercial pointed amphorae have recently been located at Mende, see Anagnostopoulou-Chatzipolychroni 2004; Garlan 2004a.

[149] For Neapolis, see below. The Mendeans' Eion should not be identified with the Eion at the mouth of the Strymon. See Zahrnt 1971, 187; Psoma 2002b, 80 n. 23; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 827. Indicative of Mende's commercial activities is a graffito in a Cypriote syllabic script on an Attic (or Euboean?) SOS amphora of the 7th century B.C. See Vokotopoulou and Christidis 1995.

[150] For Mende, see Zahrnt 1971, 200–3; Vokotopoulou 1996a, 321–7. See also D. Müller 1987, 183–90 (including bibliography); Vokotopoulou 2001, 751–60; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 831–3.

[151] Vokotopoulou 1987, 280–1. See also Moschonissioti 1998, 256–7.

[152] Vokotopoulou 1987; 1988, 331–4; 1989; 1990c. See also Moschonissioti 1998, 257–9.

[153] *Cf.* Vokotopoulou 1994b, 81–90.

[154] Vokotopoulou 1988, 337; 1989, 414–5; Vokotopoulou and Moschonissioti 1990; Vokotopoulou 1994b, 91–8. See also Moschonissioti 1998, 259–60. For the local wares, see also Paspalas 1995, 29 and esp. 57–93; Moschonissioti 2004.

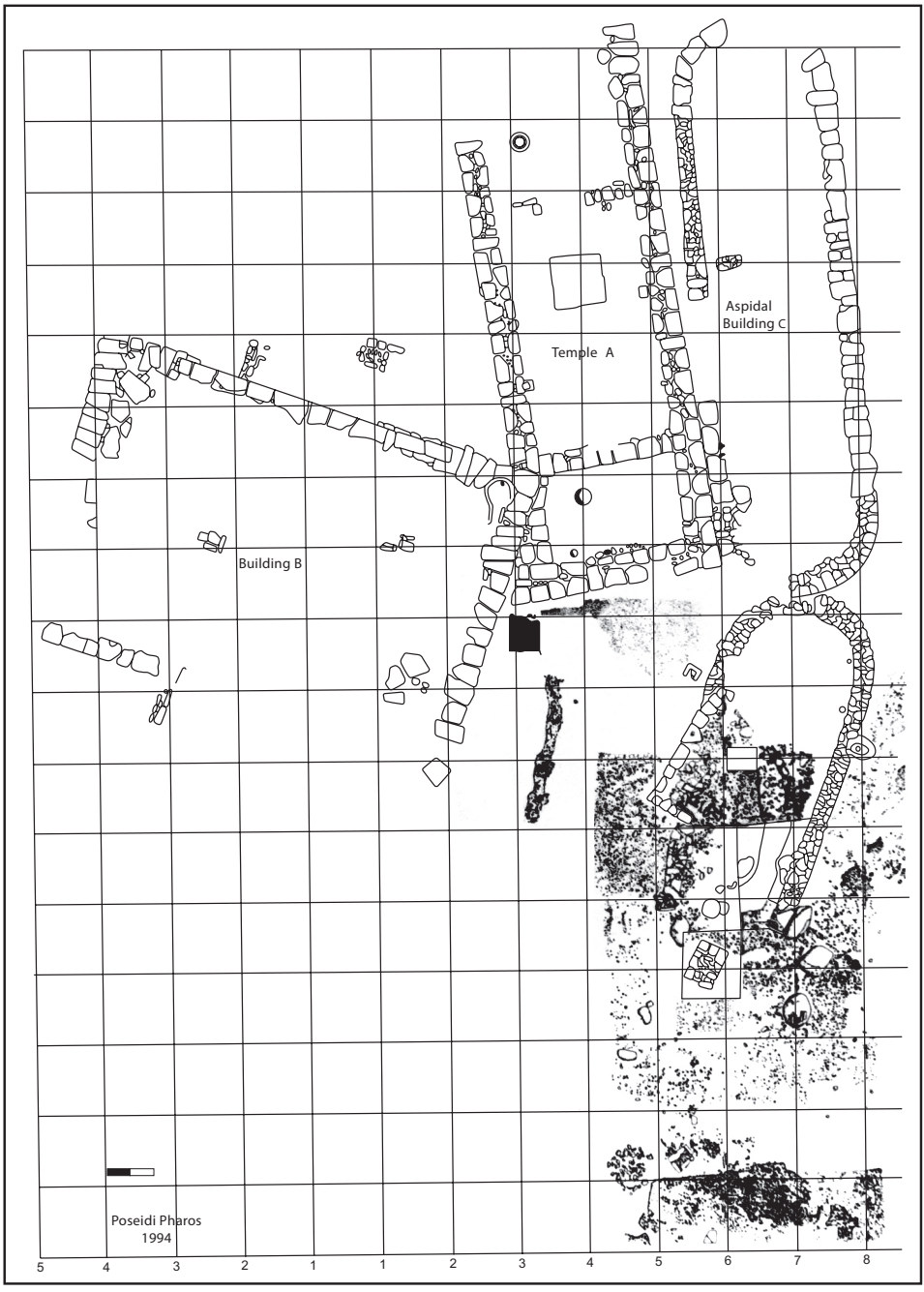

Fig. 14. Poseidi: plan of the buildings in the sanctuary of Poseidon (after Moschonissioti 1998, 261, fig. 10).

most notable votive offerings included local Chalcidician, Corinthian, Attic and Ionian wares, mainly of the Archaic period.[155]

From the Athenian tribute lists we know of another colony of Pallene, which is connected, indirectly at least, with Eretria. This is Neapolis, which is explicitly mentioned as a colony of Eretrian Mende.[156] The Mendians obviously named it Neapolis ('new city') in contradistinction to their old city, which was presumably Mende itself. The fact that Herodotus (7. 123. 1) mentions Neapolis immediately after Aphytis suggests that it may be identified as the ancient settlement which has been located and partially excavated near the modern village of Polyhrono on the east coast of the Pallene (or Cassandra) Peninsula.[157] More specifically, buttressed retaining walls have been found on the pine-clad Yiromiri hill, together with houses, the oldest of which the excavators have dated to as early as the 7th century B.C. The 6th century is represented by more finds, many of them from the city's cemeteries,[158] which have yielded, *inter alia*, imported pottery (mainly Corinthian) and very distinctive local pottery with a combination of Protogeometric and vegetal motifs, the latter showing clear Aeolian influences.[159] It is also interesting to note the discovery of an iron-smelting furnace dating to the 5th century B.C. The presence of local inhabitants in the area prior to the arrival of the settlers from Mende is confirmed by the discovery of an important settlement of the Early Bronze Age (late 3rd millennium B.C.) on a natural eminence on Yiromiri overlooking the modern village.[160] However, it is also possible that Neapolis is on another archaeological site, which has been located to the north of Ellinika hill, just north of the modern village of Kryopiyi. No excavations have been carried out here, so the fact that we know of no Geometric or Archaic finds from this area may not mean anything. If this latter identification is correct, then Polyhrono must be the site of another city, Aige.[161] But if Neapolis

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[155] Vokotopoulou 1989, 416–7; 1990c; 1991; 1992; 1993a; 1994a; 1996a, 325–6. See also Moschonissioti 1998, 260–3.

[156] *ATL* 1, 354–5, 464, 526; Zahrnt 1971, 207; D. Müller 1987, 188; Vokotopoulou 2001, 749–50; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 833.

[157] Vokotopoulou 1987, 282–90; 1990b; 1994b, 89–97; 1996a, 325; Vokotopoulou *et al.* 1988; 1989.

[158] For the presence here of an important building, probably a temple, of the Archaic period, see Schmidt-Dounas 2004, 137.

[159] Vokotopoulou 1990b; Paspalas 1995, 69, 75–80, 89–91.

[160] Pappa 1990.

[161] Herodotus (7. 123. 1) mentions it immediately after Aphytis and Neapolis. For Aige, see Zahrnt 1971, 142; D. Müller 1987, 134; Vokotopoulou 2001, 749–52; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 821–2.

was at Polyhrono, then we must look for ancient Aige in the area of Hanioti and Kapsohora (Pefkohori). Both the Aigetans and the Neapolitans contributed 3,000 drachmas (half a talent) to the treasury of the First Athenian League. We do not know the metropoleis of the colonies on the Pallene Peninsula, apart from Mende, Neapolis, Poteidaea and Scione. But we have Strabo's assurance (10. 8) that the first prong of Chalcidice had been settled by Eretrians. As for Mende's second colony, Eion, as we have already mentioned, scholars accept that it was not the well-known Eion which stood on the bank of the Strymon and which we shall look at later, but another city of the same name, which must be sought on the west coast of Chalcidice.[162] The southernmost city, almost at the tip of Pallene, was Therambos (or Thrambos),[163] near modern Paliouri, which was built on the hills above Glarokavos and Cape Hrousso. The sanctuary of Apollo Kanastraios on Cape Thrambos or Kanastron[164] at the southernmost tip of the Pallene Peninsula must have belonged to the city of Therambos (or Thrambos). The area was already inhabited in the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, which indicates that Krousians were probably already established here before the southern Greeks arrived on Pallene. After the Greeks had settled in Mende and other parts of Pallene, the Krousians very probably withdrew in the direction of Krousis, or else were assimilated by the Greeks. In the area of the harbour, which is sheltered from the strong southerly winds by the little Hrousso Peninsula (perhaps a survival of the name of the first inhabitants of the area), we have chance finds, both movable and immovable, which may date to the 7th century B.C. At all events, the fact that it paid 1,000 drachmas into the treasury of the First Athenian League indicates that, at least in the 5th century, Therambos was of limited importance.[165]

Another important city on Pallene was Aphytis, which occupied the site of the modern Aphytos (or Athytos) on the east coast of the peninsula, where antiquities have been discovered, including Archaic

[162] See n. 149 above.

[163] Zahrnt 1971, 187–8; D. Müller 1987, 219–20; Vokotopoulou 1997, 73; 2001, 750–1; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 846.

[164] D. Müller 1987, 175–6; Vokotopoulou 1997, 72. The cult of Apollo Kanastraios is known from the inscribed base of a statuette of the god, which was found at the sanctuary of Zeus Ammon at Aphytis. See [Leventopoulou-Giouri] 1971, 360–1 and fig. 9.

[165] Vokotopoulou 1997, 65–74. For bibliography, see also n. 163 above.

pottery from Chios, Corinth and Attica.[166] There is no written evidence that it was a colony, but it probably was. Excavations in an area nearby, south-east of Aphytos, at modern Kallithea (Maltepe), have brought to light the, already known from the written sources, Greek sanctuary of Zeus Ammon, with a temple dating to the 4th century B.C., which may have replaced an earlier temple. The same area has also yielded a sanctuary of Dionysus, which Xenophon mentions (*Hellenica* 5. 3. 19) and which according to excavational data was first built in the Late Geometric period. There was probably also a cult of the Nymphs (or Graces) here, which, as we shall see, was widespread in northern Greece.[167] All this leaves no room for doubt that the Greeks of the south, in this case probably Euboeans, settled in this area at least as early as the 8th century B.C. In Chalcidice, as in other parts of the ancient Greek world, important sanctuaries of the colonies were extra-urban, as, for instance, at Mende, Aphytis, Poteidaea and Sane of Akte.[168] A toumba and a table with finds of the Bronze Age, Early Iron Age and the historical period indicate that the area was already inhabited when the first settlers of Aphytis arrived. Current knowledge indicates that the city, which reportedly founded a colony by the name of Chytropolis,[169] was apparently minting its own currency from the 5th century B.C. It was a member of the First Athenian League and paid a tribute of 3 talents, which was a considerable sum for this area.

I have already said that Scione is one of the few North Aegean cities whose founding right after the Trojan War is mentioned in the ancient literature.[170] Its site has been firmly located on the west coast of Pallene, on a hill at the tip of the Mytikas Peninsula, between the modern villages of Scione and Ayios Nikolaos.[171] The area has not been extensively excavated.[172] However, there are indications that the settlement existed already in the Early Iron Age at the top of the hill; and prehistoric local pottery found in the surrounding area north west

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[166] Zahrnt 1971, 167–9; D. Müller 1987, 146–7; Vokotopoulou 2001, 749; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 825–6. See also Misailidou-Despotidou 1979; 1999.

[167] [Leventopoulou-]Giouri 1971; 1976; Voutiras 2000.

[168] For the sanctuaries of Sane and Poteidaea, see pp. 40 and 43 below and nn. 174 and 192 respectively. For the extra-urban sanctuaries, see de Polignac 1984, 31–40; Osborne 1994.

[169] Zahrnt 1971, 254; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 826.

[170] For Scione, see Zahrnt 1971, 334–6; D. Müller 1987, 213–4; Vokotopoulou 2001, 751; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 842–3. See also p. 11 above.

[171] Meritt 1923, 450–1.

[172] Sismanidis 1991b, 319–20.

of the ancient city confirms the presence of local inhabitants, probably Krousians, before the Greeks arrived here.[173] The city's coins, of the Late Archaic period, had a relatively limited circulation, which suggests that its economy was based more on agriculture. The wine of Scione was very well known in antiquity. Still its membership of the First Athenian League with a tribute of 6 talents indicates that, in the 5th century at least, it was a notable city.

Comparatively recent excavations have also firmly located the site of Sane on Pallene, in a locality known as Fylakes Xenofondos on the Ayios Yeoryios Peninsula to the north of the modern village of Megali Kypsa.[174] The excavations here have produced important information about local history not available from the written sources. The *acropolis* must have been on a coastal hill on which stands a Byzantine tower belonging to the Stavronikita Monastery, while the harbour would have been on the south side of the Ayios Yeoryios Peninsula. The earliest finds, both movable and immovable, date to the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods and there are also important finds from the Archaic period. An interesting sanctuary of a female deity, probably (Pythian?) Artemis, which had links with the rest of the Greek world, especially East Greece, also dates to this period. The earliest pottery, both local (including handmade wares) and imported, from the Geometric period, shares similarities with pottery from Mende. The presence of local inhabitants is confirmed, both by the local pottery and by the discovery of an oval hut. Nevertheless, in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C., there is a striking amount of pottery from East Greece.[175] Corinthian wares are also distinctive in the 7th century, while from the first decades of the 6th century onwards there is a remarkable presence of Attic, Laconian and pottery from other workshops of the ancient Greek world. The presence of the Corinthian pottery[176] is explained by the presence of the nearby Corinthian colony of Poteidaea. The fact that Sane is not

[173] Vokotopoulou 2001, 751. For the presence of a settlement dating to the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age in this area, see Tsigarida and Mandazi 2004.

[174] Vokotopoulou 1993c. For Sane, see also Zahrnt 1971, 221; D. Müller 1987, 201; Vokotopoulou 2001, 756–7; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 840 (no. 601). See also Tiverios 1989b.

[175] *Cf.* Rhomiopoulou 1978, 65, pls. 28–30, figs. 3–7. A fragment of an imported Geometric krater (see Giouri 1976, 138, fig. 4; Rhomiopoulou 1978, pl. 29, fig. 5) probably comes from an Aeolian workshop in East Greece.

[176] For an iconographically very interesting Corinthian column-krater from Sane of the Middle or Late Corinthian Period, see Vojatzi 1982, 71–6, pls. 6–10.

included in the Athenian tribute lists may be due to the fact that it was under the sway of its powerful neighbour, Poteidaea.[177]

According to the ancient written tradition, Poteidaea was the only Corinthian colony in Chalcidice and indeed in the entire area of the North Aegean and the Black Sea.[178] Uniquely for the Greek colonies in Chalcidice, we also know the name of its founder. It was Euagoras, probably an illegitimate son of Periander (*FGrHist* A2, 90 fr. 59 [Nikolaus Damascenus]), who founded the colony in about 600 B.C., on a strategic site on the isthmus which links the Pallene Peninsula with the interior of Chalcidice and also offers direct access to both the Thermaic and the Toronaic Gulf.[179] It is interesting that the Euboeans, the masters of the area, had not already occupied such an important site. They had probably tried, but been unable to overcome the resistance of the local Krousians. The powerful Corinthians were successful later on, possibly with the support of the local Euboeans themselves. One indication of this may be the fact that the silver coins struck by Poteidaea from the 6th century B.C. conformed to the Euboean monetary standard;[180] and we should not forget that the Corinthians were apparently involved in the great intra-Euboean conflict known as the Lelantine War.[181] They were probably directed to these parts by Euboeans, who were no longer an appreciable power after the war.[182] But we shall return to this subject later. The presence of Protocorinthian pottery in various parts of northern Greece suggests that the Corinthians may have been familiar with these parts at least from around 700 B.C. But the dense concentration of Euboeans here may have deterred them from

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[177] However, the opinion of Vokotopoulou (1996a, 319) that Sane was a Corinthian colony cannot be proved.

[178] Skymnos' somewhat unclear assertion mentioned above (p. 31) that the Αίνειος άκρα was a Κορινθίων κτίσις does not seem to reflect the actual situation. The view that Therme (see n. 119 above) and Sane on Pallene (Vokotopoulou 1996a, 319) were Corinthian colonies is also unproven.

[179] For Poteidaea, see Alexander 1963; Zarhnt 1971, 214–6; D. Müller 1987, 197–2000; Vokotopoulou 2001, 748–9; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 838–9. For the date of its foundation, see Alexander 1963, 16 and 100 n. 21 (including bibliography).

[180] Zahrnt 1971, 215; Alexander 1963, 50–3.

[181] *Cf.* Ridgway 1992, 20. For the Lelantine War, the most widely accepted date for which is *ca.* 700 B.C., see Jeffery 1976, esp. 64–7; and more recently Parker 1997, 46–9, 59–62.

[182] *Cf.* Will 1955, 402 n. 5, 431, 546. However, we cannot entirely discount the possibility that the Corinthians themselves had been familiar with these parts (Aineia, for instance, see pp. 11 and 31 above) from a much earlier period, since immediately after the Trojan War.

attempting to settle permanently. The colony of Poteidaea seems to have been more of a commercial than an agricultural society. As the only Corinthian centre in the North Aegean, it was very useful for their commercial activities and for anchoring and stocking Corinthian ships. The Corinthians would have got from here the timber so vital for building their ships, and probably ores too. Significantly, Corinth maintained close ties with its colony later on; and the Corinthians were appreciably present at Poteidaea during the events connected with the colony's revolt from Athens shortly before the Peloponnesian War, as also during the early years of the latter. Among other things, they continued to send officials, the *epidemiourgoi*, to their colony every year.[183] Numerous events in its subsequent history confirm its important rôle in the area. Already in the Archaic period, the city had its own treasury at the Panhellenic sanctuary at Delphi and was the only city in Chalcidice, indeed in the whole of northern Greece, to take part, together with the Greeks, in the Battle of Platea; its name was thus inscribed on the tripod which the victors dedicated at Delphi.[184] Let us remember, too, the Persians' unsuccessful bid to take it in 479 B.C. and avert the threatened uprising of the Greek cities in the area; the very large sum of 15 talents which it was eventually paying into the treasury of the First Athenian League; and its rôle in the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.[185] In 429 B.C., Athenians, including Socrates and Alcibiades, seized Poteidaea and settled ἔποικοι, Athenian cleruchs, there.[186] Graves of Athenian cleruchs, probably of the late 5th century B.C., have been located in a cemetery of the Classical period 2 km south of modern Poteidaea.[187] The city's north and south walls, which were apparently a little less than a kilometer apart,[188] ran from the Thermaic to the Toronaic Gulf. Apart from pottery from Corinthian, Attic, East Greek and local workshops,[189] the movable finds from the Archaic period also include a marble kouros, not a common find on the northern Greek mainland.[190] Archaeological investigations in the area have recently been uncovering buildings of the Archaic period, some of

[183] Alexander 1963, 20–2, 46–9, 64–6.
[184] Alexander 1963, 25–8, 31–2.
[185] Alexander 1963, 32–4, 41–4, 64–6.
[186] Alexander 1963, 64–6, 75–8, 115 n. 39.
[187] Rhomiopoulou 1974; Sismanidis 1990–95.
[188] Vokotopoulou 2001, 749; *cf.* Pazaras 1987, 192.
[189] An Archaic kiln has also been found recently. See Kousoulakou 1994, 312.
[190] Sismanidis 1998b, 38, pl. 19; 1991a, 282, pl. 106 b.

them public ones.[191] Some of the architectural members, including Late Archaic Doric capitals, which have been found here must be connected with the city's main sanctuary, which was dedicated to Poseidon, the god who gave his name to the city and was portrayed on its coins.[192] His great sanctuary was located in a *proastion* outside the north city wall (Herodotus 8. 129. 3),[193] which was on the site of the present canal. He was probably also worshipped in later Cassandreia, if a Roman temple excavated by S. Pelekidis south-west of modern Poteidaea was indeed dedicated to him.[194] Poseidon has a notable presence in northern Greece and is involved in the myths connected with the founding of cities in the area. There are also settlements which bear his name, coins of local cities depicting his portrait and sanctuaries dedicated to him.[195] He was the Ionians' principal deity and, since they were the dominant element in the North Aegean, his strong presence in this geographical region is understandable. As well as being the colonists' tutelary god on their hazardous voyages, he was also the 'guardian angel' of the entire earthquake-prone area of Chalcidice. Owing to the strong seismic activity hereabouts, the Greeks, and probably the Euboeans, believed that their Gods had battled the Giants here too and they named part of the area, Pallene in particular, *Phlegraia pedia*. According to Herodotus (7. 123. 1), the old name of Pallene was Phlegre.[196] It may be no coincidence that the Euboeans must have been the first Greeks to experience the similar seismic phenomena in the Bay of Naples, in areas that were also dubbed *Phlegraia pedia* and which were also believed to have been the sites of the battle between the Gods and the Giants.[197] The Euboeans may have originated the tradition that Heracles overcame the Giants, 'an impious and lawless race', on Pallene, as well as

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[191] Sismanidis 1989, 357, 364; Sismanidis and Karaïskou 1992, 485–9; Kousoulakou 1993; 1994; 2000.

[192] Schmidt-Dounas 2004, 137; Sismanidis 1989, 364, 371, fig. 13. See also Alexander 1963, 8–9.

[193] *Cf.* Alexander 1963, 8.

[194] Alexander 1963, 6–7, 24, 97 n. 23 with bibliography; Kousoulakou 2000, 326–7.

[195] Apart from at Poteidaea and Poseidi near Mende, which we have already mentioned, his cult is also encountered elsewhere in northern Greece. See pp. 44–45, 64–65 below. *Cf.* Papangelos and Paliobeis 2002, 395 (Monastery of Iviron). For the cult of Poseidon at Poteidaea, see Alexander 1963, 23–4.

[196] Alexander 1963, 17, 101 n. 23.

[197] Aristotle was already familiar with this tradition (*Meteorologica* 2. 8 p. 368b 28–32).

Halkyoneas[198] and, in the area of the River Echedoros, a local leader known as Kyknos.[199] This latter battle may reflect the Euboeans' clashes with the local people for possession of the gold-bearing river. And, as we shall see further on, Heracles was also active at Torone.[200] The Euboeans must have played a leading rôle in the dissemination of the myths of Heracles in the Thermaic Gulf and Chalcidice.[201] However, in the areas east of the Strymon, it was probably the Parians and Thasians who played the main rôle and we shall return to this subject later.[202] An area in the Redina pass towards the Strymonic Gulf, known in Herodotus' time as the plain of Syleus,[203] must have been named after a terrible robber, a notorious vine-grower in Greek mythology, who is also presented as a son of Poseidon.[204] And in this connexion, perhaps it is no coincidence that there was a Posideion (Herodotus 7. 115. 2) not far from the plain of Syleus.[205] According to one tradition, Heracles slew the 'wicked' Syleus in these parts and gave the area to the robber's brother, the peaceable 'good' Dikaios, with orders that he was to guard it until the Greeks arrived! This Dikaios may well be the eponymous hero of the two Greek colonies in northern Greece which were called Dikaia. One, as we have already seen, was definitely an Eretrian colony; while there is a tradition that the eponymous hero of the other, east of the Nestos, was a son of Poseidon named Dikaios.[206] The myth of Syleus and Dikaios probably overlies or reflects Greeks' clashes with the local people in their efforts to settle in the area, which was renowned also for its wine.

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[198] Alexander 1963, 17, 25, 101 n. 28. For the presence of Heracles in northern Greece, see Tiverios forthcoming.

[199] See p. 32 above and n. 134.

[200] See p. 45 below.

[201] Scholars usually suppose that the Corinthians of Poteidaea must have played a considerable part in disseminating these myths in northern Greece. See, for example, Alexander 1963, 25. However, literary and archaeological evidence relating to the region makes it more likely that it was the Euboeans who played this role (see Tiverios forthcoming). Furthermore, the Euboeans' rôle in the development and dissemination of the epics and other myths is becoming increasingly apparent. See, for example, Wathelet 1970; M. West 1988, esp. 165–70; Mazarakis Ainian 1996; I. Lemos 2000, 16–7; Kalligas 1986, esp. 105–8, who notes the prominent position enjoyed by Poseidon and Heracles in Euboea. *Cf.* Malkin 1998; de Polignac 1998; Cassio 1998, who, however, has objections.

[202] See pp. 68–71 below.

[203] D. Müller 1987, 218; Moutsopoulos 1995, 4–5 and n. 7.

[204] Tiverios forthcoming. For Syleus, see Kakridis 1986, vol. 4, 112–4 (G. Anastasiou).

[205] D. Müller 1987, 195–6.

[206] See p. 104 below.

Sithonia

Excavations on the Sithonia Peninsula have been more limited than on Pallene and do not fill the gaps in the taciturn written tradition as much as we should like. The important excavations at Torone, which we have already mentioned, are an exception. The Mycenaeans probably knew Torone early on, because, as we have already said, the earliest Mycenaean pottery found anywhere in northern Greece to date comes from here.[207] And the tradition which connects its founding with Poseidon, Heracles and the sons of Proteus also suggests that the Greeks had some sort of early contact with Torone.[208] According to Strabo (7 fr. 11 and 10. C447), the middle prong of Chalcidice was colonised by the Chalcidians, who founded 30 cities. When they first settled here, the Chalcidians probably lived alongside the local Sithonians. Herodotus (7. 122) tells us that Torone was the southernmost city on the west coast of Sithonia. Its site, north-west of the very secure natural harbour of Kophos, which it controlled, has been confirmed.[209] It was certainly the most important city on Sithonia and one of the most noteworthy cities in Chalcidice. Significantly, when Artabazos destroyed Olynthus in 479 B.C., he gave it to the Chalcidian Toronians (Herodotus 8. 127). Its importance is confirmed by the fact that, already in the 6th century B.C., it was minting coins and circulating them widely both in Chalcidice and elsewhere. At a certain time of the 5th century B.C., Torone was paying as much as 12 talents into the treasury of the First Athenian League. The fortified city built on two hills spread onto a small, rocky peninsula known as Lekythos (Fig. 15). It too was fortified and Thucydides (4. 113. 2) refers to it as the *phrourion* ('fort'). Remains of a sanctuary of Athena, mentioned by Thucydides (4. 116. 2), have been found here,[210] while other finds attest habitation from the Early

[207] See p. 11 below.

[208] For the myths referring to Torone, see Henry 2004, 82–4. *Cf.* Apollodoros *Library* 2. v. 9 (Frazer 1967, 208–9 and n. 4); Tiverios forthcoming; Mele 1998, 225. Archilochos already knew about Heracles' connexion with Torone in the 7th century B.C. See Henry 2004, 3–4; Kontoleon 1952, esp. 88. For Torone, see Zahrnt 1971, 247–51; D. Müller 1987, 230–2; Vokotopoulou 2001, 758–9; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 847–8. For the recent excavations, see Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos 1988; 1989; 1990; 1991; 1994; Papadopoulos 1989. See also Papadopoulos 1990; Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos 1993; Cambitoglou *et al.* 2001; Papadopoulos 2005. For the written sources referring to Torone, see Henry 2004.

[209] Meritt 1923.

[210] See Schmidt-Dounas 2004, 137–8.

