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Making ‘Colonial’ Institutions: The Example of Corinthian *Apoikiai* in the Adriatic

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ABSTRACT

The historiography of Greek colonization has changed significantly over the last fifty years. The work of archaeologists, combined with new research into ethnicity and culture, has permitted a greater understanding of processes and modalities. However, some questions remain, especially regarding constitutions and laws in the colonised cities. How did a colony choose its institutions following its foundation and what role did the mother-city play in this process? This is an important question and invites us to think about the essence of colonial expansion. The examples of Apollonia and Epidamnus, two Corinthian colonies in the Adriatic, demonstrate the complexity of the issue. Notwithstanding their independent status and their regional specificities, these new cities were subjected to the influence of the *metropolis* and its institutional model at the moment of their foundation. Nevertheless in their respective evolutions institutional decisions were not influenced by Corinth, the mother-city.

The institutions of the Greek world were far from uniform. If some Greeks were concentrated in *ethnoi*, most lived in city-states of varying importance, power, and political structure. Between the 8th and the 6th centuries BC, Greek expansion in the Mediterranean led to the creation of many new cities. Scholars refer to this as the “Archaic period” or “early Greece”. This chapter aims to analyse how these “colonies” created their institutions. Its central theme is a question: did the founders reproduce the model of their city of origin or did they adapt it to suit the regional context of their chosen site? Many scholars do not see any contradiction in the assumption that while colonies were fully independent, at the same time they imitated metropolitan institutions. What we present in this chapter is a historiographical survey of the topic and a case study of Apollonia and Epidamnus, two colonies which illustrate the considerable complexity of the question. Historians often consider their metropolis, Corinth, to be the first city to have developed a true empire by founding colonies in the west. This argument, however, is contradictory and should, in our opinion, be reconsidered.

Depuis une cinquantaine d'années, l'étude de ce que les historiens de l'Antiquité appellent communément la colonisation grecque a été profondément bouleversée. L'hellénocentrisme qui prévalait auparavant a laissé place à divers travaux consacrés au monde indigène, à la notion de transfert culturel, de « frontier history », ainsi qu'au problème complexe du commerce archaïque. La nature de cette colonisation divise les chercheurs dans l'historiographie récente : si certains vont jusqu'à nier la réalité du phénomène, évoquant davantage des mouvements migratoires incessants remontant aux « Âges obscurs », d'autres tentent d'améliorer notre connaissance du milieu colonial grâce à l'apport de l'archéologie et à l'utilisation des notions d'ethnicité et d'identité culturelle. Cependant, rares sont les travaux évoquant les institutions de ces colonies et l'élaboration de leurs lois. Ceci n'est pas dû au hasard : la pauvreté des sources, combinée à une grande hétérogénéité des situations, rend malaisé tout essai d'analyse et incite à la prudence. Pourtant cette thématique soulève les questions essentielles des conditions de l'installation des colonies, de la formation de leur constitution et du respect ou non du modèle métropolitain. Originaires de cités souvent anciennes, au passé parfois déjà ré-inventé ou idéalisé, les fondateurs ont eu à créer un nouvel espace civique et avec lui des lois et des coutumes. Il est souvent difficile d'apprécier ici la mesure entre le poids de l'influence de la « cité mère » et le libre-arbitre des premiers colons, conditionnés par les raisons du départ et le contexte régional de la nouvelle apoikia. Si des transferts ou des influences en matière de législation ont bien eu lieu, comme dans les domaines culturels et religieux, se pose alors le problème de la dépendance des colonies et donc du sens même de l'aventure coloniale. Or, une telle étude doit se faire au cas par cas.

Apollonia d'Illyrie et Epidamne ont été fondées à la fin du VII^e siècle avant J.-C. sur les rivages de l'Adriatique, c'est-à-dire, dans l'imaginaire d'alors, aux marges du monde grec. Leur fondation s'inscrit dans le contexte plus large de l'expansion corinthienne pendant ou peu après la période cypselide. Les tyrans, s'ils en sont à l'origine, ont pu greffer un système institutionnel, si ce n'est semblable à celui de la cité doriennne, en tout cas facilitant le contrôle de ces colonies et de leurs ressources. L'examen des diverses sources concernant ces deux apoikiai nous montre des choix institutionnels divergents mais où l'on peut déceler des traces de l'influence corinthienne. Cependant, on mesure mal les modalités d'une telle influence : parler d'« empire » corinthien comme certains savants l'ont proposé semble bien excessif, et il est difficile d'établir si la chute de la tyrannie en métropole, et peut-être dans ces cités, a provoqué des changements constitutionnels majeurs. Apollonia et Epidamne ont sans doute, comme nombre de fondations, balancé entre le respect des lois connues par leurs colons et un certain pragmatisme. Leur évolution interne, liée au contexte local et régional, et l'affaiblissement progressif du modèle métropolitain, n'empêchent aucunement la pérennité de liens culturels forts et l'entretien, au sein de la colonie, du souvenir de la filiation.

In Plato's *Laws* (IV, 708, c), the Athenian, discussing with Clinias the colonies the Greeks founded, affirms that "in such places you do not easily accept laws and regimes different from those of the mother city". For the modern historian, however, the study

of 'colonial' cities in ancient Greece is complicated by the fact that this schema, where applicable, does not appear to be systematic. Moreover, our knowledge of laws in this period depends on unreliable sources. The rich body of documentation that we have for Athens – mainly thanks to the Aristotelian school's *Constitution of the Athenians* – is an exception. It moreover derives from a city which is unrepresentative of the Greek world as a whole. On the other hand, the process of overseas expansion, or colonization, marked the origin of many city-states (*poleis*) whose constitutions are not clear to us. Therefore, these constitutions are rarely studied on their own. Instead, they are subsumed within the broader process of expansion. Nevertheless, some of the first great Greek legislators, such as Zaleucus or Charondas, were natives of a colonial world where an intense debate over the *polis* developed. Meanwhile, recent archaeological excavations on the eastern coast of the Adriatic have uncovered new and useful material. Since the fall of the Communist regime in Albania archaeological explorations have been undertaken at the sites of the two Corinthian colonies Apollonia and Epidamnus. The study of material remains and artifacts improves our knowledge of these two great cities. However, like most cities in Greece itself, their institutions remain a puzzle. Only a small number of sources provide information about their laws and customs. Consequently, this discussion of Greek colonial institutions focuses on two questions: firstly, the colony's independence with regard to the mother city, and secondly, its institutional development from foundation to integration into the Roman Empire.

