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Illyrian Apollonia: Toward a New Ktisis and Developmental History of the Colony

A doctoral dissertation submitted to the

Division of Research and Advanced Studies of the University of Cincinnati

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by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the history and archaeology of the Greek colony at Apollonia in southern Illyria during the Graeco-Roman period. Through a critical review of the textual and archaeological evidence it seeks to challenge the validity of well entrenched ideas that are repeated in modern scholarship about the foundation and history of the apoikia. A ktisis for the colony alternative to the Marxist interpretations that were constructed under Albanian Communism is then presented. Current approaches to studying Greek colonization provide a useful framework for structuring this alternative discourse about Apollonia. The review of the textual evidence is supplemented by new survey data from the Mallakastra Regional Archaeological Project, documented and analyzed here for the first time. Patterns of settlement expansion and contraction in the hinterland through antiquity are evident. An attempt is made to tie diachronic differences in landscape exploitation to major historical events in southern Illyria and the larger Graeco-Roman Mediterranean.
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Chapter 1.

Introduction: Toward a History of Apollonia

The perception of that distance may serve as the starting point of an investigation, for anthropologists have found that the best points of entry in an attempt to penetrate an alien culture can be those where it seems to be most opaque. When you realize that you are not getting something—a joke, a proverb, a ceremony—that is particularly meaningful to the natives, you can see where to grasp a foreign system of meaning in order to unravel it.¹

There it is, the past in the present, constantly changing and renewing itself as the present rewrites the past.²

Apollonia in Albania

"Greeks, like humans everywhere, used material culture to say things about themselves."³ The job of the archaeologist is to make sense of the material record and to offer an interpretation of what is preserved. The archaeologist, therefore, gives meaning to silent objects that once held significance for living and breathing people and attempts to read the past through these artifacts, which function as a non-verbal language. The

¹ Darnton 1984, p. 78.
archaeologist’s goal is to get as near to the ancient meaning as possible in order to write a version of history that most closely corresponds with that reality. It is, however, impossible to construct one single, objective history of the past; there is no one "reality" that is or was true for everyone at any time, past or present. An archaeologist can only offer biased "interpretations of ancient interpretations" of the residues of material culture preserved in the archaeological record, based on that individual's own experience, education, assumptions, and personal beliefs. 4

Apollonia 5 was one of the oldest and best-known ancient Greek colonies in the eastern Adriatic. 6 The site is located in west-central Albania, about 10 km from the sea and approximately 5 km west of the industrial center of Fier (Figs. 1.1, 1.2). 7 Apollonia and its hinterland fall within the modern districts of Mallakastra and Muzakia.

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5 Controversy exists among Albanian archaeologists about the correct spelling of the name, Apollonia. According to rules for Albanian lexicology developed under communism, Apollonia must be spelled with one "l." See Drejtshkrimi i gjuhës Shqipe 1973, p. 100. Most scholars of antiquity, however, prefer Apollonia with the double "l," which is the spelling that will be used here.

6 Epidamnus, which was founded shortly before Apollonia, was the other important Greek apoikia in Albania and will be discussed periodically in this work. The hinterland of Epidamnus was the focus of the Durrës Regional Archaeological Project (DRAP), an intensive surface survey that was conducted in 2001; see Davis et al. 2003.

7 The definite form is used for the spelling of Albanian place names. Other personal names and place spellings conform to OCD 3.
Albania, part of ancient Illyria, is an area of the Mediterranean that has, until quite recently, remained closed to foreign archaeologists and is thus something of an enigma in Mediterranean archaeology. Muzakia, the fertile plain around Apollonia, and Mallakastra, the more mountainous hinterland, have recently been the target of intensive surface survey and excavation by the Mallakastra Regional Archaeological Project (MRAP).

The site of Apollonia today occupies a very marginal position in the Albanian landscape. It sits on a ridge at the tongue of a hilly headland overlooking an alluvial flood plain of the Vjosa river (Fig. 1.3). The flood plain was marshland until the communists undertook a large

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8 "Illyria" as a name was first applied by ancient authors to the loose amalgamation of tribes that inhabited the east coast of the Adriatic in ancient times. The "Illyrians" occupied a large territory in the former Yugoslavia and Albania; the "heartland," however, was in western Croatia, southern Bosnia (Herzegovina), Montenegro, Kossovo, and north-central Albania. Illyricum was the official name given to the northern part of modern Albania by the Romans when it became a Senatorial Province in 27 B.C.; the southern part of the country, however, was never a part of this province. Albanians currently use "Illyria" to refer to the territory of modern Albania. Both the southern Slavs and the Albanians claim to be descendants of the Illyrians. An "Illyrian" ancestry was first politically invoked in the early 19th century by the southern Slavs, who were then oppressed subjects of the Hapsburg Austro-Hungarian Empire. For differing views on the origin and territory of the Illyrians, see Papazoglou 1965, 1978; Stipčević 1966, 1967, 1977, 1986; Wilkes 1976, 1992; Hammond 1983; Islami 1985; Garašanin 1988; Pajakowski 2000.

9 See Korkuti et al. 1998. I have been a principal member of the MRAP team since 1994 when the groundwork for the project was laid during an exploratory trip to Albania.

10 The site is so remote that the nearby village of Shtyllas was a place of internal exile for political prisoners during the Hoxha regime and the area remains very impoverished.
reclamation project in the 1950s. Much of the "reclaimed" land is just barely above the water table, although there are slight, almost imperceptible rises that were probably occupied, farmed, or otherwise exploited in antiquity.

Today the site of ancient Apollonia is important because of its significant contribution to the archaeological heritage of Albania. Some of the monuments inside the city walls were always visible, as were parts of the nearby temple at Shtyllas (Fig. 1.4); this visibility facilitated the pillaging of ancient remains that were incorporated as spolia in later buildings. Early Modern travelers describe the quarrying of architectural blocks from the site and from Shtyllas in the 19th century by an Ottoman pasha for his palace in Berat.

During the communist period the front façade of the 2nd century A.D. bouleuterion was reconstructed by the Albanian Institute of Monuments (Fig. 1.5). Several kilometers away, MRAP found a block from it that was being

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11 See the memoirs of the Jesuit priest, Giacomo Gardin (1988), who was sentenced to work as a member of a prison labor gang that was assigned the task of draining the plain.
12 The ancient sanctuary at Bonjakët (S043) was located on one such rise. The MRAP survey of the plain shows that artifact distributions drop off sharply about 800 m towards the sea from the ancient city walls, which confirms that much of the land was too wet to be farmed in antiquity. See Chapter 7.
13 Many early 19th century travelers visited Apollonia and described the lay of the site and the area around it. E.g., see Pouqueville 1805, vol. 3, p. 89, 1820, pp. 18-19; Broughton 1813, p. 164; Holland 1815, pp. 511-514; and Leake 1835, vol. 1, pp. 371-373.
15 See Rey 1935a for a discussion of the monument.
used as an altar and marked the site of a church destroyed in the 1969 youth movement that focused on the dismantling of religious edifices (Fig. 1.6).\textsuperscript{16}

It is important to contextualize Apollonia within the framework of antiquity and to situate it in its ancient landscape in order to examine it properly from a historical, topographical, and maritime point of view.\textsuperscript{17} As today, Apollonia occupied a marginal position in the larger pre-Hellenistic world; it was located just outside the border of the familiar Greek world, which ended with Epirus. Its northern neighbor, Epidamnus, which was even more remote, being several hours up the Illyrian coast from Apollonia, was founded first.\textsuperscript{18} Apollonia was probably founded as either a rival trading port or a sister city to Epidamnus and came to enjoy an increasingly important strategic position for ships crossing to Italy.\textsuperscript{19}

During later periods of antiquity, however, Apollonia was one of the most important Greek poleis in the Adriatic. It was founded in the Archaic period and flourished throughout the Classical (479-323 B.C.) and Hellenistic (323-31 B.C.) periods. In the 2nd century B.C., Apollonia

\textsuperscript{16} See Chapter 7, Site 013. It is impossible to determine when the architectural block was transported from Apollonia to its current location.

\textsuperscript{17} By maritime, I mean as viewed from the sea.

\textsuperscript{18} Even though Apollonia was closer to Greece and Magna Graecia than Epidamnus, it was established slightly later. See Dunbabin 1948a, p. 9.

\textsuperscript{19} See Chapter 5.
became an important military staging ground and by the end of the Roman Republican period the city had become a major center of Greek learning.\textsuperscript{20} Its reputation in this regard was such that the young Octavian was studying there when, in 44 B.C., he learned that Julius Caesar had died, naming him heir.\textsuperscript{21} In the 4th century A.D., Apollonia went into a decline from which it never recovered, when an earthquake altered the course of the nearby Vjosa river and caused the harbor of the city to dry up.

**Scope of the Thesis**

This thesis explores the colonization and subsequent settlement history of southern Illyria. It examines current topics and academic debates about the nature of Greek emigration to the west in the Archaic period and their relevance to discourses about the first colonies in the eastern Adriatic. Apollonia is used as a test case to explore the effects of Greek colonization in Illyria, both because of its sometimes importance in antiquity and because of the new data about Graeco-Roman settlement

\textsuperscript{20} Apollonia was also famous as the starting point for the southern branch of the Via Egnatia, the Roman road that connected the West with the East. The Via Egnatia was begun ca. 130 B.C. and ran from the Adriatic coast to Thessalonica, whence it proceeded across Thrace to the city of Byzantium. See O’Sullivan 1972; Hammond 1972, pp. 19-58, 1974b, 1986; MacKay 1977; Adams 1982, 1986; Walbank 1985, pp. 193-195, 1986, pp. 673-680; Amore et al. 2001. See Fasolo 2003 and Lolos 20008 for new and thorough studies of the Via Egnatia.

patterns that have emerged as a result of MRAP. This thesis contributes to the wider scholarly controversies about Greek colonization in the Archaic period through the wealth of new archaeological evidence that is here being presented for the first time and the fresh conclusions that can be drawn from it.²²

The principal aim of this dissertation is to document the development of the apoikia at Apollonia from its inception to its incorporation into the Roman province of Macedon in 148 B.C., using both textual and archaeological evidence. It has five specific goals. The first goal is to determine whether new theoretical and methodological developments in the study of Archaic Greek colonization necessitate a restructuring of old notions about Apollonia. The second is to re-examine ancient literary references to the colony and to evaluate their reliability as sources. The third is to construct a ktisis for Apollonia using a combination of textual and archaeological evidence. The fourth is to examine diachronic changes in Greek and native settlement patterns in Mallakastra and Muzakia in light of new archaeological data obtained from the MRAP survey. The fifth goal is to contextualize the particularist history of

Apollonia in the more general historical narrative of the ancient Mediterranean world.

Although considerable investigation had taken place in the Greek asty of Apollonia and in the nearby necropolis, and a certain amount was known about the early history of the colony prior to the inception of the MRAP research program, the chora of Apollonia had not previously been the focus of any systematic investigation. The new archaeological finds of MRAP, therefore, are altering previous theses about the foundation and history of the apoikia. The original conclusions presented in this dissertation are based on those new data.

**Chronological Scope of the Thesis**

The chronological scope of this work extends from the foundation of Apollonia in the 7th century B.C. to the end of the Roman Republic in 31 B.C., although data about earlier and later periods are presented in order to provide a framework for discussion. Thus, in terms of Greek chronology, this study focuses on the Archaic through Hellenistic periods. The dates used here for the Graeco-

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23 According to Aristotle (Pol. 1276a19-25), both the asty (city) and the chora (countryside) were essential components of the ancient polis (city-state). Thus an investigation of both is necessary to understand the development of the polis. Cf. Snodgrass 1987; Rich and Wallace-Hadrill 1991; Hansen 1996.

24 The consideration of settlement patterns in Chapters 8 and 9 spans the Bronze Age through the Roman period. For a definition of "ancient Greece," see Malkin 2001a, 2002a; Cartledge 2002.
Roman period correspond to those used by MRAP and other surveys in Greece and Albania: the Archaic period, 700-480 B.C., the Classical period, 480-323 B.C., and the Hellenistic period, 323-31 B.C. (Table 1.1).\(^5\) The Archaic period overlaps with the Albanian Iron Age II phase, or the "Developed Iron Age," which runs from 750-625 B.C. and roughly corresponds to what Albanian archaeologists refer to as the Illyrian Proto-Urban phase (625-450).\(^6\) Although these are the dates traditionally assigned to the Iron Age by Albanian archaeologists, they are neither firmly grounded in radiometric dates nor in better known ceramic

\(^5\) The end date used for the Hellenistic period corresponds to the Battle of Actium and the beginning of the Roman Empire. Although the Romans first arrived in southern Illyria in 229 B.C. and their presence increased substantially over the next two centuries, the material culture at Apollonia continued in the Hellenistic tradition and remained essentially unchanged. One of the greatest problems in the analysis of the results of surveys concerns comparability in data between projects. A manifestation of this difficulty is linked to the periodization employed by various projects, which frequently makes comparison of data difficult or impossible (see Alcock and Cherry 2004). As a result, the decision was made at the start of MRAP to employ temporal definitions for the Graeco-Roman period that were the same as those used in NVAP, PRAP, and elsewhere. This same periodization was then used for DRAP. The ability to compare data more than compensates for the fact that this periodization may not "fit" exactly the local histories of any particular part of the Mediterranean. The dates used by MRAP represent a compromise between the need for comparable data and periodization defined by historical events. See Wright et al. 1990; Davis et al. 1997, 2003. The Archaic period, for which a universally accepted set of dates does not exist, illustrates the problems associated with periodization. The OCD\(^3\) synchronizes the beginning of the Archaic period with the inception of the Olympic games and the end with the Battle of Plataea; the dates are, therefore, 776-479 B.C. (on the reckoning of Hippias of Elis). Morris (1991, p. 26) employs the somewhat narrower time range of 750-500 B.C., but see Morris (1998, p. 13) for a broader definition. Snodgrass (1980) loosely defines the Archaic period as the epoch bounded by "two revolutions:" a "structural" revolution at its beginning and an intellectual one at its end. See also Morris 1997 for a discussion of some problems associated with periodization.

\(^6\) The Proto-Urban phase is the equivalent of the Albanian Iron Age III. See Korkuti and Petruso 1993, p. 706 for slightly higher dates.
sequences from the Aegean world. The creation of Proto-Urban as a distinct phase at the end of the native Iron Age itself reflects communist ideology and its desire to demonstrate that there had been a substantial evolution in native Illyrian society prior to the foundation of Greek apoikiai in Albania.²⁷ It is likely, as I argue later in Chapters 8 and 9, that the latest Illyrian pottery in Mallakastra is contemporary with the earliest stages in the development of the colony at Apollonia.

Subsequent chapters of this thesis will present and evaluate the evidence, both archaeological and textual, for the earliest "Greek" presence at Apollonia and in its hinterland. I will also expose several difficulties that have arisen in past scholarship through attempts to reconcile discrepancies between these two types of evidence. As with the study of any subject that pertains to early Greek history, primary sources for the Archaic period are rare, and those concerning the Archaic period in the Adriatic even more so; there are no contemporary texts that discuss the foundation of Apollonia, the reasons for its existence, the physical attributes of the city, the character of the indigenous population, and/or the nature

²⁷ See Chapter 3.
of interactions between colonists and natives.\textsuperscript{28} This is partly because the colonies in southern Illyria were peripheral to the concerns of Greek and Roman authors. The sources that do mention the \textit{apoikiai} of the eastern Adriatic are later than the foundation period and deal with broad topics such as political history, military campaigns, geography, or natural history that touch only incidentally on Epidamnus and/or Apollonia.\textsuperscript{29} The two most important historical episodes that brought the attention of the Greek world to this area were the key roles played by Epidamnus and Apollonia at the onset of the Peloponnesian War and their involvement in the coming of the Romans to the eastern Mediterranean.

This thesis is not merely about one almost-forgotten Greek colony in a liminal part of the Mediterranean; the study of Apollonia has a wider relevance to modern history. It seeks to provide a foundation for a discussion of how the Graeco-Roman past is still used to shape dialogues relevant to Balkan politics in the twenty-first century. The manipulation of the past is part of the general struggle taking place in the Balkans between competing

\textsuperscript{28} Only later grave markers, written in Greek or Latin, preserve traces of Illyrians by recording indigenous names. See Cabanes and Drini 1995 and Cabanes and Ceka 1997 for grave markers from Apollonia. For Albanian names, see the lengthy discussion in Wilkes 1992.

\textsuperscript{29} For a list of ancient sources that mention Apollonia, see Cabanes and Drini 1995; Cabanes and Ceka 1997; Vreka 2004; Cabanes 2007b.
ethnic and nationalistic groups. Very recently books about archaeology, anthropological theory, ethnicity, and history have begun to include chapters about Albania; in spite of this, the country is still largely terra incognita to western intellectual discourses on these subjects. Re-examining the history of Apollonia, and more generally of Albania, in ancient times can act as a stepping stone for theoretical exchanges about larger issues such as ethnicity, the formation of national identities, the rise of state societies, and the role of archaeology in the politics of the present.

The Archaic period is a phase in Albania's history that frequently has been, and still is, used to manipulate the present. Although the Greeks colonized Apollonia and Epidamnus many centuries ago, the study of these settlements is politically loaded because they represent the first historically recorded foreign conquest of Albanian soil and one that, in the minds of many modern Greeks, has had a lasting impact on the composition of the Albanian population. It is crucial, therefore, to situate Apollonia within the wider context of archaeology in the

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30 A good example of a current struggle for ownership of a particular past is the dissident claims by Greece and FYROM/Macedonia to the heritage of Alexander the Great.
31 Such use of the past is not only a 20th century phenomenon; indeed, this process began in ancient times. See Chapters 3 and 5.
32 Many of the people in southern Albania speak Greek and now practice the Greek Orthodox religion.
Balkans to understand better how Albania’s Graeco-Roman past has figured into present-day Balkan politics. This thesis considers ways in which the legacy from Greek antiquity has been co-opted in the recent past by exploring the critical role that history and archaeology have played, and are currently playing, in structuring political and academic discourses both inside and outside of Albania.

Highly visible ancient monuments play an essential role in structuring local society. Ruins from the Graeco-Roman period are exceedingly conspicuous in the countryside around Apollonia, much more so than indigenous Illyrian remains, of which little is preserved above ground (Fig. 1.7). For this reason the visual legacy of Greece, by its very physicality, plays a role in negotiating movement through the local landscape, whether consciously or unconsciously.\footnote{Galaty, Stocker, and Watkinson 1999.} It is clear that the presence of these ruins has an impact on the social life and modes of thought in modern communities around Apollonia.

**Thesis Structure**

The remainder of Chapter 1 provides a description of the contents and aims of subsequent sections and chapters.
Section I: History of Apollonia and Albanian Views about Archaeology

Section I consists of two chapters that discuss the history of Apollonia and Albanian views about archaeology and Apollonia under communism. Chapter 2 presents a chronological framework for specific historical events that are discussed throughout the remainder of this thesis. The first part of Chapter 2 offers a brief summary of ancient sources that are relevant to the Graeco-Roman period at Apollonia and will be examined in greater detail in Chapter 5. The second part of Chapter 2 provides a synopsis of important historical events and personages that shaped the development of the colony from the Archaic through the Hellenistic periods.

Chapter 3 gives a general introduction to the history of scholarship about Albania and the development of archaeology within the country. The aim of this review is to provide background information about the historical outlook and goals of excavations conducted in Albania since World War II; such goals, which are a legacy of the communist government of Enver Hoxha, have had an immense impact on how Albanian scholars have constructed their historical narratives. Chapter 3 also addresses the role and practice of archaeology under communism and how the
government manipulated archaeological thought and methodology to serve political and ideological ends. The exploitation of the past is especially evident in Albanian scholarship concerning the arrival of Greek colonists in the eastern Adriatic and their interactions with the indigenous Illyrians.

Section II: Colonization

Section II is about colonization, both outside and inside southern Illyria. Chapter 4 presents general topics in the study of Greek colonization and Chapter 5 relates each to the specific history and development of Apollonia.

Chapter 4 begins with a review of select topics about Greek colonization, focusing on recent scholarship, intellectual trends, and post-colonial theory. Specific issues and problems relevant to the study of Archaic colonization are introduced, such as hypotheses concerning the reasons behind early Greek movement overseas, the relationship between colony and metropolis, the nature of Greek and native interactions, and the development of colonial hinterlands. Chapter 4 also examines the role that Euboean seafarers, the first post-Mycenaean Greek traders in the Mediterranean, played in spreading Greek culture. The background discussion about colonization in
Chapter 4 provides a framework for exploring whether these general topics help unravel the specific history of the *apoikia* at Apollonia.

Chapter 5 shows how the topics visited in Chapter 4 are relevant to studying the history of Apollonia and examines how the colonization of southern Illyria fits into the larger picture of Archaic Greek colonization. The chapter begins with a summary of the early history of Greek seafaring in the eastern Adriatic, starting with a discussion of the role that the Euboeans may have played in setting the stage for the colonization of Apollonia by grafting Greek legends onto that alien coastal topography. Next, since Corinth was one of the principal protagonists in the area, Chapter 5 provides a brief review of early Corinthian history and its involvement in the colonization of the Adriatic; the details and nature of the *apoikia* at Apollonia are intimately tied to the activities of the Cypselid tyrants. Corinth's early colony on Corcyra was also important in the colonizing of Illyria. The types of relationships that were established and maintained between Corinth and her colonies are an issue relevant to any post-colonial consideration of Greek settlements in Albania.\(^{34}\)

The rest of Chapter 5 is devoted to details of the history of Apollonia. The purpose of this discussion is to

\(^{34}\) See, for example, *Corinto e l'Occidente* 1995.
highlight what is known, from a textual point of view, about the colony's foundation, myths, colonizing body, and relationship with its metropolis. Many of the primary sources are problematic because they preserve one-sided accounts by ancient authors who had different specialties, prejudices, and agendas. Chapter 5 looks at the literary sources and contradictory information that is recorded about Apollonia and tries to sort out various traditions.

A crucial step in understanding the early history of Apollonia is determining the validity of the traditional foundation date. Although the date of 588 B.C. has attained general acceptance in academic circles, a close reading of surviving sources scarcely supports it. It is important to know the origins of the seemingly precise date in order to understand why it has retained its place in historical research and how it has influenced narratives about the early history of Apollonia. Among other things, Chapter 5 challenges the legitimacy of this conventional foundation date through a detailed analysis of its origins and a critical review of the textual evidence, proving that the traditional and well-accepted date of 588 B.C. for the foundation of Apollonia is a fabrication of 18th- and early 19th century scholars.
Section III: The Archaeological Evidence

Section III presents the archaeological evidence for the Graeco-Roman period at Apollonia. Finds from excavations conducted during the course of the past century, too, suggest that the colony was not founded in 588 B.C., but rather almost a half-century earlier. Yet, in spite of physical data, the traditional "literary" date has maintained a tenacious hold on scholars, who have tried to reconcile discrepancies between texts and archaeology in a number of ways.35 How to interpret and integrate disagreements between these two types of evidence and to assess the role of material culture in the production of history has recently come to the forefront in archaeological and historical discourses. The archaeological evidence presented in the subsequent chapters confirms the need to discard traditional beliefs about the early life of the colony at Apollonia once and for all.

35 Conflict between the story told by sources (verbal communications) and that revealed by material culture (non-verbal communication) is especially evident in discussions about the history of Apollonia; attempts to reconcile the literary evidence with the archaeological record have led to a convoluted picture of what was going on before the official "foundation." Because historians are often taught to prioritize verbal over non-verbal evidence, it becomes almost impossible to examine objectively the totality of all types of data. See Snodgrass 1971, pp. vii-viii; Morris 1994a, 1998; Last 1995; Small 1995, 1999. For the supremacy of the text, see also Finley 1975, 1985, p. 20.
Chapter 6 explores economic ties between Corinth and Apollonia through scientific analyses of local and imported coarse ware ceramics collected from the MRAP survey region.\textsuperscript{36} With the kind permission of our Albanian colleagues and the generous supervision of Carolyn Koehler, I have been able to export 102 ceramic samples from Apollonia to the University of Cincinnati. Analyses of their clay and mineral contents, which confirm the identification of Corinthian imports, incorporate an interdisciplinary approach to the exploration of Corinthian–Apollonian economic ties.\textsuperscript{37} Once imports have been documented scientifically, the types of products that were exchanged can be evaluated to determine how dependent the colony was on the mother city for these non-local commodities. These analyses, which are presented in Chapter 6, have generated significant new information about Archaic Apollonia that not only challenges the traditional date for the foundation of the colony, but documents very early trade between Apollonia and native Illyrian centers.

Chapter 7 presents the new data from the MRAP survey that form the core of this study. These data are critical

\textsuperscript{36} The chronological sequence for Corinthian pottery already is well established; cf. Amyx 1988; de Vries 2003; Risser 2003. See also Chapter 4.

\textsuperscript{37} Several studies detailing the results of similar scientific analyses have been published recently, which include the petrographic composition of Corinthian fabrics; these studies provide a sufficient body of data with which the Apollonian pottery can be compared. See Whitbread 1995a, 2003. See also Chapter 6.
for understanding the gradual transformation of the hinterland of Apollonia. Previous studies have consistently examined the settlement without reference to its chora. Yet, because city and countryside were interdependent, it is essential to look at the evidence from the countryside in conjunction with that from the city center in order to obtain a complete picture of the evolution of the Greek apoikia.\textsuperscript{38} Although a majority of the inhabitants lived inside the city walls at various times in the history of Apollonia, their livelihood and status was dependent on their land holdings in the surrounding territory. The intensive survey conducted by MRAP has made considerable progress towards rectifying the separation between asty and chora and documenting diachronic changes in settlement patterns and agricultural productivity in the vicinity. Chapter 7 presents the results in the form of a Gazetteer of Sites.

Chapter 8 offers a detailed analysis of the MRAP survey results and examines the fluctuating relationship between the city center and its adjacent countryside. Because of ceramic analyses that were undertaken by specialists during the 2003 study season, it is now possible to examine diachronic settlement patterns and to determine how intensely the hinterland was exploited

throughout its history.\(^{39}\) This archaeological fieldwork provides evidence about the borders of the Greek settlement, the exploitation of the hinterland, and the distribution of Greek material culture outside the walls of the polis. Chapter 8 offers one interpretation of the survey data presented in Chapter 7 as they pertain to the history of the settlement at Apollonia.

Chapter 9 provides a synthesis of the raw data in Chapter 7 and the analysis in Chapter 8 and examines the evidence from both Greek and Illyrian settlements in the survey area in order to make it possible in Chapter 10 to draw conclusions about the meaning of shifts in settlement patterns. The remains of material culture collected by MRAP only become significant when placed within a meaningful and intelligible framework. Braudel's concept of the *moyenne durée* is useful for addressing enduring broad-scale trends that survived for centuries;\(^{40}\) these include movements of the Illyrians, colonization by Greeks, the diffusion of Hellenic culture, and the arrival of the Romans, all events that unequivocally altered the nature of the Mediterranean world.\(^{41}\) In addition to discussing

\(^{39}\) See Chapter 7.  
\(^{40}\) Braudel 1972, p. 353. See also Last 1995, p. 142.  
\(^{41}\) Events on this scale are represented by changes in concepts about ethnicity, political structure, and trade, which affect the dynamic interactions between people and their environment. Events of the *longue durée* will here not be discussed, other than to say that the survey data do provide diachronic glimpses of how long-term geological
transformations in the hinterland of Apollonia, Chapter 9 examines evidence indicative of changes in the structure of Illyrian settlements and in the production of material goods. Although it is dangerous to equate the distribution of archaeological finds with ancient trade, since it is not possible to determine the mechanisms of exchange that have led to the presence of imported objects in the archaeological record, certain categories of objects, such as fine imported pottery and Corinthian transport vessels, were, nevertheless, used by the Greek colonists and those who identified with them to assert their "Greekness." In spite of problems that exist in using ceramics as cultural markers, pottery is an essential component in discussions about the settlement history of Apollonia. Chapter 9 evaluates artifact distributional patterns to show how the diffusion of Greek material culture outside the asty changed over time.

Chapter 10 draws together conclusions from the preceding chapters and offers a new interpretation of the transformations in a well defined geographical area affect man's interactions with his environment.

On problems associated with using ceramics to determine ethnicity or social mores, see Earle 1982, p. 7; van der Leeuw 1984; Rice 1984b, p. 251; Hall 1997; Jones 1997, pp. 15-26; van Wijngaarden 1999, pp. 5-6. One might expect to see evidence of differential distribution of fine imported pottery and other symbolic artifacts from the necropolis and asty, as well as from sites in the hinterland, if clear ethnic boundaries were maintained between Greeks and Illyrian. It is likely that, with the passage of time, older symbolic structures broke down, blurring the distinction between Greek and non-Greek; this, too, would be evident in the archaeological record. See Sections III and IV.
history and life of the Greek *apoikía* of Apollonia. The detailed data presented in this dissertation make it possible to place Apollonia into the wider context of Mediterranean society in the Graeco-Roman period. Chapter 10 also suggests possible explanations for the diachronic shifts in settlement patterns witnessed in the Mallakastra and Muzakia districts and attempts to situate the results of the MRAP survey into the larger historical narrative of the ancient Mediterranean world.
Chapter 2.

Sources and Historical Background for Apollonia

This Corinthian Apollonia is well situated as regards the land and as regards the sea, and most excellently in respect to rivers. What I have marveled at, however, above all else, is that a huge fire issues from the ground near the Aoüs river and neither spreads to any extent over the surrounding land nor sets on fire even the place where it abides nor makes it at all dry, but the grass and trees flourishing very near it. In pouring rains it increases and towers aloft. For this reason it is called Nymphaeum, and in fact it furnishes an oracle, of this kind.\footnote{Cass. Dio 41.45.}

Introduction

Chapter 2 has two goals. The first is to introduce select ancient authors whose work is relevant to this study of Apollonia, the second is to present an outline of historical events in the Mediterranean that impacted the development of the apoikia. The authors and works discussed in the first part of Chapter 2 either contain specific references to Apollonia or were used as source material by later ancient writers who mentioned the colony and/or the nearby bitumen mines associated with the oracle.
The information in this chapter is designed to act as a backdrop for discussions about the foundation and history of Apollonia that are presented in Chapter 5 and necessitate a critical review of the ancient sources. Most of the authors mentioned below were geographers, historians, chronographers, ethnographers, naturalists, or some combination of the above. As such, they were constrained by conventions and methodologies that developed within each of these genres of writing. In addition, two Hellenistic poets, Apollonius Rhodius and Lycophron, will also be mentioned since their works preserve some otherwise obscure legends about Greek and Illyrian cities near Apollonia. The following presentation does not include all the sources that are cited in this thesis – only the most significant.

Readers may be surprised that I have discussed the source traditions drawn on by authors who refer to Apollonia in such detail in this chapter. This is, I believe, necessary since most authors who mention Apollonia did not travel there, but repeat earlier traditions, some of which are more trustworthy than others. Such repetition makes them irrelevant as contemporary testimonia. Polybius was perhaps the first historian to actually visit the site,

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45 See Vrekaj 2004 for a complete list of sources relevant to Apollonia. See below and Chapter 5 for the Nymphaeum.
although that cannot be proven with certainty. The importance of this observation will be clear in Chapter 5 where I discuss the foundation and history of the colony.

The second part of Chapter 2 provides a condensed history of events in the Mediterranean from the Archaic through the Hellenistic periods that are relevant to the foundation and development of Apollonia and its Illyrian hinterland. The purpose is to elucidate Apollonia's position within both the Graeco-Roman world and the territory of southern Illyria. References to modern scholarship and current historical conundrums are given in footnotes.

Sources for Apollonia

The earliest known references to the Illyrians and/or the east coast of the Adriatic are from the works of the 6th century B.C. Greek geographers, Scylax and Hecataeus, who wrote about the coastal topography of Greece and neighboring areas. Only fragments of their works have survived in the writings of later authors. Both Scylax and

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46 Cf. Strabo 1.4.6 [C 65]. On the Illyrians, see Pseudo-Scylax 14-27; App. Ill. 1.1-6; Plin. HN 3.22.144. It is possible that the appellation "Illyrian" was a name applied to one specific tribe among the many that inhabited the territory east of the Adriatic. By extension, the original heartland of "Illyria" is thought to have been further north (See Chapter 1). For modern discussions of Illyrian tribes and their territories, see Papazoglou 1965, pp. 149-179, 1978, pp. 439-441; Hammond 1966a, pp. 239-243; Walbank 1976, pp. 266-270; Cabanes 1988a, pp. 13-33, 61-68; Wilkes 1969, pp. 3-8, 1992, pp. 91-104; Pajakowski 2000, pp. 5-22.
Hecataeus attempted to order the inhabited world (i.e., the oikumene), as they knew it, through a systematic description of the coast of the Mediterranean.\(^{47}\)

Scylax of Caryanda, who was probably born in the mid-6th century B.C., is the first known Greek writer to produce a cohesive geographical description of the oikumene.\(^{48}\) He is credited with having written a *Periplus* recording important places and peoples that ringed the shores of the Mediterranean.\(^{49}\) Scylax included information about Illyrian tribes along the eastern seaboard of the Adriatic in his study.\(^{50}\) The surviving version of the work entitled "*Periplus,*" however, was compiled in the 4th century B.C. by a Greek geographer known in modern scholarship as Pseudo-Scylax.\(^{51}\)

Pseudo-Scylax lived east of the Isthmus of Corinth and composed his worked ca. 338-335 B.C.\(^ {52}\) His is the first preserved *Periplus* that was written to describe the order

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\(^{47}\) The earliest attempt to impose a geographical order on the world is found in the Catalogue of Ships in the *Iliad* (2.494-759).


\(^{49}\) The *periplus*, or coastal voyage, was a genre of geographical writing. See Allain 1977, pp. 1-42.