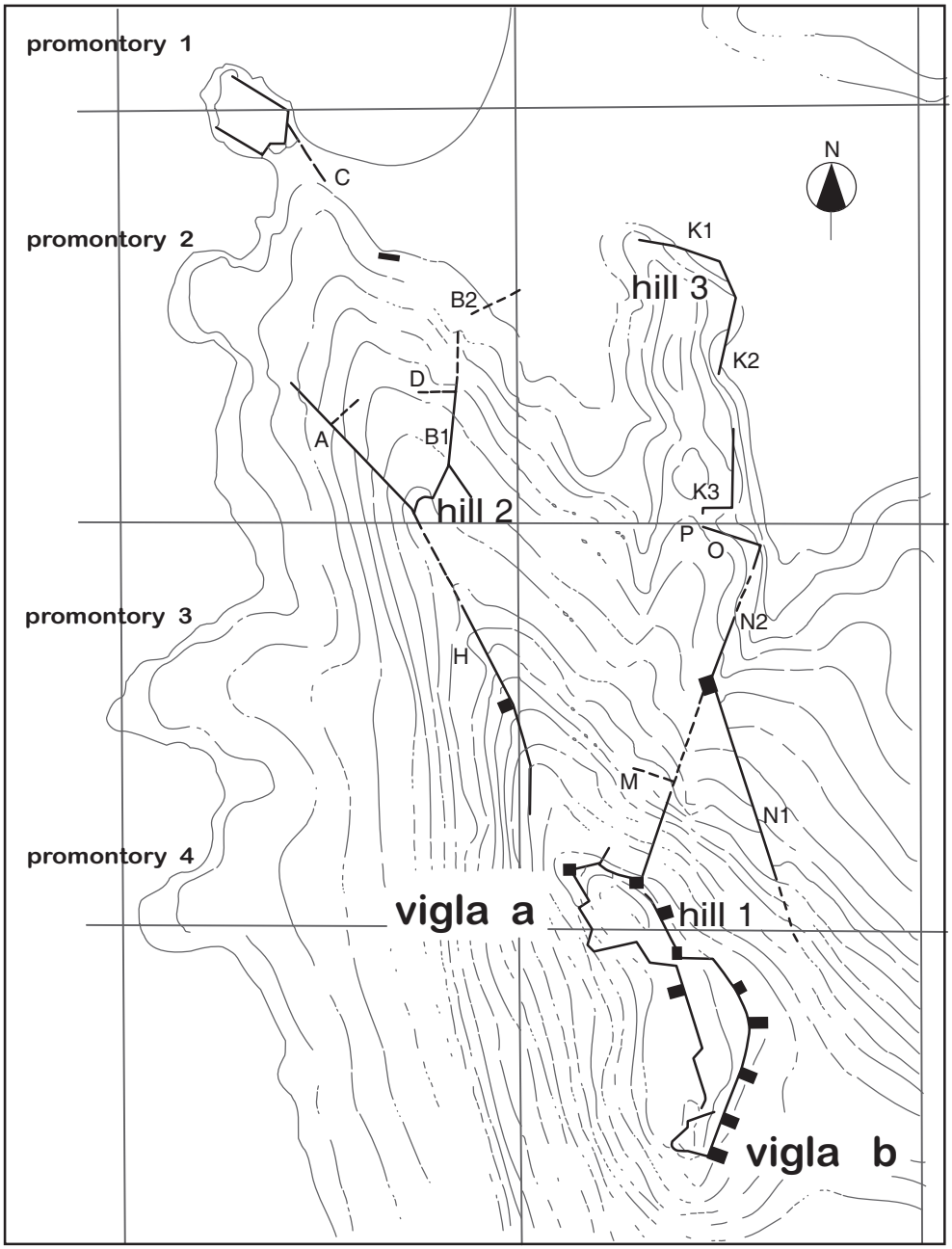

Fig. 15. Torone: plan of the ancient city (after Cambitoglou and Papadopoulos 1990, 94, fig. 1).

Bronze Age. The city's harbour was adjacent to Lekythos. Of the finds from the Archaic and Classical periods, the majority consist of pottery, both imported, from Corinth and Attica for instance, and local.

As for the other cities on Sithonia, most of them coastal, our knowledge is very limited. Not only have we no indication of whether they were colonies, but we do not even know the precise location of many of them. All, however, or at least most of them, must be included among the 30 colonies which Strabo (7 fr. 11 and 10. C447) tells us the Chalcidians founded on Sithonia. But judging from the sums which they were paying into the treasury of the First Athenian League, it would seem that, at least in the 5th century B.C., they were all of limited importance. Assa (Assera),[211] which Herodotus (7. 122) tells us was on the north shore of the Singitic Gulf, was probably on an elevation known as Koulia on the shore at Gomati, where antiquities occasionally come to light. Galepsus,[212] which according to Herodotus (7. 122) was between Torone and Sermyle, is usually placed in an area south of modern Nikiti, where antiquities have been found from time to time, including a cemetery of the Iron Age and the Early Archaic period on the coast at Aï-Yannis. Pilorus,[213] which Herodotus mentions immediately after Assa, is usually connected with the antiquities which have been located in the area of modern Pyrgadikia, more specifically on a steep hill known as Aspros Kavos, by the sea. Sarte,[214] according to Herodotus (7. 122), was the southernmost city on the east coast of Sithonia. It was close to the powerful Torone and was probably often under its influence. Its site is placed in the wider area of modern Sarte, where antiquities have been found at various times. Judging by the 5 talents which it paid into the treasury of the First Athenian League, in the 5th century B.C. at least, Sermyle (or Sermylia)[215] must have

[211] Zahrnt 1971, 162–6; D. Müller 1987, 150–1; Vokotopoulou 1990a, 127; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 826.

[212] Zahrnt 1971, 178–9; D. Müller 1987, 171; Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1988, 347–50 and n. 3; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 827–8.

[213] Zahrnt 1971, 212–3; D. Müller 1987, 194–5; Vokotopoulou 1990a, 121–2, 127–8; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 837. See also Giouri 1967, 403–4; Petsas 1969, 310–1; Giouri 1972, 11–4.

[214] Zahrnt 1971, 221–3; D. Müller 1987, 204–6; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 840. For ancient Sarte, see also Papangelos 2000, 88–90. For an important Archaic inscription, written in the Chalcidian alphabet and referring to a dedication made by the *archons* of the city, which has been found in Sarte, see Papangelos 2000, 89 and n. 257.

[215] Zahrnt 1971, 225–6; D. Müller 1987, 207; Chrysochos 1900; Vokotopoulou 2001, 757–8; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 840–1. *Cf.* Psoma 2001.

been the second most important city on Sithonia after Torone. This is further supported by the fact that in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. it was striking silver coins, which circulated widely. No doubt owing to its importance, Ps.-Skylax refers to the Toronaic Gulf as the *Sermylikos kolpos*. On the basis of Herodotus' (7. 122) and Ps.-Skylax's (66) information that it was the first coastal city to the east of Mecyberna, it seems certain that it stood by the sea near modern Ormylia, which is a corrupt version of the ancient name. The nucleus of the city must be sought in the area of Platia Toumba, 3 km south of Ormylia, where antiquities have been found from time to time; while the city must have spread as far as the sea. It should be noted that, between modern Ormylia and ancient Sermyle, two small prehistoric settlements have been located on the hills of Profitis Ilias and Ayios Yeoryios, near the bed of the River Ormylia. The site of Stolos (or Skolos)[216] has not yet been located with any certainty; but it was certainly not on the coast. Thucydides (5. 18. 5) places it between Acanthus and Olynthus, while according to Pliny (*NH* 4. 37) it was between Singus and the Canal of Xerxes. On the basis of the 4th century B.C. inscription from Epidaurus mentioned previously, which lists the cities to which *theoroi* of the sanctuary of Asclepius were sent, probably in the order in which they visited them, Stolos seems to have been somewhere in the area of Acanthus (*IG* IV 1. 94 I b 23). Some scholars place it on the plain of Megali Panayia (or Revenikia), where antiquities have been found. Others, and they may be more correct, locate it at Kelli of Vrasta[217] or at Smixi of Plana,[218] where various archaeological finds have occasionally turned up.[219] Herodotus (7. 122) mentions Singus[220] after Assa and Pilorus. Its site has been sought on the headland at Vourvourou and also, with greater probability, in the area of Ayios Nikolaos, more specifically on the Mytari (or Pyrgos) promontory. Building remains and movable finds have been found here, including pointed commercial amphorae.[221] Other townships are also mentioned on Sithonia, such as

[216] A. West 1937; Zahrnt 1971, 244–7; Vokotopoulou 1990a, 125–6, 131; Hatzopoulos 1988, 70–3; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 845.
[217] Hatzopoulos 1988, 71–2.
[218] Vokotopoulou 1990a, 131; 2001, 757 and n. 104.
[219] Pelekidis 1924–25; Zahrnt 1971, 245–6 and nn. 396–398.
[220] Zahrnt 1971, 226–9; D. Müller 1987, 209–11; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 841.
[221] The area has been inhabited since prehistoric times. See Makaronas 1940, 493–4.

Parthenopolis,[222] Physkelle (Physkella/Myskella)[223] and Ampelos,[224] which was at the southernmost tip of the peninsula and probably dependent on Torone. Parthenopolis is located in the area of the modern village of Parthenionas, where, on a peak named Kostas on Mt Itamos (presumably its ancient name), a sanctuary, possibly of Zeus, was explored a few years ago and yielded interesting pottery, both local and imported, from as early as the Geometric and Archaic periods.[225]

Before leaving Sithonia, let us also mention Olynthus, which played an important rôle in Chalcidice until it was destroyed by Philip II in 348 B.C., and its port, Mecyberna, at the head of the Toronaic Gulf.[226] Ancient written sources and archaeological evidence leave no doubt that the latter was situated in a coastal area near the modern village of Kalyves. There are three mounds here and also remains of harbour facilities. The lowest mound, named Molyvopyrgos, was inhabited throughout the Bronze Age. The city of the historical period developed mainly on the higher mound, while the third, directly to the north of Molyvopyrgos, was inhabited in the Iron Age. Mecyberna, whose name seems to be pre-Hellenic, cannot have been founded as a Greek colony, as indeed Olynthus was not. When they settled in the area in the 7th century B.C., the Bottiaians probably did not drive out the local people, but rather settled down alongside them.[227] The history of Mecyberna is probably similar to that of its powerful neighbour, Olynthus, which, as we know, after the Persians destroyed it in 479 B.C., became clearly a city of the Greeks of Chalcidice. Olynthus[228] was built on two hills, the more southerly of which is believed to have been the city of the Bottiaians, which the Persians destroyed. However, it was re-settled and in fact grew much larger, since the heart of the new city was transferred to the north hill. The Bottiaians were certainly not the first inhabitants of Olynthus. The southernmost edge of the south hill has yielded the

[222] Zahrnt 1971, 212.
[223] Zahrnt 1971, 252.
[224] Zahrnt 1971, 152. For the promontory of the same name on Sithonia, which Herodotus also mentions, see D. Müller 1987, 143–4.
[225] Vokotopoulou *et al.* 1990; Vokotopoulou 1996a, 327.
[226] Heurtley 1939, 10–3, 176–7; Mylonas 1943; Zahrnt 1971, 203–4; D. Müller 1987, 182; Chaniotis 1988; Vokotopoulou 2001, 757; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 831.
[227] For the Bottiaians in Chalcidice, see Hammond 1972, esp. 358–60.
[228] Robinson 1929–; Zahrnt 1971, 209; D. Müller 1987, 190–1; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 834–6.

remains of a small Neolithic settlement, the oldest settlement of this period excavated to date in Chalcidice.[229]

Akte

Our knowledge of colonial activity on Akte or the Athos Peninsula,[230] especially in the areas south of the Canal of Xerxes, is meagre in the extreme. The reason for this, apart from the taciturnity of the written tradition, is the total lack of archaeological investigations. However, the fact that the area is extremely mountainous, with very little arable land, would have made it impossible to establish noteworthy settlements and this is confirmed by the tribute they were paying to the First Athenian League in the 5th century B.C. According to the ancient tradition, Thamyris, the mythical Thracian musician of antiquity, ruled the peninsula (Strabo 7 fr. 35). On the west coast, which faces the Singitic Gulf, stood Thysson,[231] probably at the Arsanas of the Kastamonitou Monastery, and Cleonae,[232] possibly near the Xiropotamou Monastery and Dafni, on the site of the harbour of Karyes; while on the east coast were Dion,[233] probably at Platys Limenas of the Akanthian Gulf, Holophyxos[234] (or Holophyxis), perhaps at Mikri Samareia at Arsanas of the Chelandariou Monastery, Charadries (or Charadrou),[235] probably south of the Stavronikita Monastery, and, at the southernmost tip of the peninsula, Akrothooi (or Akrothynnoi or Akrothoion),[236]

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[229] Pappa 1998, 16–7. Not far away is the important mound of Ayios Mamas, the publication of the excavation of which by Prof. B. Hänsel is eagerly awaited, apart from anything else for what it will tell us about the contacts between Chalcidice and the Mycenaean world.

[230] Zahrnt 1971, 151–2; D. Müller 1987, 152–4.

[231] Zahrnt 1971, 189–91; D. Müller 1987, 228–9; Papangelos and Paliobeis 2002, 396–7; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 846.

[232] Zahrnt 1971, 194; D. Müller 1987, 177. Papangelos and Paliobeis 2002, 396; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 830. It has also been suggested that Cleonae should be located on the east coast of Akte, in the area of the Iviron Monastery and in particular at the Iviriki Skete of Prodromos and at Palaiokastro (see Papangelos and Paliobeis 2002, 395).

[233] Papangelos and Paliobeis 2002, 393; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 827. Zahrnt (1971, 182–5) and (D. Müller 1987, 166–8) locate Dion to the west of the Esfigmenou Monastery.

[234] Papangelos and Paliobeis 2002, 393–4; Zahrnt (1971, 208) and D. Müller (1987, 189) locate Holophyxos near the Vatopedi Monastery.

[235] Zahrnt 1971, 253.

[236] Zahrnt 1971, 150–1; D. Müller 1987, 142; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 824. For antiquities found in the area, see Papangelos and Paliobeis 2002, 395–6.

possibly in the area of the Skete of St Anne. All these identifications are based on scanty archaeological and literary data and cannot be regarded as certain. And the same applies to the other known cities on Akte, such as Apollonia[237] for instance, towards the southern end of the peninsula, probably near the Monastery of Megisti Lavra, and Palaiotrion (or Palaiorion)[238] towards the north end of the west coast. On the basis of Strabo's information (10. C.447 8) that it was the Eretrians who colonised Akte, we may regard most of the aforementioned cities as Eretrian colonies. Regarding Cleonaa, however, there is written evidence that it was probably a colony of Chalcis,[239] and, moreover, a city named Chalcis is mentioned on the Athos Peninsula.[240] Furthermore, Thucydides (4. 109. 4) tells us that in his time there were only a few of the 'Chalcidicon genos' living on Akte, the population consisting mostly of Pelasgians (the same ones who had once lived on Lemnos), as well as Bisaltians, Krestonians and Edonians. This means that Pelasgians/Tyrsenians (Tyrrhenians) from Lemnos had probably colonised the area as well, as Strabo gives us to understand (7 fr. 35), but we have no evidence of when this happened. However, the fact that the Pelasgians of Lemnos essentially confined themselves to the Akte Peninsula (and also, according to Herodotus [1. 57], to a city of Krestonia in the north-east of Chalcidice) means that they probably settled in these barren parts (uninhabited by the Euboeans by very reason of their barrenness) at some later date, possibly after Miltiades had occupied Lemnos in 500–499 B.C.[241] Thucydides' Bisaltians, Krestonians and Edonians must be regarded as locals, whom, by and large, the Euboeans and in general the Greeks did not manage to drive out from those steep and rugged areas (or could not prevent them from settling there).[242]

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[237] Zahrnt 1971, 158. Papangelos and Paliobeis (2002, 395) believe that it is Akrothooi that should be located in the area of the Monastery of Megisti Lavra.

[238] Zahrnt 1971, 210.

[239] Zahrnt 1971, 194.

[240] Zahrnt 1971, 253. See also Bradeen 1952, 375 n. 103.

[241] Beschi 1995–2000, 153. For Pelasgians-Tyrsenians (Tyrrhenians) in northern Greece, see Vasilescu 1997. For Lemnos, see Reger 2004, 756–7.

[242] Written sources mention clashes between Chalcidians and Bisaltians in Chalcidice. See, for example, *FGrHist* A1, 26 fr. XX (Conon).

Andrian Colonies in Chalcidice and on the Strymon

Given what we have said so far, it is clear that the Euboeans were the main protagonists in Greek colonisation around the Thermaic Gulf and in Chalcidice. They probably first settled in these parts, especially in Chalcidice (where they mostly lived alongside the locals), after the Trojan War; and there followed another wave of Euboeans in the 8th century, during the second Greek colonisation, when a large number of Euboean colonies were founded. They occupied almost all the available living space here, without leaving significant gaps, which risked being filled by other Greek cities. The most significant exception was the founding of Poteidaea by the Corinthians. But it was founded at a time when the Euboeans were no longer a great power, and, as we have seen, the undertaking may well have been carried out under their guidance and with their help. There are indications that something similar happened when Peisistratos settled at Rhaikelos, when, as we have already said, he was probably helped by Eretria. And the same was certainly true of the Andrian colonies on the north-east coast of Chalcidice, for the written sources tell us that the Andrians were assisted by the Chalcidians. The latter had probably won the Lelantine War, but the truth is that this clash between the principal cities of Euboea produced no real victor. After the war, Euboea as a whole ceased to be a great power and was no longer able by itself to establish new colonies. Hammond attributes the founding of the Andrian colonies in Chalcidice to the upheavals which resulted when the Bottiaians settled there, having been driven out by the Macedonians.[243] This would explain why Chalcis and Andros co-operated to found new colonies in 'Chalcidian' parts which were being threatened and needed support. Besides, according to Kontoleon,[244] Chalcis did not have the ships necessary for this sort of venture, for it had previously borrowed them from Eretria, the biggest loser in the struggle for possession of the Lelantine plain. It may not be a coincidence that Chalcis chose to co-operate with the Andrians.[245] For the latter were probably under the dominion of Eretria before the Lelantine War; so they must have been pleased by the city's fall, which would have heralded their own independence. Consequently, the Chalcidians chose for their partners people who were demonstrably

[243] Hammond 1972, 440.
[244] Kontoleon 1963, esp. 21–5.
[245] Bérard 1960, 94; Bradeen 1947, 225 n. 7; Kontoleon 1963, 22.

hostile towards their rivals, the Eretrians. However, their collaboration with the Andrians, at least as regards the founding of Acanthus, ended ingloriously. The fact that the Andrians proved victorious in the struggle with the Chalcidians for the possession of Acanthus (Plutarch *Aetia Graeca* 30 [Mor. 298 A–B]) shows, if nothing else, the weakened state of the once mighty Chalcis.

The Andrian colonies in north-eastern Chalcidice and at the head of the Strymonic Gulf were founded in around the mid-7th century B.C.[246] According to Eusebius' chronicle, Acanthus and Stagirus were founded in the second year of the 31st Olympiad, *i.e.* in 655/4 B.C.[247] Scholars usually date the founding of Argilus to the same period.[248] However, we cannot entirely exclude the possibility that Argilus, which is in a more remote location than the others, was founded rather later. After all, the archaeological evidence from Argilus so far supports this likelihood and its excavators date the related finds to the last decades of the 7th century B.C.[249] Following the successful outcome of their struggle with the Chalcidians for the possession of Acanthus,[250] which became the finest of all their colonies, the Andrians consolidated their position in the area even more firmly by founding Stagirus, an undertaking in which, according to certain sources, the Chalcidians also participated (Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Epistola ad Ammaeum* 5 [727]). In addition, the latter took part in the founding of Sane (Plutarch *Aetia Graeca* 30 [Mor. 298 A–B]). So it seems reasonable to suppose that Chalcidians may also have helped the Andrians to found the colony of Argilus near the River Strymon, which, as we shall see shortly, must have been the most difficult undertaking. Furthermore, in the mid-7th century B.C., Andros does not seem to have been capable of simultaneously founding so many colonies in the North Aegean by itself. As for Sane, at the north-west end of the Athos Peninsula ες το προς Εύβοιαν πέλαγος τετραμμένην (Thucydides 4. 109. 3), Plutarch tells us that the Andrians founded it not long before Acanthus. And since it was already founded near the latter, at the head of the Singitic Gulf, it facilitated

[246] Bérard 1960, 94; Graham 1978 (2001), 223–5. For the Andrian colonies, see also Rhomiopoulou 1999.

[247] However, some scholars do not discount the possibility that Eusebius' system of dating is based on a 40–year, not 30–year, generation. They thus propose that these colonies were founded in *ca.* 635 B.C. See, for example, Bradeen 1952, 378.

[248] See, for example, Graham 1978 (2001), 224.

[249] Bonias and Perreault 1996, 666.

[250] See also Piccirili 1973, 72.

access to the new city, making sailing along the dangerous east coast of Athos unnecessary.[251] All these Andrian colonies must have severed relations with the mother city quickly. No written evidence survives of any contact between them.[252] There is only the information that a silver tetradrachm of Acanthus has been found in the ancient capital of Andros.[253] It is also significant that, although Acanthus,[254] Stagirus[255] and Argilus[256] were already minting currency in the 6th century B.C., their metropolis does not seem to have followed suit. It did not capitalise on the colonies' proximity to sources of gold and silver and thus did not mint coins until much later.

Acanthus,[257] which is in the area of modern Ierissos, occupied an especially strategic position, because its harbour, whose site is now the harbour of Ierissos, was on the Strymonic Gulf, while the city itself was close also to the Singitic Gulf (Figs. 16–17). Moreover, it had fertile land which produced a rich agricultural yield (the wine of Acanthus, for instance, was renowned),[258] as well as mineral and forestall wealth. It thus rapidly developed into one of the most important cities in northern Greece, as is also attested by the fact that it was minting and widely circulating coins (Fig. 18) as early as the 6th century.[259] Its economic vigour is also reflected in its lavish hospitality towards Xerxes' army in 480 B.C. (for which the Persian king rewarded it with costly gifts: Herodotus 7. 115–120), in the size of its contribution to the treasury of the First Athenian League[260] and in the construction of an *akanthios oikos* at the Panhellenic sanctuary at Delphi during the Peloponnesian War (Plutarch *De Pythiae oraculis* 14). When the colonists arrived here, they

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[251] *Cf.* Tsigarida 1998, 84.

[252] *Cf.* Rhomiopoulou 1999, 131.

[253] Paschalis 1925, 260–1 n. 4; Winter 1999, 289 looks for connexions between Andros and its colonies in the way the houses are built, as also in their dimensions.

[254] Desneux 1952; 1949; Cahn 1973; Rhomiopoulou 1998. For the coins of Acanthus, see Tselekas 1996.

[255] Gaebler 1930; Cahn 1973.

[256] Liampi 1994.

[257] Zahrnt 1971, 146–50; D. Müller 1987, 139–41; Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1998; 1987a; Vokotopoulou 2001, 760–1; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 823–4. For the recent excavations, see Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1987b; 1993; 1996, 298–312 and nn. 1 and 5 (references to earlier excavations); 2004a; 2004c.

[258] Salviat 1990, 469. *Cf.* Rhomiopoulou 1986; Garlan 1989, esp. 480 n. 11; Lawall 1995, 149–52. The workshops which produced the local commercial pointed amphorae have recently been located, see Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 2004b. *Cf.* Garlan 2004b.

[259] Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1998, 97–8 (including bibliography).

[260] Zahrnt 1971, 148.

Fig. 16. Acanthus: site of the ancient city.

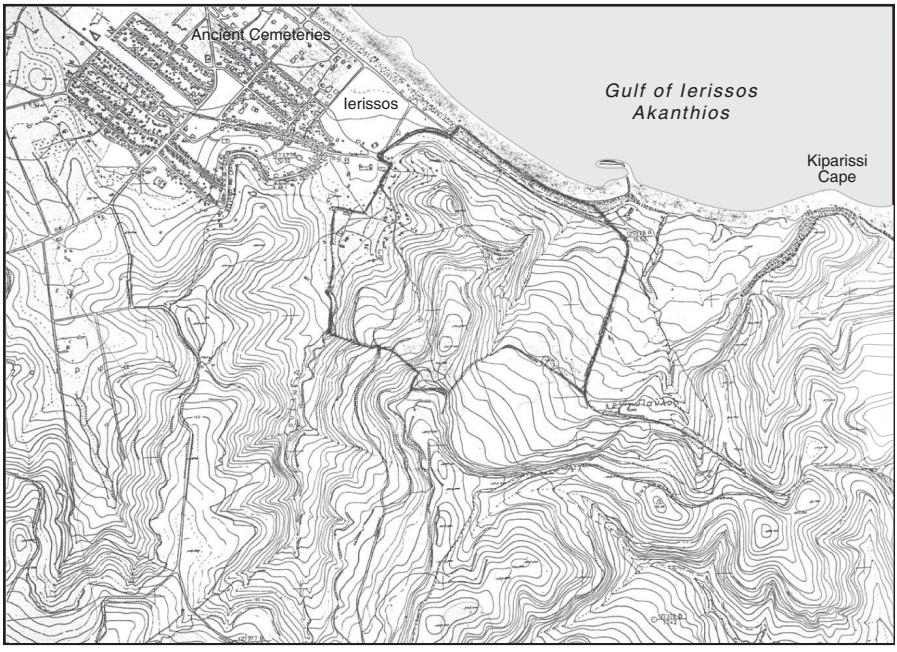

Fig. 17. Acanthus: plan of the ancient city.

Fig. 18. Acanthus: silver coin of the ancient city.

must have found a local population, which, according to Plutarch (*Aetia Graeca* 30), they drove away. The presence of a prehistoric settlement in the area is confirmed not only by ancient writers, but also by excavations.[261] An extensive cemetery on the town's sandy beach has been under excavation for many years (Fig. 19), its earliest graves dating to the time of the first settlers.[262] The ceramic burial offerings (Fig. 20) come mainly from Corinth (Fig. 21), East Greece (Fig. 22), Thasos (Fig. 21), Attica and elsewhere (Fig. 23), including some of Cycladic provenance (Fig. 24),[263] all of which is indicative of the city's far-ranging commercial activities. It is also worth noting the presence of Archaic Clazomenian terracotta sarcophagi (Fig. 25), which, together with Ionian pottery which has been found, bear witness to relations with Ionia.[264] The discovery of a decorated marble architectural member suggests that

[261] Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1996, 298–9; 1998; 2004c.

[262] Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1987b, 297–304; 1993; 1996, 306; 1998, 106–9; 2004a; Kaltsas 1998, 19–22 and nn. 14, 16–18 (older bibliography).

[263] Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1999. Recent excavations have also brought to light a Cycladic vase of the Linear Island Style.

[264] Giouri 1990; Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1998, 109; Kaltsas 1998, 293–6 n. 1102; 1996–97.

Fig. 19. Acanthus: view of the ancient cemetery.

Fig. 20. Acanthus: burial offerings from a grave of the 6th century B.C.

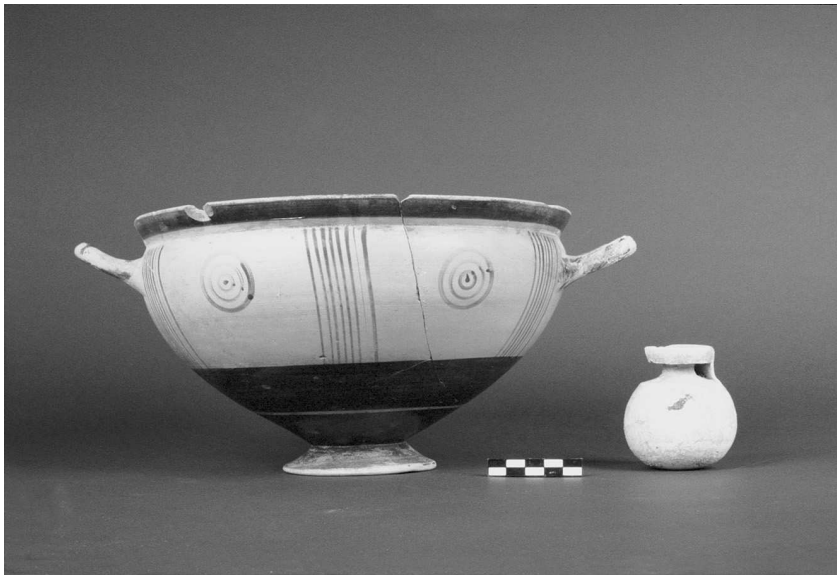

Fig. 21. Acanthus: Parian Thasian cup and Corinthian aryballos of the 6th century B.C.

Fig. 22. Acanthus: East Greek kylix of the Archaic period.

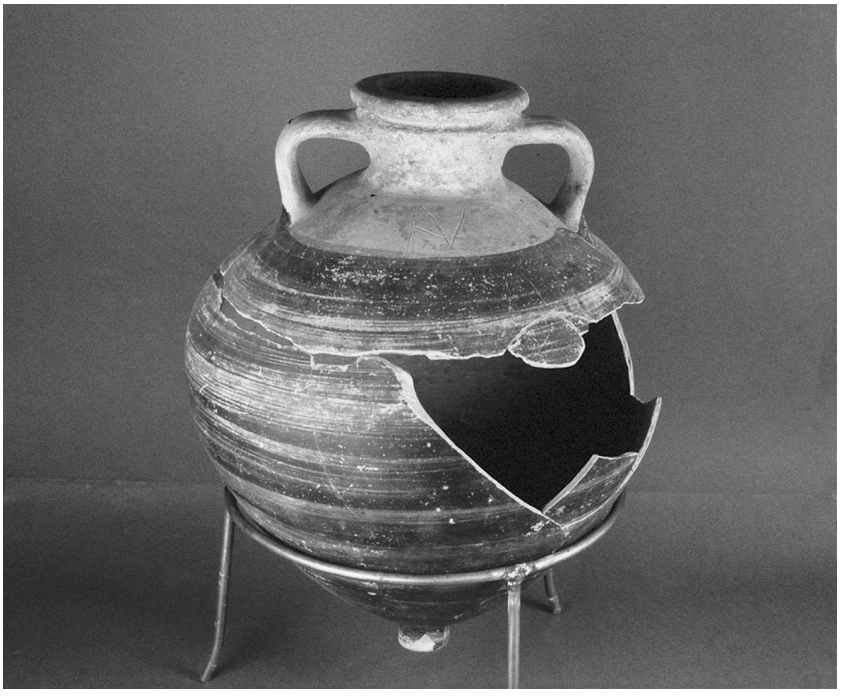

Fig. 23. Acanthus: Laconian commercial amphora.