GREEK COLONIZATION

The concept of colonization is difficult to define in general terms, but in the case of ancient Greece we can identify it with the citizens of Greek *poleis* emigrating and settling in new lands where they formed political communities on the model of their mother-city (*metropoleis*) from which, however, they were independent. The term itself comes from the Latin *colere* which means to cultivate. However, the Greeks used the word *apoikia*, which translates literally as "home away from home". Modern historiography sees Greek colonization as a vast movement of native inhabitants of Greece towards the western Mediterranean (the Adriatic, southern Italy, Sicily, France and Spain) and eastward to Egypt, the Near East, Asia Minor, and the Black Sea. This occurred between the 8th and the 6th centuries BC. It is clear that this movement of expansion bears little in common with modern forms of colonization. Even in Antiquity there was a clear distinction between colonial expansion and other forms of settlement in foreign or peripheral territory. The *emporía*, for example, were simple communities of merchants who resided more or less permanently in native settlements. The Athenian *kleroukai* of the 5th century BC were strictly tied to the *arché* or area under the rule of the Attic city. Hellenistic *katoikiai* were military and agricultural settlements. Finally, the Roman *coloniae* resembled the *katoikiai* but also modelled their organization on Roman institu-

tions. Historians have not always clearly distinguished the nuances between these types of settlements the generic term ‘colonization’ is often misused.

The liveliest debate in this area centers on precisely how these institutions functioned, and focuses on the question of the colonies’ independence from their mother city. Very few ancient sources directly address this question and secondary texts explaining the political links between colonies and mother cities are rare. However, a passage from Thucydides’ *History of the Peloponnesian war* is often cited in this regard. It deals with the controversy between Corinth and its old colony Corcyra over Epidamnus, and raises the issue of whether an obedient colony is systematically submissive to its mother city (I, 32-38). This is a specific case which must necessarily be analysed in the context of the Greek world during the last third of the 5th century. However, many later historians have used it to support their argument for a modern interpretation of Greek colonisation.

Not surprisingly, 18th-century antiquarians speculated on the links between the *apoiikia* and their *metropolis*. One early example was Jean-Pierre Bougainville in his 1745 dissertation on the “reciprocal arrangements” between Greek colonies and their mother cities¹. In 1777 William Byron anonymously published *A History of the Colonisation of the Free States of Antiquity, applied to the present contest between Great Britain and her American Colonies*, and a year later John Symonds responded with his *Remarks upon an Essay entitled the History of the Colonisation of the Free States of Antiquity*. In these works, pro-American writers used the Greek colonies as a model with which to promote the idea that a colony could eventually overtake its mother country in constitutional, economic, and cultural terms. This, in turn was used to justify insurrection and revolution. However, 19th-century writers, more sensitive of the danger of revolution, tried to develop a more conservative model. Désiré Raoul-Rochette, for example, attempted to show that although the causes and manner of the colonists’ departure could potentially lead to difficult relations, the mother country usually supervised the foundation of the colony. This encouraged affiliation and made uprisings dishonourable².

Thus, many scholars believe colonial institutions strictly reproduce those of the mother city. Wladimir Brunet de Presles, in a study published in 1845, focused on the situation in Sicily and confirmed that “if we move from religion to laws, we will see that the Greek colonies... not only preserved the institutions of their motherland, but were aware of the innovations happening in Greece and imitated them sometimes too hastily”³. The essence of this view is that the supremacy of the city of origin necessarily required colonial institutions to be similar, if not identical, to itself. This idea had a significant influence upon historians during the period of modern European colonisation. In 1926 Gustave Glotz wrote that colonists “were children of the same country, they spoke the same dialect, were used to the same laws and worshiped the same gods, thus they based, voluntarily or not, their constitution on the only one they had ever known”⁴. And before that, in 1883, Ernst Curtius presented the Greeks as the masters

of colonization and the Germans as their most loyal disciples⁵. A modernist vision of the colonialism thus emerged, one which sacrificed the earlier focus on institutions in favour of economic and capitalist theory. Added to this was expression of faith in the colonists' cultural superiority or even the superiority of their entire civilisation over races which were judged as inferior. From this perspective it was not necessary to analyse colonial institutions, especially given the common belief that colonies were formed for purely commercial reasons. The vocabulary used in these works, for example "trading posts", "commercial colonies" and "commercial empire", also reflected the new approach to colonialism in scholarly studies of both the ancient and modern worlds.

In the second half of the 20th century, archaeological progress and post-war decolonization allowed historians to broaden their area of research. Thomas James Dunbabin redefined the question of the independence of colonies by comparing the relations between Greek colonies and their homelands with those between contemporary Australia/New Zealand and the UK. To this end he stressed the existence of a model which combined political independence with almost complete cultural dependence⁶. Moses I. Finley went even further in his belief that complete independence begins the moment men leave their country to found new communities⁷. He does, however, note that there were significant exceptions, such as the *arché* of Corinth, that sometimes had direct control over their colonies. Hampered by the paucity of sources on the subject, Finley remained prudent regarding the institutions, and admitted the difficulty of measuring how much the colonists copied the metropolitan model. He went on to note that in the necropolis of Megara Hyblaea in Sicily, there were no distinctions between the classes until the middle of the 6th century – nearly two centuries after its foundation⁸.