\(^{51}\) See *GGM* 1, pp. 15-96; Allain 1977, pp. 9-10; Counillon 2004, pp. 24-34.

\(^{52}\) Pseudo-Scylax told his audience about himself in section 40. See Counillon 2004, pp. 26-27 for Pseudo-Scylax's dates.
of the coast as it appeared to mariners.\textsuperscript{53} He probably derived much of his account of Illyria from the 5th-4th century B.C. Syracusean historian, Philistus (ca. 430-356/5 B.C.),\textsuperscript{54} making it likely that this section of the \textit{Periplus} is earlier than the rest and should be dated ca. 380-360 B.C.\textsuperscript{55} Philistus no doubt had fairly accurate information about Illyria because he was the historian and advisor to Dionysius I of Syracuse,\textsuperscript{56} who organized a joint Illyrian-Syracusean attack on Molossia in 385 B.C. to restore his ally, Alcetas, to the throne.\textsuperscript{57} He might have acquired knowledge of the area when in charge of the organization of Syracuse's colonies in the Adriatic, although it is unclear whether or not he actually visited.\textsuperscript{58}

Pseudo-Scylax made some errors that found their way into later accounts of the region. He was the first to record that the Ister river (Danube) had two branches with one estuary at the head of the Adriatic and the other

\textsuperscript{53} Pseudo-Scylax (1) began his account of Europe at the Pillars of Heracles.
\textsuperscript{54} Philistus, \textit{FGrH} 556.
\textsuperscript{55} Hammond 1967, pp. 511, 517.
\textsuperscript{57} Diod. Sic. 15.13.
flowing into the Euxine (Black Sea). This geographical misrepresentation strongly suggests that Pseudo-Scylax never traveled very far north in the Adriatic. His treatment of Epidamnus and Apollonia was no more than cursory. In regards to Apollonia, Pseudo-Scylax recorded its distance overland from Epidamnus (2 days march) and to Amantia (320 stades), the distance between the polis and the sea (50 stades), and that the Aous river, which he incorrectly called the Aias, flowed below the city. A later addition to the manuscript noted that the Aias sprang from the Pindus mountains, once again repeating an older name generated by Hecataeus.

Hecataeus of Miletus (ca. 560-480 B.C.) was a slightly younger contemporary and rival of the original Scylax. His approximate dates have been deduced from

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59 Pseudo-Scylax 20, 67. This error was repeated by Pseudo-Scymnus (766-774), for whom, see below. The geographical inaccuracy quite possibly originated because of the similarities between the name of the lower Danube river (Ister), the region at the head of the Adriatic (Histria), and the city on the Black sea at the estuary of the Danube (Istria). This mistake was not corrected until ca. 200 B.C. when the Romans advanced into the Danube basin. Cf. Diod. Sic. 4.56.3-8.
60 Pseudo-Scylax 22-33 deals with the east coast of the Adriatic.
61 Distances in Pseudo-Scylax were given either in days' voyages or stadia; the former are remnants of the older system of measuring distance.
62 Pseudo-Scylax 26. Pseudo-Scylax identified the Aous river as the Aias, which is the earlier, incorrect name that was used by Hecataeus and then cited by other later authors. Cf. Hecataeus, FGrH 1 F102b = Strabo 7.5.8 [C 316], F102c = Strabo 6.2.4 [C 269]. See also Chapter 5 and Hammond 2000, pp. 345-346.
63 Hecataeus, FGrH 1.
Herodotus' discussion of his role in the Ionian Revolt.\(^{65}\)

Hecataeus is said to have traveled widely, but there is no conclusive evidence to support this assumption.\(^{66}\) His methodical ordering of the world and description of the coast in his *Periodos ges* was divided into two books, one about Europe, and the other, Asia. Hecataeus also wrote a mythographic study, the *Genealogies*, that attempted to ascertain historical facts embedded in exaggerated and unrealistic stories about divine origins and to determine chronological synchronizations between heroic generations.\(^{67}\)

The authenticity of the works attributed to Hecataeus was already questioned by the 4th century B.C., but most later authors accepted their legitimacy.\(^{68}\)

Hecataeus presented his geographical descriptions about peoples and places around the perimeter of the Mediterranean in a clockwise rotation, beginning at the straights of Gibraltar. It is evident from preserved excerpts that he had an interest in the eastern seaboard of

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\(^{65}\) Hdt. 5.36.124–125. Cf. *Suda*, s.v. Ἐκαταιώς (Adler), who had him flourishing in the 65th Olympiad ca. 520 B.C. See also West 1991, p. 147.


\(^{68}\) Cf. Ath. 2.70a.
the Adriatic. His detailed enumeration of the Illyrian and Liburnian tribes suggests that either he himself, or an unknown source of his, was familiar with the topography and inhabitants of this region. Hecataeus' description of the area around Apollonia is preserved in Strabo, who relied heavily upon Hecataeus' geographical studies of Illyria.

Pseudo-Scymnus of Chios was a later geographer whose work also touched on Illyria and Apollonia. His Periegesis was written in the late 2nd or early 1st century B.C. (ca. 90 B.C.). Pseudo-Scymnus claimed to have relied primarily on the historian Ephorus, particularly in his account of colonization. He appears, however, to have used both Ephorus and Theopompus as sources for information on the Adriatic and to have propagated many of their mistakes. Although Pseudo-Scymnus said that he visited the cities in the Adriatic, he repeated the error found in Pseudo-Sclayx and Theopompus, the claim that one branch of

70 It is important to note that the error placing one estuary of the Ister in the Adriatic is not found in Hecataeus. Cf. Hecataeus, FGrH 1 F18b = Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.257-62b (Wendel).
71 Cf. Strabo 6.2.4 [C 271], 7.5.8 [C 316] = Hecataeus, FGrH 1 F102c, F102b.
75 Pseudo-Scymnus 115 (Ephorus), 369-370 (Theopompus). See FGrH II 3, p. 34; Bunbury 1883, vol. 2, pp. 73-74; Korenjak 2003, pp. 16-17. See below for Ephorus and Theopompus.
the Ister river flowed into the head of that sea.\textsuperscript{76} It is likely that the geographical description of the Adriatic contained in Pseudo-Scymnus' \textit{Periegesis}, therefore, was copied from mid-4th century B.C. compositions and represented the state of knowledge ca. 360-355 B.C., with only a modest reliance on more recent information.\textsuperscript{77}

History is another genre of ancient literature that provides some information about Illyria and Apollonia.\textsuperscript{78} The Greek historians, beginning in the 5th century B.C. with Herodotus of Halicarnassus, had only a cursory knowledge about Illyria and the Greek colonies in the Adriatic.

Very little is known about Herodotus' sources,\textsuperscript{79} but it is thought that he used Hecataeus for some geographical details.\textsuperscript{80} Although Herodotus claimed he had visited Dodona, his understanding of the area further north was vague,\textsuperscript{81} probably because this region was peripheral to his narrative of the Persian Wars. Even if Herodotus did travel to Dodona, it is unlikely that he visited Apollonia.

\textsuperscript{77} Franke 1955, p. 28; Hammond 1967, pp. 515-517.
\textsuperscript{78} See Meister 1990 and Lendle 1992 for general overviews of the Greek historians discussed below.
\textsuperscript{79} Murray 2001.
\textsuperscript{80} Cf. Walbank 1962, p. 2; \textit{BNP} 6, 2004, col. 267, s.v. Herodotus (K. Meister).
\textsuperscript{81} Hdt. 2.52.1.
or Illyria. The fact that he wrote that the Aous emptied into the sea by Oricum, also suggests that he was misinformed about the geography of Apollonia's hinterland and that, in that case, he was not using Hecataeus as his source. Nevertheless, Herodotus recorded one relevant and informative story about Apollonia when he presented the pedigree of the Greek soothsayer, Deiphonus, who was

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82 That Herodotus himself never traveled to Apollonia is certainly confirmed by him not referencing it in his detailed description of the bitumen mines on Zacynthus (4.195), which he probably visited on his way to Thurii in southern Italy (Steph. Byz., s.v. Θούριοι). It is likely that Herodotus would have referred to the mines near Apollonia in this passage if he had seen them personally or had any knowledge about them, especially since they were more renowned in antiquity than those on Zacynthus. Morris (2006, p. 96) incorrectly claims that Herodotus (4.195) described the bitumen mines near Apollonia in Illyria. She contends that the Zacynthus mentioned in this passage is "not the Ionian island off the coast of Greece, but a place in Illyria he [Herodotus] locates 'four stades from the sea.'" There is no reason, however, to equate the bitumen mines on Zacynthus with the bitumen mines in Albania. The source Morris cites (Forbes 1936, p. 29) clearly copied his reference from the British traveler, Chandler (1776, vol. 2, pp. 367-368), who is speaking of the island of Zante (Italian for Zacynthus) near, not on, the coast of Albania. Herodotus spoke of "Ζακύνθος" three other times (3.59, 6.70, 9.37), each in reference to the island off the coast of Greece that became a place of exile for Spartans. Although the description of the bitumen springs on Zacynthus might have similarities with those near Apollonia, Herodotus 4.195 is not relevant to Apollonia (cf. Rawlinson 1875, pp. 169-170; Macan 1895, pp. 145-146; How and Wells 1912, p. 368; Corcella 2007, pp. 717-718). Cf. Vitruv. De arch. 8.3.8; Plin. HN 35.51.178; Ael. VH 13.16 for mention of both sources together.

Wheler (1682, p. 43) described the pitch springs on Zacynthus in almost the same terms as those used by Herodotus. He also mentioned (p. 28) the "Fountain of Pitch" he saw near Apollonia and was clearly not confusing it with what he saw on "Zante." Later travelers, including Walpole (1818, pp. 1-2) and Dodwell (1819, pp. 81-82), also provide similar descriptions of the latter bitumen mines, which remain to this day one of the largest tourist attraction on the island.

83 Hdt. 9.93.1.

84 Although Herodotus was ignorant about the source of the Ister (Danube), he did not repeat the mistaken claim that one branch flowed into the Adriatic, but knew that it emptied into the Black Sea at Istria (2.33.3-4).
brought by the Corinthians to serve as the prophet for the Greek army that went to liberate Ionia from the Persians.\textsuperscript{85}

Antiochus of Syracuse,\textsuperscript{86} also a 5th century B.C. historian, wrote a continuation to Herodotus.\textsuperscript{87} Antiochus was emulated by his slightly younger contemporary, Thucydides, who relied heavily on his account of the colonization of Magna Graecia.\textsuperscript{88} Fragments of Antiochus were preserved in Strabo\textsuperscript{89} and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.\textsuperscript{90} Antiochus was also used extensively by the 1st century B.C. historian, Diodorus Siculus, whose Bibliothèke also preserved some fragments of the Syracusan's history.\textsuperscript{91}

In addition to Antiochus, Thucydides relied heavily on the work of Hellanicus of Lesbos,\textsuperscript{92} a 5th century B.C. (ca. 480-395 B.C.) chronicler, historian, and ethnographer who lived at the same time as Antiochus.\textsuperscript{93} Hellanicus was a chronographer in the tradition of Hecataeus in that he sought to collate and synchronize the vast body of Greek mythology. Hellanicus was the first to organize historical events in Greece according to the tenure of the priestess

\textsuperscript{85} Hdt. 9.92-95.
\textsuperscript{86} Antiochus, FGrH 555.
\textsuperscript{89} Strabo 6.1.12-15 [C 262-265].
\textsuperscript{90} Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 1.22, 1.35.
\textsuperscript{91} Cf. Diod. Sic. 12.71.2.
\textsuperscript{92} Cf. Thuc. 2.2.1; Gomme 1945, pp. 4-6.
\textsuperscript{93} Hellanicus, FGrH 4, FGrH 323a. For Hellanicus, see Walbank 1962, p. 3; Lendle 1992, pp. 63-71; Möller 2001; Christesen 2007, p. 10.
of Hera at Argos and Athenian eponymous archons. He does not, however, appear to have been very interested in geography and Strabo spoke of him with contempt in this regard.

Thucydides (ca. 460-400 B.C.), who wrote a synchronistic account of the Peloponnesian War, was one of the most famous 5th century B.C. historians. He provided considerable information about Epidamnus, since it was central to his account of the origins of the Peloponnesian War, and also supplied a few details about Apollonia. It is likely that much of Thucydides' geographical information about the eastern Adriatic derived from Hecataeus.

Thucydides was consulted by almost all later authors who wrote about Greece.

Ephorus of Cyme (ca. 405-330 B.C.) and Theopompus of Chios (ca. 408/3-320 B.C.) were 4th century B.C.

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94 Cf. Hellanicus, FGrH 4 F74-84; FGrH 323a F25-26.
95 Cf. Hellanicus, FGrH 4 F171-172.
96 Cf. Strabo 11.6.3 [C 507]. Strabo (1.2.35 [C 43]) also branded Hellanicus a collector of fables.
97 See Lendle 1992, pp. 73-109 for a general discussion of Thucydides; Drews 1963, p. 245 on the style of his historical narrative; and Gomme 1945 and Hornblower 1991 for commentaries on his work.
98 Thuc. 1.24-26.
99 Thucydides (1.24) described Epidamnus from a coastal point of view, which suggests that he was following Hecataeus. Strabo's perspective, too, was from the sea (cf. Strabo 7.5.8 [C 316], 7.7.8 [C 326-327] and probably also derived from Hecataeus (cf. Hecataeus, FGrH 1 F99 and F101). For Thucydides' indebtedness to Hecataeus, see Gomme 1945, pp. 179-182, n. 46.4; Hammond 1967, p. 449; Hornblower 1991, p. 67, n. 24.1, 1994, p. 15.
100 Cf. Gomme 1945, pp. 41-84.
101 Ephorus, FGrH 70.
102 Theopompus, FGrH 115.
historians who were contemporaries of Pseudo-Scylax.

Ephorus and Theopompus were students together under the Attic orator Isocrates.\textsuperscript{103} Their works were widely mined by later writers and both included some information about Illyria and Apollonia in their histories.\textsuperscript{104}

Ephorus wrote a history of the world in 30 books, from the return of the Heracleidae in 1069 B.C. to Philip II's siege of Perinthus in 341/0 B.C.\textsuperscript{105} He relied on Thucydides for the earlier history and possibly on the late 5th/early 4th century B.C. \textit{Oxyrhynchus} historian for later events.\textsuperscript{106} Because Ephorus was most interested in the history of the Greeks and colonization, he also included information about the "barbarians" on the periphery of the Greek world. It is likely that Ephorus followed a rival, not yet identified, geographical tradition instead of that written by Hecataeus and used by Thucydides for information about Illyria.\textsuperscript{107} Ephorus was praised by later writers for his

\textsuperscript{103} Ephorus, \textit{FGrH} 70 F42; Dion. Hal. \textit{Pomp.} 6.6–8; Walbank 1990, p. 255.
\textsuperscript{104} See Meister 1990, pp. 85–94.
\textsuperscript{105} For Ephorus, see Bunbury 1883, vol. 1, p. 379; Drews 1963, pp. 253–255; Rubincam 1976; Schepens 1977; Lendle 1992, pp. 136–143.
\textsuperscript{106} See Schepens 1977, pp. 103–122 for Ephorus' sources. Walker (1913) suggested that Ephorus was the \textit{Oxyrhynchus} historian. Modern research suggests, rather, that Ephorus used the \textit{Hellenica of Oxyrhynchus} as a source. For arguments against Ephorus as the \textit{Oxyrhynchus} historian, see Gomme 1945, p. 49, n. 3; Bruce 1967, p. 24; Rubincam 1976, p. 357; McKechnie and Kern 1988; and below.
\textsuperscript{107} For example, the information Strabo attributed to Ephorus about where the Inachus river discharged was wrong (Strabo 7.7.7 [C 326] = Ephorus, \textit{FGrH} 70 F123), but the information taken from Hecataeus was correct (Strabo 6.2.4 [C 316] = Hecataeus, \textit{FGrH} 1 F102c).
accuracy. As noted above, Pseudo-Scymnus used his geographical descriptions, as did a number of other writers, including Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, who quoted extensively from Ephorus' history.

Theopompus was a younger contemporary of Ephorus. He traveled widely and spent some time at the court of Philip II of Macedon. He was a prolific writer whose best-known works, the Hellenica and the Philippica, are preserved only in fragments. The Hellenica was a 12-book continuation of Thucydides that covered the years from 411 B.C. to the battle of Cnidus in 394 B.C. and the Philippica was a history of the life of Philip II of Macedon (359-336 B.C.) in 58 books. Theopompus included information about the Adriatic that was not found in Ephorus, some of which was, however, wrong.

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108 Strabo 9.3.11 [C 422]; Polyb. 5.33.2, 12.28.10; Joseph Ap. 1.67.
110 Cf. Diod. Sic. 1.37.4, 12.39-40, 14.11.1; Strabo 10.3.2 [C 463], 10.4.16 [C 481].
111 See Flower (1994, pp. 15-16) and Shrimpton (1991, pp. 3-11) for Theopompus' dates.
112 Grenfell and Hunt (1908, pp. 110-242, 1909), in the editio princeps of P.Oxy 842, followed by Meyer (1909), suggested that Theopompus was the author of the Oxyrhynchus fragments. This view is no longer substantiated, although the identity of the author of the Hellenica Oxyrhynchia remains a matter of debate. See Flower (1994, pp. 27-28) and Shrimpton (1991, pp. 13-14) for arguments against the attribution to Theopompus and Gomme (1948, p. 49, n. 3); see Bruce (1967, pp. 22-27); and McKechnie and Kern (1988, pp. 7-16) for further discussion concerning the authorship of the Hellenica Oxyrhynchia.
113 Diod. Sic. 13.42.5, 14.84.7 = Theopompus, FGrH 115 T13, T14. Only 18 fragments of the Hellenica are extant.
114 Cf. Theopompus, FGrH 115 F129 = Strabo 7.5.9 [C 317]. In this passage, Strabo listed five claims Theopompus made about the Adriatic that he, Strabo, found "incredible." One of these was that a branch of the Ister emptied into the Adriatic, the same error, as already noted,
very reliable and precise, although he was criticized in antiquity for his frequent digressions and use of myths.\textsuperscript{115} His extensive use of digression is evident in Books 8 and 9 of the \textit{Philippica}, which consisted entirely of excursuses on natural wonders (\textit{thaumata}) and had nothing to do with the life of Philip.\textsuperscript{116}

Book 1 of Theopompus' \textit{Philippica} is thought to have been a general survey of the Greeks and barbarians inhabiting the periphery of Macedonia, and Book 2, an ethnographic discussion about Illyrian tribes.\textsuperscript{117} It is possible that Book 21 contained a geographical account of Illyria and \textit{thaumata} found in this region.\textsuperscript{118} If this is so, the unassigned fragments F316 and F320 probably belong in this section.\textsuperscript{119} The extant fragments from Theopompus, however, suggest that he did not have first-hand experience of the Adriatic coast north of Epirus and his presentation that was made by Pseudo-Scylax (20) and Pseudo-Scymnus 766-775. See above.

\textsuperscript{115} Theopompus, \textit{FGrH} 115 T28a, T31; Strabo 1.2.35 [C 43].

\textsuperscript{116} Books 8 and 9 of the \textit{Philippica} were known in antiquity as the \textit{Mirabilia}. The themes in these chapters included information about famous prophets and stories associated with them and miraculous portents loosely connected with Delphi. See Shrimpton 1991, p. 19 and below for paradoxography.

\textsuperscript{117} Flower (1994, pp. 119-120) suggests that the extant fragments indicate that Theopompus held the Illyrians in higher regard than other "barbarians." Cf. Theopompus, \textit{FGrH} 115 F39, F40, and F286. Shrimpton (1991, pp. 107-109) goes so far as to postulate that Theopompus considered the Illyrian tribe of the Ardiaeans (or Autariatae) to be barbarized Greeks or Hellenized barbarians.

\textsuperscript{118} Pearson 1938, p. 449.

\textsuperscript{119} Theopompus, \textit{FGrH} 115 F128 and F129, which are preserved in Strabo (7.5.9 [C 317]), follow immediately after Strabo's account of the city of Apollonia and the nearby Nymphaeum. If Strabo was consulting Theopompus for this passage and following his narrative sequence, then F316 and F320 would fall into place immediately preceding F128a.
of Illyrian geography is murky at best.\textsuperscript{120} Northern Chaonia likely represented the boundary of his geographical knowledge, so that accounts of anything beyond this point were based on speculation, myth, and hearsay.\textsuperscript{121}

Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), who was brought to the Macedonian court as a tutor for Alexander the Great, was a contemporary of Ephorus and Theopompus.\textsuperscript{122} Aristotle, too, was familiar with the Greek colonies on the coast of the Adriatic and had a detailed understanding of the constitutions of Epidamnus and Apollonia.\textsuperscript{123} De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus, which is included in the Aristotelian corpus (although modern scholars believe it is a spurious attribution), was a collection of thaumata.\textsuperscript{124} This work contained misinformation about the Adriatic similar to that ascribed to Theopompus by Strabo.\textsuperscript{125} It is reasonable to

\textsuperscript{120} Even in the 4th century B.C., Apollonia was still an enclave of Greek civilization in the midst of barbarian territory. Some information about the colony was probably available, though, since it was well known from the early geographers, Thucydides, and the victory monument in the altis at Olympia (Kunze 1956, pp. 149-153; cf. Paus. 5.22).
\textsuperscript{121} Cf. Theopompus, FGrH 115 F128-131. Strabo (7.5.9 [C 317] = Theopompus, FGrH 115 F129) disagreed with Theopompus' assessment of the length of the voyage from the head of the Adriatic to the Ceraunian Mountains and scoffed at his hypothesis that the Adriatic and the Euxine were connected by a channel across an isthmus. Such misconceptions on Theopompus' part suggest that he had never visited the region.
\textsuperscript{122} Cf. Plut. Alex. 7.1-5. According to Christesen (2007, pp. 170-173, 179-185), Aristotle was the first to number the Olympiads.
\textsuperscript{123} Cf. Arist. Pol. 1287a6-7, 1301b21-27, 1290b11.
\textsuperscript{124} Even if the work was not by Aristotle, there is no doubt that he and other Peripatetics were engaged in collating and describing interesting and unusual natural phenomena. See Dickie 1990, p. 291, n. 54.
\textsuperscript{125} Theopompus' description of the connection between the Adriatic and the Euxine (Theopompus, FGrH 115 F129) is very similar to that found in De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus 104.
assume that Aristotle and Theopompus resided concurrently at the court of Philip II and had access to the same geographical and historical accounts of the Adriatic. The similar errors suggest, therefore, that the treatise on miracles might have been written by one of Aristotle's students at the same court, if not by the great man himself.

Timaeus of Tauromenium (ca. 350-260 B.C.), the son of Andromachus, a dynast of that city, was active in the early 3rd century B.C., slightly later than Theopompus. Timaeus was extremely interested in chronological issues and made extensive use of the Olympiad system of dating. He was the first to synchronize the lists of Olympic victors, Athenian archontes, Spartan kings and ephors, and priestesses of Hera at the sanctuary in Argos. He also wrote (Sikelikai) Historiai, the introduction of which dealt with the foundation and history of the Greek colonies, as well as an ethnography and geography of the west. Timaeus relied heavily on the earlier work of

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126 Timaeus, FGrH 566.
128 Polyb. 12.11.
129 Until this time, the various systems of chronological reckoning had developed without reference to one another, thus resulting in confusion. Timaeus was responsible for synchronizing the four separate dating schemes. See Brown 1958, pp. 10-14; Bickermann 1968, pp. 75-76; Clarke 1999, pp. 11-12; Christesen 2007, pp. 24-25, 277-289.
Antiochus of Syracuse.\textsuperscript{131} Many later authors, including Eratosthenes, Polybius, Posidonius, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Plutarch, consulted Timaeus' works for chronological and historical details.\textsuperscript{132}

Hieronymus of Cardia (ca. 364–260 B.C.)\textsuperscript{133} was a contemporary of Timaeus who lived at the Macedonian court from the time of Antigonus I Monophthalmus to that of Antigonus II Gonatas.\textsuperscript{134} He joined the court of Antigonus I ca. 316 B.C. and died in Macedonia after Antigonus II came to the throne in 277 B.C.\textsuperscript{135} Hieronymus wrote a contemporary history that was primarily concerned with Macedonia and Epirus from the birth of Alexander the Great to the death of Pyrrhus.\textsuperscript{136} His work, of which very little is preserved, was used by Diodorus, Strabo, and Plutarch.\textsuperscript{137}

Later pre-Christian historians who mentioned Apollonia, Epidamnus, and/or Illyria include Polybius, Posidonius, Diodorus Siculus, Nicholaus of Damascus, and

\textsuperscript{131} Pearson 1987, pp. 15-16.
\textsuperscript{132} Timaeus was critical of earlier historians (e.g., Timaeus, \textit{FGrH} 566 F7) and criticized by later ones (e.g., Strabo 14.1.22 [C 614]). Book 12 of Polybius was an attack on Timaeus for his faulty historical method and factual errors. See Walbank 1962.
\textsuperscript{133} Hieronymus, \textit{FGrH} 154.
\textsuperscript{134} Hieronymus was perhaps 104 when he died (cf. Hieronymus, \textit{FGrH} 154 T2). See Hornblower 1981, pp. 5-17; Reuss 1985, pp. 1-8.
\textsuperscript{135} See Lendle 1992, pp. 190-192.
\textsuperscript{136} Hieronymus died after Pyrrhus (d. 272 B.C.). Cf. Hieronymus, \textit{FGrH} 154 F15.
Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Polybius (ca. 200-118 B.C.) was a Greek historian born in Megalopolis who spent the later part of his life in Rome as a hostage after the Macedonian king Perseus was defeated in 167 B.C. There, he wrote a 40-book history of Rome's rise to power in the Mediterranean that ended with the destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C. Only five books are preserved, but an abridgment of books 1-18 exists in Excerpta Antiqua. The rest of his work is very fragmentary. Book 34, which is now lost, was devoted to geography. Polybius was critical of many of his sources, especially Timaeus for his sloppy historical research and for repeating the errors of earlier geographers. It is possible that Polybius was among the earliest of the ancient authors to have actually visited Apollonia and thus to acquire first-hand knowledge of the colony.

Posidonius of Apamea (ca. 135-51 B.C.) was one of the dominant scholars of his day; he was a prolific writer who dealt with a wide range of subjects, including history,

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138 Dionysius of Halicarnassus is the latest of the authors mentioned above. He was a contemporary of, and moved in the same patronage circle as, Strabo. He was a historian and wrote Roman Antiquities, of which the first 11 of 20 Books are extant.
139 Polybius' father was a prominent leader of the Achaean league, which sided with Macedonia against Rome. See Walbank 1957, pp. 1-6.
140 Books 1-5 are preserved.
141 Cf. Polyb. 8.10.5, 8.9.6-13 for attacks on Theopompus and 2.16 and above for criticism of Timaeus. For Polybius' sources and criticisms of them, see Walbank 1957, pp. 26-37, 1962.
Posidonius wrote, among other treatises, a *History* that covered events throughout the Mediterranean from 146 to 88 B.C. His work began where that of Polybius had ended. Posidonius also compiled extensive information about scientific problems and unusual environmental phenomena.

No complete work is extant in its original form and his scholarship and ideas have been reconstructed from the numerous fragments preserved in later writers. Posidonius was innovative in his approach as well as in his devotion to reevaluating the works of earlier scholars.

Posidonius traveled widely. He was interested in ethnography and the causal link between individuals and historical events. It is likely that Posidonius actually traveled to Apollonia and saw the bitumen mines that he described. He regarded geography as a philosophical activity and in this he was followed by the geographer Strabo. Athenaeus claimed that Strabo, as a young man, met Posidonius when he was very old. Whether or not this is true, Strabo respected and frequently consulted

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142 Posidonius, *FGrH* 87. Posidonius was also a Stoic philosopher.
145 I.e., agency.
146 Kidd 1988, p. 25.
147 Ath. 14.657F. See Dueck 2000, p. 8 for Posidonius and his famous, scholarly offspring.
Because Posidonius sought original and current information about his topics, some of his facts contradicted older scholarship, perhaps giving rise to rival traditions in subsequent studies.

Diodorus Siculus was a 1st century B.C. historian who wrote an all-inclusive universal history (Bibliotheca) from mythological times to 60 B.C.; only 15 of 40 books are extant. Diodorus is one of the most important sources for reconstructing the works of earlier historians because he frequently refers to them by name. He is also important for information about Illyria. Books 1-6 were a geography of the oikumene that drew heavily on Hecataeus. Diodorus relied on Ephorus (and thus the earlier work of the Oxyrhynchus historian) and Timaeus for historical details.

Contemporary with Diodorus was the historian Nicholaus of Damascus (64-4 B.C.), who also wrote a comprehensive universal history; his was in 144 books. This work, covering earliest times to the death of Herod the Great, is very poorly preserved. It is clear from extant fragments,
though, that Nicholaus, too, relied heavily on Ephorus as his principle source of information for the history of Greece.\textsuperscript{154}

Strabo of Amaseia (ca. 64 B.C.–A.D. 21) was a geographer who authored the \textit{Geographia}, much of which is extant.\textsuperscript{155} He wrote in the tradition of the earlier geographers, but combined history with his geographical description of the \textit{oikumene} as it existed in his day.\textsuperscript{156} Strabo was an antiquarian and he relied more heavily on older sources, rather than current, contemporaneous studies.\textsuperscript{157} He spent some years in Rome and was a contemporary and acquaintance of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.\textsuperscript{158} Strabo studied under Posidonius' grandson, Artistodemus of Nysa, and frequently referenced information acquired from Posidonius. The accounts of Illyria in the \textit{Geographia} were not based on first-hand experience, and it is unlikely that Strabo ever visited Epidamnus or Apollonia.\textsuperscript{159} He cited Hecataeus, Posidonius, Theopompus,  

\textsuperscript{154} Nicholaus also consulted Hellanicus for information about Greece.  
\textsuperscript{155} See Dueck 2000, pp. 47-53 for a discussion of Strabo's geographical divisions.  
\textsuperscript{156} Strabo's goal was to survey the entire inhabited world, which he defines at 1.4.5 [C 65].  
\textsuperscript{157} Because Strabo himself usually recorded distances in \textit{stadia}, those recorded in days were probably taken from much older works. He provided a list of some of the scholars he consulted in Books 1 and 8 and frequently made references to the works of Hecataeus, Theopompus, and Ephorus, even though more current studies were available. Dueck 2000, pp. 1-2.  
\textsuperscript{158} See Dueck 2000, pp. 8-15 for Strabo's intellectual milieu.  
\textsuperscript{159} Dueck (2000, p. 28) entertains the possibility that Strabo visited Apollonia on the basis of his remarks about the milestones along the
Eratosthenes, and Polybius in his description of Apollonia and the area to the south, around the bay of Oricum.  

The most indispensable later authors who mentioned Apollonia are Pliny the Elder, Plutarch, Appian, Pausanias, Cassius Dio, Aelian, and Stephanus of Byzantium. Pliny was a naturalist and scientist who died in the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79. He wrote the *Naturalis Historia*, which was an encyclopedia of contemporary knowledge about natural phenomena, including *thaumata*. Although he did not often name his sources, Pliny specifically referred to Theopompus in connection with his discussion of Apollonia. 

Plutarch of Chaeronea (ca. A.D. 50-120) was a prolific writer from a distinguished family. He was a biographer and philosopher, as well as a priest at Delphi. A list of 227 works attributed to him was recorded in the "Catalogue of Lamprias" compiled in the 4th century A.D. He is best known for his *Parallel Lives*, of which 23 pairs survive. Among those preserved that are most useful for the study of

Via Egnatia, but this seems unlikely, not least because he does not offer an eye-witness account of the bitumen mines. Hammond (1967, p. 461) suggests that Strabo preferred Ephorus to Theopompus. It is probable, however, that Strabo used the latter for his description of southern Illyria and Chaonia. 

Strabo 7.5.8-7.5.9 [C 316-317]. Strabo did not use Pseudo-Scylax for Epirus or Illyria. It is clear, rather, that he relied on an earlier work, probably, as mentioned above, that of Hecataeus. Strabo disapproved of the work of Eratosthenes, as did other geographers of his day, and criticized Eratosthenes for not visiting the places he described (cf. Posidonius, *FGrH* 87 T17b = Strabo 2.4.2 [C 104]). Eratosthenes is largely known from the Greek geographer, Dionysius "Periegetes," who quoted Eratosthenes in his pseudo-epic account of the *oikumene*. See Bianchetti 2007.


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160 Hammond (1967, p. 461) suggests that Strabo preferred Ephorus to Theopompus. It is probable, however, that Strabo used the latter for his description of southern Illyria and Chaonia. 

Apollonia are the lives of Pyrrhus of Epirus, Julius Caesar, and Pompey.\textsuperscript{162} Also extant are parts of 78 assorted philosophical, rhetorical, and moralizing essays.

The Roman historian Appian of Alexandria (ca. late 1st century–mid 2nd century A.D.) wrote an ethnographic account of the people conquered by Rome; Book 9 was about the Macedonians and Book 10 about the Illyrians. Book 9 is very fragmentary and consists primarily of summaries assembled from several later manuscripts. Book 10, on the other hand, is virtually complete.