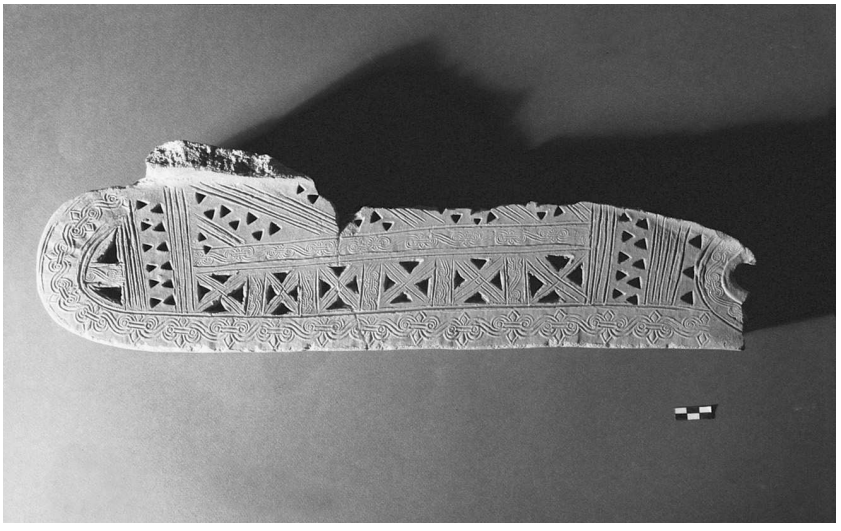

Fig. 24. Acanthus: handle of a Cycladic pithos-amphora.

Fig. 25. Acanthus: painted Clazomenian sarcophagus.

there was probably an Archaic Ionic temple here,[265] similar to those that were built, for instance, at Pydna, at the head of the Thermaic Gulf and at Neapolis, on the site of modern Kavala.[266]

Stagirus[267] is known principally as the birthplace of Aristotle.[268] In recent years, important remains have come to light from the ancient city, which covered not a very great area on two hills on a small

[265] Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1996, 305. *Three Colonies* 1998, 11 (fig. bottom right) (E. Trakosopoulou). For a peripteral temple, perhaps of Athena, in Acanthus, see Trakosopoulou-Salakidou 1998, 101–5, 115, 123, fig. 13. It is probable that this temple remained incomplete, although we cannot discount the possibility that what we have here is another case of a 'wandering' temple.

[266] For these temples, see pp. 20–21 and 28 above and p. 82 below.

[267] Zahrnt 1971, 238–42; D. Müller 1987, 216–7; Vokotopoulou 2001, 760; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 844–5. For recent excavations, see Sismanidis 1990; 1991b; 1992; 1993; 1994; 1995; 1996; 1997; 1998a; 2003. See also Papangelos 1979.

[268] Its minor significance is also revealed by the tribute of 1,000 drachmas which it paid into the treasury of the First Athenian League. See Zahrnt 1971, 240–1.

peninsula known as Liotopi, 1 km south-east of the modern village of Olympiada (Fig. 26). According to the excavator, the first colonists must have settled on the north hill, while habitation on the south hill began in the 5th century. Considerable stretches of the fortifications have been uncovered, along with the remains of an Archaic temple with fine sculptured architectural decoration,[269] two(?) more Archaic sanctuaries, houses, some of them Archaic, public buildings, sculptures and inscriptions from the decoration of a gate in the Archaic fortifications and local and imported Archaic pottery from such places as Attica, Corinth and Thasos. The city's affluence in the Archaic period is also confirmed by its silver coins, which bear a representation of the city's sacred animal, the wild boar.[270] The fine natural harbour of Stagirus was called Kapros, as was an islet opposite, whose shape reminds that of a boar (*kapros*) (Strabo 7. 331, fr. 33 and 35).

The fact that Sane, at the head of the Singitic Gulf in the area of Trypiti, near the modern village of Nea Roda, gave access to Acanthus and the surrounding area without braving the perils of the east coast of Athos,[271] shows that the relations between Sane and Acanthus must have been close; and the former may well have been under the latter's control, at least for long periods until Cassander's time, when Ouranoupolis was built nearby.[272] These thoughts are supported by the two colonies' geographical proximity, as also by the fact that we still do not know for certain whether Sane minted its own currency, even though it had considerable mineral wealth on its doorstep. It is also significant that Acanthus, not Sane, played a leading rôle in the construction of the Canal of Xerxes, which is slightly to the east of Sane (Herodotus 7. 116–117). Sane would certainly have gained added importance as long as the canal was open, if it ever was, for it was one of the earliest and biggest technical projects carried out in Greece.[273] From an

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[269] See Schmidt-Dounas 2004, 138.

[270] For bibliography, see n. 255 above.

[271] See pp. 53–54 above.

[272] *Cf.* Rhomiopoulou 1999, 129. It was eventually paying 6,000 drachmas a year into the treasury of the First Athenian League. See Zahrnt 1971, 220. For Sane, see Zahrnt 1971, 219–21; D. Müller 1987, 202–3; Tsigarida 1998; Vokotopoulou 2001, 761; Tsigarida and Tsolakis 2004; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 839–40. See also Papangelos 1993, esp. 1169–72.

[273] For the Athos canal, see Struck 1907, 118–21; D. Müller 1987, 156–8 with bibliography; Zahrnt 1971, 219 and n. 301 (bibliography); Isserlin 1991; 1997; Isserlin *et al.* 1994; 2003; Papangelos and Kampouroglou 1998–99.

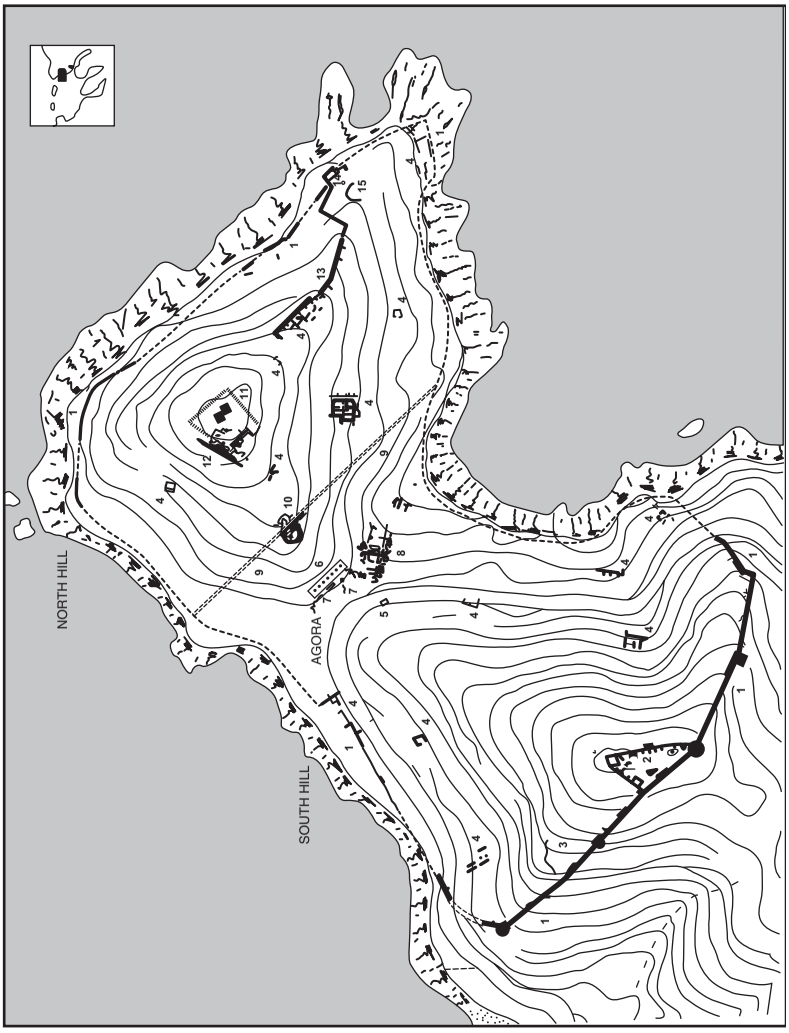

Fig. 26. Stageira: plan of the ancient city (after Sismanidis 1998a, 149, fig. 1).

archaeological point of view, Sane is not very well known.[274] It is worth mentioning a small extra muros Archaic temple dedicated probably to Apollo, the pediments of which had splendid terracotta Nikes as akroteria.[275] It is also interesting to note that this temple has features reminiscent of the Cycladic architecture of the Archaic period.[276] The sanctuary continued to exist in the Hellenistic period, after Ouranopolis had been built on the site of Sane. A mound known as the Tomb of Artachaies, containing prehistoric pottery,[277] proves that, here too, the first settlers encountered a local population, attested also by Plutarch.

The fourth Andrian colony, Argilus,[278] was built in a very favourably situated area, for it controlled trade along the Strymon valley, was fertile and at the same time gave access to the local mineral deposits. However, the local inhabitants, Bisaltians or Edonians, stoutly, and often successfully, resisted all the Greeks' attempts to settle here, as we shall see further on. This is why the Andrians' settling of Argilus (or Arkilos), a city with a harbour on the Bisaltian coast, is of particular importance. As far as we know, it is the oldest Greek colony in the area of Strymon. The site of Argilus has been located on two hills on the site of Paliokastro near the modern village of Nea Kerdyllia, approximately 4 km west of the mouth of the Strymon.[279] The inhabitants of Argilus further strengthened their position by founding nearby Kerdylion, a township on a commanding site closer to the Strymon, evidently with the purpose of controlling the area around the mouth of the river better (Thucydides 5. 6. 3.). Excavations here have uncovered the foundations of houses of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. and part of a wall with a

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[274] For the excavations, see Vokotopoulou and Tsigarida 1990; 1992; 1993; 1994; Tsigarida 1996; Tsigarida and Tsolakis 2004.

[275] For this sanctuary, see the bibliography in n. 274. See also Vokotopoulou 1996a, 326–7; 1993b, 92–5; Tsigarida 1990–95; 1998; 1999; Winter 1999, 289–90. For the terracotta sculptures, see also Moustaka 2000.

[276] *Cf.* Winter 1999, 289–90.

[277] The mound is named after the Persian noble who directed the work of building the Xerxes Canal, who was, however, buried at Acanthus (Herodotus 7. 117): Vokotopoulou 2001, 761. The name Sane may be Thracian (see Detschew 1957, 420).

[278] For Argilus, see Zahrnt 1971, 158–60; D. Müller 1987, 148–50; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 820–1; Lazaridis 1972a, 69–72; Isaac 1986, 54–8; Liampi 1994; Bonias and Perreault 1996; 1998.

[279] Perdrizet 1894, 436–40; 1922, 42–5. See also Lazaridis 1972a, 69; Bonias and Perreault 1998, 174. According to data provided by recent excavations on the site of Sykia Lakkou of Nea Kerdyllia, conducted by D. Malamidou and A. Salonikiou, it seems probable that in the 5th century B.C. the city was extended further east and towards the sea, thus occupying an area wider than that of the two hills on the site of Paliokastro.

gate, which was destroyed at the end of the 4th century B.C.[280] Some scholars believe, though without strong supporting arguments, that Tragilos (which we shall come to later), in the interior of Bisaltia, was also a colony of Argilus.[281]

Recent excavations at Argilus itself[282] have uncovered houses, some of them Archaic, part of the sea-wall with various structures and streets; and the earliest finds (including pottery from East Greece) date to the last decades of the 7th century B.C. Among the imported pottery of the Archaic period, apart from the wares from East Greece, there is also a considerable number of wares from Corinth, Attica, 'Chalcidice' and Thasos. Moreover, some silver coins of the Archaic period have recently been convincingly attributed to Argilus, evidence of the city's prosperity in that period.[283] This prosperity continued in the 5th century, until Amphipolis was founded in 437 B.C., judging by the very large sum of 10.5 talents which Argilus paid into the treasury of the First Athenian League in 453 B.C.[284] The large quantities of local pottery found during the excavations indicate that the Andrians probably found a local population here;[285] and it is worth noting that written sources assert that the name Argilus is Thracian and means 'mouse' (Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Argilus).[286]

Apart from those already mentioned, there were probably other colonies in Chalcidice. For instance, near Acanthus there may have been Panormos, a city which is mentioned by Claudius Ptolemy[287] and whose name suggests that it might have been a Greek colony. Posideion, a sanctuary of Poseidon, which, according to Herodotus (7. 115. 2), stood on the shore of the Strymonic Gulf near the 'Syleos pedion' was

[280] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1997a; Pelekidis 1920, 93–4. See also Lazaridis 1972a, 76.
[281] Bonias and Perreault 1998, 176; 1996, 665; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1983a, 143; 2000, 365. *Cf.* Rhomiopoulou 1999, 130–1.
[282] Bonias and Perreault 1993; 1994; 1996; 1997; 1998, esp. 178–80; 2000. See also Grammenos and Tiverios 1984.
[283] Liampi 1994, esp. 10–3.
[284] On this subject, see Liampi 1994, 9, 16 (including bibliography). See also Tiverios 1984, 46–7.
[285] Bonias and Perreault 1998, 178–9; 2000, 114.
[286] Kalleris 1988, 105 and n. 4; Detschew 1957, 22–3.
[287] Zahrnt 1971, 212.

probably founded by Greek colonists as well.[288] Besides, there is also a Posideion on Euboea.[289] It is also likely that, after establishing their first settlements on the coast of Chalcidice, the Greeks went on to found colonies in the interior of the peninsula. The tribute lists of the First Athenian League include the Pharbelians, who probably lived in the interior of Chalcidice. If they are connected with Pharbelos, which is mentioned in the sources as a πόλις Ερετριέων, then we have yet another confirmed Euboean presence on the Chalcidice Peninsula.[290] We know that there were cities in the interior, some of them, indeed, quite important ones, such as (Mygdonian) Apollonia, whose name is appropriate to a colony, just south of Lake Bolbe.[291] Another Apollonia (or even more) has been placed in central Macedonia,[292] while an Arne (or Arnai)[293] is sought in the area of modern Arnaia.

The Greek colonies in Chalcidice relied largely on an agricultural economy (the local wine, for instance, was famed),[294] with few exceptions, the most typical of these being the colonies of Poteidaea, Torone, Mende and Acanthus. In these cases, an important rôle would have been played by timber, minerals and other commercial activities.[295] After the Euboeans, an important rôle was played in the region, especially the north-east, by the Andrians, followed chronologically by the Corinthians and the Athenians. Some written sources imply colonial activity by

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[288] Zahrnt 1971, 214; D. Müller 1987, 195–6. Generally for the topography of this area between Mt Kerdyllion and the Strymonic Gulf, see Adam-Veleni 1997.

[289] *ATL* 1, 541–2. We should take note here of Arethousa near the 'Strymonic' Posideion, whose name is closely connected with Euboea. See Moutsopoulos 1995, esp. 53–8 and n. 138, 64. For the Chalcidian Arethousa, see also Zahrnt 1971, 160–1. Moutsopoulos (1993, 1054) believes Arethousa to have been a Chalcidian colony. For Euboean Geometric pottery from this area, see above n. 35.

[290] Zahrnt 1971, 251–2. *Cf.* Bradeen 1952, esp. 371.

[291] It was situated close to, and east of, the modern Nea Apollonia. See Vokotopoulou 1986, 105. For Mygdonian Apollonia, see Moutsopoulos 1993, esp. 1054–60, who believes it to have been a Chalcidian colony; more recently Adam-Veleni 2000a. See also Zahrnt 1971, 155–8. Makaronas (1977) located Mygdonian Apollonia at Kalamoto in Thessaloniki prefecture, but this must have been the site of ancient Kalindoia—see Sismanides 1983; Vokotopoulou 1986, esp. 102–5. For Apollonia, see also Hatzopoulos 1994; Flensted-Jensen 1997, 117–21; 2004, 816.

[292] See p. 51 above and n. 237. Papazoglou 1988, 198–9, 218–21, 421–4; Zahrnt 1971, 155–8; Moutsopoulos 1993, 1054 n. 116, 1055–6; Hatzopoulos 1994, esp. 177; Vokotopoulou 1996b, 217; Hammond 1995, 312. *Cf.* Flensted-Jensen 1997, 117–21.

[293] Zahrnt 1971, 161–2.

[294] See, for example, Salviat 1990, esp. 469–74; Papadopoulos and Paspalas 1999.

[295] For the mines of Chalcidice, see Papadopoulos 1996 esp. 171–5; Wagner *et al.* 1986. For the timber trade, See, for example, Hammond and Griffith 1979, 173.

Thasians, specifically at Torone.[296] But any Thasian settlements in this area, if they existed at all, do not seem to have been permanent. An assertion by Appian (*Bella Civilia* 4. 13.102), which perhaps is strengthened by a passage of Conon (*FGrHist* A1, 26 fr. XX), that Euboeans, specifically Chalcidians, crossed the Strymon and settled even further east is also hard to believe. It has been suggested that the Eretrians were interested less in finding living space than in acquiring stations and bridgeheads for commercial activities. The Chalcidians, by contrast, were mainly interested in permanent settlements, in mining and in an agricultural economy.[297] If this is indeed so, then it explains why Chalcidice took its name from Chalcis and not from Eretria.

The Area of the Strymon

We have already said that the Greeks' aspirations to settle in the area around the mouth of the Strymon, an exceptionally privileged area offering access to abundant resources, were strongly resisted by the local population, especially the Edonians. Strymon, for instance, for the 5th-century Athenians, was a wealth-giving god and as such was one of those who set the boundaries of the Garden of the Hesperides with its golden apples.[298] And so it is not surprising that areas near the Strymon have yielded even Mycenaean pottery, which probably indicates that the Mycenaeans were familiar with these parts and aware of the advantages they offered.[299] In their efforts to gain a foothold here and before they eventually managed to found Amphipolis in 437 B.C., a city which was to play a leading rôle in the subsequent history of the area, the Athenians suffered humiliating and bloody defeats.[300] In 465 B.C., 10,000 Athenians, led by Sophanes and Leagros, took Ennea Hodoi,

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[296] See p. 80 below and Lazaridis 1976a, 175 and n. 4 (bibliography).

[297] *Cf.* Kontoleon 1963, esp. 23–6.

[298] Tiverios 1991a, esp. 133–6. The Athenians apparently created other myths to legitimise their claims in these parts. They asserted, for instance, that the area between Amphipolis and the Angites, a tributary of the Strymon, had been given to Demophon (or Akamas), a son of Theseus, when he married Phyllis, the daughter of a local king. See Bakalakis 1936a, 39–41; Sampsaris 1976, 24–5.

[299] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki *et al.* 1996, 639–40.

[300] Some scholars believe that the Athenians had been planning to intervene in these parts since as early as the beginning of the 5th century B.C. (not counting Peisistratos' 'private' venture on Pangaion), more specifically just after 490 B.C. See Lazaridis 1976a, 176 (including bibliography).

but they were routed and wiped out by the Edonians at Drabeskos in the interior of Bisaltia.[301] Drabeskos was a township of the Edonians whose precise location we do not know, but Myrkinos, their best known settlement, must have been near and to the north of, Amphipolis.[302] In 477/6 B.C., immediately after the Persian threat had been averted, Cimon, as leader of the Greeks' now agressive war against the Persians, seized the walled Eion on the east bank of the Strymon and settled colonists there.[303] Eion[304] became an Athenian *emporion*, a base for Athens in the latter's efforts to penetrate the interior of Bisaltia, and it remained in their hands even after Amphipolis fell in 424 B.C. At one time it was believed to have stood on the site of Byzantine Chrysopolis, but lately it has been located on Profitis Ilias hill, east of the present mouth of the Strymon and not far from the coast. Archaeological and geomorphological investigations here have produced important new information about the history of the area.[305] We do not know when Eion was founded. But the area was probably known to Mycenaeans, because Mycenaean pottery has been found at Toumba Lakkovikion and the name Eion itself has been connected with the homeric hero Eioneus, father of Rhesos, king of the local Thracians.[306] Excavations on Profitis Ilias hill[307] have shown that the earliest habitation levels date to the Late Bronze Age; and the Early Iron Age levels are also clearly discernible. Another site on the hill has yielded important levels of the Archaic period. The earliest date to the early 7th century B.C. and the finds include pottery of the G 2–3 group and bird-cups from East Greece. However, there are no data which firmly associate these finds with a Greek settlement. Part of a cemetery of the Late Archaic period has also been uncovered, with grave goods that include local, often Ionicising pottery, imported pottery from, *inter alia*, Corinth,

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[301] Hammond-Griffith 1979, 102–3; Meiggs 1972, 83, 416; Deane 1972, 13–6; Hornblower 1991, 155–6. Parker (1994, esp. 366–8) dates this Athenian defeat to 453/2 B.C.

[302] For Drabeskos, see Sampsaris 1976, esp. 141–3; Papazoglou 1988, 391–2; Loukopoulou 2004a, 856. For Myrkinos, see Sampsaris 1976, esp. 140–1; D. Müller 1987, 76–7; Papazoglou 1988, 390–1; Loukopoulou 2004a, 862.

[303] Blamire 1989, 110–1, 115–6,156; Lazaridis 1972a, 12–3; 1976a, 173 and n. 9 for bibliography; Hornblower 1991, 149–50.

[304] For Eion, see Sampsaris 1976, 139; Isaac 1986, 60–2; D. Müller 1987, 54–6; Loukopoulou 2004a, 860–1.

[305] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki *et al.* 1996.

[306] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki *et al.* 1996, 639–40; Lazaridis 1976a, 174.

[307] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993, 684–5.

Attica and Thasos, and a faience aryballos. Local bronze weapons and jewellery have also been found, the latter including crossbow fibulae, finger-rings, pins and an unusual belt.[308]

Important information about a Greek presence at Eion is furnished by an inscription which was found re-used at Amphipolis and dates to the late 6th or early 5th century B.C.[309] Its original place was on the pedestal of a bronze equestrian statue which the Parians erected in honour of a certain Tokos, possibly a local man,[310] who was killed fighting for 'beloved' Eion, presumably in defence of Parian interests. A Parian presence in the area of Eion is not attested by the ancient sources, so this find is an especially important one. There can be no doubt that these Parians were connected with Thasos, *i.e.* with the well-known Parian colony in the North Aegean, which we shall look at later. We must not forget that Thasos maintained close relations with its metropolis for many years. We know of one Parian, in the second half of the 6th century B.C., who held one of the highest offices both in his native Paros and in Thasos.[311] So the Parians may well have settled at Eion in the 6th or even in the second half of the 7th century.[312] A number of coins of the Late Archaic period, which several scholars had hitherto associated with Lete,[313] have recently been attributed to Eion; as has another group of small electrum and silver coins of the 5th century B.C., with a goose (or more rarely two) on the obverse and a concave square on the reverse.[314] We cannot determine with certainty who the Parians' rivals were. In the late 6th to early 5th century B.C. there were in the area Thracians, Persians and Greeks.[315]

During the period when the Persians held sway in the North Aegean (515–479 B.C.), the Milesians also tried to settle in this privileged area. In the late 6th century B.C. (probably after 509 B.C.), Histiaeus, the tyrant of Miletus, sought to establish a permanent presence in the area of the Edonian Myrkinos, which, Herodotus tells us (5. 23–24), had abundant timber suitable for making ships and oars, rich silver mines

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[308] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki *et al.* 1996, 641–4.
[309] Lazaridis 1976a.
[310] Lazaridis (1976a, 178–9) does not discount the possibility that he was a Greek with a Thracian name.
[311] See p. 78 below and Lazaridis 1976a, 178.
[312] Lazaridis 1976a, esp. 175–6. See also Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2000, 365–6.
[313] Smith 1999.
[314] Lazaridis 1972a, 31; 1976a, 174.
[315] Lazaridis 1976a, 171–4.

and plentiful human resources, both Greek and barbarian. However, Darius would not allow him to settle and the whole project foundered, even though Histiaios had already walled his city.[316] The latter renewed his activity in the North Aegean in 493 B.C., when he made an unsuccessful attempt to take over Thasos, with an army of Ionians and Aeolians (Herodotus 6. 28). It may well be that these military operations spread to Eion and that Tokos was killed in the course of them. A short while before, in 497 or 496 B.C., the Milesians had returned to the mouth of the Strymon, this time with Aristagoras, who, with Myrkinos as his base, attempted to further extend his sway in the area. But the venture failed miserably and he himself was killed during the siege of a city (Herodotus 5. 124; 5. 126).

Another recent find probably reflects the activities of Thasians-Parians in the interior of the area. It is an inscription, which was found in the modern village of Neos Skopos and dates to 470–460 B.C.[317] On the basis of what it says, the antiquities which have been found at various times on the archaeological site south-west of Neos Skopos must belong to ancient Berge, a city in the interior of Bisaltia near the River Strymon and the Lake Kerkinitis, which was probably a Thasian trading station, an *emporion*, already in the 6th century B.C.[318] Of the earlier finds in the area, it is worth noting the imported pottery of the mid-6th century B.C. from various workshops, including Thasos. A desire for access to the rich mines of Mt Dysoron in the north of Bisaltia probably accounts for the Thasians' infiltration into the interior of Bisaltia.[319] The city began minting coins relatively soon, towards the end of the 5th century B.C., acquired democratic institutions and joined the First Athenian League in 452/1 B.C., that is before Amphipolis was founded.

On another nearby site, about 5 km south-east of ancient Berge, near the village of Paralimnio and on the east shore of the now drained Lake Ahinos, an ancient site has been located and has yielded prehistoric pottery (including Early Iron Age sherds) and imported Late Geometric wares.[320] The imported pottery of the Archaic period is strongly Ionian

[316] Lazaridis 1976a, 172 and n. 7 (a bibliography).
[317] Bonias 2000; *cf.* Matthaiou 2000–03.
[318] Bonias 2000. See also Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2000, 351–4, 366–8. For Berge, see also Isaac 1986, 59; Sampsaris 1976, 114–7; Psoma 2002a, 223–4; Loukopoulou 2004a, 858–9.
[319] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1983a, 143.
[320] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2000, 361–4.

in character and also includes sherds of Thasian wares, while Attic wares are markedly present in the 5th century B.C. Both this settlement and another close by, near the village of Pethelino,[321] must have had harbours which accommodated the ships that sailed on the navigable Strymon and Lake Kerkinitis.[322]

Since the Thasians-Parians seem to have got as far as Berge already in the 6th century B.C. and are known to have shown expansionist tendencies, it is more logical to assume that it was they, rather than the Andrians of Argilus, who controlled the less remote Tragilos.[323] This city, whose early history was similar to that of Berge, is situated on the archaeological site of the Monastery of Prodromos, about 3 km north-west of Aïdonohori, Serres prefecture. Excavations here[324] have uncovered: a sanctuary of a female Greek deity, possibly Aphrodite, the earliest construction phase of which dates to the late 6th century B.C.; cemeteries, the earliest of which date to the 6th century B.C.; and cult(?) buildings—houses of the Classical and Hellenistic periods. The movable finds of the Archaic period include local grey wheel-made pottery, imported wares from Corinth, Ionia, Thasos and Attica, bronze Macedonian jewellery, iron weapons and a variety of figurines.[325] Earlier finds clearly show a combination of local and Hellenic characteristics. An outstanding architectural sculpture of the second half of the 5th century B.C. also comes from here. It is a relief marble metope from a large Doric temple, the presence of which in the interior of Bisaltia comes as quite a surprise.[326]

The probability of the presence of the Thasians-Parians in the interior of Bisaltia may also be supported by some written evidence, the earliest of which is probably connected with Archilochos.[327] This penetration, which would have started from Eion (where, as we have

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[321] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2000, 362.

[322] For navigation on the Strymon, see Sampsaris 1982.

[323] For Tragilos, see Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1983a, 138–41. See also Isaac 1986, 54; Sampsaris 1976, 111–4; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 821.

[324] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1983a. See also Nikolaidou-Patera 1989; 1990; Bonias 2001.

[325] For the terracottas, see Brown-Kazazis 1982.

[326] See Bonias 2001, who, among other scholars, believes that this metope comes from a temple in Amphipolis (see also Schmidt-Dounas 2004, 138), built by the Athenians. If this is the case, then this temple must have been erected before 424 B.C., in which year the Athenians lost control of the city.

[327] Lazaridis 1993, 15; 1976a, 178–9 n. 8. *Cf.* Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2000, 365–6.

already said, the Thasians had probably settled in the 7th century B.C.), would not have been a bloodless process, as indicated by the inscription regarding Tokos, as well as by certain lines of Archilochos. But we shall come to the Thasians' advance into the Thracian interior, their colonial state, their relations with the local people[328] and Thasos itself later.