Since Georges Vallet's works in the 1960s, the territories of the *apoikiai* have attracted more attention, as has the question of their relations with indigenous populations, an area that previously tended to be neglected. It is striking to note that in Pierre Wuilleumier's thesis on Tarentum, published in 1939, the natives are only briefly mentioned, whereas 60 years later an entire thesis has been devoted to these local populations⁹. The traditional view of indigenous populations was that they had no choice but to submit to colonization. A whole series of studies, however, reconsidered these societies in the process of colonisation as a whole¹⁰. What is more, some of the first works of this kind, for example Biagio Pace's book on ancient Sicily, tried to revise the importance of primitive civilisations from a nationalistic perspective¹¹. If problems linked to colonial institutions have remained unresolved, it is because research during the last twenty years has no longer considered them relevant. Questions of ethnicity and cultural borders have moved to the forefront of research, in the wake of the contemporary focus on identity and cultural interaction¹². As a result, the *polis* is no longer the only focal point of historiography, nor is hellenocentrism as dominant as it used to be.

Some scholars, such as Robin Osborne, go as far as to deny the existence of colonization and speak instead only of "settlements abroad"¹³. Rather than a process of colonisation,

Osborne sees a vast Mediterranean expanse marked by constant movement and private initiatives that sometimes led to long-term settlements. If we accept this, however, we must ask what happened to the cultural, religious, and linguistic links that archaeology and epigraphy have discovered between the ancient *apoikia* and the *metropoleis*? Is it possible or even wise completely to reject mythical traditions?¹⁴ These questions are crucial because the context within which the Greek settlements were established obliges one to ask if the new institutions drew on pre-existing models or if they were created *ex-nihilo*.

The study of institutions and of 'colonial' laws is no longer a burning issue. However, the problem is far from resolved and it is still very difficult to understand how and under which conditions a Greek *apoikia* chose a constitution at the time of its foundation. Some historians now insist, with good reason, on the need to start again on a case by case basis, avoiding excessive generalisation¹⁵. Although there were strong pressures on colonies to follow the model of their mother cities it must be emphasised that the creation of new institutions depended on the region of the settlement, the range of differences among the colonists, and the conditions of their departure (*stasis*, for example, which refers to political divisions or sometimes civil war). One also has to beware the image of a unified and monolithic Greece, as this can obscure the existence of important differences between the Greek cities. Historians have to take into account that, notwithstanding the large number of *apoikiai* based on metropolitan models, there existed a mistrust of patterns and a suspicion of dogma. Recent research is in fact heading towards the idea that at the time of the first wave of colonisation – between the 8th and the 7th centuries BC – the Greek *polis* was still at an embryonic stage and that the colonial world in fact contributed to defining it and to shaping its character¹⁶.

In short, in order to study the institutions of each colony, a balance has to be struck between metropolitan influences and the geographic and/or social factors which colonists encountered in their new home. While the independence of these colonies can no longer be denied, this view does, at least, have to be qualified and its limits specified. Finally, even while recognizing the ambiguity of the concept, we will use for the rest of this chapter the generic term 'colonisation' to describe the Greek experience¹⁷.

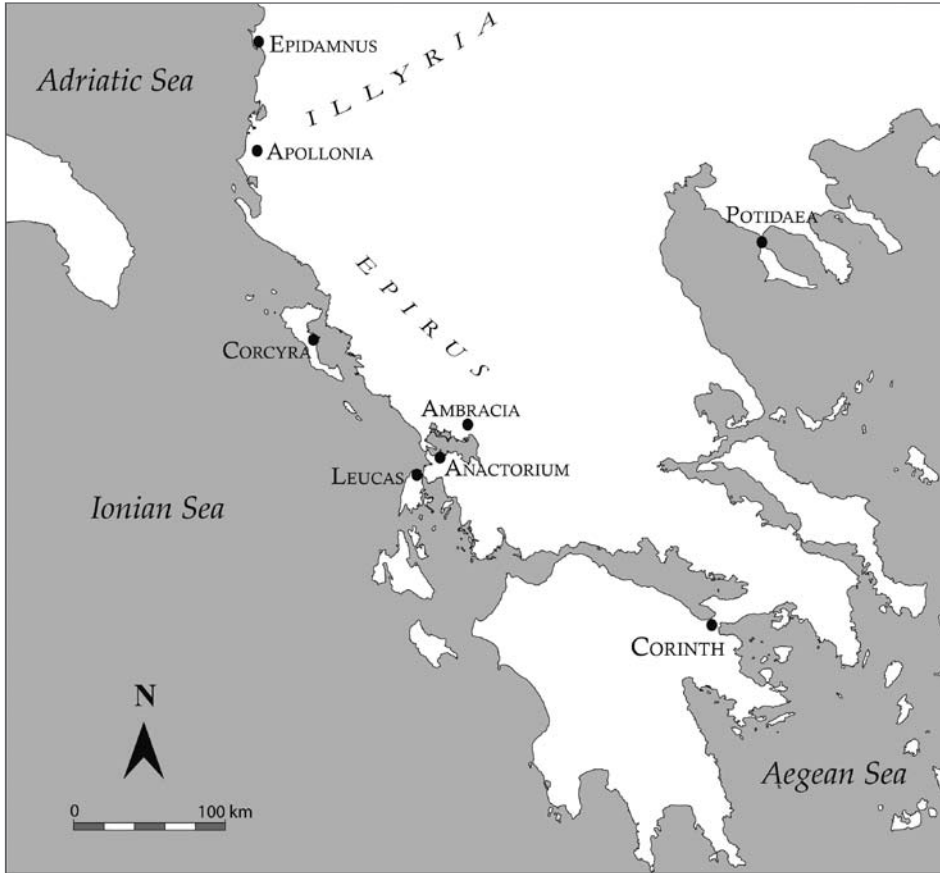
CASE-STUDIES: APOLLONIA AND EPIDAMNUS

The Corinthian *apoikiai* on the east coast of the Adriatic were settled during what is known as the second wave of colonisation. This phase is generally considered more mature and 'programmed' than earlier efforts. The first Corinthian settlements date back to the middle of the 8th century, but Apollonia and Epidamnus seem to have been founded during the last third of the 7th century. These were the years when Corinth went through a period of tyrannical government before a return to oligarchy. While

this turmoil makes the task of analysing the cities' institutions difficult, it has not stifled a lively debate among historians.

