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Diabaseis, in senso polibiano, sono tutti quei percorsi che attraversando i mari – il Golfo di Corinto, il Mare Ionio e l'Adriatico, ma anche lo Stretto di Messina e il Canale di Sicilia – collegano terre ed esperienze in un continuo e reciproco contatto, svelando volti inediti di una grecità che si suole definire 'periferica' ma che si dimostra invece vitale e originale.

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As is clearly indicated by the first published volumes, the goal is a common one: to highlight the relations between Western Greece – which is too often seen as 'peripheral' – and Greek and non-Greek peoples in the West. The series is published under the guidance of the Editor-in-Chief in collaboration with an International Scientific Committee. Its aim is to widen research on the Greek World and provide a critical contribution to the debate on the interaction between local history and international relations in the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic ages, as well as to the knowledge of Greek political dynamics beyond Athens and Sparta.



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CITÉS NOUVELLES, VILLES DES MARGES

Fondations, formes urbaines, espaces ruraux
et frontières de l'archaïsme à l'Empire

sous la direction de
Arianna Esposito et Airton Pollini



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PREFAZIONE

Diabaseis si è proposta, tra i suoi fini programmatici, quello di indagare i 'margini' e le 'periferie' del mondo antico nella loro evoluzione sociale, culturale ed economica per sottrarle a quell'ingiustificato pregiudizio storiografico che vigeva negli studi di settore fino a qualche decennio fa, portandole a diventare un tema di ricerca promettente e di attualità: le frontiere, le aree marginali, non sono più intese quali meri limiti fisici ma come zone nelle quali società e culture diverse sono naturalmente indotte a interagire, generando un processo storico che crea nuove realtà.

Il volume Cités nouvelles, villes des marges. Fondations, formes urbaines, espaces ruraux et frontières de l'archaïsme à l'Empire, diretto e curato da Arianna Esposito e Airton Pollini, è stato accolto come il decimo numero di Diabaseis per la sua evidente congruità con i temi trattati nella Collana, ma anche per la sua rilevanza nel panorama degli studi storico-archeologici sul rapporto fra fondazioni, spazialità e frontiere dall'età arcaica a quella romana imperiale.

I curatori hanno coinvolto nel progetto reputati specialisti di queste tematiche applicate al bacino del Mediterraneo antico, manifestando un'apprezzabile attenzione al carattere intergenerazionale degli autori chiamati a contribuire all'opera. Conferiscono rigore e coerenza scientifica al volume l'ampio spettro storico-geografico considerato e il confronto programmatico tra la società greca e quella romana, troppo spesso dimenticato dagli specialisti dell'Antichità, nonostante l'importanza che l'approccio comparativo ha assunto



Claudia Antonetti

nei nostri campi di studio. Ma è il solido approccio metodologico, sapientemente articolato secondo le dinamiche di fondazione, la disamina degli spazi coloniali e la focalizzazione sulle città dei margini, che costituisce il pregio fondamentale del volume che presenta una dimensione storiografica, anche teorica, spesso assente nelle pubblicazioni di settore.

Nell'augurare successo alla pubblicazione, mi rallegro che il decimo numero di Diabaseis porti con sé una proiezione ideale su tutto il Mediterraneo e spesso ben oltre!

Venezia, febbraio 2023

Claudia Antonetti





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LEMNOS: A FRONTIER ISLAND IN THE NORTH AEGEAN SEA

1. The frontier of Lemnos as a marginal place, from ancient historiography to modern perception

In this paper I will give an overview of the archaeological *facies* documented at Lemnos in the archaic period, going over the main discoveries made in the two main centers of the island: Myrina on the western coast and Hephaistia on the northeastern coast. Between the late eighth and late sixth century BC, the island was characterized by a distinctive and hybrid culture. The main manifestations of this culture ended abruptly after the Athenian conquest of the island, which Miltiades seized in 500 BC¹.

To address the theme of the culture of Lemnos in the archaic period, however, I need to start from some preliminary considerations which are closely connected to the theme of this book and to the long and controversial history of “Lemnian” studies. For a long time, difficulties in interpreting the historical and epigraphic evidence from the island have caused this area to be relegated to a position of geographic and cultural marginality within the rest of the Aegean world, at least until the passage of the island “from the Tyrrhenians to the Athenians”.

Furthermore, the perception of Lemnos as a liminal place has been boosted ever since antiquity by a clearly pro-Athenian historiographic trend manipulatively drawing on legends – such as the Greek myth of the “margin”, connected particularly to Philoctetes² – and traditions

1 Hdt. VI, 136-140; D.S. X, 19, 6; Nep. *Milt.*, 1-3. On the conquest of Lemnos by Miltiades, Ficuciello 2013, 197-198.

2 Alessandri 2009; Alessandri 2010; Angelini 2021.



– such as those about Tyrrhenian piracy³ – portraying the island as a deserted and inhospitable place, inhabited by populations such as the *Sinties*, whom Homer calls *agriophonoi*⁴ – “of wild speech” – (but not *barbarophonoi*, as the Carians⁵), and Hellanicus calls *mixellenes*⁶, or the Pelasgians – identified by many sources with the Tyrrhenians – who had committed heinous crimes against the Athenians (the famous *lemnia kaká*)⁷.

After the conquest of Miltiades, the Athenian propaganda construed Lemnos as a frontier island⁸, a gateway to unknown territory, a boundary between the known and the unknown, order and disorder, civilization and barbarism, as probably evidenced by the representations of the Pelasgians and the Tyrrhenians on the friezes of the Ionic temple on the Ilisus and of the Hephaisteion according to the interpretation proposed respectively by L. Beschi⁹ and J. McInerney¹⁰.

What has especially contributed in emphasizing Lemnos’ cultural marginality in our modern perception, however, is that, for many years, scholars have almost exclusively focused on the ethno-linguistic issue of the language of the stela of Kaminia (Fig. 1). Ever since its discovery in 1884 by G. Cousin and F. Durrbach, this document, drawn up in the second half of the sixth century BC, was the main hub of the academic debate on Lemnos¹¹. The actors of this *querelle* were mainly linguists, staunch advocates of the proximity of the language of the stela – and of other short inscriptions found early on and recently – to Etruscan¹².

This celebrated stela was also the main reason why, back in the 1920s, Italian archaeologists requested an excavation concession from

3 Gras 1976; Giuffrida Ientile 1983; Ficuciello 2013, 75-77.

4 Hom. *Od.* VIII, 294.

5 Hom. *Il.* II, 867.

6 Hellanic. *FGrHist* 4 F 71.

7 Hecat. *FGrHist* I F 127; Hdt. I, 56-57; IV, 145; V, 137; VI, 137-140; VIII, 44; Soph. *Ph.* 300-306; Phot. Suid. Hsch. *s.v.* Λήμνια κακά. See Dumézil 1998; Gras 1985, 589-632. For the “myth of the margin”, which the Athenians conceived especially in relation to Lemnos, see Ficuciello 2013, 71-72.

8 Gras 1985, 620-624.

9 Beschi 2003.

10 McInerney 2021.

11 Cousin, Durrbach 1886.

12 De Simone 1996; De Simone 2004; De Simone 2011; De Simone 2012. For an extensive bibliography on the stela of Kamina, see Ficuciello 2013, 25, n. 34.



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the Greek government, regarding this exploration as a “*dovere di archeologia patria*”, a duty to national archaeology¹³.

When, during the 1930s, the Italian Archaeological School in Athens started its investigation of the settlement of Hephaistia, it tried to find a connection between the historical and epigraphic evidence and the archaeological *facies* of the archaic period. The definition “Tyrrhenian” was thus coined. It was first used by Alessandro Della Seta in two articles respectively entitled “Iscrizioni tirreniche di Lemno”¹⁴ and “Arte tirrenica di Lemno”¹⁵, and was later echoed by Domenico Mustilli to designate the culture of the inhabitants of Hephaistia, the users of the incineration cemetery¹⁶.

Ever since their first discoveries, however, the archaeologists observed that, in spite of the attestation at Lemnos of a language that appears to be related to Etruscan, the local culture shows no relation to the Etruscan culture in Italy, either in the same period or in the previous centuries¹⁷.

Today, there is a consensus among linguists that the language of the stela of Kaminia is evidence of a later migration of people to Lemnos, which was inhabited by a Thracian ethnic group whose name has also been handed down to us, *Sinties*, a people who are recurrently mentioned in Homeric poems and whose memory is preserved in the historical age¹⁸.

Historians have tried to reconstruct the dynamic of events that could have led to the presence of this alphabetized community on the island. It presumably was formed of small, non-structured groups, which may have merged into the local milieu, giving rise to a mixed community of which many testimonies are preserved in the Northern Aegean, in the Hellespont and in Thrace¹⁹.

Recent studies on the theme of ethnicity across different geographical areas of the ancient world, however, have proved that it is impossible to

13 Della Seta 1924-1925. On the early Italian investigations on Lemnos, see *Della Seta oggi* 2001; De Domenico 2020. For the history of A. Della Seta's excavations on Lemnos, see Ficuciello 2013, 24-38. On the political and cultural climate from which the Italian explorations in Lemnos sprang, see Greco 2012a; Greco 2017.

14 Della Seta 1937a.

15 Della Seta 1937b.

16 Mustilli 1942.

17 Beschi 1996 and “dibattito”, 122-123.

18 Hom. *Il.* I, 593; Hom. *Od.* VIII, 294. On the *Sinties*, see Ficuciello 2013, 70-73.

19 Gras 1976; Gras 1985, 629-632; Heurgon 1988; De Simone 1996, 73-77; see Ficuciello 2013, 73-75.



read ethnic identity into archaeological evidence²⁰, and even the use of a specific language in writing practice is not considered a decisive element in an ethnic and identity sense²¹.

In the meantime, new discoveries in other Mediterranean contexts have raised new questions about the peopling of Lemnos, questions which call for a redefinition of the issue.

The main purpose of the long-term study I have undertaken over the last few years has been precisely to try to remove Lemnos from the “cultural isolation” it has been relegated in for too long. I have sought to situate the cultural identity of the island within the complex geography of the ancient Mediterranean²². To do so, I have used a similar method to that employed in studies on so-called “frontier cultures”²³.

Thanks to the new archaeological discoveries, over the last few years the North Aegean has attracted more attention than in the past, especially as regards the study of the relations between the various regions along its coasts: Chalcidike, Macedonia, Thrace, Thasos, Samothrace, the Troad, the coasts of Anatolia, Lesbos. In this area, different experiences and populations came into contact, and the Greeks gained the upper hand only after Athens began to exert its hegemony here²⁴.

Both written information and archaeological evidence bear witness to an extremely dynamic historical and socioeconomic reality. They also indicate that in archaic times the island was an important hub in Northern Aegean trade²⁵. In such a context, cases of multiethnic coexistence may have occurred²⁶.

