

# Achaian *Poleis* and Achaian Colonisation<sup>1</sup>

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## I

It is perhaps not entirely paradoxical that those regions of Greece which modern scholarship has traditionally designated as *ethnos* states (in contradistinction to *poleis*) may prove to have the greatest potential in illuminating the origins, nature and development of the *polis* by eroding and subverting many current orthodoxies. Achaia is one such region, and this paper will use documentary and archaeological evidence to explore some of the issues which are of central concern to the Copenhagen Polis Centre: namely, the relationship between region and *polis*, the connection between city and state, and the emergence of the *polis vis à vis* colonial foundations.<sup>2</sup>

The enterprise will also reveal, however, the inevitable limitations of the evidence. Achaia is certainly not unique in the fact that documentary sources tend to be late, but contemporary literary evidence is particularly scarce when compared with many other regions of the Peloponnese. Herodotos (1.145) is more interested in Achaia as the traditional point of departure for the Ionian settlers of Asia Minor than he is in the Achaian political landscape of the fifth century – a silence dictated, no doubt, by the fact that Achaia contributed nothing to the defence of Greece during the Persian Wars. Achaia and the Achaians appear more frequently in the works of Thucydides and Xenophon, but only incidentally and usually in terms of their occasional interaction with more important protagonists such as the Athenians, Spartans or Thebans.<sup>3</sup> Detailed information on the settlements and internal divisions of Achaia is generally limited to the later accounts of Strabo and Pausanias.

An especially privileged source for the political history of the region is represented by Polybios. Son of the eminent Achaian *strategos* Lykortas and *hipparkhos* of the Achaian League in 170/169 B.C., Polybios was ideally qualified to write about the institutions and policies of the League after its refoundation in 280 B.C.<sup>4</sup> His value for earlier periods of Achaian history is, however, more questionable. Larsen assumed that the refounded Achaian League of the Hellenistic period perpetuated the

structures and functions of its predecessor (whose origins he dated to the eighth century),<sup>5</sup> and this is almost certainly the impression that Polybios intended to give. On the other hand, the cohesion of the League was founded on the putative notion of ethnic homogeneity,<sup>6</sup> which inevitably requires the invention – or, at least, reordering – of a historical pedigree that might serve to justify the present.<sup>7</sup> Given that much of the received opinion about earlier Achaian political history is based on the retrospective information of Polybios, it is necessary to subject this testimony to particularly careful scrutiny.

Epigraphic evidence is similarly scarce.<sup>8</sup> Only a handful of Archaic inscriptions are known,<sup>9</sup> and those from the Classical period are hardly more plentiful; in fact, it is not until Hellenistic and especially Roman times that inscriptions are attested in any quantity. It is partly for this reason that approximately half of all known inscriptions come from Patrai – a city which acquired its greatest prominence after its refoundation as a Roman colony under Augustus.<sup>10</sup> Interestingly, there is also a typological distinction among Classical inscriptions between western Achaia where inscribed gravestones are more common, and eastern Achaia where dedicatory inscriptions and decrees are more in evidence. This may be a factor of the nature of archaeological investigation in the two areas, but it may also reflect genuinely different approaches to the marking of identity and property.<sup>11</sup>

Archaeological evidence, while growing rapidly in quality and quantity, also carries with it certain difficulties. A programme of extensive and intensive surface survey has been conducted since 1986 by the Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Patras and the Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity of the Greek National Research Foundation, under the direction of M. Petropoulos, M. Lakakis and A. Rizakis. To date this has covered the Dyme area and the *chora* of Patras, and is scheduled to continue. Survey data allow closer examination of the spatial ordering of regional settlement and its diachronic evolution, and also give a degree of probability for negative inference, but they do not offer close chronological control or, in this area, detailed architectural evidence. Elsewhere, the north coast has seen systematic excavation by the Austrian Institute in Athens of the acropolis area at Aigeira (although the lower city and port remain largely unresearched), as well as rescue work associated with the development of two national roads and the Athens-Patras railway.

In the major urban centres of Achaia, Aigion and Patras, excavation has been driven by rescue. This brings its own biases, not least through

the random nature of sampling – many large nineteenth- and early twentieth-century warehouses and private houses in Aigion still cover significant areas, promoting an excavation bias towards areas subject to modern development. In Patras, rescue work has revealed extensive remains of the Hellenistic-Roman city, and the consequent focus on this period is a reflection partly of its historical importance and the opportunity offered by very extensive traces to reconstruct it, and partly of the destructive effects of its foundation on earlier levels (which otherwise lie deeply buried). Nonetheless, rescue excavation in the last few years has begun to uncover Archaic traces, and it is clear that significant areas of the early city lie under modern building; much therefore needs to be explored before either negative or positive conclusions can be drawn.

Elsewhere, discoveries are a matter of chance, relying on exposure through agricultural or building activity (such as the construction of the Athens-Patras railway and national road), or the research interests of archaeologists. Thus, for example, two significant periods of research in the Pharai valley during the late 1920s and the mid 1950s centred on the interests of Ephors Kyparissis and Zapheiropoulos. In the north coast and Pharai valley areas, negative arguments should therefore be treated with caution, since our evidence is certainly only the tip of the iceberg. Conversely, it should be noted that a high proportion of known sites in these areas have been excavated to some extent, producing a clearer picture than in the west of the nature of artefacts, burial customs, and architecture.

## II

Achaia is not self-evidently a natural unity. Geographically and culturally, four sub-regions can be recognised: first, the north coast from Aigeira to Neos Erineos (Pellene, further to the east, appears to be distinct both in its topography and its role in history). Secondly, the *chora* of Patrai, which in Classical times extended from Drepanon perhaps as far as Tsoukaleika (although the exact boundary of the *chora* of Olenos is hard to define), and consisted of a broader area of plain with fewer natural divisions; thirdly, the area of Dyme (Kato Achaia) west of the Peiros; and finally, the Pharai valley, an increasingly narrow inland valley punctuated by small, well-watered plains.<sup>12</sup> These divisions rest upon a range of cross-cutting criteria, from topography to site groupings and the spread of particular types of artefact, and although not rigid, they do serve to

highlight the considerable degree of variation in the nature of the archaeological record within Achaia, and in the pace and pattern of local development.

According to literary sources, Achaia was divided into twelve regions. Herodotos (1.145) names these as Pellene, Aigeira, Aigai, Boura, Helike, Aigion, Rhypes, Patrees (Patrai), Pharees (Pharai), Olenos, Dyme and Tritaiees (Tritaia). Strabo (8.7.4) is almost certainly making use of Herodotos, since he gives the same names in the same order. Skylax (42) also follows the same order, but omits Boura, Helike, Pharai, Olenos and Tritaia (the absence of the inland settlements of Pharai and Tritaia is perfectly explicable in an account which is a *periplous*). Polybios (2.41) omits Aigai, Rhypes, Helike and Olenos, but adds the names of Keryneia and Leontion. Pausanias' list is largely in agreement with that of Herodotos, though he too adds the name of Keryneia and, interestingly enough, omits that of Patrai (perhaps because by his day it had been refounded as a Roman colony).<sup>13</sup>

It is not difficult to explain these slight discrepancies. Helike had been engulfed by a tidal wave occasioned by an earthquake in 373 B.C.<sup>14</sup> Boura had also been affected, but was swiftly resettled by survivors who had escaped the cataclysm by being away on military service.<sup>15</sup> The absence of Boura in Skylax's list may therefore indicate a composition date immediately after this earthquake – i.e. ca. 370 B.C. Olenos had been abandoned due to weakness (ὕπὸ ἀσθενείας)<sup>16</sup> and its inhabitants incorporated within Dyme.<sup>17</sup> The exact date of this is uncertain: Pausanias cites the third-century elegiac poet Hermesianax of Kolophon to demonstrate that Olenos had been a small *polis*, though without informing us as to whether or not Olenos still existed in Hermesianax's day. Nevertheless, the absence of Olenos in Skylax's list may suggest that it had been absorbed within Dyme by ca. 370 B.C. Strabo adds that Aigai was incorporated within Aigeira through a process of *synoikismos*, though the citizens of Aigeira took the name of Aigaioi.<sup>18</sup> By Strabo's day, Rhypes was also uninhabited, and its *chora* had been distributed between Aigion and (perhaps a little surprisingly, given its location) Pharai: according to Pausanias, it had been razed to the ground by Augustus and its inhabitants settled at Patrai.<sup>19</sup> Leontion and Keryneia may have originally been hill sites ("fortresses" in Anderson's words).<sup>20</sup> Pausanias implies that the latter, situated between Helike and Boura, was already in existence when it took in refugees from Mykenai shortly after 468 B.C., but that it was this increase in population which guaranteed Keryneia's future importance.

What is problematic is the terminology adopted to describe these internal divisions of Achaia. For Herodotos, the Ionians of Asia Minor had originated from the northern Peloponnesian region of Achaia; the reason why they were organised into twelve *poleis* and were reluctant to admit any new members was because they had been divided into twelve *mere* when they had occupied Achaia: ὅτι καὶ ὅτε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκεον δωδέκα ἦν αὐτῶν μέρη, κατὰ περ νῦν Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἴωνας δωδέκα ἔστι μέρη. After enumerating the names of these twelve *mere* (see above), Herodotos repeats his point: ταῦτα δωδέκα μέρη νῦν Ἀχαιῶν ἔστι καὶ τότε γε Ἴώνων ἦν (1.145-146.1). At first sight, Herodotos appears to be establishing a direct contrast between Ionia, divided into twelve *poleis*, and Achaia, divided into twelve *mere*, and this has led Michel Sakellariou to hypothesise that the emergence of *poleis* in Achaia must postdate the time of Herodotos.<sup>21</sup> Yet if this really was Herodotos' intention, it was misunderstood by later writers. Pausanias (7.6.1) says that the Achaians established *poleis* upon their arrival in Achaia: τὴν τε γῆν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τὴν Ἴώνων διελάγχανον καὶ ἐσακίζοντο ἐς τὰς πόλεις. Strabo (8.7.4) presents a similar picture when he contrasts the village settlements of the Ionians with the *poleis* founded by the Achaians (οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἴωνες κομηδὸν ὄκουν, οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ πόλεις ἔκτισαν), although in an earlier chapter he describes Achaia as already being settled in *poleis* at the time of the Ionian "occupation" (εἰς δώδεκα πόλεις μερισθέντες).<sup>22</sup> These apparent discrepancies provide a salutary reminder that we should not always expect terminological precision within the work of one author, let alone between authors.

Nevertheless, we should also be careful not to adopt too literal an interpretation of the Herodotean passage. Herodotos' purpose is not to shed light on the political geography of Achaia in historical times but to provide an *aition* as to why the Ionians restricted membership of the Panionion to twelve cities. The *mere* of Achaia are introduced into the passage in the context of the protohistoric period prior to the Return of the Herakleidai (whose arrival in Argos and Sparta supposedly forced the Achaians to migrate to the north Peloponnese).<sup>23</sup> If Herodotos subscribes to a view of Achaia at this time as relatively unurbanised, he is almost certainly reflecting a commonly-held opinion: Homer mentions only Hyperesia (Aigeira), Gonoessa (Donoussa?), Pellene, Aigion, Aigai and Helike, and to none of these does he attach a term such as *polis* or *ptoliethron*.<sup>24</sup> *Polis*, then, would have been an unsuitable term to ascribe to this period and so Herodotos uses the term *meros* which, togeth-

er with its cognate (*meris*), continued to be employed in Achaia as a synonym for *chora* even after the appearance of urban centres.<sup>25</sup> But having introduced this term, Herodotos is obliged to retain it to describe the organisation of Achaia in his own day, since his argument would have been weakened had he written “when [the Ionians] used to live in the Peloponnese they had twelve *mere*, just as the Achaians today, after having expelled the Ionians, have twelve *poleis*.” In short, the dictates of Herodotos’ argument, together with the fact that *meros* could be used to describe a *chora* with or without an urban centre, makes it difficult to maintain that *poleis* cannot have existed by Herodotos’ day.

*Poleis* are certainly attested in Achaia by the fourth century B.C. During the Theban invasion of Lakonia in the winter of 370/369 B.C., the Spartans received aid from Φλειάσιοί τε καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Πελλήνηες καὶ ἄλλαι δέ τινες τῶν πόλεων,<sup>26</sup> which should suggest that Pellene at least was regarded as a *polis* by this time. Indeed, Cicero says that Dikaiarchos, a pupil of Aristotle, wrote a Πελληνέων Πολιτεία,<sup>27</sup> and an inscription dated to 344/3 B.C. refers to *presbeis* from Pellene being entertained in the *prytaneion* at Athens.<sup>28</sup> More explicit evidence is available for 367 B.C. when the Thebans decided to send *harmostai* to the cities of Achaia (εἰς τὰς Ἀχαΐδας πόλεις).<sup>29</sup> Similarly, Skylax (42) – in a document thought to date to ca. 370 B.C. (see above) – explicitly refers to the settlements of Achaia as *poleis*. In order to trace the earlier development of Achaian *poleis*, it is necessary to embark upon a detailed examination of the literary and archaeological evidence for each site, by sub-region.

### *i. The north coast*

The early significance of the sites along the north coast of Achaia is emphasised not only by their association with the ancestral kings of the Achaians but also by the role they are supposed to have played in the establishment of colonies in South Italy (see below). The sites of Aigeira and Aigion both have early origins and, exceptionally in the wider context of Achaia, both seem to have developed shrines during the eighth century (albeit somewhat different in nature).

The most easterly site of Achaia is *Pellene*, which always seems to have acted independently from other Achaian communities. For instance, the people of Pellene were the only Achaians to ally themselves with the Spartans at the onset of the Peloponnesian War in 431 B.C. (al-

though the rest of the Achaians may have followed suit two years later).<sup>30</sup> Pellene seems to have been regarded as a *polis* at this period (or at least sufficiently similar not to have merited differentiation), since Thucydides describes how the Spartans put the vote for war to all the allied cities, big and small (καὶ μείζονι καὶ ἐλάσσονι πόλει).<sup>31</sup> Similarly, Thucydides (8.3.2) describes how, in 411 B.C., the Spartans gave orders to the *poleis* (ταῖς πόλεσιν) to build and provide ships. Among those who responded to the call was Pellene, and this may again be taken as implicit evidence of Pellene's *polis* status. This status can probably be retrojected somewhat, since Pausanias (7.17.13; cf. 7.17.6) attaches the city-ethnic Πελλήνην to an athlete named Sostratos who won the boys' foot-race shortly after the eightieth Olympiad of 460–457 B.C. It has even been suggested that Pellene was already a *polis* in the late seventh or sixth century when she is supposed to have waged a protracted war against Sikyon,<sup>32</sup> though this is not in our opinion a sufficiently concrete criterion for *polis* status.

According to Strabo (8.7.5), each of the twelve *mere* of Achaia was formed from seven or eight *demoi*: ἐκάστη δὲ τῶν δώδεκα μερίδων ἐκ δήμων συνειστήκει ἑπτὰ καὶ ὀκτώ. It is not impossible that these *demoi* were invented during the Hellenistic period to bestow a deeper historical pedigree upon the members of the Achaian League, though it is equally likely that *demoi* had existed during the Archaic period at least. Unfortunately, there is no epigraphic evidence for the existence of *demoi* in Achaia at any period – indeed, the only testimony for civic subdivisions comes in a third-century law which regulates citizenship at Dyme and names three *phylai* (Stratis [or Spatis], Dymaia and Thesmiaia). Nicholas Jones believes that since *demoi* are absent in this inscription, “they presumably played no role in the public administration”. He does, however, suggest that the *phylai* (which in Dyme, at any rate, seem to have had a geographical significance) were modelled on a pre-existing *demoi* system.<sup>33</sup> The archaeological evidence would appear to suggest that the *physical* existence of the *demoi* continued long after the Archaic period, even if their political identity was lost after synoecism.

In the region of Pellene, Pausanias refers to the localities of Mysaion (7.27.9), Kyros (7.27.11) and Poseidion (7.27.8). Poseidion is explicitly described as having been a *demos* in earlier times, although it is not at all certain that Mysaion and Kyros – the locations of the sanctuaries of Demeter Mysaia and Asklepios respectively – were true *demoi*.<sup>34</sup> We do not know whether the harbour, known as Aristonautai, was a *demos* of Pellene or whether it retained a certain independence.<sup>35</sup> In describing the

war between Elis and Arkadia in 365 B.C., Xenophon reports how the Arkadians seized a settlement belonging to Pellene named Olouros which should probably be regarded as a *demos*.<sup>36</sup> Finally, Strabo refers to a village (κώμη) of Pellene lying between Aigion and Pellene where the well-known games were held.<sup>37</sup> It is the proximity of these homonymous settlements which may indicate that the city of Pellene represents a later urban centre resulting from a synoecism and taking its name from the older village where the games were held.<sup>38</sup> There has been only limited excavation in the area, producing mainly Hellenistic finds from tombs, but also a little Classical material.<sup>39</sup>

According to Pausanias, the *polis* of *Aigeira* had originally been called Hyperesia.<sup>40</sup> The upper city (ἄνω πόλιν), which he situates two and a half kilometres from the coast, should be associated with the plateau, some 750m<sup>2</sup> in area, which has been excavated since 1972 by the Austrian Archaeological Institute under Wilhelm Alzinger and Anton Bammer successively. This is one of the very few Achaian sites to have been systematically investigated, but unfortunately, even though it has not suffered from overbuilding in the same way as Aigion, it has been severely damaged by erosion.<sup>41</sup> In building phases I and II, Mycenaean house structures plus a pottery kiln have been traced from ca. 1200, LHIIIC; a small number of artefacts date earlier in LHIIIB, but there is no evidence of any other contemporary activity.<sup>42</sup>

The Early Iron Age phase III (tenth to eighth centuries) lies over the final Mycenaean destruction level. Perhaps the most striking innovation of this period is the so-called Temple A, identified somewhat controversially as the first of a series of cult buildings on the plateau. As the earliest candidate for a public building yet discovered in Achaia, this is worthy of detailed discussion. Only sections of the north, east and west walls are preserved, but a rectangular structure with antae has been restored on the basis of comparison with architectural models from other sites, notably the Argive Heraion. Both the orientation of the building (east-west), and the construction of the walls, 0.45-0.55m thick and built of small field stones bound with earth, are different from Mycenaean structures; there is no evidence for the form of the roof. Largely due to severe erosion, material of all periods is scarce and there is no clear votive deposit. Of the Geometric finds represented, bronze items including spits and sheet fragments occur in settlements and shrines, but a large tripod found west of the acropolis is more revealing of cult (if not unparalleled in settlement). Alzinger proposed a ninth-century date for this on the basis of parallels with the Olympia massif style; this largely finishes



ca. 800 at Olympia, but there are occasional later Middle Geometric examples, and so an eighth-century date is also possible. In short, we have just enough evidence to identify cult activity by the eighth century, but not to examine the interests represented among the participating community nor, perhaps more significantly for the present discussion, to trace their geographical origins. Identification of the cult rests on inference from later sources: Alzinger associated the succeeding Temple B with Artemis and Iphigeneia, on the basis of Pausanias' statement (7.26.5) that Artemis' was the oldest cult here (although he also mentions a *xoanon* of Apollo). It is possible that this also applies to Temple A, if indeed it is a cult building, but there is no independent supporting evidence.<sup>43</sup>

The tripod would seem to indicate that cult was being practised at least by the early eighth century. There are, however, earlier vessels among the 30 or so Early Iron Age sherds found in slopewash which probably originated on the acropolis. These include LHIIC/SM and dark ground Proto-geometric, followed by eighth-century local wares including Corinthianising, and Corinthian Middle-Late Geometric and Lakonian imports. Little is published, but it is unlikely that these sherds form a continuous sequence. Notable, however, is the presence of imports from Corinth (part of a pattern along the north coast, which from this point seems to have formed links with expanding cross-Gulf traffic), and then with Lakonia (implying links up through Arkadia). Despite its location in the east of the region, diagonally opposite Delphi, Aigeira did not receive imports earlier than other coastal sites, but instead forms part of a clear local pattern. The bias towards open shapes among these sherds best fits a settlement or shrine; indeed, no burials have yet been discovered. Material pre-dating the earliest indication of cult in Temple A probably relates to other post-Mycenaean (phase III) house structures in the north-west corner of the plateau. These are poorly preserved, but their wall construction is similar to that of Temple A. It is unclear how these relate chronologically to Temple A; phase III is a long one, and there are no controls to place structures more closely within it. The context and the social role of the "Temple" are therefore hard to assess. By ca. 650 and the construction of Temple B (see below), it is clear that the acropolis had become primarily a cult area, but this is merely a *terminus ante quem*. At present, it seems most likely that Temple A existed within a settlement (or perhaps, in view of the small area of the plateau and the extent of excavation, a complex of some sort), which was possibly, although not probably, continuous from

the Bronze Age. There is, however, insufficient evidence to assess Alexander Mazarakis Ainian's suggestion that it was a ruler's dwelling housing cult activity.<sup>44</sup>

The Archaic building Phase IV on the acropolis has produced evidence for the aggrandisement of the temple itself, but there are as yet no signs of other structures: by this period at least, the area seems to have become primarily, if not exclusively, a sacred precinct.<sup>45</sup> The significance of this change is a matter of some interest, especially if it implies a greater separation of public and private activities, but this must remain speculative. Temple B, which replaced Temple A during the second half of the seventh century, was an old-fashioned structure by the standards of other regions, especially the neighbouring Corinthia. It consisted of a 6 x 20m cella on an orthostat foundation, with a Corinthian-style tiled roof (Alzinger identifies the tiles as of Corinthian manufacture), but it had no colonnade; architectural debris was found dumped in a cistern. There is no evidence for a cult statue; the only sculpture of this period yet found is a terracotta kore head of ca. 520-510. Pottery finds on the acropolis continue to include Protocorinthian, Corinthian and Attic black figure imports, but there is otherwise scant evidence with which to assess the development of the sanctuary's local or regional role. Temple B continued in use during the Classical period, and received a new roof early in the fifth century, along perhaps with some form of (now unreconstructable) gable ornament. Finds associated with the structure include a cover tile bearing the inscription AMYΜΩΝΑ, which Alzinger links to Aischylos' satyr play of 463. Among the published pottery from acropolis wash deposits are fifth-century Attic black and red figure, and Classical Corinthian sherds; illustrated material does not postdate ca. 400, and the fourth century may have been a period of marked decline.

According to Pausanias, Hyperesia changed its name to Aigeira during the period of Ionian occupation. Elsewhere, however, he attaches the city ethnic Ὑπερῆσιαιον to a certain Ikaros who won the foot-race at Olympia in 688 B.C.<sup>46</sup> It is difficult to appeal to evidence as late as this to conclude that Hyperesia was a fully-fledged *polis* in the early seventh century, and it is surely preferable to assume that this particular ethnic was employed because the *polis* of Aigeira had not yet been established. Pausanias also notes (7.26.1) that the dockyard (ἔπινειον) of Aigeira bore the same name as the city, and it is tempting to suppose that Hyperesia was the original name of the acropolis area, but that *synokismos* resulted in the creation of a new, wider community to which the port of Aigeira gave its name.

One of the *demoi* which had constituted the synoecised Aigeira may well be the *polis* of Phelloe (modern Seliana Aigialeias), some eight kilometres from Aigeira, which Pausanias (7.26.10) describes as having been intermittently occupied. Surface exploration on the west slopes of Evrostina in this area shows that settlement dates from the second half of the eighth century, contemporary with, or slightly earlier than, colonisation (the earliest pottery is imported Corinthian LG).<sup>47</sup> Limited excavation confirms this picture, and two nearby burials both contained Corinthian imports (including a Thapsos tripod, a pottery form unparalleled in Corinth, but relatively popular further west).<sup>48</sup> It thus seems that activity in this area followed upon the construction of Temple A on the acropolis at Aigeira, and the presence of imports further links the two sites. These settlement traces continue into the Archaic and Classical periods, with local pithoi, Archaic Corinthian imports and red figure sherds among surface material. There are also stone footings for LG/Archaic pithoi and Archaic pottery from the seventh century onwards, contained in fill around a late Classical structure of indeterminate function in the north part of the site: pottery in fill to the north of this building dates from the seventh to the fourth century.