Corinth's first wave of settlements was established out of two previously-existing *apoikiai*, namely Corcyra and Syracuse. According to Herodotus, a number of colonists expelled the Eretrians from their island in 734 BC and established themselves in Corcyra¹⁸. The founder of the colony (who in Greek was known as the *oikistes*) was Chersicrates, a member of the aristocratic Bacchiad family. The family enjoyed significant power as landowners and merchants. Its members had amassed a fortune from imposing taxes on goods shipped through the Isthmus of Corinth. Also in 734 BC, according to Thucydides, Archias, another Bacchiad, founded Syracuse on the eastern side of Sicily. The independence of these colonies is indisputable. Indeed, its mother-city considered Corcyra a dangerous rebel, a suspicion that led to the first known naval battle in 664 BC¹⁹. The second large wave of colonisation dates from the reign of the Cypselids, when tyrants seized power at the expense of the Bacchiads. Unfortunately, the chronology of this period is difficult to chart due to contradictions among the sources. The followers of the so-called "high chronology", first suggested by Diodorus and Aristotle, date the tyranny between 657 and 583 BC. Others follow the low chronology of Herodotus, placing it between 610 and 560 BC. Recent searches have all ruled out this last one²⁰. What is probable, however, is that Apollonia and Epidamnus were founded in the last third of the 7th century. To know the origin of their institutions it is necessary to know whether they were created by the tyrants or not. According to tradition, the founder of the dynasty, Cypselos, founded *Ambracia* in Epirus, *Anactorium* in *Acarnania*, and *Leucas* in the north of Ithaca (see Map 1). Cypselos's sons, Gorgos, Echiades, and Pylades would have had served as *oikistes* for these three *apoikiai* respectively. Many historians accept the existence of a Corinthian *arché*, given the evident aim of controlled expansion on the Epiroan coasts and southern Illyria. This process closely resembles modern conceptions of colonization²¹. Cypselos's successor, Periander, continued this policy by establishing Potidaea in the Aegean Sea and sending one of his sons, Evagoras, to be its *oikistes*²². The question for us is whether this was also the case for Epidamnus and Apollonia. Once again, however, the sources are problematic.

According to Thucydides, Epidamnus was founded by the Corcyreans, who asked the mother-city to choose an *oikistes*. It picked Phalios, son of Eratokleides, a descendent of the Heraclids. Other Dorians and among them some Corinthians accompanied these first colonists. Unfortunately, the only clue we have regarding dates are those given by Eusebius of Caesarea in the 4th century AD, who referred to 625 BC. Archaeology confirms that it was founded in the second half of the 7th century, although one has to be cautious. If we examine the circumstances surrounding the establishment of Epidamnus we find no traces of *Cypselid* influences. The *oikistes* were effectively Corinthian and Phalios claimed to be descended from the Heraclids, as ostensibly did the Bacchiads family. It is possible that the city was founded before the tyranny, and that Corcyra was



Map 1.
Corinthian expansion along the coasts of Epirus, Southern Illyria and the Aegean Sea.

the genuine mother-city. However, Cypselos himself was related to the Bacchiads and the fact that they claimed descent from the Heraclids was not unique to this powerful family. This co-foundation, which followed contemporary customs and traditions, shows that relations between the two cities were good at the time of the establishment of the colony. This was in contrast to the situation in the first half of the century. If we follow high chronology, the hypothesis of reconciliation under the tyrants is plausible. In fact, the sources agree that Periander established another one of his sons in Corcyra. The principal role attributed to this city in the foundation of Epidamnus is questionable. As we have seen, the people of the island also played a significant role at Anactorium and there were “Corinthian colonists” in the Adriatic city²³. Thus we can see the development of a series of Cypselid colonies off the Epiorean coasts. The same may have taken place in the Adriatic. Doubt persists because the chronology of Eusebius is

difficult to confirm and archaeologists provide few clues because the modern city of Durrës is built on the site. In any case, if Epidamnus was a Cypselid foundation then its institutions should have followed the dynastic pattern of Corinthian power, even if its *oikistes* is not recognised to have been the son of a tyrant.

The inconsistencies of the ancient authors are similar in the case of Apollonia in Illyria. Strabo and the Pseudo Scymnus spoke of a joint action between the Corcyreans and the Corinthians to establish the city; Pausanias pointed up the role of the Corcyreans, while Stephanus of Byzantium did not even mention them²⁴. The hypothesis of a joint foundation, led by the Corinthians, is plausible and may explain the disagreements among the ancient authors. Eusebius gave 600 BC as the date of foundation, but that is not based on concrete evidence. Archaeologists have placed its foundation near the end of the 7th century, but little is known about Apollonia in this period²⁵. Only two texts provide information on the circumstances surrounding its origins. According to Stephanus of Byzantium, the city was founded by a group of two hundred Corinthians led by the *oikistes* Gylax. At first the city took his name and it was not until later that Gylakeia became Apollonia. Apart from an inscription which confirms his name, this is the only mention of Gylax²⁶, and therefore it does not help us date the expedition. Plutarch implicitly affirms that Periander contributed to reinforcing Apollonia's position²⁷. This forms a possible link between Gylax and Cypselos's son²⁸. It is rare that an *oikistes* was also an eponymous hero of a city, as in the case of Phanagoría, the leader of a colony of refugees who founded Phanagoras²⁹. Such an outcome would have required a man whose prestige surpassed that of the *polis*. The founder of Apollonia may have been, like Phalios, a tyrant. Nevertheless, the passage by Plutarch mistakenly assumes a contemporaneous foundation of Anactorium, Leucas and Apollonia, which renders his accounts doubtful.