Pausanias of Magnesia was a slightly later 2nd century A.D. author who wrote an extant "guidebook" to Greece, today called \textit{Description of Greece}.\textsuperscript{163} He traveled widely in Greece and tried to describe accurately the things he saw.\textsuperscript{164} Pausanias' main goals were to provide a catalogue of Archaic and Classical monuments, but his primary interests were of an antiquarian and religious nature.\textsuperscript{165} Pausanias also attempted to include some information about the historical contexts of the sites he described, but his details were not always correct. Although he must have

\textsuperscript{162} Plutarch described the campaigns of Caesar and Pompey in Illyria.
\textsuperscript{164} Frazer 1898, pp. xv–xxv; Hutton 2005, pp. 9–11.
\textsuperscript{165} Frazer 1898, p. xxv.
used a variety of reliable historical sources, only a few of whom can be identified today,\textsuperscript{166} he also included lore that was provided by local guides.\textsuperscript{167}

Cassius Dio (ca. A.D. 164-229) was a Greek born Roman senator from Bithynia who, like his father, became governor of Dalmatia.\textsuperscript{168} He wrote a history of Rome in 80 books that spanned times from the arrival of Aeneas in Italy to the end of his own second consulship in A.D 229. His Roman History was a result of 10 years of research and 12 years of writing.\textsuperscript{169} Dio imposed an annalistic order on history, one that grouped together all events that occurred in the same year. He was very concerned with his style, which he modeled on the rhetorical speeches of Thucydides, and often sacrificed accuracy to technique. Only parts of Cassius Dio's history are extant.\textsuperscript{170}

Aelian was a prolific writer of the mid-2nd-early 3rd century A.D., whose Varia Historia included extraordinary facts about history, animals, and humans. Stephanus of

\textsuperscript{166} In most instances Pausanias did not cite his sources; it is, nevertheless, clear that he modeled his work after Herodotus and consulted, among others, Thucydides, Polybius, and Theopompus. See Habicht 1985, pp. 96-98; Jones 2001, p. 33; Hutton 2005, p. 6.

\textsuperscript{167} Pausanias accepted the veracity of some of the stories that were related to him by locals, but scoffed at others. See Frazer 1898, pp. lxx-lxxx; Habicht 1985, pp. 144-147; Jones 2001, pp. 33-39; Hutton 2005, pp. 245-247.

\textsuperscript{168} Cass. Dio 69.1.3, 72.7.2, 49.36.4.

\textsuperscript{169} Cass. Dio 72.23.5.

\textsuperscript{170} Parts of Cassius Dio's work were preserved by Zonaras (12 century A.D.), the private secretary of emperor Alexis I Comnenus, and by the monk Xiphilinus (11th century A.D.), who made an abridgement of books 36-80.
Byzantium was a Greek grammarian of the 6th century A.D.\textsuperscript{171} He wrote the now lost *Ethnica*, which was an alphabetical list of place names and relevant information about each, such as foundation legends, name changes, and oikists. Stephanus relied most heavily on the works of Strabo and Pausanias for his information. It appears that he was the only author to have consulted Pausanias before the Renaissance.\textsuperscript{172} The extant epitome was compiled sometime in the four centuries following Stephanus' death.

Four other ancient authors who are important for the study of Apollonia and its hinterland must be mentioned before we turn to examine the relevance of the preceding discussion to the history of Apollonia. Two are Hellenistic poets, Apollonius Rhodius and Lycophron; the other two, Eusebius and Jerome, are Christian chroniclers.

Apollonius Rhodius (300/265-235/190 B.C.) was a 3rd century B.C. poet who wrote the *Argonautica*, an epic account of the voyage of Jason and the Argonauts. Very little is known about the author even though four accounts about him have survived from antiquity: two "lives" were transmitted with manuscripts of the poem, some information is found in *POxy* 1241 co. ii, and *Suda*, s.v. Απολλώνιος (Adler) is a fourth, late source. Much of the information

\textsuperscript{171} See Diller 1938; Billerback and Zubler 2007.  
\textsuperscript{172} Diller 1956, p. 86.
in these different versions, however, is contradictory and it is difficult to construct a coherent narrative of Apollonius Rhodius' life. Three cities, Alexandria, Naucratis, and Rhodes, laid claim to him. He appears to have been born in Alexandria, to have been a student of Callimachus,\(^{173}\) who also wrote an account of the Argonauts and with whom Apollonius later quarreled, to have served as the Royal Librarian in Alexandria (ca. 270-245 B.C.), and to have moved to Rhodes after his poem was poorly received in a public reading in Egypt.\(^{174}\)

Apollonius Rhodius combined a variety of mythological traditions in his epic poem, some more well known than others. One of his specialties was *ktisis* poetry\(^{175}\) and his work was also full of *thaumata* — a common theme at that time.\(^{176}\) Although the *Argonautica* is an account of a

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\(^{173}\) Callimachus of Cyrene was a prolific 3rd century B.C. poet who was a member of the court at Alexandria during the reign of Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III. Among other things, he wrote the now fragmentary *Aetia*, which treated the "origins" of a variety of subjects such as cults and cities (i.e., *ktiseis*). This work also contained a section on the voyage of the Argonauts and two preserved fragments (F11, F12) mention Illyria. Callimachus was one of the founders of paradoxography. Among the list of the titles attributed to Callimachus are *Collection of Wonders of the Entire World According to Locations* and *On Wonders and Miracles in the Peloponnesus and Italy*. See Suda, s.v. Καλλίμαχος (Adler); OCD\(^3\), pp. 276-277, s.v. Callimachus [P. J. Parsons]); Nisetiche 2001, pp. xiii-xxiv; Gutzwiller 2007, pp. 60-74. See also Chapter 5.


\(^{175}\) Gutzwiller 2007, p. 75.

\(^{176}\) See Dickie 1990, pp. 275-278. Although *thaumata* were a popular motif from Homer onward, as Dickie notes (1990, p. 291, n. 54), Callimachus appears to have been the first writer to systematically collect *thaumata* into a single work, probably arranged by geographical area. Cf. Callimachus (F407-411 [Trypanis]). See discussion in *RE* XVIIIb,
mythological voyage, the author was concerned with geographical accuracy\textsuperscript{177} and relied primarily on the work of Hecataeus.\textsuperscript{178} Apollonius also consulted Pseudo-Scylax and the historians Ephorus, Theopompus, and Timaeus, among others.\textsuperscript{179} He appears to have relied on Pseudo-Scylax, or, more likely, Scylax, for his information about the Illyrian coast.\textsuperscript{180} Apollonius followed the geographical tradition that maintained that one branch of the Ister flowed into the Adriatic and another into the Black Sea, which would have made sea travel between the two bodies of water possible via the river.\textsuperscript{181} The Scholiast claimed that Apollonius Rhodius drew this information from the work of an otherwise unknown author, Timagetus,\textsuperscript{182} although, as mentioned above, this geographical erratum was also found in Pseudo-Scylax.\textsuperscript{183} The sources of the geographical details in the \textit{Argonautica} are particularly relevant to Apollonia

\textsuperscript{177} Clare 2002, pp. 125-126.
\textsuperscript{178} Cf. Scho. Ap. Rhod. 1.256-59, 2.946-54c, 2.998-1000, 4.257-62b, 4.265-66, 4.282-91b (Wendel). One of Apollonius' models was Hecataeus, who was the first to combine mythology and geography. See Pearson 1938, pp. 443-459.
\textsuperscript{179} See Pearson 1938, pp. 448-449. Dickie (1990, pp. 276-277) suggests that Timaeus was the source for some of the \textit{thaumata} in the \textit{Argonautica}.
\textsuperscript{181} Scho. Ap. Rhod. 4.257-62b, 4.282-91b, 4.323-26a (Wendel); \textit{FGrH} 4, p. 519. This route for the Argo was not that described by Hecataeus (\textit{FGrH} 1 F18), Euripides (\textit{Med.} 432), Callimachus (F9 [Trypanis]), Herodotus (\textit{FGrH} 31 F10); or Timaeus (\textit{FGrH} 566 F85). Cf. Diod. Sic. 4.56.3-8; Beaumont 1936, pp. 199-201; Green 1997, pp. 302-304.
\textsuperscript{182} Timagetus apparently wrote Περὶ λιμένων (\textit{FGrH} 4, pp. 519-520).
\textsuperscript{183} Pseudo-Scylax 20, 67. See above.
because the Argo traversed the east coast of the Adriatic and Apollonius recorded some otherwise unknown myths about the area.\textsuperscript{184}

Almost nothing is known about Lycophron, who is said to have written the \textit{Alexandra}. The poem was composed either in the mid-3rd century B.C. or shortly after Philip V's defeat at Cynoscephalae in 198 B.C.\textsuperscript{185} The work itself, which is full of obscure references and metaphorical language, is set in the form of a prophecy uttered by the Trojan princess, Cassandra. Among other topics, it treated the \textit{nostoi} of the Greeks after the fall of Troy. It is thought that Timaeus was one of the main sources for Lycophron's references to western legends.\textsuperscript{186} The 12th century A.D. Byzantine scholar and commentator, Johannes Tzetzes, wrote \textit{scholia} on Lycophron's poem.

Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. A.D. 260-339) was an influential and learned Christian scholar and chronicler.\textsuperscript{187} He was bishop of Caesarea for 26 years until his death. Although he was primarily a biblical scholar, he also wrote two editions of the now lost \textit{Chronicle}. The work was divided into two parts: the first, the \textit{Chronographia}, was a

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{184} See Chapter 5.
\item \textsuperscript{185} The date of the work is problematic because it refers to the supremacy of the Romans, which suggests that it was written after Cynoscephalae. Much of the rest of the work, however, appears to be earlier. See below for Philip V and Cynoscephalae.
\item \textsuperscript{186} \textit{OCD}\textsuperscript{3}, p. 896, s.v. Lycophron (P. M. Fraser).
\item \textsuperscript{187} See Mosshammer 1979, pp. 31-34.
\end{itemize}
universal history composed from various older sources, the second, the Canons, was a series of chronological tables that synchronized Graeco-Roman, near eastern, and Old Testament history into a continuous sequence, beginning with the birth of Abraham in 2016 B.C. The Canons included lists of kings, chronologies of the history of various peoples, and sacred and profane events.\(^{188}\) For his research, Eusebius had access to the renowned library of the early Christian philosopher, Origen.

Although the original Greek work by Eusebius has been lost, parts of it were preserved in translation. The second part of the Chronicle was translated into Latin by the 4th century A.D. biblical scholar from Dalmatia, Jerome (A.D. 347-420), who added notes about important events and people relevant to Rome.\(^{189}\) The Canons has survived in this form. An Armenian translation of both parts of the Chronicle from the 13th or 14th century A.D. that was copied from an earlier Armenian translation also exists.\(^{190}\) Jerome's and the Armenian version do not always agree.\(^{191}\) There is a great deal of contention among modern scholars about manuscript traditions and translations and how they

\(^{188}\) Burgess 1999, p. 23. Nineteen groups of people were included in the chronological tables. The later part of Eusebius' work was organized by Olympiads.

\(^{189}\) Jer. Chron. 6.8-7.3 (Helm).

\(^{190}\) Mosshammer 1979, pp. 29-30, 41-44; Burgess 1999, p. 25.

\(^{191}\) There are also two Syriac epitomes of the Chronicle.
are related to the original work by Eusebius. Although Eusebius did not mention Apollonia, his work, as transmitted via Jerome and the Armenian edition, is invaluable for the study of ancient chronology and Greek colonization.

Relevance of Source Traditions to Apollonia

The above discussion strongly suggests that all geographical information about Apollonia and the eastern Adriatic up until at least the 2nd century B.C. originated from Hecataeus and/or Scylax. It is unlikely that either of them or, for that matter, most other later writers actually traveled beyond Epirus to the north and, therefore, much of what they recorded was hearsay. In many cases Hecataeus and Scylax provided similar details, but in others their information diverged. It appears, for example, there were two rival bodies of knowledge about the Adriatic: one generated by Hecataeus, the other by Scylax. And, as can be seen from the discussion earlier in this chapter, later authors across a wide spectrum of literary genres perpetuated geographical mistakes that were made in these early works. This point is clearly illustrated by the error that a branch of the Ister flowed into the Adriatic, which seems to have originated with Scylax, but
was not recorded by Hecataeus. We know that this misinformation about the Ister river was repeated by Pseudo-Scylax, Pseudo-Scymnus, Theopompus, [Aristotle], Timaeus, Timagetus, and Apollonius Rhodius, and was only corrected by Diodorus Siculus in the mid-first century B.C.

Many of the ancient authors discussed above embedded information about Apollonia in descriptions of the nearby oracle associated with the Nymphaeum and the mysterious flaming bitumen fields. Such narratives fall within the literary genre of marvel writing, or paradoxa. Accounts of thaumata and natural curiosities were presented primarily by a group of writers known as paradoxographers, who were interested in the unexpected or the unbelievable, although a variety of other ancient scholars, including historians, scientists, geographers, and compilers, also showed interest in thaumata. Works on paradoxa are attributed to Theopompus, Ephorus, and Aristotle, but these were probably spurious attributions since the genre probably was not established before the 3rd century B.C.

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192 The precise location of the ancient bitumen mines and the Nymphaeum are unknown, although Early Modern travelers associate them with Selenica. See Chapter 5. For a discussion of bitumen in antiquity, see Morris 2006.

193 *OCD*³, p. 1112, s.v. paradoxographers (J. S. Rusten). See Giannini 1966; Gutzwiller 2007, pp. 166-167. I am grateful to Kathryn Gutzwiller and Matthew Dickie for discussing this genre of literature with me.

194 See Giannini 1966, pp. 365-368 (Theopompus), p. 364 (Ephorus), and pp. 221-314 (Pseudo-Aristotle). The evidence for Ephorus' interest in
Descriptions of "marvels" were usually rendered in a very formulaic way with certain details being repeated by multiple authors in a manner that suggests all were drawn from a limited number of earlier accounts. Most marvel stories included locative information in order to provide a geographical setting for the wonder. Because, however, the descriptions of *thaumata* were frequently plagiarized and were focused chiefly on the nature of the novelty, topographical details about ancillary places that were used to provide spatial contexts were not always reliable or accurate. This is especially evident in the case of Apollonia where, for example, the various strands of information about the polis that were included by different authors were inconsistent and undependable. Moreover, it is likely that all the accounts of the bitumen mines and the Nymphaeum originally stemmed from one of two writers: Theopompus or Posidonius. Extant references to the oracle at the Nymphaeum that mention Apollonia are found in [Aristotle], Strabo, Pliny the Elder, Plutarch, Cassius Dio, Aelian, and Ampelius.

As we have seen above, Pliny and Cassius Dio probably used Theopompus as their source on Apollonia; both were really only interested in the oracle and bitumen mines.

*paradoxa* is the strongest; cf. Strabo 7.3.9 [C 302-303], 5.4.5 [C 244-245].
Pliny specifically referenced Theopompus in connection with his discussion of the Nymphaeum and Apollonia. As also noted above, Theopompus liked digressions on *thaumata* and it is clear that much of Pliny's information about Apollonia and the nearby oracle came from one such example. Theopompus was probably also the basis for the accounts of the Nymphaeum and bitumen mines in [Aristotle], Plutarch, Cassius Dio, and Aelian. Pliny, Cassius Dio, and Aelian were concerned primarily with the *thauma*, rather than the history of the area. Either Cassius Dio or Aelian copied directly from the other, or both copied, almost word for word, from another source.

Strabo, on the other hand, went into greater detail about the scientific workings of the bitumen fields and mentioned Posidonius as his source. Posidonius, who was very interested in the scientific workings of the mines, probably visited Apollonia. Strabo also, however,
subsequently mentioned Theopompus in his description of the Illyrian coast.\textsuperscript{199} It is likely, therefore, that Strabo consulted both Theopompus and Posidonius for information about Apollonia and the Nymphaeum. Since Ampelius made some of the same points as Strabo, i.e., regarding the fire that issued forth from the oracle and the nature of the pitch, it is likely that he either took his information directly from Strabo, or at least consulted the same sources.\textsuperscript{200}

As already noted, most of the intelligence about Apollonia in the ancient authors stems from only a few accounts. This is especially true for discussions about the Nymphaeum and the bitumen mines. The details about Apollonia found in the marvel stories, therefore, do not provide unambiguous historical information about the colony. All the \textit{thauma} descriptions contained essentially the same observations and few were based on first-hand knowledge. This is also the case for many of the "geographical" details about the colony that were reported by ancient historians and geographers, many of which also appear to have been copied from earlier works and, as a

\textsuperscript{199} Strabo 7.5.9 [C 317].
\textsuperscript{200} Ampelius 8.1. Lucius Ampelius compiled his \textit{Liber Memoria}lis in the late 3rd-early 4th century A.D. This work included a discussion of unusual geographical features and marvels.
result, duplicate the same errors. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, this repetition makes it possible to recognize, in both ancient and modern scholarship, individual strands of rival traditions concerning the *ktisis* of Apollonia and geographical details pertaining to its location. Subsequent chapters of this thesis will use archaeological evidence to resolve some of the contradictions that have been handed down from antiquity.

**History of Apollonia from the 6th-1st Century B.C.**

We are the descendants of the Illyrian tribes. This territory of our ancestors has been ruled by the Greeks, the Romans, the Normans, the Slavs, the Angevins, the Byzantines, the Venetians, the Ottomans, and numerous other invaders who did not manage to eradicate the Albanian people, the old Illyrian civilization, and the later Albanians.201

The short time span encapsulated in the concept of *l’histoire événementielle* as discussed by Braudel provides a useful framework for a narrative history of Apollonia because it emphasizes the role of agency and individual actions in effecting changes in the trajectory of the

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201 "Ne jemi pasardhësit e fiseve ilire. Në këto troje të lashta të parëve tanë kanë vërshuar grekët, romakët, normandët, sllavët, anshuinët, bizantinët, venedikasit, osmanët e shumë e shumë pushtues të tjerë, por ata nuk i zhdukën dot as popullin shqiptar, as kulturën e vjetër ilire, as vazhdimësinë e saj shqiptare (Hoxha 1985, p. 40)."
A rather detailed "history" of Apollonia is offered below that attempts to integrate specific historical events with longer-term trends in the development of the polis. This section of Chapter 2 and also Chapter 5 examine the history of Apollonia through the surviving textual evidence about specific individuals and historical episodes. Section III, on the other hand, looks at the evolution of the apoikia based on changes that are visible in the archaeological record.

The Archaic-Hellenistic periods are the primary focus of this study and, therefore, only a few cursory paragraphs will be included about events that occur after Rome incorporated the area of southern Illyria as a province in 146 B.C. Although specific information is lacking for much of the Greek period at Apollonia, which must result in huge gaps in the flow of any story about the colony, nevertheless, a skeletal framework of important events and people can be worked out from the extant textual citations.

Aside from Apollonia's fragmentary ktisis, which is discussed in Chapter 5, and its role as a geographical locator for the thauma at the Nymphaeum, which is discussed

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202 Braudel (1972, pp. 20-21) defines three historical phases: the longue durée or the slow, imperceptible, almost timeless history of "man in relationship to the environment (vol. 1, p. 20);" the moyenne durée or the slow, perceptible, "social history" of "groups, collective destinies, and general trends (vol. 1, p. 353);" and l'histoire événementielle or the history of events and individual men (vol. 2, pp. 901-903).
above, the extant sources preserve a mere three major episodes in the history of the Graeco-Roman world in which Apollonia played a prominent role: the inception of the Peloponnesian War, the arrival of Rome in the eastern Mediterranean, and the Civil War between Pompey and Caesar. The second episode, which spanned two generations straddling the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd centuries B.C. and had long-term consequences in the *moyenne durée*, irrevocably altered the balance of power in the Mediterranean and is discussed in the most detail, largely because it is the period for which the most textual evidence has survived.

Albania, part of southern Illyria in Graeco-Roman times, is a country that occupies and perhaps always has occupied contested territory; the area has been ruled by outsiders throughout much of its history. The first historically documented foreign occupation of Albanian territory occurred in the Archaic period, when emigrants from two prominent Greek city-states, Corcyra and Corinth, founded colonies on the east coast of the Adriatic at Epidamnus and Apollonia. These colonies introduced Greek culture to the area, which is thought by some to have

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203 Among the earliest documented writing from Albania is an inscription on an Archaic sarcophagus from the necropolis of Apollonia that is written in the Corinthian script (Amore 2003-2004). The earliest Greek pottery dates to the later 7th century B.C. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the colonization of Epidamnus and Apollonia.
accelerated the processes of state formation among indigenous Illyrian tribes.\textsuperscript{204} Epidamnus and Apollonia were the only Greek colonies founded in the Adriatic during the Archaic period and the only colonies established in Illyria by mainland Greeks.\textsuperscript{205} Because of their strategic locations, Apollonia, only 60 km from Italy via the straits of Otranto, and Epidamnus, just to the north, were involved in continuous power struggles between natives and outsiders.\textsuperscript{206} Control of the eastern coast of the Adriatic in what is today Albania was hotly contested during antiquity, at some times more than others.

There was considerable movement up and down the Adriatic coast during the Classical period as Greeks, Illyrian tribes, and Macedonians fought for control of portions of modern-day Albania. Very little is known from ancient sources about the history of Epidamnus and Apollonia before the mid-5th century, although Pausanias recorded, and archaeological evidence confirms, that the Epidamnians had built a treasury in the sanctuary at Olympia already during the 6th century B.C. and that the

\textsuperscript{205} No evidence indicates that any Greek apoikiai were founded on the mainland north of Epidamnus. The other, later Adriatic colonies, such as Black Corcyra, Issa, and Pharos, were all on islands. The earliest of these, Black Corcyra, was settled by people from Cnidus, and Issa by people from Syracuse. Pharos was founded in 385 B.C. from Paros (Diod. Sic. 15.13.4-15.14.2). See Wilkes 1992, pp. 110-116.
\textsuperscript{206} The Latin colony of Brundisium on the east coast of Italy and across the Straits of Otranto from Apollonia was founded in 244 B.C. See Deniaux 2005b; Cabanes 2005.
Apollonians had dedicated a victory monument there in the mid-5th century B.C. to commemorate their conquest of Thronium. Even though the colonies functioned as autonomous units, the 5th century B.C. witnessed the projection of the conflict between Corinth and Corcyra onto their apoikiai. Both settlements functioned as catalysts at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War in the 430s B.C., when stasis between the democrats and aristocrats at Epidamnus brought Corcyraean and Corinthian warships to the area.

Slightly more information is preserved in the ancient sources about the 4th century B.C., although the texts present a confusing picture of the names and territories of the various Illyrian tribes. From the Late Classical through the Hellenistic period, the history of the Illyrians and the Greek colonies was inextricably bound with the fortunes of the Epirote and Macedonian kingdoms. By the beginning of the 4th century B.C., dynastic struggles between them resulted in shifting borders of territories belonging to Illyrian tribes and had far-reaching consequences for the stability and control of

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207 Paus. 6.19.8, 5.22.2-4.
Apollonia. Illyrians were said to have defeated Amyntas III and expelled him temporarily from the Macedonian throne in 393/2 B.C.\textsuperscript{210} In 385/384 B.C., another tribe, probably led by Bardylis, ruler of the powerful Dardanians, overran northern Epirus and killed as many as 15,000 Molossians.\textsuperscript{211} The ruler, Alcetas, was only restored to the throne with the help of Dionysius I of Syracuse.\textsuperscript{212}

In 360 B.C., Arybbas of Molossia was also faced with a large invasion from Illyria, again spearheaded by Bardylis.\textsuperscript{213} In this same year, Perdiccas, king of Macedon, was defeated and killed in a battle with the Illyrians. His death paved the way for his brother, Philip II, to take the throne.\textsuperscript{214} The situation was temporarily stabilized in 359/358 B.C. when Philip defeated a large Illyrian force and annexed territory up to Lake Lychnitis.\textsuperscript{215} Some years later, in 344/343 B.C., Philip again came into conflict

\textsuperscript{210} Diod. Sic. 14.92.3–4, 15.19.2.
\textsuperscript{212} Diod. Sic. 15.13. See Philistus above and Caven 1990, pp. 150–151.
\textsuperscript{214} Diod. Sic. 16.1.3, 16.2. Bardylis died in 358 B.C. at the age of 90. He was succeeded by his son Cleitus, who fought against Alexander the Great and was subsequently deposed from the Dardanian throne in 335 B.C. Hammond 1966a, pp. 244–245; Cabanes 1988a, pp. 101–106.
with the Illyrians, this time led by Pleurias. Philip won a decisive victory that left him with direct rule over a "Balkan Empire" from which he was able to exact tribute.

Alexander the Great, Philip's son, first had contact with Illyria during his exile in 337 B.C., self-imposed after quarreling with his father. Plutarch noted that Alexander visited one or more Illyrian kings at that time.

In 335 B.C., before leaving for Persia, Alexander strengthened Macedonian control in Illyria by quelling a revolt led by Glaucias, king of the Taulantians, and Cleitus, son of Bardylis. The Macedonians won a decisive victory against the Illyrians in a battle fought at Pelion. Following this, large numbers of Illyrians, 216 Didymus InD. col. 12.64. Hammond (1978, p. 138), on the other hand, mistakenly gives the name of the Illyrian leader as Pleuratus. See Gattinoni 2004, pp. 50-51.


219 Glaucias was king of the Taulantii from 335-317 B.C.


221 Diod Sic. 17.8.1; Arr. Anab. 1.5-6. Alexander defeated his opposition and his Companion Cavalry pursued the retreating Illyrians as far as Elbasan. From there Alexander moved southward to quell a revolt in Thebes. The exact location of Pelion is unknown, although at the time of the battle, it was in Illyrian territory held by the Dassaretis. On the other hand, Little Lake Prespa, also once in the territory of the Dassaretis, had been annexed by Philip and was thus a part of Macedonia. Arrian described the battle and is the main source for Alexander's Balkan campaign. For modern discussions of the battle and speculation about the location of Pelion, see Hammond 1974a, pp. 77-87, 1977, pp. 506-509, 1978, pp. 138-140, 1980b, pp. 463-464, 1994,
including some who had fought against him, joined Alexander's expedition to Asia.\textsuperscript{222} It is likely that Epidamnus and Apollonia entered into an alliance with Alexander as free and independent allies rather than as tributaries and so benefited from the peace he established in the Balkans. Hammond and Walbank note that the widespread finds of silver coins minted at Apollonia and Epidamnus during the last decades of the 4th century B.C. are indicative of the prosperity of these two apoikiai at the beginning of the Hellenistic period and their importance as staging grounds for trade northwards and eastwards into central Illyria.\textsuperscript{223}

The Hellenistic period was one of rapid change throughout the Mediterranean and ushered in a period of increased mobility and demographic development. Power struggles for control of the lucrative Greek ports in southern Illyria increased under the warring successors of Alexander.\textsuperscript{224} Antipater was left in charge of Macedonia when Alexander marched east and continued to govern parts of

\textsuperscript{222} Hammond and Walbank 1988, p. 53.
\textsuperscript{223} Hammond and Walbank 1988, p. 53.
Illyria. During his tenure, he founded a city at modern-day Berat, which he named Antipatrea after himself.

Antipater appointed Polyperchon as his successor in 319 B.C. Polyperchon, however, was ousted by Antipater's son, Cassander, who ruled Macedonia until his death ca. 298 B.C. Already in 317 B.C., Cassander had forced Aeacides, king of Epirus, to abandon the Epirote throne and flee from Molossia. Aeacides' infant son, Pyrrhus, was taken in and raised by the king of the Taulantians, Glaucias, and his wife Beroea, a Molossian princess. In 314 B.C., Cassander attacked and defeated the Taulantians, whose territory at the time included both Apollonia and Epidamnus. Cassander held the two city-states and used them as Macedonian ports until 312 B.C., when they were recovered by Corcyra.

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225 Arr., FGrH 156 F1.7; Hammond 1966a, p. 248, 1980b, pp. 471-474. Antipater ruled Illyria in the manner of a Macedonian monarch, as indeed his predecessors had and successors would. See Hammond 1993 and Errington 1977 for discussions of the Macedonian monarchy and its continuation in the Hellenistic period.

226 Cassander organized the territory of Epirus, now directly under Macedonian control, as a republic and installed Lyciscus as "epimelete." Cassander further alienated Epirus when he slew Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, in 316 B.C. In 313 B.C., Cassander was able to install a pro-Macedonian ruler in Epirus who lasted until 307 B.C. Cross 1932, pp. 128-134; Errington 1977.

227 Plut. Pyrrh. 2. Pyrrhus was born around 319 B.C. For the life of Pyrrhus, see Lévéque 1957, pp. 83-116; Oikonomedes 1983; Cabanes 1988a, pp. 142-158; Franke 1989. The Taulantii were the most powerful Illyrian tribe in central Albania. Their capital was near Tirana, but their holdings extended south of the Genusus and perhaps to Apollonia. Cf. Hecataeus, FGrH 1 F101; Thuc. 1.24.1; Pseudo-Scylax 26; Diod. Sic. 19.70.7; Ptolemy 5.12.2.

Epidamnus was then returned to Glaucias and the besieging Macedonians were chased out of Apollonia.\textsuperscript{229}

In 307 B.C., the anti-Macedonian faction in Molossia, aided by Glaucias, restored Pyrrhus to the Epirote throne.\textsuperscript{230} Cassander tried to have Pyrrhus replaced, but was unsuccessful. Eventually Pyrrhus extended his Molossian empire to include Apollonia, Epidamnus, and other Illyrian territories, perhaps even as far north as Shkodra.\textsuperscript{231} Upon his death in 272 B.C., however, his northern holdings reverted to Illyrian kings.\textsuperscript{232}

Between the death of Cassander in 298 B.C. and the beginning of the long reign of Antigonus II Gonatas in 276 B.C., Macedonia had five short-lived rulers.\textsuperscript{233} Antigonus Gonatas ruled for 38 years until his death in 239 B.C.; his reign was a period of peace and prosperity for Macedonia and Illyria.\textsuperscript{234} He was succeeded by his son, Demetrius II of Macedonia (r. 239-229 B.C.). Upon his death, Demetrius'
cousin, Antigonus Doson, married his widow and took over as regent for Demetrius' son, the young Philip V.\textsuperscript{235} It is possible that some type of "friendship" existed between Apollonia and Rome during the reign of Antigonus II, since several texts mentioned that the colony sent an embassy to Rome in 266 B.C.; the reasons, however, are unknown.\textsuperscript{236}

In the final decades of the 3rd century B.C., Apollonia and her hinterland were subjected to constant warfare resulting from power struggles between the Macedonians, Romans, and Illyrians.\textsuperscript{237} Rome became involved in these struggles in 229 B.C., first against Illyrian pirates,\textsuperscript{238} and then against the Macedonian kings. The dispatching of Republican armies to the Adriatic to terminate Illyrian piracy marked the beginning of Roman military involvement in the Eastern Mediterranean.\textsuperscript{239} By 230


\textsuperscript{236} Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 20.14; Livy Per. 15; Zonar. 8.6.11; Val. Max. 6.6.5; Cass. Dio 41.49.2, 10 F42. See Holleaux 1921, pp. 1-5.

\textsuperscript{237} Rome first came into contact with "Illyrians" in 280 B.C when Pyrrhus invaded Italian soil to assist the Tarentines, who, besieged by the Romans, had asked him and his mercenary army for assistance. Although victorious, Pyrrhus suffered heavy casualties and withdrew with his force in 278 B.C. to the court of Dionysus of Syracuse. He returned to mainland Italy in 276 B.C., but the Romans were ready for him and in 275 B.C. Pyrrhus retreated to Epirus. Tarentum did not surrender to Rome until after Pyrrhus' death in 272 B.C. See Cross 1932, pp. 115-120; Lévêque 1957, pp. 245-550; Franke 1989, p. 456; Cabanes 2001, pp. 69-73, 2005, pp. 27-30.


B.C., Agron, king of the Ardiaei, had established garrisons in Epidamnus, Apollonia, and Corcyra and was using these ports as bases for piratical raids. 240 Upon his death, attacks on Italian trading vessels escalated under his widow, Queen Teuta, who took power as regent for Agron's infant son, Pinnes. Rome sent two ambassadors to Illyria to confront Teuta, one of whom was killed, allegedly on her orders. 241 This assassination led to the first Illyrian War and resulted in a permanent Roman presence in the Adriatic.

In response to the murder of its ambassador, Rome dispatched both consuls. 242 Gnaeus Fulvius Centumalus sailed with 200 ships to Corcyra, which had recently been captured by Agron, shortly before his death, and was being held for Teuta by Demetrius of Pharos. 243 Both the Corcyraeans and Demetrius surrendered to Rome upon the arrival of the fleet. 244 The other consul, A. Postumius Albinus, was sent

240 App. Ill. 2.7-8; Polyb. 2.8-9. Gitti 1935; Badian 1952, pp. 72-73; Papazoglou 1965, pp. 147-149; Hammond 1968, p. 4; Harris 1985, p. 195. The Illyrian Ardiaei lived along the coast north of Lake Shkodra, with their capital at Rhizon. These infamous seafaring pirates, who often occupied coastal cities along the Adriatic and raided as far south as Pylos in western Greece, had begun to expand southwards in the early 4th century B.C. See Hammond 1966a, pp. 243-247 for a genealogy of the Ardiaei.
241 Polyb. 2.8. Cf. Appian (Ill. 2.7) for a slightly different version.
244 App. Ill. 2.7. Corcyra was used as a Roman port until the early 2nd century B.C. and was governed by a prefect until it was attached to the
with a large land force to Apollonia, where he was met by
the victorious Centumalus. Apollonia promptly surrendered
and joined the Roman alliance, reinforcing that polis's
already friendly relations with Rome. Both consuls then
went north to relieve Issa, which was under siege by
Teuta's forces, stopping at Epidamnus on the way to expel a
hostile Illyrian garrison. Teuta conceded defeat and
signed a treaty with Rome; she agreed to pay tribute to
Rome, to allow not more than two *lembi* at a time to sail
south of Lissus, and to cede control of Epidamnus,
Apollonia, and Corcyra. As a reward for his cooperation
with the Romans, Demetrius of Pharos was installed as
dynast in his native city, had his holdings in Illyria
increased, and was made regent of Agron's son, Pinnes,
giving him control of Teuta's kingdom upon her death.