The Athenians, led by Agnon, son of Nikios, were not the first to settle in the area of Ennea Hodoi, in Amphipolis, in 437 B.C., repelling the Edonians.[329] The city's splendid position, together with the access which it offered to precious metals, timber, a variety of agricultural produce, fishing and stockbreeding, always excited human interest.[330] Thus, for instance, on a hill known as Hill 133, which some scholars identify as the site of Ennea Hodoi,[331] a prehistoric settlement has been located.[332] It has yielded, among other things, pottery of the Geometric period, with some sherds bearing typical Sub-Protogeometric decoration. The important Late Geometric bronze vessels, utensils and jewellery supposedly from Amphipolis in the Vienna Natural History Museum[333] are probably from cemeteries belonging to this settlement. Hill 133 has also yielded pottery of the Archaic and Classical periods. The Archaic pottery includes imports from Corinth, Attica and East Greece. We also have finds from Amphipolis itself, including some from a sanctuary which certainly date to a period earlier than 437 B.C.[334] Excavations here have uncovered, among other finds, long stretches of the fortification, some of which date to as early as the 5th century B.C., public buildings, such as sanctuaries for instance, houses, an impressive bridge which facilitated access across the Strymon, extensive cemeteries and numerous movable finds, including sculptures, inscriptions and vessels from all periods of its history—finds whose wealth and variety bear witness to the city's power and importance. Built on a fortified

[328] The Athenians' efforts to settle at the mouth of the Strymon in the first half of the 5th century B.C. must have been fiercely resisted not only by the Thracians but by the Thasians too. Indeed, these two groups may have joined forces against Athens. See Isaac 1986, 18–21.

[329] Isaac 1986, 36–40. For Amphipolis, see Papastavrou 1936; Isaac 1986, esp. 35–6, 54–8; Lazaridis 1972a; 1993; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 819–20.

[330] Lazaridis 1972a, 1, 6–9, 20–1, 35–8.

[331] Vanderpool 1965; D. Müller (1987, 76–7) proposes Hill 133 as a possible site for Myrkinos. For Ennea Hodoi, see also D. Müller 1987, 57–8; Loukopoulou 2004a, 856.

[332] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993, 682–5; Lazaridis 1972a, 10–1; 1993, 72–5.

[333] Lazaridis 1972a, 11.

[334] Lazaridis 1993, 31. See also Kranioti 1998, 375.

and strategic site, which controlled the major trade and military routes that crossed northern Greece from east to west and from north to south, linking the interior of Bisaltia, via the navigable Strymon, with the Aegean, it was inevitable that Amphipolis should play a leading economic, military and cultural rôle in the area's subsequent history. And it is astonishing how quickly (within the space of thirteen years) after Brasidas captured the city in 424 B.C. the Athenians essentially lost control of the area, in the gaining of which much Athenian blood had been spilt and great and costly efforts had been made for many years. Agnon's buildings were demolished at once and Brasidas himself was venerated as the real founder of the city. It was then that the city began to mint coins.[335] The Athenians certainly made up a minority in the city's population, in which the Ionian element predominated; while the existence of some important local cults—such as those of Rhesos, Strymon (there is also mention of a temple of his) and the Muse Kleio (whose sanctuary has been located)—bears witness to an appreciable Thracian presence.[336] As we shall see below, the cult of Rhesos seems to have been very prominent in ancient Thrace. Agnon himself, in obedience to the Delphic Oracle, translated his bones from Troy and interred them with honour inside the city, near the sanctuary of his mother, Kleio.[337] Other cults included those of Apollo, one of the most important in the city, Athena, naturally one of the first to be established here, Asclepius and Artemis Tauropolos, who is frequently identified with Bendis.[338]

Thasos and its Peraia

Thasos

As far as the colonisation of northern Greece is concerned, there can be no doubt whatever that, after the first Greeks, mainly Euboeans, settled here immediately after the Trojan War, and later on, in the 8th century B.C., the next major stage, which left an indelible mark on

[335] Lazaridis 1972a, 13–4, 25, 40, 44, 59. For the coins of Amphipolis, see Lorber 1990.
[336] Lazaridis 1972a, 22–3, 34, 51, 55–6.
[337] Lazaridis 1972a, 26–7, 31, 59–62.
[338] Lazaridis 1972a, 27, 59–60.

the subsequent history of the region, was the arrival of the Parians on Thasos. The island offered land for agriculture (Thasian wine, for instance, was among the finest and best known in the ancient world and the earliest Thasian commercial amphorae date to as early as 500 B.C.), timber, mineral wealth (gold, silver, iron and lead), which in the early 5th century brought Thasos an annual income of just under 80 talents (Herodotus 6. 46. 2–3), marble quarries and considerable marine wealth.[339] Without a doubt, this was a very successful colonial enterprise. The first Parian colonists settled in a location in the north-east of the island with a safe natural harbour, which was of fundamental importance for an island city. Very soon—early in the 5th century—they built also a closed harbour to use as a navy yard.[340] Another advantage of the site was its proximity to the Thracian coast, about which the first colonists probably already had information. This may explain why the Parians opted to settle at the most northerly end of the island and also why, as soon as they had settled in their new home, they began implementing their plans to expand onto the coast opposite. As we know, the first colonists arrived on Thasos in around 680–670 B.C., led by Telesicles, father of Europe's first lyric poet, Archilochos. There is a tradition that the Delphic Oracle was consulted about the colony and designated the leader of the entire venture (Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* 5. 17).[341] It may well be, then, that the Parians received their information about the wealth on the Thracian coast from the Oracle itself, as happened in other cases too, although it is very likely that they also received advise from the Euboeans.[342] It should be noted that in the case of Thasos, there is an indication in the later written tradition that initial contact might had been made before the colony was officially

[339] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 178–81, 191–2 (for bibliography). See also Lazaridis 1971b, 38–40. For the mines and quarries, see also the relevant studies in Koukouli-Chrysanthaki *et al.* 1999 (including bibliography). *Cf.* Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992a, 725–30 (including bibliography). The famous Thasian wine production must have begun later. See, for example, Graham 1978 (2001), 211–2. For more bibliography on Thasos, see Grandjean and Salviat 2000. See also Reger 2004, 778–81.

[340] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 53–6 (including bibliography). See also Simosi 1999; Lianos *et al.* 1985; Simosi and Empereur 1987; Picard 1988; 1989; Kozelj 1990; Sintès 2003.

[341] Graham 1978 (2001), 165–208, esp. 207–8 (*cf.* Graham 2001a) believes that the colony on Thasos was founded in 660–650 B.C. by Archilochos, a view which has been rejected by the French excavators of Thasos. See Pouilloux 1982; Grandjean 1988, 436–40, 465–8.

[342] Tiverios 2006, 75–6.

founded. More specifically, the painting of the Nekyia done at Delphi by the great 5th-century Thasian painter Polygnotos (Pausanias 10. 28. 3) suggests that, before Telesicles arrived on Thasos, he had been preceded there by his father Telles, who, together with a woman named Kleoboia, had introduced the cult of Demeter to the island. And it may be no mere coincidence that a sanctuary of Demeter has come to light at the north-east end of the ancient city, next to the sanctuary of the Ancestral Gods.[343] The arrival of Telesicles and the first colonists must have been rapidly followed by a second wave of colonists in around 660–650 B.C., led by Archilochos and his friend, the *strategos* Glaucus, son of Leptines. An oracular response from Delphi survives about this enterprise too, ordering the poet to go to Thasos.[344] Thasos certainly maintained close ties with Delphi, as is also attested by the presence of the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios, one of the most important sanctuaries on the island,[345] in the area of its *acropolis*. The arrival of the new colonists should be regarded less as a bid to strengthen the Parians' position on the island than as part of the process of occupying the Thracian coast. The speed with which the Parians advanced across to the Thracian Peraia seems to suggest that they were in a hurry, anxious to forestall others. It is worth remembering that the Andrians' arrival on the banks of the Strymon (which we have already mentioned,[346] and with whom the Parians are known to have been on bad terms at this time)[347] and the Clazomenians' arrival just to the east of the River Nestos (which we shall look at later)[348] were not very far removed in time from Archilochos' arrival on Thasos and the start of his expansionist operations on the coast opposite. As for the relations between the first Parians and the local inhabitants of the island, the new readings of Archilochos' verses by K. Tsantsanoglou are very enlightening. According to these, the Thracians of the island were expelled by the Parians and moved to the coast opposite. In the age of Archilochos, however, the Parians encouraged their return to the island, in order to use their help in repelling the Naxians, who, as it seems, were trying at

[343] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 102–5; Rolley 1965; 1997, 38–41; A. Muller 1996, esp. 9–10; Tiverios 2006, 74–5 and n. 14. Rolley (1997, 40–3) considers the events related to Telles as contemporary with the first colonial venture of Telesicles.
[344] Parke and Wormell 1956, 95, no. 232.
[345] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 111–2 (113 for bibliography).
[346] See pp. 52–64 above.
[347] Kontoleon 1963, 22.
[348] See pp. 92–94 below.

that time to establish themselves on Thasos. The Thracians who came back were wiped out by the Naxians, but still the latter did not manage to reach their purpose. Many of them were eliminated by the Parians, while the rest, who had fled to the Thracian coast, were exterminated by the Sapaian Thracians.[349] And except for those mentioned above, we should not forget that Phoenicians had already settled on the island, led, tradition tells us, by Thasos, son of Phoenix or of Agenor or of Poseidon himself.[350] We know the difficulty of tracing archaeological evidence of the Phoenicians. In the case of Thasos too, if it were not for Herodotus' information (6. 47) that they settled at Koinyra (modern Koinyra) and Ainyra (in the area of modern Potamia) on the east coast of the island, where the goldmines were also located,[351] it would have never occurred to anyone to suggest a Phoenician presence here on the basis of archaeological finds alone.

Written evidence of the presence of Phoenicians in northern Greece is scarce and mostly of later date. Homer (*Iliad* 23. 740–745), for instance, attests a movement of Phoenicians from Sidon to Lemnos. There is also a tradition that Torone owes its name to a daughter of Poseidon and Phoenice (Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Torone), while Galepsus, a colony on the Thasian Peraia, is said to have been named after a son of Thasos and Telephe (Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Galepsus). Furthermore, some scholars believe that the name of the Ionian colony of Abdera is Phoenician[352] and according to written sources the goldmines on Pangaion were first exploited by Cadmus, who, together with Harmonia, is also found on Samothrace.[353] In addition, there is the view that the *biblinos* (or *byblinos*) *oinos* from the Oesyme area in the Thasian Peraia must have taken its name from vines introduced by the Phoenicians, which also gave their name to the area and one of its mountains.[354] Lastly, we have a small number of finds from parts of northern Greece (such as ancient Therme, for instance) which are

[349] Tsantsanoglou 2003, esp. 248–50. The presence of the Naxians in northern Greece is perhaps suggested also by an amphora of the Linear Island Style which was recently found in Acanthus, see n. 263 above.

[350] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992a, 725–8; Graham 1978 (2001), 211–4. For a more detailed account of the Phoenician presence in the North Aegean, see Tiverios 2004.

[351] des Courtils *et al.* 1982.

[352] Graham 1992 (2001), 269–70.

[353] Graham 1978 (2001), 185, 212–4.

[354] Salviat 1990, 462–5.

believed to be of Phoenician origin.[355] Given all this, it is hard to accept assertions that, before the mid-7th century B.C., the Phoenicians held sway in the North Aegean.[356]

Some scholars also attribute the marked upsurge in the cult of Heracles on Thasos to the Phoenicians.[357] Let us remember that Herodotus (2. 44) saw a temple of Thasian Heracles in Tyre itself. The excavations on the island have uncovered the Heraclium, with the earliest finds dating to the late 7th and early 6th century B.C.[358] However, we must not forget that this Panhellenic hero was also very popular on Paros itself. Moreover, there was a tradition that Heracles took Thasos from the Thracians and gave it to grandsons of Minos who had connexions with Paros and then moved on westward and took Torone.[359] So, in the final analysis, the upsurge in the hero's cult on Thasos must be attributed to the Parians on the island, as must its wide diffusion on the Thracian coast; and the pre-existing cult of Phoenician Heracles must certainly have contributed to this.

Thanks to the excavations, we know something about the colony's early years. The earliest phase of its impressive surviving walls dates to the end of the 6th century B.C., though the city had been fortified earlier than this, probably from the very start of Parian occupation.[360] The Thracians and the Phoenicians were not the first inhabitants of the island, for it was inhabited already in the Palaeolithic period.[361] There are also interesting remains from the Neolithic and Bronze Age.[362] The Late Bronze Age is represented on the island by some notable Mycenaean finds and so we cannot discount the possibility that the Mycenaeans were familiar with these parts.[363] To the Iron Age belong some interesting finds from Kastri, Paliokastro of Maries, Ai-Lia,

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[355] Tiverios 2004, 297–8, fig. 4; Tiverios and Gimatzidis 2001, 200. See also Graham 1978 (2001), 209 n. 249, 217–8.

[356] Graham 1978 (2001), 225–7.

[357] Graham 1978 (2001), 212–7 (including bibliography). For the cult of Heracles on Thasos, see Bergquist 1973.

[358] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 142–4; Launey 1944; Roux 1979; des Courtils and Pariente 1985; 1986; 1991; des Courtils *et al.* 1996. For the 5th-century temple of Heracles, see also Schmidt-Dounas 2004, 114–6, 121–4.

[359] Kontoleon 1952, esp. 54, 88–90.

[360] Pouilloux 1979, esp. 135–8. See also Blondé *et al.* 1996, 815, 820; and recently Viviers 2001.

[361] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Weisgerber 1993, esp. 550–3; 1999.

[362] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1987a; 1988a; 1989a; 1990b; 1992a, 701–4; Malamidou and Papadopoulos 1993. See also Malamidou 1999.

[363] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992a, 553–6, 703–5, 727.

Drakotrypa of Panayia and Larnaki, which share similarities with Iron Age finds from Macedonia and other parts of the Balkans.[364] This was the period when Thracians were living on the island and one of its names which have come down to us was Edonis (or Odonis).[365] From the city of Thasos itself we have finds dating to the 8th and early 7th century B.C., no doubt before the Parian colony was founded.[366] They are local and imported pottery, which has been found north-west of the Artemision. The cave of Pan in the south-west of the city has recently been recognised by some scholars, in its original form, as a Thracian funerary monument.[367] Some scholars also detect evidence of Thracian presence in the rock altar of the Heraclium.[368] The fact that the Parians were able to launch their bid to conquer the Thracian coast opposite very soon after arriving on Thasos means that they rapidly overcame any local resistance on the island itself, evidently because the locals were few in number.[369] Furthermore, Archilochos complains mainly about the battles in the Thracian Peraia, in which he lost his friend Glaucus. Excavations have found the latter's cenotaph, the original site of which must have been in the city's Archaic *agora*, which occupied an area in the south-east corner of the *agora* of the Classical period.[370] Excavations in the city of Thasos have also uncovered some structures built by the 7th-century B.C. colonists, while finds of the same period have turned up in the Artemision, in the area of the gate of Hermes, in the *acropolis*, in the Heraclium, in the Thesmophorion and at Alyki in the south of the island, where there were also natural harbours.[371] These finds include pottery mainly from Paros, East Greece and

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[364] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992a, 708–11.

[365] Pouilloux 1954, 16. For the Thracians in Thasos, see Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992a, 729–31.

[366] Bernard 1964; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992a, 717–20; and recently Kohl *et al.* 2002; Gimatzidis 2002; Tiverios 2006.

[367] Owen 2000. I was not able to study the dissertation by Owen 1999. For the cave of Pan, see also Danner 2002.

[368] Graham 2001a, 379–81.

[369] For the relations of the first colonies with the local Thracians, see Graham 1978 (2001), 218–20 (with bibliography); Pouilloux 1989.

[370] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 69–70 (including bibliography). See also Blondé *et al.* forthcoming.

[371] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 91 (including bibliography), 99–100, 102 (bibliography), 111, 113 (bibliography), 144, 145 (bibliography), 162, 165 (bibliography). This site, which was probably dedicated to Apollo and thus Archegetes, must have been the Parians' first station on the island, before they advanced further in the area of modern Limenas. See Blondé *et al.* forthcoming.

Corinth.[372] Some Syro-Egyptian ivories, Macedonian bronze jewellery and Phrygian bronze fibulae also date to the Archaic period.[373] Parian potters probably settled on Thasos as early as the 7th century B.C. and manufactured Thasian-Parian pottery, among other things.[374] There is firm evidence of the presence of Parian potters in the 6th century B.C. in the form of the finds from a pottery workshop excavated at Fari in the west of the island.[375] Pottery was also imported in the 6th century B.C., from Corinth, Attica and East Greece, for instance.[376] However, in the 6th century B.C., interesting Atticising black-figure wares and possibly 'Chian' pottery[377] were also being manufactured on Thasos, and traded there and elsewhere. And apart from pottery, Thasos was producing other forms of art in the Archaic period, most notably architectural monuments, marble sculptures and clay figurines,[378] with a remarkable presence both on and off the island. It is known that Thasos had important marble quarries.[379]

We have already mentioned the close, long-lasting ties between Thasos and its mother city, Paros.[380] These are clearly apparent not only in the sphere of art (in pottery and architecture, for instance),[381] but also in religious, social and state institutions. Close connexions are also evident at a religious and cult level,[382] as well as in the calendar.[383]

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[372] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 283–5, 296 (bibliography); Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1992a, 717–20.

[373] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 297–8, 301 (bibliography).

[374] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 285–6, 296 (bibliography).

[375] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 171–2 (including bibliography), 291. See also Tiverios 1989a.

[376] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 287, 296 (bibliography).

[377] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 287–95 (A. Coulié), 296 (bibliography). See also Coulié 1996 (including bibliography); 2002; A. Lemos 2000, 379 (and n. 19 with bibliography) believes that the Chian pottery on Thasos was manufactured by a Chian workshop which had settled 'somewhere on the Thracian coast, possibly at Maroneia, Chios' colony'.

[378] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 203–15, 216 and 218 (bibliography), 237–44, 245 bibliography (B. Holtzmann), 273–9, 280 bibliography (A. Muller).

[379] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 167, 180; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki *et al.* 1999, esp. Tsombos and Laskaridis 1999; Herrmann 1999.

[380] *Cf.* Lazaridis 1976a, 178.

[381] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 115, 195.

[382] The cult of Athena Poliouchos was common to both islands, for instance. See Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 230.

[383] Salviat 1991. See also Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 230.

The Thasians soon began to mint coins, as early as the last third of the 6th century B.C.[384] In fact small denomination coins were also in circulation, attesting a concern for the domestic market and for local trade in general. It is significant that other mints in the North Aegean, both Greek and those of certain Thracian tribes, adopted their standard of monetary weights. The Thasian coins circulated widely: Thasian coins of the Late Archaic and Classical periods have been found in the Eastern Mediterranean, Egypt and the south of Italy, while later coins have turned up elsewhere, such as in modern Bulgaria and as far as the Danube and southern Russia. By the 7th century B.C., Thasos had developed into a major economic, military and cultural centre in the North Aegean. Its presence in these parts was strong and, with its expansionist policy, it also played an important part, *inter alia*, in introducing Greek culture to the Thracians, via the colonies and the *emporia* which it established from the 7th century onwards on the Thracian coast opposite.[385] There is no doubt that the island's heyday was in the Archaic period and its occupation by the Athenians in 463/2 B.C. heralded the decline of its power and importance. All the same, as a member of the First Athenian League, Thasos was one of the highest contributors to the treasury.[386]

The Thasian Peraia

We know that the Thasians often had a hard struggle to found their colonies and *emporia* on the Thracian coast.[387] But despite the resistance of the Thracians (Edonians, Saians, Pierians, Odomantians, Satrians, Bisaltians, Sintians, Sapaians and Bistonians), the Paionians and also of other Greeks, literary evidence and archaeological finds confirm that the colonists managed to settle here comparatively quickly, by the second half of the 7th century. Written sources mention the Thasians' colonial activities on the mainland, most of which were carried out between the Strymon and the Nestos and south of Mts Symbolon and Orbelos. Stryme, east of the Nestos, seems to have been the most important

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[384] Grandjean and Salviat 2000, 303–6, 313–4 (bibliography) (O. Picard). See also Picard 1990; Pantos 1980.

[385] See pp. 80–91 below.

[386] Pouilloux 1954, 108–11. In 425/4 B.C. the Thasians apparently paid 60 talents into the League's treasury. *Cf. ATL* 1, 283.

[387] Graham 1978 (2001), 205–6, 94. *Cf.* Bakalakis 1967, 143–4. For the Thasian Peraia, see Bakalakis 1936a, 37–40; Lazaridis 1971b; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a.

Thasian colony outside these limits.[388] However, a site with the revealing name of Thasion Kephalai east of Stryme suggests a Thasian presence for a certain time even further east.[389] Some scholars, in fact, believe that the Thasians also waged hard battles in the area of Abdera and do not discount the possibility that nearby Dikaia παρ' Ἄβδηρα was also a Thasian colony.[390] We have already spoken about the activity of the Thasians-Parians in the area of the Strymon. Indeed, they seem to have proceeded towards the interior of Bisaltia as early as the 6th century, sailing up the Strymon. In the Thasian Peraia proper, *i.e.* the coastal area bounded by the Strymon and the Nestos, the Thasians seem to have crossed the mountain range which separates it from the hinterland and advanced into the interior somewhat later, in the 4th century B.C.[391] Some Thasian colonial activity to the west of the Strymon[392] and east of the Hebrus, as far as the Bosporus, Aenos and the Black Sea,[393] attested by taciturn and later written sources, does not seem to have had permanent results, if indeed it ever took place.

Excavations to date suggest that the earliest Thasian colonies were Neapolis, on the site of modern Kavala, and Oesyme, in the area of Nea Peramos. They must have been founded very early on, in the third quarter of the 7th century B.C. They were located very close to Thasos and occupied strategic sites for commercial activities. They also gave access to mineral-rich areas (according to Herodotus [6. 46], in the early 5th century B.C. the mines of both the island and its Peraia were bringing an annual income of 200–300 talents) and had fertile soil suitable for growing crops.[394] The Thasian Peraia afforded precious metals, timber, agricultural produce such as cereals and wine, fish, slaves, horses, leather, sheep and goats.[395]

Neapolis was built on a small rocky peninsula which juts out into the sea creating two safe harbours on either side, especially the one on the

[388] Bakalakis 1967, 143–4. For Stryme, see pp. 85–86 below.
[389] Bakalakis 1958, 97–8, 104 n. 2.
[390] Isaac 1986, 79–80, 115. See pp. 104–05 below.
[391] See Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 311.
[392] Bakalakis 1967, 143 and n. 4 (bibliography).
[393] Graham 1978 (2001), 223 n. 325; Loukopoulou 1989, 63 n. 1, 64–5 n. 7 (including bibliography).
[394] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 310–1.
[395] Lazaridis 1971b, 38–40; Sampsaris 1976, 24–7; Papaevangelou 2000, 8–10. For the metals, see Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1990a.

east side.[396] Mariners put in here, having crossed the Aegean on their way to the interior of what is now eastern Macedonia and to the gold-bearing Pangaion; and the road which crossed northern Greece from east to west also passed through Neapolis. The remains of the city's fortifying wall date to no later than the early 5th century B.C. Although we have no written evidence to confirm that Neapolis was a Thasian colony, there can be no doubt that it was.[397] It was so named by the first colonists in order, probably, to denote that it was for them a 'new city', as opposed to their 'old' one on Thasos. So the name itself probably also indicates something else: that this was the Thasians-Parians' first colony. To distinguish it from the other cities of the same name, on the tribute lists of the First Athenian League (to which its annual contribution at a certain period came up to 1,000 drachmas) it is called Νεάπολις παρ' Αντισάραν. That is to say, it was defined with reference to a nearby, likewise Thasian, township, Antisara, which stood slightly to the west of Neapolis (see below). Neapolis seems to have severed all dependence on Thasos very rapidly. This is confirmed by the fact that in the final decades of the 6th century B.C. (at the same time as its metropolis, that is to say) it was minting its own currency and thus in small denominations;[398] and at the end of the 5th century B.C. we know that relations between Thasos and Neapolis were exceptionally strained, to the extent that the latter sought the protection of Athens.[399] This may also explain why the principal deity of Neapolis was not one of the deities of the metropolis, but a local goddess named Parthenos (see below).[400] It may be that the Thasians got familiar with her cult when they settled in the area and adopted it themselves in a bid to win the local people over. The cult of the Nymphs, which seems to have

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[396] For Neapolis, see Bakalakis 1936a, 1–15; Collart 1937, 102–5; Chionidis 1968, 11–4; Lazaridis 1969, 13–6; Isaac 1986, esp. 66–9; Papazoglou 1988, 403–4; Papaevangelou 2000, 2–4, 16–9; Loukopoulou 2004a, 862–9. See also Lazaridis 1971b, fig. 69.

[397] This may be confirmed by the inscription *IG* I 108. However, the inscription is restored at the contentious points (see Lazaridis 1969, 14). The views of earlier scholars, based on numismatic evidence, that Neapolis was an Athenian or Eretrian colony are unfounded (see Pouilloux 1954, 158–61; Isaac 1986, 66 and n. 376; Papaevangelou 2000, 17–8).

[398] Papaevangelou 2000, 49–51; Isaac 1986, 67.

[399] Isaac 1986, 67.

[400] For this goddess, see *LIMC* VIII 1, 944–6 *s.v.* Parthenos (H. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki).

been especially popular in the north,[401] is also found at Neapolis, and at Oesyme too, which was, as we have already said, another Thasian colony in this area. The locals may well have helped the Neapolitans to throw off Thasian dominion, even though Thasos was right on their doorstep. However, very few of the finds from Neapolis to date can be attributed to an earlier settlement of Thracians in the area, before the first colonists arrived, and any such attribution is doubtful.[402] A small Neolithic settlement has been found to the east of modern Kavala, just to the east of Stratones.[403]

The important sanctuary of Parthenos has been located in the Panayia district in Kavala's Old Town.[404] Parts of a precinct and a retaining wall, together with architectural fragments from a splendid, large, marble Ionic temple have come to light here at various times. It dates to the first decades of the 5th century B.C., when the area belonged to the Persian empire, and shares similarities with the temple at the head of the Thermaic Gulf mentioned earlier. All the finds, which include inscriptions, indicate that this was a Greek sanctuary. Most of them are clay figurines[405] and vessels, dating to the 7th century B.C. and later. They include pottery from East Greece, Thasos, the Cyclades (Paros) and Corinth; while considerable quantities of fine Attic, Corinthian and Laconian black-figure wares date to the 6th century B.C. It is worth noting that Laconian black-figure pottery is rarely found in northern Greece and around the Black Sea.[406] This all goes to show the importance and the wealth of this sanctuary in particular and of Neapolis itself in general.

In contrast to Neapolis, we do have written evidence that Oesyme was a Thasian colony.[407] It has been firmly located on the coast at Nea Peramos, on a site which had a splendid natural harbour, was close to

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[401] Bakalakis 1938b, 92–100; Isaac 1986, 11, 69.

[402] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993, 686–7.

[403] Lazaridis 1969, 13.

[404] Bakalakis 1936a, 7–10; 1938a, 106; Lazaridis 1969, 17–20. *Cf.* Schmidt-Dounas 2004, 112–3, 116–9. For a bibliography relating to the excavations in the sanctuary, see Sampsaris 1976, 152 n. 2. See also Koukouli[-Chrsanthaki] 1967, 417.

[405] The study of these terracottas has been undertaken by A. Prokova for her dissertation, currently under preparation in Cologne.

[406] See, for example, Stibbe 2004, 223, no. 48 (from Thasos).

[407] For the written sources, see Bakalakis 1938b, 101 n. 2; Sampsaris 1976, 72 n. 6. For Oesyme, see Collart 1937, 81–4; Isaac 1986, 9–10, 64–5; Sampsaris 1976, esp. 153–7; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 317–8; Papazoglou 1988, 400f-3; Loukopoulou 2004a, 864–5. See also Lazaridis 1971b, figs. 66–67.

mineral-rich and forested areas, and had fertile tracts of arable land.[408] The 'Bibline chora' which produced the renowned *biblinos oinos*, was the area between Antisara and Oesyme.[409] We have already said that the archaeological evidence to date suggests that it must have been founded in the second half of the 7th century. The *acropolis* was built on a fortified hill, which has yielded a temple of the Archaic period with two construction phases,[410] and its surviving walls date to the Late Archaic period. The city's cemetery has been located south of the *acropolis* in sand dunes on the shore, a practice which we have already seen in colonies in Chalcidice. The oldest finds from here date to the second half of the 7th century B.C. and include most notably Thasian-Parian pottery and pottery from East Greece. Corinthian and Attic wares make their appearance in the 6th century B.C. But the Thasian presence is particularly apparent not only in the pottery, but also in other finds, such as clay figurines. Homer too knew the city, as Aisyme, birthplace of Kastianeira, one of Priam's wives,[411] which suggests that it already existed before the arrival of the first settlers from Thasos, who thus must have kept its name. Indeed, recent excavations in the *acropolis* located a precolonial level dating to the Early Iron Age.[412] A cave with prehistoric pottery has been investigated slightly to the north of Oesyme, on a little peninsula towards modern Iraklitsa. The Nymphs were worshipped here from at least the 6th century B.C.[413] and, as we have already said, their cult is frequently encountered in the north and, naturally, on Thasos.

Galepsus, which was to the west of Oesyme on the site of Gaïdourokastro on the coast of Karyani, south of the modern village of

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[408] For the excavations, see Bakalakis 1938b, 98–100; Giouri 1965, 147–8; Giouri and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1969; Koukouli[-Chrysanthaki] and Giouri 1969; Giouri and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1987; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Papanikolaou 1990.