*Aigai* may perhaps be identified with modern Akrata (although other candidates exist), but as yet no Early Iron Age material has been found in this area. The earliest evidence, instead, comprises a fragment of an Archaic or early Classical Doric poros column, and part of a contemporary decorated perirrhanterion from a separate location. These would seem to belong to a public, probably cultic building – perhaps the shrine of Poseidon to which Pausanias refers (7.25.12). There is, as yet, no evidence for settlement activity although the area has barely been explored.<sup>49</sup> Around 500 B.C., there appears a series of silver triobols, conforming to the Aiginetan standard and depicting the protome of a goat, the bearded head of Dionysos and the legend AIF.<sup>50</sup> Thomas Martin has demonstrated convincingly that the minting of coinage is not a *sine qua non* for *polis* status, since there were many communities in antiquity that were undoubtedly *poleis*, but which employed coinage issues minted in other city-states.<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, we would be reluctant to discount entirely the symbolic dimension of minting coinage in favour of economic factors. In our opinion, the decision to issue in the early fifth century a series of coins carrying an emblem (the goat protome) which evidently serves as an aetiological commentary on the self-appointed city-ethnic AIF[AION] implies a strong political consciousness.

The site of ancient *Boura* may possibly be associated with scant

traces of material near the village of Kastro. If this identification is correct, the apparent continuity from Classical (and possibly even late Archaic) times through to the Roman period would tend to confirm the literary tradition that the earthquake which destroyed Helike had no permanent effect on Boura.<sup>52</sup>

Ancient *Helike* has for many decades been the subject of speculation and geophysical exploration along the coastal zone. The nature of the site and its approximate location have long been known: Homer (*Il.* 8.203; 20.404) describes it as εὐϕεῖα, presumably on a high plain; Strabo (8.7.2), citing Herakleides, says that it was 12 stades from the sea, while Pausanias (7.24.3) puts it 40 stades east of Aigion. By implication, it should lie between the ancient courses of the Selinous and Kerynitis rivers. Further topographical indication is provided by Pausanias' reference (7.25.6) to an oracular cave of Herakles Bouraikos some 30 stades east of Helike, now identified south of the village of Eleaion.<sup>53</sup> Until 1988, it had been argued (albeit not unanimously) that Helike lay underwater. Exploration off the Achaian coast has not, however, proved fruitful. One recent programme of sonar investigation, instigated in September 1988, covered some 7 km<sup>2</sup> between the Selinous and Bouraikos rivers, and produced evidence of a harbour mole but little else. The position of this mole implies that the coastline has changed little since antiquity, and it is therefore likely that, as had already been suggested, Helike is to be found inland. It seems that the earthquake of 373 B.C. produced a tidal wave which swamped the city, leaving massive sediment cover inland; study of deposits in the area of the likely acropolis area indicates a 6-12m deep cover, and survey with ground penetrating radar continues.<sup>54</sup> The discovery at Nea Keryneia (Gardena) of two sets of foundations, almost certainly belonging to small temples, had already led Petropoulos to associate this site with the ancient acropolis of Helike. One set of foundations is Archaic in date, the other is Classical and was probably destroyed in the earthquake of 373 B.C.<sup>55</sup>

Evidence is similarly scarce from the hill of Mamousia near Derveni, which Meyer equated with ancient Keryneia. The small body of evidence from the eighth century is almost certainly just the tip of an iceberg (a single pithos burial is also probably to be dated to the eighth century, within the local PG phase, on the grounds of the 11 local fine vessels and one coarse vessel found within).<sup>56</sup> A further pithos was found during the opening of a new road to Stamnoulia; it probably falls from the eighth century to the Archaic period, but cannot be more closely dated, and sculptural fragments found here probably come from an Archaic temple.<sup>57</sup>

*Aigion* is the only other major centre (together with Aigeira) to have been excavated in this part of Achaia. Activity here may extend back continuously to the Neolithic period, although the current lack of Protogeometric evidence may imply a break into the early eighth century. Clearly, rescue excavation in a modern city can only give a partial picture, especially as much material was re-used in antiquity (notably for rebuilding after earthquakes); the following account is a summary of findings to date.<sup>58</sup> Eighth-century evidence consists largely of burials concentrated on the plateau over the harbour (south-east of the main area of Mycenaean settlement). A considerable number of burials from this period have been reported, with other empty pithoi being probably Geometric or Archaic.<sup>59</sup> The overall percentage of burials with goods is low, but includes Thapsos pottery, local impressed ware, small amounts of bronze jewellery, and, in one case, two scarabs. Adults were normally inhumed in pithoi and children in cists (as far as we can tell, the normal pattern across the north coast, with pithoi common in other parts of Achaia too), but there is insufficient evidence to consider issues of ranking and social structure. The only instance of architecture of this period yet found comprises traces of a late eighth- or seventh-century apsidal building on the edge of the main area of Bronze Age settlement.<sup>60</sup> This is an isolated find, and there is no evidence to determine its function or context. Other traces are confined to occasional instances of displaced sherds.<sup>61</sup>

Archaic evidence from *Aigion* is strikingly slight, and mainly belongs to the sixth, rather than the seventh century. Although it is most likely that this picture has been distorted by the hazards of preservation and rescue excavation, the immediate post-colonial period is at present a major gap, and is reminiscent of the seventh-century "problem" in other regions (notably Attica). Apart from the apsidal structure (see above) which may well belong early in the period, the only securely datable evidence consists of a large orthogonal potters' kiln, dating ca. 600,<sup>62</sup> and a collection of sherds in mixed fill. Yet the new appearance of three inscribed circular monument bases found in the area of Panagia Trypitis may imply some degree of communal consciousness.<sup>63</sup>

Certainly, marked changes are evident at *Aigion* during the Classical period. The city seems to have grown considerably, with Classical building traces found in the western part of the modern town by the ancient main drain (including one fifth- and one fourth-century building, plus a later Roman structure re-using blocks of the second half of the fifth century). There is, however, no surviving evidence to characterise these as public buildings. A further area of Classical activity lies in the east of

the city, and comprises architectural traces plus a pottery deposit with red figure sherds. The main Classical cemetery probably lay in the western area, north-west of the drain. Two disturbed fifth-century slab cists are typical of finds here, and illustrate the change in mortuary practices beginning in Achaia as a whole. Furthermore, occasional burials outside the immediate confines of the city (but much closer than earlier outlying sites) may imply a dependent scatter of small satellite settlements, perhaps single families: two Classical tile-covered graves were found north of the old Athens-Patras road at the 164km mark (one containing a bronze mirror and a red figure lekythos).<sup>64</sup>

There is limited evidence to suggest that certain graves may have been very wealthy: a bronze oinochoe of ca. 450-440, now in Baltimore but found in a tomb in Aigion in 1938, is inscribed on the lip interior  $\tau\epsilon\theta[\omicron]\nu \text{ΑΥΓΕΟΣ}$ , presumably indicating the existence of a local hero cult (but possibly a cult name of Poseidon). A pair of gold earrings of the same date, also in Baltimore, is said to come from a further grave.<sup>65</sup> The hydria inscription is the sole indication of Classical cult in the city; there is no other evidence of any form of shrine or any other public building. One possible, but tenuous, reference to a Bouleuterion refers to a later, third-century structure linked to the federal organisation. This need not be surprising: with the (very limited) exception of Athens, the great majority of constructions elsewhere, other than temples and theatral areas (often linked to race tracks), are Hellenistic.<sup>66</sup> An absence of physical evidence cannot therefore support negative arguments.

Strabo (8.7.5) notes that Aigion originally comprised seven or eight *demoi*, and rural sites which may be related to Aigion begin to appear during the latter part of the eighth century. 3km west of Kato Mavriki (5km south south-west of Aigion), 6 pithos burials and a further cist grave nearby are disturbed, but the mode of burial, *may* imply an Early Iron Age or Archaic date.<sup>67</sup> A further pithos burial, containing an EPC Thapsos krater, an unusually late example of a Naue III sword, an iron knife and 2 bronze bowls, dates to ca. 700 at the earliest, and is at least as rich as any grave yet found in Aigion.<sup>68</sup> At present there is no firm evidence for Archaic activity. The status of these remains, and the nature of their relationship to Aigion, is unclear. If they are offshoots of Aigion, it is interesting to speculate on the rationale for their establishment and to note the date of this phenomenon in relation to colonisation.

Perhaps the most significant site in terms of the territorial definition of Aigion is Ano Mazaraki-Rakita, where an open-air shrine was established by ca. 750 in a large valley beside the main road into Arkadia

along the Meganeitas valley.<sup>69</sup> Votives were contained in a shallow deposit covering some 46m<sup>2</sup>, comprising six strata of dark earth laid directly over the ground. This deposit contained much thoroughly broken pottery (LG in the lowest layer 1, EPC in layer 2), and included both local wares (notably a form of impressed ware which also occurs at Aigion, Lousoi and Delphi),<sup>70</sup> and both orthodox and Thapsos Corinthian imports. Indeed, Petropoulos notes the strength of ceramic connections with Corinth (EPC conical oinochoai being particularly popular) and Argos – a link which is more likely to reflect traffic north from Arkadia than inland from the Achaian coast, where Argive imports have not yet been found.<sup>71</sup> Thus he highlights this site as an exemplar of the marked divide between Eastern Achaia and the western areas of Patras and Kato Achaia in terms of access to imports. Perhaps the most striking feature of the shrine is a large apsidal temple, a hecatompedon, with an exterior colonnade of wooden columns on stone bases; the foundations of this structure are bedded in a thick and extensive ash layer, presumably from an earlier altar. Excavation of this structure is incomplete, and it is as yet unclear whether its Corinthian tiled roof may date it to the early seventh century, or whether this replaced an earlier thatched roof, or indeed, even whether this is the earliest structure on site.<sup>72</sup> The building was destroyed by fire and earthquake early in the fourth century (perhaps by the same earthquake that destroyed Helike), but the presence of pottery and coins until the third century A.D. indicates continuing activity; no later temple has yet been discovered.

Although the site of Ano Mazaraki is not yet fully published, it is possible to make some observations about the nature of cult activity from the material evidence: the high percentage of open forms represented among the pottery, combined with burnt debris, suggests drinking and dining. The popularity of conical oinochoai is reminiscent of Corinthian sanctuaries (Perachora, Isthmia and the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth) where they are likely to have contained liquid offerings,<sup>73</sup> and it is interesting to note that this use may have been adopted in Achaia (especially as the shape is not common in graves). Other early votives include three small granary models of the very end of the eighth or early seventh centuries; although these probably represent agricultural interests, we cannot yet determine whether they imply a farming population in the immediate vicinity (as the case of Perachora shows, architectural models can be offered at quite remote shrines). Notable is the wealth of small finds from the very beginning, including exotica such as an Egyptian faience scarab of the 22nd dynasty (ca. 725 B.C.),

as well as personal items like bone and stone stamps, bronze jewellery, combs and mirrors, glass beads, iron weapons, and bronze double axes and small shields. It is not yet possible to quantify these different categories, but we may note the range of male and female interests represented. The identification of Artemis and Apollo as the joint patron deities is conjectural.

The wealth and diversity of finds at Ano Mazaraki does not suggest a small roadside shrine, but rather a rural sanctuary with strong links to a wealthy centre. It is possible that there was a settlement on the Rakita plain ca. 1km to the south, since walling has been noted around the modern village, but this has yet to be investigated. Although there is no additional evidence to link the shrine to any particular city, ceramic connections with Aigion are very clear. If Aigion did indeed control or maintain a strong interest in the shrine, this would be a unique instance in Achaia of the territorial use of cult highlighted elsewhere as a feature of the eighth century.<sup>74</sup> Interestingly, no shrine has yet been found in Aigion itself – something which marks a strong contrast with Aigeira.

The shrine at Ano Mazaraki continued into the third century A.D. at least, spanning many changes at Aigion itself, including the incorporation of the city into the Achaian League. In view of the shrine's location, and likely contacts with northern Arkadia, it would be unwise to link its fate totally to the development of Aigion. Nonetheless, when considering the physical changes evident in the Classical city it is worth bearing in mind that the development of the city does not seem to have occurred at the expense of the countryside, and that a relatively constant territorial perception is perhaps unusually evident here.

Colonial tradition implies the existence of an eighth-century settlement at *Rhypes* (see below). The site has long been identified with Trapeza hill, 7 km south-west of Aigion, but although extensive Bronze Age and Hellenistic architectural remains have been reported, only small-scale excavation has taken place, and Geometric and Archaic evidence consists solely of occasional surface finds.<sup>75</sup> According to Thucydides (7.34.1), Erineos was a coastal settlement within the territory of Rhypes (ἐν τῇ Ῥυπικῆ). There are dispersed finds in all this area; at Neos Erineos, for example, there was continuous settlement from the Protogeometric period onwards. The Gulf of Erineos is probably to be located in Lambiri.<sup>76</sup> Tombs discovered (and partially destroyed) during the cutting of the Athens-Patras railway begin to appear in the first half of the eighth century and continue, along with scattered finds, through the Archaic and Classical periods.<sup>77</sup> Surface remains indicate settlement



at Provodos, slightly further west and inland, from the Classical period onwards.<sup>78</sup> A further settlement within Rhypike was Leuktron, which Strabo (8.7.5) describes as having once been a *demos* of Rhyphes.

Before considering other regions of Achaia, certain general observations may be made about the development of the north coast. In the eighth century, the principal sites are evenly spaced along the edge of the coastal plain or on headlands. In the case of Aigeira, the site is confined by topography, but elsewhere the principal constraint may have been access to the resources of a relatively narrow and fragmented coastal plain, punctuated by the outflow of many mountain streams (which made east-west passage by land very difficult). The location of principal settlements remained remarkably stable over time, but the second half of the eighth century saw both an expansion at main sites and a spread of activity into the hinterland – in certain instances this appears to have been short-lived, although it must be emphasised that this area has not been systematically surveyed. Traits shared between sites in this period include burial practices, but there is also a degree of material differentiation in factors such as the nature of local pottery, and the presence or absence of imports and local copies. Furthermore, the presence of imported pottery in this area is one of the key differences which marks it off from the western regions of Patrai and Dyme.<sup>79</sup> There is no evidence of secular public buildings. By contrast, our only evidence for eighth-century cult is confined to the north coast, but the nature and likely role of the two sites involved appear wholly different – a further sign of strong local subdivision. Only at Aigion, however, do we have sufficient evidence to reconstruct, however tentatively, a discrete local system in place by ca. 700 and focused more or less formally on the site of Aigion itself.

In the Archaic period, there is a basic continuity of activity at major sites but a major reduction in the quantity of evidence, especially from burials. The addition of two shrines at Akrata and Nea Keryneia brings the regional total to four (noting also the aggrandisement of Temple B at Aigeira, and the hypothetical change in role attendant upon its more isolated place on the acropolis). This may be an indication of a growing tendency to mark local identity with cult, but if so it is limited. There is no evidence for any other form of public building, let alone for physical signs of new institutions or forms of organisation which could imply cross-fertilisation from colonies.

The literary evidence for Pellene and the numismatic evidence from Aigai ought in theory to suggest that the Classical phase should be when

the impact of polis formation shows in the material record. Such a case can be made for Aigion, but it is impossible to determine whether this is typical of the north coast. There remains, however, the problem of defining what we mean by "Classical". This is a long phase, and it can be hard to date precisely battered sherds from mixed fill or surface collections. This is not a minor point: when we come to discuss western areas in an attempt to understand the relationship between archaeological material and the later political history of Achaia, there is a major difference between developments datable to the fifth century and those which belong to the fourth-century transition into Hellenistic.

### *ii. The area of Patrai*

The area which formed the *chora* of Patrai in the Classical period extends along the coastal plain from modern Drepanon to Patras (Patrai) and west as far as Tsoukaleika (equated with ancient Olenos).<sup>80</sup> Archaeologically, the principal distinction from the north coast is the fact that most data come from extensive and intensive surface survey (noted above), and with few exceptions, excavation has been confined to rescue work within the modern city of Patras.

Although most of Achaia was settled throughout the Bronze Age, this region above all has produced evidence for large cemeteries spanning the Late Helladic period, and it is clear that it was an area of great wealth and dense settlement. Many of these graves continue into LHIIC, but few have produced SM material, and Protogeometric evidence is even rarer.<sup>81</sup> Only in two cases – Thea and Kallithea-Laganida (relatively close together, south of Patrai) – are Protogeometric sherds reported as the latest material on Mycenaean sites.<sup>82</sup> Clearly, Protogeometric representation in the area is very slight, and with one exception there is nothing approaching the degree of continuity evident at Aigion or Aigeira. The exception is Drepanon where activity was continuous from Protogeometric onwards (Bronze Age remains at present are LHI), and it may be no coincidence that this is the site closest to the north coast zone. This pattern cannot merely reflect a bias towards burials in the Bronze Age record, since survey data should have gone some way towards redressing the balance. A preliminary summary of these data lists 15 Geometric sites (a 37.5% reduction on LH), almost all of which were re-occupied in Late Geometric. The Geometric (i.e. eighth-century) picture is thus in essence a new creation.<sup>83</sup>

In the succeeding Archaic period, the region appears to show a strikingly low level of activity. The six Archaic sites noted in survey reports

constitute a 60% decrease from Geometric levels; 11 earlier sites – 73.3% of the record – were abandoned, and just 4 continue.<sup>84</sup> We therefore find a reduction in the level of representation which is comparable to – or rather greater than – that observed in the north coast area, but also a change in site location which implies a greater degree of instability. It may also be significant that where dates are indicated in publications, Archaic material is generally sixth-century, echoing the seventh-century problem noted earlier. The available sample is too small to tell whether the apparent diminution in burial numbers is significant; this is not necessarily a factor of recovery techniques, but may imply a change in practice or cemetery location which has not yet been documented. The loss of Geometric burial sites accounts for the disappearance of the great majority of small rural sites noted during the previous period.

By contrast, the Classical period saw a marked increase in activity, especially towards the end; a comparable increase into the Hellenistic period brought the level of activity almost up to that of the Late Bronze Age. Survey figures show 11 Classical sites (an 183.3% increase), with the abandonment of just one site and continuity at the remaining 5; this rose to 34 during the Hellenistic period (a 309% increase on Classical figures, with continuity at 5 Classical sites).

At *Patrai* itself, reported Geometric evidence from the modern town centre is very slight, comprising a small quantity of material from the area of the Odeion.<sup>85</sup> It must, however, be noted that the combination of ancient overbuilding (especially following the establishment of the Roman colony) and the constraints of rescue excavation in a modern city present serious difficulties. It is quite possible that significant areas of early activity remain to be uncovered; indeed, the discovery of Archaic pottery in 1993 under Psila Alonia square may indicate that this is one such area.<sup>86</sup> Late Classical sherds were also found displaced into later layers in this square, and traces of Classical wall appear under a later building on *Odos Korinthou* 18. It is unfortunate that only the ending of a particularly early inscription from *Patras* is preserved on a limestone pillar; this reads  $\text{-}\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , and according to Jeffery is unlikely to be earlier than the mid fifth century. Again, the evidence is too fragmentary to comment on urban structure, although there is no record of any civic building.<sup>87</sup> We know enough to speak of some form of continuity, perhaps from Geometric to Classical times, but not as yet to assess the exact nature of the activity represented, or the place of *Patrai* within local settlement. *Patrai* would appear, however, to have been a unified conurbation by 419 B.C., when *Alkibiades* attempted to induce its inhabitants

to extend their walls down to the sea,<sup>88</sup> but it would be unwise to assume that the site always played the prominent role it was to enjoy in later times.

According to Pausanias (7.18.2-6), Patrai originally consisted of three *poleis*: Aroe, founded by the autochthonous Eumelos; Antheia, founded by Eumelos and Triptolemos; and Mesatis, founded between Aroe and Antheia. After they had expelled the Ionians, the eponymous Patreus is supposed to have forbidden the Achaians to settle in Antheia or Mesatis, and to have thrown a wall around Aroe which he renamed Patrai. Later, after suffering reverses in aiding the Aitolians against the Gauls in 279 B.C., Patrai was subject to a *διοικισμος* and its population became more scattered, settling the *polismata* of Mesatis, Antheia, Boline, Argyra and Arba as well as Patrai. Finally, Augustus imposed another synoecism on Patrai, and Strabo's notice (8.3.2) that the city was formed from seven demes almost certainly belongs to this later context.<sup>89</sup>

Ernst Curtius posited two chronologically distinct synoecisms prior to the final Augustan union.<sup>90</sup> The first saw the fusion of Aroe, Antheia and Mesatis. This explains for some the tripartite significance behind the epithet τριπυργος, attached to Aroe by a Sibylline Oracle,<sup>91</sup> as well as the early importance accorded to the cult of Artemis Triklaria, located at Meilichos (modern Velvitsianiko).<sup>92</sup> The second, which he dated to the fifth century B.C., saw the incorporation of Boline, Argyra and Arba. Mauro Moggi suggests that these six *demoi* were never completely abandoned and continued as rural settlements until their repopulation in 279 B.C.<sup>93</sup> It is often assumed (though not unproblematically) that the same six demes were among those synoecised by Augustus – the seventh might then be either Panormos, which Thucydides (2.86.1, 4; cf. 2.92.1) situates near Rhion, or even Rhyphes, whose population was according to Pausanias (7.18.7) incorporated (προσσυνώκησε) within the *polis* of Patrai.

Many of these *demoi* have been identified in the archaeological record. Ancient Antheia is probably to be located at Ano Sykaina (Koufomikeli-Melitzani), where Archaic sherds and burials are reported on the site of a Classical villa complex (see below), along with a sixth-century grave on the nearby Anemos hill.<sup>94</sup> Classical surface finds have been reported in the vicinity at Charadron-Patras.<sup>95</sup> Ancient Mesatis, on the other hand, is perhaps to be equated with Mygdalia (by the acropolis of Achaia Klauss), where Late Geometric and Classical burials have been reported.<sup>96</sup> Petropoulos associates modern Drepanon with ancient Boline, where surface remains across part of the modern village and in

fields to the south indicate continuous and probably extensive PG-Roman settlement.<sup>97</sup> Burials have also been found, of which the most complete are two pairs of pithoi found during construction work in the village.<sup>98</sup> Pithoi 1 and 2, which form a pair, belong early in the eighth century, at the end of the local Protogeometric phase (dated by pins contained in 1 and a local kantharos in 2).<sup>99</sup> Pithoi 3 and 4 belong to the last quarter of the eighth century. Pithos 3 is of interest as a warrior grave containing a quantity of bronze and iron items, including a knife, sword and spearhead – such strong external influences on metalwork and pottery have not so far been traced further west.<sup>100</sup> An empty pair of burials was found nearby, while a few late Protogeometric sherds found some distance from pithos 4 could come from disturbed graves, and one further pithos close to the National Road is similar to Pithos 2 in date and contents. A further Geometric pithos south of the Panagia church was noted as part of the existing cemetery, but no grave goods are published, and at Bosinaki a pithos burial cannot be closely dated.<sup>101</sup> Incomplete investigation can only give a partial picture, but the area covered by scattered remains – and the chance basis of grave finds – may indicate substantial activity. It is also clear that Drepanon/Boline was not an isolated site in this area (see below).