The many commercial transactions that go on in Lemnos in the Ho-

20 On the problem of the definition of ethnic and cultural identities in the Mediterranean on the basis of archaeological evidence, see Morgan 1996; Ridgway 1999; Antonaccio 2001; Morgan 2001; Gras 2002; Tsetskhladze 2006, LIX-LXII; Luce 2007; Antonaccio 2010; Bats 2010; Ridgway 2012.

21 Hall 1997, 177-185; De Simone 1996, 94-95; Bombi, Graffi 1998; Moggi 1998; Oniga 1998; Hall 2001; De Simone 2009, 41-42. On the problem of the ethnic-linguistic relationship in Lemnos, see Ficuciello 2013, 68.

22 Ficuciello 2013, 67-195.

23 On the debate on these issues, see *Atti Taranto* 37; Greco 2012b.

24 Ficuciello 2013, 78-96.

25 Ficuciello 2013, 83-85.

26 On the multi-ethnic settlements in the North Aegean, see Ficuciello 2013, 69, 93.



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meric poems display all the typical features of aristocratic trade²⁷. The island appears to have been a well-known “marketplace”, specializing in the trading of slaves and durable goods (such as metals and luxury project) in exchange for *biotos* (wine, cattle, and skins)²⁸. Hospitality for carrying out commercial transaction, therefore, represented an archaic form of payment attributable to a duty or a customs tax in which an ancient form of “administered trade” can be recognized²⁹.

Ultimately, Lemnos should be removed from its geographical and cultural isolation because, as M. Gras pointed out, “*la question de Lemnos est essentielle pour comprendre le fonctionnement de la Méditerranée archaïque*” and Lemnos cannot be understood “*en faisant abstraction des modèles historiques utilisés dans l’ensemble de la Méditerranée archaïque*”³⁰.

Indeed, Lemnos was located in a strategic position in the North Aegean, a space that became a major crossroads of peoples and culture in the course of antiquity (Fig. 2). In the Early Bronze Age, the island had been home to a splendid civilization, related to that of Troy I and II³¹. The archaeometric analyzes of the gold objects of the early Bronze Age from Troy and Poliochni on the island of Lemnos prove that the artefacts of the two centres, in addition to the typological similarity, also presented an analogous elemental composition of the gold: these two sites shared both metal procurement and exchange of items and/or specialist workers³².

During the Iron Age and the archaic period, the eastern part of the island continued to maintain close relations with Troas and Anatolia, while its western part entertained contacts with the Thracian region and Chalcidike. Indeed, the distance between Myrina and Mount Athos is just 300 *stadia* ca., about 60 kilometers. A similar distance separates

27 Hom. *Il.* VII, 467; VIII, 230; XXI, 40, 46, 48, 79.

28 Mele 1979; Ficuciello 2013, 83-86.

29 Mele 1979, 72-73; Ampolo 1994, 32.

30 Gras 2003, 107-108.

31 Bernabò Brea 1964; Bernabò Brea 1976.

32 The goldsmiths used gold from alluvial deposits, or minerals from the disintegration of rocks carried by the waters of rivers, the same source was also used to make the jewels of Ebla and Ur: to the gold-bearing source of the Mesopotamian area, a second source is added with compositional characteristics compatible with the gold sources identified in Georgia and Armenia, i.e. in the Caucasus. For recent archaeometric analyses, see Numrich *et al.* 2023.





Laura Ficuciello

the eastern coasts of the island from Troy. It is likely that Thracian presence was as deeply rooted and long-lasting as it has been proved to be in Thasos³³.

The geographical position of the island on the route for the Straits is also an important factor to consider in relation to the hybrid culture that has developed in this insular area, which for a long time maintained a politico-cultural identity distinct from that of neighboring islands and mainland settlements, having been conquered and colonized by a Greek city only in the fifth century BC³⁴. This hybridization shows features that appear to be the result of a complex strategy of cultural selection, reinterpretation and mediation.

2. The archaeological evidence

Over the last few years, the archaeological evidence has increased thanks to new important discoveries made at Myrina and, above all, at Hephaistia (Fig. 3). Investigations conducted under the direction of Emanuele Greco, and subsequently up to the present day by Emanuele Papi, have revealed that the settlement was inhabited uninterruptedly from the Bronze Age to the archaic period, and subsequently from the classical to the Byzantine period (Fig. 4)³⁵.

Previous excavations by the Italian Archaeological School of Athens had uncovered significant evidence from the archaic period, particularly in the necropolis and a sacred area (Fig. 4, n. 3 and 8)³⁶. This evidence, which I will dwell on now, dates from a period extending from the late eighth century BC, when the incineration necropolis began to be used, to the late sixth century BC, and thus until Miltiades' conquest of ca. 500 BC³⁷.

A study of pottery classes carried out in the Thirties and Forties highlighted a typological distinction between the earlier production,

33 Pouilloux 1954, 15-17; Pouilloux 1989.

34 On the specific cultural characteristics of insularity, see de Angelo Laky, Angliker 2021.

35 Ficuciello 2013, 47-63, 96-99; Greco 2018; for recent explorations at Hephaistia, see Di Cesare 2018, Di Cesare 2019 et Di Cesare, Sarcone 2021.

36 Ficuciello 2013, 25-47.

37 Ficuciello 2012.





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mainly belonging to class G2-3 (late eighth to first half of seventh century), and the later one (second half of the seventh to sixth century BC), which is characterized by different shapes and decorative motifs³⁸. My reexamination of the contexts revealed that these different productions correspond to two different historical periods, distinguished by specific social transformations that can be interpreted in the light of cultural phenomena that occurred in contemporary Aegean and Mediterranean milieus³⁹.

2.1. From the second half of the eighth to the first half of the seventh century BC

The first phase, dating from the late eighth to the first half of the seventh century BC, is characterized by two main classes of pottery of a Sub-Geometric tradition. One is constituted by Grey Ware, which was produced locally between the late ninth and early seventh century BC, and has parallels in Macedonia, Chalcidike, western Anatolian coastal regions such as Aeolia and the Troad, and Euboea, particularly Lefkandi (Fig. 5)⁴⁰.

The other pottery class, called G2-3, is widespread in the North Aegean. Its main production center must have been Lemnos itself, since many exports were found at Troia, Thasos, Lesbos, Samothrace, Neapolis (Kavalla), Eion and Skyros, and Karavournaki⁴¹.

This pottery is characterized by distinctive shapes and a decoration of linear and concentric geometric motifs (Fig. 6). It shows a strong influence of Euboean prototypes. Indeed, as early as the tenth and ninth century BC the Northern Aegean area had been frequented by prospectors from Euboea attracted by the raw ores of the area and opportunities to establish trading posts, although the “Euboean settlements” of Methone, Mende, Torone, Dikaia, were only founded between the end of the eighth

38 Ficuciello 2012, 41-43.

39 Ficuciello 2008.

40 Danile 2011.

41 On the pottery G 2-3 from Lemnos, Beschi 1985, 57-58; Beschi 2005; Ilieva 2015; Sarcone 2020. On the same production from Troy: Aslan 2002; from Thasos: Muller 2010, 217-218; from Karavournaki: Manakidou 2010; for other production centers in the North Aegean, see Ficuciello 2012, 41, n. 5-7; Ficuciello 2013, 88-90, n. 447-463. See also Ilieva 2013; Ilieva 2014; Ilieva 2016; Ilieva 2020.



and seventh centuries BC (Fig. 2)⁴².

A first classification of Lemnos pottery was put forward by D. Mustilli in his study of the incineration necropolis of Hephaistia⁴³. Cremation graves came into use during the second half of the eighth century BC, but the tombs of the first phase yielded a huge amount of metal objects, especially iron weapons, bronze fibulae and gold parures⁴⁴. Some tombs exhibited, as real *keimelia*, some very old small objects, such as a Mycenaean seal and a gold disc of the Geometric period, of Phoenician or North Syrian manufacture, also attested in Lefkandi and on Skyros⁴⁵.

During the same period, in the settlement area of Hephaistia, many traces of metalworking shops were found. This evidence is in agreement with the finds made in the earlier necropolis.

Smelting kilns for bronze of the Subgeometric period were found underneath a religious building of the archaic period (Fig. 4, n. 3; Fig. 7)⁴⁶. They were probably used to process metal objects, but not to produce metal, because Lemnos lacked the raw ores. This kind of activity is also documented by other finds at Hephaistia, such as stone or clay matrices for gold plaques (Fig. 8)⁴⁷. The same technique of gold melting was employed at Eretria and at Methone⁴⁸: this circumstance presupposes the circulation of raw material, products and knowledge through merchants and itinerant craftsmen.

Lemnos was thus certainly a metal-importing center, although we do not know for sure where the raw ores came from. The Chalcidike is certainly well-endowed with mines of silver, lead, and gold, which the Lemnians could have certainly easily procured in exchange for wine. Indeed, a wine-production installation was recently found in the settlement⁴⁹. Luxury goods and imports may have been redistributed, and locally made metal products may have been traded. Coherently with the

42 Lemos 1998; Moschonissioti 1998; Soueref 1998; Tiverios 1998; Tiverios 2008, 1-32; Leone 2012; Mazarakis Ainian 2012b; Ficuciello 2013, 86-88; Charalambidou 2017; Donnellan 2017; Alexandridou 2020; Verdan 2020; Kotsonas 2020.

43 Mustilli 1942.

44 Ficuciello 2012, 43-44; Ficuciello 2013, 102-110.

45 Ficuciello 2013, 90-91, n. 471-473, fig. 32; 96-97, fig. 36.

46 Ficuciello 2012, 51-58; Ficuciello 2013, 110-114.

47 Messineo 2001, 282-283, n^{os} 685-687, fig. 350; Beschi 2008, n^{os} 109, 852-853, tav. XXXVII, m-n; Ficuciello 2013, 113-114, fig. 49; Savelli 2016.

48 Verdan 2020.

49 Camporeale *et al.* 2012, 113-117; Ficuciello 2013, 114-116, fig. 50.



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picture outlined so far, it can be hypothesized that *techne* constituted an important element in local trade. Thus, in its first phase Hephaistia was mainly a metalworking center.

The same appears to be true of the settlements of Limenas on Thasos, where the earliest traces of the city are those of a metalworking shop that was active during the same period as the one in Hephaistia, i.e., between the late eighth century BC and the first half of the seventh⁵⁰. In this case, however, the kilns must have employed ores from the mine on the acropolis⁵¹.