[409] Bakalakis 1938b, 101 n. 3; Isaac 1986, 65; Sampsaris 1976, 196–7; Salviat 1990, 462–5.

[410] The earlier temple was replaced by a new one early in the 5th century B.C. As for the goddess who was worshipped here, the excavators suggest that she was the city's patron, Athena (see Giouri and Koukouli[-Chrysanthaki] 1987, 372–3; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Papanikolaou 1990, 490). Isaac (1986, 9) erroneously attributed the temple to Parthenos, because he believed that an inscribed find of Bakalakis (see Bakalakis 1937, 61) came from Oesyme, when it was in fact from the sanctuary of Parthenos at Neapolis.

[411] Isaac 1986, 64; Giouri and Koukouli[-Chrysanthaki] 1987, 374–5.

[412] Giouri and Koukouli[-Chrysanthaki] 1987, 374–5; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Papanikolaou 1990, 492–3. See also Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993, 687.

[413] Bakalakis 1938b, 81–4; Isaac 1986, 9–10 and nn. 43–44.

Akropotamos, was another Thasian colony, as attested by ancient written sources.[414] We have 5th-century B.C. inscriptions from Galepsus, written in a Thasian-Parian alphabet. It took its name from Galepsus, who, tradition tells us, was a son of the Phoenician Thasos.[415] If its name is in fact Thracian,[416] it confirms that before the first colonists from Thasos reached these parts, the area was inhabited by Thracians. And Thracian presence here is probably indicated by bronze finger-rings with figure-of-eight terminals found in graves.[417] Furthermore, Hecataeus refers to the city as πόλιν Θράκης τε Παιόνων. The presence of a local population before the colonists arrived is also confirmed by finds from the Bronze and the Early Iron Age. Some are probably Mycenaean.[418] Part of the *acropolis* of the Greek colony has been investigated, together with its fortifying wall and cemeteries.[419] The oldest finds from here date to the 6th century and it is worth mentioning the discovery of terracotta larnaces with painted or relief decoration. There is evidence of the cults of Zeus Ktesios, Patroios and Herkeios at Galepsus, while a number of Late Archaic inscriptions on *horoi* (boundary stones) written in Thasian-Parian alphabet, refer to a sanctuary of Demeter, with a *hekatombedos* temple.[420]

Between Oesyme and Galepsus stood Apollonia,[421] whose name suggests that it may have been a colony; one which, owing to its position, may also, perhaps, have been part of the Thasians' colonial state. However, none of the finds to date support this[422] and there is no written evidence to this effect.

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[414] For the sources, see Sampsaris 1976, 72 n. 6. For Galepsus, see Collart 1937, 78–80; Isaac 1986, 9, 63–4; Sampsaris 1976, esp. 157–60; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 319–20; Papazoglou 1988, 398–9; Loukopoulou 2004a, 861. See also Lazaridis 1971b, figs. 64–65.

[415] See p. 75 above. Sampsaris (1976, 157) wonders whether this story was invented by the Thasian colonists.

[416] Detschew 1957, 98.

[417] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 320.

[418] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 320; Giouri and Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1987, 374–5. See also Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993, 687–8.

[419] Mylonas and Bakalakis 1938 Rhomiopoulou 1960, 218; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 319–20.

[420] Isaac 1986, 64 and nn. 354–355 (bibliography); Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1982a, 325–6; and in *Ellenikos* 1993, 190, no. 215.

[421] Collart 1937, 87–90; Isaac 1986, 65; Sampsaris 1976, esp. 156–7; Papazoglou 1988, 399–400; Loukopoulou 2004a, 858.

[422] The earliest pottery which has been collected on the hill on which the Byzantine tower stands dates to the 6th century B.C. See Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1990a, 494 n. 12.

As we have already said, Stryme is the easternmost known Thasian colony. Bakalakis located it on the archaeological site on the Molyvoti Peninsula, east of the Nestos, between Porto Lagos and Maroneia. Most scholars accept this view, but it has yet to be confirmed by, for instance, an inscription.[423] The geomorphology of the terrain strongly suggests that Stryme was originally an island and this is supported by certain written sources.[424] It also makes Bakalakis's identification more likely. In this case, the site would have been chosen for the greater security which it afforded its inhabitants; a vital consideration, given that the colony was quite remote from the metropolis and therefore more vulnerable to any attack from its neighbours, who did not welcome the Thasians' expansion into their territory. It is known that the Maronites tried to occupy Stryme as early as Archilochos' time.[425] And we know of other cases where colonists opted, for reasons of security, to settle on a small island not far from, and with easy access to, the mainland. The Thasians must have used Stryme as a station for commercial exchange with the Thracians and it also gave them access to the fertile hinterland of Thrace. We do not know when it was founded; but the fact that it lies east of Abdera, which was apparently founded in 656–652 B.C.,[426] probably suggests that, when the Thasians-Parians reached these parts, Ionian colonists had already settled here, and so they were forced to move on even further east. This is precisely why Stryme was eventually established in a rather remote place in relation to the other Thasian settlements on the Thracian seaboard; and, as we have mentioned before, for a while it was probably not the only Thasian foundation in the area.[427] At any rate, it cannot have been founded very much before or after the mid-7th century B.C., because Archilochos mentions a quarrel between Thasians and Maronieians for possession of Stryme.[428] The earliest finds from hereabouts date to the end of the 6th century.[429] A technical work that was surprisingly large for this area

[423] Bakalakis 1958, esp. 91–4. See also Lazaridis 1971b, fig. 71. For reservations, see Isaac 1986, 70–1; Terzopoulou 2000, 181; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 127, 130, 287–8. For Stryme, see also Loukopoulou 2004b, 880–4.

[424] Bakalakis 1958, 95–7.

[425] Bakalakis 1958, 95–6 n. 1.

[426] See p. 91 below.

[427] See p. 80 above.

[428] See above and n. 425.

[429] Bakalakis 1967, 38–40. For the excavations in this area, see Terzopoulou 2000; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 287–90.

and this period is quite admirable: it is an underground water-supply system with cisterns, tunnels and wells, which was probably constructed in the 6th or in the first half of the 5th century B.C.[430] Excavations have also uncovered houses and underground beehive-shaped spaces, stretches of a fortifying wall and cemeteries with noteworthy grave goods, all dating to the 5th or 4th century B.C.[431] Two inscriptions of the last decades of the 5th or the early decades of the 4th century B.C., found in Stryme, are of particular interest; the first of them testifies to the practice here of the cults of Athena and Zeus Orios, while the second to that of Podaleirios, Machaon, Periesto and Athena.[432] The cult of Asclepius and his children has not yet been confirmed at such an early date on Thasos itself.

Apart from colonies, there were also *emporia*, or commercial stations, on the Θασίων ήπειρον ή περαίαν. It must be noted that it is often difficult to clearly distinguish between a colony and an *emporion*. Each ancient writer had his own criteria for describing a city as one or the other, and furthermore, as time went by, a colony might be 'demoted' to an *emporion* or an *emporion* might be 'promoted' to the status of a colony.[433] Although Antisara[434] is not specifically mentioned in the ancient sources as a Thasian *emporion*, there can be little doubt that it was. Written tradition (Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Antisara) mentions it as the port of the Datonians. Its site has been firmly located at Kalamitsa, a suburb of modern Kavala. Antiquities uncovered on a

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[430] Significantly, the city's name is semantically connected with water. See Bakalakis 1958, 97.

[431] For the excavations in the cemeteries, see also Triantaphyllos 1992; 1993; 2000. For the funerary monuments of the area, see Terzopoulou 2000. According to archaeological data, Stryme's heyday was in the 5th and the first half of the 4th century B.C., while the city seems to have been abandoned after 350 B.C. See Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 287.

[432] Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 289–92, nos. E107 and E108 (including bibliography), where the presence of those cults in Stryme is understood under the Athenian influence; *cf.* p. 87 below. For the inscription referring to the Asclepiads, see also Kranioti 1990.

[433] See Bresson and Rouillard 1993, esp. 163–70 (A. Bresson). *Cf.* Hansen 1997a–d, esp. 1997d. with bibliography. For more bibliography on the *emporia*, see also Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 126 n. 7. For an updated and enlarged version of Hansen 1997d, see Hansen 2006.

[434] For Antisara, see Bakalakis 1935, 41–2; Sampsaris 1976, esp. 152–3; Isaac 1986, 10, 65; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 314–7; Loukopoulou 2004a, 856.

small peninsula here include a fortifying wall and houses.[435] Antisara's proximity to Neapolis fully justifies the latter's more precise identification as the Νεάπολις παρ' Αντισάραν found in the tribute lists of the First Athenian League. The walls of the township date to the end of the 6th century B.C., as does the earliest phase of the houses which have been uncovered. It was surprising to find a sanctuary of Asclepius here,[436] because its earliest phase dates to at least the beginning of the 4th century B.C., while, as we have already said, archaeological evidence to date suggests that the cult of Asclepius appeared in the metropolis itself at a later date.[437] Could it be that his cult came to Antisara from Athens via nearby Neapolis, which, at the end of the 5th century B.C., when the cult of Asclepius was introduced to Athens, and in the first half of the 4th century B.C., is known to have had close relations with Athens?[438] Excavations in the sanctuary indicate that the cult of Asclepius replaced another, local, cult,[439] which had existed here since the end of the 6th century. The area has also yielded pottery with indications of Thasian-Parian influence, dating to the 7th century B.C.

The antiquities which have come to light on two hills east and west of Nea Karvali, east of Kavala, also probably belong to one or two Thasian *emporia*.[440] The first of these two sites, according to H. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, is more likely to be identifiable as Akontisma, a Roman station on the Via Egnatia, which must originally have been a Thasian *emporion*.[441] A fortifying wall has been located here which may date to the end of the 4th century B.C. Another has also been located on the second site and is dated more firmly to *ca.* 500 B.C.[442] We cannot exclude the possibility that these two sites are related to a single ancient settlement, which was in the proximity of rich mineral

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[435] For the excavations, see Bakalakis 1935 (*cf.* Oikonomos 1935); Bakalakis 1936b; 1937, 64–7; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 315–6, including bibliography relating to the latest excavations.

[436] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 315–6.

[437] See, for example, Salviat 1958, 251–2.

[438] See, for example, Lazaridis 1969, 22–5. See n. 432 above.

[439] Voutiras 1993, 253 believes that the principal deity of the sanctuary was Apollo.

[440] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 320–5.

[441] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 321; 1972. For Akontisma, see also Isaac 1986, 12, 69; Sampsaris 1976, 162–6, including bibliography; Papazoglou 1988, 404–5; Loukopoulou 2004a, 856.

[442] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 320–1; 1973; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (1980a, 324 n. 79) does not discount the possibility that this may have been the site of Pistiros.

sources. This settlement should be identified as Skapte Hyle, which is usually placed in the area of Mt Pangaion.[443] Skapte Hyle is mentioned as a Thasian foundation already in the early 5th century B.C. and Herodotus tells us (6. 46. 2–3) that its goldmines were bringing Thasos an annual income of 80 talents at the beginning of the 5th century B.C. As Koukouli-Chrysanthaki points out, its location in the Pangaion area presupposes that the Thasians had already penetrated into inland areas of the gold-bearing Pangaion by the end of the 6th century B.C., which is hard to believe.[444] For instance, it was not until 360 B.C. that the Thasians managed to establish Crenides[445] on an inland site quite some distance from the coast. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki herself looks for Skapte Hyle east of Neapolis on the southern slopes of Mt Lekani, ancient Orbelos, in the area of Palaia Kavala.[446] The identification of the ancient township at Nea Karvali with the gold-bearing Skapte Hyle, where Thucydides is said to have owned mines, is further supported by the written sources, which note Σκαπτησύλη, πόλις Θράκης, μικρά αντικρύ Θάσου (Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Skaptesyle).

The location of settlements further east of Nea Karvali is not so easy, because of the drastic changes in the geomorphology of the area caused by the alluvial deposits left by the Nestos.[447] Stretches of a fortifying wall with some buildings inside it, all dating to the end of the 6th century B.C., have been located near the village of Pondolivado, on the plain to its east.[448] The movable finds, which include sherds of Thasian commercial amphorae and roof-tiles inscribed ΘΑΣΙΩΝ, indicate close connexions between the ancient township which stood here and Thasos. Some scholars have identified the site as the Thasian foundation Pistiros.[449] And indeed, the discovery of residue from metal (mainly silver) processing within the fortifying wall, the presence of ancient mine galleries in the nearby mountains north of the township[450] and the finding, in 1971, of a hoard of 55 silver coins of Thasos and

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[443] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 322.
[444] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 322–5.
[445] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1973, 237–40; 1980a, 324; 1990, 507 n. 93.
[446] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 323; 1990a, 507–10.
[447] Oikonomidou 1990; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 325.
[448] For Skapte Hyle, see Isaac 1986, 27–9, 31–4; D. Müller 1987, 100–1; Sampsaris 1976, 37–40, 144–5; Loukopoulou 2004a, 857.
[449] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1990a, esp. 494–7. See also Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 313 (before n. 27), 323–4 (continuation of n. 77). For Pistiros, see D. Müller 1987, 88; Loukopoulou 2004a, 866–7.
[450] For Crenides, see n. 462 below.

Neapolis dating to the early 5th century B.C.[451] indicate that this has been the site of an important city of the Thasian Peraia, probably Pistiros, which Herodotus (7. 109) locates to the west of the Nestos and describes as a coastal city of the Thasian Peraia.[452]

A Roman inscription from the time of Trajan which was found just to the north-east of Pondolivado, more specifically in the area of Petropiyi, confirms that the Thasian Peraia reached as far as here at least from the 4th century B.C., which is when the Thasians were engaged in their last known colonial activities.[453] An ancient tower which survives in the north-west of the community of Lefki probably marks the boundary of the Thasian Peraia in this area.[454]

The identification a few years ago of another Thasian *emporion* much further north, near the village of Vetren near Plovdiv in Bulgaria and beside the Maritsa, has led to considerable debate. With the help of an inscription of the late 4th century B.C., which has a number of Ionian features and contains regulations pertaining to the Thasian *emporion* of Pistiros, which also had a riparian harbour, the archaeological site in this area has been identified as Pistiros itself.[455] However, this view has not been unanimously accepted.[456] Herodotus (7. 109) tells of a mainland city named Pistiros (which we have already encountered above), near a lake just to the west of the River Nestos, through which the Persian army passed on Xerxes' campaign against southern Greece.[457] Xerxes' troops could not possibly have marched so far north, in the territory of what is now Bulgaria, so, if we accept the aforementioned identification, we must suppose there were two places with this name

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[451] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1990a, esp. 512–4.

[452] The alluvial deposits laid down by the Nestos have certainly brought about considerable geomorphological changes in the area. See Polychronidou-Loukopoulou 1989. In the ancient period, the archaeological site at Pondolivado must have been closer to the sea.

[453] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 323.

[454] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 323–4 (continuation of n. 77); 1967, 422 and n. 15.

[455] Velkov and Domaradzka 1994; 1996. For the city's Thracian name and its harbour, see respectively Lazova 1996; Bouzek 1996, 221–2. For the excavations in Pistiros generally, see Bouzek *et al.* 1996; 2002; 2007.

[456] See, for example, the articles of Salviat 1999; Bravo and Chankowski 1999; Tsetskhladze 2000b; 2003, 152–5.

[457] For possible sites of this city, see Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 324; 1990a, 510–1 n. 108. See also p. 87 above and n. 442.

in the region, a city and an *emporion*. This possibility is also supported by ancient literary evidence.[458]

The written sources give names of other parts of the Thasian Peraia, such as Daton, for instance.[459] This may be the name of both an area and a township[460] and its goldmines mentioned in the sources must be sought in the area of Eleutheroupolis, near Neapolis, and not in the area of the Strymon.[461] This is supported by ancient writers, who tell us that Antisara was the port of the Datonians (Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Antisara). As we know, the exceptionally rich goldmines in this area gave rise to such expressions as Δάτον αγαθών and αγαθών αγαθίδας (Strabo 7 fr. 36). Crenides[462] was founded in 360/59 B.C. on the fertile plain of Philippi, near gold deposits. The Thasians managed to mint coins with the inscription ΘΑΣΙΟΝ ΗΠΕΙΡΟ in this colony of theirs, before Philip II seized it four years later. The colonies and *emporia* of the Thasian Peraia never managed to throw off the tutelage of their metropolis. The only exceptions, as we have seen, were Neapolis, which was very soon minting its own coins, and Galepsus and Oesyme in the 4th century B.C.[463] Galepsus may well have achieved a degree of independence, at least for a time, already in the 5th century B.C., since it was paying separate tribute to the First Athenian League.[464]

For many years, the Thasians managed to prevent all other powers from infiltrating their Peraia, apart from the area of the Strymon. Most of their colonies and *emporia* were built on fortified sites, a number of which also afforded access to the sea, had fertile land and were also very close to areas with rich deposits of precious metals. However, their proximity to the metropolis, together with their limited size, meant that they were never able to develop into large cities and gain independence.

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[458] Velkov and Domaradzka 1996, 209; Archibald 2004, 895–6 (with relevant discussion).

[459] For Daton, see Bakalakis 1936a, 38; Sampsaris 1976, 34–5, esp. 148–9; D. Müller 1987, 45–7; Counillon 1998; Loukopoulou 2004a, 859–60. *Cf.* also Samartzidou 1990, 577–8, who locates Daton on the Vasilaki hill, to the south of Amygdaleon, Kavala prefecture.

[460] It is unlikely to be identifiable as Crenides, as has been asserted. See Collart 1937, 42–4.

[461] Counillon 1998; Isaac 1986, 30 and n. 151; Sampsaris 1976, 148–9.

[462] For Crenides, see Collart 1937, 39–42, 133–5; Sampsaris 1976, 34–5, 75, esp. 146–9; Isaac 1986, 28, 49–50; Loukopoulou 2004a, 861–2. For traces of prehistoric habitation in the citadel of Philippi, see Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993, 683.

[463] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 312; Isaac (1986, 65) erroneously speakes of an Archaic bronze coin of Oesyme.

[464] *ATL* 1, 252–3, 477; Isaac 1986, 48.

But they played an important part in Hellenising Thrace's Aegean littoral and in disseminating Hellenic culture through the interior of Thrace.

Ionian Colonisation to the East of the River Nestos

Naturally enough, the Thasians-Parians tried to consolidate themselves mainly in the areas nearest their island, for it was these which afforded access to rich mineral sources. They thus left room east of the Nestos for other Greek cities to found colonies. Though this area does not appear to have had much mineral wealth, it did have, among other things, fertile tracts of low-lying land and rich pasturage. In his paean to the Abderites (2. 25–26, 60), Pindar refers to Thrace as γαίαν αμπελόεσσάν τε και εύκαρπον and πολύδωρον όλβον, while to Homer (*Iliad* 11. 222) it is εριβώλακα and μητέρα μήλων. Somewhere between 656 and 652 B.C., at about the same time as Archilochos arrived on Thasos, settlers from Clazomenae led by Timesias (or Timesios) founded Abdera,[465] a city which was to overcome considerable difficulties and become for many years a major economic, military and cultural centre of the North Aegean.[466] Let us not forget, for instance, that Democritus, the father of atomic theory, was a native of Abdera. According to written sources, this Clazomenian colony soon collapsed, being unable to withstand the pressure of the local Thracians (probably the Sintians, the Sapaians and the Bistonians). However, about a 100 years after Timesias' attempt, Ionians, once again, but this time from Teos, seeking to evade the Persian yoke, left their native city in 545 B.C. (as Ionians from other cities did, too) and waged harsh battles with the Thracians to settle in Abdera.[467] Among them was the lyric poet Anacreon, who,

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[465] Isaac 1986, 78–9; Graham 1992 (2001), 272–5. Strabo (7 fr. 43) tells us that Abdera was inhabited by Thracians of Bistonian origin. For pre-Hellenic settlements in the Abdera area, see Lazaridis 1971c, 7; Triantaphyllos 1987–90, 299.

[466] For Abdera, see Lazaridis 1971c; Isaac 1986, 73–108; D. Müller 1987, 37–9; Graham 1992 (2001) (including bibliography); Veligianni-Terzi 2004, 37–40; Loukopoulou 2004b, 872–5; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, esp. 157–60. See also Skarlatidou 1984b; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1986; Kallintzi *et al.* 1998. See also bibliography in n. 469 below.

[467] Isaac 1986, 80–1; Graham 1992 (2001), 276–9; Lazaridis 1971c, 7–8.

unlike Archilochos, had fond memories of the 'Thracian land' and so referred to Abdera as the καλή Τηίων αποικίη.[468]

The recent excavations at Abdera, whose site has been firmly located on Cape Bouloustra on the west side of the bay of Porto Lagos on Bistonis lagoon, have produced much new information and added considerably to our knowledge of the city's early history.[469] First of all, they have shown that Abdera was not abandoned in the late 7th or early 6th century B.C., as the written sources suggest. Clazomenian dominion here may have ended in around 600 B.C., but some (even if few) Clazomenians remained, presumably under Thracian domination.[470] As we have already noted, Isaac asserts, though without supporting evidence, that the Thasians were probably active in the area after the Clazomenian collapse.[471] One unexpected recent find is a second enclosure, the first phase of which dates to the third quarter of the 7th century B.C.[472] (Fig. 27). It lies to the north of the known wall, which dates to the 4th century B.C. Geophysical investigations have shown that when the more northerly, earlier enclosure was built, the sea formed a bay directly to the south of it, with a natural harbour.[473] This explains why the first Clazomenians settled so far to the north. However, the Nestos changed course and the delta silted up, closing off the harbour. Yet maintaining its connexion with the sea was of vital importance to Abdera; so the city had to be relocated a short distance southward, where there were probably two harbours, one of them artificial.[474] The view that the alluvial deposits carried down by the Nestos gradually pushed the sea away and created marshland is indirectly confirmed by the findings of palaeopathological tests conducted on bones from burials here dating to that period. The bones present clear evidence of

[468] Isaac 1986, 81–5.

[469] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1987a; 1988b; 1994, 33–5, 38–41, 47–50; 1997b; Skarlatidou 1988; 1989; 1992; Kallintzi 1991; 1993. For the earlier excavations, see Lazaridis 1950. For references, see Lazaridis 1971c, 2 (bibliography at the end of the study); 1971a; 1976c; 1978; 1979b. See also Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1982d; 1983b; 1987b; 1988c; 1989b; 1991; 1992b; 2004; Skarlatidou 2004; Triantaphyllos 2004; Kallintzi 2004; Samiou 2004.

[470] Skarlatidou 2000, esp. 325–8.

[471] Isaac 1986, 79–80.

[472] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1997b, 715–6, 719–22.

[473] Psilovikos and Syridis 1997. A dockyard has also been discovered in the area of the harbour. See Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1997b, 720–1.

[474] Lazaridis 1971c, 30, 40–1.

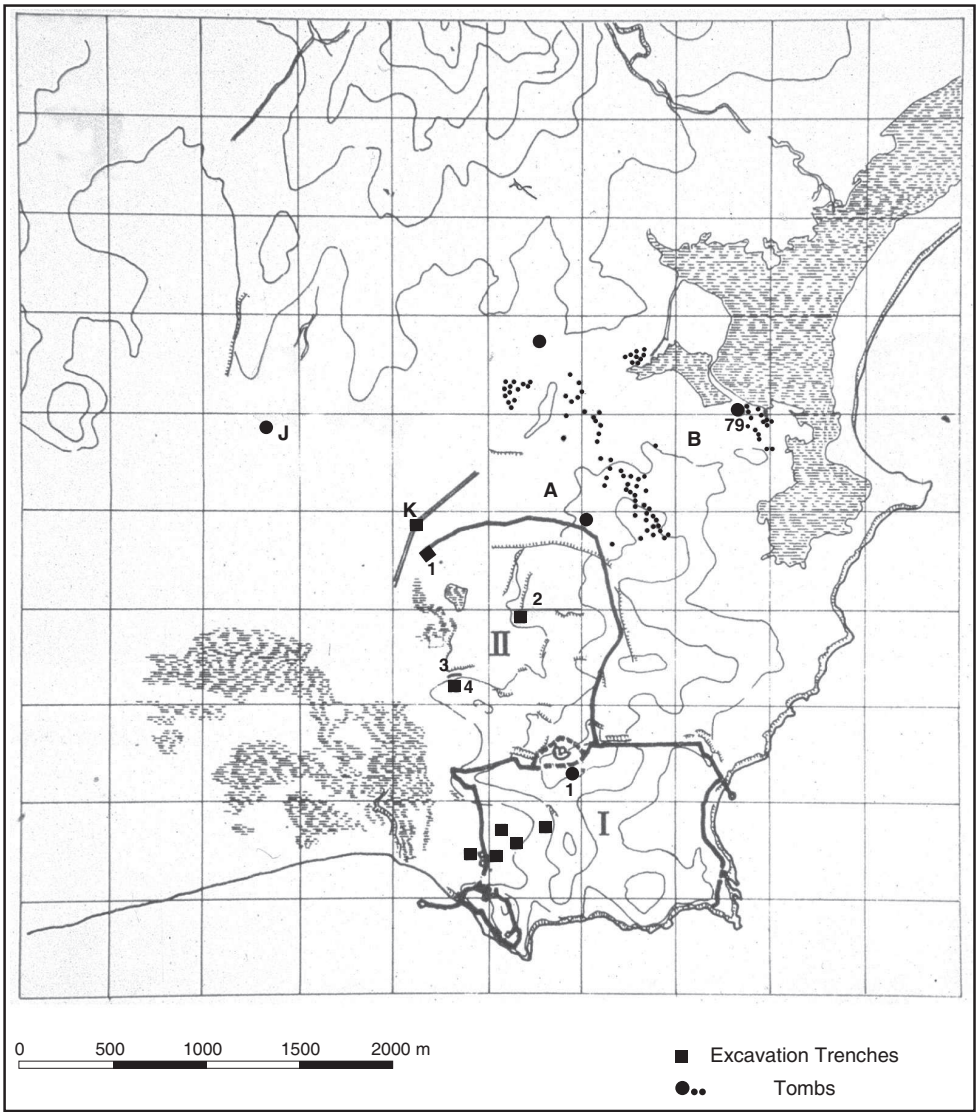

Fig. 27. Abdera: plan of the ancient city (after Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2004, 237, fig. 4).

malaria,[475] a disease which, written sources confirm, was a real scourge at Abdera.[476] So it too may well have played a part in the Clazomenians' failure to withstand the Thracian pressure.[477]

The first phase of the older enclosure was presumably built by the Clazomenians. It has a later phase, however, which dates to around 500 B.C. and must have been connected with the Teians.[478] So, having first made the necessary repairs, the first Teian colonists must have used the already existing enclosure. Megaroid houses, some with an apse at one end, date to the end of the 7th century,[479] while the earliest phase of an important sanctuary which has been found very close to the older wall dates to the end of the 6th century.[480] Any Clazomenians still living in the area would probably have helped the Teians to settle here. Moreover, Clazomenians from Asia Minor may well have participated in the Teians' colonial venture, for Clazomenae lies very close to Teos and it is known that colonial enterprises were often carried out by inhabitants of many different cities. Archilochos tells us, significantly enough, that πανελλήνων οϊζύς ες Θάσον συνέδραμεν. And this explains why the Teians venerated Timesios of Clazomenae as hero-founder of their colony.[481] According to evidence provided also by Pindar, it seems that the Teians settled here after violent clashes with the Thracians.[482]

The excavations have, additionally, uncovered graves in various places north of the older enclosure.[483] Densely clustered in a thick layer of sea sand, they include some which date to the time of the first Clazomenian settlement (Fig. 28). Infants were buried in vessels, which means that jar burial was practised here, as we know it was elsewhere. For adults there was inhumation and cremation. Among the grave goods were

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[475] Agelarakis in Skarlatidou 2000, esp. 3–5 (appendix 2).

[476] See also Lazaridis 1971c, 33.

[477] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1988b, 54–5; Skarlatidou (2000, esp. 324–5) exaggerates somewhat when she asserts that 'the first colonists' greatest enemy was the high infant and child mortality caused by the bad local climate, and not the assaults of their Thracian neighbours.'

[478] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1997b, 719–22.

[479] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1994, 38–9.

[480] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1997b, 720.

[481] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1988b, 55–6. For the cult of Timesios, see Isaac 1986, 78–9.

[482] Isaac 1986, 85–6; Graham 1992 (2001), 278–81.

[483] Kranioti 1987; Kallintzi 1990; 1995; Skarlatidou 1986; 1987; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1994; and esp. Skarlatidou 2000.