Geometric vessels are reported at the site of Mavropodia in the area of Kato Kastritsi (which may well be ancient Argyra). Other Geometric graves are as yet unpublished;<sup>102</sup> Classical tile graves without goods have been found nearby at Platani and Papadokosta.<sup>103</sup> Another deme, Arba, may possibly be identified with the site of Ano Kastritsi (or at least be situated in the immediate area). A badly damaged pithos burial here dates to the late eighth century, and contains an oinochoe (the decoration of which is closer to the local styles of Delphi and Galaxidi than to the rest of Achaia).<sup>104</sup> Modern Golimi in the area of Tekke Ag. Basileiou (opposite Naupaktos) has produced traces of Classical settlement, including remains of pithoi and walls, and should probably be identified with ancient Panormos; tile graves are attested at the nearby settlement of Chatzeika.<sup>105</sup>

Survey has also revealed a number of unidentified rural sites within the *chora* of Patrai. Geometric burials are reported at Psathopyrgos (close to the east coast of the Drepanon promontory) and Platani (Dendros) to the south-west.<sup>106</sup> Geometric settlement is indicated in the Gerokomeio area of Patras. Further west, and perhaps in the territory of Olenos, surface material attested at Alissos/Ag. Paraskevi by the Peiros river is securely Archaic and Classical but may also contain a few Geometric

sherds, and at nearby Alissos/Kamenitsa, Geometric sherds are said to come from Mycenaean tombs. Indeed, in his report of surface prospection in the area of Alissos-Therianos (which he interprets as one of the demes of Olenos), Papagiannopoulos notes the surprising extent of Geometric material in the Kamenitsa area and, by contrast, the poverty of Archaic to Hellenistic finds which may indicate a move away from the area.<sup>107</sup>

What the survey results show is that groups of sites which can be equated with areas of later importance to synoecised Patras existed as early as the eighth century. The long term significance of this observation is harder to establish, however. The hypothesis of a two-stage synoecism is not so evident, especially since Ano Sykaina (ancient Antheia) does not appear to predate the sixth century. In fact, from an archaeological point of view, it is difficult to recognise any synoecism much before the Classical period, when its effect can be seen in the gradual appearance of large “agroikia” in the *chora* of Patrai at some distance from the city centre.<sup>108</sup> An early example of this is the extensive country house complex at Ano Sykaina, which was constructed in the second half of the fifth century and destroyed by fire and earthquake early in the fourth. This complex contained areas for storage (with pithoi and a mortar), weaving (with many loomweights), cooking and probably also bathing, and it bears favourable comparison with housing at Olynthos. Of particular interest is the re-use of a section of Doric capital, which may have come from the sanctuary of Artemis Triklaria, although a more likely candidate is the temple by Charadron which probably produced the sculptural fragments noted earlier (see n. 92 above).<sup>109</sup> If so, this would imply the abandonment, during the early fourth century, of a temple whose importance may have been paramount, but whose existence may have been very short-lived indeed. Further investigation of this shrine would be of great interest.

To summarise, the evidence from the *chora* of Patras is generally more fragmentary (albeit more controlled in its recovery) than that from the north coast. Nonetheless, certain points of comparison may be noted. First, there is greater instability in site location, with relatively few sites occupied for more than one period. Secondly, although activity in certain later demes of Patras can be traced as early as the eighth century, there is no uniform or simple progression towards the Classical model presented by Strabo, and the Archaic hiatus presents serious problems. Thirdly, there is no clear evidence of cult installations until the Classical period. Fourthly, the shortage of Archaic burials may imply a change in

customs/location. Fifthly, there is a greater preference for local pottery until the Archaic period, when imports travel widely across Achaia as a whole, and there is no strong evidence for regular external links during the eighth century. Finally, there is a lack of evidence for strong expressions of local identity in relation to other sites or groups of sites (and here it is interesting to contrast the pattern of epigraphical evidence in later times).

### *iii. The Dyme area*

The region west of the Peiros around Kato Achaia (ancient Dyme), marks the westernmost extent of activity during our period. This area too has been the subject of recent surface survey, and the resulting data indicate clear contrasts with patterns of development noted further east.<sup>110</sup> Here too, the Mycenaean period saw a peak of settlement, but unlike the areas so far discussed, Geometric evidence is slight. Geometric sherds are among those collected from a hill close to Kato Achaia, and at Teichos Dymaion (Kalogria, Araxos G) what has been (optimistically) interpreted as a Geometric altar was constructed in front of the propylon of the main gate. Occasional SM/PG? and also later Geometric sherds have been found, but in small numbers and generally displaced into later, Medieval levels. The nature of the activity represented by these sporadic finds is unclear, although it is important to emphasise that very little of the site has been investigated. If the “altar” genuinely is a ritual structure (and both its date and function are speculative), then some form of cult marking of a remote promontory is possible, but it is important to stress that there is no significant body of votives, nor as yet any evidence of permanent occupation. The site continues into the Archaic period at much the same level, with sporadic finds of seventh-century Protocorinthian, handmade, and black glaze sherds.<sup>111</sup>

By the Classical period, the most important site of the region was Dyme – now identified with Kato Achaia. For Strabo (8.3.2), Dyme had been formed from eight demes, though the only rural deme mentioned by name is the *polichne* of Teuthea (8.3.11). According to Pausanias (7.17.6-7), Dyme was formerly called Paleia, while for Stephanos of Byzantium (s.v. Δύμη) Dyme was the name given to the *chora* of a *polis* originally known as Stratos; in time, both *polis* and *chora* came to be known as Dyme. It is thus normally suspected that Dyme was the name adopted after synoecism – something which is often assumed to have occurred prior to 496 B.C. when Dyme is named as the home of the Olympic victor, Pataikos. On the other hand, it is not entirely impossible

that the name Dyme in this inscription refers to a specific locality rather than the synoecised *polis*, since the name Paleia is still attested as late as 460 B.C. (see below).<sup>112</sup>

The archaeological evidence also seems to point to a rather late development at Dyme, although particular problems attend excavation within the modern town. A few sixth-century sherds, displaced into Hellenistic levels in the north-west of the plateau, suggest that there was probably a small settlement at least from Archaic times.<sup>113</sup> Furthermore, a limestone grave stele, bearing the retrograde inscription Δαμοκάδεος τ[όδε σᾶμα] and found near to Kato Achaia, is probably seventh-century in date – thus making it the earliest inscription from Achaia.<sup>114</sup> Remains of the fifth and – more plentifully – the fourth-centuries are represented, generally displaced into later contexts, but in smaller quantities than might be hoped. This is largely due to building over earlier remains (notably after earthquakes from Hellenistic times onwards), and the very shallow burial of the ancient city beneath the modern town, with consequent re-use of material. As a result, most remains are second-century B.C. and later. We know enough to infer an expansion in activity in Classical times, but not yet to document it precisely.

Yet evidence from Dyme is hardly outstanding in comparison with that from a string of sites in the surrounding countryside, represented both by graves and sherd scatters, which, with the likely exception of Ano Soudheneika,<sup>115</sup> begins in the Archaic period. Associated material is rarely precisely dated within the Archaic period, but where it is, seventh-century material is represented. Comparisons based on partial samples should always be treated with caution, but it may be that the seventh century was less ephemeral here – certainly, the build-up in the level of settlement seems to have been more gradual here than in other areas. Archaic sherds found on the plateau at Lousika may indicate settlement, while a further two Archaic/Classical vases found during the construction of houses in the village are possibly from burials.<sup>116</sup> At Ag. Nikolaos-Plakes, an extensive sherd scatter dates principally to the Classical period, but also contains Archaic material probably relating to settlement.<sup>117</sup> At Ano Soudheneika (Stroupheika, Ag. Konstantinos), Archaic sherds (including Protocorinthian and Subgeometric) may come from burials, especially as illegal excavation revealed a tumulus in the same field.<sup>118</sup> Further indications of burials come from Phlokas (Zisimeika, Platanos) where four late-sixth/early-fifth-century black figure lekythoi were found during road construction in the village in 1949 (tombs were destroyed in these works).<sup>119</sup> Evidence of settlement is also



known from Petrochorion (Profitis Ilias), where tiles and stones were accompanied by Archaic sherds (including Protocorinthian),<sup>120</sup> and at Riolos-Katarchia, where Archaic sherds have been found on the surface.<sup>121</sup> Two further sites may also have seen Archaic activity: at Elaiochorion (Bourdaneika), sherds and tiles from later tile tombs are predominantly Classical and Hellenistic but include some candidates for an earlier date,<sup>122</sup> while at Santameri, far to the south, there are reports of the foundations of a small “Archaic” temple, with triglyph and metope blocks – the only cult evidence found in this area.<sup>123</sup>

Classical development has been characterised by Lakakis as the rise of urban centres at the expense of the countryside; although she cites the development of Dyme as an example of this, she notes it as but one instance of a wider phenomenon. There is a clear increase in site numbers (survey reports note 23), but the degree of continuity from the Archaic period appears low, and much Classical evidence is fourth-century rather than fifth. It may therefore be better to think in terms of the Classical roots of a Hellenistic rural revival (Hellenistic being the first time that the Mycenaean settlement level was re-attained in the Dyme area).

Only one site close to Kato Achaia, Maneteika (Keramida), has produced probable Classical pottery mixed with Late Antique in a sherd scatter probably related to habitation.<sup>124</sup> Otherwise, to the east and south of Dyme, we have widely separated surface traces generally related to settlement (perhaps scattered farmsteads) at the following sites: Ano Achaia (Agia Paraskevi), Limnochorion (Kalamakion, Profitis Ilias), Lakkopetra (Karavostasi Kastro, Ag. Nikolaos), Lakkopetra-Kiaphes, Lakkopetra-Stamatopouleika, Lakkopetra-Tragani, Ag. Nikolaos-Vasilykia, Ag. Nikolaos-Plakes, Ano Soudheneika-Stroupheika, and Phlokas (Zisimeika, Phegoula).<sup>125</sup> Burial evidence is reported from only two sites. At Kato Mazarakion (Galaneika, Tria Magoulia), two groups of tumuli have been found: the first comprises three small tumuli of which only one is preserved to any extent, but which may be dated by the numerous, mainly Classical, tiles and sherds which surrounded it (the second, further west, had two larger tumuli and is probably Hellenistic).<sup>126</sup> Further evidence of Classical tumulus burial was discovered during illegal excavation at Ano Soudheneika-Stroupheika (Ag. Konstantinos), close to the settlement traces noted above.<sup>127</sup> The practice of tumulus burial seems to be a local trait.

Further west, at Teichos Dymaion, pottery displaced into later levels includes Classical as well as earlier sherds, but finds continue to be sporadic.<sup>128</sup> The site was, however, no longer isolated since surface sherds

at Araxos-Mesa Paralimni (Vardhia) indicate Classical settlement.<sup>129</sup> To the south, Classical settlement traces at Metochion may relate to surface sherds and burials at Lapas. A group of vases and a bronze mirror found in 1958 in the area of the railway station almost certainly come from a burial in view of their state of preservation – perhaps from a further fifth-century pithos which was destroyed by a bulldozer in 1986 – while a coin hoard found in this area in 1938 is also reported to come from a fifth-century burial.<sup>130</sup> To the east, near Petrochorion, there are two similar instances of settlement traces: pottery, tiles and what are probably construction stones were found on the hill slope of Profitis Ilias, while Classical and Hellenistic pithoi and cist tombs were recorded at Skaloula (Tzeros).<sup>131</sup> Finally, to the south-west at Katarchia near Riolos, blocks, tiles and sherds have been discovered from a building which is probably Classical in date and may be the Temple of Athena Larisaia mentioned by Pausanias (7.17.5).<sup>132</sup>

In summary, the Dyme region is exceptional in Achaia both for being internally settled as late as the Archaic period, and for the steady increase in site numbers with no major hiatuses. Only two shrines have been discovered, both in the south and close to the Elean border; there are no other indications of public building. Despite the weight of historical tradition surrounding Dyme, archaeological evidence currently suggests that a dispersed settlement pattern probably lasted until well into the Classical period. It is, of course, impossible to reconstruct the relationship between particular sites, and the existence of local site grouping is likely, but there is nothing in the present record to indicate any early emergence of local or regional centres.

#### *iv. The Pharai Valley*

The Pharai valley runs inland from Chalandritsa towards Katarraktis and the northern borders of Arkadia (Arkadian Azanidos, in the area of Kalavryta, within modern Achaia). Literary references to this area are extremely scarce, a fact which almost certainly reflects its remoteness from the scene of major historical events. Yet it is also possible, albeit highly speculative, that the major changes in the structure of the archaeological record at the start of the Archaic period, to be outlined in this section, indicate the early emergence of a political ordering which remained relatively stable through the Archaic and Classical periods. If so, it may have seemed to later commentators that the region had always been as they found it, and thus could contribute little to accounts of the developmental traits (notably synoecism) regarded implicitly or expli-

citly as characteristic of Achaian cities; thus the very different Early Iron Age ordering may have been of little interest if indeed it was known. Whatever the case, archaeology furnishes virtually the only evidence for the area. As elsewhere, this region was intensely settled during the Mycenaean period, with notable town sites excavated at Katarraktis and, most recently, Stavros Chalandritsa.<sup>133</sup> Thereafter, the earliest Early Iron Age evidence is a late Protogeometric cist burial from Liopesi (Adriakou), but this need not long predate the mid-late eighth-century material to be considered here.<sup>134</sup> With the exception of early sherds in a mainly Archaic scatter at Ag. Giorgios,<sup>135</sup> Geometric evidence comes from dispersed burial sites, the exact date of which is hard to determine in the absence of independent checks, although they are unlikely to extend beyond ca. 690. In the great majority of cases, it is clear from excavation reports that these were discovered by chance and already disturbed, and that other nearby burials were noted but not investigated. Nonetheless, even within this problematic sample there is such considerable variation in the form and content of burials over a small area that it is worth reviewing the evidence in detail.

Burials have been recorded at a number of sites. At Starochori (Koufales Pyrgaki, in the region of Bolioti), a Late Geometric pithos burial is reported as containing a small iron knife, with two vases and more sherds outside. Other tombs have been observed in this area: local information reports the discovery, in 1948, of two pithoi of uncertain date, and in the past few years a further Geometric pithos was observed in an area of prehistoric settlement.<sup>136</sup> At Platanovrisi (Kamini, in the Metzerna Gorge) a disturbed double cist grave was found with an eighth-century oinochoe in situ (a Geometric ring was also found in this area, while a glass bead – possibly of Geometric date – is reported from nearby Leontion).<sup>137</sup> At Skoros, two tumuli contained a number of cist burials (one of an unusual apsidal construction), and although the site was disturbed, three oinochoai were restored from sherds scattered nearby. Other similar tumuli were reported but not investigated.<sup>138</sup>

At Troumbe, a disturbed Geometric burial in one of a group of tholos tombs contained 3 vessels (including a local prochous with a lion hunt scene), a bronze pin and a terracotta figurine; a further 7 vessels were restored from sherds probably dispersed from partially destroyed tombs which were investigated briefly. The re-use of the tholos was interpreted by Coldstream as hero cult on the basis of a newly-constructed interior wall which he saw as an altar, but this has not been generally accepted.<sup>139</sup>

Several grave mounds have been noted on the plain of Pharai, outside the village of Lalikosta and east of the Peiros river. Only one of these was opened, revealing cists and pithoi in its upper levels and a possibly Geometric chamber tomb at the bottom.<sup>140</sup> Close to the 28km marker on the Patras road are 3 slab cists, the so-called A, B, Γ Group. Each contained a small number of local vessels together with small bronze objects (including spit fragments). Two similar burials nearby, possibly of Geometric date, were reported but not investigated, while three further tumuli on the opposite hillside appear similar to those near Chalandritsa (Lalikosta).<sup>141</sup> At Fteri, a large disturbed pithos contained at least 4 local vessels.<sup>142</sup> Also close to the 28km marker on the Patras road, but on the opposite face of the ravine from Fteri, was a disturbed slab cist surrounded by a peribolos wall, which has produced 4 vessels (including a local oinochoe with bird frieze) as well as skeletal material.<sup>143</sup> Finally, we should note the chance find of a kantharos at Bourines, probably from a burial.<sup>144</sup>

This evidence reveals an eclectic mixture of grave forms (pithoi, a re-used tholos, cists within tumuli etc.), grouping strategies (including tumuli and a peribolos wall), and offerings (although imported pottery is significantly absent). While one cannot assess levels of wealth when graves are so disturbed, the variety of ceramic iconography is striking, and the instances of figure decoration (a lion at Troumbe, fish in grave A of the A, B, Γ Group, and birds at Fteri) are particularly striking and have given rise to considerable debate about their derivation. It has been argued elsewhere that in this area traits such as iconography and burial forms were linked in complex strategies of local differentiation between groups living in close proximity in a confined environment. It is surely no accident that of all the regions considered, the marking of local identities is at its most complex in inland Achaia, and that the sharpest discontinuities in the quantity and form of material evidence occur here also.<sup>145</sup>

The contrast between this situation and Archaic evidence is especially striking. The only Archaic burial so far discovered is a re-use of slab-cist B of the A, B, Γ Group, which is dated to the late sixth or early fifth century by Corinthian conventionalising pottery.<sup>146</sup> At Ag. Basileios, Chalandritsa, the discovery of a single Archaic oinochoe in a Mycenaean chamber tomb (part of a cemetery which otherwise went out of use in LHIIIC) may represent re-use, but the only other securely datable Archaic material is contained in the extensive sherd scatter at Ag. Gior-

gios, which includes relief band pithoi among other Archaic wares.<sup>147</sup> Suspected traces of cult (perhaps to Pan) have been detected in the caves of Monastiraki and Pangitsa near Katarraktis: unfortunately, the caves were thoroughly cleared in the Middle Ages, so the precise nature, date of commencement and duration of activity cannot be established (though it is certainly later than the Early Iron Age).<sup>148</sup>

Overall, therefore, there seems to be a marked change in the quantity and nature of evidence. Naturally biases exist, not least because of limited investigation. Without goods, burials may be hard to date, and this may create an artificially large fall in post-Geometric site numbers, though in most cases the alternative dates proposed are earlier, rather than later, than the Early Iron Age.<sup>149</sup> It is, however, clear that there was at the very least a major shift in site location (with the location of later sites as yet unknown) and this situation lasts throughout the Classical period. At Ag. Giorgios the sherd scatter includes a few Classical black glaze sherds, but the main area of Classical activity was slightly further west. It is conceivable that activity continued in the Monastiraki and Pangitsa Caves. Otherwise, only one Classical pithos burial, containing three pots, has been discovered at Rachividi, about 1 km outside Katarrakti. This pithos was not covered, and was only protected by a chance rockfall; if it was common practice to leave pithoi exposed in this way, this might help to explain the paucity of burial evidence, but this is speculation.<sup>150</sup>

In view of the long duration of this apparent trough in site numbers throughout the Archaic and Classical periods, it is tempting to suggest that the shortage of sites reflects settlement nucleation, although at present the only candidate for a large site during these periods is Ag. Giorgios which remains unexcavated. It is easy to envisage a situation where only a small change in circumstances – perhaps a small population rise – could disrupt the organisation of, and balance between, the mutually self-aware and closely proximate groups inferred during the eighth century, and thus act as a catalyst for very dramatic change in social organisation and thus the structure of the archaeological record. Here it is interesting to compare the much more stable situation on the broader plains of northern Arkadia, immediately to the east around Kalavryta, where a number of small burial sites are found from the eighth century into Classical times (growing increasingly rich through the Archaic period).<sup>151</sup> How such change might relate to the establishment of the *mere* of Tritaia and Pharai is a more difficult issue, although if there was a real shift early in the seventh century, then this would be strikingly early in comparison with evidence from other parts of Achaia.<sup>152</sup>

Much more detailed and systematic investigation will be needed to test these hypotheses adequately.

What emerges very clearly from the detailed analysis presented above is the regional diversity in the development of various Achaian settlements. Even allowing for a fragmentary literary and archaeological record, the pace and nature of change in each sub-region appears very variable, inevitably presenting difficulties in imposing any universal or generalising models. Nevertheless, we are unable to find any good evidence which would allow us to date the emergence of Achaian *poleis* much, if at all, before the fifth century B.C.

Particularly relevant to this question is the issue of synoecism, which represents a frequent *topos* within the literary sources and has a clear bearing on the CPC's working assumption that the *polis* is simultaneously a city and a state.<sup>153</sup> Reinhard Koerner has argued that many of these synoecisms should have already taken place by the end of the sixth century B.C., citing the example of the athlete from Dyme who won an Olympic victory in 496 B.C. (see above). It is not certain whether Strabo wishes to imply a chronological synchronism when he juxtaposes the synoecisms of Dyme, Aigion and Patrai with those of Mantinea, Tegea, Heraia and Elis – the last of which is dated to the period after the Persian Wars –<sup>154</sup> but the archaeological record generally argues against sixth-century synoecisms. It is not until the Classical period that there is a discernible emphasis on urban centres at the expense of rural sites in the Dyme region, while at Patrai this is the period when the establishment of large rural sites at some distance from the urban centre may indicate some abandonment among intervening settlements. In the area of Aigion, the commencement of urbanisation within the city itself was a phenomenon of the fifth century. The process of synoecism is, no doubt, a lengthy one, but there is no evidence that would allow us to place the start of this process before 500 B.C. – the date at which the issue of coinage, probably at Aigai, provides the first clear indication of a self-conscious political identity.

It is often assumed that even if *poleis* were a relatively late phenomenon in Achaia, some sort of overarching political organisation existed from an early period. There is certainly good evidence to indicate that the Achaian League existed prior to its refoundation in 280 B.C., but it is difficult to subscribe to Larsen's view that the legend of Achaian colonial foundations in South Italy allows us to trace Achaian political unity back as far as the eighth century.<sup>155</sup> For what it is worth, the local

traditions recorded by Pausanias (7.6.1-2) speak of a plurality of rulers in the early period (οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν). After the death of Teisamenos (the son of Orestes and reputedly the leader of the Achaian migration to the northern Peloponnese) the rule (κράτος) of the Achaians was distributed among the four sons of Teisamenos – Daimenes, Sparton, Tellis and Leontomenes – as well as being extended to their cousin Damasias and the unrelated Preuges and his son, Patreus.

The first explicit reference to a collective *boule* of the Achaians is found in an inscription dating to the late fourth or very early third century, though Hypereides, in describing events of 324 B.C., speaks of a *syllogos* (assembly) of the Achaians.<sup>156</sup> However, the existence of a double *politeia* (i.e. of both an Achaian *polis* and the Achaian League), which was so central to the refounded League, can probably be traced back to the first third of the fourth century B.C., since at some point shortly before 389 B.C., the Achaians enrolled the Aitolian city of Kalydon in the *politeia* of the League: οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἔχοντες Καλυδῶνα, ἢ τὸ παλαιὸν Αἰτωλίας ἦν, καὶ πολίτας πεποιημένοι τοὺς Καλυδωνίους, φρουροεῖν ἠναγκάζοντο ἐν αὐτῇ.<sup>157</sup> Xenophon even appears to regard Achaia itself as a *polis* when he describes the allies who rallied to the aid of Sparta immediately after the Battle of Leuktra: καὶ Κορίνθιοι δὲ καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Φλειάσιοι καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ μάλα προθύμως ἠκολούθουν, καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ πόλεις ἐξέπεμπον στρατιώτας (*Hell.* 6.4.18).

The fact that a shipowner named Lykon is described as Ἀχαιῶς in an Athenian honorific inscription which should predate 413 B.C. may testify to the League's existence at this date,<sup>158</sup> but earlier indications are difficult to substantiate. Patrai seems not to have consulted with other Achaian cities when it responded to Alkibiades' request to extend its walls to the sea,<sup>159</sup> and Pellene appears to have acted independently in joining the Peloponnesian League in 431 B.C.<sup>160</sup> Nor does Thucydides' reference (1.111.3) to Perikles taking Achaians with him on his siege of Akarnanian Oiniadai in the 460s B.C. necessarily imply the existence of the Achaian League: they are simply referred to as Ἀχαιούς without any definite article and could just as easily be Achaian mercenaries. In fact, Thucydides refers far more frequently to the region of Achaia as a geographical pawn in Athenian and Spartan attempts to control the Corinthian Gulf than he does to the Achaians as a collective political entity.<sup>161</sup>

Polybios writes that the Italian cities of Kroton, Sybaris and Kaulonia met in the middle of the fifth century and decided to adopt the *politeia* of

the Achaians. Since this passage has been so central to many accounts of Achaian political history, it is worth citing in full: οὐ μόνον δὲ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς ἀπεδέξαντο τὴν αἴρεσιν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τινὰς χρόνους ὀλοσχερῶς ὤρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ μιμηταὶ γενέσθαι τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῶν. παρακαλέσαντες γὰρ σφᾶς καὶ συμφρονήσαντες Κροτωνιάται, Συβαρίται, Καυλωνιάται, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέδειξαν Διὸς Ἀμαρίου κοινὸν ἱερὸν καὶ τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τὰς τε συνόδους καὶ τὰ διαβούλια συνετέλουν, δευτέρον τοὺς ἔθισμοὺς καὶ νόμους ἐκλαβόντες τοὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπεβάλοντο χρῆσθαι καὶ διοικεῖν κατὰ τούτους τὴν πολιτείαν.<sup>162</sup> It has generally been assumed from this notice that by the middle of the fifth century B.C. the Achaians both possessed a *politeia* and held regular *synodoi* in the sanctuary of Zeus. However, in our opinion far too much credence has been given to Polybios' information and there are a number of objections which can be levelled against it.