The concentration of metalworking activities on the Acropolis of Hephaistia suggests that they were confined to one specific group of the community, presumably the wealthiest. My hypothesis is that the metalworking area on the hill of Hephaistia stood near the residence of a prestigious member of the local community, a residence I designated the “Building with the Stips” (Fig. 9)⁵². In support of this hypothesis, I adduced as evidence the metal slag found in a room, and the hearth, pithoi, pots, kitchen pottery, frame weights, and spools found in the first phase of the building⁵³. This evidence, combined with the plan of the building, its off-center access, and its long axial corridor ending in a room (reminiscent of the Syro-Anatolian palaces of the *bit-hilani* type⁵⁴, or ruler dwellings such as the “Sacred House” of the Academy of Athens⁵⁵), suggests that this was a residence⁵⁶. Metallurgical activities were associated with the area of the future sanctuary of Apollo at Eretria, which was a residential neighborhood of the Eretrian elite in the early eighth century BC⁵⁷.

The evidence from the sacred area of *Kaberion* at Chloi, a short distance from Hephaistia, is completely different. Here the signs of the sacred are evident as early as the late eighth century BC.: an immense votive hoard was found here, exclusively containing pottery for ritual

⁵⁰ Muller 2010, 216-218.

⁵¹ On the metallurgical workshops of the Archaic period found in Thasos, see Sanidas 2018.

⁵² Ficuciello 2008; Ficuciello 2012, 51-68, 82-83; Ficuciello 2013, 110-114, 119-120.

⁵³ Ficuciello 2013, 112-114, fig 48.

⁵⁴ Sinopoli 2005.

⁵⁵ Alexandridou, Chountasi 2019.

⁵⁶ Ficuciello 2012, 56-58.

⁵⁷ Mazarakis Ainian 1987.





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purposes. This is the largest G2-3 pottery find in the whole North Aegean area (Fig. 10). In my opinion, the *Kabeirion* is an extra-urban sanctuary having a major integration function for the whole population of the island, which was evidently organized on a territorial basis⁵⁸.

As to Myrina, the western city of the island, the archaeological evidence is scarcer because the site was occupied continuously from antiquity down to modern times. An interesting complex, datable between the late eighth and the sixth century BC, has been excavated by the Greek Eforia at Avlonas, a few kilometers north of Myrina (Fig. 3). It is constituted by buildings with different plans, and displays analogies with many coeval buildings in the Greek world, especially in Euboea (Eretria) and Attica (Fig. 11). In particular, it shows close affinities with the so-called “compounds” of Oropos⁵⁹ and with the famous complex of Lathouriza in Attica⁶⁰; notably, it includes three buildings arranged in a row side by side, which can be interpreted as comprising a cult room, a reception room used to host assemblies, and a granary⁶¹. This complex may have been the residence of a village chief, reuniting in itself the main functions of collective life: religion, administration, and the storage and redistribution of produce⁶².

2.2. From the second half of the seventh century BC to the end of the sixth century BC

The second phase, which begins in the second half of – or late in – the seventh century BC, and was concluded at the end of the sixth, is distinguished by a completely different ceramic production, new and original, characterized by great eclecticism and interesting figured scenes⁶³. This pottery shows some outside stylistic influences, especially from Ionia and the Cyclades, and has parallels in some Orientalizing and archaic productions of various centers in Greece, a trend that is also observable in other coastal districts of the Northern Aegean and the Pontic area.

⁵⁸ Ficuciello 2013, 116-120.

⁵⁹ Mazarakis Ainian 2020.

⁶⁰ Mazarakis Ainian 1995.

⁶¹ Ficuciello 2012, 76-79.

⁶² Ficuciello 2013, 185-189.

⁶³ Della Seta 1937b; Messineo 2001, 175-243; Beschi 2004, 303-329.





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This production was also exported to Thasos, Lesbos, Samothrace, and Neapolis (Kavalla)⁶⁴.

From the mid-seventh century BC onward, imports are also recorded from Corinth, Thasos, Lesbos, Chios, Rhodes, and from the Microasiatic area, while the importation of Attic and Beotic black-figure pottery began in the mid-sixth century BC (Fig. 12)⁶⁵.

This phase coincides with a moment when the island of Lemnos appears to undergo radical sociocultural changes, like the whole Mediterranean area at the time and, specifically, the region of North Aegean⁶⁶. Around the mid-seventh century BC, in fact, the area began to be frequented by other communities who first joined and then replaced the Euboeans by taking over their networks⁶⁷. These new movements came from the Cyclades and also attracted initiatives and migrations from the Ionian cities of Asia, such as Phocaea and Miletus, which touched the coasts and islands of the Northern Aegean along the routes to the Euxine Sea⁶⁸. But it is important to point out that at Troy, in the middle of the seventh century BC, there is a strong discontinuity accompanied by clear signs of destruction, followed by the arrival of new people⁶⁹.

My re-examination of excavation contexts showed that the changes in pottery production coincided with a sort of cultural caesura in the history of the settlement of Hephaistia. This discontinuity is especially evident in the necropolis, where radical changes occurred around the mid-seventh century BC, including the rarefaction of burials and changes in the distinctive signs of local elites. By the end of the century, this cemetery was no longer used. No burial of the sixth century BC has been found, either here or in the rest of the island⁷⁰.

From the seventh century BC onward, burial assemblages change radically. Metal artifacts dwindle away, except for gold, and imports appear.

64 Ficuciello 2012, 42, n. 11-12.

65 Ficuciello 2013, 93, n. 485-493.

66 Giangiulio 1996; Étienne 2010; Charalambidou, Morgan 2017.

67 On the crisis experienced by the Euboic world and the end of Euboic frequentation of the Northern Aegean, see Gimatzidis 2011, 963-964; Mazarakis Ainian 2012a, 79-89; Verdan 2020, 291-292.

68 Tiverios 2008; Baralis 2008; Archibald 2010. For an overview of mobility in the Northern Aegean during this period, see Ficuciello 2013, 93-96.

69 Aslan 2009.

70 Ficuciello 2008, 57-63.



Among Corinthian pottery, a standout artifact is a *lekythos* showing the earliest known depiction of Achilles stalking Troilus (650-625 BC) (Fig. 13)⁷¹. In one tomb there were numerous exotic objects and Oriental products⁷², such as two unusual limestone dice⁷³, Syro-Palestinian objects, including necklace pendants shaped as the Egyptian god Bes⁷⁴, and a statuette of probable Samian origin⁷⁵.

These objects raise the issue of the circulation of products of Oriental origin through Phoenician commerce⁷⁶. The hypothesis that the coasts of Thrace and the Northern Aegean had been frequented by the Phoenicians, although upheld by many historians, so far has not found significant archaeological confirmation. There is some evidence of Phoenician-Cypriot presence in the Northern Aegean around the mid-seventh century BC⁷⁷.

The island of Lemnos itself may have attracted Oriental merchants, because it holds a very precious resource, its salt mines, which can still be seen on the east coast of the island, a short distance from Hephaestia, near the Aliko Salt Lake (Fig. 3; Fig. 14).

However, the dynamics of the circulation of Oriental products in the Northern Aegean must have been diverse. Euboean tradesmen, for example, must have been an important vector of Oriental wares all over the Mediterranean basin. Since the beginning of the first millennium, they frequent the Syrian ports of call of Tyre and Sidon, and follow the western routes of the Phoenicians all the way to Huelva. They are the protagonists of trade and relations between the areas of the Cyclades and the Northern Aegean⁷⁸. But in this period, it is above all the Samians, the Milesians and the Phocaeans who navigated the routes of the

71 Mustilli 1942, 124, n° 32, fig. 219; 222-226, pl. XIX; Ficuciello 2013, 125-129, fig. 56b.

72 Ficuciello 2012, 44-49.

73 Mustilli 1942, 101-102, n°s. 9-10, fig. 158-169, pl. XVII; Ficuciello 2012, 45-48, fig. 5; Ficuciello 2013, 122-123, fig. 54c.

74 Mustilli 1942, 101, n° 7, fig. 155; 258; Ficuciello 2013, 122-123, fig. 54f.

75 Mustilli 1942, 101, n° 8; 255-256; fig. 156-157; Ficuciello 2013, 122-124, fig. 54b.

76 On the silver crater that had been donated by the Phoenicians to the king of Lemnos Thoas (Hom. *Il.* XXIII, 740-749), see Ficuciello 2013, 83-84.

77 Ilieva 2019.

78 For this issue with the main bibliography, Ficuciello 2013, 86-88, 91; Botto 2020.



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North-Aegean⁷⁹. It should also be considered that Lemnos, at certain times of the year and in particular meteorological conditions, represented an obligatory stop along the route towards the Strait: piracy, therefore, could be interpreted as an archaic form of control of the “territorial waters” that forced ships to stop at transit points for “tax collection”⁸⁰.

It is also important to stress that Oriental objects are only found in emergent burials in the necropolis: the same tombs contain a series of artifacts akin to those found in the sacred area on the hill of Hephaistia, a sort of acropolis that became a cult place precisely in this period, in a space that was previously used for another purpose⁸¹.

The necropolis, therefore, allows us to record, around the middle of the seventh century. BC, a sharp demographic decline which, however, was accompanied by major transformations in the area of the town and followed by a rapid recovery.

Starting from the mid-seventh century BC, the settlement area underwent major changes. In the space where metal had been previously produced, a sanctuary was established. A rich stipes was found here, which contained materials traceable to a chthonic female cult, as proved particularly by the famous terracotta sirens and sphinxes, demons of the underworld, whose iconographies show similarities with the Near-Eastern influence in Ionia⁸². The local iconographies of the goddess reproduce a hybrid figure closely resembling the depiction of the Phrygian Cybele and the Pothnia Theron of the Anatolian Aegean area, but in other examples she is similar to Thracian Bendis or is an enthroned goddess with horses or is similar to Athena (Fig. 15)⁸³. In these representations we recognize the composite, hybrid, polyvalent and anonymous goddess of Lemnos admirably described by Sophocles in *Philoctetes*⁸⁴. Finally, some objects show affinity with Cretan prototypes⁸⁵, while others evoke episodes in the Homeric epic⁸⁶.

79 Ficuciello 2013, 91-96.

80 Ampolo 1994, 34-35.

81 Ficuciello 2012, 44-51; Ficuciello 2013, 121-132.

82 Ficuciello 2013, 139, fig. 64.

83 Ficuciello 2013, 137-138, fig. 62, 64b.

84 Soph. *Phil.* 391-402. See Ficuciello 2012, 61-62.

85 Pernier 1934. Cf. Ficuciello 2012, 56, fig. 16; Ficuciello 2013, 124-125, fig. 56a; 140 fig. 65.

86 Ficuciello 2013, 141, n. 827-829, fig. 62d, 63a.





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In the main room of the building, interpreted as a *thesauros*, between 1929 and 1930 hundreds of objects placed around a baetyl were found. They include many imports, particularly from Paros, Rhodes, and Attica (Fig. 16)⁸⁷.