The original institutions of these two *apoikiai* may thus have been inspired by the tyranny that dominated the city of the Isthmus. The problem is that we do not completely understand the extent of these possible links. We also do not know if the tyrant saw himself as sovereign over the *apoikia*, if he viewed them as puppet regimes under his control thanks to the presence of his son or a relative, or if he regarded them as traditional colonies which he used simply as a base on the way to the silver mines of Illyria. It is possible that these cities adopted oligarchic government from the start. This was very common in western Greek colonies despite the tyrannical influence. The tyranny collapsed one generation after Periander granted the colonies the political independence to which they were entitled. The change of name from Gylakeia to Apollonia can possibly be dated to this moment: the hypothesis that it was refounded by the Apolloniates, or by the Corinthians at odds with the tyranny, is plausible³⁰. The political tendencies of the western colonies, as summarized by Epidamnus and Apollonia, combined independence with interdependence. To imagine, as some have, that they formed part of an integrated 'Corinthian empire' is not the case.

INSTITUTIONAL EVOLUTION OF EPIDAMNUS AND APOLLONIA

The other main theme in recent research on colonial institutions regards their evolution over time. Here again the question of independence, and of the repercussions for the colonies of changes taking within the mother city, poses a problem. If we regard the *apoikiai* as independent we also have to accept that their destiny was linked to their surrounding region and that their ‘constitution’ evolved without significant links to the mother-city. We are again confronted with a lack of reliable sources. We can, however, cautiously assume that the western colonies evolved in similar ways. After all, most were founded with oligarchic systems and some of them suffered periods of tyranny. Apollonia and Epidamnus clearly developed apart from Corcyra and Corinth.

According to Aristotle, Epidamnus was an oligarchy run by a supreme magistrate, no doubt the *prytan*³¹. He was helped by a college of phylarchs, who were the leaders of the city’s tribes. At some point these were replaced by a council or *boule* which moderated the actions of the oligarchy to some extent. The change of constitution prompted a group of citizens to form a party in order to claim certain political rights. Originally, the laws of the city benefited only a small minority who held all the power. The ‘democratisation’ of its civic institution allowed Epidamnus to open itself to commerce in Illyria and the Adriatic, thereby guaranteeing its prosperity. According to Thucydides, the city suffered from a prolonged crisis towards the end of the 5th century when the aristocrats challenged the democrats. At first it seemed that the former had gained the upper hand thanks to the help of the Corcyreans, in an episode Thucydides considered to be one of the direct causes of the Peloponnesian war³². However, the victory of the ‘democrats’ at Corcyra in 425 BC had repercussions in Epidamnus and may have caused the institutional transformation mentioned by Aristotle.

In a passage of his *Politics*, Aristotle describes Apollonia as a model of oligarchy, a city where “honours were reserved for citizens of good birth, the descendants of the first colonists”³³. This idea is also found in Herodotus, who affirmed that in Apollonia there were “herds devoted to the sun” and men “chose between the most distinguished citizens, notable by their riches and nobility, he who would have the night watch”³⁴. Photius also refers to this appointment of a so-called guardian who “was part of the aristocracy, as were all those who succeeded him as guards of the sacred flock”³⁵. This was a very exclusive oligarchy, where only direct descendants of the first Corinthians had access to the *politeia* and therefore the magistracy. It is interesting to note that Aristotle used the term *eleutheroi* or freemen to refer to citizens who enjoyed those rights which fell outside the customary definition. Such a system suggests a strict endogamy and it is remarkable that it was still respected three centuries after its foundation. The comments of Cicero and Strabo, writing in the 1st century BC, were even more surprising. The former spoke of a *magna urbs et gravis*, or one important and austere city, praising its aristocratic characteristics. Strabo described the city as having excellent laws

(*eunomaste*), which means for him oligarchic ones. This looking inwards is explained by the tendency of the Apollonian aristocracy to base its power on ownership of land. The most recent archaeological excavation in the city shows an orthogonal living area, suggesting a division of land between the first colonists. This sharing of land was not democratic in character but instead durably etched into the city's layout the legitimacy of a small group of aristocratic citizens.

At Apollonia, as seems to have been the case in Epidamnus, the supreme authority was the prytan. The inscription about the embassy of Magnesia on the Meander mentions the presence of a prytaneion where the *theoroi* were invited to have a "communal meal" after having been made *proxenoi*³⁶. The existence of a Council is equally proven by inscriptions dating back to the Hellenistic period. One Hellenistic inscription to Aphrodite poses a significant problem because the names of the magistrates are followed by six curious abbreviations ("Li", "Po", "Ar", "Polo", "Hip", and "Le"). Louis Robert and Pierre Cabanes believe these represent the subdivisions of the city³⁷. Together with other fragments there are in total eight names that they posit are the tribes. It is possible that this practice was copied from the Corinthian mother-city which was also divided into eight tribes. Did the first colonists deliberately try to imitate this arrangement? It is quite possible, given that tribes are also identified in Epidamnus.

The evolution of law in the two cities provides some clue as to their respective relationships with Corinth. Their political independence did not exclude important cultural and religious links. For example, The Corinthians brought a soothsayer from Apollonia to attend the Greek army in 479 BC³⁸. The crisis in Epidamnus at the close of the 5th century BC ended with a victory for the 'democrats' who asked the Corinthians for help. Epidamnus's laws resembled Corinth's more than did the laws of Apollonia. However, the links between the mother-city and the city of Gylax were the strongest and most durable: therefore, the imitation of the institutional model does not imply close relations. The often-used word "influence" implies hierarchical relations, and is better substituted by the more neutral "loan". The very aristocratic Apollonia maintained its privileged links with Corinth for a long time. An inscription citing the Apollonians and belonging to one of Corinth's monuments mentions "*ktister Korinthos*" (the Corinthian founder). This suggests that Corinth publicly acknowledged its status of metropolis³⁹. Another inscription found at Apollonia details the role Corinth played in its creation. This, however, has been dated to the 2nd century AD, nearly eight hundred years after Apollonia was established⁴⁰. The affiliation was therefore maintained up to and during the Roman period.