First, it is important to recognise that Polybios' intention is not to document early Achaian history *per se* but to establish a historical credential which might prove his contention that the Achaian League of his own day enshrined age-old principles of equality and fairness. To emphasise these qualities, it was necessary to retroject them, and it should be noted that elsewhere he attempts to trace the origins of the Achaian League back to the time of Teisamenos.<sup>163</sup> Secondly, difficulties surround the inclusion of Sybaris, since this city had been destroyed by Kroton ca. 511/510 B.C.<sup>164</sup> Strabo says that some survivors of the destruction did attempt to resettle the city at a later date but were driven out by the Athenians and their allies who then refounded the site as Thourioi in 443 B.C.<sup>165</sup>

In any case, it is unlikely that conditions during the attempted resettlement were stable enough for Sybaris to participate in the confederacy described by Polybios, or that her presence would have been tolerated by her enemy. Frank Walbank has recognised the problem and suggested that Polybios is referring to Sybaris on the Traeis, where the exiles from Thourioi are supposed to have fled,<sup>166</sup> but the Achaian pedigree of Sybaris on the Traeis is not so evident, especially in the light of Strabo's assertion that it was a Rhodian colony.<sup>167</sup> Thirdly, we are not entirely convinced that the sanctuary of Zeus Hamarios/Homarion did act as a centre for the Achaian League as early as the fifth century.<sup>168</sup> There is no doubt that the League met in the sanctuary after its refoundation: Strabo describes how the *koinon* of the Achaians met in the Homarion from 280 B.C.;<sup>169</sup> Polybios recounts that a stele was erected here in 217 B.C. re-



ording a mediation by the federal general, Aratos, to re-establish peace in Megalopolis;<sup>170</sup> and an inscription from Arkadian Orchomenos which dates to 234-224 B.C. stipulates that the representatives of the Achaian federation have to invoke Zeus Amarios and Athena Amaria.<sup>171</sup> This literary *terminus ante quem* of 280 B.C. can be pushed back to ca. 371 B.C. – the issue date of the earliest federal coinage of the Achaians which depicts the head of Zeus.<sup>172</sup>

The sanctuary of Zeus Homarios belonged to Aigion, but it almost certainly lay outside the city itself.<sup>173</sup> Interestingly, Pausanias does not mention the Homarion;<sup>174</sup> he mentions that the *synedrion* of the Achaians met at Aigion in his own day but he implies elsewhere that this only came about because of the destruction of Helike.<sup>175</sup> Aymard therefore hypothesised that the sanctuary lay midway between Helike and Aigion and that it was originally part of the *chora* of Helike, but became part of the territory of Aigion after the destruction of Helike and the redistribution of its *chora*.<sup>176</sup> Nevertheless, this is not entirely satisfactory and rather forces the meaning of Pausanias' testimony which does appear to make a clear distinction between an earlier meeting place at Helike and a later place of assembly near Aigion.

In fact, if any location functioned as a place of union for the Achaians in an earlier period it is far more likely to have been the sanctuary of Poseidon Helikonios rather than that of Zeus Homarios. The cult of Poseidon was associated with Helike as early as the Homeric epics,<sup>177</sup> and although it was traditionally treated as the meeting-place of the Ionians of Achaia, it clearly retained its importance through to the destruction of Helike in 373 B.C.<sup>178</sup> Indeed, one might argue that it could not have continued to act as a potent symbol of Ionian ancestral origins in the northern Peloponnese had it not retained its importance throughout the historical period. If this hypothesis proves correct, then we might suppose that the sanctuary of Zeus Homarios only became the federal sanctuary of the Achaians after the destruction of Helike – the fact that federal coinage bearing the head of Zeus appears only two years after this destruction is therefore particularly suggestive. In the absence of archaeological evidence, certainty is impossible but we hope to have shown that there are good reasons for doubting the early existence of the Homarion as a federal centre and for viewing Polybios' testimony as an attempt to construct a historical legitimation for the Achaian League of his own day.

Nor do two earlier events which are sometimes invoked in support of an early Achaian League command much more plausibility. Pausanias (7.25.6) reports that when the Argives destroyed Mykenai in 468 B.C.,

Mykenaian refugees fled to Kleonai, Makedonia and Keryneia in the vicinity of Aigion and Helike. Larsen has argued that this indicates the existence of a federal government which extended free passage to the foreign refugees through the “string of city-states” which lay to the east of Aigion,<sup>179</sup> though this argument would appear to be predicated on a rather anachronistic view of state boundaries and ignores the fact that by tracing descent from the Herakleidai, the Mykenaians could claim ethnic ties with the Achaians.<sup>180</sup> Finally, Anderson has suggested that the independent stance taken by the Achaians during the Persian Wars points to a common policy decision.<sup>181</sup> Again, however, this is not an inevitable conclusion, especially since Achaia was barely, if at all, affected by the invasion of Xerxes. Collective participation would have been a good deal more significant than collective non-participation.

In short, there is little solid evidence for the existence of an earlier Achaian League much before the very end of the fifth century. Indeed, if the league postdates the emergence of *poleis* in Achaia, it becomes easier to explain why in the later period there are clear differences between the constitutions of individual Achaian *poleis*.<sup>182</sup> Nevertheless, if the League itself is late, there is some evidence for an earlier, less formal and looser association of Achaian *mere* based on perceived ethnic affinity.

By the fifth century at the very latest, the Achaians were thought to constitute an *ethnos*. Herodotos (8.73.1) describes them as one of the seven *ethne* which inhabit the Peloponnese and adds that they have always been indigenous there even if they had originally occupied another region within the Peloponnese. Thucydides (3.92.5), in describing the foundation of Herakleia Trachinia in 426 B.C., reports that the Spartans made a proclamation to the effect that any Greek could join the new settlement πλὴν Ἰώνων καὶ Ἀχαιοῶν καὶ ἔστιν ὄν ἄλλων ἔθνῶν. In Greek, the word *ethnos* carries a far wider semantic scope than its English derivations,<sup>183</sup> though it certainly can be applied to ethnic groups – that is, those whose common identity is predicated on kinship (however fictive) and an association with a primordial territory.<sup>184</sup> The centrality of descent to notions of Achaian ethnic affinity is demonstrated by Herodotos’ comment (8.47) that the people of Kroton are Achaian “by birth” (Κροτωνῆται δὲ γένος εἰσὶ Ἀχαιοί). What engendered a sense of a collective identity among the historical Achaians was their belief that they were descended from heroes who, after being expelled by the Dorians from their original homes in Argos and Sparta, had migrated to Achaia where they replaced the former Ionian population.

It has already been noted that there are few material indications for a sharp cultural discontinuity in Achaia, and we prefer to regard Achaian ethnicity as a constructed identity of the Early Iron Age rather than as the hazy memory of genuine migrations.<sup>185</sup> It was important for the collective identity of the Ionians of Asia Minor to situate their origins in mainland Greece; Achaia was an obvious candidate since the Achaians had to regard themselves as newcomers to the region if they were to substantiate their claim to being the descendants of the Homeric Achaians who had ruled in the Argolid and Lakonia. In fact, with the notable exception of the Athenians and the Arkadians, it was generally the rule for Greek populations to regard themselves as immigrants from other regions – such a strategy allowed the Greeks to defer confrontation with the thorny issue of human origins. Nevertheless, the invention of the tradition is revealed by clear traces of other myths of ethnic origin among the Ionians of Asia Minor which situated their *Urheimat* elsewhere in Greece.<sup>186</sup>

Territoriality is an important component of *ethnos* states, but as we have seen, Achaia does not form a natural geographical or cultural unity.<sup>187</sup> It is for this reason that we should perhaps follow Pausanias' view that the geographical definition of Achaia was structured around the ethnic definition of its inhabitants and not *vice versa*.<sup>188</sup> The likelihood is that the notion of Achaian territoriality was a gradual and aggregative process, which began in the east of the region. First, it is the northern coastal *mere* of Pellene, Aigeira, Aigai, Helike and Aigion which are first attested in the literary sources,<sup>189</sup> and it is here that the earliest evidence for cult is attested (see above). References to the western and inland regions of Achaia are, by contrast, scarce in the literary record.<sup>190</sup> Secondly, many of our sources state that the earlier name of Achaia was Aigialos/Aigialeia,<sup>191</sup> a designation which is more appropriate to the northern coastal area with its settlements of Aigion, Aigai and Aigeira.

The very latest *terminus ante quem* for the association of ethnic Achaians with the north coast of Achaia is the middle of the sixth century, the date at which the Spartans decided to repatriate the bones of the Achaian king, Teisamenos, which were said to have been discovered in the region of Helike.<sup>192</sup> If, on the other hand, Strabo (8.7.5) is right to derive the name of Dyme from the fact that it was the most westerly of the Achaian cities, then this should mark the completion of the territorial construction of Achaia (at least in a westerly direction). Mendone argues that Dyme is attested in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, normally

dated ca. 600 B.C.,<sup>193</sup> though the fact that it is mentioned as part of a sea-voyage around the Peloponnese *after* Pylos and *before* Elis, Ithaka, Doulichion and Zakynthos may suggest that this is a different Dyme. In fact, the literary and archaeological evidence considered above should suggest a date in the fifth century (and possibly even late in that century) for the synoecism of Dyme and thus for the final stage in the territorial construction of Achaia.

Certainly in the fifth century, Ἀχαιός appears to be used as a regional/ethnic designation rather than as a *politikon sensu stricto*. The clearest indication of this is the bronze statue group, seen by Pausanias (5.25.8-10) at Olympia, which depicted the Achaian heroes casting lots to see who would meet Hektor in single combat: the inscription, cited by Pausanias, reads Τῷ Διὶ τᾶχαιοὶ τᾶγάλματα ταῦτ' ἀνέθηκαν ἔγγονοι ἀντιθέου Τανταλίδα Πέλοπος. Jeffery assumed that this was a dedication by the Achaian Federation,<sup>194</sup> but Pausanias (5.25.8) simply describes it as the donation ἐν κοινῷ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους, and the ethnic signification of τᾶχαιοὶ is emphasised not only by the subject matter of the statue group but by the self-professed derivation of descent from Pelops (via Teisamenos, Orestes and Agamemnon).

A similar usage of *Achaios* appears to be indicated on the base of the statue erected at Olympia in 460 B.C. for the athlete Oibotas. The inscription describes him as an Achaian but his *patris* as Paleia (one of the demes of Dyme): Οἰνία Οἰβώτας στάδιον νικῶν ὄδ' Ἀχαιός | πατρὶς Πάλειαν θῆκ' ὀνομαστοτέραν.<sup>195</sup> On another statue base at Olympia, dated to 480-475 B.C., the sculptor, Athanodoros, is described as Ἀχαιός:<sup>196</sup> that this is not simply a *politikon* may be suggested by the fact that his collaborator, Asopodoros, is described not as Ἀργεῖος but as ὁ δ' ἐξ Ἀργεος εὐρυχόρῳ (probably indicating the Argive Plain rather than the city of Argos itself). It is possible too that the Ἀχαιός attached to the shipowner Lykon in a late fifth-century Athenian inscription (see above)<sup>197</sup> is meant to indicate his *ethnos* rather than act as a *politikon*, especially since it is applied externally.<sup>198</sup> In short, it should be reiterated that there is, at this period, no good evidence that the term "Achaian" carried its later political and juridical definition.

### III

The traditional view that the colonising movement of the eighth century B.C. provides evidence for the pre-existence of the *polis* in mainland

Greece<sup>199</sup> seems paradoxical when confronted with the fact that ““Achaia” was not a *polis* yet Achaians founded many important colonies.”<sup>200</sup> In fact, the case of Achaia highlights the theoretical problem of the role of colonisation in state formation. If the *polis* need not be a precondition for colonisation, can the reverse be true? Is it the case – as has recently been suggested, notably by Malkin and Hansen – that colonisation and the formation of mother cities were reciprocal, simultaneous and interdependent processes? That is to say, was the act of separation and of sending out distinct groups of people a key factor in motherland consolidation?<sup>201</sup> To explore this problem, we have to examine not only the form of Achaian colonies and their development (including the existence of material links with the mother region), but also ways in which they may have influenced political development in the motherland, both in terms of the evolution of *poleis* as well as of ethnic identity.

There are a number of questions which immediately arise when considering the motivation behind the Achaian colonisation of the west. First, why did the Achaians need to colonise? Secondly, who was involved in the group as a whole, and from where did they come? Thirdly, who was the oikist, where was he from and when did the oikist tradition arise in each case? Fourthly, why did Achaians colonise in Italy when so much of western Achaia beyond the Peiros river was relatively empty during the eighth century? Finally, how much of our knowledge of Achaian colonisation is based on outsider traditions and perceptions?

As we have argued in the previous section, the archaeological record suggests that population increase seems to have enhanced local variation rather than acting as a catalyst for the evolution of any unifying political or social structures. The rationale for colonisation may therefore vary from area to area. It should, however, be noted that tolerance of demographic change depends as much on social structure and flexibility (or willingness to modify when pressure cannot be accommodated), as it does on subsistence needs. In the absence of institutions designed to aid decision-making, any society which is dependent upon personal ties or kinship is likely to be especially vulnerable to demographic fluctuations.<sup>202</sup> In the Pharaï valley, we have described what appears to be a sharp transition from strongly differentiated grave groups within a highly fragmented landscape to what may be one, single large site. If this really is true, it marks the earliest and most dramatic shift in the level of integration in any part of Achaia. Interestingly, this appears to occur at the very end of the eighth century – i.e. immediately after colonisation – and it is tempting to speculate that the departure of part of the population

was a means of alleviating stress, succeeded by integration. Different circumstances prevail along the north coast. If Aigion was in any way typical, then the second half of the eighth century witnessed settlement expansion and a greater concern for territory, something which might well create (and be symptomatic of) strains and tensions. In neither case, however, need we infer any formal definition of the groups to be “expelled”, and there is certainly nothing to compare with the Spartan Partheniai – perhaps a more apt comparison would be with the trend for regions such as Achaia and also Arkadia to view mercenary service as an economic (albeit seasonal) opportunity, still allowing the retention of citizenship. If (as we believe) more than one area of Achaia participated in colonisation, this need not imply any regional unity or organised form of effort, but rather an identical response to shared problems.

It is, however, striking that the Dyme area seems, on present evidence, to have so few signs of settlement during the Early Iron Age. The settlement attested here from the seventh century effectively constitutes internal movement, something which follows, rather than precedes, ventures in the far west. At first sight, this observation seems illogical: if there is so much space close to home, why go abroad? In fact, internal settlement and external colonisation are not mutually exclusive. Athens, where internal settlement seems to have taken place prior to external colonisation, would appear to be a rare case. Corinth, by contrast, was active at an early date in the west, where she had links throughout the eighth century, yet settlement evidence from the Corinthian countryside is very limited. In the case of Sparta, the exodus of the Partheniai to Taras should almost certainly be regarded as a political consequence of the Spartan creation of her conquest state.

It need not, therefore, be surprising that western colonisation preceded internal movement, but it is worth considering how Achaians gained knowledge of the west, especially as west-east links along the Gulfs of Corinth and Patras were only sporadic after the end of the Bronze Age. During the Protogeometric period, much has been made of the similarity between three oinochoai from Derveni, Aetos and Medeon. If all three come from the same source, Ithaka seems the most likely, but it is important to emphasise that they run counter to the regionalism which is so evident until the second half of the eighth century.<sup>203</sup> Evidence for cross-Gulf traffic when it reappears during the second half of the eighth century is very different in nature, and rests on the spread of Corinthian imports into the north coast area. The catalyst here is probably Corinth’s interest in forging links at least as far west as Ithaka and

probably beyond, in view of the presence of Corinthian pottery at Otranto from at least 800 (although this probably involved more complex interactions).<sup>204</sup> It is important to stress that at this stage evidence of imports in Achaia is confined to the north coast, and that contacts should be interpreted only in the most general sense, as a means of acquiring knowledge of the west via interacting with those (especially Corinthians) who had already pursued interests in this direction for over half a century. There is no evidence for independent Achaian trading interests, let alone on a scale to match Corinth.<sup>205</sup> An alternative source of information would be Delphi, where the first signs of contact (i.e. the presence of impressed ware) also date to the second half of the eighth century.

With these points in mind, we should review briefly evidence for the nature and early development of Achaian colonies, beginning with *Sybaris*, by the mouth of the river Aisaros.<sup>206</sup> Its small double harbour by a fortified promontory, close to trade routes, implies maritime interests, though the plain also provided wealthy resources (particularly of grain and wine), and there is access overland to the Tyrrhenian coast. The city, which currently lies ca. 5m below the water table, was founded in 721/720 B.C. according to Pseudo-Skymnos (360), though Eusebios dates it to 709 B.C.<sup>207</sup>

Archaeologically, the earliest occupation is indicated by Greek pottery in a layer over virgin soil, with no sign of structures. Thapsos ware is particularly well represented among the earliest pottery, and is followed by Corinthian Subgeometric and Rhodian.<sup>208</sup> No evidence of Achaian imports has yet been identified, but by this point Corinthian pottery had spread along the Corinthian Gulf, making it impossible to tell exactly who brought what to the west. The situation does not change much through the Archaic period: the highest percentage of pottery is late seventh century onwards, and despite a considerable increase in the volume of material, imports still remain mainly Corinthian and East Greek, together with some Attic black figure. By this period, the greatest proportion of pottery is local (a pottery kiln was established in the Stombi area, see below), though it often shows strong East Greek influence. As Guzzo stresses, early evidence from *Sybaris* reflects general trends in Archaic Aegean/Tyrrhenian commerce, and is echoed widely in *Magna Grecia*.<sup>209</sup> The only point of similarity with Achaia is the presence of Corinthian and Archaic Attic imports; everything else, including the East Greek pottery, makes *Sybaris* distinct from the motherland.

Very similar influences are shown in the limited metalwork that is preserved, as well as in the terracottas; here too, numbers reflect the same period of expansion.<sup>210</sup>

Although we cannot say much about the very earliest form of the colony, the situation changes during the second half of the seventh and early sixth centuries, when two principal excavated zones, ca. 1600m apart, provide key evidence for urban development. At Stombi, to the north, a lack of later overbuilding has preserved regularly disposed buildings which are probably private houses; similar, though more fragmentary, structures are found at Parco del Cavallo to the south. Knowledge of architecture is thus confined to houses and, in the case of the better-preserved site of Stombi, dates to the last phase of the city. There are occasional signs of repair, but only one instance where a surviving lower foundation indicates the dismantling of an earlier structure. The houses are built of dry-jointed rectangular blocks of “river stone”, laid on virgin sand. They are tiled, with painted terracotta antefixes of local manufacture (nothing comparable is found in Achaia), and have beaten earth floors with pithoi outside.<sup>211</sup> The plan axis of both areas is dictated by topographical factors, running parallel to the sea and following the alignment of the ancient course of the rivers Krathis and Sybaris.

Urbanisation is therefore an essentially sixth-century phenomenon, although our knowledge of it is partial. We have a general picture of the location of necropoleis and lines of defence as well as residential areas, but we do not yet know the form or position of any public area. Equally, we cannot reconstruct the pace and process by which continuous occupation over such a large area was achieved. Evidence for non-domestic architecture is limited to isolated fragments – a limestone capital from the Stombi area, and fragments of triglyphs together with the quite outstanding find of a continuous frieze in the Parco del Cavallo, which Mertens regards as part of two separate monuments (probably temples).<sup>212</sup>

In the *chora*, the impact on native settlement is immediate from the time of colonisation (indeed, native sites such as Francavilla were already receiving Greek imports), but the later seventh or early sixth century was a period of particular influence on cults and architecture, reflecting the urbanisation process within the city.<sup>213</sup> Peripheral settlements such as Amendolara and Francavilla show similar architecture and layout to the Stombi area, and were abandoned in the late sixth century along with Sybaris. The use of cult in marking territoriality is chiefly a feature of the sixth century. The most spectacular example is the shrine of Athena on Motta hill at Francavilla, which has both Sybarite



and local dedications – e.g. a bronze plaque dedicated to Athena by Kleombrotos son of Dexilaos (a mid-sixth-century Olympic victor). There are two superimposed buildings here. Building III, which is earlier, is rectangular with a pronaos; it is similar to the Greek “megaron” type, but also has roots in local architecture (especially in its column forms). The later Building I, dated to the first decade of the sixth century B.C., takes the form of a Greek temple, but with an elaborate fusion of Doric and Ionic architectural traits, a combination typical of Achaian colonies (cf. Metapontion) but unparalleled in the mother region.<sup>214</sup> Sixth-century votives are also attested at Cozzo Michelicchio, San Mauro, San Marco-Roggiano and San Sosti,<sup>215</sup> though unlike the Athena cult, there is insufficient archaeological evidence to identify the deities worshipped at these sites. This use of cult in marking colonial territory is much closer to the model of other colonies than it is to practice within Achaia.<sup>216</sup>

Strabo (6.1.13) describes Sybaris as an Ἀχαιῶν κτίσμα, and this view would appear to have been already accepted by the fifth century B.C., since elsewhere Strabo cites Antiochos of Syracuse, who refers to τῶν ἐν Συβάρει Ἀχαιῶν (6.1.15). Much of the secondary literature names its oikist as Is of Helike,<sup>217</sup> though our only source for this is Strabo (6.1.13): Helike’s supposed earlier importance at the centre of an Achaian identity (see above) would certainly make it a suitable candidate for an invented homeland. Alternatively, an ancient commentator notes an eponymous founder, and it has been suggested that Strabo’s reading is a corruption of [ΣΥΒΑΡ]ΙΣ.<sup>218</sup> Aristotle also attests to the Achaian foundation of Sybaris, but he adds the detail that the Troizenians joined in the venture before being expelled by the Achaians: οἷον Τροιζηνίους Ἀχαιοὶ συνώκησαν Σύβαριν, εἶτα πλείους οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ γενόμενοι ἐξέβαλον τοὺς Τροιζηνίους.<sup>219</sup> It is difficult to know what to make of this information, though the fact that Aristotle introduces it to corroborate his point that joint foundations were seldom successful should ensure that the story of Troizenian participation enjoyed common currency by at least the fourth century. Yet Aristotle’s motivation here is surely concern with later Sybarite history, rather than any direct interest in the ethnic composition of the colonising group *per se*. Herodotus (5.44.2) notes the presence at Sybaris of a *mantis* from Elis, named Kallias, though there is no suggestion of a wider Eleian presence. Finally, Nikandros connects the toponym Sybaris with a river in Lokris and argues on this basis for the presence of Lokrian colonists, while Solinus attributes its foundation to Troizenians and to Sagaris, the son of Lokrian Ajax.<sup>200</sup>

A very similar picture emerges at *Kroton*, in terms of town planning, the pace of development and the nature of material culture.<sup>221</sup> Eighth-century pottery has been found in several parts of the modern city. On via Firenze (by the Calabro-Lucane station), constructions are mainly fourth-century, but the pottery goes back to the eighth century; some of the material here seems to suggest that Kroton was a well-established native site. Via Tedeschi has pottery dating to the end of the eighth century and walling belonging to structures laid out at the end of the seventh or beginning of the sixth century on a rectilinear plan with a north-south axis. The area around Campo Sportivo has dense occupation dating back to the eighth century, with seventh- and sixth-century kilns in nearby via Cutro indicating its use as an industrial area. Further activity is attested at the end of the eighth century at the foot of the Batteria hill. In general, the ceramic record appears to be very close to that of Sybaris, with the early appearance of Thapsos ware as well as orthodox Late Geometric Corinthian dating to the third quarter of the eighth century. Like Sybaris, Kroton displays the same pattern of imports and the same lack of Achaian links, though it sustained an earlier and more lively local production than that of Sybaris.<sup>222</sup>

It is therefore clear that right from the beginning there was simultaneous occupation of at least three nuclei in the area between the hills of Castello and Batteria, although, like Sybaris, evidence consists of pottery rather than architecture. A formal layout on a grid-plan is only evident at the transition from the seventh to the sixth centuries. Spadea sees this as a “realisation” of an initial plan, but this is conjecture, and there are no indications that an agora was a feature of the city from its foundation. The grid-plan layout of the city, which runs perpendicular to the coast, incorporates the pre-existing settlement nuclei, thus implying some degree of overall planning (though the grid is not always perfect, occasionally slipping in the Campo Sportivo). Interestingly enough, this nucleation does not disappear but remains a constant feature of the city – if anything, it becomes even more pronounced over time. The city may also have had a mud-brick defensive wall. A massive structure on via Tedeschi, dating to the late sixth or early fifth century may well be a temple, especially since a head which probably belongs to a marble acrolith was found in the vicinity.