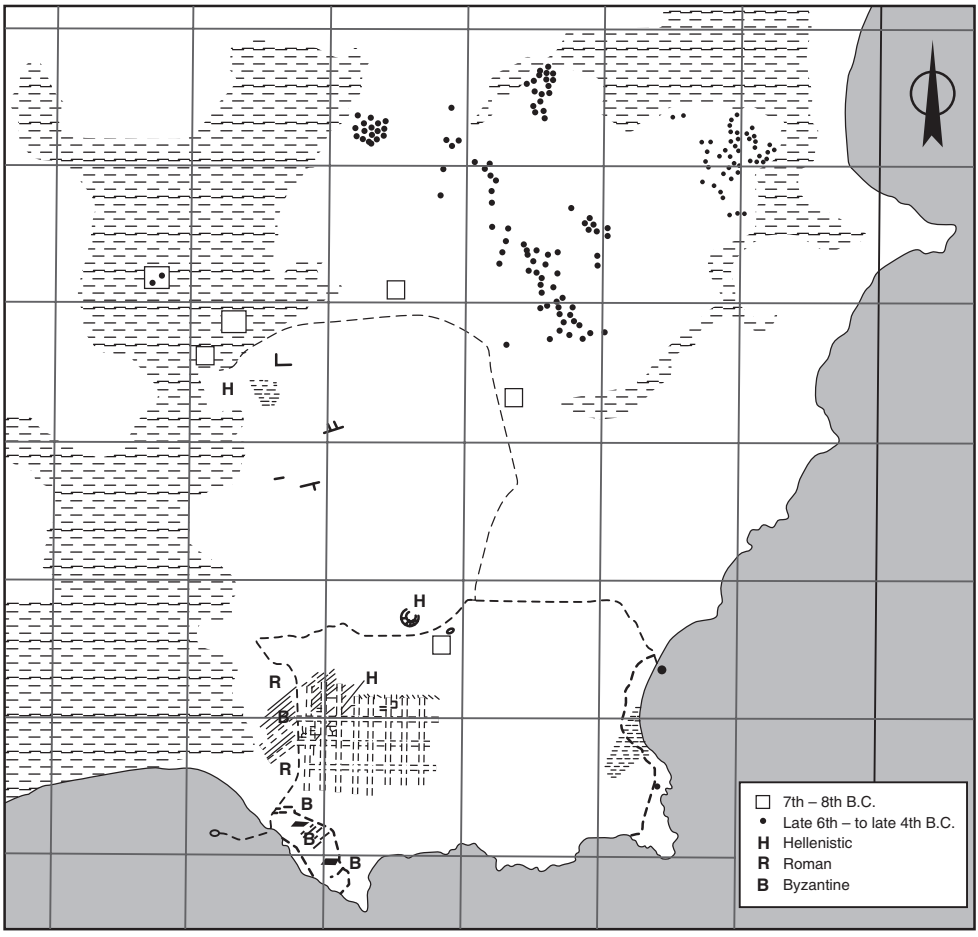

Fig. 28. Abdera: view of the 'Clazomenian' cemetery.

Ionian vessels of the 7th century B.C., including Clazomenian wares, as well as Corinthian pottery of the Late Protocorinthian and the so-called Transitional period. Burials dating to the first half of the 6th century B.C. have also been investigated, confirming that life continued at Abdera in this period; and there are also burials from the second half of the 6th century B.C., which must be connected with the Teians. Some of the latter were in sarcophagi of poros or clay. The grave goods from the second half of the 6th century B.C. include wares from Attica, Corinth, East Greece and Chalcidice.[484] The Abdera cemeteries have also yielded two groups of finds which are very characteristic of the Ionian world. They are stone grave stelai, some of them crowned with a palmette[485] (Fig. 29) and painted clay Clazomenian sarcophagi.[486] The latter were probably made by Clazomenian craftsmen who had settled at Abdera. They were probably the same craftsmen as those who made the similar sarcophagi found elsewhere in northern Greece.[487]

As we have already said, the Teians' colony soon began to thrive. After a number of battles—one of which is said to have taken place in the area of Pangaion[488]—the Abderites advanced into the interior of Thrace and they established a powerful city-state.[489] They even founded a second city within their territory, named Bergepolis, which may be identifiable as the ancient township near the modern village of Koutso.[490] The Abderan economy was based on agriculture (grain production, for instance), stockbreeding, fishing and above all trade.[491] One indication of this is the fact that the city started minting coins almost as soon as the Teians settled there and Abderan coins have been found even in very far-flung parts of the ancient world, for example Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia and southern Turkey.[492] The fact that they

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[484] The so-called pre-Persian pottery from the excavations at Olynthus.
[485] See Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1988b, 52–8.
[486] Triantaphyllos 1997; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1970.
[487] See p. 56 and n. 264 above.
[488] See Lazaridis 1971c, 22; Isaac 1986, 85–6; Skarlatidou 1984b, 148–9.
[489] For the 'land' of Abdera, see Skarlatidou 1990a. See also Lazaridis 1971c, 22–3.
[490] Triantaphyllos 1973–74; Loukopoulou 2004b, 877. See also Skarlatidou 1984b, 149 and n. 25; 1990a, 616.
[491] Lazaridis 1971c, 4–6, 14, 23–6.
[492] For the coinage of Abdera, see May 1966; Chrysanthaki 2000. See also Isaac 1986, 86–9; Lazaridis 1971c, 6, 14–5, 24, 26; Chrysanthaki 2004a. The latter asserts that 'recent numismatic finds place the beginning of the mint's activity in the years of 520/515 B.C.' (Chrysanthaki 2004a, 311).

Fig. 29. Abdera: palmette from the top of a grave stele, 5th century B.C.

include such large denominations as octadrachms, in association with their wide distribution, has prompted some scholars to assert that Abdera exported silver. According to some scholars, the Abderites established their own currency standard, which was also used by the mints of other cities in the area, such as Maroneia and nearby Dikaia.[493] Just like those of the metropolis, the coins of Abdera display a griffin. For that matter, Abdera maintained very close ties with Teos at a political, religious and legal level, even in later years.[494] And we also have here the rare case of a colony, Abdera, helping to re-establish its own metropolis.[495] The excavations at Abdera have also turned up a large number of

[493] According to Smith (1999, 19–20) it was based on a tetradrachm weighing approximately 14.7 g. The standard weights used in the mints of Macedonia and Thrace in the Archaic and Classical periods are still being investigated. *Cf.* Psoma 2000b. Fundamental studies on this subject are those by Raymond 1953, esp. 19–22 (essentially for central Macedonia); and May 1966 (for eastern Macedonia and Thrace).

[494] See, for example, Graham 1991 (2001), with bibliography; 1992 (2001), with bibliography. See also Lazaridis 1971c, 27; Veligianni-Terzi 1997, 691–705 and n. 53 (bibliography); Loukopoulou and Parisaki 2004.

[495] Graham 1991 (2001); 1992 (2001), 283; Veligianni-Terzi 1997, 692–5.

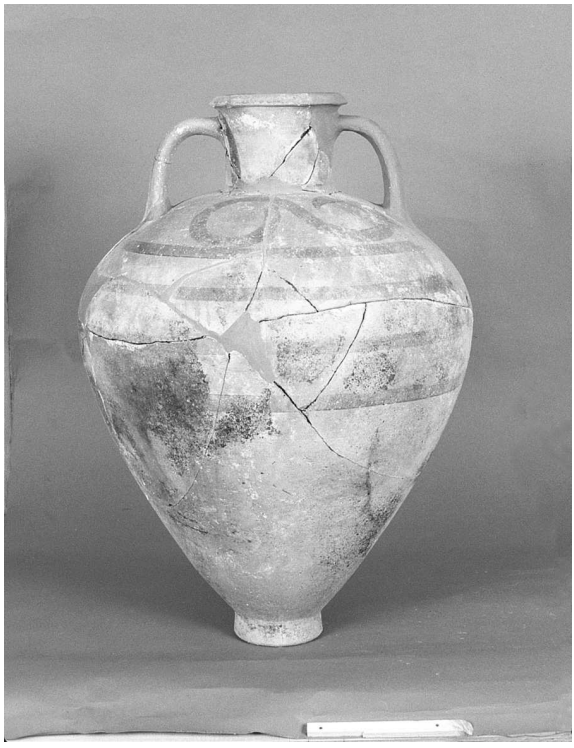

Fig. 30. Abdera: Clazomenian commercial amphora.

Archaic commercial amphorae from many parts of the ancient Greek world, such as Chios, Attica, Corinth and East Greece, including, naturally, Clazomenae (Fig. 30).[496] There is also high-quality Archaic pottery from various parts of ancient Greece. Abdera's wealth in the Late Archaic period is also confirmed by its lavish hospitality towards the Persian troops and towards Xerxes himself during his campaign against southern Greece (Herodotus 7. 120). Another indication is the 15 talents which it was paying into the treasury of the First Athenian League at a certain time of the 5th century B.C.; while in 425 B.C., Abdera and nearby Dikaia were together required to pay the League the incredible sum of 75 talents, most of which would certainly have come from the Abderites.[497]

[496] Skarlatidou 2000, 287–90.
[497] Isaac 1986, 94–5, 98–9.

The fact that one of the city's major deities was Apollo may mean that the Teians undertook their colonial venture under the guidance of the Delphic Oracle. Some scholars believe that the priest of Apollo was also the city's supreme *archon*.[498] Thracian elements here may have crept into the cult of Apollo, who bore the epithet Derenos.[499] As on Teos, another important cult was that of Dionysus, which must also have been affected by Thracian influences here.[500] Of the other cults known at Abdera, it is worth mentioning that of Hecate, a cult which must originally have come from the metropolis,[501] though it soon picked up Thracian elements too. Some scholars identify Hecate here with the local Bendis and even with Parthenos, whom we also find in Neapolis. We do not know how or when the tradition came about that Abdera was founded by Heracles himself, in honour of his friend Abderos, killed and devoured by the man-eating horses of Diomedes, king of Thrace.[502] The Abderites honoured Abderos, who was a son of Poseidon and the Naiad Thronia, with athletics contests.[503] The myth probably relates to unsuccessful efforts by Mycenaeans, or even settlers of the first Greek colonisation, to settle in the area.[504] And a Mycenaean presence is probably also indicated by the existence at Abdera of the cult of Jason, with a temple dedicated to him, from at least the 4th century B.C.[505]

Settlers from various parts of Ionia arrived in Aegean Thrace in the first half of the 7th century B.C. They included Chians, who played a leading part in the founding of Maroneia on the south-west coastal slopes of Ismaros.[506] Precisely when this happened we do not know and excavations so far have not proved helpful in this respect;[507] but it

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[498] Münzer and Strack 1912, 6. Others have argued that the supreme *archon* was the *prytanis*. See Bousquet 1940–41, 103.

[499] Isaac 1986, 107; Graham 1992 (2001), 304–5.

[500] Isaac 1986, 83–4 (including bibliography).

[501] Isaac 1986, 107–8 (including bibliography); Graham 1992 (2001), 305.

[502] Isaac 1986, 77–8; Malkin (1987, 11, 56, 76, 131, 204, 208, 222) believes that the cult of Abderos gradually eclipsed that of Timesios.

[503] Lazaridis 1971c, 7. See also Veligianni-Terzi 1997, 702 n. 65.

[504] Sakellariou 1958, 222 n. 1.

[505] Isaac 1986, 108.

[506] For Maroneia, see Lazaridis 1972b; Isaac 1986, 111–4; D. Müller 1987, 70–2; Veligianni-Terzi 2004, 42–5; Loukopoulou 2004b, 878–84; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, esp. 130–1, 319–21. See also Bakalakis 1958, esp. 100–2; Schönert-Geiss 1979; Sarla Pentazou and Pentazos 1984; Karadima-Matsa 1997.

[507] For the excavations, see Pentazos 1971, 102–5; 1973; 1975; 1978; 1980, 1–2; 1982; 1983; Anagnostopoulou-Chatzipolychroni 1987; 1992; Karadima and Kokkotaki

must certainly have been before the mid-7th century B.C., because, as we have already seen, the Maroneians and the Thasians were quarrelling over Stryme in around 650 B.C.[508] The area of Maroneia is very well known in the Homeric epics.[509] Homer knows that Maron, priest of the temple of Apollo at Ismara and eponymous hero of Maroneia, came from these parts. After the Trojan War, Odysseus landed here and Maron offered him gifts of precious metals (it should be noted that mine galleries have been located in the surrounding area)[510] and the splendid Ismarian wine, with which he later intoxicated Polyphemus, the Cyclops, in order to escape from his cave. The tradition which placed Odysseus and the Cyclops in these parts survived for many years. Until the Roman period, if not later, there was a site named ρείθρον οδύσσειον in Thrace (on Lake Ismaris);[511] and even today there are at least two caves in Thrace named 'Cyclops' Cave', which have yielded finds from as early as the prehistoric period.[512]

The Ionians probably did not found a new city here. Ancient writers report that Maroneia was one of the three cities of the Kikones (Strabo 7 fr. 43), the Thracian warriors who lived in these parts and fought on the side of the Trojans during the Trojan War (Homer *Iliad* 2. 844–850). It is characteristic of the Chians to have declared the mythical Maron, son of Euanthes, hero-founder of their colony. They venerated him until late antiquity and his cult was always especially important to the city.[513] Moreover, he was connected with the prominant deity of Abdera, Dionysus.[514] It seems, then, that the colonists settled in an existing city, which they occupied either by force or, more probably, with the acquiescence of its native inhabitants. The Chians may well have been drawn to these parts by the splendid local wine, especially

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1993; Karadima[-Matsa] 1995. See also Leekley and Efstratiou 1980, 163–4. For the excavations and for full bibliography, see Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 335–8.

[508] Lazaridis 1972b, 10; Isaac 1986, 114.

[509] Isaac 1986, 113–4.

[510] Triantaphyllos 1987–90, 304. See also Isaac 1986, 112 and n. 215. The fact that the name of Maroneia was given to a metalliferous area of Laurion may indicate the presence of mines in this area. See Lazaridis 1972b, 28, 32.

[511] Bakalakis 1958, 97–8.

[512] One in the area of Maroneia (Triantaphyllos 1987–1990, 302–3; Pentazos 1971, 87–8; Lazaridis 1972b, 26) and the other on the shore of Makri (Triantaphyllos 1987–90, 308; Pantos 1974).

[513] Triantaphyllos 1985; Lazaridis 1972b, 32.

[514] Isaac 1986, 113 n. 226, 114 n. 228; Valtchinova 1997, 268–73. According to Euripides (*Cyclops* 141–143), he was a son of Dionysus.

since they themselves were connoisseurs of how to produce excellent wine.[515] At the time when they settled in Aegean Thrace, Chian wine had begun to flood the international markets. Their 'compatriot' Homer knew of and praised Ismarian wine, as did the slightly later Archilochos;[516] and this indicates that production had not yet begun of Thasian wine, another splendid wine in the ancient period.[517] The exchange of secrets for producing good wine between the Chians and the Kikones may also have conduced to their peaceful co-existence.[518] The question of where the first Ionian colonists settled at the beginning remains unanswered. Excavations in ancient Maroneia itself (Fig. 31) have not uncovered any material remains earlier than the 4th century B.C. However, on Ayios Yeoryios peak on Ismaros, directly to the east of Maroneia, there are impressive precolonial fortifications, with finds contemporary with Troy VII B and 'with stretches of an enclosure of Cyclopean masonry and a monumental building-palace, which are reminiscent of the Mycenaean acropolises' (Fig. 31).[519] Apart from the fortified enclosure of this *acropolis*, there are also two 'long' walls, which run from the *acropolis* to the sea, enclosing and protecting a considerable area.[520] This is very probably the Kikones' Maroneia, where the first Ionian colonists settled, for this area has also yielded finds of the historical period.[521] If this identification is correct,[522] then Ismara, the Kikones' other city, with the sanctuary of Apollo (*Odyssey* 9. 39–42, 196–201), must have been located on Kremastos peak, between the modern villages of Ergani and Xylagani, on the north-western slope of Ismaros, where there survives an impressive fortifying wall with buildings, some of them apsidal, whose first phase dates to the time of Troy VII B.[523] This is an identification which has already been proposed by the connoisseur of

[515] *Cf.* Isaac 1986, 114.
[516] See Salviat 1990. For Maron and Ismarian wine, see also Valtchinova 1997.
[517] *Cf.* Isaac 1986, 114.
[518] Triantaphyllos 1987–90, 312.
[519] *Cf.* Triantaphyllos 1987–90, 302.
[520] Triantaphyllos 1987–90, 302; Bakalakis 1958, 102–5; Lazaridis 1972b, figs. 33–34, 36; Isaac 1986, 112 and n. 220 (bibliography).
[521] Bakalakis (1958, 104–5) considers it 'likely that the Maroneians walled only the top of Ayios Yeoryios at first, and much later on, the even higher Ayios Athanassios, which is the 4th-century citadel'.
[522] The fortifications on Ayios Yeoryios are usually associated with the Kikonian city of Ismaros or Ismara. See Triantaphyllos 1987–90, 302; Isaac 1986, 112–3 n. 220.
[523] Triantaphyllos 1987–90, 299–302; Bakalakis 1958, 83; Pentazos 1971; 1973; Lazaridis 1972b, fig. 35.

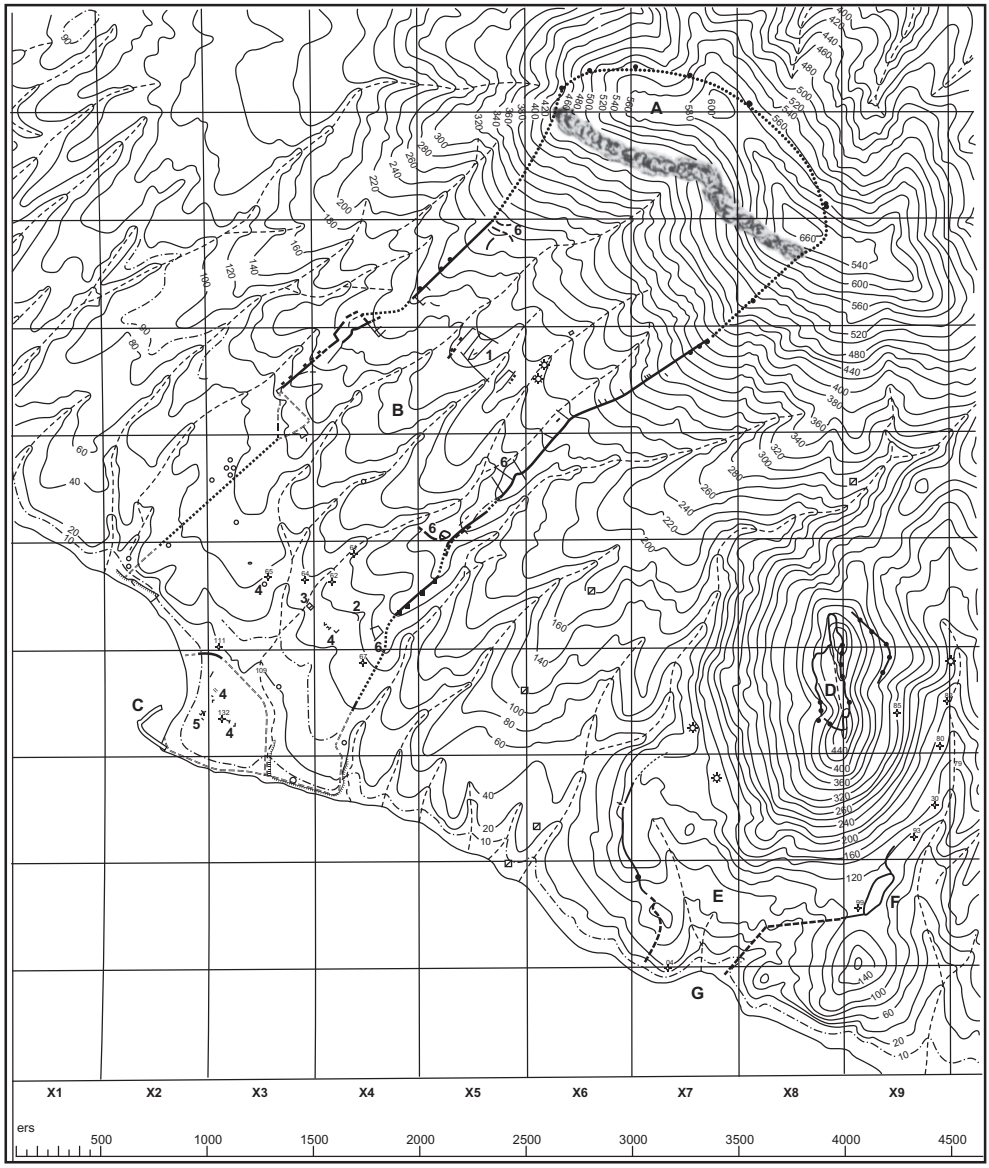

Fig. 31. Maroneia: plan of the ancient city and the nearby *acropolis* on Ayios Yeoryios (after Lazaridis 1972b, fig. 36).

the topography of Greek Thrace, G. Bakalakis.[524] In Ismara, according to tradition, there was the sanctuary of Maron (Strabo 7 fr. 44a), whose cult spread to other places, including Samothrace.[525] However, Maroneia itself and thus the Kikonian Maroneia must also have had a sanctuary of its eponymous hero. If the fragmentary architectural members of the Roman period, which have been found at Synaxis in the south-eastern foothills of Ayios Yeoryios, incorporated into the walls of an Early Christian basilica, do indeed come from a *heroon* of Maron, as has been proposed, then this *heroon* could have been transferred to this site from Kikonian Maroneia in the 2nd century A.D., presumably after the latter had been abandoned.[526] These identifications are further supported by the ancient written tradition, which places the Kikonian cities of Ismara and Maroneia nearby (Strabo 7 frs. 43, 44a). Apart, of course, from vines, the Maroneians' main sources of wealth must have been oil, timber, stockbreeding, fishing and various commercial activities that were assisted by the city's strategic location and its harbour.[527] At the end of the 6th century, they began to mint their own currency, with coins of small denomination at first, mainly to serve the needs of local trade, which in time came to cover a wide radius.[528] The earlier coins depict a galloping horse, which is probably a reference to the famed horses of Thrace. But most Maroneian coins depict grapes and Dionysus, the most important deity of the city. Maroneia must have exerted a considerable influence on the Thracians. The Odrysians, for instance, could not have produced their 5th-century B.C. coins without the influence of the Maroneians.[529] Maroneia was eventually contributing 10 talents to the treasury of the First Athenian League,[530] while in the 4th century B.C., the Maroneians were in a position to build one of the largest cities of the time in Greece proper, directly to the west of the old city, with walls whose total perimeter exceeded 10 km, enclosing an area of some 424 ha. They built the *acropolis* to the north, on Ayios Athanassios, the highest peak of Mt Ismaros; and they built

[524] Bakalakis 1958, 97.
[525] Lazaridis 1972b, 32.
[526] Bakirtzis 1987, 455–6; 1990, 578–83; Bakirtzis and Chatzmichalis 1991, 95–8; Bakalakis 1991.
[527] Lazaridis 1972b, 7–8, 14–5, 27–30.
[528] For the early coins of Maroneia, see May 1965b, 27–30; A. West 1929, 55–60; Schönert-Geiss 1987. See also Isaac 1986, 116–22; Lazaridis 1972b, 29–31.
[529] A. West 1929, 121, 135. See also Isaac 1986, 119–20.
[530] Isaac 1986, 117–8.

an important, partly artificial, harbour to the south.[531] It was on this coastal part of the city that Byzantine Maroneia developed.[532]

We do not know the provenance of the settlers who established a colony at what is now Katsamakia (or Boubaya) south-east of Lake Bistonis and north-east of Porto Lagos lagoon, between Abdera and Maroneia. They must certainly have been Ionians too, judging by the finds from this area, the oldest of which date to the second half of the 6th century B.C. and display a clear Ionian influence. With the help of ancient written sources and archaeological finds, Bakalakis identified the city as the Thracian Dikaia (or Dikaiopolis). In order to be distinguished from the other cities of the same name, it was also referred to as Δίκαια παρ' Ἄβδηρα.[533] We have already mentioned the tradition that its eponymous hero was Dikaios, a son of Poseidon (Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Dikaia).[534] Owing to the similarity between its coins, which depict the head of Heracles or a bull's head, and coins of Samos, some scholars believe that it may have been founded by Samians.[535] It should be remembered that the ancient written tradition confirms the presence of Samians in the North Aegean and the wider area, telling us, for instance, that Samothrace, Perinthus and Bisanthe on the Propontis were built by Samians;[536] while some scholars detect that Samos had relations even with Abdera in the first half of the 5th century B.C.[537] The depiction of Heracles on the coins of Dikaia was presumably due to the fact that that hero was active in the region. When, for instance, he was battling Diomedes, the king of the Bistonians, he opened up a crossing over Lake Bistonis by driving the lake water towards the

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[531] Lazaridis 1972b, 37, 39, figs. 36–37.

[532] Bakalakis 1958, 101–4.

[533] For Δίκαια παρ' Ἄβδηρα, see Bakalakis 1958, esp. 88–90; Lazaridis 1971c, 45–8; Isaac 1986, 109–11; D. Müller 1987, 47–8; Pantos 1985; Loukopoulou 2004b, 877–8; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 127, 130. Bakalakis's identification is further supported by the fact that this area has yielded silver and bronze coins of the city, the latest of which date to the 4th century B.C.

[534] See p. 44 above.

[535] Lazaridis 1971c, 50. For reservations, see Isaac 1986, 109–10; May 1965a, 2. Others have drawn stylistic parallels between the coins of Abdera and those of Chios (see Bakalakis 1958, 91), while, as we have already said (see p. 80 above), some do not discount the possibility that Dikaia was a Thasian colony.

[536] For Samothrace, see p. 110 below. For Perinthus and Bisanthe, see Isaac 1986, 204–6 and 212–3 respectively; Loukopoulou and Laitar 2004, 919–21 and 914–5 respectively.

[537] Isaac 1986, 93.

sea.[538] We do not know when that colony was founded. It was probably contemporary with, or slightly later than, Abdera. Very little written information about it survives.[539] Abdera and Dikaia, which also had a harbour, controlled the entrance to the gulf of Porto Lagos and Lake Bistonis. However, the dominant power in the locality was Abdera and Dikaia may well have been under Abderan control at various times. After all, as we have already noted, in 425 B.C., the two cities jointly paid a large contribution into the treasury of the First Athenian League.[540] Of considerable importance for the city's history are its attractive silver octadrachms (which probably indicate that Dikaia too traded in silver), which reached as far away as Egypt and date to the second half of the 6th century B.C. onwards.[541] The first ones to be struck were based on the Thasian currency standard, but that of Maroneia was probably used later on. There can be no doubt that the lack of systematic excavations here prevents us from knowing more about the history of this colony, which, apart from its commercial activities, would also have engaged in farming. A few recent, mostly rescue, excavations have revealed part of an Archaic cemetery with cremations and inhumations in stone and terracotta sarcophagi, as well as house foundations and a stretch of Classical fortifications.[542]

With very few exceptions, it is difficult to identify the sites of the subsequent Greek colonies to the east of Maroneia as far as the mouth of the Hebrus. This is the case, for instance, with Orthagoria (or Orthagoreia), a city first mentioned by Strabo (7 fr. 47).[543] Written sources indicate that it was located immediately to the east of Maroneia and as far as the Σέρρειος ἄκρα, which we shall discuss shortly. If Pliny (*NH* 4. 42) is correct in his assertion that Orthagoria was the older

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[538] Isaac 1986, 109–10 and n. 203.

[539] It has been gathered together by Bakalakis 1958, 89 n. 1. See also Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, T90, T165, T197, T227, T230.

[540] See p. 98 above. Dikaia itself paid much smaller amounts, up to 3,000 drachmas. See Isaac 1986, 110; Terzi 2004, 85.

[541] For the mint of Dikaia, see May 1965a, 1–5. See also Isaac 1986, 110; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 127 and n. 5.

[542] Triantaphyllos 1972; 1973.

[543] For this city, which has been identified variously with Drys, Zone, Mesembria and even Stagirus and Makri, see Lazaridis 1972b, 45–8; Isaac 1986, 123, 128 n. 21; Tsatsopoulou 1996, 922; Loukopoulou 2004b, 880; Chrysanthaki 2004b, 57–60; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 128–9. See also the discussion by Robert 1940, esp. 86–90. Chrysanthaki (2004b, 57) locates Orthagoria on the site of Gatos or on the coast of the modern village of Petrota, which is directly to the east of the Σέρρειος ἄκρα.

name of Maroneia, then we may locate it at Kikonian Maroneia, on the fortified Ayios Yeoryios peak just to the east of 4th-century B.C. Maroneia. Kikonian Maroneia has not been systematically excavated; but it does seem very likely that it kept on being inhabited after Greek Maroneia was built.[544] So we may suppose that Orthagoria was the name given by the Greeks to Kikonian Maroneia in order to distinguish it from the newer and much larger Maroneia. However, if we do not accept this hypothesis, there is the, at least theoretical, possibility that Orthagoria was located at ἄκρα Μαρωνείας, a site which, according to D. Triantaphyllos, should be identified as the Σέρρειος ἄκρα of the sources.[545] The relevant passage in Strabo (7 fr. 47), μετά τήν Μαρώνειαν Ορθαγορία πόλις καί τά περί Σέρρειον, παράπλους τραχύς…, does not contradict this hypothesis. We do not know when or whence the first colonists came to Orthagoria. The earliest indication of its presence on the historical scene dates to after the mid-4th century B.C., when it struck coins with Macedonian influence apparent in their weight and style.[546] It may not be mere coincidence that at approximately the same time as Orthagoria started issuing its own currency, neighbouring Maroneia was taken by Philip II and its gold and silver coins ceased to circulate for a while.[547] Could Orthagoria have been founded by Philip, or at least with his support?