The Roman settlement in Illyria in 228 B.C. was
designed to establish a separation of alliances in order to
maintain a balance of power. Through the Treaty of Teuta,
Rome sought to weaken the power of individual Illyrian
tribes by creating "friends" who would act as checks on

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245 Polyb. 2.11. Epidamnus surrendered unconditionally to Rome, as did the Taulantii, the Partheni, and several other Illyrian tribes. Although Rome granted them their "freedom" in the Treaty of Teuta, in reality this settlement marked the end of their independence.

246 Polyb. 2.11; App. Ill. 2.7. Polybius and Appian gave conflicting reports on the terms of the treaty. See Errington 1989b, pp. 89-90.

247 Fine 1936, p. 29; Badian 1952, pp. 79-80; Hammond 1968, p. 6; Coppola 1993, pp. 41-51.
each other. Corcyra and Apollonia were made free by the Romans under the terms of the treaty, although the formalities of their relationships are not clear. Many of the coastal cities and some of the inland tribes surrendered unconditionally when the Romans first appeared in 229 B.C. These, too, were allowed to remain independent and were free from tribute, although all essentially passed under Roman control at this point.

Demetrius of Pharos married Pinnes' mother, thereby effecting his regency of the Ardiaei. Demetrius' ambition provoked the Second Illyrian War with Rome because he stopped honoring the terms of the Treaty of Teuta. He began to raid cities that were considered "friends of Rome" and his pirates ranged as far south as Pylos. He also built a defensive fortress on the island of Pharos and installed a garrison inland from Apollonia at the site of

250 Polyb. 2.11 and Derow 2003, p. 53.
251 Cf. App. ILL. 2.8.
252 See Holleaux 1921, pp. 130-139, 1928, pp. 844-849; Badian 1952, pp. 83-86; Dell 1970a, pp. 32-38; Gruen 1984, pp. 368-373; Coppola 1993, pp. 53-84.
In 219 B.C., Rome sent both consuls with a fleet to Illyria to deal with him. Dimale fell within seven days and the surrounding cities once again surrendered to Rome. The rest of Demetrius' forces were defeated at Pharos; his lands were confiscated and he was driven into exile, taking refuge at the court of Philip V of Macedon. The Romans established Pinnes on the Ardiaei throne, restored the status quo, and went home.

In 217 B.C., Scerdilaidas, a powerful Illyrian pirate, began raiding cities along the Illyrian coast and in Macedonian territory. Philip was impelled to retaliate against Scerdilaidas and perceived this as an opportunity to increase his territorial holdings in Illyria and gain access to a port on the Adriatic. When Philip attacked Scerdilaidas, the pirate asked for Roman assistance. Rome's response was to demand that Philip hand over

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253 Polyb. 3.18-19; App. Ill. 2.8. See Holleaux 1921, pp. 848-849; Badian 1952, pp. 86-87, 1968, p. 16; Hammond 1967, pp. 602-603. This event occurred immediately prior to the beginning of the Second Punic War.

254 Dell 1970a; Wilkes 1992, pp. 163-164; Scullard 2007, pp. 194-195. Antigonus III (Doson) had ruled in Macedonia as regent for Philip V until his death in 221 B.C. Philip was only 15 years old when he assumed the Macedonian throne. See Dell 1967b for the reign of Antigonus III and Walbank 1940 for the reign of Philip V.

255 Badian 1952, p. 88; Dell 1977, p. 306; Wilkes 1992, p. 164. The following year Hannibal invaded Italy.


257 Philip was involved in the "Social War (220-217 B.C.)" with the Aetolian League in 217 B.C., but he put a speedy end to this war with the Peace of Naupactus. Rome was unable to send immediate help to Scerdilaidas because of its recent defeat by Hannibal at Lake Trasimene. Holleaux 1928, pp. 852-855; Fine 1936, p. 39; Hammond 1968, p. 15; Shipley 2000, pp. 372-373.
Demetrius of Pharos, which Philip refused to do. In 216 B.C. Philip sailed into the Adriatic with ships he had built during the previous winter and attempted to annex part of southern Illyria, concentrating on the area around Apollonia. Scerdilaidas again appealed to the Romans for help, but they, because they were still busy defending Italian soil against Hannibal's invasion, sent a mere ten ships; these, however, proved to be sufficient to scare Philip into retreat.

Philip made a treaty with Hannibal in 215 B.C. specifying that the Romans be expelled from the eastern Adriatic cities including Apollonia, Corcyra, Epidamnus, and Dimale. The alliance greatly alarmed the Romans and paved the way for the First Macedonian War. In 214 B.C., Philip again attempted to reconquer his former holdings in Illyria (now under the protection of Rome) and initiated attacks, beginning at Oricum and Apollonia. He failed to take either city; there was a Roman army waiting for him at Oricum and a garrison of 200 men inside the city of

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259 Polyb. 5.110; App. Mac. 1.
260 App. Mac. 1; Polyb. 7.9. The treaty between Philip V and Hannibal was designed to return control of Epidamnus, Apollonia, and Corcyra to Demetrius of Pharos, thereby giving Macedonia several ports on the Adriatic. See Holleaux 1921, pp. 173-212, 1930a, pp. 116-122; Badian 1952, p. 89; Gruen 1984, pp. 375-377; Wilkes 1992, p. 165; Coppola 1993, pp. 169-194.
Apollonia that withstood his siege. Philip's army was decimated as it camped outside the city walls of Apollonia and Philip was forced to burn his fleet in order to retreat overland into the interior. The Romans henceforth used Apollonia as a permanent military base for their skirmishes with the Macedonians as both vied for control of the Myzeqe plain. In 210 B.C., after Rome made a treaty with Philip's enemy, the Aetolian League, Philip once again raided coastal Illyria, including Apollonia. Philip's aggressive actions brought about an escalation in Roman involvement in Illyria and paved the way for Rome's conquest of Greece.

The First Macedonian War ended because of the lack of initiative on both sides. In 205 B.C. the Romans sent a force to Epidamnus and Philip came as far as Apollonia, but did not engage. The Romans and Philip signed the Peace of Phoenice, which brought about a short-lived cessation of

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263 Livy 29.12. Philip was able to forge an alliance among several Illyrian tribes, including those in the vicinity of Apollonia, who had pledged support to Rome (Polyb. 8.16; Livy 29.12).
264 App. Mac. 3.1; Polyb. 9.37. According to Livy (26.24.7-15) the Senate, unable to send troops to Illyria immediately because of Hannibal's threat to Rome, instructed the praetor, Laevinus, to find a strong ally against Philip in the Balkans. Laevinus asked the Aetolians and a treaty was cemented between them in 211 B.C. Holleaux 1930a, pp. 122-126; Badian 1952, pp. 89-90; Hammond 1968, pp. 18-19; Dell 1977, p. 307; Harris 1985, p. 207.
265 Livy 26.25.1-2 describes the raids.
266 Livy 29.12; Derow 2003, pp. 57-58.
hostilities. This bilateral treaty was designed to maintain the status quo and to delineate Roman and Macedonian spheres of interest in Illyria. In exchange, Philip was given control of inland routes through Lychnidus to Dassaretis.

In 201 B.C. the Macedonians again encroached upon Illyrian territory when they tried to annex several Greek cities that were friends of Rome and were allied with the Aetolian League. In spite of the treaty, Rome had received continuous complaints between 203-201 B.C. — especially from Pergamum and Rhodes — about Philip, who had begun attacking cities in the Aegean. The Romans sent an embassy to investigate Macedonian activities and issued an ultimatum. War was then declared by Rome.

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268 The port of Oricum was still independent in 206 B.C. Cf. Inscr. Magn. No. 44 1.45.
271 App. Mac. 4. Pergamum and Rhodes both had firm, friendly relations with the Romans. In 201 B.C. they sent a joint embassy to Rome to inform the Senate about a secret pact between Antiochus III and Philip V. The envoys alleged that Macedon and Syria were plotting to occupy Egypt and Rome’s holdings in the Aegean. Rhodes and Pergamum played on Roman paranoia to get their point across: the united power of the Macedonians and the Syrians would overwhelm the Eastern Mediterranean. The Romans initially tried to alleviate (and investigate) the situation through diplomatic channels. See Holleaux 1930b, pp. 144-161; Balsdon 1954, p. 34; Hammond 1966b; Gruen 1984, pp. 382-398; Errington 1989a, pp. 244-289; Derow 2003, pp. 59-63.
272 App. Mac. 4; Livy 31.44.2-9. The goal of the embassy was to warn Philip and Antiochus to stay away from Egypt. It is unlikely that Philip actually understood the Roman policy in Illyria or believed that the Romans cared about what happened there. See Badian 1952, pp. 91-93; Balsdon 1954, pp. 38-40.
Macedonian War began in 200 B.C. when 200 Roman troops led by the consul P. Sulpicius Galba landed at Apollonia and took up a position along the Apsus. From there they tried to dislodge Philip from his stronghold in the Aous valley. Another Roman detachment marched east from Apollonia through the mountains to the Macedonian frontier. The Romans met with little success until the consul Flamininus took charge of the Roman troops in 198 B.C. Less than a year later, Flamininus defeated Philip at the Battle of Cynoscephalae in Thessaly, the event that put an end to Macedonian independence.

Philip died in 179 B.C. and was succeeded by his son Perseus, who was responsible for the Third Macedonian War (171-168 B.C.), primarily fought in and over Greece. Rome had been receiving complaints against Perseus since he had assumed the throne, primarily from Eumenes II of Pergamum, and so in 171 B.C. the consul P. Licinius Crassus arrived

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273 Hammond 1966b; Dell 1977, p. 309. The Apsus river is located between Apollonia and Epidamnus.
275 Polyb. 18.19-27; Plut. Aem. 7.3, 8.4-5, Flam. 3-4. See Polyb. 18.44-47 and App. Mac. 9.1-5 for the terms of the treaty.
277 App. Mac. 11-12. Cf. SIG3 643; Bagnall and Derow 2004, no. 44. Eumenes, jealous of Perseus, played on the Senate's suspicions about Perseus and claimed that he was "attacked" by the Macedonians at Delphi. In 172 B.C., therefore, the Senate had already resolved on war with Macedonia and sent an advance force to Greece. See Gruen 1984, pp. 409-419.
in Apollonia with 37,000 soldiers.\textsuperscript{278} The force moved west to meet Perseus and suffered a series of defeats in northern Greece.\textsuperscript{279} The fighting was removed from the Adriatic until 169 B.C., when Perseus was able to win the Illyrian king, Genthius, to the Macedonian cause with a bribe of 300 talents.\textsuperscript{280} The praetor L. Anicius Gallus was based at Apollonia in 168 B.C. with a contingent that, in addition to Roman soldiers, included 2000 Parthini infantrymen and 200 cavalry. Anicius promptly captured Genthius when he stormed the Illyrian stronghold at Shkodra.\textsuperscript{281} Anicius then marched through Epirus to join forces with Aemilius Paullus, who had been dispatched at the same time to take control of the Roman troops fighting in Greece against Perseus.\textsuperscript{282} The Romans won a decisive victory in June of 168 B.C. against Perseus' united Illyrian-Macedonian fighting force at the battle of Pydna and completely annihilated the Macedonian army.\textsuperscript{283}

\textsuperscript{278} Plut. Aem. 9.2.
\textsuperscript{279} Plut. Aem. 9.2-4; Polyb. 27.9-10.
\textsuperscript{280} App. Mac. 18.1, Ill. 2.9; Plut. Aem. 9.6, 13.1-3. Genthius was the grandson of Scerdilaidas. Perseus induced him to fight against the Romans by paying him half of the bribe up front. After Genthius committed to battle, Perseus refused to pay the other half. Wilkes 1969, pp. 23-28, 1992, p. 173.
\textsuperscript{281} Plut. Aem. 13.3; App. Ill. 2.9. See Wilkes 1992, pp. 174-175.
\textsuperscript{282} App. Mac. 19; Plut. Aem. 10.
\textsuperscript{283} Plutarch (Aem. 12.3-12) attributes the Macedonian defeat to Perseus' parsimony. Although he left Macedonia in good order and as a friend of Rome, Aemilius Paullus authorized his soldiers to plunder over 70 Epirote cities because they had sided with Perseus. More than 150,000 inhabitants were taken as captives to Rome (Plut. Aem. 29; App. Mac. 18.3, Ill. 2.9). An ash layer at Antigonea is thought to be from this destruction. While it is unlikely that the plundering reached as far
Perseus was the last of the Antigonids and the last Macedonian king. Upon his defeat in 167 B.C., the Romans put an end to the Macedonian monarchy. Rome's policy of establishing "friendships" with the Hellenistic cities had failed. The Romans divided Macedonia into four independent, self-governing parts and Illyria into three; each part was prohibited from cooperating with the others politically, militarily, or economically.\textsuperscript{284} This plan might have been successful, but a Macedonian pretender to the throne, Andricus, emerged; when the Romans defeated him, again at Pydna, in 148 B.C.,\textsuperscript{285} in 146 B.C. Macedonia was made into a new Roman province and a permanent Roman governor was installed.\textsuperscript{286} Apollonia and Epidamnus probably fell within the territory of this province since Illyricum is usually thought to begin north of the Drin and Shkodra seems to have been the dividing line in 40 B.C.\textsuperscript{287} This

\textsuperscript{284} The Taulantii, as well as other Illyrian tribes who had remained loyal to Rome, were rewarded in the settlement of 168 B.C. "with a grant of freedom and with immunity from taxation (Livy 45.26.13)." See Hammond 1966a, p. 247. The Romans were attempting to destroy Illyrian and Macedonian unity by dividing the territory into independently functioning republics.


\textsuperscript{287} Deniaux 1988, pp. 143-155. The area later became part of Epirus Nova when Diocletian reorganized the provinces in the late 3rd century A.D. See Wilkes 1969, p. 31, 1992, pp. 207-208.
settlement in 146 B.C. appears to have led to a period of peace and prosperity for the former Greek colonies at Apollonia and Epidamnus.

In Late Hellenistic times, Apollonia was described by Cicero as an "urbem magnum et gravem." The city played an important strategic role in the wars between Pompey and Caesar, because it was used as a staging ground by both generals. Octavian was sent to Apollonia to pursue his military training and other studies in 45 B.C. and he returned to Italy from there when he received word that his uncle, Caesar, had been killed. Shortly afterwards, in the winter of 44/3 B.C., Brutus besieged the forces of C. Antonius that were stationed at Apollonia.

The polis appears to have flourished as an important trading post and intellectual center throughout the first centuries of the Empire. The site of Apollonia became less important after an earthquake changed the course of the Aous river in the 4th century A.D. Felix, bishop of Apollonia and Byllis, was listed at the Council of Ephesus in A.D. 431 and Eusebius, the bishop of Apollonia alone,

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289 Caes. B Civ. 3.12; App. Ill. 3.13. See Heuzey 1886.
290 App. B Civ. 2.9; Plut. Brut. 22; Suet. Aug. 10; Vell. Pat. 2.59.
292 I.33.47, 62.11 (Schwartz). The bishop from Dyrrachium, which was a metropolitan see, was also listed (33.15, 45.63, 62.17 [Schwartz]). See Camelot 1962, pp. 25-43.
attended the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451.\textsuperscript{293} The city remained an episcopal center and was mentioned in the 6th century A.D. by Hierocles in the \textit{Synekdemos} as one of 20 settlements worthy to be called a city in the Illyrian provinces, now a part of Epirus Nova.\textsuperscript{294} The Paleo-Christian period between 4th century A.D. and the construction of the church of Shën Mri in the 13th century A.D. is currently under investigation by Skender Muçaj.\textsuperscript{295}

With the disintegration of the Roman Empire, the territory of modern Albania was incorporated into the Byzantine Empire. From the 4th until the late 14th century A.D., Albania was variously ravaged and/or ruled by Byzantines, Epirotes, Bulgars, Slavs, Avars, Normans, and Venetians.\textsuperscript{296} Albanian troops fought with the Serbs against the Turks in the fatal battle on the plain of Kosovo in 1389 and Albania was subsequently incorporated into the Ottoman Empire.\textsuperscript{297} One bright note in late Medieval Albanian history was the hero Skënderbeg, who succeeded in uniting disparate petty Albanian rulers and led a revolt against the Ottomans in the following century.

\textsuperscript{293} I.3.319; III.1.281; IV.1.128, 9.94; VI.1.299, 9.312 (Schwartz). Eucharius of Dyrrachium is mentioned no less than 19 times. See Camelot 1962, pp. 115-137; Price and Gaddis 2005.
\textsuperscript{294} Hierocles \textit{Synekdemos} 653.3 (Honigmann). Dyrrachium, Byllis, Aulona, and Buthrotum are also included on this list. See Anamali 1984, p. 70.
\textsuperscript{295} Muçaj 2003-2004.
\textsuperscript{297} Cf. Winnifrith 1992, pp. 74-88.
The many sources revealed in this chapter permit one to cobble together a skeletal history for Apollonia, as I have done, particularly for the tumultuous decades in the Hellenistic period that witnessed the arrival of the Romans in the eastern Mediterranean. A pivotal geographic location at the mouth of the Adriatic brought in succession Greeks and Romans to its shores.\textsuperscript{298} The native Illyrians that they met were strange both to easterners and to westerners, sometimes viewed as pirates, other times as fierce but undisciplined fighters, and always as barbarians.\textsuperscript{299} Any further analysis of the sources relevant to their character must be, however, outside the scope of this thesis.

\textsuperscript{298} See Chapter 5 on the desirability of the location of Apollonia.  
\textsuperscript{299} Cf. Thuc. 4.125-126; Pseudo-Scylax 14-27; Theopompus, \textit{FGrH} 115 F39-40; Polyb 2.8; Diod. Sic. 16.2.8-9; Arr. \textit{Anab.} 1.1-6.
Chapter 3.

Albanian Archaeology since World War II

Each age, in each country, writes its own history and its own archaeology.\textsuperscript{300}

The problem of the origin of our people deserves to be treated in depth. This problem can be studied in part from archaeological discoveries, which furnish irrefutable proofs, and from language, which despite its evolution along the axis of time, is one of the indications of the origins of peoples.\textsuperscript{301}

Introduction

History and archaeology have always played and continue to play a vital role in the formation of identities; the past has been used as a tool to support conflicting ethnic, territorial, and nationalistic claims.\textsuperscript{302}

The manipulation of history to bolster nationalistic demands for contested territories is highlighted by recent events in the Balkans, which have attracted the attention

\textsuperscript{300} Hodder 1991, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{301} "Problemi i rëndësishëm që meriton të diskutohet është ai i prejardhjes së popullit tonë. Ky problem mund të studiohet duke u nisur, e para, nga objektet arkeologjike, të cilat nuk të lënë të lëfizësh, dhe e dyta, nga gjuha, e cila, megjithëse gjatë kohës pëson ndryshime, është një nga treguesit e origjinës së popujve (Hoxha 1985, p. 30; Vepra 17 [1959], p. 177)."
\textsuperscript{302} For recent articles and edited volumes discussing the use of the past to support ethnic and nationalistic claims, see Ganthercole and Lowenthal 1990; Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Arnold 1996; Diaz-Andreu and Champion 1996; Graves-Brown, Jones, and Gamble 1996; Jones 1996; Meskell 1998, 2002; Wallace 1998; Fotiadis 2001; Galaty and Watkinson 2004a; Hamiliakis 2007; Meskell 2007; Davis 2007.
of the popular press.\textsuperscript{303} This process is especially evident in the way the past has been used in Albania.\textsuperscript{304} Although most of the Balkan countries have received extensive treatment in academic literature, Albania was, until very recently, almost completely ignored in scholarly discourse, western and eastern alike.\textsuperscript{305} This exclusion perhaps arises because it has been one of the most "mysterious" and least well known of the Balkan countries due to the restrictive policies of its communist government. Albania has not always been marginalized within the wider European community, as it is currently: the monumental remains from the Graeco-Roman period bear witness to the splendor of Albania's Classical past and lend a certain power to the past in the present.\textsuperscript{306}

The Graeco-Roman past in particular has been called upon to play many and varied roles in the promotion of nationalist ideologies both in Albania and in Western Civilization in general.\textsuperscript{307} The discourse about the importance and meaning of the Graeco-Roman legacy in Western Culture and beyond has recently undergone intense change.\textsuperscript{308}

\textsuperscript{303} See, for example, Kaplan 1993; Boulat 2000; Vesilind 2000; Meskel 2002, pp. 288-289. Two recent examples of the manipulation of history for nationalistic claims are evident in the struggle between Greece and FYROM for use of the name "Macedonia" and between Serbia and Kossovo over the latter's independence. Cf. Fotiadis 2001.

\textsuperscript{304} Cf. Veseli 2006, pp. 323-324.

\textsuperscript{305} Kaplan 1993. For other areas of the Balkans, see Danforth 1995; Karakasidou 1997; Todorova 1997.

\textsuperscript{306} See Droit 1998.

\textsuperscript{307} See below.
restructuring and is currently the focus of heated debate that has led to a re-evaluation and reinterpretation that extends beyond academically defined disciplinary boundaries.\textsuperscript{308} The manipulation of antiquity for nationalistic purposes is especially evident in Albania, where the communist government that kept the country isolated for almost half a century used the past to serve its ideological ends.\textsuperscript{309} Such ideologies determined how the meager textual references to Albania and Apollonia, as reviewed in Chapter 2, have been interpreted and how material culture from archaeological excavations was read, especially in relation to Greek – Illyrian interactions.

This chapter explores the ideological use of the Classical past in Albania, specifically as it has affected scholarship exploring the ethnic identity and material culture of the indigenous Illyrian population, the Greek colonization of the area, interactions between the native peoples and the Greek colonists, and the position of Albania in the wider Classical world. The view of the Graeco-Roman period in southern Illyria presented to the academic community, both inside and outside Albania, was molded by specific political needs for almost two generations. This chapter seeks to clarify the ideological

\textsuperscript{309} Veseli 2006, pp. 326-329.
underpinnings of archaeological conclusions that have been reached about the Greek colony at Apollonia by Albanian scholars over the past six decades and to reassess their validity. I begin by situating modern Albania in space and time, with a brief review of the history of the state. Next I outline the history of scholarship about Albania and the development of archaeology within the country, discussing investigations by non-Albanians in the period between the founding of the modern state of Albania and World War II. Following this is a review of the political and cultural agenda of Enver Hoxha, the ideology and aims of excavations conducted in Albania since World War II during the period of Hoxha’s rule, and the post-communist reopening of research to collaborative projects between Albanian and foreign institutions. As of yet, no coherent post-communist theoretical orientation has emerged nor is there any distinct Albanian voice as yet.

Today the West views Albania as a small, poor, "backward" country situated on the fringes of Eastern Europe. Its current territorial definition was only established by the Great Powers at the conclusion of World War I.\(^{310}\) To the east Albania is bordered by Kosovo; to the northeast lies Serbia (Fig. 2.1). To the southeast is the newly constituted country of Macedonia or FYROM (Former


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Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia). In the south Albania is bordered by Greece, a country where some politicians and inhabitants still covet the territory of Albania’s Greek-speaking minority. To the west, only sixty kilometers across the Straits of Otranto, is Italy. Each of these neighboring countries, in addition to others farther afield, have sought to conquer, to rule, or to exert territorial claims over parts or all of Albania. Most of these territorial claims cite some historical foundation that has been bolstered by the manipulation of Albania's Graeco-Roman past.

Albania was one of the last countries to be liberated from the yoke of Ottoman rule and was recognized as an independent state only in 1912. During the Balkan Wars and World War I the fledgling state was occupied by Austro-Hungarians, Serbs, Italians, and Greeks. The Greeks set up an "independent" government of Northern Epirus in 1914 that controlled southern Albania from Himara in the west to Korçë in the east in opposition to the newly created Albanian government headed by Fan Noli. The Greeks, as

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311 This "Megali Idea" ("Great Idea" of "recovering" supposedly Greek territory outside the borders of the modern Greek state) was introduced by John Kolettis in 1844. See Kitromilidis 1998.
312 See Ceka 2005, p. 7, who notes that Albania was occupied by foreigners at least 16 times.
314 Logoreci 1977; Kaplan 1993, p. 44.
part of their vision of "Greater Greece," urged the commission investigating minorities in the former Ottoman territories in Europe to draw up borders that would unite this territory with Greece.\footnote{316 Stickney 1926. See Davis 2000 for a discussion of state sponsored archaeological work undertaken by the Greeks at Classical sites in Albania in an effort to strengthen their territorial claims.}  The present day borders of the country were established by the Great Powers at the Conference of Ambassadors in 1921 as a result of the commission's report.\footnote{317 Stickney 1926; Swire 1930, p. 427; Hutchings 1992; Davis 2000, p. 83.} Shortly after the official "definition" of Albania's territory, Benito Mussolini initiated an Italian occupation of the country as a first step in his attempt to recreate the "Roman Empire."\footnote{318 Cf. Gilkes 2003b, pp. 39-47, 2004, pp. 44-50.} Albania was finally liberated from foreign domination at the end of World War II, only to be closed off from the outside world in 1945 by the hard-line communist regime spearheaded by the former guerilla leader Enver Hoxha.\footnote{319 Bland 1992.} The policies established then continued throughout the entire period of socialism until the government collapsed in 1991, six years after Hoxha's death. Since that time, a fledgling "democracy" has struggled to define the orientation of the modern state.

Albania's Classical legacy has figured prominently in 20th century politics, from its liberation from the Ottoman
Empire in the early twentieth century through Mussolini’s fascist regime (which used history and archaeology to support the ideal of the New Roman Empire), during the communist government of Hoxha, to the present day and the current British (some would say neo-colonial) attempts to reshape the face of the archaeological infrastructure in the country. Until the end of World War II, archaeology in Albania had been almost solely in the hands of foreign researchers. An "Albanian Archaeology" that is uniquely Albanian was, in any case, a relatively new creation.

Foreign Archaeology in Albania

Wherever elements drawn from the past are purposefully incorporated into a national narrative under the sponsorship of a central authority, alterations in attitude to that past, inevitable over time given changes in popular perception, state ideology and scholarship, will affect the national self-image, so that the past becomes relevant in itself. What may have begun as inert raw material from the

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320 In 1991 Hodder (p. 8) noted that it was difficult to evaluate "the impact on archaeology of the events leading up to the 1989 transformation of Eastern Europe." Almost 20 years later it is possible in Albania to see the revival of a "colonial" type of archaeology at a time when "colonialism" is dying out in the rest of the world. This is due in large measure to the economic difficulties experienced by Albania and the shortage of government/state money available for archaeology. Albanian archaeologists are thus forced to turn to foreign "collaborators" in order to continue their research. Cf. Hodges 2004, pp. 151-156.

321 See below.
quarry, acquires the power to shape the present and future.\textsuperscript{322}

The internal factor and the ideological factor have always been two essential elements in the study of Albanian problems. It is for this reason that the studies of our nation are incontestably better and more profound than those of any foreign Albanologist, independent of the fact that the foreign researcher has been able to be or still is in our day a great scientific expert.\textsuperscript{323}

Archaeology in Albania began as the domain of foreigners who were primarily interested in Albania's Graeco-Roman past. The exploration and documentation of Albania's Classical antiquities was initiated with accounts produced by foreign travelers of visible ruins and known artifacts. Although most were well versed in the Classics, as archaeologists they were amateurs at best, focused on exploring Greek and Roman monuments rather than native Illyrian culture.\textsuperscript{324} The most famous of these include the French consul François Pouqueville and the British traveler

\textsuperscript{322} Carras 2004, p. 294.
\textsuperscript{323} “Fakotërë kryesorë për studimin e problemeve shqiptare kanë qënë dhe mbeten faktori i brendshëm dhe ai ideologjik. Për këtë arsy studimet e njerëzve tanë janë, pa diskutim, me nivel më të lartë e më të thella se të çdo albanologu të huaj, sado autoritet i madh shkencor që mund të ketë qënë ai edhe në ditët tona (Hoxha 1985, p. 42).”
\textsuperscript{324} E.g., Korkuti 1971, pp. i-ii: "The limited research and studies we have from the pre-liberation period were done by foreign scholars. They traced mainly the Greek and Roman civilizations, restricting the scope of their activity to our coastal cities of antiquity. Even when they went beyond these limits, their investigations did not touch the basic problems of the history and culture of the Illyrians." Cf. Gilkes 2003b, pp. 36-39.
William Leake. The English landscape artist Edward Lear also visited and made sketches of many Albanian sites. Leon Heuzey and Honoré Daumet were, however, the first modern academics to discuss extensively the archaeology of Albania. They visited Albania in 1861 as part of the French archaeological mission to Macedonia and published a description of the monuments and inscriptions they encountered. Shortly before their visit, Johann von Hahn, an Austrian, had published *Albanesische Studien*, the first detailed study of the ancient Illyrians. The earliest systematic recording of ancient sites in Albania was made prior to the First World War by Carl Patsch. During the war, important topographical investigations were conducted by Austrians Camille Praschniker and Arnold Schober; these remain the foundation for the modern study of many Greek and Illyrian sites. The first scientific excavations in the country were conducted during World War I by Praschniker.

Following the war, the Albanian government issued permission first to the French and then to the Italians to set up archaeological missions in the central and southern

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325 Pouqueville 1805, 1820; Leake 1835.
326 Lear 1851.
327 Heuzey and Daumet 1876; Heuzey 1886.
328 von Hahn 1854.
329 Patsch 1904.
330 Praschniker and Schober 1919.
parts of the country respectively. The French began work at Apollonia, the Italians at Butrint and Phoenice.\textsuperscript{332} Thus was Albania's antiquity the preserve of non-Albanians who arrived with their own political agendas and prejudices,\textsuperscript{333} from the very first extant accounts of Albania's antiquities left by travelers until the end of World War II and the rise of the communist government of Hoxha.

\textbf{Enver Hoxha and Communist Albania}

Over a long period the Party of Labour of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha have frequently pointed out the phenomenon of the indomitable resistance of the Albanian people who, through the centuries, have faced up to the most difficult situations in which their very existence, their ethnic and cultural identity were endangered.\textsuperscript{334}

I responded to comrade Stalin that the origin of our people is very ancient and that Albanian is an Indo-European language. There are numerous theories on this proposition, but the truth is that we are of Illyrian origin. Our people descend from the Illyrians. There also exists a theory according to which the Albanian people is the most ancient people of the


\textsuperscript{333} E.g., the Italians were fixated on substantiating their own territorial claims in Albania based on the past. Cf. Gilkes 2003a, pp. 18-21; Miraj 2003, pp. 23-28.

\textsuperscript{334} Buda 1984, p. 9.
Balkans and that the pre-Homeric origin of the Albanians reaches back to the Pelasgians.\textsuperscript{335}

Enver Hoxha was very much attuned to the power of the past, which he used to create a national identity. Through the manipulation of history and archaeology, he shaped the way modern Albanians think about themselves.\textsuperscript{336} Hoxha placed emphasis on the role of the indigenous Illyrians, who inhabited Albania prior to the first historic invasion, the arrival of Archaic Greek colonists. He ordered the production of a "master narrative" to which all were required to adhere, in which it was essential to highlight the intellectual and artistic achievements of the natives prior to the appearance of "civilized" societies and culture. The indigenous people did not evolve through diffusion, but rather through their own innate abilities; ethnogenesis was therefore forcefully promoted. It was additionally necessary to demonstrate a historical continuum from ancient to modern times that would eradicate

\textsuperscript{335} "Unë iu përgjigja shokut Stalin se origjina e popullit tonë është shumë e lashtë dhe gjuha e tij është indoevropiane. Ka shumë teori për këtë çështje, por e vërteta është se origjina jonë është ilire. Ne jemi një popull me prejardhje ilire. Ka, gjithashtu, një teori që shtron tezën se populli shqiptar është populli më i vjetër i Ballkanit dhe origjina e lashtë parahomerike e shqiptarëve janë pellazgët (Hoxha 1985, p. 40)."

\textsuperscript{336} Hoxha's creation of an Albanian national consciousness is not so unlike that created by the modern Greek state. See Hamilakis 2003, pp. 59-69 and Carras 2004 for a discussion of the formation of the Greek national consciousness.
any imprints left by foreign dominion. Thus was the Illyrian culture used for political purposes to promote a sense of national and ethnic unity.

Hoxha's political and social agenda dictated the program of archaeological and historical investigation and outlined specific goals for both disciplines: scholars were to investigate the origin of the Illyrians and the genesis of the Albanian people. The resulting history of Albania was to be written within a Marxist-Leninist framework. "We are able to affirm without deceiving ourselves that it is for the first time that we have in our hands a 'History of Albania' written from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism. Naturally the purposed text has lacunae but the discussions that it will subsequently provoke will ameliorate that." This passage, written by Hoxha in 1959, a decade after the beginning of the communist era, affirms the intellectual framework for future studies.