In the *chora*, the first phase of sanctuary development dates to the mid-seventh to early sixth centuries. Particularly notable is the extramural shrine of Hera Lakinia on Cape Colonna, ca. 10km to the southwest of Kroton, where the first cult building (Edificio B) dates to the ve-

ry beginning of the sixth century, though votives found within the building are clearly earlier.<sup>223</sup> From the seventh century onwards, shrines appear to Apollo at *Ciro Marina* (an originally native site) and to a chthonic divinity at *Santa Anna*. On the hill of *Vigna Nuova*, the sacred area had religious buildings dating to the late sixth or early fifth century, and fifth-century votives, including iron and bronze; the popularity of inscribed dedications here marks a clear difference from normal Achaian practice. As at *Sybaris*, the shrines appear to suit local purposes and cultic links to the mainland are unconvincing.<sup>224</sup>

Kroton was already regarded as an Achaian foundation by the time of the earliest literary references in the fifth century:<sup>225</sup> a number of sources name its oikist as *Myskellos* of *Rhypes*.<sup>226</sup> *Strabo* (6.2.4; cf. 6.1.12) makes its foundation contemporary with that of *Syracuse* (i.e. 733 B.C.), describing how *Myskellos*, the oikist of Kroton, and *Archias*, the oikist of *Syracuse*, made a joint consultation of the *Delphic Oracle*; asked whether they preferred wealth or health, *Archias* opted for the former and *Myskellos* for the latter. This tale is clearly a later fabrication, forged during a period when Kroton had achieved a certain fame for its doctors,<sup>227</sup> and many scholars prefer to accept the *Eusebian* foundation date of 709/708 B.C., which would make it virtually contemporary with *Sybaris*.<sup>228</sup>

The fullest account of the foundation of Kroton is given by *Diodoros* (8.17). *Myskellos* arrives at *Delphi* to ask *Apollo* to grant him children. The first response that is given to him tells him that his wish will be fulfilled, but that he must first make his home in “great Kroton among the fair fields”. The fact that he will only be granted offspring after founding Kroton has suggested to some a memory of overpopulation in *Achaia*.<sup>229</sup> Since he does not know where Kroton is, the oracle gives a second response describing the route past *Taphios*, *Chalkis*, the lands of the *Kouretes* and *Echinades* to *Cape Lakinion*, “sacred” *Krimisa* and the *Aisaros* river. Having visited Kroton, *Myskellos* returns to *Delphi* to ask if it might not be better to settle the more attractive site of *Sybaris*, to which the oracle replies that he should approve the gift that the god grants. It is this last oracular response which is also preserved by *Hippys* of *Rhegion* and *Antiochos* of *Syracuse*.<sup>230</sup>

There are a number of elements in this story which are sufficient to cast doubt on its original authenticity. The third oracle appears to suit the context of the rivalry between Kroton and *Sybaris* which should date to the sixth century B.C.<sup>231</sup> Similarly, the mention of “sacred *Krimisa*” in the second oracle is probably to be seen in the light of *Krotoniate* expan-

sion throughout the sixth century.<sup>232</sup> Furthermore, the list of sites given in the second oracle is useless as a genuine navigational document; it refers to locations in the Korinthian Gulf and in the immediate vicinity of Kroton but nothing in between.<sup>233</sup> The colonisation of Kroton presents all the typical ingredients of a foundation myth: like Battos (the founder of Kyrene), Myskellos becomes an oikist *malgré lui* when he consults Delphi on an unrelated matter; like Battos, he attempts to evade the instructions given to him; and like Battos, he bears a name derived from a physical disability.<sup>234</sup> For this reason, it has been argued that the foundation legend can only have developed once the genre had been established and once Delphi had acquired an international prestige.<sup>135</sup> The appearance of the Delphic tripod on the earliest Krotoniate coinage of the mid sixth century may suggest that the “official” foundation story had developed by then, though it might also be connected with the ascendancy of the Pythagoreans.<sup>136</sup>

While the story of Myskellos represents one of the most consistent foundation accounts among the Achaian colonies of South Italy, other versions also survive. According to Diodoros (4.24.7), Herakles unintentionally killed the eponymous Kroton and made a promise to found a great city on the site of his grave. In a later attempt to synthesise the two versions, Ovid (*Met.* 15.12-59) has Herakles appear in a dream to Myskellos and order him to found the Italian city. That the Heraklean version commands some credibility is demonstrated by the issue of coins from 420 B.C. onwards which show on the obverse Herakles sitting on a rock in front of an altar and the legend ΟΙΚΙΣΤΑΣ, and on the reverse the Delphic tripod with Apollo fighting Python.<sup>237</sup> The numismatic evidence might indicate that the version of Herakles’ foundation is later than that of Myskellos, though Maurizio Giangiulio argues for a more ancient connection between Kroton and Herakles.<sup>238</sup>

For Strabo (6.1.12), Myskellos was not the first Greek to arrive in the region of Kroton. He describes how some Achaians on their return from Troy strayed from the rest of the fleet and disembarked at the river Neaitos near Kroton. While they were exploring the area, their female Trojan captives decided to burn their boats, forcing them to remain in Italy. They were immediately joined by other settlers on the basis of ethnic affinity (κατὰ τὸ ὁμόφυλον). Although these Homeric Achaians inhabit the general area of the Tarentine Gulf rather than specific colonial foundations, the theme of a *nostos* preceding colonisation is important and recurs in the foundation stories of other South Italian settlements.

Finally, Pausanias (3.3.1) attributes the foundation of Kroton to Spar-

tans who settled there during the reign of Polydoros (i.e. the last third of the eighth century B.C.). Giulio Gianelli connected this legend with Lykophron's description of Menelaos' voyage to Cape Lakinion in Krotoniate territory and the presence at Kroton of cults to Achilles and Helen;<sup>239</sup> Irad Malkin suggests that Kroton tried to establish "Lakonian national origins" in the 540s B.C. to prevent the Spartans aiding her enemy, Lokroi Epizephyrioi.<sup>240</sup> There is, however, always the possibility that too much credence has been given to Pausanias' notice,<sup>241</sup> and it may be that this particular foundation legend was invented by Taras, which was the only city of the region still in existence by the Roman period.<sup>242</sup>

*Kaulonia* lies on low hills by a straight open beach without a harbour.<sup>243</sup> The archaeological evidence is very fragmentary, but Orsi distinguished a northern, a western and a southern settlement area. The northern area is clearly sixth-century and was created by the expansion of the primitive settlement on the lighthouse hill and in the Castellone region to the south of it. Elsewhere settlement traces are earlier; trial trenches dug by the north gate of the Hellenistic fortification wall have revealed Corinthian Subgeometric pottery in the lowest layer, and through the Archaic period there was a heavy concentration of Corinthian finewares as well as Corinthian A, SOS and Ionian amphorae. By and large, the pottery of Kaulonia is very similar to the other Achaian colonies, especially with regard to the pattern of imports and local imitations. Archaic mud brick structures are attested, although they are extremely fragmentary and hard to date precisely. Part of the early sixth-century rampart wall is also preserved, showing that it was abandoned and then replaced during the fifth century. This Archaic fortification implies that the area to the north of the lighthouse was already incorporated within the city to some extent during the sixth century, though it is unclear whether the southern area was also included. Burials start from the mid sixth century, but the real expansion of the site, including the construction of a temple, belongs to the fifth century.

Kaulonia is described as a foundation of the Achaians (Ἀχαιῶν κτίσμα) by Strabo (6.1.10). Pseudo-Skymnos, Solinus and Stephanos of Byzantium regard it as a secondary foundation of Kroton,<sup>244</sup> though Pausanias (6.3.12) says its oikist was Typhon of Aigion. Anderson and Koerner have attempted to reconcile these conflicting accounts by positing the presence of people from Aigion in the original foundation of Kroton.<sup>245</sup> While it is certainly possible that some of the early inhabitants of Kroton originated from the area of Aigion, we prefer to see two

concurrent versions of Kaulonia's foundation: a Krotoniate version in which Kroton is named as the Kaulonian metropolis, and a Kaulonian version which denied its derivative foundation and attempted to establish genuine first-generation Achaian credentials by tracing its origins back to the (by now) wealthy town of Aigion. Kaulonia certainly seems to have been independent of Kroton in the sixth century when it was minting its own coins.<sup>246</sup>

*Metapontion*, situated 50 km west of Taras/Taranto, is from an archaeological point of view one of the best explored sites in South Italy.<sup>247</sup> There is clear evidence of the pre-Achaian city discovered in soundings beneath the Achaian grid. The earliest pottery here includes imported Thapsos ware of the late eighth century as well as native wares. Both pottery and architectural structures at Metapontion display strong similarities with the nearby site of Incoronata, a site often claimed to be an *emporion* and suggested by Orlandini to overlie the ruins of an indigenous village, though now believed always to have been a mixed site. The pottery is mainly local, though Corinthian dominates the imported finewares from the start, and there are also many Corinthian and SOS amphorae. The local wares owe nothing to Achaia (a few parallels have been noted with Megara Hyblaia), while the pithoi seem to be linked stylistically to Corinth and Athens rather than Achaia. The destruction of Incoronata is dated by the presence of imported Protocorinthian pottery but an absence of Early Corinthian. Conversely, although there is a small amount of Protocorinthian at Metapontion, it is dwarfed by the amount of Early Corinthian. This has led to the hypothesis of a direct link between Incoronata and Metapontion. Though the issues remain complex, there is a growing opinion that the origins of colonial Metapontion date to ca. 630 B.C.

It is not until at least the middle of the sixth century that we find evidence of a walled, grid-planned city, with an *agora* and monumental shrine. Three principal cemeteries are known: the Pantanello necropolis begins in the 580s B.C., with mainly tile graves but some (generally wealthy) cists and sarcophagi, as well as some cremations; the Saldone necropolis lies 8km outside the city, while the Crucinia chamber tomb cemetery is situated immediately outside the city walls. At this point we can definitely speak of an urban centre linked to colonial activity, though its relationship to earlier institutions remains unclear. Under the fourth-century theatre in the *agora* has been found an amphitheatral building, capable of seating 8000, which has been interpreted as an *Ekklesiasterion*; its first phase dates to the mid sixth century, which is strik-

ingly early by any standards. A wooden predecessor, with ikria, is dated ca. 600, and if it is legitimate to assume a continuity of function, this establishment of a common meeting place may provide concrete evidence for *polis* status. To the late seventh century belong remains of a sanctuary in the area of sacellum C; an ash altar and argoi lithoi were found at the east end and along the flank of the site where Temple B (possibly dedicated to Hera) once stood.<sup>248</sup> Sacellum C itself is not earlier than 600, but is built over a charred layer which indicates a wooden predecessor. Thapsos ware was recorded between the virgin soil and this charred layer, and the presence of late seventh-century figurines should indicate a cultic function. Unfortunately, the relationship between these elements, which appear to relate to the earliest *polis*, and pre-existing settlement is still unclear: unless the wooden remains constitute a defined phase, there still appears to be a chronological gap between the two. Although it has often proved tempting to attribute the destruction of the wooden shrine and assembly place to the Samnites whom Strabo (6.1.15) describes as having put an end to the earlier settlement, such an attribution is, on both chronological and textual grounds, impossible. It is impossible within the scope of this paper to give a full account of the extensive research undertaken on the Metapontine *chora* and its cults. It will be sufficient, however, to note that in general Metapontion fits well within the general picture of Achaian colonial activity that we have been sketching. There are a number of rural shrines in the *chora*, where the earliest votives replicate those found in the city.<sup>249</sup>

According to Antiochos of Syracuse ([*FGrHist* 555] fr. 12), Metapontion was founded by Achaians who were sent for by the Achaians of Sybaris because of their enmity with the Tarantinoi: τὸν τόπον ἐποικῆσαι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τινὰς μεταπεμφθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Συβάρει Ἀχαιῶν, μεταπεμφθῆναι δὲ κατὰ μῖσος τὸ πρὸς Ταραντίνους τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, τῶν ἐκπεσόντων ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς, ἵνα μὴ Ταραντῖνοι γεινιῶντες ἐπιπηδήσαιεν τῷ τόπῳ. Similarly, Pseudo-Skymnos (328) includes Metapontion among those cities that were colonised by Achaians from the Peloponnese. It has been pointed out that an ancestral hatred between Sybaris and Taras is hard to reconcile with Ephoros' comment ([*FGrHist* 70] fr. 216) that the Partheniai had aided the Achaians in their struggles against indigenous Italic peoples prior to founding Taras; in Bérard's view, a better context for this conflict between Tarentinoi and Achaians is the struggle between Thourioi and Taras for possession of the Siritid between 443 and 433 B.C. – the time at which Antiochos was writing.<sup>250</sup>

Antiochos specifies that the site of Metapontion had formerly been occupied, and Strabo (6.1.15) says that it was first founded by Pylian companions of Nestor after their return from Troy: he adds that the evidence for this is the fact that funerary ceremonies were performed in later times in honour of the Neleids. Solinus (2.10) also reports the Pylian foundation of Metapontion, while Bacchylides (11.113-26) attributes its foundation to Achaians (without further specification) on their return from Troy. This version of Metapontine origins thus belongs to the ranks of *nostoi* foundations. Strabo (6.1.15) recounts another (unreferenced) tradition which has Metapontion founded by an Achaian named Leukippos who obtained the site by trickery from the Tarantinoi. Leukippos was almost certainly recognised as the official oikist by the second half of the fourth century, when he first appears on Metapontine coinage, though the earlier authenticity of the tradition is rendered suspect by the fact that the same hero and the same artifice are reported by Dionysios of Halikarnassos for the foundation of Kallipolis.<sup>251</sup> Ephoros' attribution ([*FGrHist* 70] fr. 141) of the foundation to Daulios, tyrant of Krisa, is also dubious.<sup>252</sup> Eusebios dates the foundation of Metapontion to 773/732 B.C., but in the light of the archaeological evidence presented above, this is almost certainly more than a century too early.<sup>253</sup>

Finally, *Poseidonia* is named as a secondary colonial foundation of Sybaris by Strabo (5.4.13) and Pseudo-Skymnos (249). Solinus (2.10) simply attributes its foundation to "Dorians", and it has often been suspected that it was founded by the Dorian Troizenians who had co-founded Sybaris but were expelled shortly afterwards by the Achaians.<sup>254</sup> No oikist or foundation date is given, though recent excavations have determined that the colony was established simultaneously with the implantation of the extra-urban sanctuary to Hera at Foce del Sele in the early years of the sixth century (i.e. almost a century later than previously supposed). Burial evidence suggests an escalation in activity throughout the sixth century with a balance of Archaic imported wares comparable to other sites.<sup>255</sup>

Despite the evident variations in foundation legends, it is fair to say that we can also discern a more persistent tradition associating the cities of Sybaris, Kroton, Kaulonia, Metapontion and Poseidonia with the Achaians. On the other hand, there is no solid evidence for viewing these foundations as official enterprises, undertaken either by the Achaians collectively or by individual Achaian *metropoleis*.<sup>256</sup> In the case of the foundation of Kroton, Myskellos receives his orders as an individual rather than as an official statesman.<sup>257</sup> Rhyepes is simply treated



as his place of origin rather than as the official *metropolis* of Kroton, and it is worth noting that the sources in which this city of departure is mentioned are slightly outnumbered by those in which it is not. The tradition for the foundation of Sybaris by Is of Helike is less secure, and more general Achaian origins are normally hypothesised due to the fact that the names of the Sybaris and Krathis rivers, between which Sybaris was situated, appear to replicate the hydronyms of a spring near Boura and a river at Aigai respectively.<sup>258</sup>

Werner Goegebeur has gone so far as to argue that in Herodotos' opinion, the Achaian colonies of South Italy were not historical foundations of the north Peloponnese at all.<sup>259</sup> The problem arises with the ambiguity of the term "Achaian", and the fact that it may designate the pre-Dorian inhabitants of the southern and eastern Peloponnese on the one hand, and the historical occupants of the northern Peloponnese on the other. This ambiguity is, as we have seen, preserved in the western colonies where foundation legends referring to colonisation by the historical region of Achaia coexist with *nostoi* legends telling of the arrival of Homeric Achaians to Magna Graecia. Goegebeur analyses Herodotos' description (8.43-48) of the contingents at the Battle of Salamis, and notes that while Herodotos normally describes the contingents in terms of both their ethnic affiliation and their metropolis,<sup>260</sup> the Krotoniates are simply described as ethnically Achaian (Κροτωνιῆται δὲ γένος εἰσὶ Ἄχαιοί).<sup>261</sup> Noting that this passage – together with Bacchylides' reference (11.113-26) to the foundation of Metapontion by Achaians returning from Troy – constitutes our earliest evidence for the origins of the Achaian colonies, Goegebeur concludes that for Herodotos, "Achaian" has its "protohistorical" meaning which situates the roots of the western colonies in the pre-Dorian Peloponnese.<sup>262</sup>

It is certainly true that the evidence for close links between Achaia and the Achaian colonies is ambiguous. The preservation of north Peloponnesian toponyms and hydronyms in South Italy seems to suggest that many or most of the colonists hailed from the historical region of Achaia,<sup>263</sup> and both Achaia and the Achaian colonies appear to share the same alphabetic script and Western Greek dialect (though it should be stressed that this assumption is largely predicated on the evidence of the Italian settlements).<sup>264</sup> There is also limited evidence for cultic connections; the epithet Μελίχιος, attached to Zeus in a late sixth-century inscription from Kroton, can probably be connected with the Zeus Μελλίχιος worshipped at Pellene and the river Meilichos in the vicinity of Patrai.<sup>265</sup> Furthermore, Metapontine coins of the first half of the fifth

century testify to a cult of Acheloos, a name shared with a river near Dyme.<sup>266</sup>

Conversely, material evidence linking the Achaian colonies with Achaia is very thin indeed. The colonies have a great deal in common, but what seems to be a peculiarly colonial fusion of traits (such as the nature and origin of imports, burial customs, and architectural styles) owes nothing to Achaia. Thus, for example, Mertens remarks that of all the South Italian colonies, those of Achaia have a distinctively local architectural mix of stylistic components of diverse origins, in which Doric and Ionic stylistic traits compete on almost equal terms, and in general, the material culture of the colonies is as open to Attic, Doric and Ionic elements as it is to general Peloponnesian features.<sup>267</sup> Similarly, while the *politeiai* of the colonies exhibit certain similarities,<sup>268</sup> it is not clear how these relate to the mainland – indeed, the model for the prytany organisation of the colonies may derive from Corinth rather than Achaia.<sup>269</sup> Furthermore, in terms of cultic connections, it is important to note that the significance attached to the worship of Dionysos, Artemis and Poseidon in Achaia is not nearly so evident in the western colonies, where the most prominent cults are to Hera and Apollo.<sup>270</sup> In fact, Hera Lakinia, whose cult was from the beginning so intrinsic to the identity of Kroton, appears to bear the characteristic warrior and kourtophobic aspects which are the hallmark of Hera Argeia in the Argolid.<sup>271</sup>

In the Argive Plain, the cult of Hera appears to have acted as a symbol of Achaian identity, manipulated by those who employed their supposed descent from Herakles and the Herakleidai to legitimate their claims to territory and status.<sup>272</sup> Is it possible that the cult of Hera Lakinia served similar purposes in South Italy? Apart from the strong resemblance between Hera Lakinia and Hera Argeia, there was a tradition that her sanctuary had been founded by Herakles himself.<sup>273</sup> Nor is the importance of Herakles restricted to the immediate vicinity of Kroton: a sixth century inscription attests to his cult at Metapontion.<sup>274</sup> The catalyst for “playing the Achaian card” was almost certainly the rivalry that existed between the Achaian colonies and Taras.<sup>275</sup> By promoting their Achaian origins, the Achaian colonies could lay claim to a glorious heroic past in which the Dorian ancestors of the Tarentine colonists had not participated.<sup>276</sup> They could also, however, employ their Achaian identity to pass themselves off as the direct descendants of those heroes whose *nostoi* first brought them to the shores of Italy, establishing a prior legitimisation for settlement which was aimed not only at their Tarentine neighbours but also at the indigenous populations of South Italy.

Clearly, this construction of an Achaian identity through opposition with the Dorians of Taras sought its legitimation in the pre-Dorian patrimony of the Peloponnese. We would not, however, establish as sharp a dichotomy between the protohistorical and historical meanings of “Achaian” as Goegebeur does (see above). The ethnic and geographical definitions of “Achaian” had, as we have seen, already coalesced by the middle of the sixth century at the very latest, when Teisamenos’ bones were located at Helike. It is therefore clear that Herodotos gives no place of origin for the Krotoniates because he wished to avoid the redundancy that would have resulted from saying that they were “Achaians from Achaia.” The historical region of Achaia provided an important stepping-stone and point of reference within the colonists’ attempts to trace their ultimate origins back to Lakonia and the Argolid. It may indeed be the case that the proclamation of Achaian identity in South Italy also had an important galvanising effect on the identity of the scattered populations of Achaia.

In this paper, we have sought to trace the emergence of *poleis* sharing a politically significant ethnic consciousness across a region which is both culturally and geographically diverse. We have documented major differences in the developmental trajectories of various sub-regions of Achaia, contrasting material and documentary evidence from the settlements of the north coast, from Patras (with demes scattered through the *chora* of the later city), from Dyme, and the Pharai valley. In all cases, archaeological evidence can be equated with the 12 *mere* and their constituent settlements listed in literary sources, but the relationship is not clear cut, uniform across Achaia, or stable through time, and it is clear that common terminology (such as the *topos* of synoecism) covers significant developmental differences. In no area can *polis* status be pushed earlier than the fifth century, and tentative signs of urbanisation are a phenomenon of the Classical period (and often fourth-century rather than fifth).