Besides this *thesauros*, an actual cult building was erected in the same space where the Subgeometric kilns had stood. This building was discovered in 1981 by L. Beschi and G. Messineo⁸⁸. It has rows of benches on either of its long sides. At the back of it is an *eschara* with fictile tubes for libations. In a corner was a small shrine, a kind of *adyton* with an inner bench and an off-center entrance. It must have been used for initiatory rites; the many *karchesia* found here prove that wine was ritually consumed here in ceremonies (Fig. 9)⁸⁹.

This building was part of a very large complex that extended over the whole plateau and included other reception rooms, as well as workshop and storage areas (Fig. 17). In my opinion, this building must have housed all the main functions of collective life, including those of not expressly religious character. It might hence have been the *anaktoron* of a *tyrannos* or *basileus*. In the last analysis, this must evidently have been a building where the sacred was embedded in the political function. My examination of the cemetery proves indeed that in the mid-seventh century BC some royal figures with evident priestly prerogatives emerge⁹⁰.

However, there is another element to consider and to contextualize. During the sixth century BC documents emerge in Lemnos attesting to the use of an anhellene language already codified in a writing practice: historians and linguists believe that it was an introduction due to the arrival of a literate community which, in accordance with the testimony of Hellanicus⁹¹, would have merged with the local milieu giving rise to a mixed settlement⁹².

The arrival of the Athenians marked a major caesura in the history of the major complex of Hephaistia. Its area was destroyed by a fire around 500 BC, and only reoccupied in the Hellenistic period by a couple

87 Ficuciello 2013, 92-93, fig. 35; 143-144, fig. 67-68.

88 Messineo 1993.

89 Ficuciello 2012, 64-68; Ficuciello 2013, 146-154.

90 Ficuciello 2013, 167-169.

91 Hellanic. *FGrHist* 4 F 71a.

92 Gras 1985, 629-632; Heurgon 1988; De Simone 1996.





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of workshops producing cups bearing relief decoration of the type of the so-called Megarian bowls (Fig. 17)⁹³.

However, the complex of buildings brought to light on the northern side of the hill suggests that a cult place of the Athenian colony may have stood in a space contiguous to that of the archaic sanctuary: this is proved by some statuettes of Athena and of the *pothnia* coming from this area⁹⁴. The sacred and cultic aspect is indeed the only element of continuity in the context of the sharp cultural caesura that followed the Athenian conquest of the island⁹⁵.

Before leaving Hephaistia, I must report the recent discovery of at least two more sacred complexes, with rooms containing benches, underneath the theater⁹⁶ and near the isthmus⁹⁷. These buildings apparently included several units for individual “family” groups or *gene*, clustered around the residence of a high-ranking individual⁹⁸. The underlying social structure was thus markedly aristocratic in character. These discoveries pose the question of whether there were hierarchic relationships between the chiefs of each of these *gene*, since this evidents point to a proto-urban organization⁹⁹.

Finally, between the late seventh and the sixth century BC, an archaic cult building was erected at Chloi¹⁰⁰. Its plan is similar to that of other sanctuaries found at Hephaistia, although it lacked an inner shrine. At Chloi, too, we have certain proof that the cult lived on after the Athenian conquest. Although no building of the classical period is preserved, we have a great quantity of materials from this period that were dumped along the slope of the promontory¹⁰¹. These materials came from to the excavation carried out to erect the huge Hellenistic building. Thus, exactly as at Hephaistia, the cult place remained the same. The new building, however, was not superimposed on the previous one, but built *ex novo* in a contiguous space.

93 Massa 1992.

94 Greco, Ficuciello 2012, 153-161.

95 Ficuciello 2013, 197-312.

96 Archontidou 2004.

97 Greco, Correale 2017.

98 Ficuciello 2008, 70-71.

99 Ficuciello 2022.

100 Ficuciello 2013, 164-167, with previous bibliography.

101 Ficuciello 2013, 242-249, with previous bibliography.





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At Myrina, the Kastro area, where the archaic settlement stood, has been recently explored¹⁰². It is currently occupied by a fortress from the Genovese and Venetian period, with segments of the mighty archaic walls. Many cuts in the rock can be assigned to some very early buildings. Some rock structures bear witness to the presence of the cult of the Phrygian Cybele¹⁰³.

Myrina has also yielded proof of the performing of Athenian cult rites in the same space where rites had been performed in the archaic period¹⁰⁴. Notably, there is evidence for a *Thesmophorion* here, to which the cult of the *Kabeiroi/Dioskouroi* was associated, exactly as at Chloi. Furthermore, at a short distance from the Kastro, a Greek sanctuary of Artemis was identified. It was the main cult place of the Athenian cleruchy in the early fifth century BC, as borne out by a *horos Artemidos* of 500 BC¹⁰⁵. This area has also yielded archaic materials similar to those from the stips with sphinxes and sirens in the sanctuary of Hephaistia¹⁰⁶; in this case, too, we therefore observe the reprise of a cult after the Athenian takeover.

3. Moudros bay as a strategic coastal seascape

Before concluding, I would like to call attention to the vast bay of Moudros, which may have offered, ever since antiquity, a suitable and safe location for a trading post.

A few years ago, a Mycenaean settlement was discovered on an islet in the bay called Koukonisi (Fig. 3)¹⁰⁷. In the classical period, a *Kome* with a *Herakleion* stood in the middle of the isthmus: they are both known from inscriptions and can be localized with certainty because their names are preserved in modern toponomastics (Fig. 3)¹⁰⁸.

On the basis of a series of historical and topographic observations,

102 Marangou 2021.

103 Ficuciello 2013, 173-180.

104 Ficuciello 2013, 251-255.

105 IG I³ 1500.

106 Beschi 2001; Ficuciello 2013, 180-185.

107 Boulotis 2009.

108 Ficuciello 2013, 277-283.





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I have suggested that the *Kome*, the ancient village, may have housed activities connected to the port in the adjacent bay.

Further investigation on the chronology of the sanctuary is called for, to determine whether it dated from before the arrival of the Athenian colonists on the island. The presence of a place where Heracles was worshiped may be a clue to the existence of a trading post next to a landing spot that may have been frequented by Phoenician and Greek merchants after the Mycenaean period¹⁰⁹.

There is evidence, such as the well-known Herodotean tradition about Thasos, connecting ports frequented by the Phoenicians with the foundation of sanctuaries dedicated to Heracles/Melqart (a god with an important integratory role) in the peripheral areas of settlements inhabited by the communities the Phoenicians traded with¹¹⁰.

The survival of the cult in the period that followed the arrival of the Greek colonists may have a parallel in nearby Thasos. Here the *Herakleion* was, par excellence, the place where the ancient Thracian and the Greek population were integrated, in the context of a city that was organized in a bipolar way, even in its urban plan¹¹¹.

Conclusions

This long overview proves my opening argument that Lemnos' cultural marginality is an ancient Athenian historiographic construction, that is still influencing modern historians, but which can be deconstructed on archaeological basis.

In the light of our present knowledge, the island was in the middle of complex socio-economic and cultural networks and included in north Aegean trade from the Bronze Age to the end of the sixth century BC. Since the second half of the seventh century BC, it exhibits significant social stratification and the rise to power of a *basileus* in each town of the island.

During this long period, there are numerous historical and cultural interruptions and continuities, going hand in hand with the probable ar-

109 Ficuciello 2012, 79-81.

110 Ficuciello 2013, 190-191.

111 Muller 2010, 222-223.





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rival of new populations (which also seems to be foreshadowed in literary sources) that perhaps are integrated into the local milieu, giving rise to a mixed literate community¹¹².

At this point we have to ask ourselves whether Lemnos represented a “frontier”. To try to answer this question it is first of all necessary to clarify what is meant by this notion that, however, assumes a semantic shift based on the changes in the perspective of the investigation and on the premises from which the historical reconstruction moves.

The use of the term “frontier”, however, always has socio-cultural connotations. Unlike the “border”, which is a dividing line (such as the border between two Greek cities¹¹³), the “frontier” indicates the contact and encounter between different societies and cultures. The fundamental distinction between the two notions is that the first is a regulated and static institution which implies the drawing of a demarcation, the second is an indefinite concept which implies “movement”.

The frontier concept expressed by J. F. Turner in the famous essay “The Significance of the Frontier in American History”, considered the foundation of American identity, is a space in motion during a process of expansion¹¹⁴; this interpretation of the “frontier history” contrasts with the perspective that O. Lattimore elaborated on the basis of the study of the Chinese border which, from insurmountable *limes*, is transformed into the space of the encounter that takes place in the peripheral areas with respect to a specific political horizon, socio-economic and cultural reference¹¹⁵. Therefore, each type of society creates its own type of frontier, as each society crosses its own borders. The conception of the “frontier”, in recent years, has been overcome by R. White who identified in the “Middle Ground” the place of cultural negotiation, the intermediate space between different worlds in which encounters, mixtures, hybridizations take place¹¹⁶. But the Middle Ground is not exactly a place, rather is a polysemantic concept, a network of accommodations and constant

112 Greco 2010; Ficuciello 2013, 69-96.

113 Rousset 1992; Rousset 1994.

114 The essay, presented for the first time in 1893, was published the following year for the *Annual Report of American Historical Association for the year 1893*, 1894, Washington, 197-227. See also Turner 1920.

115 The essay was published in *Reports X Congress International of Historical Sciences*, Rome, vol. I, 1955, Florence, 105-138. See also Lattimore 1962.

116 White 1991.





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inventions, adjusted and readjusted in response to changing conditions. This context of mediation, however, has an unstable and transitory nature and is destined to be absorbed by the dominant political formations.

Finally, contemporary anthropologists and sociologists insert a third element in the binomial border/frontier, “migrations”, described as networks, flows and crossings that take place in “transnational places”, or “cross-borders”, in the spaces that are created for mobility of people: this perspective questions the existence of an immutable link between places, cultures and identities, which are a product of social relations, because they are constantly in “movement”. Frontiers are therefore permeable, they are laboratories of hybridization and cultural crossing, places where diversities find common languages, customs are exchanged and lend themselves to each other¹¹⁷.

As far as archeology is concerned, the historiographical notion of “frontier history” has provided those methodological tools that allow for the investigation of contexts located in “peripheral” areas with respect to a political, social, economic and cultural reference horizon: the case studies relating to the Greek colonization, however, have brought out that, in these contexts, the frontier is mainly the place where the exchange takes place in both directions between Greeks and natives, with processes of assimilation and/or re-functionalization of cultural loans that are well expressed by the notion of the “Middle Ground”¹¹⁸. Insularity expresses the Middle Ground par excellence because the sea, which represents an *eschatia* that invites violation, is a privileged vector of relationships and a multiplier of attraction and interaction processes¹¹⁹.

Does the Lemnos case study allow for such an investigation? Can Lemnos be considered a frontier island?