The sources allow us to retrace an ongoing difference in the attitude of the two cities towards the outside world. Epidamnus established relations with the Illyrians very early, as it developed its port. The city named a *poletes*, or vendor, to serve as an intermediary between the citizens and the natives and also to control exchanges⁴¹. Toward the end of the 3rd century BC, Plautus demonstrated the cosmopolitanism of the city by mak-

ing it the backdrop to his comedy the *Menaechmi* [The Twin Brothers]. Catullus even dubbed it the “tavern of the Adriatic”⁴². Apollonia, on the other hand, was shut off from the rest of the world. In the inscriptions, the prytans maintained Greek names, proof that the memory of the first colonists was preserved in the aristocratic regime. In the centre of the city there was a large rectangular building known as the Agonothets monument and which dated back to the 2nd century BC. This building had a large U-shaped room with a ten-tier *cavea*, which was probably used to host Council meetings. Its small capacity strengthens the impression of oligarchic institutions which were preserved under the Empire. One of Aelian’s texts underlines the differences between the two cities. Apollonia pursued *xenelasia* or the banishment of foreigners on the Spartan model. Epidamnus, on the other hand, granted right of residence to whoever requested it⁴³. Apollonia is an interesting example because it shows that rigid institutions are capable of surviving ‘foreign’ domination. Relations with Rome speak volumes on this subject. The privileges received by the city of Gylax after the passage of young Octavian in 44 BC show the durability of the oligarchic institutions⁴⁴. Rome liked aristocratic cities which maintained austere institutions and oligarchies. From this perspective the Apollonian colony was the perfect link between Greek and Roman institutions.

CONCLUSION

The Corinthian *apoikiai* of the Adriatic highlight the complexity of colonial institutions. Even if, at their foundation, they were governed by a tyrant who submitted himself to Cypselid authority, they nevertheless developed autonomous functions. This tyrant could also be the only institutional link with Corinth, and it is possible to imagine that the other civic laws did not respect its model. In any event, the transfer of institutions from the mother-city to an *apoikia* does not mean that the former necessarily controlled the latter. In the same way, the *apoikia* could adopt different institutions while preserving strong links with the *metropolis*. We have focused on Greek colonization to highlight a crucial debate among scholars. It seems reasonable to believe that ancient states played an active part in the colonial process. It is not appropriate, however, to speak of imperialism. The sources which suggest this belong to a period when this concept was pertinent. It is hard to believe, however, that during the ancient era a metropolis like Corinth had a strategic vision when it established its colonies. This raises the problem of the very aim of colonisation. If we consider this process as a turning point in the history of Greek expansion in the Mediterranean through the foundation of new *poleis*, we must ask if it was resulted from commercial aspirations or if it represented a means of solving internal political within the mother-city. As we have suggested, the independence the colonies achieves supports the latter hypothesis⁴⁵. Of course, the chosen sites were situated on trade routes. Still, it is hard to see how the metropolis could count on maintaining dominion over the *apoikia* in the long run. The latter’s imitation of metropolitan institutions can be explained by the fact that the colonists reused the

laws they knew. It also suggests that from the beginning they wished to affirm strong linkages, especially in the religious and linguistic spheres, as a means of legitimating the foundation. Yet the example of Apollonia and Epidamnus is significant: it shows that during a period of political stability, a city could try to profit from colonization. The Cypselid tyrants were unable fully to control the new colonies even if they probably placed some of their members at their head. The very attempt, however, means that links between *metropolis* and *apoikia* were not negligible, and that the former often played an important role even after the foundation. This fact explains some of the institutional borrowings by the *apoikiai*, even if pragmatism seems to have been the main feature of every Greek colonial enterprise.

NOTES

- ¹ J.-P. Bougainville, *Dissertation qui a remporté le prix de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres en l'année 1745. Quels étaient les droits des Métropoles grecques sur leurs colonies, les devoirs des colonies envers les métropoles et les arrangements réciproques des unes et des autres*, Paris 1745.
- ² D. Raoul-Rochette, *Histoire critique de l'établissement des colonies grecques*, Paris 1815.
- ³ W. Brunet de Presles, *Recherches sur les établissements des Grecs en Sicile jusqu'à la réduction de cette île en province romaine*, Paris 1845, p. 390.
- ⁴ G. Glotz, *Histoire grecque, I, Des origines aux guerres médiques*, Paris 1926, p. 160. While we could cite other examples of the same sort, we prefer instead to note that in his remarkable book *La cité antique. Etude sur le culte, le droit, les institutions de la Grèce et de Rome*, 1909 (originally published in 1864), p. 253, Fustel De Coulanges already argued that the original ties between *metropolis* and *apoikia* were above all religious. His view was it was that only toward the end of the Archaic period and during the Classical age when some *metropolis* tried to preserve political and institutional linkages with the *apoikiai*.
- ⁵ E. Curtius, *Die Griechen als Meister der Colonisation*, Berlin 1883, cited in D. Asheri, *Colonizzazione e decolonizzazione*, in S. Settis (ed.), *I Greci, Noi e i Greci*, Turin 1996, p. 110.
- ⁶ Cf. T.J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks: the History of Sicily and South Italy from the Foundations of the Greek Colonies to 480 B.C.*, Oxford 1948, p. VII.
- ⁷ M.I. Finley, *Colonies. An Attempt at a Typology*, in "Transactions of the Royal Historical Society", 5th series, 1976, 26, p. 174.
- ⁸ M.I. Finley, *La Sicile antique* (trans.), Paris 1986, pp. 50-51.
- ⁹ P. Wuilleumier, *Tarente des origines à la conquête romaine*, Paris 1939; J.-L. Lamboley, *Recherches sur les Messapiens*, Rome 1996. Both of these authors have been members of the École française de Rome.
- ¹⁰ E. Ciaceri, *Storia della Magna Grecia*, Milan-Rome, 1924-1932, in 3 vols.; J. Bérard, *La colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'Antiquité*, Paris 1957 [2nd ed.]. See also the 1981 Cortona symposium on *Modes de contacts et processus de transformation dans les sociétés anciennes*.
- ¹¹ B. Pace, *Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica*, Milan-Rome 1935, vol. I.
- ¹² The chapters of *I Greci* vol. 3, *I Greci oltre la Grecia*, edited by S. Settis, Turin 2001, are very illuminating. See in particular the contributions on the "Greci e Iranici: confronto e conflitti" (A. Panaino); "In India e oltre: Greci, Indiani, Indo-greci" (K. Karttunen); and "Interferenza fra culture nel Mediterraneo antico: Fenici, Punici, Greci" (S. F. Bondí).