Hoxha emphasized the need to investigate the ethnogenesis of the Illyrians and the unbroken continuity that existed in Albania. Although Albania had been

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337 Korkuti 1988, p. 10.
339 "Ne mund të themi pa u gabuar se kemi në duar për herë të parë një "Histori të Shqipërisë" të shkruar në dritëen e marksizëm-leninizmit. Natyrisht, në maketin që është përgatitur ka edhe boshllëge, por me diskutimit që po zhvillohen ai do të përmirësohet (Hoxha 1985, p. 30; Vepër 17 [1959], p. 177)."
subjected to numerous foreign incursions throughout her history, the official interpretation asserted that none of these had had a lasting effect on the "Albanian people," who remained the direct descendents of the Illyrians. In the face of their continuous struggle against outsiders, archaeology and history were used as tools to define who the Albanians are not, rather than who they are, which promoted an "us" versus "them" view of the past.\textsuperscript{341}

Material culture was to be used as a means to identify ethnicity.\textsuperscript{342} Yet the Classical past was in direct conflict with Hoxha's emphasis on the autochthonous origin of the Albanian people.\textsuperscript{343} While Hoxha as the head of the Party of Labor of the Albanian State insisted that the archaeological agenda emphasize research into the ethnogenesis of the Albanian people, Hoxha the humanist, who had been educated in post-World War I France, could not bring himself to ignore entirely the rich Classical heritage of his homeland.\textsuperscript{344} He was aware that the Illyrian civilization did not play the same role in world history as

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\textsuperscript{341} Petruso 2002.
\textsuperscript{342} The idea that sets of artifacts could be used to define distinct groups of people or "cultures," which have come to be equated with ethnicities, was developed in English scholarship by Childe (1925). See Jones 1997, pp. 15-26, 1998 for a discussion of the relevance of archaeological cultures. \\
\textsuperscript{343} For a discussion of Hoxha's philosophy of archaeology, see Korkuti 1988. \\
\textsuperscript{344} See Hoxha 1985, p. 33-35.
\end{flushright}
the Greek and Roman, but Albanian archaeologists could prove that their past had contributed to the richness of humanity.\textsuperscript{345} He attempted to reconcile the discrepancies inherent in a colonial Greek presence within an indigenous landscape and to fit the "Classical past" into communist ideology by stressing the reciprocal nature of interactions between the Greeks and the Illyrians.\textsuperscript{346} These tensions are manifested in research agendas and archaeological publications.

As Muzaffer Korkuti and Karl Petruso note, "Albania might well be the best place in Europe to study archaeology of historical-materialist stripe, since the country remained hard line Socialist long after the U.S.S.R. had softened and broadened its own official orientation in the post-Stalin era."\textsuperscript{347} Censorship was rigid in Albania during the communist era and the centralized government tightly controlled the production of knowledge, determining what was appropriate to print. One needed to pay tribute to the party line and "the paeans to Hoxha typically found in books on Albanian archaeology that appeared during his

\textsuperscript{345} "We have contributed to the culture and richness of humanity. (Ka kontribuar në kulturën e përgjithshme të njerëzimit) (Hoxha 1984, p. 32; Vepra 17 [1959], p. 481)." This passage is also quoted in Korkuti 1988, p. 9. Cf. Anamali 1976a.


\textsuperscript{347} Korkuti and Petruso 1993, p. 703.
reign were a prerequisite to publication."348 Nationalism "is always at the surface of research into the archaeology and history of Albania."349

The title of the opening paper in the 1985 volume of Iliria speaks eloquently to the role of government in archaeology and to the political agenda endorsed by the archaeologists: "Enver Hoxha – Inspirateur et protecteur de l'archéologie albanaise."350

Albanian Archaeology Uniquely Albanian

With the level achieved in economic and social development, with their resistance in the centuries to the assimilating pressure exerted by the empires of Antiquity and the Middle Ages, and with their ceaseless struggles against social and national oppression, the Albanian people have been the decisive factor for historical progress, and have preserved and further developed their identity, have created their Albanian nationality with common cultural features and have developed into a modern nation.351

"Albanian" archaeology was born with the communist government and the creation of the ethno-archaeological

348 Korkuti and Petruso 1993, pp. 703-705; Galaty and Watkinson 2004b, pp. 8-10.
350 The article is written by one of the leading Albanian archaeologists, S. Islami (1985). The Albanian title is "Enver Hoxha – Fremëzues dhe përkrahës i arkeologjisë albanaise."
351 Editorial 1984, p. 4.
museum in Tirana in 1948.\textsuperscript{352} Prior to this, all excavations had been undertaken by foreigners. Albanian archaeology conducted by Albanians did not begin until after Albania was "liberated" by the communists in 1944.\textsuperscript{353} Even at that time there was no centralized organization or institution that could immediately undertake archaeological research nor were there any scholars available to conduct scientific and systematic investigations. Archaeology first became somewhat later a part of the government sponsored educational program under the aegis of the Institute of Science and of the fledgling ethnographic-archaeological museum. The tasks of the staff members of the museum were "the protection, preservation, and study of archaeological monuments."\textsuperscript{354} An archaeological section was added to the Institute of History and Linguistics in 1955 and to the Institute of History in 1972. These remained the main governmental mechanism for archaeological study and fieldwork until the Center for Archaeological Research was created in Tirana in 1976.\textsuperscript{355} The Center, which was "reorganized and renamed the Institute of Archaeology in 1992," was a branch of the Academy of Sciences and, until 2007, was responsible for all archaeological research and

\textsuperscript{352} \textit{Editorial} 1976, p. 13.
\textsuperscript{354} Andrea 1984, p. 102.
museum curation in Albania.\textsuperscript{356} From its inception, the Center was "divided into three scientific sections (prehistory, Illyrian antiquity, and mediaeval)" and also curated numismatic and anthropological collections.\textsuperscript{357}

"Albanian" archaeology was essentially an Albanian product, although it used other European schools as models in some respects.\textsuperscript{358} As noted above, Marxism was the dominant ideology.\textsuperscript{359} Communism dictated that all historical and archaeological interpretation fall within a processual Marxist-Leninist framework that was explanatory in nature. This framework was immalleable and could not be questioned. The goal was to uncover material culture that could be used to write cultural history that would explain (originally create) the history of the Albanian people. Models were developed to explain social change as a product of indigenous initiative rather than outside stimuli. Archaeologists were required to provide evidence to support the model rather than to challenge it. Thus, considerable energy was expended on developing and interpreting typologies of "Albanian" material culture.

\textsuperscript{356} Korkuti and Petruso 1993, p. 705. The International Center for Albanian Archaeology (ICAA), a private institution funded by the Packard Humanities Institute, was created in Tirana in 1999. See Lafe 2005, p. 119.
\textsuperscript{357} Andrea 1984, p. 102.
\textsuperscript{358} Bejko 1998, p. 197.
\textsuperscript{359} Cf. Korkuti 1971, p. ii.
The "National Conference on the Formation of the Albanian People, their Language, and Culture" was held in Tirana in 1982 to discuss "the genesis of the Albanian people and its fundamental aspects, the Illyrian-Albanian continuity, the autochthony of the Albanians on their territories, and the formation of the Albanian nation with its language, culture and territory in the Middle Ages." These topics comprised the science of Albanology. The starting point for these studies was the definition of the "ethnos," which is more or less equivalent to Gordon Childe's "culture." The ethnos was "a social community formed historically on the basis of coexistence, with a common or cognate language, with identical or similar material and spiritual culture, with inter-relations of production and exchange, all this on the basis of a definite territory without which these factors cannot operate." The "ethnos" could be recognized from evidence of language, religion, material culture, and physio-biological characteristics. Such investigations, "carried out on an objective scientific basis," would show the

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360 Editorial 1984, p. 3.
361 Korkuti 1971, pp. iii-iv; Buda 1984, p. 11.
362 See Hall 1995 for the role of language in defining ancient ethnicities.
indigenous Illyrian origin of all the characteristics that comprise the modern Albanian "ethnos."\textsuperscript{363}

It is important to recognize that many of the dominant concepts of the "theoretical approach" practiced in Albanian archaeology, as well as Childe's ideas, originated from Gustaf Kossinna's 1920 publication of \textit{Die Herkunft der Germanen} which outlined the definition of archaeological "cultures."\textsuperscript{364} This concept of archaeological cultures was carried to its infamous and illogical terminus in the 1930s and early 1940s by the Third Reich in Germany, which used it to support the idea of a Nordic-Aryan "race." A crucial insight into Albanian archaeology is provided by the "Nazi link between ethnogenesis and archaeology."\textsuperscript{365} Ian Hodder illustrates the link between fascism and ethnogenesis with the example of Portugal from 1926 to 1974:

The ideology of the regime was based to a large extent on the glorification of the past, and on the identification with those same 'glorious' traditions. Even the prehistoric past was used to justify the independent existence of the Portuguese state. . . It was argued that there was a cultural distinctiveness to the populations living in the Portuguese territory as early as the neolithic period and that there was a racial continuity between

\textsuperscript{363} Buda 1984, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{364} Hodder 1991, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{365} Hodder 1991, p. 2.
the modern Portuguese and the neolithic peoples of western Iberia.\textsuperscript{366}

Another aspect of Kossinna's work that persisted in Albanian archaeology after the communist "liberation" was the commitment to empirical description, the collection of data, and the cataloguing of artifacts, rather than the development of any body of abstract theory or questioning of the data. This method arose, in part, because of the difficulty that Albanian archaeologists had in applying the state mandated Marxist theory to the interpretation of the results of their scientific inquiries. "It is through Marxism in particular that the historical emphasis in European archaeology achieves an abstract theoretical and generalising character."\textsuperscript{367} The lack of theory building can also be attributed to the difficulty that Albanian scholars experienced in maintaining contact with western archaeological trends and developments.

Albanian scientists were aware of the importance of the past in the modern definition of their nationhood. "These studies constitute a powerful theoretical weapon in the hands of the peoples, nationalities and nations, either oppressed or on the road to their liberation, for the affirmation, on the basis of historical laws, of their

\textsuperscript{366} Hodder 1991, p. 2. \\
\textsuperscript{367} Hodder 1991, p. 10
national political identity, of their aspirations to a
democratic progressive culture which responds to their
ethnic-historical physiognomy and demands for social
progress, and to their struggle for freedom and
independence against any form of exploitation." 368

Studies of the origin of the Albanian people, however,
were not an original creation of the communist
intelligentsia; they built on foreign works that had begun
the study of the Albanian people and language much earlier.
Such topics, for example, had been investigated already in
the 18th century by Johann Thunmann, who concluded that the
modern Albanian people and their language descended from
the Illyrians. 369 In the 19th and early 20th centuries
several detailed studies were produced that underscored the
divergence of Albanian from the Indo-European language
branch. 370 Investigations into the physical traits of the
Albanians were also initiated already prior to 1900.
Leopold Glück, for example, and Albanian physical
anthropologists after him offered biological "evidence" to
define the "ethno-psychological physiognomy" of the
Albanian people. 371

368 Buda 1984, p. 12.
369 Thunmann 1774.
Ölberg 1977; Domi 1984.
In the post-liberation years, archaeological research work has been concentrated mainly in the fields of Illyrian and mediaeval Albanian culture. Linked with the researches are problems of fundamental historical importance such as the ethnogenesis of the Illyrians, the level of their cultural, social and economic development, and their political role in the Balkan Peninsula and the Mediterranean Basin, as well as the problem of Illyrian-Albanian continuity, the autochthony of the mediaeval Albanians, and the formation of the Albanian nation.\textsuperscript{372}

Speeches, like the proceeding one given on the occasion of the creation and inauguration of the Center for Archaeological Research in January, 1976, stress that the most important goal of archaeological research was to prove the autochthonous ethnogenesis of the Albanian people.\textsuperscript{373} This was to be done by unearthing material culture that would define the ethnos and emphasize the social and economic developments of the Illyrians; such discoveries were to be used to rewrite the previous historiography of Albania, which was viewed as antiscientific and foreign, bourgeois and revisionist, and that had emphasized the primitive, non-urban character of the Illyrians.\textsuperscript{374}

\textsuperscript{372} Andrea 1984, p. 102.
\textsuperscript{373} Editorial 1976, p. 13.
Archaeology was tied closely to history, which was charged with the task of constructing a narrative of the country and its people that emphasized resistance to, and victory over, foreign domination, and, like archaeology, the autochthonous development and the ethno-cultural continuity of the Albanian people. Albanian archaeological publications reveal the ambivalence toward the Greeks that has already been mentioned. The Albanians maintained that, although contact with Greek colonists promoted urban development, this interaction was not the impetus for social change in the tribal structure of the Illyrians, but rather that urban development was already in motion when the Greeks arrived. This process of urbanization was alleged to have influenced the nature of Illyrian-Greek interactions and to have created the conditions that permitted colonization to occur in Albania, i.e., the existence of Illyrian centers demanded imports from abroad; trade followed, and Greeks were attracted to Albania and realized the potential for colonization there.

Albanian archaeology in general, however, has struggled, as did Hoxha himself, to find a consistent and ideologically acceptable interpretation for the colonial

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Greek presence in Albania: attitudes towards Apollonia, Epidamnus, and Buthrotum have been ambiguous, at best. On the one hand, these archaeological sites are in some sense seen as an intrusive and disruptive foreign presence in Albania. It is these places that have traditionally been of interest to foreigners, and the very fact of their existence in Albania has been used to support nationalist Greek claims on Albanian soil. On the other hand, Hoxha's own minority policy emphasized the contributions that many different ethnic groups made to the Albanian nation. In the eyes of many Albanians, the Greek colonies thus were transformed into Illyrian cities, and many of their monuments became important indigenous symbols.

To this end, communist archaeology sought to essentialize both Greeks and Illyrians. The Greek colonies were vehicles that facilitated the transition of the numerically dominant Illyrians from a stage of barbarism to full urbanism. Greek culture was expropriated, and Hellenization itself became a feature of Illyrian civilization. In choosing to emphasize the essential nature of the Illyrian population, the actual archaeological evidence was prejudged by the imposition of predetermined deductive frameworks, and scholars shifted

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their focus to problems that held little promise of explaining the process of Hellenization in Albania.\footnote{378} The task of the epigrapher was to recognize Illyrians from the appearance of their names in Hellenistic inscriptions; the job of the historian of religion was to bring to light Illyrian elements in cults of the Greek colonies; and the role of the archaeologist was to uncover "local" (Illyrian) material culture at colonial sites.\footnote{379}

The problem with this approach to Albanian (or any other) archaeology was the assumption of answers to questions still unresolved. Research focused on the Hellenistic and Roman periods, for which evidence, particularly inscriptional, was most plentiful — but from time periods long after the indigenous population of Albania had adopted Greek customs and culture, i.e., been Hellenized. Earlier periods were neglected and there was no attempt to develop a social archaeology that could investigate issues of ethnicity in the Archaic and Classical periods.\footnote{380} One goal of this dissertation is to rectify this situation by collating and reinterpreting old data and presenting for the first time new data from MRAP

\footnote{380} Cf. Korkuti 1971, pp. vii-ix, where the 6th-5th centuries B.C. at Apollonia and Epidamnus are completely absent from his narrative about the development of Illyrian cities and Ceka and Ceka 1971, pp. 139-143 where Illyrian urban and political development is linked to the Chaonians and Epirotes rather than the Greek apoikiai.
that is relevant to the history of the Graeco-Roman period, the nature of Greek colonization, and Greek-Illyrian interactions.

Although the Classical sites of Epidamnus, Apollonia, and Buthrotum were extensively explored under communism, the focus of Albanian archaeology at these places was predictably Illyrio-centric. Albanian archaeologists and historians rejected a Western colonialist point of view, which was considered foreign, that emphasized the passive role of the Illyrians in the Hellenization of Albania. Encouraged by Hoxha, they envisioned a dynamic exchange between cultures in which the Greeks were as much influenced and changed by Illyrian culture as the Illyrians were by the Greeks. "While it is clear that the civilization of ancient Greece influenced that of our people, it is also unthinkable that the ancient civilization of our people did not influence that of the Greek people (italics added)." On the other hand, it was crucial for "scientists" to maintain separation between the two cultures: "That which is Illyrian is Illyrian and that

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381 The Western colonialist point of view stressed the superiority of the Greeks and their culture. See below.
382 "Dihet se kultura e Greqisë së lashtë ka influencuar në kulturën e popullit tonë, por është e pamundur që edhe kultura e lashtë e popullit tonë të mos ketë influencuar në kulturën e popullit grek (Vepra 21 [1961], p. 362, 1985, p. 33; Korkuti 1988, p. 9)."
which is Greek should be considered Greek." Material culture, the desired product of excavation, was therefore used at Apollonia, Buthrotum, and Epidamnus as a means to distinguish ethnicities. In this way, the study and presentation of the Graeco-Roman past were politically dictated for decades under Hoxha.

The Politics of the First Greeks at Apollonia

The foundation by the Greeks of Apollonia, a new apoikia, in the foreign territory of the Illyrians during the Archaic period, is one of the most significant topics examined in this thesis. Although this episode of colonization took place over two and a half millennia ago, the study of the Archaic period is politically loaded and is still used by politicians in both Albania and Greece to manipulate the present. For this reason, the identification and separation of Greek and Illyrian elements in the material culture continues to be viewed as an important undertaking for Albanian archaeologists. The legacy of the communist political agenda is an attempt to minimize the importance of the Greek presence during the

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383 "... ç'është ilire është ilire dhe ç'është greke duhet konsideruar greke (Korkuti 1988, p. 9)." This was said with reference to Hoxha's writings. See also p. 12 where this statement is rephrased to include the Romans.
Archaic period and to maximize the importance of the native Illyrian population.

The principle concern of Albanian archaeologists and historians under communism had been questions pertaining to Illyrian urbanization and social development. As a consequence, scholars only explored the Greek Archaic period and the history of colonization in so far as they impacted the Albanian "Proto-Urban" period. As previously noted, a determination that contact with Greek colonists had promoted urban development, thereby altering the tribal structure of the Illyrians, but not causing it, prompted Albanian scholars to attempt to prove that the Illyrians had already evolved from a tribal phase and had entered a "Proto-Urban" phase of development by the time the Greek colonists arrived. This transformation was, in a sense, what made Greek colonization possible, since Greeks were attracted to Albania by possibilities for exchange with the native population. The process of Greek colonization, therefore, had very little to do with the Greeks

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384 Albanian Chronology: EIA = 1050-750; DIA ("Developed Iron Age) = 750-625; PU (Proto-Urban) = 625-450. See Table 1.1. The ideological emphasis on the Illyrians' movement towards urbanization prior to the arrival of the Greeks resulted in the definition of "Proto-Urban" as a phase of the Illyrian Iron Age, which was roughly contemporaneous with the later Archaic period and the initial stages in the development of the Greek apoikiai.


themselves, but rather with the state of Illyrian development. By distinguishing Illyrian from Greek material culture, it was possible to maintain that the colonial cities were Illyrian before the arrival of the Greeks, that there remained a strong Illyrian element even after colonization, and that the Illyrian contribution to the survival of the colonized cities was essential. With this primary focus and a Marxist theoretical framework, it was impossible to explore larger themes in Greek colonization from a pan-Mediterranean perspective.

One way to emphasize the role of the native Illyrians at the principal Greek colonies was to endorse and emphasize traditional foundation dates as the beginning of Greek occupation at apoikiai in Albania. Any Greek imports or influences prior to these "historic" foundation dates had, therefore, to be interpreted as products of Illyrian interactions with Greek traders. Such a line of reasoning produced proof for a strong Illyrian presence at colonial sites before the arrival of the Greeks. Albanian historians also adduced Hellenistic and Roman grave stele with "Illyrian" names as proof of a continued Illyrian element in the population of the cities and a demonstration

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388 For foundation dates in general, see Chapter 4; for the foundation dates of Epidamnus and Apollonia, see Chapter 5.
that the Greeks mingled and intermarried with the Illyrian population upon their arrival.\textsuperscript{391} In addition, at Apollonia, the Greeks were believed to have abandoned their own burial rituals and to have adopted Illyrian burial customs through the interment of their dead in tumuli.\textsuperscript{392}

The treatment of Apollonia's history during the communist period affords a clear example of the way the Greek colonial past was manipulated for political ends. Apollonia's traditional foundation date of 588 B.C., for which, as shown in Chapter 5, no firm evidence exists, was reified by Albanian archaeologists.\textsuperscript{393} The artifacts from the site that predated this time were taken as evidence for pre-colonial trade with the Illyrians, which was, in turn, used to prove that Illyrians were living at Apollonia before the Greek colony was founded. Emphasis was placed on the importance of the interactions between the Illyrians and the Greeks and the role the indigenous population played in the survival of the new colony.\textsuperscript{394} Hammond goes so far as to support the theory that Apollonia was a joint Illyrian-Corinthian foundation, although all textual evidence suggests otherwise.\textsuperscript{395}

\textsuperscript{393} Cf. Anamali 1970, p. 89; Ceka 1972, p. 21; N. Ceka 1982a, pp. 18-19.
\textsuperscript{395} Hammond 1982b, p. 267.
In the case of Greek colonization, it is clear that the production of the past in the present in Albania continues to be structured and dominated by two competing intellectual perspectives that converge and clash in their versions of "ancient history:" an idealized Western version that prioritizes the superiority of the Greeks and the process of "Hellenizing the natives" and the communist politically motivated approach that asserts indigenous development. The communist version might appear to voice the resistance of a subjugated group, i.e., the Albanians themselves, who did not participate in the production of history until after the "liberation" of the country following World War II, but its motives are hardly more pure than the Western approach to "Classical Civilization," which claims the Greeks as the progenitors of Western Civilization. Albanians and foreigners have produced different accounts of the Graeco-Roman period based on different agendas. The current dominant communist paradigm of the Albanian past, which still has its adherents, is no

397 Cf. Whitley 2001, pp. 17-41 for modern paradigms of Western Civilization. See also Morris 2003, p. 40 for the breakdown of this paradigm.
less propagandistic or potent than that of the "West." 399

"Each set of ideas and their representations of the past have their own practical consequences. They provide justifications and rationalizations for social and intellectual hierarchies, imperial conquest and the exclusion and subjugation of populations." 400 Although these accounts "resist" each other, there has been very little resistance to the hegemonic structures as a whole by underpowered minority groups. 401 For example, the current generation of Albanian scholars has not yet found a voice, although it is seeking to break free from both Western-imperialist and Communist dominated modes of thought. 402 Is it possible to negotiate a course between these two viewpoints that have dominated scholarship for so long?

399 See Winnifrith 2002, pp. 39-41 for both views.
402 Cf. abstracts from the session "Deconstructing and Reconstructing Albanian Archaeology" organized by O. Gilkes and me at the 2002 meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America (AJA 106, pp. 279-281). Recent edited volumes with papers by different generations of scholars illustrate various current approaches to interpreting Albania's past, including communist, younger generation, and western narratives. One of the first such collections is the issue of *Iliria* with papers from the 1998 conference in Tirana celebrating 50 years of Albanian archaeology. See also *New Directions*. The recent publication edited by Hysa and N. Molla (2009) is designed as a handbook for young archaeologists and seeks to replace outdated communist methodologies. For post-Hoxha archaeology, see Galaty and Watkinson 2004b, pp. 11-12. For problems confronting the future of Albanian archaeology and some possible solutions, see Hodges 2004, pp. 151-156 and Martin 2006, pp. 373-377.
This study is not designed to prove that the older generation of Albanian archaeologists and historians is wrong. Much of what they have written about the Archaic period and Greek colonization is probably as close to the truth as one can hope to get; it is, moreover, their truth. Rather, this thesis adds to the mix different methodologies and current western, postcolonial theoretical paradigms and presents new data gathered by MRAP. By posing different questions, I reach some divergent conclusions. Additionally, I point out gaps in the current knowledge and outline some avenues for future studies. For these reasons, it has been necessary to take a critical approach to the Albanian archaeological perspective that arose as a result of the communist program during the Hoxha era and to consider the effects it has had on current views of the Illyrians. The past was used by the communist Albanian intellectual elite for political ends and to legitimize power. By working under Hoxha's repressive

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403 The Albanians' approach to the study of the past that emphasizes bilateral cultural exchanges between indigenous and colonizing populations is very much in tune with current postcolonial theory that stresses hybridity and cultural interaction. The communist approach also anticipated current reception theory. Reception theory, developed by Hans-Robert Jauss in the 1960s, originated as a form of textual analysis that emphasized an audience's scope for "negotiation" and "opposition" in the interpretation of literary texts, rather than their passive acceptance.
regime and seeking to document his agenda they acknowledged their acceptance of, and lack of resistance to, it.404

An Archaeology Unknown to the Outside World

Many aspects of the archaeology of Albania remain relatively unknown in the west, even though the discoveries of Albanian archaeologists are relevant to themes that have been of longstanding concern to Classical scholars and other archaeologists. For example, the significant Greek colonies of coastal Albania are under-represented in Boardman's *The Greeks Overseas*, as is its Iron Age archaeology in Well's *The Barbarians Speak*.405 In general, discussions of Greek colonization also tend to overlook the east coast of the Adriatic.406 This is regrettable, since, as I have documented, the exploration, publication, and interpretation of the rich archaeological heritage of the country has been in process by Albanian archaeologists since 1948.407 Much of their most recent work has been conducted in collaboration with foreign teams, American,

405 Boardman 1999a; Wells 1999.
407 See extensive bibliographies in Jubani 1972; Drini 1985; Korkuti and Kamberi 1997. Until quite recently, however, archaeological literature has been published largely only in Albanian journals, making it all but inaccessible to scholars outside the country.
British, French, and Italian. As a result of these ongoing collaborative projects, since 1991, great strides have been made in placing Albania in dialogues concerned with the larger Graeco-Roman world.

Two recent expeditions – the Mallakastra Regional Archaeological Project (MRAP) and the Durrës Regional Archaeological Project (DRAP) – have attempted to document the history of habitation in the territories of the Greek apoikiai in Albania, and thus the spread of Greek material culture into the countryside, and to bring both Apollonia and Dyrrachium–Epidamnus into current academic discourses concerning the nature of Archaic colonization. These two intensive surface surveys, sponsored by the University of Cincinnati, were multidisciplinary and diachronic. Each sought to explore changes in settlement patterns and to produce maps of sites that would assist in the preservation of the archaeological heritage of the country in the face of rapid urban expansion and looting.

MRAP was a collaboration between the Institute of Archaeology in Tirana and an international team of archaeologists, primarily from the United States. Field operations were begun in the areas around Apollonia in 1998 and completed in 2003. The project was the first interdisciplinary surface survey to be organized in Albania

\(^{408}\) Lefe 2005, p. 119.
and combined geological, geomorphological, and botanical research with archaeological and historical investigation. MRAP was only the second American archaeological project to be initiated in Albania and from 1998–2003 was the sole American project operating there. The groundwork for the project had been laid in 1994 during an exploratory trip to Albania.

The Durrës Regional Archaeological Project intensively surveyed the hilly hinterland immediately to the north of ancient Dyrrachium–Epidamnus in the spring of 2001. It documented extensive, but previously unreported, evidence for Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic settlement and land use.

Albania is well-suited to the modern techniques of surface survey, as they have been developed in Greece and elsewhere in the Mediterranean. Such techniques had already been successfully applied in Greece and neighboring countries prior to their introduction in Albania by MRAP and DRAP. Antiquities of all periods in both areas had

\[409\] The first American project was the excavation of Konispol cave directed by Karl Petruso and Muzafer Kortuti. See Korkuti and Petruso 1993.
\[410\] Since the inception of the project I was a co-director of MRAP with responsibility for oversight of the processing and analysis of artifacts collected in the field.
\[411\] Davis et al. 2003.
\[413\] Alcock, Cherry, and Davis 1994; Alcock and Cherry 2004.
already been well-explored and documented through excavation by both foreign and Albanian archaeologists.

The present study seeks to refocus investigation of the Greek colonies in Albania, paving the way to building a new synthesis of Albanian history through promoting a dialectic between the old and the new, one that retains the finest of earlier approaches in both Albanian and foreign scholarship. At the same time, I hope to contribute to laying foundations for an ongoing conversation about the Albanian past that lets go of vested interests for the sake of genuine collaborative efforts. The work of MRAP, as described in the remainder of my thesis, has a role to play in that process. The following two chapters are, however, essential first steps toward the achievement of that goal, first to consider Greek colonization as it is generally understood today, then to reconsider the evidence for colonization in southern Illyria in that light.
Chapter 4.

Greek Colonization as a General Phenomenon

Changing interests demand different versions of the past. 414

The history of colonies in modern times shows the difference between the arrangements and aspirations of the original founders and the colonists and the subsequent relations of the two communities. Closely linked though they are, the act of foundation is one thing, the subsequent relations another. 415

Introduction

This chapter will review some general themes and problems inherent to the study of Greek colonization in the Archaic period. Chapter 5 will then discuss how these broad issues relate to the local history of Apollonia in southern Illyria. The goal here is to introduce current theoretical approaches to ongoing debates about Greek colonization that are relevant to the apoikiai in the eastern Adriatic. Topics addressed here and in Chapter 5 include motives for colonization, the return to seafaring in the 8th century B.C., the role that the Euboeans played in opening the Mediterranean to mariners, and the two types of settlements that Greeks established abroad during the

414 Osborne 1996a, p. 15.
Archaic period, the *emporion* and the *apoikia*. Chapter 4 will also examine the controversy about mother cities, whether or not they existed, the role they played in founding colonies and designating *oikists*, and the relationship that existed between *metropolis* and *apoikia*. Most of the information preserved about colonies is found in *ktiseis*, or foundation stories, although caution must be exercised in interpreting such stories as "historical fact." Some of the common elements in *ktiseis* will be presented here, and a new *ktisis* for Apollonia will be constructed in Chapter 5. The final topic that will be addressed in Chapter 4 is the validity of foundation dates.

A variety of historical and archaeological debates are encompassed within the broad topic of "Greek colonization" in the Archaic period, as are a multitude of theoretical approaches; different generations of scholars have assigned various of these sub-topics greater or lesser importance. Jean-Paul Morel noted, "in our discipline the problems of the moment are replaced or modified with amazing rapidity" in scholarship on colonization.\(^{416}\) Although this is true, it is also true that old topics of investigation that have fallen out of fashion during one period have been revived and have taken on a new sense of importance in another.

Indeed, all avenues of research about various aspects of

\(^{416}\) Morel 1984, p. 133.
the Archaic Greek expansion abroad continue to produce missing pieces of the puzzle that are indispensable to the whole. It is imperative that "old" questions be reexamined in the light of new theoretical paradigms and recent archaeological discoveries.\textsuperscript{417}

Until the end of the 20th century, scholarship about Greek colonization frequently focused on questions that had been defined and answered by the 5th century B.C. historian, Thucydides. These subjects of inquiry included the causes of Greek colonization, i.e., the social, political, and/or economic conditions that fostered it; the relationship between colonies and their mother cities; and the specific foundation date for each settlement.\textsuperscript{418} The search for the impetus of colonization was a high priority; indeed, early 20th century studies were principally concerned with elucidating a \textit{raison d'êntre}.\textsuperscript{419}

In addition to the search for the causes of colonization, there was a desire to define the \textit{types} of settlements that existed and to piece together unequivocal historical facts about each colony. Until the late 1970s, the primacy of texts in historical research was almost

\textsuperscript{417} Cf. Boardman 1999a, pp. 267-268. Morris (2003, pp. 31-32) notes that a paradigm shift, in Kuhn's sense of the word, has taken place in the study of the Mediterranean that began with the work of Braudel (1966, 1972) and the \textit{Annales} school and has recently been articulated by Horden and Purcell (2000).

\textsuperscript{418} See Gwynn 1918.

\textsuperscript{419} For example, Gwynn 1918; Myres 1911, 1925. Cf. Owen 2005, p. 10.
unquestioned and archaeology was largely ignored. Early scholarship was based solely on literary testimonia, and was the domain of ancient historians. Even as excavations progressed, both in Greece and in Magna Graecia, archaeological evidence was only incorporated to augment textual arguments, e.g., to confirm foundation dates, and artifacts were ancillary to the written word; thus, archaeology assumed a role as the "handmaiden of history." Archaeologists themselves, on the other hand, showed an interest in forming ceramic typologies that could be used to establish absolute dates based on the material record.

Already by the mid-1980s, however, a new generation of scholars started to question the validity of old-guard

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420 Cf. Blakeway 1935, who makes a plea for historians to give attention to archaeological evidence. Blakeway's student, Thomas Dunbabin, was among the first to incorporate archaeology into a narrative about Greek colonization. Cf. Dunbabin 1948a; Shepherds 2000, pp. 30-36.
421 Finley 1975, 1985, pp. 18-26; Snodgrass 1980; Whitehouse and Wilkins 1985, p. 89; Last 1995, p. 141; Morris 1999b, p. xxv, 2000; Herring 2000, p. 47; Owen 2000, p. 7. Until recently, ancient history and Classical archaeology were strictly separated academic disciplines: the historian relied on literary evidence, the archaeologist on material culture. Archaeology itself is fragmented in its approach to, and interpretation of, material culture and the archaeological record. Art history and anthropology developed vastly divergent agendas; the former approach was commonly employed by Classical archaeologists, while the latter provided the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of the "New Archaeology." Fortunately, however, new generations of scholars have recognized the importance of utilizing an approach that combines archaeology, anthropology, and history in order to produce more contextual and rewarding interpretations of the data. As a result, the role played by archaeology in the study of Archaic history has also changed considerably in the past 30 years, spearheaded, in large part, by Snodgrass's book (1980) on Archaic Greek history.

422 Boardman 1964.
approaches to Greek colonization. Some queried the usefulness of the questions being asked and the way colonization was discussed.\textsuperscript{423} Other questions that could be debated within new theoretical frameworks were posed of the data. In the early 1980s, Morel, for example, listed the causes of colonization, the conditions that spawned it, and the relationship between colony (\textit{apoikia}) and mother city (\textit{metropolis}) as three of the five topics that were no longer in vogue.\textsuperscript{424} By the end of the 20th century, the trend in scholarship was to discard the notions that Greek expansion abroad was a single, cohesive movement, and that colonization was the result of a planned course of action in response to specific, identifiable causes. There was a reaction against the search for a single, all encompassing explanation and against the view that colonization was part of an inevitable "grand design" of historical circumstances. Young theoreticians attacked earlier scholars for attempting to impose a non-existent order on the growth and proliferation of Greek overseas settlements in the Archaic period.