Below I will highlight some aspects that allow us to highlight how the concept of frontier can find a response at various levels in Lemnos.

The first level is that of myth and literary sources, In the Greek imagination, Lemnos, since the high-archaic era, has been a Middle Ground, a space of cultural and intercultural mediation, as some examples prove: 1) the inhabitants of Lemnos, called the Sinties, *agriophonoi* and *mixelenes*, welcome the god Hephaestus who, crippled and deformed, is re-

117 Fabietti 1997; Zanini 2000; Brambilla 2009.

118 Malkin 2002; Malkin 2011.

119 Antonaccio 2013.





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jected, marginalized and removed from Olympus but later he is reintegrated¹²⁰; 2) Lemnos hosts the Thessalian hero Philoctetes for ten years, who is first marginalized on the island due to the purulent wound, then is reinstated among the Achaeans because the victory over the Trojans depends on his bow, given to him by Heracles¹²¹; both Philoctetes and Heracles – owner of a sanctuary in Lemnos which has already been mentioned – operate in the “Middle Ground” as cultural mediators and as heroes of social integration¹²²; 3) during the Trojan War, Lemnos is the Middle Ground between Greeks and Trojans: the island serves as a logistical base for the Achaean camp, which supplies itself with food and goods necessary for sustenance and war, but, at the same time, it is also the scene of high-ranking and aristocratic relationships which contemplated the social and symbolic exchange of the “gift”: the island is the place of the “frontier market”, but the exchange relationship evidently did not concern only objects and goods, but also the social practices connected to their “consumption”¹²³.

Attraction and fascination in the Homeric poems (Lemnos is “divine”¹²⁴, “the *polis* of the divine Thoas”¹²⁵, “the well-built fortress, dearest to Hephaestus above all lands”¹²⁶), are replaced by antagonism and cultural resistance. From the second half of the sixth century BC one perceives that the interactions between Lemnos and Athens are particularly intense, but right now Lemnos begins to become an obsession for the Athenians. They therefore elaborated the myth of the border as the engine of the conquest of Lemnos through the radicalization of the prejudice towards the wicked inhabitants of the island who, with their conduct, had prevented peaceful coexistence forever. The Pelasgians who inhabited Lemnos at the time of the conquest of Miltiades, in fact, in the past they had been migrants who had also inhabited Attica¹²⁷:

120 Hom., *Il.*, I, 590-594; *Od.*, VIII, 266-365. On the myth of Hephaestus in Lemnos, Massa 2009; Marchiandi 2016.

121 Hom., *Il.*, II, 716-728; *schol. ad Il.*, II, 721-722; cf. *Od.*, III, 190; VIII, 219-220.

122 Malkin 1998; Malkin 2005.

123 For the “frontier markets”, Ampolo 1999.

124 Hom., *Il.*, II, 723.

125 Hom., *Il.*, XIV, 230.

126 Hom., *Od.*, VIII, 283-284.

127 Hdt., IV, 145.





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during the cohabitation, they had built the famous *Pelasgikon*, the wall which defended the rock of the Acropolis¹²⁸.

The representation of Lemnos by the Athenians – a deserted or inhospitable place inhabited by an impious, repelling, barbaric, savage and cruel population – draws its historical motivations from an athenocentric perspective: the island becomes the periphery of the world that must be conquered in order to be able to control even what lies beyond. The historiographical elaboration of the “Tyrrhenian piracy” in an anti-Lemnian key proves that the inhabitants of the island evidently exercised effective control of their maritime borders towards the North-Aegean and the entrance to the Straits.

But let’s now look at the second level: the archaeological record, the cultural models and the cults. They show that the island, throughout the archaic age, thanks to its geographical position and economic and commercial transactions, exercised mediation and cultural intermediation between various interlocutors, above all (but not only) Greeks, Thracians and Anatolians.

Between the Iron Age and the Geometric period, despite some peculiarities, the island exhibits a material culture that clearly fits into the milieu of the Northern Aegean, as evidenced by the ceramic productions, the Gray Ware and the pottery G 2-3. In this period the cult of the *Kabeiroi* was structured in Lemnos: elaborated on a substrate of Anatolian origin, in the Archaic period it spread from Lemnos to numerous centers of the Aegean, such as Samothrace, and as far west as Thebes¹²⁹.

From the second half of the seventh and especially in the sixth century BC, a strong cultural identity emerges on the island, of which we have evidence in the local productions which are different from those of all the other communities of the Aegean.

In the Archaic period, the original and hybrid culture developed which, despite contributions from the Anatolian and Thracian area, appears to be strongly Hellenized and to adhere in full to the cultural models of the Aegean and, more in general, of the Greek world. Indeed, despite the island’s cultural-linguistic peculiarity and the Thracian-Anatolian cult substratum, the transformation processes taking place on Lemnos can

128 Hdt., V, 64; VI 137. On the ambivalent perception of the Pelasgians by the Greeks in historical times, see Di Benedetto 2020.

129 Petazzoni 1906; Hemberg 1950; Collini 1990.





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only be explained in the light of other processes under way in the Aegean world and other areas of the Greek world. More specifically, the socio-economic structure of the settlements evolves towards urban or proto-urban forms of organization resembling those of Hellenic societies rather than oriental or Anatolian ones. These processes of social and economic transformation are reflected in the political and institutional changes that occurred in the Greek communities in this period¹³⁰.

The island is a crossroads at the core of north-Aegean networks, but exchanges are not simple commercial transactions: relationships, meetings, exchanges of experiences, goods, techniques, knowledge, comparisons between rituals and cults, have shaped a hybrid and mestizo cultural heritage that is continuously reworked, making a selection from time to time from models and contributions of heterogeneous derivation, in order to reduce the cultural gaps with the interlocutors.

The ethnic-cultural substratum seems to be made up of a mixture of various groups which, having come into contact with each other, build a new culture which is a continuous reinterpretation of the knowledge and beliefs of each component. From the material culture transpires the *entanglement*, the “landscape of the interweaving”: the iconography of the goddess Lemnos, which constitutes an amalgam of many Aegean and Eastern divinities, is the most eloquent representation of an intercultural adaptation created around religious beliefs¹³¹.

The third level is that of written documents which seem to fit coherently into the situation I have tried to define. The stele of Kaminia celebrates *Holaie*, perhaps a native of Phocaea¹³²; the base inscribed in the same language, more recently found in the sanctuary under the theater of Hephaistia, contains the dedication of an *anathema* for a deity called *Hktaon*, perhaps Hecate¹³³. On the sociolinguistic level, the island, during the sixth century BC, represented a linguistic interface produced by a mediation between different ethno-cultural elements¹³⁴: the mixtures and compromises of this “speech community” evidently also concerned the codes of conduct and the rules of coexistence.

130 Mazarakis Ainian 1997; on Hephaistia, see Ficuciello 2022.

131 For the concept of *entanglement*, Stockhammer 2013; for the *paesaggio dell'intreccio*, see Giangiulio 2021, 31.

132 Heurgon 1980; Lejeune 1980; Heurgon 1982.

133 De Simone 2009; De Simone 2011.

134 De Simone 2012.





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The experiences of ethnic and social mobility that we collect through written and figurative languages lead us to believe that the overall transformation of Lemnian society, during the archaic period, it contemplated forms of assimilation of different cultural components, precisely as a place of transit and an obligatory point of passage along some sea routes: like a real “frontier land”, Lemnos had implemented a process of interculturalism based on intermediary relationships with “the others”.

After the Athenian conquest, instead, the cultural landscape becomes undifferentiated, like that of any Attic overseas possession¹³⁵. But even in this different historical moment, in which the imposition of another order seems to prevail (as emerges in the town planning¹³⁶ and in the funerary rites of Hephaestia¹³⁷), some forms of cultural assimilation and intermediation emerge through the adaptation, appropriation and reworking of cults of Lemnos by the Athenians who now become the “sons of Hephaestus”¹³⁸.

With the arrival of the Athenian colonists, indeed, an interesting phenomenon is observed: the cult places of the cleruchy were established in the same spaces that had had this function in the previous period. Furthermore, although typically Attic practices were introduced, the local pantheon did not disappear, being somehow incorporated into the beliefs brought by the Attic colonists. This led to forms of religious comingling we can perceive reflections of even in Athens. The introduction of cults such as that of Bendis, Cybele, Artemis Agrotera, or Hephaestus on the Kolonos Agoraios¹³⁹; the adoption of the ithyphallic herms¹⁴⁰; the performing of many tragedies with Lemnian subjects, among which the fortune of the subject of Philoctetes stands out¹⁴¹, prove that the *indigenous* culture of this island in the North Aegean Sea succeeded in permeating the cultural identity of the Athenians¹⁴².

135 Marchiandi 2003; Culasso Gastaldi 2012a; Culasso Gastaldi 2012b; Ficuciello 2013, 197-312.

136 Greco, Ficuciello 2012, 149-150.

137 Savelli 2018.

138 A. *Eu.* 12-14.

139 McInerney 2019.

140 On the invention of the ithyphallic herms attributed by Herodotus to the Pelasgians-Tyrrhenians, see Hdt. II, 51,2; for the problem of the origin of the ithyphallic herms, see Beschi 2000, 14.

141 Avezzi 1988; Culasso Gastaldi 2020.

142 Greco, Ficuciello 2012.



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In conclusion, was Lemnos a frontier island in the North Aegean Sea? Lemnos represented a cultural Middle Ground, the “interface” between Thrace, the Aegean and Anatolia, throughout the archaic age¹⁴³: it was a “frontier island” precisely because it was the exact opposite of a “border island”.

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143 For the concept of “East Aegean-West Anatolian Interface”, coined in 1998 by P. A. Mountjoy to define the existence, in the Bronze Age, of a geographical entity characterized by a mixed cultural facies, in turn divisible into a specific area for the North-East Aegean, which goes by the name of “Upper Interface”, within which Lemnos itself would fall, see Mountjoy 1998.



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Fig. 1. The “stele” of Kaminia (from Cousin, Durrbach 1886).





Fig. 2. The distribution of Euboean and Euboean style pottery in the North Aegean, including imports and local imitations (from Kotsonas 2020, fig. 2).