Against this background, we suggest that both internal settlement and external colonisation can be understood in terms of common interests arising from these very different situations (notably along the north coast and in the Pharai valley). This coincidence should not be taken to imply a strong regional organisation or even temporary political unity, and it must also be noted that the localisation of oikist traditions on the north coast is a post-colonial phenomenon. Equally, nothing in the material record of Achaia can be directly ascribed to the impact of colonisa-

tion. Indeed, the pace of change in Achaia and among her western colonies is very different. In the west, the sixth century was the key period of urbanisation, whereas on the mainland, the next phase of change following the eighth century colonial period was the fifth and fourth centuries. There is no evidence of material interaction or shared institutions. Likewise, a self-conscious Achaian ethnicity seems to have developed in the west during the sixth century, probably in reaction to pressures from Lakonian Taras rather than any input from the mainland. In Achaia, although a general ethnic sense may have existed throughout the periods under consideration, the *politicisation* of Achaian identity follows upon *polis* development from the fifth century onwards. Here too, there is something of a chronological mismatch, but we should not rule out the possibility that colonial ethnicity had a long term effect on the mother-region in the wake of *polis* formation. Achaian ethnicity is thus a double phenomenon, with two distinct strands serving two distinct needs; rather than creating a hybrid notion of "Achaian-ness", it is essential to trace these elements independently and then to consider possible interactions. In short, the very fact that Achaia and her colonies do not readily fit any of the existing models of colony/mother-city relations raises important questions concerning the relationship between the processes of construction of identity in the two areas.

### Notes

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2 See M.H. Hansen, "Introduction: The *Polis* as a Citizen-State," in M.H. Hansen (ed.), *The Ancient Greek City-State*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 67 (Copenhagen 1993) 13-16; *Idem*, "Poleis and City-States, 600-323 B.C.: A Comprehensive Research Programme," in D. Whitehead (ed.), *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1. *Historia Einzelschriften* 87 (1994) 99-124. 15-17.

- 3 C. Morgan, "Ethnicity and Early Greek States: Historical and Material Perspectives," *PCPS* 37 (1991) 132; A.D. Rizakis, "Αρχαϊκή ιστοριογραφία; απολογισμός και προοπτικές της έρευνας," in A.D. Rizakis (ed.), *Αρχαία Αχαΐα και Ηλεία*. Meletemata 13 (Athens 1991) 51-52; of general relevance throughout this paper is *Idem*, *Achaïe I. Sources textuelles et histoire régionale*. Meletemata 20 (Athens 1995).
- 4 J.A.O. Larsen, *Greek Federal States: Their Institutions and History* (Oxford 1968) xi-xii.
- 5 Larsen (*supra* n. 4) 83, 216.
- 6 Paus. 7.16.9 describes the Achaian League as a συνέδριον τε κατὰ ἔθνος.
- 7 See B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (2nd edn. London 1991) 5. In speaking of nations, Anderson notes that they tend to appear modern to the objective observer but ancient to the subjective eye of the nationalist.
- 8 See G. Audring, "Information über die im Archiv der IG aufbewahrten Materialien zu Achaia und Elis," in Rizakis (*supra* n. 3) 109-110; A.D. Rizakis, *Achaïe II. Les inscriptions grecques et latines de Patras* (Athens 1996) forthcoming; *idem*, "Inscriptions grecques et latines d' Achaïe," in *Actes du IXe congrès internationale d' épigraphie grecque et latine* (Sofia 1987) 206-209.
- 9 L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece: A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries B.C.* (2nd edn. Oxford 1990) 221-23 lists eight Achaian inscriptions prior to the early fifth century. Nevertheless, Johnston (in *eadem*, 451) believes that two of these are from the Achaian colonies in Italy, one is Phokian and one (a bronze plaque from Kalavryta), while written in what appears to be the Achaian script, shows dialectal traces of Arkadian.
- 10 Rizakis (*supra* n. 3, *Αρχαία Αχαΐα*) 56; *idem*, (*supra* n. 8, *Achaïe II*). Classical-Hellenistic funerary inscriptions: I. Papapostolou, *Achaean Grave Stelai* (Athens 1993). Inscriptions concerning local citizenship are published in A.D. Rizakis, "La *politeia* dans les cités de la confédération achéenne," *Tyche* 5 (1990) 109-34.
- 11 Rizakis (*supra* n. 3, *Αρχαία Αχαΐα*) 56.
- 12 The area around modern Kalavryta which today lies within the province of Achaia was, in antiquity, part of the border zone of Arkadia: M. Petropoulos, "Τοπογραφικά Βόρειας Αρκαδίας," *HOROS* 3 (1985) 63-73. For a summary account of the geography of the region: A. Philippson, *Die griechischen Landschaften III* (Frankfurt 1959), ch. 1.
- 13 Paus. 7.6.1. cf. 7.18.7; 7.22.1; 7.22.6.
- 14 Polyb. 2.41; Strab. 8.7.2; Paus. 7.24.6.
- 15 Paus. 7.25.8-9.
- 16 Paus. 7.18.1.
- 17 Strab. 8.7.4.
- 18 Strab. 8.7.4. cf. 8.7.5. Like Olenos, Pausanias (7.25.12) says Aigai was abandoned ὑπο ἀσθενείας.
- 19 Rhypes as uninhabited: Strab. 8.7.5; Paus. 7.23.4. For its destruction by Augustus: Paus. 7.18.7. This does not explain why Rhypes is absent from Polybios' list, and Anderson has suggested that like Aigai, it had already been abandoned in the fourth century: J.K. Anderson, "A Topographical and Historical Study of Achaëa," *BSA* 49 (1954) 73 (this does not, however, accord with the archaeological record, see n. 75 here below).
- 20 Anderson (*supra* n. 19) 73.
- 21 M.B. Sakellariou, "Le peuplement de l' Achaïe à la fin de l' âge du bronze et le début de l' âge du fer," in Rizakis (*supra* n. 3) 14. See also Larsen (*supra* n. 4) 82.

- 22 Strab. 8.7.1. See R. Koerner, "Die staatliche Entwicklung in Alt-Achaia," *Klio* 56 (1974) 467.
- 23 Paus. 7.1.5. Cf. Hdt. 7.94; Strab. 8.7.1.
- 24 Hom. *Il.* 2.573-75; 8.203. Cf. 2.501, 505, 538, 546, 569, 584, 648-49, 677, 739. Homer's use of the verb ἀμεινόμενον in connection with Aigion and the adjective ἀμφ' with Helike may well suggest some form of dispersed settlement pattern. For discussion of Donoussa, see J.G.T. & J.K. Anderson, "A Lost City Discovered," *CSCA* 8 (1975) 1-6.
- 25 Strab. 8.7.4; 8.7.5. Cf. Strab. 8.7.2 (τὴν χώραν [sc. τὴν Ἑλικήν]); 8.7.5 (τὴν δὲ χώραν Ῥυπίδα); Paus. 7.17.13 (χώρα τῆ Δυμεία). The term *meros* is not unique to Achaia. The Oxyrynchus historian (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.2-3) describes Boiotia as being divided into eleven μέρη, each of which provided one boiotarch and 60 councillors to the federal *boule*: see M.H. Hansen, "Boiotian *Poleis* – A Test Case," in M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 72 (Copenhagen 1995) 15. Hellanikos of Lesbos (*FGrHist* 4) fr. 52 describes how Thessaly was divided into four μέρη, while Demosthenes (23.212) notes that the Oreatai inhabit a fourth μέρος of Euböia. In Thessaly, B. Helly, *L'état thessalien. Aleuas le roux, les tétrades et les Tagoi* (Lyon 1995) argues that the term *meros* defines a military unit, though, as will become clear, we find the idea of a federal Achaian military system as early as the fifth century B.C. hard to sustain.
- 26 Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.29.
- 27 Dikaiarchos *ap. Cic. Ad. Att.* II, 2.
- 28 *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 220.
- 29 Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.43.
- 30 For Pellene: Thuc. 2.9.2. The entry of the Achaian cities into the Peloponnesian League is not stated explicitly but is often assumed because of the use by the Peloponnesian fleet of naval bases at Patrai, Panormos and Rhion during 429 B.C.: Thuc. 2.83.3; 2.86; 2.92.5. See J.A.O. Larsen, "The Early Achaean League," in G. Mylonas & D. Raymond (eds.), *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson* II (St. Louis 1953) 802-803; Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 470-80.
- 31 Thuc. 1.125.1. See Larsen (*supra* n. 4) 811.
- 32 *P.Oxy* 11.1365 = (*FGrHist* 105) fr. 2. See Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 468.
- 33 N.F. Jones, *Public Organization in Ancient Greece: A Documentary Study* (Philadelphia 1987) 130-32 (the quotation comes on p. 131). For the third-century inscription: *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 531.
- 34 *Contra* Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 468.
- 35 Paus. 7.26.14. See Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 468 n. 65, who observes that harbours normally retained their independence.
- 36 Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.17. The precise nature of the settlement of Olouros is not given, though it was subjected to a siege by the Pellenes (Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.18).
- 37 Strab. 8.7.5. For the games: Bacchyl. 9.33 Jebb; Pind. *Ol.* 9.146; 13.155; *Nem.* 10.82; *IG* IV 510. The games, at which cloaks (Πελληνικαὶ χλαῖναι) were awarded as prizes, were celebrated under the name of the Theoxenia in honour of Apollo and Hermes: Paus. 7.27.4; schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7.156; 9.148; *Nem.* 10.82. However, schol. Ar. *Av.* 1421 and *Suda* s.v. Πελλήνη say that a cloak was awarded on the occasion of the Heraia.
- 38 Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 468.
- 39 A. Orlandos, "Ανασκαφαὶ ἐν Πελλάνη," *Prakt* (1931) 73-83.
- 40 Paus. 7.26.2; cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.573.

- 41 Preliminary reports relevant to our period: W. Alzinger *et al.*, "Aegira-Hyperesia und die Siedlung Phelloe in Achaia I," *Klio* 67 (1985) 389-451; *Idem*, "Aegira-Hyperesia und die Siedlung Phelloe in Achaia II, III," *Klio* 68 (1986) 6-62, 309-47; *Idem*, "Aegeira," *ÖJh* 50 (1972-73); *Idem*, "Grabungen Aegeira," *ÖJh* 51 (1976-77) 30-34; *Idem*, "Grabungen Aegeira," *ÖJh* 53 (1981-82) 8-15; *Idem*, "Aegeira," *ÖJh* 54 (1983) 36-38.
- 42 In addition to the preliminary reports listed in n. 41, see S. Deger-Jalkotzy, "Zum Verlauf der Periode SH IIIC in Achaia," in Rizakis (ed.) (*supra* n. 3) 19-29. S. Gogos, "Kult und Heiligtümer der Artemis von Aegeira," *ÖJh* 57 (1986) 108-39 (119 for discussion of a Mycenaean house with internal hearth in terms of possible cult). P. Åström, "Mycenaean Pottery from the Region of Aigion with a List of Prehistoric Sites in Achaia," *OpAth* 5 (1964) 97, notes that sporadic earlier Mycenaean finds from Aigeira are stored in the National Museum, Athens. Classical and Mycenaean sherds from earlier investigations on the site are now in the collection of the British School at Athens.
- 43 Gogos (*supra* n. 42) 108-39; W. Alzinger, "Pausanias und der Tempel von Aigeira," *Tagung Innsbruck* (1982) 13-18.
- 44 A. Mazarakis Ainian, *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples: a Study of the Origins of Greek Religious Architecture in the Protogeometric and Geometric Periods* (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1987) 481-84; *Idem*, "Early Greek Temples: their Origin and Function," in R. Hägg, N. Marinatos & G. Nordquist (eds.), *Early Greek Cult Practice* (Stockholm 1988) 109-110.
- 45 (*Supra* n. 41).
- 46 Paus. 4.15.1. See Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 468; Gogos (*supra* n. 42) 129.
- 47 Alzinger *et al.* (*supra* n. 41 [1986]) 319-26.
- 48 I. Dekoulakou, "Κεραμεική 8ου και 7ου αι. Π.Χ. από τάφους της Ἀχαΐας και της Αἰτωλίας," *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 229-31; Corinthian LG TMO probably from destroyed grave at Polydgerianika, plus a second burial from area of Seliana (ca. 700) with Thapsos tripod and 2 Thapsos pyxides (PM 1063-1065).
- 49 N. Papahatzis, *Πανσαίνιον Ελλάδος Περιοήγησις. Αχαϊκά και Αρκαδικά* (Athens 1980) 157 fig. 24; *ArchDelt* 17B (1961-62) 130. See however Rizakis (*supra* n. 3, *Sources*) 213-214.
- 50 E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines* II.1 (Paris 1907) 823-26; B.V. Head, *Historia numorum* (2nd edn. Oxford 1911) 412; Anderson (*supra* n. 19) 75. F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques* (Paris 1883) 157 and Jeffery (*supra* n. 9) 222 both assigned the coins to Aigion rather than Aigai, though J.H. Kroll, "Hemiobols to Assaria: the Bronze Coinage of Roman Aigion," *NC* (1996) redefines the original attribution by positing a misreading on Imhoof-Blumer's part. We are grateful to Professor Kroll for allowing us to cite this article prior to publication.
- 51 T.R. Martin, "Coins, Mints, and the Polis," in M.H. Hansen (*supra* n. 25) 257-91.
- 52 S. Lauffer (ed.), *Griechenland. Lexicon der historischen Stätten von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich 1989) 160 s.v. Bura; N.K. Moutsopoulos, *Αρχιτεκτονικά Μνημεία της Περιοχής της Αρχαίας Βούρας* (Athens 1958). Rizakis (*supra* n. 3, *Sources*) 209-212.
- 53 This identification is most fully explored by Moutsopoulos (*supra* n. 52) 11-18; see also D. Katsonopoulou & S. Soter in *Αρχαιολογία* 47 (1993) 60-64 (noting the reply of the Ephoreia, *Αρχαιολογία* 50 (1994) 109, with bibliography); Rizakis (*supra* n. 3, *Sources*) 212-213.
- 54 For recent reviews of research, including bibliography, see: *Πρακτικά του Ἄ Διεθνούς Επιστημονικοῦ Συνεδρίου διά την Αρχαίαν Ἐλλάδα. Αἴγιον 14-16 Δεκεμ. 1979*

(Aigion/Athens 1981); M. Petropoulos, "Ελίκη," *Αρχαιολογία* 9 (1983) 76-79; D. Katsanopoulou, "Αρχαία Ελίκη" in Rizakis (ed.) (*supra* n. 3) 227-33; *Idem*, Intervention in *Sibari e la Sibariide. Atti del Trenteduesimo Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto-Sibari 7-12 Ott. 1992* (Taranto 1993) 513-23; *AR* (1993-94) 21 (citing *Τύπος της Κυριακής* 10.4.94). Further information will appear in the proceedings of the 2nd International Congress on Ancient Helike, held in Aigion, 1-3 December 1995.

**55** *ArchDelt* 40 B (1985) 123-27. M. Petropoulos, "Αρχαιολογικές Ερευνές στην Αχαΐα," in *Τόμος Τιμητικός Κ.Ν. Τριανταφύλλου I* (Patras 1990) 510-13; Petropoulos also notes three cist tombs of the second half of the sixth century in the wider area of the town, and equates Keryneia with the acropolis of Helike, with most of the city buried under modern Rizomilos. Rizakis (*supra* n. 3, *Sources*) 203-208.

**56** Derveni: J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (London 1968) 221-23; E.T. Vermeule, "The Mycenaean in Achaea," *AJA* 64 (1960) 16-17. The grave contained 11 fine vessels (2 oinochoai, 1 krater of a locally unique form, 8 kantharoi), and 1 coarse. *ArchDelt* 19 B (1964) 187, with reference to sculptural fragments Patras Λ151, 152, 154.

**57** *ArchDelt* 39 B (1984) 99.

**58** L. Papakosta, "Παρατηρήσεις σχετικά με την Τοπογραφία του Αρχαίου Αιγίου," in Rizakis (ed.) (*supra* n. 3), 235-40. Petropoulos (*supra* n. 55) 508-10, stressing the damage done to early remains by Byzantine building.

**59** Markou Botsari 15, pithoi reported, no details of contents: *ArchDelt* 31 B (1976) 97. Odos Kolokotronis 23, 8 pithoi, surviving contents = 3 bronze rings, iron ornament, local impressed ware pyxis, Thapso skyphos of third quarter 8thC: *ArchDelt* 31 B (1976) 97; Dekoulakou (*supra* n. 48) 228-29 figs. 20-23. Odos Palaiologou, 2 pithoi from a group of 5 cut into a LH level have G finds (2 bronze rings, 2 oinochoai, 1 kantharos, sherds, iron hook and spearhead), 3 remaining badly disturbed by later activity (area strewn with sherds of all periods): *ArchDelt* 29 B (1973-74) 381; Dekoulakou (*supra* n. 48) 224-25 figs. 15-17. Odos Ermou, 2 badly damaged pithoi cut into Neolithic levels, surrounded by G and Neolithic sherds: *ArchDelt* 22 B (1967) 214-15; Geometric jewellery also found during construction work between Od. Riga Ferraïou and Griba with no surviving context. Odos Aristeïdou 2, 1 MG pithos (no goods), 1 child cist burial, cut into Myc layers: *ArchDelt* 39 B (1984) 94-95. Od. Plastira 7: 14 LG pithoi, mainly robbed, including one with 4 large Boiotian fibulae and 2 faience scarabs: *Arch. Delt.* 45 B (1990) 137.

**60** *ArchDelt* 40 B (1985) 120-23.

**61** Odos Plastira and Kanellopoulos, Geometric and Hellenistic sherds around HL building: *ArchDelt* 33 B (1978) 100; *AR* (1985-86) 38. Odos Polychroniadou 8, Geometric sherds over Mycenaean level: *ArchDelt* 37 B (1982) 149.

**62** *ArchDelt* 40 B (1985) 120-23. For summary: Papakosta (*supra* n. 58).

**63** Od. Dodecanesos 4: *ArchDelt* 40 B (1985) 120-22; Od. Plastira 7: *Arch. Delt.* 45 B (1990) 137. Bases: Papakosta (*supra* n. 58) 236 and n.15.

**64** See summary in Papakosta (*supra* n. 58). Odos Rouvali 3: *ArchDelt* 33 B (1978) 99. Odos Solotrios: *ArchDelt* 27 B (1972) 290.

**65** D. Robinson, "New Greek Bronze Vases," *AJA* 46 (1942) 194-97.

**66** Polyb. 11.9.8, with reference to the federal bouleuterion in a speech made by Philopoimen in 208/7. M.H. Hansen & T. Fischer-Hansen, "Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek *Poleis*. Evidence and Historical Significance," in Whitehead (*supra* n. 2) 37-75.

**67** *ArchDelt* 33 B (1978) 100-102; *ArchDelt* 43B (1988) 166, 168.

**68** N. Kourou, "Ταφικό σύνολο από την περιοχή Αιγίου," in *ΣΤΗΛΗ; Τόμος είς*



μνήμην Νικόλαου Κοντολέοντος (Athens 1980) 313-17 pl. 145g; *Eadem*, "Some Problems Concerning the Origins and Dating of the Thapsos Class Vases," *ASAtene* 61 (1983) 259-68.

69 I. Paparastolou, "Ανασκαφή ύστερογεωμετρικού ἀποθέτη στη Ρακίτα Παναχαικού," *Prakt* (1982) 187-88; M. Petropoulos, "Τρίτη ανασκαφική περίοδος στο Ανω Μαζαράκι (Ρακίτα) Αχαΐας," in *Πρακτικά Γ Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών* (Athens 1987-88) 85-86; *ArchDelt* 34 B (1979) 153; *CMS* V 1B (Berlin 1993) 163-64, cat.165. The pottery from the shrine is being studied by Anastasia Gadoiou for her Athens University doctoral thesis; we are grateful to her for preliminary discussion. Walling has been traced on site, but almost certainly belongs to terraces rather than structures.

70 Dekoulakou (*supra* n. 48) 230 figs. 20-21 (Aigion, Odos Kolokotronis 23); P. Amandry, "Petits objets de Delphes," *BCH* 68/9 (1944-5) 37 fig. 3 (Delphi, Geometric House deposit). Finds from Lousoi were noted by M. Petropoulos in a paper delivered to the 5th International Congress of Peloponnesian Studies, Nauplion, 6-10 September 1995 (with thanks to the excavation director, Dr. V. Mitsopoulou Leon); we are grateful to Dr. Petropoulos for this information.

71 See e.g. M.E. Voyatzis, *The Early Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea and Other Archaic Sanctuaries in Arcadia* (Göteborg 1990) ch. 3.

72 M. Petropoulos, "Περίπτερος αφιδιωτός γεωμετρικός ναός στο Ανω Μαζαράκι (Ρακίτα) Πατρών," in *Πρακτικά Δ Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών. Κόρινθος 9-16 Σεπτεμβρίου 1990* II (Athens 1992-93) 141-58.

73 *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Classica e Orientale* VI, s.v. Pitsa, colour plate between pp. 202 and 203, for depiction of a conical oinochoe being borne in a procession towards an altar on a votive plaque from Pitsa.

74 See F. de Polignac, *Cults, Territory and the Origins of the Greek City-State* (Chicago 1995); also papers in S.E. Alcock & R. Osborne (eds.), *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece* (Oxford, 1994).

75 Åstrom (*supra* n. 42) 108; Rizakis (*supra* n. 3, *Sources*), 193-94.

76 *ArchDelt* 20 B (1965) 223.

77 Among the Archaic material are Corinthian and black-figured sherds: *ArchDelt* 20B (1965) 223.

78 *ArchDelt* 43B (1988) 170.

79 Early Iron Age pottery from surface survey in western Achaia is currently being studied by Ms Eleni Simoni. We are grateful to her for confirming this observation.

80 For recent overviews of this area, see M. Petropoulos, "Τοπογραφικά της χώρας των Πατρών," in Rizakis (ed.) (*supra* n. 3) 249-58; M. Petropoulos & A. Rizakis, "Settlements Patterns and Landscape in the Coastal Area of Patras. Preliminary Report," *JRA* 7 (1994) 183-207. For Tsoukaleika/Olenos, where a fourth-century cist tomb has been found, see Petropoulos & Rizakis (*op. cit.*) site 25; Petropoulos (*op. cit.*) 253 n. 50.

81 E.g. at Koukoura (Achaia Klaus), only four chamber tombs continue from LHIII A-SM; *AR* (1992-93) 23, citing report in *Rizospastes* 27.8.92.

82 Thea: Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) 197. Kallithea: *AR* (1988-89) 41; *Ergon* (1987) 89-91 (PG? sherds in LH tholos with multiple (40+) burials, LHI-III; elsewhere in this cemetery, burials go to LHIIC).

83 Petropoulos (*supra* n. 80) 256.

84 Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) 197 and tables 2a-2d, figs. 4a-4c.

85 Th. Papadopoulou, *Mycenaean Achaia* (Göteborg 1979) 28. However, Petropoulos

(*supra* n. 55) 495 and n. 5 notes that no PG or G traces have been found and that Papadopoulos' report does not cross-check.

**86** Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) 197 n. 23 report 6th century sherds.

**87** Psila Alonia: *ArchDelt* 26 B (1971) 151. Odos Korinthou 18: *ArchDelt* 42 B (1987) 151. Inscription: Jeffery (*supra* n. 9) 224 no. 3; Papapostolou (*supra* n. 10) 34 no. 1, Patras inv. 147. Petropoulos (*supra* n. 55) 495-96 notes that the Archaic and Classical city extended from the south slope of the Acropolis towards Psila Alonia, whereas the late Hellenistic goes down towards the sea.

**88** Thuc. 5.52.2. See Anderson (*supra* n. 19) 79; Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 467, 476. I. Papapostolou, "Ιστορικές μαρτυρίες και αρχαιολογικά ευρήματα της κλασικής και της προωμής Ελληνιστικής πόλης των Πατρών," in *Τόμος Τιμητικός Κ.Ν. Τριανταφύλλου* I (Patras 1990) 466 n. 11 conjectures that the lower part of a fortified structure found at the northern edge of the Roman city on Odos D. Botsi 52 may be part of this wall.