The Σέρρειος ἄκρα is usually identified as the promontory of Ayia Paraskevi in Makri.[548] However, the fact that the sources describe it as the most important promontory in the area suggests that it might be better identified as ἄκρα Μαρωνείας, as Triantaphyllos suggests,[549] which is undoubtedly the most important promontory in the whole of modern western Thrace. It occupies an important fortified site, which afforded control over the east-west coastal route through Aegean Thrace, and it is a large promontory, which is indeed dangerous ('τραχύς') to sail around. This identification is also supported by Pliny's account

[544] See, for example, Lazaridis 1972b, 34–5, 42.
[545] Triantaphyllos 1987–90, 303.
[546] Lazaridis 1972b, 49–50; For Orthagoria's coins, see Chrysanthaki 2004b, 49–56.
[547] Lazaridis 1972b, 11–2, 30–1.
[548] See, for example, D. Müller 1987, 98; Bakalakis 1961, 15; Lazaridis 1971d, 39; *ATL* 1, 518.
[549] Triantaphyllos 1987–90, 303. *Cf.* Tsatsopoulou 1996, 922–3; Parisaki 2000–03, 353–4; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 131.

(*NH* 4. 42), which refers to the Σέρρειος ἄκρα as a mountain; for ἄκρα Μαρωνείας is in fact formed by the eastern extremity of Ismaros.

Samothrace and its Peraia

Identifying the location of the Σέρρειος ἄκρα is of great importance because this helps us to identify the rest of the Greek colonies further east, all of which, as far as the Hebrus, once belonged to the περαία των Σαμοθρακίων.[550] Their names are Drys, Mesembria, Zone, Sale, Tempyra and Charakoma.[551]

In the reliable tribute lists of the First Athenian League, Drys and Zone are defined as παρά Σέρρειον. Their location must therefore be sought near ἄκρα Μαρωνείας (= Σέρρειος ἄκρα) and necessarily just to the east of it. However, Herodotus (7. 108. 2) tells us that the western-most city on the Peraia of Samothrace was Mesembria—actually this is the only information we have about Mesembria. The first ancient city to have been firmly located immediately to the east of ἄκρα Μαρωνείας occupies a coastal site near the modern village of Mesembria. Excavations here are uncovering an important ancient city, which many scholars identify as Herodotus' Mesembria (Fig. 32).[552] Nevertheless, the discovery of hundreds of coins of Zone makes it very likely that the city which is being excavated is not Mesembria but Zone;[553] an identification which is supported by the fact that the number of coins of Zone found outside this particular archaeological site is exceptionally small, which indicates that the coins of this city (which began to mint its own currency in the 4th century B.C.) did not circulate widely.[554] Once

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[550] For the Samothracian Peraia, see Lazaridis 1971d; Isaac 1986, 125–37. See also Tsatsopoulou 1987–90.

[551] See pp. 114–17 below.

[552] For Mesembria, see Isaac 1986, 128; D. Müller 1987, 73; Bakalakis 1961, 12–4; Loukopoulou 2004b, 880. For the excavations until 1977, see Leekley and Efstratiou 1980, 164. See also Vavritsas 1976; 1977; 1978; 1979; 1980; 1981; 1983; Tsatsopoulou 1987; 1988; 1989; 1990; 1991; 1992; 1995; 1996; 1997 Tsatsopoulou *et al.* 1998. See also Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 508–10, including all the relevant bibliography.

[553] For Zone, see Loukopoulou 2004b, 881–2; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 505–8 including bibliography. See also n. 595 below.

[554] See Robert and Robert 1976, no. 464; 1977, no. 290; 1978, nos. 311–312; 1979, no. 282; 1980, no. 319; 1981, no. 326; 1982, no. 218; 1983, no. 266. Tsatsopoulou 1996, 920–1; 1997, 620–1; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 506–8. For the coins of Zone, see Galani-Krikou 1996; 1997; 1997, 633 for areas, other than Zone itself, in which coins of Zone have been found. For Zone, see also Robert 1940.

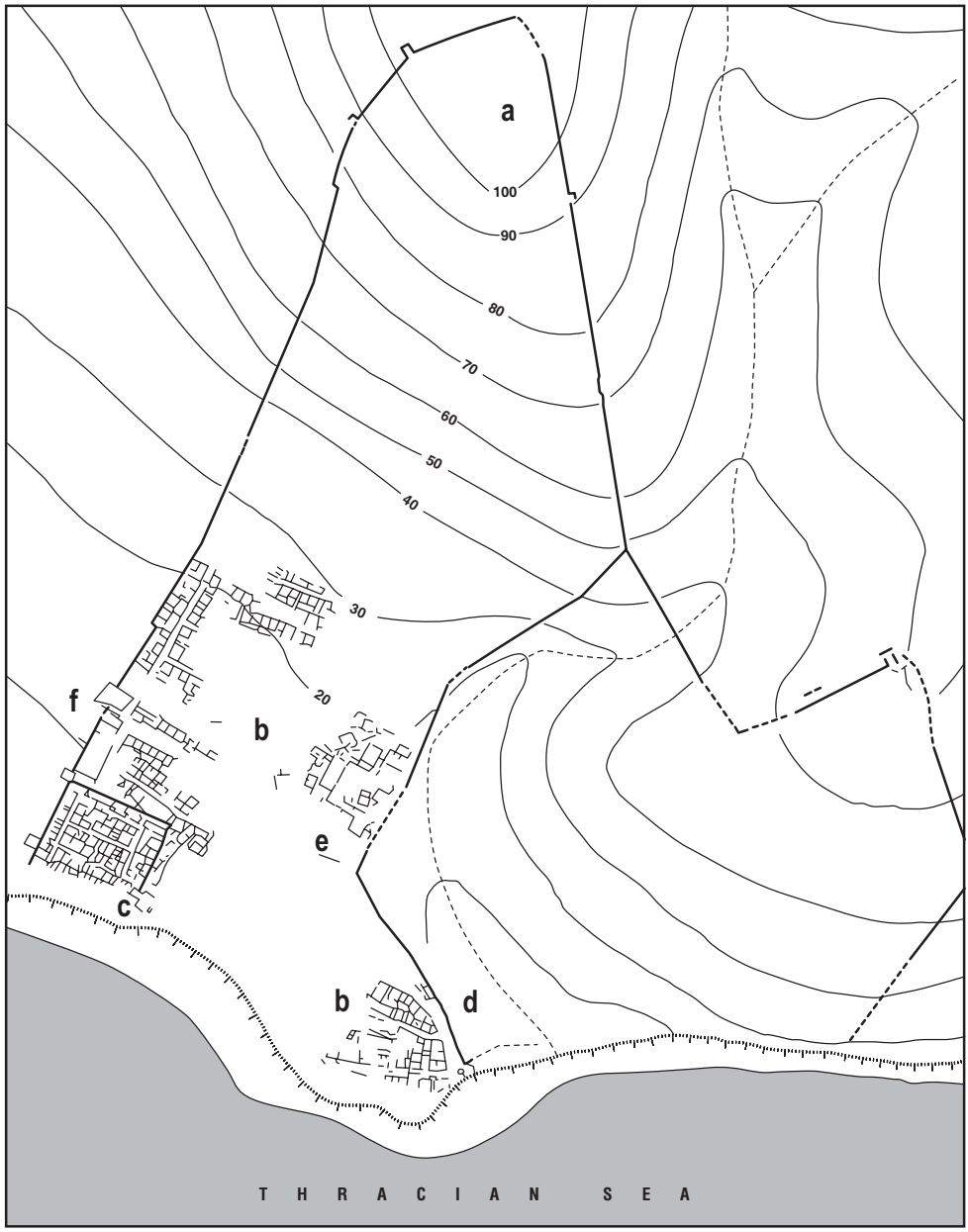

Fig. 32. Zone (Mesembria): plan of the ancient city (after Tsatsopoulou *et al.* 1998, 21, fig. 4).

we accept this identification (and if, of course, we accept Herodotus' assertion that Mesembria was at the western end of the Samothracian Peraia), then we must also accept that, between the ἄκρα Μαρωνείας and Zone, a distance of no more than 20 km as the crow flies, there were two more cities, Drys and Mesembria.[555] This seems very unlikely and at the same time it is not confirmed by the existing archaeological data, since antiquities have been found only at the site of Gatos.[556] The problem becomes less acute if we accept the view of some scholars who believe that Mesembria should be identified either with Zone[557] or with Drys.[558] In other words, it is not impossible that (the probably already existing) Mesembria was renamed at a certain time Zone or Drys.[559] Still, another explanation, mentioned by Loukopoulou, Parisaki, Psoma and Zournatzi seems to be more convincing. To be more precise, M. Zahrnt believes that Herodotus' reference to a city named Mesembria might have occurred due to a misunderstanding, on the part of the historian, of a locative adverb (μεσημβρία = south) which originally existed in the text of Hecataeus, probably the source used by Herodotus for the description of Xerxes' route through Thrace.[560] If this is the case, then it is obvious that no city of the name Mesembria ever existed in the Aegean Thrace.

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[555] According to Ps.-Skylax (*Periplous*, Thrace), Drys must have been to the west of Zone.

[556] Vavritsas 1967, 95; Lazaridis 1972b, 46. According to the aforementioned information provided by Ps.-Skylax (see previous note), this site could be identified as Drys. For Drys, which some scholars locate even to the east of Zone, for example on the coast near Dikella or even at Makri (see, for example, Isaac 1986, 129–30; Lazaridis 1971d, 39), see Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, esp. 501–2 (including bibliography). The antiquities which have come to light even further to the west, on the coast of the village of Petrota should probably not be connected with any settlement, see Triantaphyllos 1978, 302–3.

[557] Triantaphyllos 1987–90, 308.

[558] Seure 1900, 152; Perdrizet 1909, 35; Meyer 1976 (and *RE* Suppl. XV 94–6. *s.v.* Drys); D. Müller 1987, 74. See also Isaac 1986, 129. Tsatsopoulou (1996, 922) identifies Mesembria with Orthagoria.

[559] Since both Drys and Zone are mentioned by Hecataeus, they must have been founded before the end of the 6th century B.C.

[560] Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 508 n. 2.

Samothrace

There is no ancient written evidence about when Samothrace was colonised.[561] All we have is the information, and thus from somewhat later writers, that it was colonised from Samos.[562] This has been disputed by some scholars, who believe that this tradition arose at a later date out of the similarity between the two islands' names. Like the names of other Aegean islands, Samos is believed to be a Carian name,[563] which, if it is true, confirms that these islands had been inhabited in an earlier period by Carians.[564] Archaeological data from Samothrace show that Ionian elements co-existed with Aeolian elements here[565] and the latter appear in fact to have been the strongest.[566] So it seems more likely that, of the first settlers who arrived on the island, most must have come from Aeolis, from the nearby Troad, for instance, or, more probably, from Lesbos. They would have been accompanied by Ionians from Samos. It is also possible that the Samians were the first to reach the island and were joined soon afterwards by Aeolians, who eventually predominated, owing to their proximity to Samothrace.[567] In any case, excavational data so far do not indicate any relation to Samos and no typical Ionian pottery has been found on the island.[568] On the contrary there is a remarkable presence of Aeolian pottery of the G 2–3 group, which proves, in the least, some sort of direct or indirect contact between Samothrace and the Aeolian world. Since this type of pottery dates mainly to the first half of the 7th century B.C., it could

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[561] For Samothrace, see Lehmann and Lehmann 1973, chapters I, III; Lazaridis 1971d; D. Müller 1987, 93–5; Matsas and Bakirtzis 1998; Reger 2004, 769–72. Regarding the sanctuary of the Great Gods, ten volumes have been published to date covering the excavations conducted by the University of New York (see Lehmann and Lehmann 1958–; also Lewis 1958; Fraser 1960). See also Matsas 1984; Matsas *et al.* 1989; 1993; Karadima[-Matsa] 1995; K. Lehmann 1998 for the most important bibliography.

[562] Lewis 1958, 15–23; Lazaridis 1971d, 18; Graham 2002.

[563] Lazaridis 1971d, 18, 59; *IG* XII 8. 36.

[564] It is worth remembering that, according to Herodotus (2. 51), the first inhabitants of the island were Pelasgians; while Cadmus' connexion with the great sanctuary of Samothrace, as transmitted by the ancient literature, probably also indicates a Phoenician presence on the island. For the presence of the Phoenicians in the North Aegean, see Tiverios 2004.

[565] Lazaridis 1971d, 18–19, 35. *Cf.* Matsas and Bakirtzis 1998, 19.

[566] Fraser 1960, 3 and 25, nos. 5 and 33. *Cf.* also K. Lehmann 1998, 19.

[567] K. Lehmann 1998, 19; According to Lazaridis (1971d, 18) the first colonists arrived on Samothrace at the beginning of the 7th century B.C. On the other hand, Graham (2002) believes that the first colonists of the island were Samians, who arrived here in the first half of the 6th century B.C.

[568] See Ilieva 2005, 349.

be contemporary with precolonial Greek activities on the island.[569] The fact, however, that it has also been found in the ancient city of Samothrace itself and thus in an area where the sanctuary of Athena (the tutelary goddess of the city) is presumed to have stood,[570] might mean that this pottery is contemporary with the first Greek colonists, who, in that case, must have reached the island no later than the middle of the 7th century B.C.[571] As for the exact time of the arrival of the first colonists on Samothrace, much light may be thrown by the excavations of a sanctuary (dedicated to the Great Mother or Artemis?) which has been uncovered on the site of Mandal' Panayia, to the north of the village of Profitis Ilias, and seems to have been in use for a long period, from the 8th century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D.[572] The undertaking of systematic excavations in the city of Samothrace itself will provide, of course, significant information on that matter.

Samothrace occupied a very important location, on the maritime routes which linked Asia with Europe and the Aegean islands with Thrace. It was therefore inhabited from an early period, as is attested by traditions and by the prehistoric antiquities which have been found on the site of Mikro Vouni, on the south-western coast of the island.[573] The settlement which has been uncovered here dates to the Neolithic period (end of the 6th millennium B.C.) but seems to have maintained its importance also during the Early and Middle Bronze Age, to around 1700 B.C. Among the finds dating to the latter chronology we should mention some Minoan ones, so far unique in the northern Aegean.[574] But while this settlement should be connected with the Pelasgians of the written sources, perhaps Carians, another settlement in the area of Brychos, at Chora,[575] the earliest phase of which dates to the Early Bronze Age (11th century B.C.), is probably related to the Thracian tribes who, according to written tradition, inhabited the island.[576] Samothrace had always been a stopping-place for sailors, merchants

[569] Ilieva 2005, 348–9. For this group of pottery, see Tiverios 2006.
[570] K. Lehmann 1998, 173–6; Matsas and Bakirtzis 1998, 29.
[571] Regarding the question of when the first Greeks arrived on Samothrace, see n. 567 above.
[572] Matsas *et al.* 1993; Matsas and Bakirtzis 1998, 103.
[573] For the prehistory of the island, see Matsas 1984; K. Lehmann 1998, 165–8; Matsas *et al.* 1989; 1993; Matsas and Bakirtzis 1998, 97, 101–4.
[574] Matsas 1991; 1995.
[575] See Matsas *et al.* 1989; K. Lehmann 1998, 169–71; Matsas and Bakirtzis 1998, 97.
[576] See also n. 578 below.

and travellers, and Homer (*Iliad* 13. 10–14) describes Poseidon sitting on its highest peak, watching the Trojan War. The first colonists settled on the island's north-western coast on a fortified site which also afforded them rapid access to the Thracian coast opposite, water and the possibility of establishing a suitable harbour.[577] They encountered Thracians, specifically Saians,[578] though we do not know whether their arrival was violently resisted by the islanders. However, the fact that the Greeks accepted and fostered the pre-Hellenic mystic cult which they found here, immediately to the south-west of their main settlement, and even preserved the local language for its rituals,[579] makes it more likely that there was largely peaceful co-existence between the local people and the colonists.[580] The latter identified Axieros, the great local goddess, with their own Demeter, and the rest of the native gods, such as Axiokeros, Axiokersa, the Kabeiroi and Kadmilos, with Pluto, Persephone, the Dioskouroi and Hermes respectively.[581] Another possible indication of the Greeks' co-existence with the islanders is the fact that the excavation of the shrine located the earliest Greek finds together with local products.[582] The Greeks, who settled here with the help of the colonies they had founded on the Thracian coast, soon prospered. Apart from its cemeteries,[583] the city of Samothrace has not yet been investigated by archaeologists (Fig. 33). However, its surviving walls at Paliapoli (Palaiopolis), the earliest phase of which probably dates to the 6th century B.C., are impressively large and solidly constructed.[584] In the same century, they also minted silver coins, on which they depicted, *inter alia*, their tutelary goddess, Athena,[585] whose cult they had prob-

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[577] Lazaridis 1971d, 77. The island also had another harbour, the Demetrian harbour. See Lazaridis 1971d, 77–8.

[578] To them the island owes its other names: Saos, Saonnesos and Saokis. For the evidence of the relevent ancient sources, see Lewis 1958, 15–23. *Cf.* Graham 2002, 248–9.

[579] For this language, see K. Lehmann 1955; Bonfante 1955. *Cf.* Graham 2002, 249–50.

[580] See Ilieva 2007.

[581] For the cult of the Great Gods of Samothrace, see Rubensohn 1892; Hemberg 1950, 49–52. See also K. Lehmann 1998, 29–31; Burkert 2002, with bibliography at 62–3.

[582] K. Lehmann 1998, 18–9. A peaceful co-existence is probably also indicated by the finds of the sanctuary at Mandal' Panayia, see n. 572 above.

[583] Dusenbery 1998. For limited excavations within the city of Samothrace, see K. Lehmann 1998, 173–5; Matsas and Bakirtzis 1998, 23–6.

[584] Lazaridis 1971d, 19, 93 n. 56 and esp. 80–2, fig. 34. *Cf.* Matsas and Bakirtzis 1998, 23–6.

[585] Schwabacher 1938; Lazaridis 1971d, 47–8; Schönert-Geiss 1996.

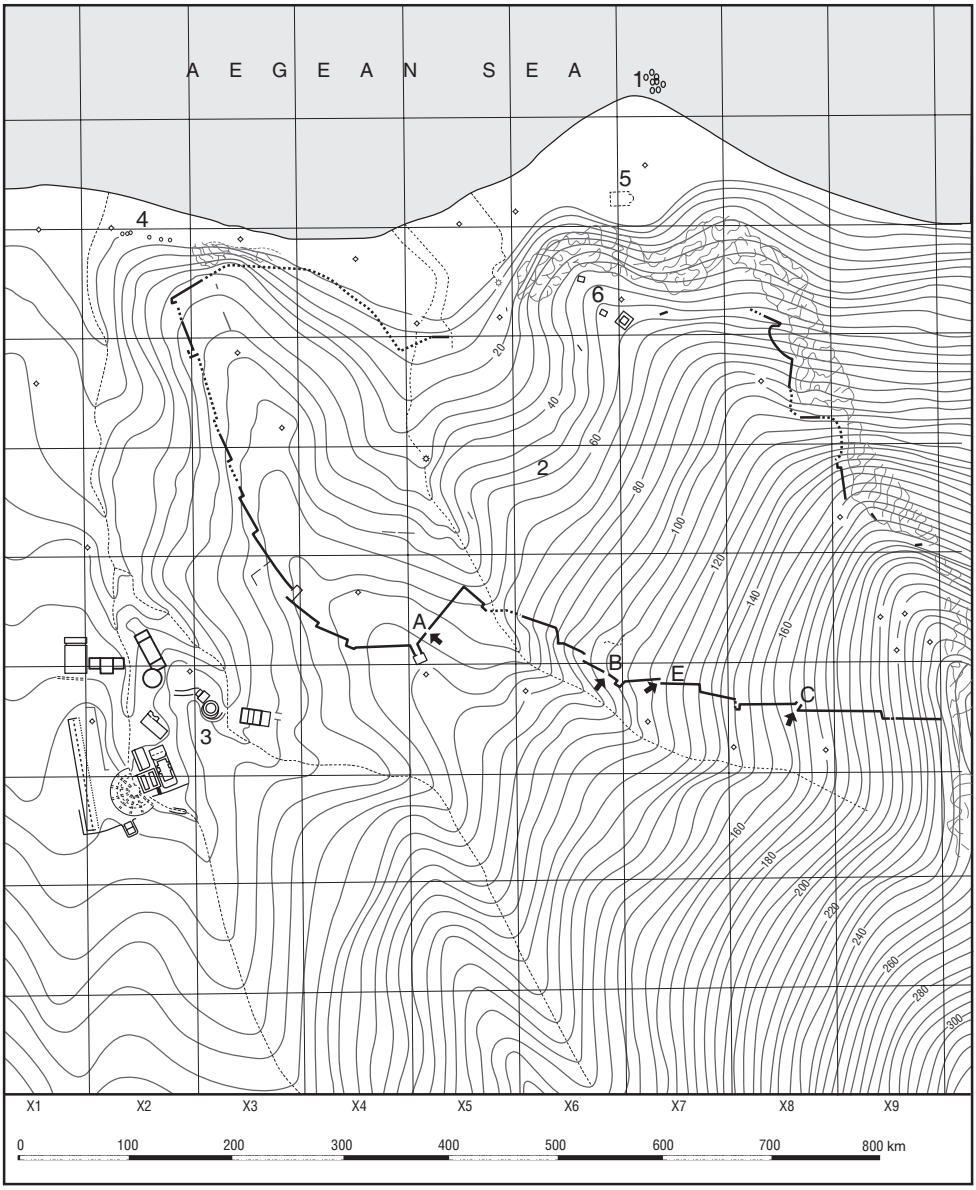

Fig. 33. Samothrace: plan of the ancient city and the sanctuary of the Great Gods (after Lazaridis 1971d, fig. 34).

ably brought from their homeland.[586] Scholars have already pointed out that Athena was the tutelary deity of many Aeolian cities.[587] In the 5th century, there was a marked decline in the importance of Samothrace and writers refer almost exclusively to the sanctuary. Nonetheless, it should be noted that, presumably because of its colonies, it was at one time paying the considerable sum of six talents into the treasury of the First Athenian League, though in 425/4 B.C. this was reduced to two talents.[588] As for the sanctuary of the Great Gods, according to the excavators' latest views, none of its buildings seems to date in the Archaic period.[589]

The Samothracian Peraia

The barren island soon obliged its first colonists to look for fertile land on the mainland opposite. Samothrace had only one small plain in the west and a narrow strip of fertile land along its north coast. The rest of the island is mountainous, suitable only for stockbreeding and forest development, though we must not, of course, forget the marine resources.[590] So, in order to secure the agricultural produce they needed, the colonists were very soon obliged to cross over to the Peraia. In the end, like Thasos, Samothrace served the Greeks as a bridgehead from which to 'conquer' the rich Thracian Peraia. However, the distance between Samothrace and the mainland is not as short as that which separates Thasos from its own Peraia. As a result, it was not so easy to hold on to the Samothracian Peraia, which included *teichea*, *polichnia*, *poleis*, *komes* and *emporia*,[591] especially when their metropolis was not a strong power. So the relations between all these settlements and their mother city must frequently have been strained. Thus, for instance, in the tribute lists of the First Athenian League in the 5th century B.C., three of these Samothracian colonies—Drys, Zone and Sale—were

[586] For the probable site of her sanctuary within the city of Samothrace, where the city's honorary inscriptions were erected, see n. 570 above. See also *IG* XII 8. 153, 156, 158; Fraser 1960, 37, no. 7; Lazaridis 1971d, 62–3.
[587] Lehmann 1998, 19.
[588] Lazaridis 1971d, 20, 41.
[589] Lehmann 1998, 52–4; 56–8; Matsas and Bakirtzis 1998, 39–42. *Cf.* Ilieva 2005, 345–6.
[590] Lazaridis 1971d, 2, 15, 44–5.
[591] Isaac 1986, 127–8, 135–6; Lazaridis 1971d, 37–8, 56.

paying tribute as independent cities.[592] Of course, none of these Samothracian colonies developed into a large city or a great power, any more than did the colonies of Thasos. In the 4th century B.C., the Samothracian Peraia, or part of it, was dedicated to the sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace.[593]

The ancient written tradition supplies only general information about when the Samothracian Peraia was established, a region which consisted of a coastal area from Mt Ismaros to the River Hebrus and was bounded to the north by the foothills of Mt Zone. So we have to rely on archaeological investigations, which are, however, limited in extent. The Samothracian Peraia, which was characterised by agriculture, trade and stockbreeding, must have been established before the end of the 6th century B.C. and probably in its first half, or even in the 7th century, for otherwise the area would have been seized by other colonial powers.[594] Still, we are not obliged to accept that all the settlements within it were established concurrently. The earliest known Hellenic finds from Zone,[595] the only Samothracian colony to have been systematically excavated, date to the 6th century B.C. There are no written references to, or archaeological evidence of, clashes between the colonists and the local people. To the contrary, the fact that on Samothrace itself the Greeks embraced the pre-Hellenic mystic cult of the Great Gods, retaining the local language for it, and the fact that the excavations at Zone have uncovered imported pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th centuries together with handmade local wares, show that, for the most part, the colonists must have co-existed peacefully with the Thracians.[596]

As we have said, the ancient walled city which is being excavated some 20 km to the west of Alexandroupoli, in the foothills of Mt Zone, must be Zone itself (Fig. 32).[597] It is a well planned city with streets intersecting at right angles, with public and private spaces and

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[592] Zone paid two talents, Drys (Mesembria) one and Sale half a talent (3,000 drachmas). See Isaac 1986, 130. *Cf.* Lazaridis 1971d, 41–2.

[593] McCredie 1968, 220–3. See also Robert and Robert 1969, 495; Lazaridis 1971d, 42.

[594] *Cf.* Isaac 1986, 125–6; Lazaridis 1971d, 37. For bibliography for Samothracian Peraia, see also n. 550 above.

[595] For Zone, see pp. 107–09 above, and n. 553 above for a bibliography. See also Tsatsopoulou 1997; D. Müller 1987, 118–9; Schönert-Geiss 1992.

[596] Tsatsopoulou 1996, 922; 1997, 618–9. *Cf.* Ilieva 2007.

[597] See pp. 107–09 above.

with a harbour, in which Xerxes' fleet lay at anchor (Herodotus 7. 59. 2–3). Of the finds dating to the Archaic period, specifically to the 6th century B.C., mention must be made of a sanctuary of Apollo.[598] His temple, on a north-south axis, was the principal building in a larger complex with a central courtyard. Finds here included quantities of ceramics, among which wares imported from Attica, while many of the sherds preserve dedicatory inscriptions to Apollo, with some letter types being reminiscent of the Aeolian dialect.[599] Of the other finds from this important sanctuary, special mention must be made of some marble kouroi, which are not frequently found in northern Greece. Parts of the fortifications probably belong to the 6th century B.C. as well, while excavations to date have produced indications of a pre-existing Thracian settlement on the site.[600]

We have already mentioned Drys; and as for Sale, the Roman *itineraria* place it 10–11 km from Trajanopolis,[601] a Roman city whose location is known, enabling us to locate Sale firmly in the area of modern Alexandroupoli.[602] Furthermore, antiquities have also been found here. Known from the 5th century B.C. from ancient writers and inscriptions, Sale must have been the principal port in the Samothracian Peraia. Xerxes' fleet anchored here during the campaign against southern Greece (Herodotus 7. 59). And this is also the provenance of one of the two Roman inscriptions marking the boundaries of the Peraia which was dedicated to the Great Gods of Samothrace.[603]

Tempyra, which Strabo (7 fr. 47) refers to as a *polichnion*, may be located to the west of the mouth of the Hebrus, possibly in the area of Trajanopolis.[604] It was in 1868, halfway between Trajanopolis and the spring of the village of Roumtzouki, upon a rock to the east of it,

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[598] Tsatsopoulou 196, 919; 1997, 617–8. *Cf.* Schmidt-Dounas 2004, 138–9.

[599] This supports the view that the Greeks who colonised Samothrace must have been mainly Aeolians. *Cf.* Tsatsopoulou 1997, 618.

[600] Vavritsas 1988, 80. *Cf.* Lazaridis 1971d, 34.

[601] Bakalakis 1961, 17; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 531–4. It is located 16 km along the Alexandroupoli–Orestiada road, at Loutra near the village of Loutro.

[602] For Sale, see Bakalakis 1961, 16–7; Isaac 1986, 131, 135; D. Müller 1987, 91–2; Lazaridis 1971d, 39–40; Loukopoulou 2004b, 880; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 129, 132. See also Skarlatidou 1984a, 57. For the existence of antiquities in Alexandroupoli, see Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 547–50. Some scholars locate Sale a little further west, in the area of Makri: Mottas 1989, 88, 95; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 132, 565 (with bibliography).

[603] Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 551–2, no. E448.