\footnote{423} These topics were explored using analogies to the British Empire, which, in many cases, produced a colonialist view of Greek colonization. Cf. Owen 2005, pp. 10-12; Shepherd 2005, pp. 23-32; Snodgrass 2005, pp. 45-48. \footnote{424} Morel 1984, pp. 123-124. The other two topics he considered outdated were the issue of continuity or discontinuity between the Mycenaean period and the 8th century B.C. and the political history of the western colonies. Two areas of investigation he emphasized were 1) relations between Greeks and natives; 2) social and economic questions.
Current theoretical approaches, which fall under the rubric of postmodern and postcolonial theory,\(^{425}\) have led some scholars to suggest that it is inappropriate to talk about an Archaic "colonization" movement, the "foundation" of colonies, an historical "founder" (\textit{oikist}), or the existence of a "mother city." They contend that there was no organized movement to colonize the Mediterranean, that colonization was not a process that evolved through time, that the establishment of a colony was not an event that took place at a specific point in time, that colonies were not "founded" by one particular polis or person, that \textit{ktiseis} lack historical validity because they were later political inventions of the Classical period, and, indeed, that no verifiable facts about the early history of settlements can be retrieved from the literary tradition.\(^{426}\)

\(^{425}\) Postmodern theory rejects the existence of "historical facts" and objective knowledge. Rather, all historical narratives are subjective and dependent on the perspective of the writer. It is, therefore, impossible to regain one single reality of the past, but merely to present one's view of it. History becomes the creation of a plurality of equally valid, imaginative narratives. Postcolonial theory seeks to reinsert the role of under-enfranchised groups, such as women and indigenous populations, into narratives about colonization. It rejects "Hellenization" as a western imperialist approach to colonization based on faulty analogies to modern colonization movements. This approach emphasizes cultural fusion and interaction, rather than dominance and resistance, and the concept of "hybridity," which Antonaccio (2005, p. 100) defines as "a status or quality between colonizer and colonized, a 'third-space' of 'in-between-ness' where communication between the parties takes place and negotiation happens in whatever form, engendered by the need for communication among people who utilize different languages, cultures and ideologies." See Hodder 1992, 2001; Shepherd 1995, p. 51, 2005; van Dommelen 1997, pp. 306-308; Morgan 1999, p. 85; Owen 2005; Snodgrass 2005; Hall 2007b, pp. 350-351.

\(^{426}\) Purcell 1990; Osborne 1998. See Malkin 2002a, pp. 195-196 for a critique of these positions.
Postmodern scholarship is intent on reasserting the role of the individual, or agency, into the appearance of Greeks outside Greece, at the expense of processualist or structuralist explanations. Colonization is now presented as a sporadic phenomenon that was not part of a process of adaptation to specific stresses in Greece. Recognition has also grown of polysemous interpretations of the same data.

Decades after Morel, the original Thucydidean questions about colonization continue to be disdained by many ancient historians.427 These old topics do, however, provide a useful heuristic framework for a discussion of the appearance and proliferation of Greeks in the Mediterranean and, in particular, in the Adriatic. For this reason, I intend briefly to revisit three "obsolete" topics: the causes of colonization, the nature of the relationship between colony and mother city, and the efficacy of establishing foundation dates for colonies. Chapter 5 considers how these general issues relate specifically to the Greek settlements in southern Illyria.

Regardless of the theoretical approach taken to the subject of the Greeks moving abroad (i.e., colonization) in the Archaic period, there is no doubt that long distance trade between Greece and the rest of the Mediterranean

427 Cf. Lepore 2000, pp. 41-43, who thinks that the debate about the motives for colonization is obsolete.
intensified at the end of the 9th century B.C.\textsuperscript{428} and increased dramatically during the first quarter of the 8th century B.C., primarily fueled by the search for metals and new markets. The Euboeans, who originally did not reside in the places with which they traded, forged the earliest contacts outside Greece proper in both the east and west. Such overseas "proto-colonial activities," as they have been called, with the express purposes of exchanging goods and procuring raw materials, were the precursors to the establishment of permanent overseas settlements.\textsuperscript{429}

The so genannten first "wave of colonization" began in the second half of the 8th century B.C., a period that is often referred to as the "Greek Renaissance."\textsuperscript{430} During the span of roughly a century and a half, the Greeks founded numerous colonies along the coasts of eastern Sicily, southern Italy, northern Greece, and Albania. Inland trade routes, such as the one north from Corinth through

\textsuperscript{428} For Mycenaean trade in the Mediterranean, see Harding 1976, 1984; Hammond 1982a; Marazzi, Tusa, and Vagnetti 1986; Smith 1987; Gale 1991; Ridgway 1992, pp. 3-8; for a discussion of the beginning of post-Mycenaean Greek seafaring, see Snodgrass 1994a, 1994b; Purcell 1990; Tandy 1997; Stampolidis and Karageorghis 2003.

\textsuperscript{429} "Proto-colonisation," which Malkin (1998b, p. 1) defines as the period from "the ninth to mid-8th century B.C.," is used to distinguish early overseas contacts from later permanent settlements. Cf. Gwynn 1918; Blakeway 1935; Myres 1925; Malkin 1998b; Ridgway 1990; Whitley 2001, p. 125.

\textsuperscript{430} See Hägg 1983 for the Greek Renaissance of the 8th century B.C. For a different interpretation, see Purcell 1990; Osborne 1998. See Malkin 2002a, pp. 195-196 for a discussion of both positions.
Ioannina, were abandoned in favor of sea routes. Traces of this movement abroad and the role played by the colonies in the spread of Greek culture are preserved in the archaeological record and in early Greek literature.

Motives for Colonization

The impetus for Greek colonization in the mid-8th century B.C. has long been debated, giving rise to a variety of apparently diverse hypotheses. Originally there were two schools of thought: one believed that the primary reason for colonization was the search for new agricultural land, stimulated by stenochoria (overpopulation) at home, the other, that it was the hunt for new commercial markets generated by an expanding interest in overseas trade. The current range of suggested explanations for Greek emigration overseas has grown to include: the acquisition of luxury commodities, political dissatisfaction at home,

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431 Morgan 1988; Malkin 1998a, p. 18; Purcell 1990, 2005, pp. 120-125. See Chapter 5. During the 8th century B.C. there was a shift from fear of the sea to extensive use of it. For the connective properties of the Mediterranean, see Purcell 1990, 2005. A new theoretical model that emphasizes "interconnectedness," sparked by globilization, is being applied to the study of the ancient Mediterranean. This approach views the Mediterranean and its shores as a single unit composed of numerous microregions, all of which are all interconnected by the sea. Cf. Morris 2003 and Purcell 2003 on Mediterraneanization.

432 Homer provides a description of an ideal site for a colony in the Cyclops episode (Od. 9.116-141) and offers insight into what the establishment of a new settlement entailed in his discussion of the Phaeacian foundation of Scheria (Od. 6.9-10). For a discussion of "colonization" in Homer and Hesiod, see Graham 1982, p. 85; Dougherty 1993a, pp. 21-24; Osborne 1996a, p. 118; Tandy 1997; Malkin 1998a, 2002b.
the desire for access to political power, the opportunity for upward social mobility, and/or the prospect of locating and exploiting new resources. Still cited, too, are the older explanations of overpopulation, land hunger, economic profit, and the search for new trade networks. Although many of these reasons have been engendered by a desire to incorporate trendy theoretical approaches, all can be categorized on one side or the other of the larger agrarian versus economic debate.

The agrarian argument emphasizes the search for agricultural land as the principle cause for colonization. Aubrey Gwynn was one of the early proponents of this theory: "Greek colonisation was due, above all else, to the need for land." Land hunger was thought to have been generated, in large part, by overpopulation. This explanation gained popularity because it was proposed by Thucydides and Plato, who considered land shortage to be a

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435 Gwynn 1918, p. 89. Gwynn was reacting to Myres (1911, 1925) who favored an economic explanation for colonization. According to the agrarian model, overseas colonization is an adaptive strategy employed as a reaction to land shortage. This solution is not, however, either inevitable or the only possible solution: Solon found a different way to resolve the land crisis in Attica that involved redistribution of land and new laws, instead of colonization. Solon F5, 28, 36, 5; Arist. Ath. Pol. 5.1-6.4; Cawkwell 1995, p. 81.
436 Snodgrass 1980; Coldstream 2003, pp. 221-222.
driving force behind colonization. As the population in certain areas of Greece grew, the scarcity of land for cultivation increased; additionally because of the division of property through inheritance, some people in those places were no longer able to subsist on their land. The main attraction for moving overseas, therefore, was that each colonist was assured a plot of land (kleros). The agrarianists consider the promise of a kleros, which also had the potential to alter an individual's social status, to be the principal incentive for someone to leave home.

The economic explanation for colonization, on the other hand, emphasizes the importance of trade. This view was championed by the German historians Julius von Beloch and Eduard Meyer, who hypothesized that an economic revolution in the 8th century B.C. was sparked by, and led to, the development of overseas commerce; this revolution provided the main impetus for colonization and promoted the

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437 Thuc. 1.15; Pl. Laws 702c-708b, 740e. For a discussion of stenochoria as an important cause for colonization, see Bérard 1960, p. 60; Malkin 1994a, pp. 2-3. For arguments against overpopulation as a cause for colonization, see Morris 1987, pp. 156-167; Purcell 1990, pp. 44-49.
440 For ancient testimonia on the importance of land, see Dougherty 1993a, pp. 21-24.
search for new import and export venues.\footnote{Beloch 1886, pp. 29–33, 275–306; Meyer 1893, pp. 433–444, 470–484; Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977, pp. 53–56; Finley 1979.} Alan Blakeway emphasized the importance of pre-colonial commercial enterprise as a precursor to permanent settlement and he was the first to demonstrate archaeologically the importance of Greek trade with the west in the early 8th century B.C.\footnote{Blakeway 1932–1933. He made famous the concept of "trade before the flag," which was not originally popular with ancient historians. See Ridgway 1990; Graham 1990; Whitley 2001, p. 125; Shepherd 2005, p. 30.} The story of Demaratus of Corinth, who settled in Etruria and made a fortune trading Greek and Etruscan goods, speaks to the importance of commerce and the potential for individual citizens to make a profit by moving abroad.\footnote{Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 3.46–47; Strabo 5.2.2 [C 219–220]. Demaratus might also have been a political exile who was fleeing the newly established Cypselid tyranny. Cf. Blakeway 1935, pp. 147–148; Osborne 1996a, pp. 119–125. See Chapter 5.}

The acceptance or rejection of commercial motivation for Archaic colonization depends in large measure on a broader understanding of the ancient economy, on which the work of Moses Finley has exerted a great influence. Until Finley's seminal work in the 1970s, the debate about the nature of the ancient economy was between "primativists,"\footnote{The primary tenet of the "primitivist" school of economic thought is that the ancient economy was a household (subsistence) economy.} who favored agrarian motives for colonization and "modernists,"\footnote{The "modernists," on the other hand, contend that the main difference between the ancient and modern economy is one of scale.} who favored trade. Finley rejected both...
views. According to him, the ancient world did not support a free market economy, but rather followed Karl Polanyi's redistributive model. Instead of functioning in a separate sphere, the ancient economy was embedded within the ideology and resultant network of social relationships that operated within the polis. Hence Greek society was never really concerned with class per se, but rather was primarily governed by decisions about status. Individuals, therefore, were not interested in profit or in the exploitation of commercial opportunities.

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446 This debate stemmed from the opposing views of the German scholars K. Bücher and E. Meyer and was subsequently dismissed by Max Weber (see below). Rostovtzeff (1953) was a noteworthy proponent of the modernizing view of the ancient economy. See Finley 1979, 1985, pp. 12-13; Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977, pp. 3-7; Morris 1994b, 1999b, pp. ix-x; Cartledge 2002, pp. 11-12; Reed 2003, pp. 62-63; Morris, Saller, and Scheidel 2007, pp. 2-5. As Owen notes (2005, p. 10), neither school questioned the validity of the analogies to modern economies, but rather debated about which periods were appropriate for comparison.

447 Finley 1982a, 1999. Finley built on the pivotal works of Karl Polanyi and Weber. See Purcell 2005, pp. 120-120, who is also a proponent for redistribution in the ancient world, although on a much larger scale.

448 Finley borrowed Polanyi's "substantivist" approach to the ancient economy and maintained that the economy was embedded in social institutions. The opposing "formalist" approach holds that the modern economy has become dis-embedded from society and social institutions; it operates, therefore, within its own separate sphere, and can be examined in and of itself (i.e., separate from society and its institutions). For the influences of Marx, Weber, Polanyi, and Finley on current views of the ancient economy, see Humphreys 1970, 1978; Morris 1999b, p. xii, 2003, pp. 30-31. See also Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977, ch. 1; Morris 1999b; Scheidel and von Reden 2002.

449 The importance of status in the ancient economy came from the work of Weber and was further developed by Finley (1999, ch. 2). Weber was instrumental in defining status, how it was achieved, and the roles it played within society. One of his most important points about status is its fluidity and constant redefinition within a society; status groups are created, defined, and contested through competition. For a short summary of Weber's position on status, see Shaw and Saller 1982, p. xvii; Morris 1999b, pp. xii-xvii.

450 Thus, the ancient economy was very distinct and different from the modern economy.
According to the substantivist model, economic self-sufficiency was the goal for individuals as well as for colonies and whatever trade existed was small scale and short distance; thus, economic profit was never an important consideration in the establishment of colonies. All ancient cities depended on agricultural land for their sustenance. Therefore, because the city was dependent on its territory and could never survive in isolation from the countryside, arable land was the most essential component of all new settlements, and was, therefore, the principal reason for colonization.

Recent discussions about the reasons for colonization have produced a number of hybrid hypotheses that combine old ideas with new theoretical twists; they stress individual initiative, private entrepreneurship, civic crisis, increased mobility, and political disillusionment. In an attempt to incorporate postmodern theoretical platforms, emphasis is currently placed on the importance of individual enterprise and personal profit, i.e., the role of agency. The role of the individual is now being inserted into historical narratives, resulting in a view

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451 Finley 1982b, pp. 4-5, 1999.
453 Purcell 1990; Dougherty 1993a; Osborne 1996a, pp. 119-126; Papadopoulos 2001, p. 382.
that personal incentive provided the primary impetus for an individual to move overseas and seek a new home in the 8th and 7th century B.C.\textsuperscript{455}

Trade is still championed as a chief cause for colonization. For example, David Tandy thinks that overseas expansion was economically motivated and spurred primarily by the search for new markets.\textsuperscript{456} The quest for profitable sources of luxury items and critical resources to be exploited was correlated with the opening of new markets abroad.\textsuperscript{457} Resources that were in high demand included metal ores, timber, animal pelts, and silver.\textsuperscript{458} Slaves, too, would have been a valuable and much sought after commodity.\textsuperscript{459} It is currently argued that many colonies were established as trade centers from the beginning since they were not located near desirable agricultural land.\textsuperscript{460} Indeed, the earliest overseas settlements at both Al Mina and Pithekoussai were certainly

\textsuperscript{455} Osborne 1998, p. 268.
\textsuperscript{456} Tandy 1997. See also Sherratt and Sherratt 1993, pp. 374-375; Purcell 1990; Reed 2003, pp. 66-67.
\textsuperscript{457} And vice versa.
\textsuperscript{458} Osborne 1996a. Resource exploitation and land exploitation produce divergent cultural assemblages and leave different patterns on the landscape. The physical residues of resource exploitation are often more difficult to discern since the objects in question frequently involved perishable commodities like timber, animal pelts, bitumen, wine, oil, and other foodstuffs that are archaeologically untraceable. See Papadopoulos 2001, p. 382; Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002, p. 14.
\textsuperscript{459} On the importance of slavery in the ancient world, see Finley 1982a, pp. 97-166, 1999, pp. 62-94.
\textsuperscript{460} Tandy 1997.
established for commercial, rather than agricultural, purposes, as discussed below.

The agrarian argument, however, also remains popular in modern scholarship.\textsuperscript{461} Anthony Snodgrass suggests that "injustices, perceived or real, personal or collective, in the distribution of land and the access to power" were compelling motives for colonization.\textsuperscript{462} James Whitley suggests that commercial considerations were often minimal since some settlements with fertile agriculture land, like Metapontum, were not positioned on trade routes or near natural resources. In this and similar instances, he contends, the Greeks moved abroad in search of good arable land.\textsuperscript{463} Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell take a slightly different tact and hypothesize that "the establishment of cash-crop production" provided the impetus for new colonies.\textsuperscript{464} Cash-crop production was part of a large, highly mobilized redistribution network that

\textsuperscript{461} Most recent scholarship has, however, moved away from the deterministic approach that views colonization was an \textit{inevitable} consequence of land shortage.

\textsuperscript{462} Snodgrass 1994a, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{463} Whitley 2001, pp. 125-126. He does not, however, suggest that the movement overseas was a result of overpopulation. See also Hall 2007a, pp. 114-117, who notes that the sites of Sybaris and Leontini were chosen because of their agricultural potential.

\textsuperscript{464} Horden and Purcell 2000, pp. 134, 286. See also Morris 2003, pp. 37-43.
operated in antiquity and was connected by the Mediterranean.\textsuperscript{465}

Irad Malkin notes that civic strife (\textit{stasis}) in the mother city was another factor that prompted colonization.\textsuperscript{466} Sources suggest that sometimes the colonists were composed of less desirable elements of society, potential troublemakers, or political dissidents and were, therefore, expelled by the state.\textsuperscript{467} For example, the Partheniae, who were born out of wedlock to Spartan women and denied citizenship, were sent to colonize Taras after forming a plot against the Spartan citizen body.\textsuperscript{468} People who might not otherwise have inherited land, such as illegitimate children or second sons, had the opportunity to receive a \textit{kleros} if they moved abroad. In some cases the \textit{oikist} himself was a disenfranchised member of a community who was unlikely to receive land and/or political power in his mother city. The illegitimate sons of the Cypselid

\textsuperscript{465} "The archaeology of 'colonization' is the archaeology of redistribution (Purcell 2005, p. 120)." Purcell (2005, p. 123) goes on to note that it is difficult to separate private from public initiatives in colonization.

\textsuperscript{466} Malkin 1994a, pp. 2-7. Plato (\textit{Leg.} 708b) discusses political \textit{stasis} as a reason for colonization. See also Dougherty 1993a, p. 17.

\textsuperscript{467} For example, according to Nicholas of Damascus (\textit{FGrH} 90 F57.7) some of the colonists who founded Anactorium and Leucas were hostile to the government. See Chapter 5.

\textsuperscript{468} Antiochus, \textit{FGrH} 555 F13; Ephorus, \textit{FGrH} 70 F216; Theopompos, \textit{FGrH} 115 F171; Diod. Sic. 8.21; Strabo 6.3.2-3 [C 278-280]. See Malkin 1994a, pp. 4-5; Osborne 1996, pp. 179-180; Wilson 2000, pp. 35-36; Hall 2007a, pp. 116-117.
tyrants, for example, discussed in Chapter 5, were sent abroad as the leaders of new colonies.\textsuperscript{469}

The establishment of a new community in a foreign land involved extensive organization and substantial capital. For this reason, colonization was probably an aristocratically backed movement.\textsuperscript{470} Some scholars contend that the expansion of long distance trade evolved out of the Dark Age practice of guest friendship (\textit{xenia}) and the need for prestige goods.\textsuperscript{471} According to this view, seafaring and overseas activities were primarily the prerogative of the aristocracy, who alone in Greek society could afford to finance commercial ventures.\textsuperscript{472} Elite participation in colonization is evident in the aristocratic status of many \textit{oikists}; their involvement in colonization would be especially desirable if it resulted in profit and the accumulation of luxury goods. Literary sources also cited political reasons for why some members of the aristocracy chose to move abroad.\textsuperscript{473}

On the other hand, it is unlikely that all participants in overseas ventures were aristocrats. Land

\textsuperscript{469} Cf. Nic. Dam., \textit{FGrH} 90 F57.7; Strabo 7.7.6 [C 325]. The sons of tyrants who founded colonies probably ruled as tyrants themselves. See below and McGlew 1993, pp. 161-182.

\textsuperscript{470} Cf. Snodgrass 1980, pp. 120-122; Malkin 1994a, p. 6; Coldstream 2003, pp. 311-312; Reed 2003, pp. 62-74; Purcell 2005, pp. 119-120.

\textsuperscript{471} See Purcell 1990; Malkin 2004, p. 349; Antonaccio 2005, p. 106.

\textsuperscript{472} Morris 1986; Whitbread 1995a, p. 21; Papadopoulos 1997a, p. 199.

\textsuperscript{473} For example, some members of the Bacchiad oligarchy immigrated to Corcyra at the beginning of Cypselus's reign. Cf. Nic. Dam., \textit{FGrH} 90 F58.7. See Chapter 5.
ownership, which offered the possibility of upward social mobility, would have induced some people to venture abroad.\textsuperscript{474} If the economy in the Archaic period was embedded in its social institutions, an elevation in status must have been a powerful incentive for acquiring land; this could best be achieved by moving to a new colony where land was being distributed to all colonists.\textsuperscript{475} Various Classical and Hellenistic texts identified the self-sufficient landowner as the ideal occupation for a gentleman; accomplishment of this \textit{modus vivendi} implied one had elite status. Colonization offered under-enfranchised people an opportunity to attain elite social standing through the acquisition of property.\textsuperscript{476}

Individual mobility, which contributed to the ease with which settlers might be attracted to new colonial ventures, was, until recently, an often-overlooked feature of the late Iron Age and Archaic periods.\textsuperscript{477} Purcell offers an insightful critique of the "small Greece" picture found in modern scholarship that portrays Archaic Greece as an isolated, provincial, inward looking society.\textsuperscript{478} This perspective has encouraged scholars to see the movement of

\textsuperscript{475} Cf. Malkin 1994a, p. 6; Purcell 2005, pp. 117-118.
\textsuperscript{477} Purcell 1990; Malkin 1994a; Osborne 1996a, pp. 119-126; Reed 2003, pp. 64-65.
\textsuperscript{478} Purcell (2005, p. 121) notes instead the connective role that the Mediterranean played, which facilitated mobility.
Greeks abroad as a revolutionary phenomenon.  Yet individual mobility is reflected in the works of both Homer and Hesiod.  The *Odyssey* itself is a story about seafaring and traders.  Hesiod described in the *Works and Days* (630–640) how his father moved from Kyme in Asia Minor to Boeotia in an attempt to escape poverty and attain a better life.  Archaeological evidence suggests that artisans were among those who participated in colonizing ventures, as, indeed, they apparently moved between established poleis in Greece.  Another opportunity for people to leave home arose from the need for mercenary soldiers.  It is clear that people in the Archaic period were free to change their place of residence, and many of them did.

As we have seen above, individuals in the Archaic period were prompted to move abroad for a variety of reasons. The earliest voyagers, the Euboeans, were probably motivated by the search for raw materials, especially metals (see below). Other Greeks were stimulated by opportunities such as access to fertile

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479 Purcell 1990.
481 See Tandy 1997; Malkin 1998a.
482 This is evident in the myth of Demaratus of Corinth who fled to Tarquinii at the beginning of Cypselus’ reign. Cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.46–47; Strabo 5.2.2 [C 219], 8.6.20 [C 378]. See Chapter 5.
483 Purcell 1990, pp. 46–47. The movement of mercenary soldiers is evident in the *nostoi* and in later lyric poetry, especially that of Archilochus.
agricultural land, wealth, political power, and elevated social status. Some colonists were probably political dissidents who were forced to leave home, while others went of their own volition. Such a variety of motives suggests that colonies were founded for both agrarian and commercial reasons. In many cases, the location of the colony reflected these preferences. As Purcell says, "the dichotomy between land and trade as factors promoting overseas settlement, dear as it has been, especially to British scholarship, must be abandoned." 484

Types of Settlements Abroad

In addition to the search for the raison d'être of Greek colonies, there has also been an attempt to classify the types of settlements that were established abroad, despite considerable homogeneity among Archaic colonies. 485 Scholars distinguish two different categories of settlements that were spawned by the early colonization movement: the emporion, "a settlement devoted first and foremost to trade, a settlement whose primary purpose was to facilitate exchanges between Greeks and foreigners," 486

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484 Purcell 2005, p. 120.
485 See Osborne 1998 for a recent discussion of the character of Archaic Greek settlements abroad.
and the *apoikia*, a "home away from home." The identification of these two classes of colonies embodies the trade versus agrarian division discussed above.

The validity of the *emporion*/*apoikia* classification that distinguishes Al Mina and Pithekoussai from the later Archaic colonies has recently been subjected to intense criticism. John-Paul Wilson concludes that the "*emporion* – *apoikia* opposition is ultimately a creation of the Classical period and reflects the concerns and desires of that era." It is clear, nevertheless, that there were ideological differences between the two types of settlements in their economic structures, ethnic demographics, foundation stories, and sources of immigrants.

The earliest overseas settlements have been labeled "*emporia.*" Most such commercial settlements were

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487 Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977, pp. 61-68; Graham 1983.
489 Wilson (1997) discusses the evolution of the meaning of "*emporion*" in antiquity. He argues that, according to the 5th century B.C. definition, any community that engaged in commercial activity was an *emporion*. Therefore, all *apoikiai*, as well as all poleis, were *emporia*. As Bakhuizen (1987, p. 186) points out, the modern use of *emporion* and *apoikia* does not really correspond to the ancient, nor is it applicable to the time frame here under study. Nevertheless, it is expedient to use these terms to distinguish between types of Archaic overseas foundations, as discussed further below. Additionally, postcolonial scholars have noted that the English term "colony" is problematic, because it has inherent "statist" overtones that are evident in older discussions of Archaic settlements outside Greece. Cf. Finley 1976, pp. 173-174; Purcell 1990, pp. 55-56; Osborne 1998; Morgan 1999, pp. 120-121; van Dommelen 2002; Shepherd 2005, pp. 25-35; Snodgrass 2005, pp. 45-51. Although the validity of this term has been challenged, I will, for convenience's sake, use "*apoikia*" and "colony" interchangeably.
international, multi-ethnic trading posts that were not founded by Greeks. *Emporia* were not created as autonomous city-states, nor were they political foundations backed by a strong central government in a *metropolis*. There are no known *oikists* or *ktiseis* attached to *emporia*, as there are for later colonies; the absence of foundation stories for *emporia* may account for the general lack of information about them in the literary tradition.\(^{490}\) The populations in *emporia* were constantly changing, and they lacked a well-defined body of colonists who resided in them; they instead were comprised of small groups of settlers who were probably present as the result of personal initiative. Such communities were not self-sufficient or self-governing. Al Mina is the best known example of an *emporion* in the east, a position held by Pithekoussai in the west. Euboean traders are generally thought to make up the Greek component in *emporia*.

**Euboeans in the Mediterranean**

Of particular importance in understanding the Archaic colonization of Illyria by Greeks is the role played there and elsewhere in the Mediterranean by adventurers from the island of Euboea, who have been dubbed the "first western

\(^{490}\) Wilson 1997; Osborne 1998.
The earliest contacts abroad in both the east and the west were forged by Euboeans. Their first ventures were proto-colonial and were motivated by commercial interests; they were undertaken by seafarer-traders who did not, at least in the beginning, establish permanent settlements, but rather set up trading centers. Evidence suggests that Euboean immigrants began to reside permanently in these *emporía* in the first quarter of the 8th century B.C., prior to the "wave of colonization" during the "Greek Renaissance." The discussion that follows in Chapter 5 will show that the genesis for the colonies along the east coast of the Adriatic resulted from this historical process of exploration that began with the voyages of the Euboeans.

Although ancient sources record that the Euboeans were among the first explorers and settlers abroad, recognition of the importance of their role in the Greek expansion throughout the Mediterranean has been confirmed with archaeological evidence only in scholarship after World War

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493 Malkin 2002b, p. 151; Hall 2007a, p. 97. Hall notes that 93.3% of the early 8th century B.C. pottery from Al Mina is Greek. While pots do not necessarily equal people, such a high percentage suggests that at least some Greeks were living in the settlement. Cf. Hall 2007a, pp. 106-110 and Boardman 2004, p. 149 on pots and people.
II. Prior to this, the only record of the early maritime prowess of these islanders was preserved in myths and legends reported by much later ancient authors, whose historicity was generally regarded with skepticism. Giorgio Buchner initiated a change in this attitude with systematic excavations beginning in 1952 at the early 8th century B.C. trading post on the island of Pithekoussai (Ischia) in the Bay of Naples. Additionally, since the 1950s startling discoveries have been made in excavations on Euboea itself, and detailed studies of local ceramics from secure archaeological contexts on the island have aided in the recognition of Euboean products abroad. As a result of ongoing excavations, both on Euboea and overseas, and specialized studies of Euboean ceramic sequences, the Euboean maritime presence abroad no longer needs to be defined solely on the basis of literary evidence, and the presence of Euboeans can be attested archaeologically in many of the locations where literary tradition alone had once placed them.

There are several theories about why the Euboeans began their overseas explorations. Tandy argues that pressure from overpopulation, combined with the desire for economic profit, explains the Euboean presence at Al Mina and Pithekoussai, and that the colonists were not in either place for agricultural purposes. Simon Bakhuizen similarly suggests that the earliest Euboean settlements in the west, especially Pithekoussai, were founded for commercial reasons, principally for access to iron ore.

Unlike the later Greek colonies that were founded between the second half of the 8th and the end of the 7th centuries B.C., the earliest Euboean settlements were ethnically mixed. Although references in ancient texts

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Recent excavations in the Chalkidike provide an example of how archaeology has confirmed Euboean penetration in an area where only questionable literary evidence had previously hinted at their presence. See Popham 1994, pp. 30-33; Snodgrass 1994b. Papadopoulos (1996, 1997a, pp. 157-159), on the other hand, based on his interpretation of the archaeological evidence and literary texts, downplays the role of the Euboeans in the colonization of the northern Aegean. He (1997a, p. 158) maintains that "the momentous Euboian enterprise is a figment of our scholarly imagination: that it did not happen at all." For arguments that the Euboeans played a minimal role in early Greek colonization, see also Bakhuizen 1975; Morgan 1998, pp. 281-290. For a reaction against this "anti-Euobean campaign," see Ridgway 2004, pp. 24-28.

Tandy (1997) in general suggests that overpopulation in Greece stimulated economic development, a resurrection of Snodgrass's argument advanced in *Archaic Greece* (1980).


Cf. Hall 2007a, pp. 96-98. It should be noted, however, that ethnicity is notoriously difficult to detect in the archaeological record. I am not here concerned, however, with an ethnic definition of Euboeans or issues of ethnicity in the archaeological record. For a discussion of ethnicity, see Hall 1995, 1997; Graves-Brown, Jones, and Gamble 1996; Jones 1997, 1998; Malkin 2001a, 2001b; Wilson 2000; Lomas 2000; Herring 2000.
suggest that the Euboeans were independent explorers and intrepid seamen, it is likely that they acted in concert with Phoenician traders and other Greeks in their earliest endeavors abroad.\textsuperscript{503} Archaeological evidence beyond the mere presence of their products (which might have been transported there by other merchants) indicates that some Euboeans were themselves living in these emporia.\textsuperscript{504} Al Mina in Syria and Pithekoussai in the west are two of the overseas settlements discussed briefly below where archaeological evidence such as ceramics and burial customs suggest that Euboeans resided on a permanent basis. Evidence supports a strong Euboean maritime influence in the Mediterranean that spanned most of the 8th century B.C., from ca. 775-700 B.C.\textsuperscript{505}

\textsuperscript{503} For the role of the Phoenicians in colonization and early trade in the Mediterranean, see Blakeway 1932-1933, p. 171, n. 5; Aubet 1993; Ridgway 1994; Snodgrass 1994a; Crielaard 1996; Osborne 1996a, pp. 105-115; Papadopoulos 1997a; Morris and Papadopoulos 1998; Markoe 2000. Some scholars contend that the Euboeans relied on the Phoenicians for the success of their voyages. Whitley (2001, p. 127), for example, writes that "the Euboeans had to have had inside information" supplied by the Phoenicians. Compare Kopcke 1992, who downplays the role of the Phoenicians.

\textsuperscript{504} As noted above, the presence of a Euboean sherd in the archaeological record need not be interpreted as evidence that it was brought there by a Euboean trader or used by a Euboean inhabitant; pottery is neither transported nor consumed exclusively by those who make it. Cf. Papadopoulos 1996, p. 158, 1997a, 2001, p. 374; Osborne 1996a, p. 115. This does not mean, however, that ceramics were not transported by merchants and used by people from their places of origin. Cf. Boardman 1999a, pp. 271-272, 2004, p. 149; Ridgway 2004, pp. 24-28.

\textsuperscript{505} Ridgway 1990, p. 64. On Euboean exports, see Bakhuizen 1976, pp. 3-13; Ridgway 1990; Morgan 1998, pp. 285-296.
Al Mina, located in the delta of the Orontes river, was excavated in the 1930s by Sir Leonard Woolley. The settlement was established early in the 8th century B.C. and has been interpreted by most modern scholars as the earliest overseas emporion with a resident Greek population. Al Mina was a multi-ethnic settlement whose economy was based solely on trade. It was established principally for the exchange of metals; trade was focused on the export of raw materials transported to the coast from inland sources, rather than on the import of pan-Mediterranean goods. Those metals attracted the Euboeans, who traded their pottery as part of the process; eventually a small group of them settled there.

Euboeans participated in the foundation of Pithekoussai ca. 770-750 B.C. The settlement combined

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508 See Kearsley 1999 for a discussion of the pottery. Her thorough review of the archaeological evidence supports a Euboean presence at Al Mina from very early in the history of that settlement. She suggests that the site originated as a mercenary settlement, which later evolved into a multi-ethnic emporion.