**89** Rizakis (*supra* n. 3, *Sources*) 163-65; *LIMC* s.v. Patreus, Preuges (M. Petropoulos).

**90** E. Curtius, *Peloponnesos: eine historich-geographische Beschreibung der Halbinsel* I (Gotha 1851) 437, 453.

**91** *Etym. Magn.* s.v. Ἀρόη.

**92** *ArchDelt* 40 B (1985) 120. The only other remains of the temple found to date comprise three fragments of architectural sculpture of the end of the fifth century – two combatants from a pediment and an acroterial Nike: I. Trianti, *Ο Γλυπτός διάκοσμος του Ναού στο Μάζι της Ηλείας* (Thessaloniki 1985) 116-17, 133; Petropoulos (*supra* n. 80) fig. 3. Paus. 7.19.1 notes that this sanctuary was shared by Aroe, Antheia and Mesatis during the Ionian occupation of Achaia.

**93** M. Moggi, *I sinecismi interstatali greci* (Pisa 1976) 92-93. M. Petropoulos, *Τὰ ἐργαστήρια τῶν ρωμαϊκῶν λυχναρῶν τῆς Πάτρας καὶ το Λυχνομαντεῖο* (PhD thesis, University of Ioannina, 1994) 43 argues that the political synoicism of Patras did not take place before the mid fifth century, noting that the city cemetery does not predate the second half of the century (we thank him for this reference).

**94** Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) sites 102, 103. Anemos: *AR* (1955) 17.

**95** Charadron/Patras: Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) site 109.

**96** Petropoulos (*supra* n. 80) 253; Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) site 57. Graves at Mygdalia/Petroton: *ArchDelt* 43 B (1988) 168. Petropoulos (*supra* n. 55) 517 n. 28 reports signs of a fortified acropolis on the hill of Siderokastro, with scattered Myc. and G sherds, damaged C or HL cist tombs on the east slope, and 5 LG pithos burials slightly higher on the west side. Lower in the nearby hollow of Xeropotamos are blocks from a large Classical or Hellenistic building.

**97** *ArchDelt* 26 B (1971) 185-86; Petropoulos (*supra* n. 80); Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) 197.

**98** I. Dekoulakou, "Γεωμετρικοί ταφικοί πίθοι ἐξ Αχαΐας," *ArchEph* (1973) Chr., 15-29. Contents as follows: Pithos 1 = 2 handmade prochoes, 2 bronze rings, 2 pins and a spiral; Pithos 2 = kantharos, iron pin, bronze lekythos/oinochoe, bead necklace, ring, spiral, 2 disc ornaments; Pithos 3 = clay bowl, 2 bronze fibulae, bronze bowl, bronze pins and a ring, iron knife, iron pins, sword and spearhead, glass beads; Pithos 4 = clay bowl, kotyle, bronze ring and a bead, iron pin.

**99** Dekoulakou (*supra* n. 98) dates pithos 1 as E/MG on the basis of the pins contained. Yet these are of a type which dates from the early ninth to the mid eighth century (P. Jacobsthal, *Greek Pins and their Connexions with Europe and Asia* [Oxford 1956] 5-6); had they been found in a region further east one might suggest a ninth century date, but it is

very hard to place Achaian finds so precisely. For general discussion of the chronology of this pair of burials: C. Morgan, *Settlement and Exploitation in the Region of the Corinthian Gulf, c.1000-700 BC* (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1986), 17-20.

**100** Dekoulakou (*supra* n. 98); Morgan (*supra* n. 99) 65-66. Pithos 4 is dated by a Corinthianising kotyle.

**101** National Road: *ArchDelt* 26 B (1971) 185-86 pls. 166-67, containing a clay flask and similar quantity of bronze items to those in pithos 2. Panagia: *ArchDelt* 36 B (1981) 166. Bosinaki: *ArchDelt* 30 B (1975) 120 (only find is a spearhead outside the grave).

**102** Petropoulos (*supra* n. 80) 256; Petropoulos and Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) site 111.

**103** Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) site 124 (Platani). Kato Kastritsi/Papadokosta: Petropoulos (*supra* n. 80) 256.

**104** *ArchDelt* 30 B (1975) 118; Dekoulakou (*supra* n. 48) 228 fig. 19; Petropoulos (*supra* n. 80) 257; Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) sites 113-116.

**105** Panormos: Petropoulos (*supra* n. 80) 257; *ArchDelt* 22 B (1967) 216 (the Chatzeika tombs contained three black figure lekythoi, PM 940-942); see also Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) sites 118, 120.

**106** Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) sites 137 and 124 respectively.

**107** Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) sites 70 (Gerokomeio), 6 (Alissos/Ag Paraskevi), reported in *ArchDelt* 45 B (1990, forthcoming), 5 (Alissos/Kamenitsa). K. Papagianopoulos, "Αρχαιολογική έρευνα στη περιοχή Αλίσσου-Θερίανου," in *Τόμος Τιμητικός Κ.Ν. Τριανταφύλλου* I (Patras 1991) 545.

**108** Petropoulos & Rizakis (*supra* n. 80) 197-98, and tables 2a-2d, figs.4a-4c; M. Petropoulos, "Αγροτικές Πατρώϊδες," in P.N. Doukellis & L.G. Mendoni (eds.), *Structures rurales et sociétés antiques. Actes du colloque de Corfou, 14-16 Mai 1992* (Paris 1994) 405-424.

**109** *ArchDelt* 40 B (1985) 120; Petropoulos (*supra* n. 108). Papapostolou (*supra* n. 88) 466 n. 5 notes early Classical material at Kouphomiheli-Melitzani, also in fill around the ca. 1st AD bridge across the river, further NW; cf. n. 93.

**110** A. Rizakis, *Paysages d'Achaïe I. Le bassin du Peiros et la plaine occidentale* (Athens 1992); M. Lakakis, "Αγρότικοι οικισμοί στη Δυμαία χώρα; η περίπτωση του Πετροχώρου," in Rizakis (*supra* n. 3) 241-46; A. Rizakis & M. Lakakis, "Polis et Chora, l'organisation de l'espace urbain et rural en Achaïe occidentale," *Actes du congrès international de l'archéologie classique de Berlin* (Frankfurt 1990) 551-52.

**111** Kato Achaia: this material is currently being studied by Ms A. Vasilogamvrou (Patras Ephoreia), and we are grateful to her for this information. Papadopoulos (*supra* n. 85) 24, 46-7; Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) 102-107, site 7; *Prakt* (1962) 130; *ArchDelt* 19 B (1964) 187-89; *ArchDelt* 20 B (1965) 224-27.

**112** Paus. 5.9.1. See Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 469; Moggi (*supra* n. 93) 123; L. Moretti, *Olympionikai, I vincitori negli antichi Agoni Olimpici* (Rome 1957) no. 171. For Paleia: Paus. 6.3.8; 7.17.6.

**113** *ArchDelt* 39 B (1984) 101; *ArchDelt* (1985-1988, forthcoming); Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) 68 and ch. 4, site 24.

**114** Jeffery (*supra* n. 9) 224 no. 1; A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (Vienna 1909) 121 no. 106, fig. 69; Papapostolou (*supra* n. 10) 34 compares it with his no. 1.

**115** *ArchDelt* 43 B (1988) 168 notes discovery of parts of large burial pithoi, probably Geometric in date.

**116** Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) site 36.

- 117 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) site 45.
- 118 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) site 49.
- 119 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) site 50, lekythoi Patras Museum 604-607.
- 120 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) site 65; Lakakis (*supra* n. 110) 244-45.
- 121 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) site 77.
- 122 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) site 63.
- 123 *ArchDelt* 22 B (1967) 216.
- 124 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) site 26.
- 125 In order of notice: Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) sites 33 (1 fragt C? pithos rim with modern), 18 (C-R sherds, tile), 10 (Hell fortification, earlier stray sherds 4thC), 15 (C-R, few Classical sherds localised on east part of site), 16 (C-R, few sherds and tiles), 17 (C-H, sherds and tile), 44 (C?-Hell, tiles and sherds), 45 (extensive sherd scatter mainly C), 48 (C-R sherd and tile scatter, dispersed stones probably ancient), and 53 (C?-Hell sherds).
- 126 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) site 46.
- 127 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) site 49.
- 128 *ArchDelt* 20 B (1965) 224-27; red figure sherds include one with an incised sigma.
- 129 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) site 2. Åstrom (*supra* n. 42) 102 notes the collection of black glaze sherds from Gerbesi (Loutra Araxou) in 1961.
- 130 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) sites 8, 9. Burials: *ArchDelt* 42 B (1987) 165. 1958 group comprised 4 lekythoi (PM 562-565), a skyphos (PM 566), and a bronze mirror (PM 656). 1986 pithos burial contained 2 BG lekythoi (PM 7491-7492), a BG kylix (PM 7493), and a small BG kotyle (PM 7494). Coin hoard: *BCH* 63 (1939), chronique 288; M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm, and C. Kraay, *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards* (New York 1973) 8 no. 35 (containing coinage of Elis, Phokis and Aigina).
- 131 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) sites 65, 66.
- 132 Rizakis (*supra* n. 110) site 77.
- 133 Papadopoulos (*supra* n. 85) 30-31, 44-48. Chalandritsa: *ArchDelt* 40 B (1985) 136-38, LHIIIB-SM settlement on site of local health centre. 3 concentric areas of building with radiating roads; 2 storeyed houses (cuttings for wooden stairs), with one or two trapezoidal rooms, ground floors with hearths used for heating also storage, cooking areas outside.
- 134 *ArchDelt* 19 B (1964) 186, containing a kyathos (PM679) and kantharos (PM680).
- 135 N. Zappeiropoulos, "Ανασκαφικά ἔρευναί εἰς Περιφέρειαν Φαρῶν Αἰχῆας" *Prakt* (1956) 195-96; sherds mainly kantharoi, skyphoi and kraters, plus some closed forms and coarsewares.
- 136 *ArchDelt* 39 B (1984) 103-104; *ArchDelt* 42 B (1987) 163.
- 137 *ArchDelt* 19 B (1964) 186.
- 138 *ArchDelt* 17 B (1961-62) 129.
- 139 N. Kyriarissis, "Ανασκαφή Μυκηναϊκῶν νεκροταφείων Δήμου Φαρῶν Αἰχῆας ἐν Ἁγῶ Βασιλείῳ Χαλανδρίτσης καὶ Μητροπόλει," *Prakt* (1929) 89-91; *Idem*, "Ανασκαφή Μυκηναϊκῶν νεκροταφείων ἐν Χαλανδρίτση (Δήμου Φαρῶν Αἰχῆας) καὶ Μάνεσι (Δήμου Λαπαθῶν Καλαβρυτιῶν)," *Prakt* (1930) 83-85; V.R.d'A. Desborough, *The Greek Dark Ages* (London 1972) 92; Zappeiropoulos (*supra* n. 135) 199-200; J.N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (London 1977) 180.
- 140 N. Zappeiropoulos, "Ανασκαφή Φαρῶν," *Prakt* (1957) 114-17.
- 141 P. Zappeiropoulos, "Ανασκαφικά ἔρευναί εἰς Περιφέρειαν Φαρῶν Αἰχῆας" *Prakt* (1952) 400-412. A contained 1 oinochoe, 6 skyphoi (incl 1 with fish), bronze rings and iron spit fragments. ΒΙ=pyxis, kyathos, 2 skyphoi, Γ=3 skyphoi, 3 oinochoai, a bronze ring and bracelet. Γ has spit fragments plus at least 1 oinochoe and skyphos.

- 142 Zapheiropoulos (*supra* n. 135) 196-97.
- 143 Zapheiropoulos (*supra* n. 135) 197-98.
- 144 Dekoulakou (*supra* n. 48) fig. 18.
- 145 Morgan (*supra* n. 3) 139-40. Analogous observations have been made about the Sperchios valley in Thessaly: F. Dakoronia, "Sperchios Valley and the Adjacent Area," in *ΘΕΣΣΑΛΙΑ. Δεκαπέντε χρόνια αρχαιολογικής έρευνας 1975-1990. Αποτελέσματα και προόψεις* (Athens 1994) 233-42.
- 146 Zapheiropoulos (*supra* n. 141) 403-404 fig. 14.
- 147 Zapheiropoulos (*supra* n. 135) 195-96. Petropoulos (*supra* n. 55) 504-505.
- 148 Zapheiropoulos (*supra* n. 141) 396-98.
- 149 The following fall into this category: Bouga: Zapheiropoulos (*supra* n. 135) 193; a tholos originally described as Geometric, but almost certainly Mycenaean. Pori: Kyparissis (*supra* n. 139 [1930]) 87; disturbed traces of unexcavated Mycenaean or possibly later cemetery at the foot of Korakofolia hill. Troumbe: Kyparissis, 85; destroyed tomb surrounded by peribolos wall, with one obsidian point; further uninvestigated burials on nearby hilltops. Agrapadies: Papadopoulos (*supra* n. 85) 29; Coldstream (*supra* n. 139) 180; a group of cist tombs within a peribolos wall, undatable coarseware and beads from one burial only; Coldstream dates the group as Geometric, Papadopoulos restores a tumulus and suggests LH (II?). Ag. Basileos in Marnolaka ravine: Kyparissis (*supra* n. 139 [1929]) 86-88; *idem* "Ανασκαφή Μυκηναϊκού Νεκροταφείου ἐν Αγ. Βασιλείῳ Χαλανδρίτσης, Αχαΐας," *Prakt* (1928) 110-119; pithos without goods, probably Mycenaean since there are numerous Mycenaean remains in the area.
- 150 *ArchDelt* 39 B (1984) 103: G. Hatzı Spiliopoulou "Ταφικοί Πίθου στην Ηλεία κατά τον 4ου αι. π.Χ. και τους Ελληνιστικοὺς Χρόνους" in Rizakis (*supra* n. 3) n. 57.
- 151 EIA Manesi: single burial, end 8thC (containing local pottery, showing Lakonian influence but no strong stylistic links with the rest of Achaia); Dekoulakou (*supra* n. 48) 231-32 figs. 24-29. Kompegadi: Geometric burial reported, no further details: *AR* (1954) 157. Priolithos: late eighth century pithos burial: *ArchDelt* 22 B (1967) pl. 156e. Three further undatable burials (EIA or later?): Xydia, disturbed cist tomb without contents: *ArchDelt* 35 B (1980) 198; Agros Katsikopoulou (N. of Mon. Lavra, Kalavryta), 2 cist tombs, robbed and badly damaged: *ArchDelt* 33 (1978) 103.
- Flaboura: early seventh-century kantharos probably from a burial: Dekoulakou (*supra* n. 48) fig. 35, PM 883. Asani (= Classical Kryoneri): early seventh-century pithos burial, containing one imported Corinthian aryballos and local Corinthianising pottery: Dekoulakou (*supra* n. 48), 232-34 figs. 30-34. Pithos burial of late 5thC-Hellenistic type, plus a further pithos burial 100m from Kryoneri church in contact with a contemporary enchytrismos vessel (the latter with a kotyle as an offering). Possibly related are vases deposited in Patras Museum 20 years ago from Kouzia property: Hatzı (*supra* n. 150) n. 57; *ArchDelt* 42 B (1987) 163. Ag. Konstantinos, early-mid seventh-century panoply burial (containing a sword and an early Illyrian helmet): *ArchDelt* 17 B (1961-62) 131-32.
- Planiterou (Kleisoura, Seremetaki); cemetery destroyed in road building, 3 tile tombs rescued, presumed Classical; stele with Σ also found: *ArchDelt* 39 B (1984) 104. Kalavryta Kastro: ancient cemetery noted at Kioupia ca. 1km from Kastro; prehistoric, Classical and Medieval sherds reported, perhaps related to Arkadian Kynaitha? Ag. Vlasi, Glastra: Classical-Hellenistic tiles used to cover a later cist tomb (re-used into Roman period) implies the existence of a building: *ArchDelt* 42 B (1987) 163-64. At Drosato Brysariou-Lakes, west of the Selinous river, extensive surface traces of settlement include a continu-

ous pottery sequence from the eighth to the first century BC. Of particular interest here is the chance discovery of an eighth-century bronze horse figurine, since although isolated finds are hard to interpret, horse figurines elsewhere are most usually found in sanctuaries (being rare in settlements and almost unknown in graves): *ADelt* 42 B (1982) 164-65 (horse Patras 3866).

**152** Among the earliest evidence relating to Pharai is the late 5th/early 4th C. Φαιλύκος stele: Papadopoulos (*supra* n. 10) 36 no. 11, Patras inv. 175. Petropoulos (*supra* n. 55) 496-97 notes that excavations conducted by Maria Lakakis at Ag. Marina Tritaia have uncovered remains of ancient Tritaia; further details will appear in the forthcoming *ArchDelt* (1987-1989).

**153** See Hansen (*supra* n. 2 [1993]) 13-16.

**154** Strab. 8.3.2. See Moggi (*supra* n. 93) 93, 124, 126. N. Demand, *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece: Flight and Consolidation* (Bristol 1990) 61-64 argues that Strabo envisages the synoecism of Dyme as involving the incorporation of Olenos – something that must have happened after Herodotos was writing (cf. Hdt 1.145). See *supra*, where it was suggested that the incorporation should predate ca. 370 B.C. since the name of Olenos is omitted by Skylax (42).

**155** Larsen (*supra* n. 4) 83.

**156** *Boule*: *SEG* 14 375. See Larsen (*supra* n. 4) 86, who dates it to the earlier confederacy, and Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 490.

**157** Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.1. See Larsen (*supra* n. 30) 809; *Idem* (*supra* n. 4) 9; Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 485. Interestingly enough, after the refoundation of the League, grants of citizenship to foreigners were made by individual *poleis* rather than by the League itself: P.J. Rhodes, "The Greek *Poleis*: Demes, Cities and Leagues," in Hansen (*supra* n. 2) 176. See also Rizakis (*supra* n. 10).

**158** *IG* P 93. See Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 483, 486. However, it is also possible that this external ethnic simply designates the *ethnos* to which Lykon belonged: see below.

**159** Thuc. 5.52.2. See Anderson (*supra* n. 19) 84; Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 480.

**160** Thuc. 2.9.2. See Larsen (*supra* n. 30) 802; *Idem* (*supra* n. 4) 128. Again, the Peloponnesians are the only Achaians enrolled in the Peloponnesian League in 418 B.C.: Thuc. 5.58.4; 5.59.3; 5.60.3; Larsen (*supra* n. 4) 153.

**161** E.g. Thuc. 1.115.1; 2.86.1, 4; 2.92.5; 4.21.3; 5.82.1.

**162** Polyb. 2.39.5-6. Chronological indications are given by the fact that Polybios dates this meeting to some time shortly after the *synedria* of the Pythagoreans had burned down.

**163** Polyb. 2.41.3-6.

**164** Hdt. 5.44-45; 6.21.2; 6.1.13. The date is given by Diod. 11.90.3 who places it 58 years before the archonship of Lysikrates at Athens in 453/452 B.C.

**165** Strab. 6.1.13; cf. Diod. 11.90.3; 12.9-10. See W. Leschhorn, "Gründer der Stadt": *Studien zu einem politisch-religiösen Phänomen der griechischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart 1984) 128-29.

**166** F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius I* (Oxford 1957) 225-26. See also T.J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* (Oxford 1948) 35.

**167** Strab. 6.1.14. Strabo actually refers to Sybaris on the Teuthras, but Meinecke emended this to Traeis.

**168** This is the view of A. Aymard, "Le Zeus fédéral achaien Hamarios-Homarios," in *Melanges offerts à M. Octave Navarre* (Toulouse 1935) 454; Anderson (*supra* n. 19) 80; Larsen (*supra* n. 4) 84.

**169** Strab. 8.7.3. In actual fact, Strabo refers to the Arnarion and later (8.7.5) to the Ai-

narion, but as Aymard (*supra* n. 168) argues this is almost certainly a copyist's error from Amarion, which is the regular epigraphic form for Hamarion once the aspirate was no longer in use. In accounting for the oscillation between Homarion and Hamarion, Aymard suggests that the former is a dialectal form, while the latter is the common Greek form.

**170** Polyb. 5.93.10.

**171** P. Foucart, "Fragment inédit d' un décret de la Ligue achéenne," *RA* 32 (1876) 96-103; Aymard (*supra* n. 168) 457.

**172** Head (*supra* n. 50) 416.

**173** Livy 38.30.2: "Aegium a principio Achaici concilii semper conventus gentis indicti sunt." Strab. 8.7.5 seems to situate it within the *chora* of Aigion.

**174** It is extremely unlikely that the Homarion is to be associated with the coastal sanctuary of Zeus Homagyrios at Aigion, where Agamemnon is supposed to have held consultations prior to embarking upon the expedition against Troy: Paus. 7.24.2. See Aymard (*supra* n. 168) 454 n. 1; *Idem*, *Les assemblées de la confédération achaienne* (Bordeaux 1938) 279-80. Rizakis (*supra* n. 3, *Sources*), 200-201.

**175** Paus. 7.24.4 (Aigion); 7.7.2 (Helike).

**176** Aymard (*supra* n. 174) 286-87, 293. Aymard suggests that the Homarion should be situated at either Kato Temeni or Ano Temeni which he believes to lie midway between Aigion and Helike; for recent research on the location of Helike see n. 55 here above.

**177** Hom. *Il.* 8.203. See also Rizakis (*supra* n. 3, *Sources*) 101-102.

**178** As a symbol of Ionian identity: Hdt. 1.148.1; Paus. 7.24.5. For its continued existence through to 373 B.C.: Strab. 8.7.2; Paus. 7.24.6. Pausanias notes that it was still a place of refuge for suppliants in the fourth century which may also testify to its status as a regional sanctuary: cf. U. Sinn, "Das Heraion von Perachora: eine sacrale Schutzzone in der korinthischen Peraia," *AM* 105 (1990) 92.

**179** Larsen (*supra* n. 4) 81-82; cf. Anderson (*supra* n. 19) 81.

**180** For the Heraklid/Achaian identity of Mykenai in confrontation with the Dorians of Argos: J.M. Hall, "Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Iron Age of Greece," in N. Spencer (ed.), *Time, tradition and society in Greek archaeology: bridging the "Great Divide"* (London 1995) 13-16.

**181** Anderson (*supra* n. 19) 80.

**182** *Damiourgoi* are not attested in every Achaian *polis*, and at Dyme an official named the *Theokolos* appears to share equal rank with the *damiourgoi*: Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 474. Analogous reflections concerning the likely date of the Arkadian confederation are presented by Thomas Heine Nielsen, "Was there an Arkadian Confederacy in the Fifth Century?"; *Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre* 3, 39-61.

**183** See A. Giovannini, *Untersuchungen über die Natur und die Anfänge der bundesstaatlichen Sympolitie in Griechenland = Hypomnemata* 33 (Göttingen 1971) 14-16; W. Donlan, "The Social Groups of Dark Age Greece," *CP* 80 (1985) 295.

**184** J.M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in the Argolid, 900-600 B.C.*, (PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1993) 35-36, 55-61. These issues are explored more fully in *Idem*, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge forthcoming).

**185** *Contra* Sakellariou (*supra* n. 21).

**186** Messenia: Mimnermos fr. 9 West, cf. Hom. *Il.* 11.690-93; Hes. fr. 33(a) Merkelbach & West; Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4) fr. 125; Hdt. 9.97; Pherekydes (*FGrHist* 3) fr. 155; Strab. 14.1.3; Paus. 7.2.1-2. Boiotia: Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4) fr. 101; Hdt. 1.146.1-2.

**187** See also Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 458; Morgan (*supra* n. 3) 135-36.

**188** Paus. 7.1.1. See F. Gschnitzer, "Stammes- und Ortsgemeinden im alten Griechenland," *WS* 68 (1955) 120-44; Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 458.