- ¹³ See R. Osborne, *Greece in the Making, 1200-479 BC*, New York 1996, in particular pp. 119-129. See also his *Early Greek Colonization?* in N. Fisher, H. Van Wees (eds.), *Archaic Greece, New Approaches and New Evidence*, Swansea 2002, p. 269. Here he argues that “a proper understanding of archaic Greek history can only come when chapters on ‘Colonization’ are eradicated from books on early Greece”.
- ¹⁴ J. Bérard, reacting to the criticism of E. Pais on the subject of literary traditions, remarked that “it is not enough to have noticed the mythical or semi-mythical characters in a legend to strip it of all its value, that would be forgetting that in most countries, notably Greece, history started with legend” (*La colonisation grecque* cit., p. 9).
- ¹⁵ Hence, the fundamental statements of Ettore Lepore in *La Grande Grèce, aspects et problème d'une ‘colonisation’ ancienne*, Naples 2000. See also F. Sartori, *Schemi costituzionali nell'Occidente greco* in C. Antonetti (ed.), *Il dinamismo della colonizzazione greca*, Naples 1996, pp. 43-57.
- ¹⁶ Irad Malkin argues that “eighth-century colonization actively contributed to the ‘rise of the polis’ and was not merely a result of it. It was in the colonies that the situation of foundation ex novo necessitated ‘thinking’ about the polis”. See his *Categories of Early Greek Colonisation: The Case of the Dorian Aegean*, in *Il dinamismo della colonizzazione greca* cit., p. 27.
- ¹⁷ While Malkin stresses the reservations that historians have when talking about Greek ‘colonization’, he nevertheless uses this term to interpret certain aspects of ancient ideologies and their links with myths (in his *La Méditerranée spartiate, mythe et territoire*, Paris 1999, p. 10-22). We could add that this word more appropriately refers to the ancient foundations than the modern process. From the beginning, the mistake was probably to give the latter an overly general and anachronistic name. Colonization is above all an ancient concept, and was used especially by the Romans.
- ¹⁸ Herodotus III, 49.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Thucydides I, 13, 4.
- ²⁰ See J. Servais, *Hérodote et la chronologie des Cypselides*, in “L'Antiquité Classique”, 1969, 38, pp. 28-81, and P. Giannini, *La cronologia di Periandro: Erodoto (3,48; 5, 94-95) e P.Oxy 664*, in “Quaderni urbani di cultura classica” 1984, 16 (1), pp. 7-30.
- ²¹ Hence the chapter *Corinth and the Colonial Empire* in A. J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*, Manchester 1964, pp. 118-153.
- ²² Nicolaus of Damascus, FGrHist II A, Nr. 90, Fr. 59.
- ²³ Thucydides I, 28 and I, 55, for Anactorium.
- ²⁴ Cf. Strabo VII, 5, 8; Pseudo Scymnus 439-440; Pausanias, *Description of Greece – Elis*, I, 22; Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. *Gylákeia*.
- ²⁵ Some recent unpublished archaeological research in the necropolis dates the site back to the beginning of the 7th century. This does not cast doubt on its actual foundation under or after the Cypselids. Instead, it restates the hypothesis of an emporic phase before the *apoikia*. This is another very complex problem and the topic of an old historiographical debate about the nature of the first Greek settlements during archaic period. For more precision see A. Bresson, P. Rouillard (eds.), *L'emporion*, Paris 1993.
- ²⁶ All the Greek inscriptions concerning the two cities can be found in P. Cabanes (dir.), *Corpus des inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire I-1, Epidamne*, Paris 1995, and *Corpus des inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire I-2, Apollonia*, Paris 1997.
- ²⁷ Plutarch, *On the Delay of Divine Justice*, 7.
- ²⁸ On this topic see M.P. Castiglioni, *Il programma coloniale di Periandro: Potidea e l'Illyria Meridionale*, in P. Schirripa (ed.), *I Traci tra l'Egeo e il mar Nero*, Milan 2004, pp.169-178
- ²⁹ Hecataeus, FGrHist I, Nr. 1, Fr. 212.