Recently some scholars have argued that Al Mina, because of the strong Phoenician presence, should not be considered a Greek (or Euboean) emporion and that it is doubtful that Euboeans even lived there. Cf. Perreault 1993; Snodgrass 1994a, pp. 3-5; Osborne 1996a, pp. 112-113; Papadopoulos 1997a, pp. 195-198; Whitley 2001, p. 118. Although it is possible that Euboeans did not reside at Al Mina, it is unlikely given the quantity of Greek pottery that has been found in the earliest levels at the site, as noted above.
509 Livy 8.22.5-6; Strabo 5.4.9 [C 249]. Strabo said Pithekoussai was a joint Chalcidian-Eretrian colony. See Bérard 1960, pp. 70-72; Buchner
elements of both an *emporion* and an industrial center for processing ore. The inhabitants there, too, were ethnically mixed and probably included Phoenicians, Euboeans, and other Greeks who came to the western Mediterranean in search of metals. The settlement also incorporated members of the indigenous population. The colony was established as a trading post and as a way station for the smelting of iron ore imported from Elba and the Etruscan mainland; its primary function was the export of processed metals. Scholars originally identified Pithekoussai as a Euboean *emporion*, even though it does not adhere to the characteristics of Al Mina. Pithekoussai is distinguished from other Greek *emporia* by the large size of the community, the semi-permanence of the residences, and the agrarian practices of the settlement, which afforded the inhabitants a measure of self-sufficiency. It is

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514 Recent estimates for the size of the community at Pithekoussai based on evidence from the cemeteries suggest that the population reached between 5,000 and 10,000 within a generation of its foundation. See Ridgway 1992, pp. 101–103; Osborne 1996a, p. 114.
distinguished from an apoikia proper by its emphasis on trade and the procurement of raw materials, and the ethnically mixed composition of its inhabitants.

The earliest burials in the well-excavated cemeteries at Pithekoussai are Middle Geometric (ca. 750 B.C.).\textsuperscript{515} Although there is a large quantity of Euboean pottery from the cemetery, the bulk of the material is Corinthian.\textsuperscript{516} The settlement at Pithekoussai was short lived; it prospered until the end of the 8th century B.C., but then the population began to decline. Archaeological evidence suggests that the settlement was abandoned by the end of the century.\textsuperscript{517} It appears that at least some of the inhabitants transferred their residences to Cumae, one of the earliest apoikiai in Magna Graecia (see below).

The Greeks residing in emporia are thought to have had a symbiotic relationship with the indigenous populations and other foreigners. The settlements at Al Mina in the east and Pithekoussai in the west had ethnically mixed populations and were based on accommodation with the natives; territorial expansion does not appear to have been


\textsuperscript{517} Strabo (5.4.9 [C 247]) said that the inhabitants left Pithekoussai because of a quarrel between the Eretrians and Chalcidians.
an objective of their mission. "Mid-eighth-century colonization in the West was more a legacy of proto-colonial trade contacts than a precursor of strategic territorial expansion."

The frequency and intensity of interaction between the indigenous population, Euboeans, and other foreigners is archaeologically attested both in the cemeteries at Pithekoussai and in the settlement at Al Mina. Subsequent Greek settlements, *apoikiai*, to which we will now turn, appear to have been more formally structured than *emporía* and were generally not based on co-habitation with the natives.

*Apoikiai*

The endeavors of the first Euboean traders are likely to have stimulated other ventures abroad by demonstrating that overseas prospecting was viable, safe, and economically lucrative. Regardless of the motives that prompted the Greeks of the 8th century B.C. to found settlements abroad, the movement to colonize the west in the Archaic period was, as Snodgrass noted, of an "unprecedentedly planned, deliberate and calculated"

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518 Malkin 2002b, p. 154.
519 Strabo (6.2.2 [C 267]) noted that the Greeks were afraid to travel by sea before the middle of the 8th century B.C. because of piracy and the hostility of the natives. See also Thuc. 1.5 on piracy in the Archaic period and Ephorus, *FGrH* 70 F137 on Greek fears of native populations.
nature." The *apoikia* is the typical colonial foundation established by the Greeks from the mid-8th to the late 6th century B.C., in contrast to the *emporion*. The term *apoikia*, which means a "settlement away from home," is usually translated into English as "colony" (see above). The foundation of an *apoikia* appears to have been a *purposeful* shift of population from mainland Greece to a foreign locale.

John Myres proposes that many colonies were settled because of their advantageous location. According to him, favorable winds and currents sent the earliest Greek explorers in the direction of Italy. The placement of *apoikiai* in the west is generally less dense than patterns of settlement in mainland Greece itself; the gaps that existed in certain areas in the west were perhaps a result of the presence of powerful native populations or the lack of sufficient fertile land. Oswyn Murray suggests that the colonists sought uninhabited areas or areas that were occupied by "primitive natives," and in some cases, indigenous settlements at the sites of colonies were small or non-existent.

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521 See Wilson 1997, pp. 205-206 for the range of meanings associated with the Greek word "apoikia."
522 Myres 1911.
Apoikiai were founded as independent poleis.\textsuperscript{525} The formalities surrounding their foundations, discussed below, set them apart from emporia. Unlike most poleis on the Greek mainland, colonies did not originally have well defined borders; most faced the sea and had an open-ended hinterland.\textsuperscript{526} Since apoikiai, regardless of why they were founded, relied on agriculture for survival,\textsuperscript{527} as noted above, the accessibility of arable land was a principal consideration in the selection of a suitable habitation site in order to fulfill the ideal of autarkeia (self-sufficiency).\textsuperscript{528} The need for cultivatable land fuelled a degree of territorial expansionism that could ultimately only be satisfied by encroachment into the hinterland, usually at the expense of native populations.\textsuperscript{529} Aggressive expansion, often immediate and sometimes militaristic in nature, was frequently undertaken by colonies.\textsuperscript{530}

The Greeks who participated in the foundation of an apoikia went there as permanent residents; they intended to stay. Certain formal procedures were prescribed for

\textsuperscript{526} Malkin 2002a, p. 199.
\textsuperscript{527} Cf. Purcell 2005, p. 131.
\textsuperscript{529} Colonists frequently attempted to link their heritage to nostoi of Trojan war heroes in order to claim that the land they were taking from the indigenous population was really Greek "ancestral" land. See below and Dougherty 1993a, p. 28, n. 8.
\textsuperscript{530} E.g., Gela (Paus. 8-46-2; 9.40.4); Apollonia (Paus. 5.22.4); Corcyra (Plut. Mor. 293a-b; Strabo 10.1.15 [C 449]). See below and Dougherty 1993a, 1993b; Malkin 2002a, pp. 199-201; Morris 2003, pp. 46-50.
founding an *apoikia*, some details of which are preserved in ancient texts. Naxos and Cumae are among the earliest *apoikiai* founded by the Greeks, and the Euboeans were instrumental in establishing both (Fig. 4.1). Those colonies embody some of the features that are common to many *apoikiai*, including those in southern Illyria, and will be discussed briefly below. Syracuse and Corcyra, the first non-Euboean *apoikiai*, were founded by Corinthians in 734/3 B.C., the year after Naxos was colonized. The latter two *apoikiai* will be examined in greater detail in Chapter 5.

Naxos, which Thucydides recorded was the first Greek colony established in Sicily, was founded by Euboeans from Chalcis ca. 734 B.C.\(^{531}\) It was different in character from the *emporia* discussed above because it appears to have been founded not only for the exploitation of natural resources, but also because of its strategic location and an abundance of arable land.\(^{532}\) The position of Naxos as the first port of call in Sicily for ships rounding the boot of Italy suggests that trade played an important role in its foundation. Agricultural self-sufficiency, however, was also critical for the survival of the colony, and the colonists were clearly attracted by the fertility of the

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\(^{532}\) Cf. Ephorus, *FGrH* 70 F137a, b.
Naxos was founded by an oikist, Theocles, who discovered the site when he was blown off course to Sicily. In contrast to Pithekoussai archaeological evidence suggests that the Greeks who settled Naxos displaced a native settlement, rather than cohabitating with them. The altar of Apollo Archegetes, the patron of colonial ventures and sacred to all Sicilian Greeks, was located in Naxos, which made it an important gathering place for other Greeks living in Sicily.

Cumae was also a Euboean foundation. It was founded ca. 725 B.C. on the shore of Campania opposite Ischia about a generation later than Pithekoussai. Cumae was an apoikia rather than an emporion, although the distinction is not very clear-cut. Unlike its island neighbor,
foundation legends exist for the colony, which became an important polis (unlike Pithekoussai) and flourished as a trading post throughout and beyond the Archaic period. Cumae, unlike Pithekoussai, had an abundance of arable land. The original population of the colony was augmented when Pithekoussai began to lose residents towards the end of the 8th century B.C. Cumae played an important role in bringing together Greeks, Etruscans, and local Campanian merchants and elites. Although a variety of ethnic groups interacted in Cumae, the earliest burials (ca. 720 B.C.) find their closest parallels in Euboea, indicating that the residents were primarily Greek. The polis was violently sacked by the native Oscans in the 5th century B.C.

Characteristics of Apoikiai

It is generally believed that a colony was, in essence, a new polis that was established with all the accoutrements and characteristics of the city-state; it was, in effect, a "polis in motion." Thucydides indicated that apoikiai were founded by specific mother cities in

540 Livy 8.22.5-6; Strabo 5.4.4 [C 243].
541 Livy 8.22.5-6; Osborne 1996a, p. 116; Whitley 2001, p. 127.
542 See Malkin 2002b for a discussion of the mythic framework that developed and helped to forge a new cultural identity for the multi-ethnic inhabitants of the area around Cumae.
544 Diod. Sic. 12.76.4; Livy 4.44.1-2; Strabo 5.4.4 [C 243]. See Graham 1983, p. 16; Lomas 1995, p. 351.
If colonies were poleis from the beginning, then *metropoleis* must have been fully formed poleis that already possessed all of the elements and institutions found in early city-states, which they then transferred to their *apoikiai*. Each *metropolis*, therefore, must have had some type of central government, a sense of self-identity, and a large enough population to be able to organize and send forth a portion of its citizen body to settle abroad.

Much of the debate about whether or not *apoikiai* were founded by mother cities is connected to questions about the origin of the polis. An assertion that colonies possessed the characteristics of poleis from their inception raises the question of whether the "polis" existed when the first colonies were founded. Colonization is often interpreted as evidence for the existence of the polis, since a colony, given the

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546 Cf. Thuc. 6.3-6. Information about the existence of *metropoleis* is found in Thucydides' (1.34.1-2) presentation of the debate between Corcyra and Corinth. It is, however, likely that Thucydides' goals and perspectives molded his views and induced him to retroject into the past that with which he was familiar, since he himself was the product of a polis. Cf. Whitley 2001, p. 124.
547 The question about the origin of the polis was first taken up by Ehrenberg in the late 1930s. Cf. Ehrenberg 1937, 1969. See Aristotle *Politics* 1252b for the definition of a polis; Morgan and Coulton 1997 for a physical description of a polis; and Hansen 1996, 1997 for a literary description. Osborne notes that discussions about the origin of the polis that were so prevalent in scholarship of the 1980s are now gone. "Hypotheses about state formation are regarded as inadequate to explain the nature and variety of the changes to be seen in the material culture (Osborne 2004, p. 91)."
548 Cf. Roebuck (1972, p. 97), who questions the degree of development that had taken place in Corinth when its first colonies, Syracuse and Corcyra, were founded. See below and Chapter 5.
formalities associated with its foundation, appears to have been a fully developed polis in both organization and conception.\(^{549}\) This argument, however, is rather circular, and recent scholarship has sought to prove that certain innovations essential to the rise of the polis first appeared in the colonies of Magna Graecia and were transferred from there back to mainland Greece.\(^{550}\)

Since the founding of colonies is directly linked to the rise of the polis, it is necessary to consider briefly how a polis is defined. The polis was a system of social organization that emerged in certain, but not all, parts of the Greek mainland. It was one of the principal forms of social organization in ancient Greece.\(^{551}\) The polis or "citizen-estate" was an independent, self-contained, "autonomous political unit, incorporating a town and its territory as the inseparable parts of that unit."\(^{552}\)

\(^{549}\) An apoikia was an independent community and its foundation observed certain proscribed formalities. The need for communal organization was immediate. Cf. Malkin 2003, pp. 59, 67, 71; Hansen 2003, pp. 281-282. Snodgrass (1994b) argues that colonization preceded polis organization in the Chalkidike and at Pithekoussai, but these were emporia with strong Euboean and other ethnic components, rather than fully developed apoikiae. In fact, Pithekoussai never developed into a polis.


\(^{551}\) The other form of social organization was the ethnos. For ethne, see Snodgrass 1980, pp. 42-47; Morgan 2003; Hall 2007a, pp. 67-83. For the role of ethne in colonization, see Morgan and Hall 1996; Hansen 2003, pp. 280-281; Hall 2007a, pp. 88-91.

\(^{552}\) Snodgrass 1980, p. 7. See also Ehrenberg 1937, p. 150; van Compernolle 1983, p. 1038; Snodgrass 1993; Wilson 2000, pp. 34-35; Morgan 2003, pp. 5-7; Purcell 2005, p. 131; Hall 2007a, pp. 68-70.
When the polis "appeared" is a matter of great debate.\textsuperscript{553} It likely emerged as a result of historical dynamics and changes in social and economic organization that took place throughout the Early Iron Age following the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces.\textsuperscript{554} The polis coalesced during the 8th century B.C. and was firmly established by the beginning of the Archaic period.\textsuperscript{555} Components of the polis that were present by the 8th century B.C. and are cited as evidence of its existence by this date include: a concept of state identity that was embodied in a state religion and was articulated through the construction of sanctuaries and temples; the establishment of communal hero cults; the foundation of colonies with state organization; the break-down of military exclusivity and the rise of the hoplite army; artistic diversity; and community and individual dedications at Panhellenic sanctuaries.\textsuperscript{556}

\textsuperscript{553} Scholars disagree about how, where, and when the polis "emerged." Ehrenberg (1937, p. 156) concludes that the polis existed by the time Homer's \textit{Odyssey} was written. Morris (1986) places the beginning of the process at the end of the Bronze Age, as does Nagy (1997), who sees evidence for the foundation of the polis in Homer's description of the judgment scene on the shield of Achilles in the \textit{Iliad}, which is itself impossible to date. Snodgrass (1980, p. 7) places the birth of the polis between the 9th and 8th centuries B.C., and Donlan (1985) contends that the origins are firmly rooted in the social structure that evolved during the early Iron Age. It used to be universally agreed, however, that the formation process was well under way by the time Greece emerged from the Dark Age. For discussions of the development of the polis, see Ehrenberg 1969; Snodgrass 1980, 1993; Morgan 1990, p. 4; Mitchell and Rhodes 1997; Greco 2000; Hansen 2003, pp. 279-282.

\textsuperscript{554} Snodgrass 1980, pp. 27-32.
\textsuperscript{555} Morris 1999a, p. 66.
Physical characteristics of the polis included fortification walls, a centralized agora, an acropolis that served religious and defensive purposes, an extramural necropolis, an attached agricultural hinterland, communal religious associations, and a defined citizen body.\textsuperscript{557} Some scholars would argue that these characteristics of the polis were also present in the first Greek \textit{apoikiai}.\textsuperscript{558}

The polis was based on the concept of \textit{politeia} (citizenship).\textsuperscript{559} A city-state was composed of a defined and restricted citizen body that had certain rights and privileges from which non-citizens were excluded.\textsuperscript{560} Civic life was "organized by customs, laws, or institutions that cut across ties of kinship or private privilege" and were established for the common good. The sense of community and the common interests and values of members of the polis

\textsuperscript{557} Snodgrass 1980, pp. 24-48; Coldstream 2003, p. 414. For example, Megara Hyblaea appears to have been laid out on a grid plan that demarcated public and private spaces from the time of its foundation in ca. 728 B.C., although the evidence is not unambiguous. See discussions in Osborne 1998, pp. 260-262; Morgan 1999, p. 128; De Angelis 2003, pp. 17-32; Hall 2007a, pp. 107-110. The original colonists formed the citizen body of a new \textit{apoikia}. Cf. Thuc. 7.77.7 (\'\'ανδρες γὰρ πόλις\').

\textsuperscript{558} Snodgrass 1980, pp. 27-34; Coldstream 2003, pp. 406-408, 414-415. See discussions in Whitley 1991, pp. 39-45, 2001, pp. 166-167; Hall, 2007a, pp. 79-83. Not all \textit{apoikiai} were founded by poleis. For example, Epizephyrian Locris, Croton, and Sybaris were founded by \textit{ethne}. Epizephyrian Locris was founded by Locris (Strabo 6.1.7 [C 259]) and Croton and Sybaris were founded by Achaea. In such cases, the polis formed first abroad and was then transferred back to the mother region. Cf. Graham 1983, pp. 115-116; Malkin 1994a, p. 1, 2003, pp. 66-67; Morgan and Hall 1996; Morgan 1999, pp. 137-141, 2003, pp. 28-38; Wilson 2000, p. 37.

\textsuperscript{559} See Lintott 2000, pp. 158-159.

\textsuperscript{560} The definition of the citizen body was the crux of a state's identity. Cf. Thuc. 7.77.7.
were stronger than their loyalty to kinship ties. The centralized authority was composed of specialized governmental positions that were filled by citizens. It is these conceptual features, as well as the physical ones described above, that are found in the earliest poleis as well as the first Archaic apoikiai.

Some scholars, on the other hand, contend that the development of the polis occurred after colonization had begun. Osborne, for example, is one of these. So, too, is Malkin, who posits that colonization helped to solidify the development of the polis on the mainland. Along similar lines, Wilson thinks that the coalescence of the polis was a result of colonization. He suggests that the concern with communal organization displayed in apoikiai reflected a concern with ethnic identity, which led, in turn, to the emergence of state identity, which was transferred back to the mainland.

Although the apoikiai in southern Illyria were certainly founded after the institution of the polis was firmly established in Greece, the question about when the polis "emerged" is intimately tied in with the nature of

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564 Wilson 2000, pp. 31-35.
the relationship that Corinth had with one of its first colonies, Corcyra, as we will see in Chapter 5.\textsuperscript{565}

\textit{Metropoleis}

The hypothesis that colonial ventures were organized or at least supported by a \textit{metropolis} is an old one, based ultimately on the ancient literary sources that recorded a mother city for most colonies.\textsuperscript{566} The study of the relationship between colony and mother city in modern scholarship can be traced to at least the mid-17th century.\textsuperscript{567} In recent decades, however, discussions about the nature of interactions between colonies and \textit{metropoleis} have become polarized into two camps; one argues that mother cities were responsible for organizing and sponsoring colonial ventures, while the other challenges the very validity of the concept of "mother city" and contends that foundations abroad lacked any type of state supervision because they resulted solely from private

\textsuperscript{565} Malkin (1994a, p. 1) suggests that Corinth as not urbanized before the 7th century B.C. and hence not a polis when Syracuse and Corcyra were founded. The discussion in Chapter 5 suggests otherwise.  
\textsuperscript{566} Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977, p. 50. As noted above, Morel (1984) downplays the merit of studies about the nature of the relationships between colonies and mother cities.  
\textsuperscript{567} See Graham 1983, pp. xvii-xviii for a brief history of scholarship.  
Shepherd (1995, pp. 70-71, 2005, pp. 25-29) suggests that the notion of a close relationship between mother cities and colonies in Greek scholarship is based on analogies with British imperialism. It derives from the British Empire's notion of superiority over their colonies and the expectation of loyalty from them.
enterprise. If the latter were the case, then the debate about whether or not the polis existed when the first colonies were established would be irrelevant.

Ancient literary testimonia assert that individual Greek poleis were responsible for the foundation of specific colonies and that their colonies, in turn, maintained connections with their mother city. For example, Herodotus explicitly stated that Thera organized the foundation of Cyrene and Thucydides, in his digression in Book 6 about Greeks living in Sicily, listed specific metropoleis for most colonies. Numerous later writers, including Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and Pausanias, also linked apoikiai with particular metropoleis. Given the number of textual references to the founding of colonies by mother cities, it seems sophistic to question the validity of the notion. Indeed, the majority of modern scholars accept that many poleis on the Greek mainland organized and sent out groups of their citizens to

568 Graham (1983, p. 8) cautions, however, against the bipolar juxtaposition of state versus private initiative and notes that "both state and private enterprises existed throughout the historical colonizing period." See also Purcell 2005, p. 123.
570 Hdt. 4.155-159; ML 5.
571 Thuc. 6.1-5.
572 Strabo 6.1.6 [C 258], 9.4.1 [C 425], 10.5.1 [C 484].
574 Paus. 2.32.6, 5.22.4, 8.27.6.
found new settlements abroad and, conversely, that most
apoikiai outside Greece acknowledged foundation from a
specific, older metropolis within the Greek homeland.

Robin Osborne is one of the dissidents and has
recently argued against the idea that colonies were polis-
sponsored ventures. He appears to view the movement
overseas as a rather random affair. He contends that
apoikiai were, in essence, new poleis that were established
as independent and self-sufficient communities, without the
least attachment to, or dependency on, any particular
metropolis. As noted above, he maintains that no single
mother city could be responsible for any of the 8th-7th
century B.C. colonies because no state mechanisms existed
at that time that would have or could have coordinated
foundations abroad. He suggests instead that most early
colonies were individually organized enterprises that were
initiated solely for private economic gain, rather than
state sponsored undertakings. Therefore, according to
this view, there were no "home communities" that were
concerned with the welfare of a settlement. Osborne
suggests that the references in the texts to relationships

576 Osborne 1996a, p. 119. See also Tandy 1997 and Malkin 2001a for
similar views.
577 See also Morgan 1999, p. 86.
578 See also Whitley 2001, p. 124. See Graham (1983) for a different
interpretation.
580 Cf. Tandy 1997, who also emphasizes that colonies were the result of
private enterprise.
between *apoikia* and *metropolis* were later historical constructions formulated in the Classical period for political expediency in order to create ties between colonies and various mainland Greek poleis.\(^{581}\)

Osborne also notes that some *apoikiae* were founded by individuals from several different Greek cities, rather than only one *metropolis*, citing the mixed nature of the ceramic assemblages preserved in the archaeological record, which do not reproduce the material culture of any single Greek city.\(^{582}\) He, therefore, suggests that colonies were informal organizations based on cooperation among like-minded adventurers. Colonists were thus not dependent on, or loyal to, any single, particular Greek polis.

Thucydides, on the other hand, affirmed that colonies owed certain rights and privileges to mother cities and that those rights were usually observed or at least acknowledged.\(^{583}\) *Apoikiae* were expected to maintain a

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\(^{581}\) See also Owen 2005, p. 8.

\(^{582}\) Osborne 1996a, ch. 4; 1998, p. 264. The hybrid nature of colonial populations is discussed by Malkin (2001a, 2003, pp. 66-74), who notes that many colonial foundations were established by a mixture of intra-Hellenic ethnicities, and by Snodgrass (1994a, p. 2), who stresses the ethnically mixed nature of most colonial ventures. Literary sources also attest to a lack of homogeneity among some colonial populations. See, for example, Thucydides (6.4.3), who wrote that Gela was founded by Rhodes and Crete and Strabo (8.6.22 [C 380]), who noted that the colonizing body for Syracuse included Teneans as well as Corinthians. See also Morgan 1991, 1999, p. 127; Wilson 2000, p. 32; Owen 2005, p. 7.

\(^{583}\) The context in which Thucydides discussed the *apoikia-metropolis* relationship was his explanation of the role of Epidamnian *stasis* in the beginning of the Peloponnesian War and Corinth’s complaints about Corcyra for ignoring the rights due to a mother city (1.24-44).
certain degree of allegiance to their metropoleis, especially in religious matters.\textsuperscript{584} Mother cities were accorded certain religious distinctions at Panhellenic festivals by their colonies, such as precedence at sacrifices.\textsuperscript{585} They were entitled to expect the loyalty of their colonies,\textsuperscript{586} especially in matters of war.\textsuperscript{587} A metropolis also had the right to send out new settlers to mix with the original colonists.\textsuperscript{588} In most cases, a metropolis was asked to provided the oikist if a new colony was founded by its colony.\textsuperscript{589} It is even possible that a metropolis was entitled to receive a share of its colony's war spoils.\textsuperscript{590} Conversely, colonies might expect to be well

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\textsuperscript{584} ML 49, lines 11-13; Graham 1982, p. 153, 1983, p. 216. Cf. Salmon 1984, p. 387; Malkin 1987, p. 203, 2004, p. 347. See Shepherd 2000, pp. 57-68 for the view that there were no religious ties between apoikiai and metropoleis in Magna Graecia in the Archaic period. She notes, however, that the situation might have been different for the Corinthian colonies founded under the Cypselids. See Chapter 5.


\textsuperscript{586} Cf. ML 20, lines 11-12; ML 49, lines 20-25.

\textsuperscript{587} Thuc. 1.38.1-4. For example, Corinth's colonies, Ambracia, Leucas, and Anactorium supported their metropolis against Athens in the Peloponnesian war.

\textsuperscript{588} Thuc. 1.27.1; Diod. Sic. 12.30.3. See Graham 1983, pp. 110-111.

\textsuperscript{589} See Malkin 2002b, p. 156. Selinus and Zancle are examples of colonies that were founded by colonies; in each case an oikist came from the original metropolis. When Sicilian Megara founded Selinus, they sent to Megara for an oikist (Thuc. 6.4.2). Zancle, although it was first settled by pirates from Cumae, was later formally founded by the Chalcidians with two oikists, one from Chalcis and the other from Cumae (Thuc. 6.4.5).

\textsuperscript{590} Cf. Paus. 5.22.4. See Chapter 5.
treated by their mother city, although the colonists retained very few rights there, since apoikiai were established as new and independent settlements; in some cases they were not even allowed the right to return home. \(^{592}\)

Apoikiai were, on the other hand, quick to assert their independence, without, however, denying the historicity of the relationship to their metropolis. \(^{593}\) As noted above, they were independent poleis from the beginning and sought to forge their own identity, separate from their mother city. \(^{594}\) Although many of the artifacts recovered from the foundation period (i.e., the first generation) from colonies in the west were imports from the mother city attested in historical sources, the composition of material assemblages quickly changed to include imports from other parts of Greece. \(^{595}\) Burial customs in apoikiai, too, often differed from those in the metropolis (see below). Colonial independence was publicly proclaimed

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\(^{591}\) Thuc. 1.34.1-2. For example, Corinth arranged for aid to be sent to Syracuse when it was attacked by the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War. Cf. Whitley 2001, p. 124.

\(^{592}\) Cf. Plut. Mor. 293a–b. Herodotus (4.156.3) presented the case of the Therans who founded Cyrene and were refused permission to land when they tried to return home. Graham 1983, pp. 110-117; Malkin 1994a, pp. 3-7, 1998b.


\(^{594}\) Antonaccio 2003, pp. 66-67 suggests that colonists needed to "invent" a cultural pedigree and often did so by combining customs and cultural elements from the mother city with those adopted from the natives, thus producing hybrid practices or objects. For example, hybridity is expressed in mixed Greek-indigenous burials practices in Sicily (Antonaccio 2003, p. 67) and in the production of ceramics (Antonaccio 2005, p. 101). See also Morgan 1999, pp. 86-87.

through dedications at Panhellenic sanctuaries, which sometimes rivaled those of their mother city. The treasury of the Epidamnians and the victory monument of the Apollonians at Olympia are two examples of colonial dedications that make strong statements about the independence and wealth of a colony. Snodgrass interprets public displays of this type as a powerful means to "assert colonial prowess and prosperity." The preceding discussion suggests that many apoikiai were founded by metropoleis. It is true, as Osborne notes, that some colonies were composed of settlers of mixed ethnic origins and thus did not feel an allegiance to any particular polis in Greece. Other colonies were founded by ethne, which themselves lacked the structural organization of poleis. Nevertheless, some apoikiai had and maintained a relationship with a metropolis. This is the case for the Albanian colonies founded by Corinth, notably Apollonia.

Common Characteristics of Colonies

596 Morgan (1990, p. 17) notes that the amount of wealth invested by colonies at Panhellenic sanctuaries was probably spurred by their desire to establish identities that were independent from their mother cities. For the importance of Panhellenism in Greek identity, see Cartledge 2002, pp. 42-45; Shepherd 1995, pp. 73-76, 2000, pp. 68-69, 2005, pp. 36-37; Malkin 2003, pp. 65-66.

597 Snodgrass 1994a, p. 9. Olympia was also used as a forum for colonial competition and emulation. Shepherd 1995, pp. 73-76; Morgan 1999, pp. 141-142.
All *apoikiai* share certain general attributes. As already noted, they were planned communities with a civic center, an adjacent hinterland, an autonomous government, and a defined citizen body.\(^{598}\) Since they were established as independent poleis, it is likely that *apoikiai* were self-sustaining communities.\(^{599}\) The original members of the colony, who comprised the citizen body, forged a communal identity based on shared religious beliefs and traditions, regardless of whether they hailed from different parts of Greece.\(^{600}\)

There were standard procedures and rituals that were prescribed for founding an *apoikia*. These usually included an oracular consultation that advised and sanctioned the foundation of a colony; the selection and appointment of an *oikist*; the transfer of fire from the sacred hearth of the *metropolis* to the new colony; the distribution of *kleroi*; the formal establishment of the borders of the new settlement; and the demarcation of sacred and secular boundaries.\(^{601}\) Colonists brought material culture, customs, and institutions from their places of origin to their new

\(^{598}\) See Blakeway 1932-1933, pp. 205-206.
\(^{599}\) Hdt. 4.150-155 and ML 5 suggest that *apoikiai* were expected to be self-sustaining. Colonies did, however, import commodities such as wine and oil from their *metropoleis*, as well as manufactured goods like ceramics.
\(^{600}\) Kopcke (1992) and de Polignac (1995, ch. 3) emphasize the importance of shared religious practices in new colonies and the role that newly erected Greek temples played in cementing civic unity.
\(^{601}\) Graham 1982, pp. 144-150; Dougherty 1993a, p. 15; Malkin 1994a, p. 2.
home. The nomima (customs) and religious practices of their mother city were normally incorporated into the civic life of the new community; these nomima included the dialect, calendar, script, social divisions, cults, and governmental offices. A shared identity coalesced around the customs established by the oikist at the time of foundation.

A colony was not, however, a wholesale reproduction of a mother city; it was a new polis in a foreign location. Despite their ties with a metropolis, colonial settlements abroad exercised considerable independence. As noted above, a colony sought to create its own identity from the beginning of its existence. Excavations at a number of apoikiai have shown that the colonists did not transport in their entirety the practices and the material culture of their mother cities. Rather than copying all the customs of their mother cities, colonies invented some of their own by combining various old and new practices, as exemplified by the variety of burial customs that are found in colonial

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603 Graham 1983, p. 14; Malkin 1987, pp. 114-134; Dougherty 1993a, p. 20. Nomima established by the oikist were also the basis for the identity of colonies founded by settlers from different parts of Greece. See Malkin 2003, pp. 67-71.
604 De Polignac (1995) views a new colony as a copy of the mother city, in that the colonists reproduced that with which they were familiar. For a different view, see Malkin 2002a, pp. 204-207.
605 Snodgrass 1994a, p. 8; Malkin 1994a, 2002b, p. 155.
606 See Osborne 1998, pp. 259, 264. For example, the ceramic assemblages from Megara Hyblaea and Cumae include a large percentage of Corinthian LG pottery, as well as imports from other parts of Greece, but neither apoikia was a Corinthian foundation.

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cemeteries.\textsuperscript{607} This process of self-definition allowed colonists to forge a new and unique group identity.\textsuperscript{608} Additionally, the mainland Greek poleis were influenced by developments in the colonies; the exchange of ideas was fluid and moved both ways.\textsuperscript{609}

\textbf{Ktiseis}

The inauguration of a colony was an historical event, undertaken by living people at a particular moment in

\textsuperscript{607} Burial practices adopted at colonies often combined customs from the \textit{metropolis} with other, perhaps native, elements, thereby diverging from anything found on the Greek mainland. For example, when Syracuse was founded in the mid-8th century B.C., the burial preference at Corinth was in stone sarcophagi (see Pfaff 2007). Earth cists covered with a monolithic stone slab were also used for some burials, but these were in the minority and decreased in frequency over time. Most interments were inhumations with the body placed in a contracted position. At Syracuse, on the other hand, sarcophagi were only used for half the burials in the first century after colonization, and the number decreased over time. This was not due to a lack of adequate stone, since there is an excellent source nearby. Also we know that at Apollonia, sarcophagi found in the necropolis were transported from Corinth (see below). The majority of the Syracusean graves were rock cut trench graves covered with multiple stone slabs. Bodies were placed in the extended position, and there were some cremations and multiple burials. As Shepherd (1995, pp. 52-56) notes, there was a distinct and deliberate divergence from Corinthian burial customs in Syracuse from the beginning. It is unlikely that any of the graves belonged to members of the indigenous population since, as we have seen, the colonists were said to have expelled them when the colony was founded. See also Snodgrass 1994a, p. 9. Coldstream (2003, p. 23, on the other hand, contends that the burials from Syracuse conform remarkably well to Corinthian traditions in many details. He proposes that the anomalies represent the presence of non-Corinthian settlers.\textsuperscript{608} Osborne 2004, p. 92.

\textsuperscript{609} Snodgrass 1994a, p. 8. Two examples of ideas that flowed from the colonies to the mainland are the Corinthian Type B amphora which might have originated on Corcyra and the "Ionian Sea" style of Doric architecture which first appeared in Sicily. For amphorae, see Grace 1953, pp. 108-109; Koehler 1992, pp. 4-5; for architecture, see Barletta 1990, p. 45; Papadopoulos 2001, p. 376; Shepherd 2005, pp. 37-39. See, however, Dunbabin 1948a, pp. 188-192, who emphasizes Magna Graecia's "cultural dependence" on mainland Greece and is a proponent for the one-way flow of ideas.
time. This event was often commemorated in a foundation story, or *ktisis*. A *ktisis* functioned to articulate a community's collective identity and shared history. It also was a means to establish territorial rights in a foreign land. Various elements of *ktiseis* for many colonies, particularly those that flourished for many generations, were recorded in antiquity.