- 189** Hom. *Il.* 2.573-75; 8.203.
- 190** Olenos appears to be listed among the contingent from Eleia in the Catalogue of Ships: Hom. *Il.* 2.617.
- 191** Hom. *Il.* 2.575; Hdt. 7.94; Strab. 8.7.1; Paus. 7.1.1.
- 192** Paus. 7.1.8. See D.M. Leahy, "The Bones of Teisamenos," *Historia* 4 (1955) 26-38; M. Giangiulio, *Ricerche su Crotone arcaica* (Pisa 1989) 208. Leahy dates this transferal between 560 B.C. and 555 B.C. There is no suggestion that the Achaiaans had been aware of Teisamenos' tomb prior to the Spartan "discovery", though the connection of Teisamenos with eastern Achaia must have already been established for the Spartans to have made any political capital out of the event.
- 193** *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 416-26. See L. Mendone, "Η Αχαΐα στους αρχαίους Έλληνες και λατίνους συγγραφείς," in Rizakis (*supra* n. 3) 68.
- 194** Jeffery (*supra* n. 9) 221.
- 195** Cited by Paus. 7.17.7. It is possible that the attestation of Paleia is deliberately archaising. Alternatively, it may provide evidence for a synoecism of Dyme later than 460 B.C. (cf. Demand (*supra* n. 154) 63-64). We see no compelling reason to treat Paleia as an originally independent polis.
- 196** W. Dittenberger & K. Purgold, *Olympia V: die Inschriften von Olympia* (Berlin 1896) 630-31.
- 197** *IG* I<sup>2</sup> 93.
- 198** *Contra* Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 486.
- 199** E.g. M.M. Austin & P. Vidal-Naquet, *Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece: An Introduction* (Berkeley 1977) 50; A.J. Graham, "The Colonial Expansion of Greece," *CAH* III.3 (Cambridge 1982) 159.
- 200** I. Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (Leiden 1987) 263.
- 201** I. Malkin, "Inside and Outside: colonization and the formation of the mother city," in B. d'Agostino & D. Ridgway (eds.), *APOIKIA. Scritti in onore di Giorgio Buchner* = *AnnArchStorAnt* 1 (1994) 1-9. Hansen (*supra* n. 2 [1994]) 15 cites Achaia as a case; cf. Malkin (*supra* n. 200) 12.
- 202** Malkin (*supra* n. 200) 43-47, 88-91; Morgan (*supra* n. 3) 147; cf. Plat. *Leg.* 708b, 740a.
- 203** A.M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece* (Edinburgh 1971) figs. 42-43. Ithakan origin: Morgan (*supra* n. 99) 27-28.
- 204** C. Morgan, "Problems and Prospects in the Study of Corinthian Pottery Production," in *Magna Graeca e Corinto. Atti del XXXIV Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 7-11 Ott. 1994* (forthcoming) includes bibliography.
- 205** As suggested by Larsen (*supra* n. 30) 798 n. 5, and refuted by Anderson (*supra* n. 19) 78-79 n. 19.
- 206** The bibliography of the site, excavated since 1879, is extensive: latest summary in *Sibari e la Sibaritide* (*supra* n. 54). Summary of evidence for relevant periods: P.G. Guzzo, "Sibari. Materiali per un bilancio archeologico," in *Sibari e la Sibaritide*, 51-66; *Idem*, "Sibari e la Sibaritide: materiali per un bilancio della conoscenza archeologica," *RA* (1992) 3-35. Principal reports: *Sibari. Saggi di Scavo al Parco del Cavallo* (1969), *NSc* 23 [94] (1969), supp.1; *Sibari. Scavi al Parco del Cavallo* (1960-1962; 1969-1970) e agli *Stombi* (1969-1970), *NSc* 24 [95] (1970), supp.3; *Sibari II. Rapporto Preliminare della Campagna di Scavo: Stombi, Casa Bianca, Parco del Cavallo, San Mauro* (1971), *NSc* 26 [97] (1972) supp.; *Sibari IV. Relazione Preliminare della Campagna di Scavo: Stombi Parco del Cavallo, Prolungamento Strada, Casa Bianca* (1972), *NSc* 28 [99] (1974),



supp.; Sibari IV. *Relazione Preliminare delle Campagne di Scavo 1973 (Parco del Cavallo, Casa Bianca) e 1974 (Stombi; Incrocio; Parco del Cavallo; Prolungamento Strada; Casa Bianca)*, *NSc* 42/43 [113/4] (1988-9), supp.III (see 590-92 for bibliography).

**207** Pseudo-Skymnos says that at the time of its destruction (in 511/510 B.C.) Sybaris had existed for about 210 years: see J. Bérard, *La colonisation grecque de l' Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l' antiquité. L' histoire et la légende* (2nd edn. Paris 1957) 144. Bérard prefers the Eusebian date.

**208** C. Dehl, *Die korinthische Keramik des 8 und früher 7 Jhr. v. Chr. in Italien* (Berlin 1984) 211-12 (Kroton), 260-62 (Sybaris); P.G. Guzzo, "La Sibaritide e Sibari nell' VIII e VII sec. a.C.," *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 237-50, noting also a Corinthian MG chevron skyphos from Torre Mordilla in the later *chora* of Sybaris.

**209** P.G. Guzzo, "Importazioni fittili Greco-Orientali sulla Costa Jonica d'Italia," in *Céramique de la Grèce de l'est et leur diffusion en occident* (Paris-Naples 1978) 107-130; see also Guzzo (*supra* n. 208).

**210** F. Croissant, "Sybaris: la production artistique," in *Sibari e la Sibaritide* (*supra* n. 54) 539-59.

**211** Architecture discussed by D. Mertens, "Architettura arcaica dal Parco del Cavallo," *NSc* (1972) supp. (*supra* n. 206) 451-78.

**212** D. Mertens, "Note preliminari sull' architettura arcaica di Sibari," in *Sibari e la Sibaritide* (*supra* n. 54) 567-70.

**213** S. Settis (ed.), *Storia della Calabria I. La Calabria Antica* (Rome/Reggio 1987) 137-226; for earlier local settlement, see R. Peroni, "La Sibaritide prima di Sibari," in *Sibari e la Sibaritide* (*supra* n. 54) 103-35. Guzzo (*supra* n. 206) for pre-colonial pottery.

**214** Mertens (*supra* n. 211) 561-70.

**215** Guzzo (*supra* n. 206).

**216** Among an extensive bibliography, see: Polignac (*supra* n. 74) ch. 3; I.E.M. Edlund, *The Gods and the Place* (Stockholm 1987) part IV; Malkin (*supra* n. 200) 135-86; *Idem*, "Territorial Domination and the Greek Sanctuary," in B. Alroth and P. Hellström (ed), *Religion and Power in the Ancient Greek World* (Uppsala 1996).

**217** E.g. Dunbabin (*supra* n. 166) 24; Anderson (*supra* n. 19) 78.

**218** See Leschhorn (*supra* n. 165) 26 n. 3. Alternatively, the name Wis has been suggested for the oikist of Sybaris on the basis of the legends  $\Phi\iota\sigma$  on the early coinage of Poseidonia (often treated as a Sybarite foundation): see G. Pugliese Carratelli, "Le vicende di Sibari e Thurii," in G. Pugliese Carratelli, *Scritti sul mondo antico* (Naples 1976) 365.

**219** Arist. *Pol.* 1303a 29. He is followed by Solin. 2.10.

**220** Nic. *ap. Ant. Lib.* 8; Solin. 2.10.

**221** For summary, see: *Crotone. Atti del Ventitreesimo Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 7-10 Ott. 1983* (Taranto 1984). For history of research: E. Lattanzi, "Problemi archeologici – dalla ricerca alla tutela," in *Crotone* 95-117; R. Spadea, "La topografia," in *Crotone* 119-66.

**222** C. Sabbione, "Le aree di colonizzazione di Crotone e Locri Epizefiri nell' VIII e VII sec. a.C.," *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 251-77; *Idem*, "L' artigianato artistico," in *Crotone* (*supra* n. 221) 245-301.

**223** P. Orsi, *Croton – prima campagna di scavi al santuario di Hera Lacinia*, *NSc* 46 (1911) supp; R. Spadea (ed.), *Il tesoro di Hera: scoperte nel santuario di Hera Lacinia a Capo Colonna de Crotone* (Milan 1996).

**224** G.F. Maddoli, "I culti di Crotone," in *Crotone* (*supra* n. 221) 313-43.

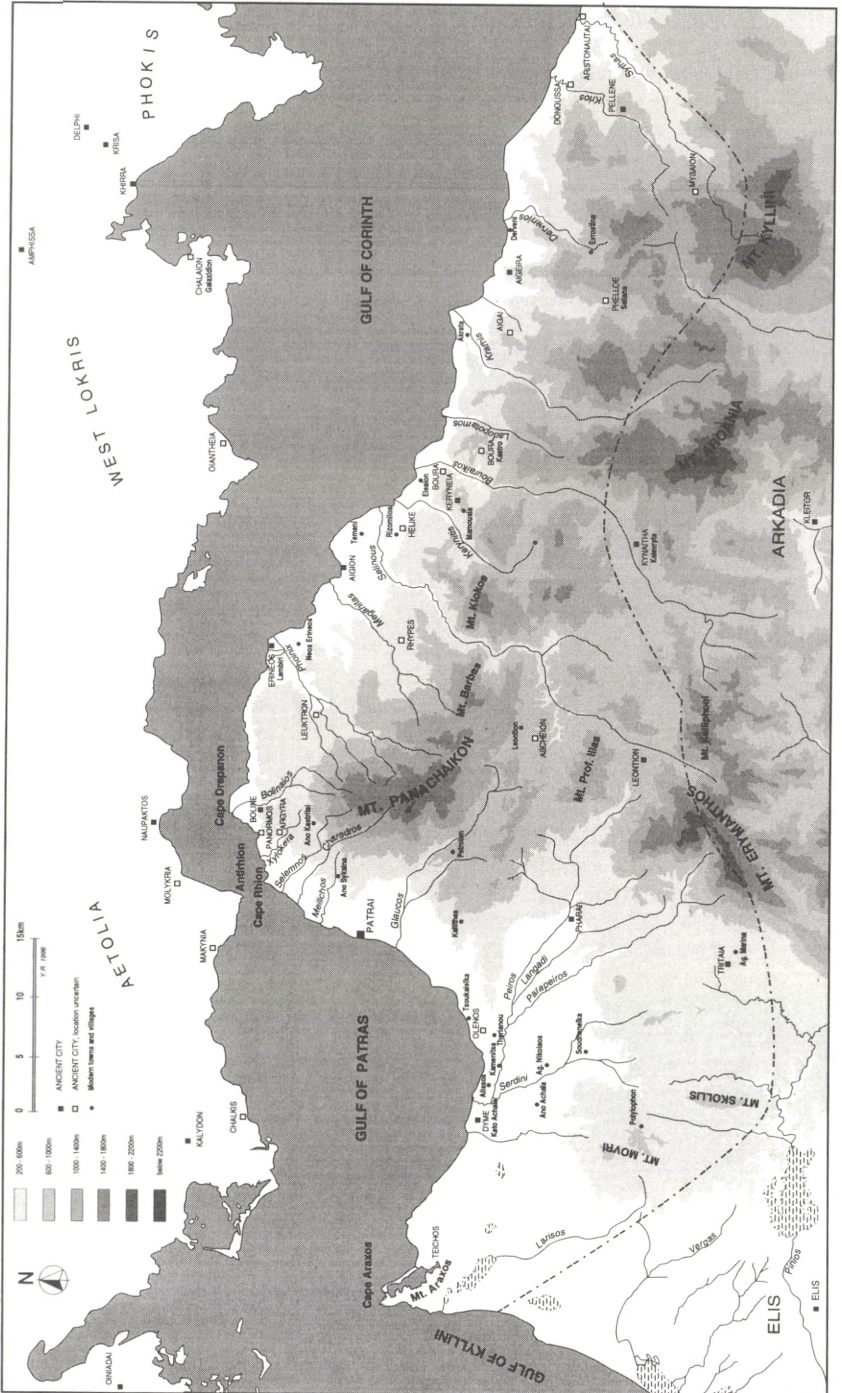
**225** Antiochos of Syracuse (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 10 *ap. Strab.* 6.1.12; *Hdt.* 8.47.

- 226 The name Myskellos is given by Antiochos of Syracuse (*FGrHist* 555) fr. 10; ps-Scymn. 325; Dion. Hal. 2.59.3; Strab. 6.1.12; Solin. 2.10; Zenob. 3.42. His home town is named as Rhyes by Hippys of Rhegion (*FGrHist* 554) fr.1; Diod. 8.17; Strab. 8.7.5.
- 227 Leschhorn (*supra* n. 165) 28. Dunbabin (*supra* n. 166) 27 dates its invention to the late sixth or early fifth centuries, while Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) 134 places it in the late fifth century. It is not entirely apparent that Strabo's story of the double oracular consultation is still part of a citation from Antiochos: *contra* Bérard (*supra* n. 207) 152.
- 228 Dion. Hal. 2.59.3 says that Myskellos founded Kroton in the third year of the 17th Olympiad (709 B.C.).
- 229 E.g. Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 463.
- 230 Hippys of Rhegion (*FGrHist* 554) fr.1 *ap.* Zenob. 3.42; Antiochos of Syracuse (*FGrHist* 555) fr.10 *ap.* Strab. 6.1.12.
- 231 Malkin (*supra* n. 200) 45.
- 232 Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) 143-44.
- 233 Malkin (*supra* n. 200) 45-46.
- 234 Leschhorn (*supra* n. 165) 30; Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) 136-39. For the foundation of Kyrene: Hdt. 4.150-161. Battos' name means "stammerer"; the Delphic Oracle repeatedly refers to Myskellos as βραχύνωτε or "crooked-backed" and according to Hesychios, μύσκιλος means σκολιός ("crooked"). Note, however, that unlike Battos, Myskellos does not consult the oracle about his deformity: see Malkin (*supra* n. 200) 44.
- 235 Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) 142-43.
- 236 For the Delphic tripod on Krotoniate coinage: Head (*supra* n. 50) 95; Dunbabin (*supra* n. 166) 27; Bérard (*supra* n. 207) 153; Leschhorn (*supra* n. 165) 30; Jeffery (*supra* n. 9) 257. Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) 133 n. 7 notes that in the sixth and fifth centuries the Delphic tripod only appears elsewhere on the coinage of Delphi and Zakynthos, both of which are later issues. For the importance of the cult of Apollo Pythios to the Pythagoreans of Kroton: Giangiulio, 93-94.
- 237 Head (*supra* n. 50) 96-7; Bérard (*supra* n. 207) 154; Leschhorn (*supra* n. 165) 29; Jeffery (*supra* n. 9) 257.
- 238 First, Herakles was the traditional founder of the Olympic Games in which Kroton was a successful participant from the seventh century onwards. Secondly, Herakles is intimately associated with Hera, whose cult appears to go back to the early years of the colony: see Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) esp. 71-72, 102-103.
- 239 For Menelaos: Lycoph. *Alex.* 858; Helen: Dion Hal. *Vett. Cens.* I; Cic. *De Invent.* 2.1.1; Achilleus: Lycoph. *Alex.* 857. See G. Giannelli, *Culti e miti della Magna Grecia. Contributo alla storia più antica delle colonie greche in Occidente* (Florence 1963) 148-51. Bérard (*supra* n. 207) 155 views these Lakonian cults as pre-Dorian ones carried from Sparta to Achaia at the time of the Dorian invasion and from there to South Italy.
- 240 I. Malkin, *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge 1994) 62-64.
- 241 See the objections of Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) 183-84.
- 242 Strab. 6.1.11.
- 243 P. Orsi, "Caulonia. Campagne archeologiche del 1912, 1913 e 1914," *MonAnt* 23 (1914) 685-947; *Idem*, "Caulonia II. Memoria," *MonAnt* 29 (1924) 410-90. H. Tréziny, *Kaulonia I. Sondages sur la fortification nord (1982-1985). Cahiers du Centre Jean Bérard XIII* (Naples 1989).
- 244 Ps-Scymn. 318-19; Solin. 2.10; Steph. Byz. s.v. Αὐλών.
- 245 Anderson (*supra* n. 19) 78; Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 464.

- 246** Head (*supra* n. 50) 92-3; Dunbabin (*supra* n. 166) 41; Bérard (*supra* n. 207) 159.
- 247** The following is a brief selection from the extensive bibliography on Metapontion and its *chora*: D. Adamesteanu, D. Mertens & F. d'Andria, *Metaponto* I, *NSc* 29 [100] (1975), supp.; D. Adamesteanu, D. Mertens & F. d'Andria, *Metaponto* II, *NSc* 31 [102] (1977), supp.; F.G. lo Porto, "Metaponto," *NSc* 35 [106] (1981) 289-301; D. Adamesteanu, "Siris e Metaponto alla luce delle nuove scoperte archeologiche," *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 301-13; D. Mertens, "Metapont. Ein neuer Plan der Stadtzentrum," *AA* (1985) 645-71; A. de Siena, "Contributi archeologici alla definizione della fase protocoloniale del Metapontino," *Bolletino storico della Basilicata* 6 (1990) 71-88; D. Adamesteanu, D. Mertens & A. de Siena, "Metaponto: santuario di Apollo Tempio D," *BdA* 60 (1975) 26-49; D. Adamesteanu, "Santuari Metapontini," in U. Jantzen (ed.), *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern* (Tübingen 1976) 151-66; J.C. Carter, "Sanctuaries in the Chora of Metapontum," in Alcock & Osborne (*supra* n. 74) 161-98; *Idem*, "Metapontum – Land, Wealth, and Population," in J.-P. Descoedres (ed.), *Greek Colonists and Native Populations* (Oxford 1990) 405-41. Inconronata: *Ricerche archeologiche all'Inconronata di Metaponto I. Le fosse di Scarico del Saggio P. Materiali e problematiche* (Milan 1991); P. Orlandini, *Ricerche archeologiche all'Inconronata di Metaponto II. Dal villaggio indigeno all'emporio greco. Le strutture e i materiali del saggio T* (Milan 1992); P. Orlandini, "Scavi e scoperte di VIII e VII sec. a.C. in località Inconronata tra Siris e Metaponto," *ASAtene* 60 (1982) 315-27.
- 248** D. Adamesteanu, "Argoi lithoi a Metaponto" in *Adriatica praehistorica et antiqua: Miscellanea G. Novak dicata* (Zagreb 1970) 307-24, suggests that these unworked stones, sometimes with inscriptions, point to close cult connections with the Achaian homeland. This rests on Pausanias' description of Achaian argoi lithoi, and not on contemporary Achaian evidence.
- 249** Samnite destruction: D. Musti, *Strabone e la Magna Grecia. Città e popoli dell'Italia antica* (Padua 1988) 120. Rural shrines and territory: Carter (*supra* n. 247); M. Osanna, *Chorai coloniali da Taranto a Locri* (Rome 1992).
- 250** See Bérard (*supra* n. 207) 176.
- 251** Head (*supra* n. 50) 78; Dion. Hal. fr. 19.3. See generally Dunbabin (*supra* n. 166) 32; Bérard (*supra* n. 207) 177-78.
- 252** See Dunbabin (*supra* n. 166) 32; Bérard (*supra* n. 207) 181. Bérard cites schol. ad *Il.* 2.520 which mentions a Daulieus, son of Tyrannos, and suggests that Ephoros (or Strabo) has made an error.
- 253** Bérard (*supra* n. 207) 177; Malkin (*supra* n. 200) 181-82.
- 254** E. Pais, *Storia della Sicilia e della Magna Grecia* (Turin 1894) 533-40. Bérard (*supra* n. 207) 216 also notes: i) that Stephanos of Byzantium (s.v. Τροίζην) mentions a second Troizen in the Massaliot region of Italy; and ii) that Poseidon, from whom Poseidonia took its name, was the principal deity at Troizen (and more especially neighbouring Kalau-rea).
- 255** J.G. Pedley, *Paestum* (London 1990) chs 1-4. The most recent collection of studies on this site is *Poseidonia-Paestum. Atti del Ventisettesimo Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto-Paestum, 9-15 Ott. 1987* (Taranto 1988). For a revised dating of Poseidonia: E. Greco, *Archeologia della Magna Grecia* (2nd. edn. Rome and Bari 1993) 71, 157.
- 256** Malkin (*supra* n. 200) 131-32.
- 257** Anderson (*supra* n. 19) 78; Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 465.
- 258** Hdt. 1.145; Strab. 8.7.4-5; Paus. 7.25.11; 8.15.9. See Dunbabin (*supra* n. 166) 24; Bérard (*supra* n. 207) 141; Koerner (*supra* n. 22) 464; Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) 166-67.
- 259** W. Goegebeur, "Hérodote et la fondation de Crotone," *AntCl.* 54 (1985) 116-51.

- 260** E.g. the Hermionians are Dryopes from Doris (8.43); the Ambrakiots and Leukadians are Dorians from Korinth (8.45); the Aiginetans are Dorians from Epidaurous (8.46.1); and the Keans and Naxians are Ionians from Athens (8.46.2-3).
- 261** Hdt. 8.47. See Goegebeur (*supra* n. 259) 136-42.
- 262** The ethnic connotation of "Achaian" is also stressed by C. Ampolo, "La città dell'eccesso: per la storia di Sibari fino al 510 a.C.," in *Sibari e la Sibaritide* (*supra* n. 54) 238-42.
- 263** When the Masai tribe was relocated, it attempted to preserve its identity with its original environment by using the same assemblage of toponyms in its new territory: A. White, "The Environment and Social Behaviour," in H. Tajfel & C. Fraser (eds.), *Introducing Social Psychology* (Harmondsworth 1978) 375.
- 264** For similarities of scripts and dialect: Jeffery (*supra* n. 9) 221, 250; Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) 164; R. Giacomelli, *Achaea Magno-Graeca. Le iscrizioni arcaiche in alfabetico acheo di Magna Grecia* (Brescia 1988); see also review, *Gnomon* 63 (1991) 649-50. For the lack of balance in the sample: Rizakis (*supra* n. 3) 58.
- 265** Kroton: Jeffery (*supra* n. 9) 257. Pellene: *SEG* 3 329. Patrai: Paus. 7.19.9. See Sakkellariou (*supra* n. 21) 17.
- 266** Head (*supra* n. 50) 76; Bérard (*supra* n. 207) 179-80.
- 267** D. Mertens, "Zur archaischen Architektur der achaischen Kolonien in Unteritalien," in Jantzen (*supra* n. 247), 167-96; *Idem*, "Some Principal Features of West Greek Colonial Architecture," in Descoeudres (*supra* n. 247) 373-83.
- 268** Ampolo (*supra* n. 262) 242-53 for the *politeia* of Sybaris and its relation to other Achaian cities.
- 269** Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) 286.
- 270** G. Camassa, "I culti," in *Sibari e la Sibaritide* (*supra* n. 55) 573-94; Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) 175. An early sixth-century stele from Metapontion refers to the cult of Apollo Lykeios which is, as far as we are aware, unattested in Achaia itself: Jeffery (*supra* n. 9) 457.
- 271** Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) 92-93, 178-79.
- 272** For the connection between Hera Argeia and Herakles, and the use of both as a symbol of Heraklid/Achaian resistance to Dorian claims: J.M. Hall, "How Argive was the "Argive" Heraion? The Political and Cultic Geography of the Argive Plain, 900-400 B.C.," *AJA* 99 (1995) 577-613; *Idem*, "Heroes, Hera and Herakleidai in the Argive Plain," in R. Hägg (ed.), *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults* (forthcoming).
- 273** *Serv. Aen.* 3.552.
- 274** *IG XIV* 652. See Giangiulio (*supra* n. 192) 186.
- 275** Cf. Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555) fr.12.
- 276** Note that, in their conflict with Kroton at the end of the sixth century, the Sybarites attempt to discredit the Krotoniates by saying that they were assisted by Dorieus, the half-brother of the Spartan king, Kleomenes – a calumny the Krotoniates vigorously denied: Hdt. 5.44.2.

**Adendum:** The following site information has been published since the completion of this article: Platani-Xylokeras: 3 G pithos burials: *ArchDelt* 45 B (1990), 135. – Vasiliko, Pharaï: late A clay sima, stone bases, roof-tiles (no pottery): *ArchDelt* 44 B (1989), 132-33. – Ag. Basileios Chalandritsa: A oinochoe in Myc chamber tomb (re-use?): *ArchDelt* 44 B (1989), 134, 136. – Prevedos: collection of clay figurines and small pots, votive deposit from A shrine: *ArchDelt* 44 B (1989), 133. – Marmara Aigialeias: A sherds: *ArchDelt* 44 B (1989), 140.



— geographic map of Achaia.