[604] For Tempyra, see Lazaridis 1971d, 38, 40; Isaac 1986, 132–3; Bakalakis 1961, 17. For objections to this identification, see Pantos 1983, 173; Mottas 1989, 94

that Dumont read the second known inscription marking the boundaries of the 'sacred land' of the Peraia dedicated to the sanctuary of the Great Gods of Samothrace.[605] The alluvial deposits carried down by the nearby Hebrus must have pushed the sea back since the ancient period, so the Trajanopolis area must have originally been on the coast. Tempyra may have changed its name to Trajanopolis in Trajan's time or shortly afterwards. It was probably one of the Samothracians' later 'acquisitions' in their Peraia. Charakoma, lastly, must have been the easternmost town in the Samothracian Peraia.[606] The word *charakoma* means a military camp. We know that just before the Graeco–Persian wars in the Late Archaic period, the Persians established a large camp at Doriscus,[607] which is identified with a site with antiquities 21 km east of Alexandroupoli, near the modern village of Saraya. An interesting find from this area is an inscription which has been published by Bakalakis.[608] The site of the Samothracian *polisma* must probably be sought at, or near, Doriscus and it probably took its name from the Persian camp; in which case, it must have been founded after 480 B.C. In fact, it may not have been founded by the Samothracians at all, but incorporated into the sacred land, possibly together with Tempyra, in the Hellenistic period,[609] as a *polisma* in the area dedicated to the sanctuary of the Great Gods. Owing to the alluvial deposits in the Hebrus delta, these parts too have been distanced from the sea, though in antiquity they would have been on the coast. As Herodotus tells us (7. 59):

> The territory of Doriscus is in Thrace, a wide plain by the sea, and through it runs a great river, the Hebrus; here had been built that royal fortress which is called Doriscus, and a Persian guard had been posted there by Darius ever since the time of his march against Scythia. It seemed therefore to Xerxes to be a fit place for him to array and number his host, and he did so.

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n. 56. Recently, Tsatsopoulou-Kaloudi (2005, 38) located Tempyra in the area of Alexandroupoli.

[605] Bakalakis 1961, 16; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 539, no. E434.

[606] For Charakoma, see Lazaridis 1961, 40; Isaac 1986, 132–3; Loukopoulou 2004b, 871.

[607] For Doriscus, see Bakalakis 1961, 17–20; 1991; Isaac 1986, 137–40; D. Müller 1987, 50–2; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 554–7.

[608] Bakalakis 1961, 18–9; Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 557–9, no. E451, with reservations, perhaps exaggerated, concerning the provenance of the inscription. For the possible presence here of a *heroon*, see Bakalakis 1991.

[609] Habicht posits a Macedonian Charakoma. See Isaac 1986, 133 n. 55.

At no point in Herodotus' account are we given to understand that Doriscus was a *polis* in his time.[610] It was a military stronghold, whose importance lay in the fact that it occupied a strategic site where major east-west and north-south routes intersected and it also controlled passage across the Hebrus. All the same, it cannot have had a noteworthy harbour, since it was Aenos that served to this purpose.[611] Thus Darius and Xerxes selected Doriscus only as a base for their land army. The Samothracian Peraia must have further included other settlements (*komai*), *emporia* or stopping-places whose names the ancient written tradition has not preserved. There must have been one of these, for instance, about 4.5 km west of Makri in the area of the village of Dikella,[612] as also at Makri itself. Excavations here have shown that this was not some notable settlement, but rather a stopping-place, an *emporion*.[613]

Aeolian and Ionian Colonisation in the North-Eastern Part of Aegean Thrace

Aeolians

Excavations in the coastal cities east of the Hebrus as far as Elaious at the southernmost tip of the Chersonese have been very limited and so most of our information about Greek colonisation in these parts is based mainly on the ancient written tradition. Aeolians and Ionians also colonised the area of Aegean Thrace to the east of the Hebrus, as was probably the case with Samothrace; except that here it is certain that the former arrived first, while the latter infiltrated the spaces that were left. The fact that it was Aeolians who first managed to settle in the north-eastern Aegean must have been largely due to their proximity to the region. It was Aeolians who founded Aenos, on the east bank of the Hebrus delta, which became the most important city in the

[610] Furthermore, only Stephanus of Byzantium describes Doriscus as a *polis*. Ps.-Skylax calls it a *teichos*. See Isaac 1986, 139.

[611] Isaac 1986, 138.

[612] Some scholars locate Drys here. See Lazaridis 1971d, 39, 100 n. 174; Isaac 1986, 133.

[613] Efstratiou and Kallintzi 1994, esp. 72–5. Zone and the Σέρρειος άκρα were usually located here (see Efstratiou and Kallintzi 1994, esp. 71–4, including relevant bibliography). For a bibliography relating to the recent excavations here, which have also uncovered an important Neolithic settlement of the 6th millennium B.C., see Efstratiou and Kallintzi 1994, 91–2 n. 12. For Makri, see also Loukopoulou *et al.* 2005, 564–5.

area, as well as one of the most notable in the entire North Aegean.[614] The first Aeolians to arrive here were probably from Alopeconnesus, a colony of Lesbos in the Chersonese. The ancient literature tells us that more colonists came along later on, from Mytilene and from Cumae in Asia Minor. We do not know when these events took place, though it was probably in the second half of the 7th century B.C. For that matter, we do not know exactly when Alopeconnesus itself was founded. Aenos is known to Homer (*Iliad* 4. 519–520); and there was also an obviously later tradition that it was founded by Aeneas.[615] The first Greeks to settle at Aenos were not its first inhabitants. According to the ancient literature, its original name was Apsinthos (Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Aenos), presumably after the Thracian tribe of the Apsinthians, who lived east of the Hebrus. So the Aeolians must have encountered Apsinthian Thracians here and probably clashed with them, for this tribe was known for its prowess in war.[616] Another name for Aenos has also been handed down to us, again suggestive of connexions with Thracians. It is Poltymbria and, as is known, the word *bria* in the Thracian language meant 'city' (Strabo 7. 6. 1[319]).[617] But the fact that the site was already occupied when the first Aeolians arrived is also confirmed by the presence of a large prehistoric settlement in the area, which was located by S. Casson.[618]

A considerable part in the development of Aenos was played by its splendid location, which, apart from being naturally fortified, was also a major commercial crossroads. It had two harbours, certainly two of the most important ports in the north-eastern Aegean, at the mouth of the Hebrus, which was navigable. Remains of the harbour facilities were visible at the beginning of the 20th century.[619] Because of the considerable alluvial deposits laid down by the river, the modern town is no longer by the sea. Without a doubt, the robust economic development of Aenos owed a lot to the Hebrus and its tributaries, which linked the

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[614] For Aenos, see Isaac 1986, 140–57. See also May 1950; D. Müller 1997, 773–5 including bibliography. *Cf.* Düll 1997; Veligianni-Terzi 2004, 46–9; Loukopoulou 2004b, 875–8.

[615] For all this information, see Isaac 1986, 147–8.

[616] Isaac 1986, 146–7.

[617] The cult of the Thracian god Rhesos was also popular here. See Isaac 1986, 147, 157. For the cult of Rhesos, see also Isaac 1986, 55–7.

[618] Isaac 1986, 147. For the presence of a habitation centre here already in the Neolithic period, see Başaran 2000, 157.

[619] Isaac 1986, 140–1.

city with the Thracian hinterland, with Pistiros, for instance (near the village Vetren), via its tributaries (the Maritsa and the Tundzha), and with the Greek colonies on the Black Sea, such as Pyrgos, Apollonia and Mesembria, via the tributary Istranca Daglari.[620] This privileged site attracted the interest of other colonial powers of the Archaic period. We have already mentioned that Thasos was interested in the city.[621] The fact that Aenos has been inhabited continuously right up to the present day, and what is more with the same name (Enez), means that many remnants of the past have disappeared. Because of this, and because very little archaeological investigation has been carried out,[622] we do not know as much as we should like about this important city. Comparatively recent excavations yielded important Archaic Aeolian capitals[623] and interesting Chian pottery, which was reportedly not from Chios itself, but manufactured by an 'itinerant' Chian workshop, which was probably based somewhere in northern Greece. As we have already said, similar pottery has also been found in Thasos or in Neapolis.[624] Aenos, whose principal deity was Hermes,[625] was also known in antiquity for its abundant fishing, various agricultural products and the slave trade.[626] It also expanded into the surrounding area, where it built the τείχη Αινίων towards Cardia.[627] Another indication of its importance is the beautiful silver coins which it began minting at the beginning of the 5th century B.C. and which circulated widely,[628] as also the fact that, at one time, it paid as much as 12 talents into the treasury of the First Athenian League.[629]

Apart from in Aenos, the Aeolians from Lesbos, Tenedos and northwest Asia Minor also settled, probably in the second half of the 7th century, in the Chersonese,[630] where they founded Alopeconnesus and

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[620] Isaac 1986, 143–4.
[621] See p. 80 above and n. 393.
[622] For a bibliography relating to excavations at Aenos, see Loukopoulou 1989, 38 n. 2, and A. Lemos 2000, 379 n. 20. See also Başaran 2000, with bibliography at n. 2. For more recent bibliography, as well as Thracian pottery and a capstone relief of a Thracian horseman from Aenos, see Tsetskhladze 2007, 180 n. 43.
[623] Başaran 2000.
[624] See p. 78 above, and A. Lemos 2000, 379 n. 20.
[625] Isaac 1986, 156–7.
[626] Isaac 1986, 142–3 and n. 101, 145.
[627] Isaac 1986, 158.
[628] May 1950. See also Isaac 1986, 149–51.
[629] Isaac 1986, 150.
[630] For Chersonese, see D. Müller 1997, 802–4 (with bibliography).

thus on the advice of the Delphic Oracle.[631] The colonists here must have come mainly from Lesbos and Aeolian Cumae. Aeolians from Mytilene also managed to take the southern tip of the Chersonese, which was important for control of shipping in the Dardanelles and of local trade more generally, and founded Elaious there.[632] And for even more effective control of the entrance to the Straits, they also probably founded Sigeum on the coast of Troas opposite, at the entrance to the Dardanelles.[633] We shall come back to Elaious, where there was a sanctuary of Protesilaos,[634] and Sigeum later.

Ionians and Athenians

Apart from Aeolians, there were also Ionians in the north-eastern Aegean, though they occupied relatively few sites and no strategic ones. Cardia, more or less at the head of the Melas Gulf, is mentioned as being a colony of the Milesians and Clazomenians.[635] Some of the *emporia* in the area of the gulf, such as Cobrys and Cypasis, were connected with this Ionian colony.[636] Milesians are said to have founded other colonies in the area, such as Limnae,[637] probably south of Alopeconnesus.

However, the Athenians too took a particular interest in the north-east Aegean, though a somewhat tardy one, for they did not engage in colonial activities until the end of the 7th century B.C.[638] In Solon's time, being aware of the importance of gaining control over the entrance to the Hellespont (the strategic points around which had already been occupied mainly by Aeolians), they made vigorous efforts to settle in the area. Written sources mention clashes between the Athenians and

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[631] For its founding, its location not far from the village of Kucuk Kemikli near Suvla Bay, the archaeological finds and the history of Alopeconnesus more generally, see Isaac 1986, 189–91 (including bibliography). *Cf.* Loukopoulou 2004c, 904.

[632] For Elaious, see Isaac 1986, 192–4; D. Müller 1987, 816–8 (with bibliography); Loukopoulou 2004c, 906.

[633] For Sigeum, see Isaac 1986, 162–6; D. Müller 1987, 932–4 (with bibliography); Mitchell 2004, 1014.

[634] Isaac 1986, 193.

[635] For Cardia and its probable site at modern Bakla Burnu, see Isaac 1986, 187–8; D. Müller 1987, 852–4 (with bibliography); Loukopoulou 2004c, 907.

[636] Isaac 1986, 187.

[637] For its conjectured site on Suvla Bay, probably near the village of Karnabik, see Isaac 1986, 189. According to written evidence, it is more likely that it was located to the east of Alopeconnesus, see Loukopoulou 2004c, 908.

[638] For the Athenians' early colonies, see Ehrenberg 1939.

the Mytilenians for possession of Sigeum.[639] The former, led by the Olympic champion Phrynon, managed to expel the Mytilenians from here, but not permanently. One participant in the fighting was the lyric poet Alcaeus of Lesbos. He then lost his weapons and the Athenians dedicated them to their tutelary goddess. However, the Mytilenians soon returned to Sigeum, led by Pittacus, and in an 'heroic' single combat Pittacus, whose father was a Thracian, slew Phrynon. The fighting ceased temporarily and the Athenians took Sigeum with the intervention of Periander of Corinth. In an inscription of the second quarter of the 6th century B.C. from Sigeum, the Attic dialect is clearly apparent.[640] Nevertheless, the Lesbians returned to the city, only to be driven away in around 530 B.C. by Peisistratos, who sent his son Hegesistratos to Sigeum.[641]

At more or less the same time as they reached Sigeum, the Athenians also settled in Elaious,[642] which must have been, as we have said before, an Aeolian foundation. However, it is also mentioned as an Athenian colony, first established by one Phorboon or Phorbas, who is unknown in any other context. This tradition is probably a later figment invented by the Athenians in order to support and justify Athenian occupation of the place.[643] Written sources referring to Elaious may also indicate the presence of Teians here (Ps. Skymnos 706). If this information is correct,[644] then they probably settled there in around the mid-6th century B.C., when the Persian occupation of Ionia prompted many Ionians to go in search of new homes elsewhere. The earliest finds located by excavations in the city's cemetery during the First World War date to the second half of the 7th century B.C., while the earliest Attic finds

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[639] Isaac 1986, 162–6 (including bibliography).

[640] Jeffery 1961, 72, 366–7, 371, pl. 71.3–4. M. Guarducci dates the inscription to 550/40 B.C. See Richter 1961, 165–8 (in appendix with epigraphical notes by M. Guarducci).

[641] Viviers 1987b. Significantly, the Athenians were seeking to legitimise their presence at Sigeum as early as the first half of the 5th century B.C. by asserting that it had been theirs since the time of the Trojan War! See Isaac 1986, 163.

[642] See n. 632 above. The ancient city is at the village of Eski Hisarlik in the eastern part of Morto Bay.

[643] *Cf.* n. 641 above. Some scholars wonder whether Phrynon, who, as we have already said, was active in the Athenian occupation of Sigeum, also played a leading part in the Athenian colonisation of Elaious. See Loukopoulou 1989, 68; Isaac 1986, 163, 193. For the colonisation of Elaious, see also Viviers 1985.

[644] The τηϊκήν αποικίαν of the text is usually corrected as αττικήν αποικίαν.

date to around the mid-6th century B.C.[645] The finds also indicate that a pottery workshop was manufacturing Atticising wares in Elaious at least during the Late Archaic period.[646]

We have already mentioned Peisistratos' activities both in the Thermaic Gulf and in the Pangaion area in around the mid-6th century B.C., and at Sigeum a little later. In around 550 B.C., when Peisistratos was in power, Miltiades of the Philaidai, son of Cypselus, another Olympic champion, settled in the Chersonese with any Athenians who wished to join him.[647] It was the local Thracian Dologians who gave them the opportunity, having invited the Athenians to help them resist the Apsinthians. The Dologians had sought the advice of the Delphic Oracle in this connexion and the Oracle had urged them to invite Miltiades, Peisistratos' political rival, to be their leader. The Oracle was known for its unfriendliness towards Peisistratos. All the same, Peisistratos probably took a favourable view of the Dologians' proposition; because a dangerous rival would thus be removed from Attica and at the same time the Athenians would gain a foothold in an important location outside the Athenian domain. Miltiades protected the Chersonese from the assaults of the Apsinthians by building a wall from Cardia (which he took) on the Aegean to Paktye, which he himself founded, on the Hellespont. And apart from Paktye, he also founded other cities here.[648] After the death of Miltiades, whom the Chersonesians honoured as their hero-founder,[649] the Athenian presence here continued under his nephews, Stesagoras first, followed by the younger Miltiades, both sons of Cimon.[650] The Persians temporarily ended the Athenian presence in the area at the end of the 6th century B.C., in the time of Darius.[651] The Athenians returned, however, in 466 B.C.,[652] while from the beginning of the 5th century they began to play a leading rôle on the large

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[645] See Isaac 1986, 193. For the excavations, see Isaac 1986, 192 n. 196; Loukopoulou 1989, 68 n. 6.

[646] Boardman 1980, 265.

[647] Isaac 1986, 163–5; Loukopoulou 1989, 69–71; Veligianni-Terzi 2004, 33–6.

[648] Isaac 1986, 166–70; Loukopoulou 1989, 71–3; Veligianni-Terzi 2004, 34–5 and n. 69 (with bibliography). For Paktye, see D. Müller 1997, 895–6; Loukopoulou 2004c, 909.

[649] For Miltiades as the hero-founder of the Chersonese, see Pavlopoulou 1994, 119–22.

[650] Isaac 1986, 171–5; Loukopoulou 1989, 78–83.

[651] Isaac 1986, 175–6; Loukopoulou 1989, 84–90. For the Persians in Thrace, see also Zahrnt 1997a.

[652] Isaac 1986, 176–7.

islands in the area, Lemnos[653] and Imbros,[654] in order to better control maritime communications in the North Aegean and, of course, in the Straits (Herodotus 6. 41. 2–4; 7. 137–140).

Epilogue

The factors which prompted Greek colonisation in the North Aegean were the same as those which prompted the phenomenon of Greek colonisation in general. So we shall not concern ourselves with this subject here, for numerous studies have already been devoted to it. Both the ancient written tradition and the archaeological finds indicate that the first Greeks settled in the North Aegean immediately after the Trojan War. We are led to this conclusion not so much by the discovery in this geographical region of Mycenaean pottery, both imported and local, and other Mycenaean artefacts, such as swords; nor even by the discovery here of 'Mycenaean' chamber tombs; nor by the fact that at least some scholars detect traces of Mycenaean settlements in local habitation centres; nor by the information to this effect in ancient written sources, albeit for the most part later ones.[655] What persuades us that the Greeks probably settled in these parts at such an early date is above all the discovery near Mende of a purely Greek sanctuary, the first phase of which dates back to the Late Mycenaean period.[656] It is precisely this find which forces us to break out of the straitjacket of dogmatic views in this discipline of ours and re-adjust our interpretation of the considerable body evidence outlined above. Indeed, the Mycenaean Greeks may well have been familiar with these parts from an even earlier period, before they settled here.[657]

On the basis of the evidence to date, the first Greeks must have settled in Chalcidice and possibly in areas of the Thermaic Gulf after the Trojan War. Consequently, the foundation of the first Greek settlements here coincides or is more or less contemporary with the

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[653] For Lemnos, see p. 51 and n. 241 above.
[654] For Imbros, see Reger 2004, 742–3.
[655] See pp. 11 and n. 55, 19 above.
[656] See p. 13 above.
[657] It is worth remembering that we also have Minoan finds from Samothrace. See p. 111 above. Moreover, according to written tradition, Radamanthys gave Maroneia to Euanthes, Maron's father (see *FGrHist* B3, 468 fr. 79). And, as we have already mentioned, there was a cult of Maron on Samothrace, see p. 103 and n. 525 above.

first Greek colonisation, during which, as we know, populations were shifting about in nations and in which a leading part was played by the Ionians.[658] And, of course, the Euboeans were also Ionians. East of the Strymon there is no archaeological evidence of any Greek settlement immediately after the Trojan War. It is strange that there are no confirmed Mycenaean finds from this area, even though Homer knows it better than the region west of the Strymon. That we know of no Mycenaean finds here could be a matter of chance, since such finds have come to light in the interior of Thrace, in modern Bulgaria; but perhaps the same cannot be said of the fact that no early Greek settlement has been located in the area. It may be that the Greeks tried to settle in these parts, but failed owing to local resistance, as certain myths suggest.[659] The Greeks of the first migration would have found Paionians here, the related to each other Mygdonians and Phrygians, as well as Thracians; while those of the second migration would have found mainly Thracian tribes, along with Macedonians, Paionians, Phoenicians and probably Pelasgians.[660]

The second Greek colonisation, as we know, took place in two phases. In the first phase (from the 8th to the first half of the 7th century B.C.), the metropoleis by and large had aristocratic régimes and the colonies established in this period were more agricultural in character. In the second phase (after 650 B.C.), when the aristocratic régimes were tottering, the colonies that were established were often also based on trade, since farming had ceased to be the Greeks' almost exclusive occupation. At this time, many of the earlier colonies too added trade to their agricultural activities.

As is well known, the Euboeans played a leading rôle also in the second Greek colonisation. And this, as one would expect, is reflected in northern Greece, not only because Chalcidice and the Thermaic Gulf happen to be situated very close to Euboea itself, but also because the Euboeans had been familiar with these areas, as we have already said, since an earlier age. It is not wrong to assert that all the Euboean colonies in these parts must have been established before the end of the 8th century B.C., *i.e.* before the outbreak of the so-called Lelantine

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[658] It is very likely that the Greeks frequently co-existed with the local population in these areas.

[659] See pp. 32, 43–44, 99 above.

[660] *Cf.* Danov 1988; Lazova 1991. For Macedonians, see also Poulaki-Pandermali 1997.

War, which ended the Euboeans' omnipotence. The Euboeans of the second migration did not settle east of Chalcidice, probably because they too were unable to overcome the resistance of the local population. After the Euboeans, in the first half of the 7th century B.C., Ionians from Paros, Chios, Andros, Miletus, Clazomenae and possibly Samos and Naxos, as well as Aeolians (who confined themselves to the north-eastern Aegean) were active in the North Aegean, necessarily east of Chalcidice. Graham's view that the Greeks settled in the area after the mid-7th century B.C., their late arrival being due to the supposed dominance of the Phoenicians in the North Aegean before 650 B.C., is not supported either by the ancient literature or by the archaeological evidence.[661] There was indeed a Phoenician presence here, but on isolated sites, and in no case can we talk about widespread Phoenician dominance. From the end of the 7th century B.C. and during the 6th, Corinthians, Athenians, Milesians and Teians were active in the North Aegean, occupying mostly vacant areas, or places which had already been taken by others; and the Persians, of course, were active there too;[662] while, probably at the beginning of the 5th century B.C., Pelasgians from Lemnos settled in Chalcidice, mainly on the Athos Peninsula.[663]

We know that people from more than one places frequently participated in colonial ventures and this is confirmed in northern Greece. There are the words of Archilochos, for instance, Πανελλήνων οϊζύς ές Θάσον συνέδραμεν, while, as we have said, the Athenians who built Amphipolis were in the minority.[664] This explains better how such cities as Eretria, Chalcis or Miletus, for instance, managed to found so many colonies in such a short time. Of those who settled in the North Aegean, the majority were Ionians. Which is precisely why the works of art in the region, and the culture generally, were predominantly Ionian in character for a long time.[665] Examples include the great Ionic marble temples of the Archaic period,[666] the painted clay sarcophagi,[667] or pieces of sculpture, such as a grave stele from Nea Kallikratia in Chalcidice, which dates to *ca.* 440 B.C. and shares distinctive similari-

[661] See pp. 75–76 above.
[662] Zahrnt 1997a.
[663] See p. 51 above.
[664] See p. 72 above.
[665] *Cf.* Andronikos 1987–90, esp. 33.
[666] See pp. 20–21, 31, 82 above; Schmidt-Dounas 2004, esp. 134.
[667] See pp. 56, 96 above.

ties with Parian works of the same kind.[668] It is also worth noting the presence of the Aeolian element here;[669] and the Dorian element is also apparent, though to a lesser degree.[670]

The Greeks were attracted by the fertile soil, the abundant minerals, mainly west of the Nestos,[671] the rich forestal, stockbreeding and fishing resources, the plentiful human resources too, which, apart from anything else, kept them well supplied with slaves, and the existence of suitable sites for commercial exchange with the Thracian interior. At first, the Greeks confined themselves to the islands and a strip along the coast opposite; but later on, with mainly the Thasians-Parians taking the lead, they gradually advanced further inland, while at the same time they expanded their commercial ventures and other kinds of economic activity by establishing new *emporia*.[672] The development of their commercial activities quickly led to the appearance of mintage. Already in the second half of the 6th century B.C., a number of Greek colonies in the region were minting artistically splendid coins. Some of these circulated widely, reaching very distant places.[673] Because some of these colonies struck large denomination coins, it has been argued that they also exported precious metals and thus silver.

The available historical and archaeological evidence shows that the colonists settled sometimes peacefully, sometimes after overcoming some weak resistance by the local people and sometimes after violent and bloody clashes. But, by and large, as time went by, the rivalry between the locals and the Greeks subsided. The Thracians did not consider farming an honourable occupation, nor did they like to live by the sea, a location which gave the Greeks their motive power. So the Thracians lived mainly in the interior, with very few of them on the coast and islands (*cf.* Appian 4. 13. 102). This enabled the Greeks to consolidate their position in these parts, even when the locals resisted them strongly, and to engage in various kinds of activity. The ancient literature provides very scanty information about the numbers and the social standing of those who took part in the colonial ventures. However, we do know that

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668 Kostoglou-Despini 1979. *Cf.* Akamatis 1987, esp. 20–3.

669 See, for example, Vokotopoulou 1990b, esp. 85–6, and p. 37 above.

670 See p. 43 above.

671 East of the Nestos, the ancient sources mention gold only in the Hebrus (Pliny *NH* 33. 66). For other mines in the area, see Triantaphyllos 1987–90, 304.

672 See pp. 79–91 above.

673 *Cf.* Liampi 1993.

1,000 men took part in a Parian mission to northern Greece;[674] and 1,000 Athenians, from the economically weaker classes of the *zeugitai* and the *thetai*, participated in the foundation of Brea in the 5th century B.C.[675] There were periods when the Greeks in the North Aegean came under the dominion of the local tribes. For instance, in the second half of the 5th century B.C., many Greek colonies must have been brought under the powerful rule of the Thracian Odrysians.[676] But even then, the locals do not seem to have hindered the Greeks' activities in vital areas of the economy and they tended to use the colonists as middlemen for exchanging and promoting their products.

It was from the Greek settlements on the islands and shores of the North Aegean that the Greeks conducted their cultural, linguistic and economic infiltration into the interior, a process which left indelible traces not only on the local population, but also on the Greeks themselves.[677] The Greek language even passed into the court of the Thracian rulers and is also found on the coins which they minted as early as the Late Archaic period and which are inconceivable without the presence of the Greeks. The coins of the Bisaltians, for instance, must have been made by Greek engravers; while those of the Odrysians are clearly influenced by coins of Thasos or Maroneia.[678] By the same token, the Greeks were influenced by the Thracians, as is attested, for instance, by their adoption of Thracian names. This was quite natural, since intermarriage between the settlers and the local people would have been common practice. We must not forget that in most cases the first groups of colonists were exclusively male, though there had been a few occasions when colonial missions to the North Aegean also included women and children.[679] So even prominent Greek leaders who were active in these areas—including Miltiades, son of Cimon, and many others[680]—married local women. The Greeks must also have learnt a great deal from the Thracians in terms of equestrian skills. Cities such as Abdera, for instance, had a cavalry of some distinction as early as

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[674] See, for example, Graham 1978 (2001), 206 n. 235.
[675] See pp. 33–34 above.
[676] See, for example, Isaac 1986, 96–9; Veligianni-Terzi 2004, esp. 126–8, 134–7.
[677] See Danov 1975. *Cf.* Fol 1991; 1997.
[678] See pp. 79, 103 above.
[679] One such case must have been the Teian colonisation of Abdera. See pp. 91–92 above.
[680] See, for example, Isaac 1986, 33, 99, 102.

the 5th century B.C.[681] The Thracian cavalry was renowned,[682] as is implicit in the myths about the man-eating horses of Diomedes and the splendid horses of Rhesos.

The good relations between the Greeks[683] and the local people are also apparent at the level of religion and worship. We have already mentioned local cults which the Greek colonists in these parts accepted and tried to adapt to their own religious beliefs. This happened, for instance, with the mystic cult of the Great Gods on Samothrace, the cult of Parthenos in Neapolis, the cult of Rhesos, who is sometimes identified with the widely depicted Thracian Horseman, the cult of the Nymphs and of Dionysus. In Athens itself, we have the official introduction of the cults of various Thracian deities, such as Artemis Bendis, for instance.[684] And Greek mythology has many Thracian heroes, including Orpheus, Musaios, Thamyris, Boreas, Phyneus, Lycurgus and a number of others, who are also portrayed in works of ancient Greek art.[685]

Of the numerous Greek colonies in the North Aegean, some stood out, not that much as military powers, but as economic and cultural forces. Indeed, they played a considerable part in Hellenising the region and in disseminating Greek culture throughout much of the interior. Let us not forget that the poets Archilochos, Anacreon, Alcaeus, Euripides and Pindar, the historian Thucydides, the philosophers Democritus and Aristotle, the physician Hippocrates, the artists Aglaophon, Polygnotos, Zeuxis and Panphilus were active in northern Greece, to mention only a few great names.

The recent excavations in many parts of the North Aegean have added a great deal to what we know about Greek colonisation of this region. There is no doubt that, as they continue, they will put a number of hypotheses to the test, locate new archaeological sites, confirm the precise locations of colonies or other settlements whose existence we know of only from the written sources, and in general they will add considerably to what we already know.

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[681] See, for example, Isaac 1986, 85–6.
[682] *Cf.* Ilieva 2007.
[683] For Thracian equestrian, see also Porožanov 1997.
[684] See Deubner 1932, 219–20; Gočeva 1974; Nilsson 1960, 55–8.
[685] See Tsiafaki 1998; Desbals 1997.

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