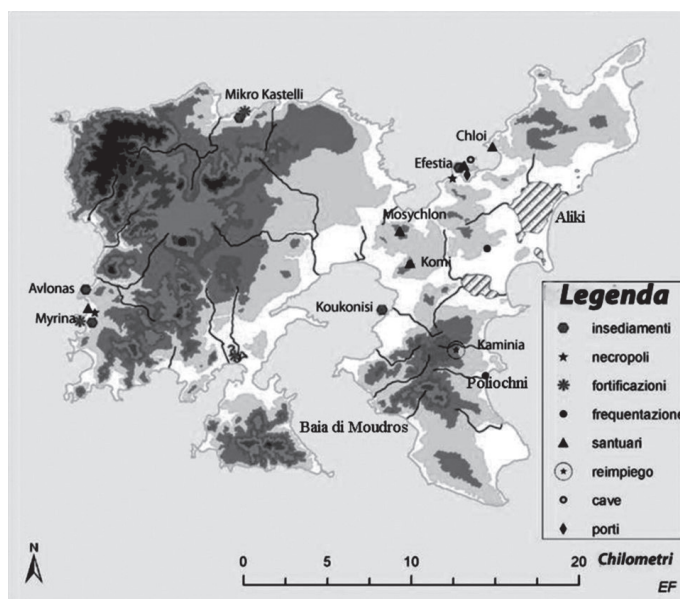


Fig. 3. Lemnos in the Archaic period, archaeological map (graphic design by E. Farinetti).



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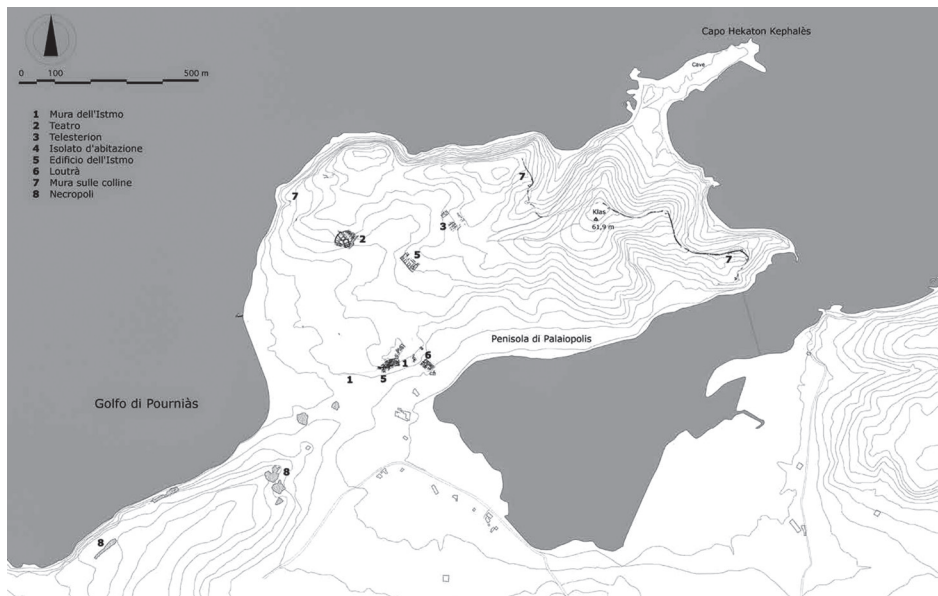


Fig. 4. Hephaistia (graphic design by A. Di Benedetto, P. Vitti, O. Voza).

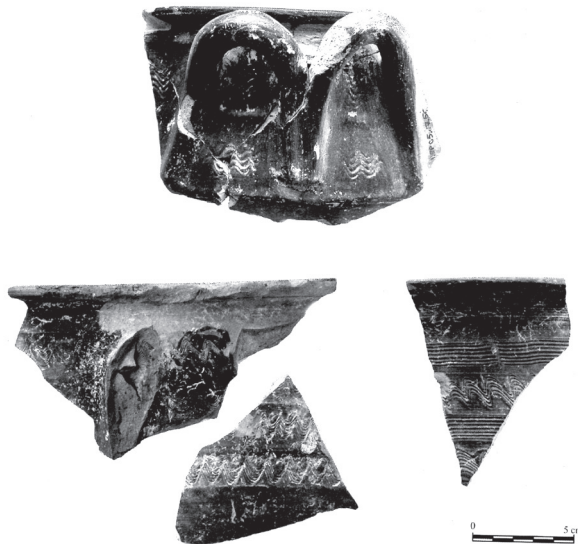


Fig. 5. Hephaistia. Grey Ware (from Danile 2011).





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Fig. 6. Hephaistia. Fragments of pottery G 2-3 (from Messineo 2001).



Fig. 7. Hephaistia, Acropolis. Kilns underneath the sanctuary (from Ficuciello 2013).



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Fig. 8. Hephaistia. Clay matrices for gold plaques (from Messineo 2001).

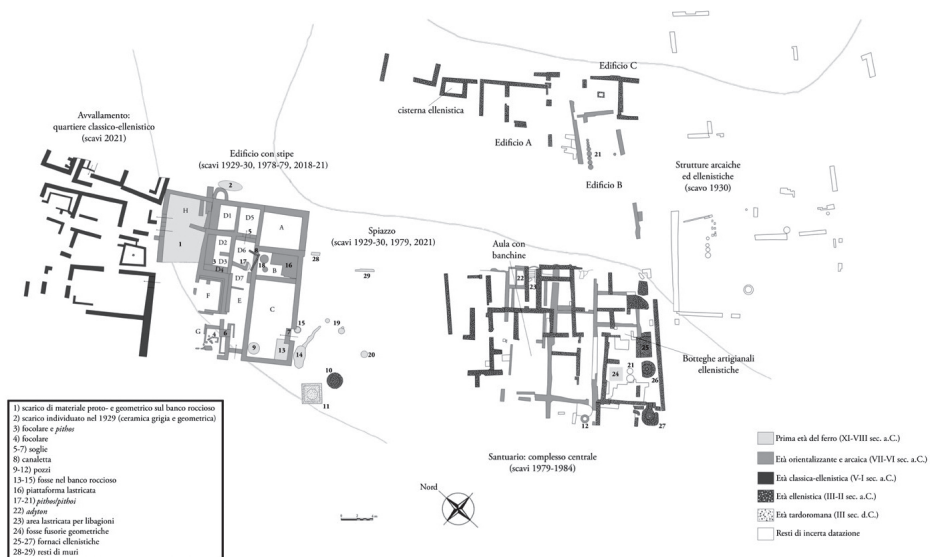


Fig. 9. Hephaistia, Acropolis (from Di Cesare 2021).

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Fig. 10. Choi, Kabeiron. Kantharoi in ceramic G 2-3 with graffiti marks (from Ficuciello 2013).

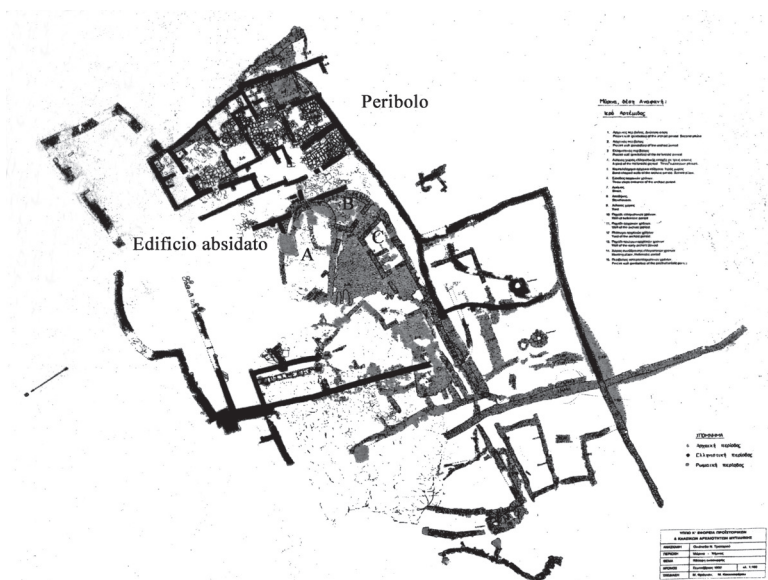


Fig. 11. Avlonas. Plan of the building complex with the phases: in green, archaic period (end of the 8th-end of the 6th century BC); in purple, Hellenistic period; in red, Roman period (drawing K' Ephorate of Antiquity of Mytilini, from Ficuciello 2013).



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Fig. 12. Hephaistia. Stipe: Beotic black-figure klepsydra (from Ficuciello 2013).





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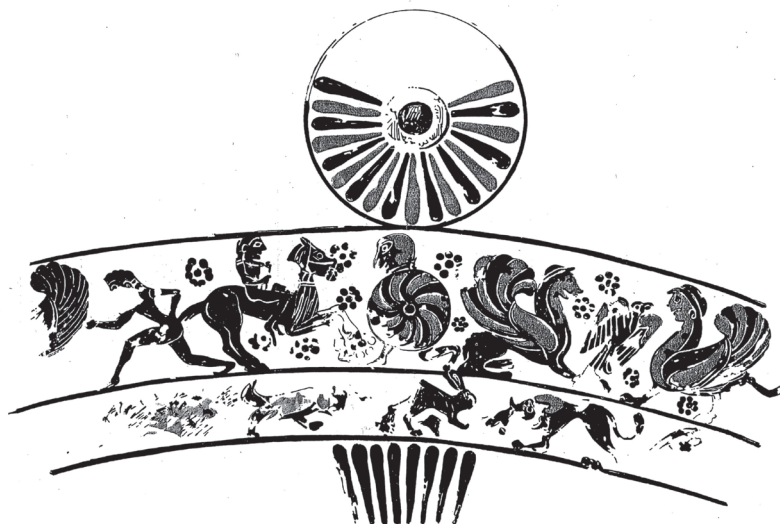


Fig. 13. Hephaistia, necropolis. Proto-Corinthian lekythos with the myth of Troilus and a hare hunting scene (from Mustilli 1942).



Fig. 14. Aliki. Salt Lake.





Fig. 15. Hepahsitia. Building with stipe. Clay figure of an armed goddess (from Ficuciello 2013).

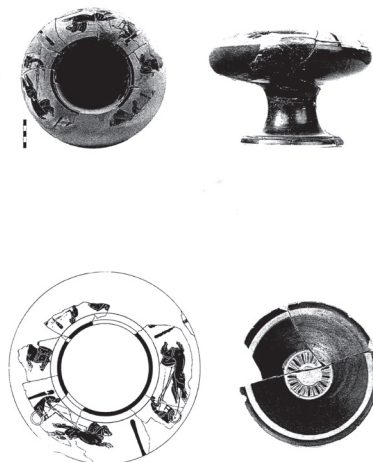


Fig. 16. Hephaistia, stipe. Attic plemochoe with chariot race (from Ficuciello 2013).