- ³⁰ The violent circumstances of the fall of the Cypselids are documented by Nicolaus of Damascus, FGrHist II A, Nr. 90, Fr. 60, 1, whose source is Ephorus of Cyme (4th century BC).
- ³¹ *Politics*, V, 1, 10-11.
- ³² Thucydides, I, 24, 6.
- ³³ *Politics*, IV, 4, 5.
- ³⁴ Herodotus IX, 92-95.
- ³⁵ Photius, *Bibliotheca* [Library], 186, 30 (136 a).
- ³⁶ Cf. Cabanes, *Corpus I-2* cit., Ins. n° 315.
- ³⁷ Cf. Cabanes, *Corpus I-1* cit., p. 16.
- ³⁸ Herodotus IX, 92-95. It is said that this Deiphonos was the son of Evenios, also a soothsayer of Apollonia. About other possible links with Corinth see P. Cabanes, *Recherches sur le calendrier corinthien en Épire et dans les régions voisines*, "Revue d'études anciennes", 2003, 105 (1), pp. 83-102.
- ³⁹ Cf. Cabanes, *Corpus I-2* cit., Ins. n° 307.
- ⁴⁰ Cf. Cabanes, *Corpus I-2* cit., Ins. n° 322.
- ⁴¹ Plutarch, *Greek Questions*, 29.
- ⁴² Catullus, XXXVI.
- ⁴³ Aelian, *Varia Historia* [Historical Miscellany] XIII, 16.
- ⁴⁴ Octavian was in Apollonia when he learned of Caesar's death. For details, see Dio Cassius XLV, 3; Appian III, 9; Suetonius I, XCV; Orosius VI, 20, 5; Plutarch, *Mark Antony*, 16, 1, and *Brutus*, 22, 1-3. According to Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Augustus*, XVII, before returning to Rome, he freed the city and exempted it from taxes.
- ⁴⁵ See the remarks of E. Lepore, *Problemi storici* cit., p. 34, who stresses the extreme complexity of this subject. Moreover, we must add that this Greek "colonisation" cannot be separated from the broader context of the development of all sorts of exchanges in the Mediterranean. For further on this see A. Schnapp, *Les voies du commerce grec en Occident*, in *La colonisation grecque en Méditerranée occidentale*, Actes de la rencontre scientifique en hommage à Georges Vallet (Rome-Naples, 15-18 novembre 1995), Rome 1999, pp. 63-69, and V.A. Troncoso, *El comercio griego arcaico. Historiografía de las cuatro últimas décadas, 1954-1993*, La Coruña 1994. Recent historiography focuses less on the older subject of "colonial movement" and more on traffic of all kinds. Thus the historical study of the *apoikiai* must necessarily be seen in the context of the material culture not only of the Greeks but also of the other peoples with whom they rubbed elbows on the coasts of the Mediterranean. In the words of Michel Gras (*La Méditerranée occidentale, milieu d'échanges. Un regard historiographique*, in *Les Grecs et l'Occident*, Actes du colloque de la Villa Kérylos 1991, Rome 1995, p. 121), "la légitimité d'une 'histoire archéologique' s'est donc imposée, comme une démarche 'expérimentale' (et donc scientifique) qui construit pas à pas son objet et son projet, échappant ainsi à l'illusion fataliste qui consisterait à proclamer que la synthèse historique n'est réalisable qu'en présence d'un bilan archéologique 'définitif'".

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SOURCES

The following two textual sources deal with the institutions of Apollonia and Epidamnus.

1. The first, from Aelian's *Varia Historia* [Historical Miscellany] XIII, 16, shows the traditional opposition between the two cities concerning their relations with foreigners. Apollonia once again appears as an extremely oligarchic regime.

"Οτι Ἀπολλωνιάται ξενηλασίας ἐποίουν κατὰ τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον νόμον, Ἐπιδάμνιοι δὲ ἐπιδημεῖν καὶ μετοικεῖν παρεῖχον τῷ βουλομένῳ.

The Apollonians practised the banishment of foreigners (*xenelasia*) according to the Lacedaemonian law; however, the inhabitants of Epidamnus gave the right to stay in their city to whomever wished to come and help improve it.

2. The second passage derives from Aristotle's *Politics*, IV, 4, 5 (1290b). It is a fundamental source concerning the Apollonian oligarchy, and shows that its endogamic system was still respected three centuries after the foundation.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτοις μόνον ἰκανῶς ἔχει διαρῖσθαι τὰς πολιτείας ταύτας. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ πλείονα μόρια καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας εἰσίν, ἔτι διαληπτέον ὡς οὐτ' ἂν οἱ ἐλεύθεροι ὀλίγοι ὄντες πλείονων καὶ μὴ ἐλευθέρων ἀρχῶσι, δῆμος, οἷον ἐν Ἀπολλωνίᾳ τῇ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ καὶ ἐν Θήρᾳ (ἐν τούτων γὰρ ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν πόλεων ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς ἦσαν οἱ διαφέροντες κατ' εὐγένειαν καὶ πρῶτοι κατασχόντες τὰς ἀποικίας, ὀλίγοι ὄντες, πολλῶν), οὔτε ἂν οἱ πλούσιοι διὰ τὸ κατὰ πλῆθος ὑπερέχειν, δῆμος, οἷον ἐν Κολοφῶνι τὸ παλαιόν (ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐκέκτηντο μακρὰν οὐσίαν οἱ πλείους πρὶν γενέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Λυδοῦς), ἀλλ' ἔστι δημοκρατία μὲν ὅταν οἱ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ ἄποροι πλείους ὄντες κύριοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ᾶσιν, ὀλιγαρχία δ' ὅταν οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ εὐγενέστεροι ὀλίγοι ὄντες.

Nevertheless it is not enough to define these constitutions even by wealth and free birth only; but inasmuch as there are more elements than one both in democracy and in oligarchy, we must add the further distinction that neither is it a democracy if the free being few govern the majority who are not of free birth, as for instance at Apollonia on the Ionian Gulf and at Thera (for in each of these cities the offices of honour were filled by the specially noble families who had been the first settlers of the colonies, and these were few out of many), nor is it a democracy if the rich rule because they are in a majority, as in ancient times at Colophon (for there the majority of the population owned large property before the war against the Lydians took place), but it is a democracy when those who are free are in the majority and have sovereignty over the government, and an oligarchy when the rich and more well born are few and sovereign.

(Translation by H. Rackman, Harvard University Press, 1950)