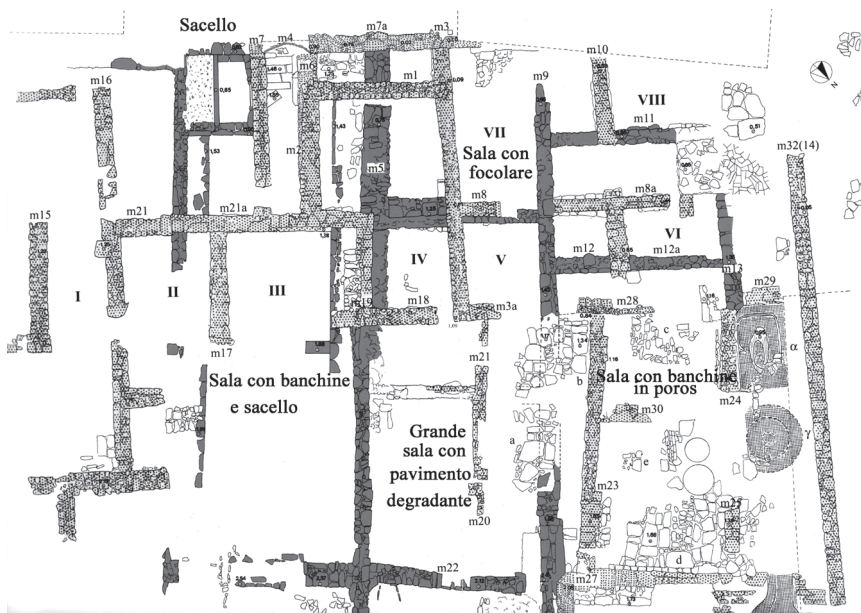


Fig. 17. Hephaistia. The central building complex (so-called “new-hieron”: the archaic building in black; in grey, the Hellenistic ergasterion (draft by S. Martelli, from Beschi 2008).



ABSTRACTS

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CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE COLONIAL PAN-THEONS OF HISPANIA: THE EXAMPLE OF *VALENTIA*

The aim of this work is to study the topography and religious landscape of *Valentia* and its *ager*, between the time of its foundation in 138 BC and the 3rd century AD I will rely on epigraphic and archaeological documentation to determine which gods were honoured in the city and on its territory, with a particular emphasis on public religion.

Keywords: Epigraphy, Archaeology, Roman religion, Roman Spain, Roman colony

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WALDGIRMES AND XANTEN. TWO *COLONIAE NOVAE* AND THE ROMAN POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION ON THE RHINE

Waldgirmes was founded during the Augustan offensive into Germania in an initially peripheral location. Its endowment with buildings and statues, however, prove the site to be the object of a deliberate urbanization. Xanten's importance, on the other hand, was based on the legions





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stationed nearby and the existence of the harbour. Its elevation to the status of a Roman colony is perhaps directly related to Trajan's accession to power (in Xanten?). Subsequently, not only Trajan but also his successors promoted considerably the further expansion of what was at that time the northernmost Roman colony in Germania. In both places, a politically motivated representative urban development took place.

Keywords: Roman Germany, Romanization, Xanten, Waldgirmes, Augustus, Trajan

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BETWEEN LEFKANDI AND AMARINTHOS: SOME REMARKS ON THE BIRTH OF ERETRIA

New recent geoarchaeological data from Eretria allow us to reconsider the birth of the city and its double peculiar nature of “new foundation” and “metropolis”. The role of Lefkandi and Amarinthos, the status of *polis* and the concept of short-distance foundation will be the focus of this paper.

Keywords: Geometric Eretria, Lefkandi, Amarinthos, Polis, Short-distance colonization

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WHAT *CHORA* FOR MARSEILLE? TERRITORY AND EXPLOITATION OF RESOURCES BETWEEN 6th AND 3rd CENT. BC

For over fifty years, French historiography has studied the territory of Marseille(s) along two main lines: the postulate that the Phocaeen city would be a city without territory, living from its trade and its maritime power; and relations between the Phocaeans and the local populations, in accordance with one of the main orientations of the research on Greek





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colonization, which focused more on the relations between Greeks and indigenous peoples than on the exploitation of colonial territories. The paper proposes to resume the study of the Massalia's land searching for the indices of production on hinterland: geographical and hydrological setting, land organization and distribution, production and supply, interactions with local populations. Between the 6th and the 3rd centuries BC, the city of Marseille(s) constituted a double territory, land and sea, completing with an import-export system the inadequacies of its own resources.

Keywords: Marseille(s), Greek, Land, Agricultural production, Trade

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THE CITIES OF WESTERN LIBURNIA (CROATIA), BETWEEN CENTER AND PERIPHERY DURING ANTIQUITY AND LATE ANTIQUITY

Western Liburnia is defined here as a marginal zone of the Dalmatian province on its frontier with the Italian regions, covering roughly today's Kvarner archipelago and the coastal portion of Hrvatsko Primorje. A number of archaeological and epigraphical evidence exposed in this research tend to prove that this region shows a relatively important development from the end of the 2nd century onwards, throughout Late Antiquity. The increase in different activities, mostly connected to the organisation of the defense and its logistics – such as renewal of the road network – have been possible precisely thanks to its marginal position. Its principal coastal city with its territory, Tarsatica, thus gains in this period ephemeral importance and plays a role of a true capital “of the margins” with its Principia connected to the system of the Claustra. The insular cities with their respective territories make no exception, also showing a certain renewal, largely seen through the developing urbanism and establishment of early bishoprics.

Keywords: Kvarner, City, Claustra, Bishopric, Island territory



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SETTLEMENT CHANGES, MATERIAL CULTURE AND COMMUNAL IDENTITY AT THE BORDER-ZONE SETTLEMENT OF SKALA OROPOU (ATTICA) DURING THE ARCHAIC PERIOD

The settlement of Skala Oropou (OSK plot), placed between three different geographical entities (Attica, Boeotia, Euboea) is among the most strategic coastal sites in the central Euboean Gulf region in the Aegean. Being a *peraia* and a “cross-border” site, the situation ensured a continuous material and cultural exchange with other settlements in the area. This paper highlights re-arrangements in the Skala Oropou settlement space that seem to occur alongside the happening of ritual and other communal activities and the shaping of communal identity from the turn of the eighth to the seventh centuries BC and into the Archaic period, at times when various patterns of socio-political organization were evolving in the Greek world, with the polis being among the most prevalent.

Keywords: Northeast Attica, Oropos, Settlement changes, Communal identity, Archaic period

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POMPEY’S AND CAESAR’S FOUNDATIONS OF CITIES: IDENTICAL OR OPPOSITE DESIGNS?

By the late Roman Republic, founding new cities, either for subdued provincial populations, or for poor inhabitants of Rome, and mostly for discharged Roman soldiers, became a common practice for *imperatores*. It was also part of the political competition, as happened, among others, for Pompey and Caesar, whose actions in this field were partly identical, and partly different. The purpose of this paper is to stress these differences, well known as far as the material and political aspects of their foundations are concerned, but much less studied at the level of their ideological aims. Focusing on the discourses built around their projects



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and achievements places their rivalry into a broader frame, and might allow a better understanding of the phenomena of Roman colonization at this period as a whole.

Keywords: Foundation, Roman colony, Veteranus, Political competition, Political ideology

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BUTHROTUM FROM THE TROJAN MYTH TO THE ROMAN COLONY: AN ORIGINAL “CROSS-BORDER” AREA

The geographical situation of Buthrotum in a border area, known as the last stop of Aeneas before crossing the sea to reach Italy, gives a specificity and an original history at this little koinon where the Romans founded a colony at the time of Cesar and Augustus. From the earliest times of the colony, its institutions are similar to those of Rome and Buthrotum reveals a perfect integration to the Roman world.

Keywords: Roman Colony, Trojan Myth, Buthrotum, Prasaiboi, Maritime Border, Imperial Cult

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SEGESTA BETWEEN THE 6th AND 5th CENTURIES: HOW TO BECOME A *POLIS*

In his *Histories* Thucydides defines Segesta as a ‘polis’: this is not a simple or meaningless definition. In this paper, I consider the set of evidence relating to Segesta between the 6th and 5th centuries BC: historical sources, archaeological and topographical data, and numismatic and epigraphic evidence describe Segesta as a community with a recognizable political and social structure. Segesta becomes a city similar to a Greek *polis*. At least from the last quarter half of the 6th century,





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Segesta differentiated itself from the other indigenous communities in Western Sicily and acquired a progressive hegemony in the territory: in the second part of my paper, I question modes, subjects, reasons for this evolution; in particular I highlight the importance of the construction of a social hierarchy and the progressive definition of a local aristocracy.

Keywords: Segesta, Sicily, Polis, Aristocracy

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LEMNOS: A FRONTIER ISLAND IN THE NORTHERN AEGEAN SEA

The contribution examines the archaeological evidence, ranging from the subgeometric period to the archaic age, related to the main sites of Lemnos, with the aim of demonstrating that the Athenian construction of the marginality of Lemnos can be deconstructed, on an archaeological basis. During the Archaic period, in fact, Lemnos was at the center of complex socio-economic and cultural networks in the northern Aegean, which allow it to be identified as an “interface” between Thrace, the Aegean and Anatolia and, ultimately, to be recognized as a “frontier island”.

Keywords: Lemnos, North Aegean, Frontier island, Middle ground, Hybrid culture

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THE IRON AGE URBAN TOPOGRAPHY OF KITION AND SALAMIS (CYPRUS): A REAPPRAISAL

Salamis and Kition are specific cases that can be hardly compared to Greek or Phoenician foundations. Moreover, any study of the organi-



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zation of their urban layout is made difficult by the fragmentary state of the evidence. This is partly due to their long history: ancient Kition lays under modern Larnaca; Salamis was inhabited until the 8th century AD. Departing from previous studies that considered Cypriot Iron Age urbanism through the lens of foreign models (Greek or Phoenician), this contribution focusses on archaeological evidence, in order to draw a comparative study of the two cities and of their urban evolution. The review of urban markers helps to define an original urban development that departs from foreign models and that was influenced by the Late Bronze Age antecedents of the two cities.

Keywords: City-wall, Cyprus, Necropolis, Phoenicians, Urban layout

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BETWEEN PRESENCE AND PROJECT: THE GREEK SECONDARY COLONIES ON THE TYRRHENIAN COAST OF ANCIENT *ITALIA*

The paper examines the Greek secondary colonial foundations on the Tyrrhenian coast of southern Italy, from southern Campania to Calabria (ancient Italy), with the aim of identifying the specificity of the settlement processes and valorising their exemplarity in relation to the different historical contexts. The focus is on the different settlements created by the Locrians in extreme Calabria and by the Achaean cities, Sybaris and Croton.

In the first group, the methods of settlement and organisation show relevant links with the experience of the Locrian ethnos in the motherland. They realised a model of cooperation that was to be maintained for a long time, but without, at least in the first phases, paying particular attention to the 'form' of the city.

On the other hand, as far as the Achaeans were concerned, Sybaris founded its first secondary *apoikìai*, Metapontum and Poseidonia, promoting real projects of autonomous political communities capable of supporting, on territorial and mythical-genealogical grounds, the creation of the identity of 'Achaean' *Italia*. However, this is not a unique



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and always recurring model, as is shown by the fact that the Achaean colonial metropolises, both Sybaris and Croton, at different times and in different historical circumstances, founded secondary colonies with very different settlement patterns, with less territorial impact and urbanistic commitment, and even almost mimetic with the settlements of the local populations.

Keywords: Ancient Greek colonial patterns, Magna Graecia, Secondary colonization, Locrians, Achaeans

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ORIGIN AND FOUNDATION OF ALEXANDRIA TROAS IN THE EPIDEICTIC THEORY ATTRIBUTED TO MENANDER RHETOR

About Alexandria Troas, we have a unique rhetoric testimony: that of Menander, to whom two treatises are ascribed, dating from the second part of the third century AD. The colony is used several times as an example in Treatise II (*On Epideictic Speeches*). The interest of the text, which should be read in conjunction with Treatise I (*Division of Epideictic Speeches*), lies in the fact that it formulates the questions the rhetorician asks himself when reflecting on the origins of Alexandria, but also those asked by the orator who has to speak in a situation and according to the expectations of his audience. Indeed, nothing is said about the augustan *deductio* and Alexandria (which was actually founded by Antigonos Monophthalmos) becomes a city founded by Alexander the Great, with the divine approval of Apollo. Alexander may be seen as a kind of forerunner and even a model for the Roman authorities.

Keywords: Alexandria Troas, Rhetoric, Praise, Origin, Colony





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THE FOUNDATION OF COLONIES BY ROME IN THE MID-RE-PUBLICAN PERIOD AND THE “IDEAL CITY” MODEL

The *coloniae populi Romani* are the colonies founded by the Roman state (under Roman law or with *ius Latii*) as from the second half of the 4th century BC. They met the strategic requirements arising from Rome’s conquest of Italy, but at the same time bore a political message aimed at the other peoples of Italy and the Mediterranean. The Roman legend which developed from the end of the 4th century portrayed the foundation of Rome by Romulus along the lines of these colonial foundations, and this in turn enabled the colonies to be portrayed as “little Romes”, fashioned according to the (ideal) image of their mother-city : the colonies followed a town-planning, architectural and institutional model reflecting that of an “ideal” or indeed idealised Rome, since the latter was thus supposed to be viewed by other peoples, particularly the Greeks, as a “Greek city”.

Keywords: Colony (Roman), Hellenization, Model (Roman), Romulus, “Ideal city”

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GOOD SAVAGES (SOMEWHAT SIMPLE-MINDED) OR AWFUL ANTHROPOPHAGI: ENCOUNTERS IN EASTERN SICILY

If stories of the foundation of cities evoke the deterioration of good relations between Greeks and local populations due to Greek bad faith, the installation in Sicily of the Cyclops and the Lestrygons as the first inhabitants is part of a rewriting of history. It signifies the impossible agreement between different populations and the necessary disappearance of the natives. The precise location of these monstrous and cannibalistic creatures is not due to chance, nor even to the fact that most





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of the arrivals approached Sicily from the east. The Syracusan origin of the discourse may explain some of the constructions revealed there.

Keywords: Eastern Sicily, Cyclopes, Lestrygonians, Greeks, Barbarians

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PTOLEMAIC ROYAL FOUNDATIONS AND REFOUNDATIONS IN ASIA MINOR

During the Hellenistic period, the Ptolemies, like the other successors of Alexander the Great, founded or refounded settlements in the Greek world, carrying forward the trend initiated by the conqueror of the Achaemenid kingdom in the East. They followed the general trend to refound rather than found from scratch, but they also made original choices, such as favouring the establishment of cleruchs in Egypt, the core of their kingdom, whereas they founded settlements of the city-state kind exclusively in their foreign possessions; and most of the time, they established those possessions in coastal areas, in order to control access and communication points. An inscription tells us about one of their creations, Arsinoe in Cilicia, in Asia Minor. The document allows us to reconstruct the process of its foundation, many elements of which are consistent with the fragmentary information given by the sources regarding other settlements created during the Hellenistic period, and also to assess the hold of the royal power over the community.

Keywords: Ptolemies, Foundations, Refoundations, Asia Minor, Arsinoe in Cilicia





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GREEK AND ROMAN COLONIZATION IN THE PISIDIAN ENVIRONMENT

It's only after the conquest of Alexander that Pisidia was colonized by the Greco-Macedonians. In this region, the Seleucids established colonies. What were the reasons for their choices for the places of the sites? If the global reasons affecting the control of their empire are quite well known, can we identify local reasons? These colonial foundations were the prelude to a large urbanization movement which brought to light many pisidian sites most often transformed into cities whose hierarchy was later modified by Roman colonization in the Augustan era. With some examples, we will try to show what were the consequences of these evolutions on the previously existing sites.

Keywords: Greek colonization, Roman colonization, Pisidia, Urbanization, Social evolution

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THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE COLONY OF CARTHAGE, AN ISSUE IN ROMAN POLITICAL LIFE

We know very well the destruction of Carthage in 146 BC. The various attempts to found a new colony and the episodes linked to these trials are much less well known: in 123 by C. Sempronius Gracchus, in 63 BC, in 44 by Caesar, in 29 BC and in 12 BC. Political, social, ideological, imperialist, and religious issues show that the foundation of the Roman colony of *Karthago* was indeed much more a Roman concern than related to the local situation. Local issues could have influenced the founders; if little is known from written sources, most of the local situation can be perceived through the analysis of archaeological remains. Having become the showcase of Rome, as a pole structuring the southwest quar-





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ter of the Mediterranean Sea, the colony of Carthage shows a successful history during its second life.

Keywords: Carthage, Colony, Foundation, Augustus, Gracchus

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THE *EX NIHILO* FOUNDATION OF *AUGUSTA EMERITA*: A *CAPUT PROVINCIAE* IN THE MAKING

Wondering about the colony's foundation is dealing with a complex and thorough process that meets legal standards but also its capacity for adaptation in all the diverse provinces of the Roman Empire. In this sense, the example of *Augusta Emerita* (Mérida, Spain) is meaningful. From military *colonia* founded *ex nihilo*, it was designed to become the *caput provinciae*. Through this analysis, different aspects of the question could be review: first of all, the choice of this colony and its issues, the chronological question and the induced debates – that nowadays is still unresolved –; then the different steps involved by the operation; and finally, the consequences for local communities and people. These are as many issues as we hope to highlight through the Lusitanian example, in such a way as to understand in a better way the Mediterranean process of foundation.

Keywords: Colony, Foundation, Provincial capital, Epigraphy, Lusitania

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INTERFACE AREAS IN ARCHAIC SICILY: QUESTIONS AND PROPOSALS

The contribution examines the concept of the frontier applied to Greek Sicily between the 8th and 5th centuries. It focuses on the concept re-





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newed by geographers and Africanists. It highlights as well the process of territorial integration observed in eastern Sicily at the interface of the territories of Megara Hyblaea and Leontinoi.

Keywords: Greek Sicily, Cultural identities, Territories, Megara Hyblaea, Leontinoi

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INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL BORDERS: TERRITORIAL NEGOTIATIONS IN THE HELLENISTIC BOEOTIAN KOINON

The two questions of internal borders between poleis and external borders with neighbouring regions, especially Attica, are addressed here together, in relation to the Boeotian koinon. After a comparison with the Schengen area, which allows to measure the differences with the ancient case, the relevant sources are collected and a new edition is proposed for the four inscriptions identifiable as boundaries between cities: *SEG* 64, 371 (mentioning Haliarte?); *SEG* 23, 297 (Lebadaea-Coronaea); *SEG* 30, 440.1 (Akraiphia-Kōpai) and a second unpublished side; *IG* VII 2792 (Kōpai-Akraiphia). The last two documents are an opportunity to return, notably thanks to a GIS simulation, to the economic stakes represented by a small secondary basin in the North-East of lake Copais, the bay of Kephalaria, which, dry in periods of low water, offered coveted resources in crops, reeds and fish. The historical study shows the role of arbitrator played by the Hellenistic koinon. In the absence of a koinon, during the Archaic period and after 171 BC, the Boeotians had to call upon international referees to settle their territorial disputes. Finally, the porosity of external borders for individuals, if not for armed troops, is underlined, as well as the hybrid character of the identities played out “on the border”.

Keywords: Boeotia, Hellenistic koinon, Epigraphic demarcations, Lake Copais, Akraiphia





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URBAN AND PERI-URBAN: PHYSIONOMIES OF URBANIZA- TION IN THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN

The issue of urbanization is still relevant nowadays due to the progress in the archaeological knowledge of ancient cities and the use of new study approaches that gradually refine the perception and interpretation of urban constructions. In the first-millennium BC Mediterranean, Greek experience stands out for its scope and for the elaboration of developed urban forms. The urbanization process, far from remaining confined to a centre, often delimited by a wall, identified with the city itself, also integrates the surrounding space; hence, the need to broaden the framework to study the urban phenomenon. In the context of the formation and development of the Greek city, the goal is therefore to approach the specificities of urban construction by integrating into the analysis the space of the urban margins (*proasteion*), where took place some functions that were complementary to the running of the city life. The study focuses on the Greek Mediterranean area and in particular the Western Mediterranean, based on a few examples which, although limited, shed new light on the knowledge of urban and peri-urban physiognomies, *i.e.* the spatial constructions linked to the urbanization.

Keywords: Urbanization process, Western Greek world, First millennium BC, Urban constructions, Peri-urban constructions

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PUBLIC, PRIVATE AND SACRED SPACES IN THE PHOCEAN COLONIES: MARSEILLE, VELIA, EMPORION AND OLBIA DE PROVENCE

This paper is devoted to the western foundations of Phocaea, a Greek city in Asia Minor, whose inhabitants founded the cities of Massalia,



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Emporion and Velia in the 6th century BC. Olbia de Provence was founded almost two centuries later by the Massalians. The spatial organization of these cities, the location of their sanctuaries and their public facilities make it possible to observe a certain number of recurrences, even if knowledge of each of these structures is rather disparate according to the extent of the archaeological excavations.

Keywords: Greek, Urban project, Street, Squares, Sanctuaries

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CAN WE CLEARLY DELIMIT THE ARGIVE TERRITORY? THE ROLE OF THE “BORDER” *KOMAI* IN THE DEFINITION OF THE *ARGEIA* DURING THE CLASSICAL PERIOD



Since the 1980s, many researchers have been interested in the question of the boundaries of Greek territories. However, the study of Argos reveals the difficulties which exist in finding concrete markers of the domination of a city on the limits of its territory. On the contrary, the Argive border areas are characterized by a certain fluidity in their definition: the *kômai*, which are established there, keep a certain independence and can easily change their allegiance. The city of Argos is then defined spatially not by clear and precise borders, but by accumulation of *kômai* which integrate the political system of Argos.



Keywords: Argos, History, Classical, Border, Territory



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