The earliest recorded *ktisis* is in Homer; by the time of Herodotus *ktiseis* were a well-established literary genre. *Ktiseis* differ from mythological or legendary foundation tales, such as the *nostoi* (stories about the return of heroes from Troy), in that they were centered on historical events that took place within human history. Foundation *legends* contained details about long dead heroes and the circumstances that forced them to settle in foreign lands. Such tales often contained ethnic genealogies that produced an indisputable Greek pedigree for communities on

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610 This might appear to be a self-evident statement but, in light of postmodern views that question the cohesiveness of the colonizing act, it seems necessary to emphasize this point.

611 *Ktiseis* were primarily preserved for the longer lived *apoikiai* since the differential length of time that colonies survived had an impact on their literary fate. Almost all foundation stories are from flourishing colonies that survived for many generations, while none exist for unsuccessful or short-lived colonies. For example, many texts contain references to the foundation of Syracuse, Corcyra, Metapontum, and Cyrene, but no coherent legends exist for the failed colony at Incoronata in Magna Graecia. Cf. Malkin 1987, p. 115; Osborne 1998, pp. 262-264; Hall 2007a, pp. 100-106.

612 Hodos 2006, p. 10.


the fringes of the Greek world.\textsuperscript{615} Although many \textit{ktiseis} had mythological overtones, unlike \textit{nostoi}, they generally contained a kernel of historical truth. A \textit{ktisis} was not, however, a primary account of a colony's history and should not be read or interpreted as such; all were recorded long after the actual foundation and undoubtedly contained an element of propaganda.\textsuperscript{616}

It has been suggested that many Greek colonies also created or modified "foundation" stories for political purposes decades, or even centuries, after they were founded; the Greeks of the Classical and Hellenistic periods often manipulated the past to suit their present.\textsuperscript{617} Proponents of this negative view therefore suggest that \textit{ktiseis} should not be relied on to preserve historical truths. This interpretation of \textit{ktiseis} as culturally constructed and purely propagandistic tales, however, denies the possibility that they preserve any historical information. I believe, on the contrary, that although such foundation stories included "manufactured memories,"

\footnote{\textsuperscript{615} Dougherty 1993a, p. 5; Malkin 2001a, pp. 9-10; Hall 1997, pp. 40-51. For the grafting of \textit{nostoi} genealogies onto non-Greeks by Greek mariners, see Malkin 2002b. For the importance of this process in Illyria, see Chapter 5. \textsuperscript{616} Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002, p. 11; Hall 2007a, pp. 100-106. \textsuperscript{617} Osborne 1996a, pp. 4-17, 1998; Malkin 1987, p. 115; Owen 2005, p. 8. Scholarly opinion here differs about the historical value of \textit{ktiseis}. Whitley (2001, p. 104) doubts that these stories can be taken as historical truths. Osborne (1996a, pp. 8-15) uses the foundation stories for Cyrene to argue that \textit{ktiseis} were created for political propaganda long after the colony was founded. Malkin (2002b, p. 157), on the other hand, contends that such stories "did contain significant kernels of truth."}
as will be seen in the case of Apollonia, it is likely that they also, in part, preserved historical knowledge that was retained in the collective memory of a colony; *ktiseis* were not entirely fabricated at a later date, and do, in fact, contain some potentially useful information about the history of Archaic colonization. For example, most *ktiseis* preserved the name of the mother city and the name of the *oikist*.

A *ktisis* is a literary topos with specific narrative elements and conventions that are common to stories about later historical colonization movements, such as the colonization of America or Australia. Some of the common motifs in Greek *ktiseis* are: 1) crisis and departure; 2) Delphic consultation; 3) foundation; and 4) resolution. In this respect, all *ktiseis* are structurally similar and vary only in details; any historical information they contain has been structured to fit the narrative conventions of their genre.

The nature of the crisis in the metropolis that precipitated the founding of a colony, whether it was

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618 Dougherty 1993a pp. 6-8. Owen (2005, p. 11-12) is critical of Dougherty’s analogy of “reading” ancient *ktiseis* like modern stories about the colonization of America and/or Australia. Owen suggests this imposes modern paradigms of dominance and violence onto the past. For example, Owen points out that Dougherty’s interpretation (1993a, p. 67) of intermarriage between native women and colonists as an act of violence rather than integration is a reflection of an imperialist reading of the texts based on examples of modern colonization.

619 Dougherty 1993a pp. 6, 8, 15; Malkin 2002b, p. 157.
political *stasis*, famine, overpopulation, drought, or land shortage, was frequently encapsulated in the *ktisis*.\(^{620}\) The colonial undertaking was, in many instances, encouraged and legitimized by an oracle from Apollo at Delphi that required this course of action to alleviate a crisis in the mother city.\(^{621}\)

One important group of *ktiseis* belongs to colonies that were founded by political dissidents or people who had committed murder.\(^{622}\) The *ktiseis* for several Corinthian colonies discussed in Chapter 5 fall into this category. Civic *stasis* in the *metropolis* was often cited as a primary reason for colonization.\(^{623}\) As a result, colonists were often ritually defiled by violence and/or bloodshed when they left.\(^{624}\) Since Apollo was the god usually invoked to protect cities from pollution, the *oikist* or *metropolis* needed to consult the Delphic oracle to learn how to be cleansed after being tainted by murder.\(^{625}\) The oracular response always required the expulsion of the guilty

\(^{620}\) Dougherty and Kurke, 1993, p. 9; Dougherty 1993a, p. 52; Malkin 1994a.

\(^{621}\) Cf. *ML* 5 and Hdt. 4.150-155. For the role of Delphi in colonization, see Parke and Wormell 1956; Bérard 1960, p. 62; Fontenrose 1978; Graham 1983; Malkin 1987, 2003, pp. 61-64; Morgan 1990.

\(^{622}\) The *ktisis* for Taras, founded by the Spartan Partheniae, as noted above, falls into this category. Dougherty (1993b, p. 182) equates this type of aetiological myth about political exile with murder. Malkin (1998a, pp. 23-24), on the other hand, notes that only a small group of *ktiseis* have *oikists* who were murders.

\(^{623}\) Cf. Plato Laws 708b.

\(^{624}\) See Dougherty 1993b; McGlew 1993, pp. 168-173; Malkin 1994a, p. 2.

\(^{625}\) For the connection between homicide, purification, Apollo, and colonization, see Dougherty 1993a, 1993b; McGlew 1993, pp. 161-163.
portion of the citizen body; thus, the foundation of a colony was the only viable way to end the crisis.\textsuperscript{626} If the act of colonization involved murder, the Delphic oracle provided a moral sanction for the violence.\textsuperscript{627}

An \textit{apoikia} was officially founded by an \textit{oikist} selected by the \textit{metropolis}.\textsuperscript{628} A \textit{ktisis} usually preserved the name and genealogy of the \textit{oikist}; he was almost always a member of the aristocracy\textsuperscript{629} and probably operated with absolute imperium.\textsuperscript{630} The \textit{oikist} was responsible for organizing the colonists and performing the proper foundation rituals. He picked the physical site of the settlement, often in conjunction with an oracle received in advance from Delphi; some \textit{ktiseis} preserve the oracular response.\textsuperscript{631} During the journey, the \textit{oikist} transported the sacred fire from the hearth of the \textit{metropolis} to that of the new colony. At the site of the new colony, he oversaw

\textsuperscript{626} Dougherty 1993a p. 20.  
\textsuperscript{627} Malkin 1987, p. 90; Dougherty 1993b; Snodgrass 1994a, p. 9; Osborne 1998, p. 266.  
\textsuperscript{628} Homer (\textit{Od}. 6.7-11) was the first to describe the role of the \textit{oikist} in the foundation of a new settlement. Battus, the founder of Cyrene, is probably the best known \textit{oikist}, although he was hardly typical (Hdt. 4.155-156). For a discussion of the role of the \textit{oikist}, see Graham 1983, pp. 29-39; Malkin 1987, pp. 261-266; Osborne 1996a, pp. 8-15.  
\textsuperscript{629} An aristocratic pedigree was especially prevalent in colonies founded by Corinth, where most of the \textit{oikists} were Bacchiads or sons of the tyrants; see Snodgrass 1980, pp. 121-122; Graham 1983, pp. 29-34; McGlew 1993, pp. 161-182; and Chapter 5.  
\textsuperscript{630} Cf. \textit{ML} 5, line 27 where Battus went to Cyrene as \textit{βασιλῆα} and \textit{ML} 49, lines 8-9. See also Hdt. 4.147, 4.153 and Chapter 5.  
\textsuperscript{631} See, for example, Hdt. 4.150-155; Plut. \textit{Mor.} 772b-773e. See Malkin 1987, p. 183.
the demarcation of public, private, and sacred spaces. He was responsible for the division and distribution of kleroi to the colonists; this was an essential element in the foundation act. The founder was also in charge of regulating the colony's nomima and establishing communal cults. Upon his death, the oikist was usually buried in the agora and worshipped as a hero; the satisfactory resolution of the crisis in the metropolis was often memorialized in his cult. The cult of the oikist thus became an important means of defining a community's independence and collective identity.

Since ktiseis were composed by the colonizers, rather than the colonized, information about native inhabitants was seldom included in these accounts and very little was recorded about what happened to them when Greeks arrived at the place where they wished to establish a colony. In some cases, however, foundation stories preserve memories

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634 Dougherty 1993a, p. 15. See Malkin 2003, pp. 64-66 for the replacement of human oikists with heroic or divine ones. For example, Heracles came to be honored as the founder of Croton instead of the historical oikist, Myscellus. This type of substitution also occurred at Apollonia. See Chapter 5.
635 See Malkin 2002a, p. 200. Dougherty (1993a, pp. 24-27) suggests that the identity of the apoikia was solidified when the oikist died. Malkin (1987, p. 189) contends that the "memory" of the foundation was transmitted through the cult of the oikist. In contrast, Dunbabin (1948a, p. 11) suggests that the oikist cult was derived from the metropolis and strengthened the ties between mother city and colony.
637 Gaffney et al. 2002.
of violent struggles that accompanied the forcible expropriation of land from indigenous populations. Many Greek colonies were established on sites that had previously been occupied by native towns. Ancient sources suggest that sometimes colonists subdued a hostile population and that, occasionally, they reduced it to a servile status. As Ian Morris points out, there were winners and there were losers, and in many cases the Greeks simply took what they wanted from the native inhabitants. In other cases, though, evidence suggests that the colonists "coexisted" with the indigenous population.

The current generation of scholars is sensitive to the ways in which colonialist perspectives have manipulated the archaeological record and have colored studies of interactions between Greek colonists and indigenous

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638 Cf. Thuc. 6.3.2. Dougherty 1993a, p. 27, n. 7.
639 Dunbabin 1948a, p. 43; Dougherty 1993b, p. 188; Hall 2002, pp. 97-100; Hodos 2006, pp. 92-93.
640 Cf. Thuc. 6.23 for a colonial encounter with a hostile Sicel population. As with civic stasis, the Delphic oracle could grant purification from the violence and death that accompanied territorial conquest and free a colony from miasma. See Austin and Vidal-Naquet 1977, pp. 63-65.
641 On slavery, see Finley 1982a, 1999; Purcell 1990, pp. 47-49.
643 Much postcolonial theory, which emphasizes reciprocity, accommodation, and interaction between natives and Greeks, ignores, or even denies, that power relationships existed and that in some cases, there was no accommodation. Cf. Purcell 2005, pp. 126, 132-133.
Colonialist views stress the domination of a culturally superior colonizing group over an inferior indigenous population and project power relationships into the past.

Postcolonial theory, on the other hand, stresses hybridity and offers an approach that replaces the binary model of Greek versus the non-Greek "other" by stressing the dynamic processes that occurred when the two cultures encountered one another; neither remained static, but both were modified and changed through contact. Through the processes of mediation and acculturation, new, hybrid cultures were created from the interactions between Greeks and indigenous peoples that were a blending of two originally distinct cultures. Postcolonial theory, therefore, rejects the old model of transformation whereby a passive indigenous population lost its own mores and

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identity by adopting the traits and culture of the superior Greeks. "Hellenization" is no longer viewed as a natural and obvious process resulting from the cultural superiority of the Greeks and the assumption that the natives wanted to adopt Greek culture. Instead, the process of transformation is viewed as a bilateral interaction in which both cultures were metamorphosed into a new entity as a result of contact and cultural exchanges.

Intermarriage between colonists and natives is assumed to be one of the principle vehicles of cultural integration. Such unions would have produced an inevitable blending of native and Greek practices. One context in which intermarriage is said to be visible in the archaeological record is in cemeteries. Lyons suggests that it is possible to identify the burials of native women at Megara Hyblaea based on grave goods. Buchner claims the association between native bronze fibulae and female

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650 Cf. Dunbabin 1948a and Boardman 1999a, p. 190 for a colonialist perspective and Hodos 2006, pp. 11-12 for an analysis of this view.
652 Antonaccio (2005, pp. 102-105) uses the Attic red-figure nestorides in the J. Paul Getty Museum as an example of a hybrid object: its shape and decoration combine local south Italian and Attic elements. See Morel 1984, pp. 133-134; Malkin 2002b, pp. 151-156. See Hammond 1982b for an extreme example of this approach. Hammond there adopts the Albanian communist party line that minimizes the role of the Greeks in the transformation of Illyrian society. See discussions in Chapters 3 and 5.
653 Morel 1984, p. 134; Lyons 2000, pp. 88-89; Hall 2002, pp. 100-103. The concept of mixed marriages is in vogue because it is politically correct and part of the postcolonial agenda (see above).
654 Lyons 2000, p. 89.
burials in the cemeteries at Pithekoussai is evidence for the presence of indigenous women. 655

As Shepherd points out, however, artifacts are not ethnically or gender specific and cannot be used to substantiate claims of ethnicity without other supporting evidence. 656 In both Megara Hyblaea and Pithekoussai the osteological remains are poorly preserved and often gender cannot be determined with certainty. The material record from Syracuse and Gela is also ambiguous. Shepherd concludes that there is no irrefutable evidence from Pithekoussai or the other Sicilian sites for intermarriage and/or indigenous female burials in those cemeteries. 657 Although it is perhaps common sense to assume that Greek settlers took native wives, this cannot yet be adequately documented. 658

At the moment of colonization, however, the boundaries between "Greek" and "barbarian" were most clearly defined. Osborne writes, "Greekness was largely a matter of self-identification." 659 Still, although ethnicity is fluid and

655 Buchner 1975, p. 79, 1979. Cf. Coldstream 1993, 1994, p. 53, who has also adopted this argument. Shepherd (1999, p. 275), however, notes that there is no conclusive evidence that the majority of the burials with fibulae are actually female.
656 Shepherd 1999, p. 275. See also Graham 1982, pp. 147-148; Morgan 1999; Owen 2005, p. 8. Equating artifacts with gender or ethnicity is similar to the "pots equal people" argument discussed above.
658 Gwynn (1918, p. 109) suggested that the colonists took native wives out of necessity.
659 Osborne 1996a, p. 8.
ethnic "boundaries" are often hard to define, in the early stages of an *apoikia*, colonial identity was based on race, shared language, religious practices, and cultural traits. These characteristics are exactly the same as those employed to cement a colony's self-identity and to maintain the separation between Greeks and natives. It is only later in the history of a settlement that ethnicity became a social phenomenon that could be easily manipulated.

Although indigenous populations might adopt Greek material culture, religion, and language, and, in essence, "act" Greek, this did not automatically make them Greek; the process of "becoming" was a long one. Acculturation and assimilation often took generations, rather than years or decades, and should to be measured over the *moyenne durée*.

Because the number of participants in an initial colonial expeditions is almost never noted in a *ktisis*, the average size of a colonial venture in the Archaic period is uncertain. There are, in fact, only two *apoikiai* for which

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662 See Morel 1984, pp. 129-135. Greek objects did not necessarily have the same meaning for others who used them. Cf. Dietler 1999, p. 485.
663 See Braudel 1972, p. 353. It was really only in the Hellenistic period, after Alexander the Great opened up the world and spread Greek culture far and wide, that ethnic boundaries became permeable. Prior to this, city-states jealously guarded their citizenship and reinforced their ethnic separation.
specific numbers were recorded: Apollonia and Leucas.\textsuperscript{664} Stephanos of Byzantium noted that the founding group for Apollonia was made up of 200 colonists from Corinth.\textsuperscript{665} Pseudo-Scylax said that 1,000 colonists went to Leucas.\textsuperscript{666} In other instances, approximate numbers can be deduced. According to Herodotus, Battus went to Cyrene with two \textit{pentekonters} (50 oared ships);\textsuperscript{667} the settlers were raised from each family on the home island of Thera. Diodorus Siculus recorded that a later colony, Aetna, was founded in 479 B.C. with 10,000 colonists: 5,000 from the Peloponnese and 5,000 from Syracuse; however, the number of people who took part in that venture was probably much larger than any initial colonizing group in the Archaic period.\textsuperscript{668}

It is unclear whether or not women and children were included in the recorded number of colonists, or even participated in colonial ventures.\textsuperscript{669} Women are largely absent from \textit{ktiseis} in the same way that indigenous populations are, either because they were not present or because they were not important. Some women probably accompanied the colonists to fulfill the role of

\textsuperscript{664} See Morgan 1998, p. 287, who suggests that 100 households might be reasonable for a successful colonizing venture.
\textsuperscript{665} Steph. Byz., s.v. Άπολλωνία. It is interesting to note that the number 200 was also said to be the size of the Bacchiad oligarchy.
\textsuperscript{666} Pseudo-Scylax 34.
\textsuperscript{667} Hdt. 4.156.2.
\textsuperscript{668} Diod. Sic. 11.49.
\textsuperscript{669} Van Compernolle (1983, pp. 1038-1041) believes that women were rarely included in the colonizing body.
priestesses.\textsuperscript{670} There is, however, no unambiguous textual or archaeological evidence for or against the presence of women amongst the colonists.\textsuperscript{671}

From the preceding summary, it should be obvious that \textit{ktiseis} exist for many \textit{apoikiai}, but also that these often preserve fragmentary and contradictory information. There are certain formulaic elements that are common to the genre including: 1) the reason to leave home; 2) sanction from the Delphic oracle; 3) \textit{oikists} who were aristocrats; 4) violent territorial conquest. Information is rarely preserved about indigenous populations or women. Therefore, \textit{ktiseis} are not useful for addressing issues of ethnicity or interactions between native inhabitants and colonists. Although they should not be taken as historical fact, \textit{ktiseis} do, however, preserve useful information about a colony's history. Chapter 5 will examine the utility of Apollonia's \textit{ktisis} in deciphering the history of the colony.

**Foundation Dates**

Establishing specific foundation dates for individual colonies was long considered a critical issue in the study


\textsuperscript{671} Cf. \textit{ML} 5; Hdt. 4.150-155; Cic. \textit{Rep.} 2.19-20; Strabo 5.2.2 [C 219]. For a discussion of the relevant texts for or against intermarriage, see Shepherd 1999, pp. 267-270.
of Archaic colonization. Foundation dates are regarded by many scholars as "equivalent to ceremonial cornerstones." Such dates, however, were rarely preserved in *ktiseis*. In addition, reconstruction of the foundation dates for many colonies is complicated by disagreements among the ancient sources.

The chronological framework for the ancient world has been established primarily from textual evidence. Foundation dates are usually constructed from two primary sources: Thucydides' description of the colonization of Sicily (6.3-5) and the *Chronicles* of Eusebius. Because of this reliance on texts, the dates supplied by "modern historians' understanding of ancient historians" provide a structure into which archaeologists have been expected to try to fit their discoveries. From the start, therefore, archaeologists have become dependent on, or have been hindered by, the work of ancient and modern historians and the artificial timetables constructed by them.

Thucydides' dates were once considered the most reliable foundation for the chronological framework of ancient Greece. Scholars have trusted Thucydides more

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672 Malkin 2002a, p. 200. Owen (2005, p. 7) notes that the obsession with foundation dates has prevented scholars from looking at pre-settlement periods and evidence for first contacts.

673 Cf. Hall 2007a, pp. 103-106.


675 Biers (1992, p. 62) cautions about the seductive nature of absolute dates.
readily than other ancient historians in part because he himself boasted that his methods were more careful than those of his predecessors. He confidently stated that his conclusions about the early periods of Greek history were sound: "We can rest satisfied with having proceeded upon the clearest data, and having arrived at conclusions as exact as can be expected in matters of such antiquity." The incontrovertible accuracy of Thucydides for the early history of Greece is, however, no longer universally accepted and scholars have begun to question the validity of assumptions made about his chronology. Different scholars currently accept Thucydides' dates to different degrees: some adhere to them without qualification, while others are more reserved, and still others reject them entirely.

One problem with Thucydides' dates is that he probably calculated them by assuming generations of 40 years. Thomas Dunbabin, in spite of problems in the literary traditions, believes that Thucydides' foundation dates are

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678 Coldstream (1968, p. 322, 1977, p. 233) accepts Thucydides' dates as facts and constructs his sequence for Geometric pottery on the assumption that they are accurate. Amyx (1988, p. 408 n. 29) also accepts them. Whitley (1991, p. 81) and Morris (1987, p. 14) accept them with some reservations. James (1991, p. 103), on the other hand, thinks that the Thucydidean dates are too high, and Ducat (1962, p. 169) attacks the validity of the entire Thucydidean chronology.
"the best that are available;" even he, nonetheless, allows for a margin of error of fifty years, plus or minus, in compensation for faulty genealogical calculations.\textsuperscript{680} It is probable, on the other hand, that Thucydides derived some of his dates from the Syracusean historian, Antiochus (see Chapter 2), who may have been prompted by political motives to enhance his city's antiquity and may thus have provided a faulty foundation sequence.\textsuperscript{681} At any rate, the earliest dates were recorded long after the events took place, rather than within living memory; they were approximations of years that the ancients no longer knew definitely, and, certainly, the further back in time an estimation, the less reliable it is likely to be.\textsuperscript{682}

There were rival chronological traditions in antiquity, which further negate the possibility of arriving at an unequivocal chronology. Eusebius and Jerome often recorded events that Thucydides did not.\textsuperscript{683} When Thucydides and Eusebius and/or Jerome list the same event, however, they do not always agree.\textsuperscript{684} Moreover, additional sources,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{680} Dunbabin 1948a, p. 447.
\item \textsuperscript{682} As noted above, Malkin (1987, pp. 189), suggests that the history of a colony, including its foundation date, was preserved in the cult of the oikist.
\item \textsuperscript{683} For Eusebius and Jerome, see discussion in Chapter 2.
\item \textsuperscript{684} In most cases, Eusebius' dates do agree with Thucydides'; it is likely that he took many of his dates directly from Thucydides or his source. This makes Eusebius' alternative dates all the more
\end{itemize}
such as Ephorus and Diodorus Siculus, differ from Thucydides and/or Eusebius. Because the literary sources contradict each other, foundation dates can vary up or down by as much as fifty years, depending on how one manipulates them. If, as some suggest, foundation dates were preserved by colonists or metropoleis through oral tradition or lists of annual magistrates, there should be little room for the discrepancies that appear in the texts. This is not, however, the case, and foundation dates are notoriously misleading.

Finally, scholars use the development of Corinthian ceramics to confirm 8th-7th century B.C. foundation dates; however, this approach introduces circular arguments and highlights the problems in associating pots with people.

The traditional approach to establishing an absolute problematic. See Dunbabin 1948a, pp. 436, 439; Gomme, Andrews, and Dover 1970, p. 203. See, however, Coldstream (1968, p. 322), who perceives no serious discrepancies between the Thucydidean and Eusebian chronologies.

Selinus, which was long considered to be a "fixed point" in colonial chronology, provides an example of rival traditions. According to Thucydides, the colony was founded in 628 B.C. On the other hand, Diodorus Siculus (13.62) and Jerome (Helm) date its foundation to 650 B.C. Dunbabin 1948a, pp. 437-438; Gomme, Andrews, and Dover 1970, p. 209; Miller 1970, p. 32; Holloway 1981, p. 135; Wilson 1982, p. 101; de Angelis 1994, p. 90. This controversy over the foundation date of Selinus has led some scholars to reject all of Thucydides' earlier dates. Cf. Benson 1964, p. 402; Cook 1960, 1969, 1972.


Amyx 1988, p. 406. Dunbabin (1948a, p. 447) suggests that differences in the tradition should be attributed "to slips in transmission...or to unhistorical synchronizations." Graham (1982, p. 90) hypothesizes that dates might have been recorded in antiquity and were accessible to Thucydides.

Cf. Hall 2007a, pp. 106-110. See Boardman 2004, p. 149 for a different view. See also above.
chronology for the development of Corinthian pottery has been to correlate the "accepted" Thucydidean foundation dates with the earliest material recovered from excavations at the Sicilian colonies. The difficulty is, therefore, that the chronology of the early Corinthian pottery sequence has itself been built on dates derived from Thucydides. In other words, Thucydides has been used to establish the foundation dates, and archaeology has subsequently been used to confirm those dates with ceramic sequences that were derived from Thucydides' dates. In this way, foundation dates and ceramic sequences become entangled in circular arguments.

Other problems arise from the traditional approach of dating the Greek colonies based solely on Thucydides' chronology and then of using archaeological evidence to confirm them. The assumptions that the earliest excavated pottery actually dates to the first years of the colony and that the earliest part of the site has been found are both

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689 For example, Coldstream (1968, 327) acknowledges that his dates for the Corinthian sequence "have been obtained by whole-heartedly following Thucydides." See also Vallet and Villard 1952.
690 From the time of Johansen (1923), the foundation-dates of the Greek colonies became fixed points for the establishment of an absolute ceramic chronology, and, in turn, the sequence for early Corinthian pottery has been built on these fixed points. See Amyx 1988, p. 399; Vallet and Villiard 1961.
problematic, as is the supposition that the earliest pottery belonged to colonists rather than to pre-colonial natives who obtained it through trade or gift exchange. The discovery at some sites of pottery that is stylistically earlier than the accepted foundation dates has created problems for the traditionalists and has led some to re-evaluate the assumption that the earliest pottery should be equated with earliest settlers; under that assumption, either the dates would have to be tweaked to fit the archaeological evidence, or the archaeological evidence would have to be forced to conform to the Thucydidean foundation dates.

When texts and archaeology do not agree, other explanations are sought to bring the absolute chronology into line with Thucydides. This usually produces convoluted explanations that invoke pre-colonial contact to account for material that is earlier than textual foundation dates, or arguments that the earliest traces of the colonists have not been yet been found, if the material culture from the settlement is later than the traditional

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694 See Dunbabin’s (1948a, pp. 435-447) discussion of the literary evidence and his attempt to rationalize and reconcile the discrepancies after demonstrating the instability and confusion of the resulting foundation dates. See discussion in Hall 2007a, pp. 106-108.
date. At Gela, where the earliest ceramics found in a cemetery are later than the pottery found in the settlement, it has even been argued that burials must have been infrequent for a few decades because the colonists were robust and healthy.  

Conclusion

The Greek movement overseas in the Archaic period was not a uniform phenomenon. Specific details about the act of foundation varied from colony to colony. For example, some apoikiai had metropoleis, others did not. Similarly diverse are the motives for the foundation, the composition of the colonizing body, and the nature of the relationship between colonists and indigenous populations. Fragmentary ktiseis preserved in the ancient sources can often provide useful information about apoikiai, however these should not be treated as historical fact.

This chapter has provided a brief overview of various topics in the study of Archaic Greek colonization and an introduction to current methodologies. Some of these subjects are more controversial than others. All of the

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695 For example, when ceramics of the Early Protocorinthian phase were found at Gela, which was supposedly founded in 688 B.C., the excavators sought to interpret them as evidence for pre-colonial contact because they wished to maintain Payne’s (1933) date of 700 B.C. for the end of Early Protocorinthian. Coldstream (1968, p. 326), however, lowered the end date of Early Protocorinthian because of the evidence from Gela.
themes discussed, however, are relevant to any reconsideration of the circumstances surrounding the foundation of Apollonia and Epidamnus in southern Illyria in the 7th-6th century B.C. The part played by Euboean seafarers is particularly significant in the colonization of the eastern Adriatic. The nature of the relationship between a metropolis and its colony is important for determining the role of Corinth and Corcyra in founding colonies in modern day Albania; Epidamnus and Apollonia had ties to both poleis. In Chapter 5, the broad topics discussed in this chapter are related to specific data.
Chapter 5.

Apollonia and Albania in the Wider Context of Greek Colonization

Periander inherited a string of colonies along the Adriatic coast. The opportunity they presented and his own energy may well have suggested to him a plan for domination of the waters of the western mainland. The subjugation of Corcyra and the foundation of Apollonia and Epidamnus may represent, at least in part, an extension to the north of his ambitions. 696

[2] By the side of what is called the Hippodamium is a semicircular stone pedestal, and on it are Zeus, Thetis, and Day entreating Zeus on behalf of her children. 697 These are on the middle of the pedestal. There are Achilles and Memnon, one at either edge of the pedestal, representing a pair of combatants in position. There are other pairs similarly opposed, foreigner against Greek: Odysseus opposed to Helenus, reputed to be the cleverest men in the respective armies; Alexander and Menelaüs, in virtue of their ancient feud; Aeneas and Diomedes, and Deiphobus and Ajax son of Telamon. [3] These are the work of Lycius, the son of Myron, and were dedicated by the people of Apollonia on the Ionian sea. There are also elegiac verses written in ancient characters under the feet of Zeus.

As memorials of Apollonia have we been dedicated, which on the Ionian sea

696 Salmon 1984, p. 224.
697 Pausanias wrote "Day," but it is likely that the figure was "Dawn."
Phoebus founded, he of the unshorn locks.
The Apollonians, after taking the land of Abantis, set up here
These images with heaven’s help, tithe from Thronium.⁶⁹⁸

Introduction

In Chapter 4 some general themes in the study of Greek colonization in the Archaic period were considered. This chapter will examine the relevance of those topics to the study of the apoikiai that were founded in the late 7th century B.C. along the coast of modern Albania and their value for structuring a narrative about the colony at Apollonia in historical times. In sum, Chapter 5 discusses how the colonization of the Adriatic and the establishment of Greek settlements in southern Illyria fit into the larger picture of Archaic colonization.

Chapter 5 will also summarize and interpret information recorded in antiquity about Apollonia. Various texts mentioned the colony, but for the most part, the principal interest for ancient writers was the nearby thauma of the bitumen mines and oracle at the Nymphaeum; no single author discussed in detail the foundation, history, or physical characteristics of Apollonia itself. In fact,

⁶⁹⁸ Paus. 5.22.2-4. Translation from the Loeb edition (Jones and Ormerod 1977).
very little synthetic information can be gleaned from the literary testimonia, which, in many cases, contradict each other.

Several questions concerning the history of Apollonia are of particular importance to this study and will therefore receive detailed attention in this chapter. The geographic setting of the colony is discussed from the perspectives of both ancient descriptions and modern scholarship. Evidence, both literary and archaeological, for pre-colonial Greek activity in the eastern Adriatic is presented. Since Corinth was certainly involved in the foundation of Apollonia, some consideration of Corinthian history during the period of colonization in the West is also necessary. Preeminent among the topics for detailed investigation are the date of the foundation of the apoikia, the ancient sources relevant to that date, and the history of scholarship that has produced a consensus (unwarranted according to my analysis) about the date of the foundation. Other subjects of discussion are the contradictory ancient testimonia about Apollonia’s metropolis — Corinth or Corcyra alone or Corinth and Corcyra jointly — and how such inconsistent traditions might have arisen; these topics in turn necessitate a detailed consideration of the history of relations between
Corinth and Corcyra and their relative influence in the eastern Adriatic. Finally the expansion of the colonists into the hinterland, the form of government of Apollonia, and the construction of a unique colonial identity are each addressed.

The Geographical Setting of Apollonia

The authors of antiquity and modern scholars bring rather different interests to their treatments of Apollonia’s location and geographic setting. Most of the surviving ancient descriptions of the city and its territory concerned themselves primarily with it as the contemporary controlling polis of the bitumen deposits and the nearby oracle of Nymphs; they vary greatly in the accuracy of their representations of the physical details of the area. Modern geographical investigations, in contrast, have focused on the resources of the colony, the reasons for its placement, and its relationship to other apoikiai founded during the Archaic “wave of colonization,” particularly as realized by Corinth and Corinth’s fractious early western colony, Corcyra.

The location of Apollonia is discussed below from the perspective of four geographic scales. The first and

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699 [Aristotle] Mir. ausc. 127 [842b11]; Strabo 7.5.8 [C 316]; Plin. HN 2.100.237, 16.23.59; Plut. Sull. 27; Cass. Dio 41.45; Ael. VH 13.16; Ampelius 8.1.
broadest geographic scale is Apollonia's position in terms of Greek colonies in the "west," i.e., Magna Graecia.  

Second is Apollonia's location in relationship to other apoikiai in the region, around the gulf of Ambracia and in the eastern Adriatic. Third, I discuss Apollonia's position within southern Illyria, noting the advantages of its placement at the juncture between sea traffic and an overland trading route into the interior of the Balkan peninsula and the potential pastoral wealth of the surrounding countryside. Finally, in the narrowest view, Apollonia's situation within its own territory is examined; this latter perspective was the principle interest of the ancient sources that describe the thauma of the flaming bitumen fields and the oracle of the Nymphs.  

I will not discuss the larger scale of Apollonia's position within the Mediterranean as a whole. This relatively new, trendy way of contextualizing the ancient Mediterranean as a single unit of study is largely a result of the publication of the English translation (1972) of Braudel's book about the Mediterranean and globalization in the age of Philip II of Spain. See Chapter 4; Braudel 1972, pp. 17-18; Horden and Purcell 2000; Morris 2003, pp. 40-45.  

The exact location of the Nymphaeum and the "flaming gas" that was the focus of paradoxographers in antiquity is unknown. Early Modern travelers proposed a variety of possible locations, all in the vicinity of the bitumen mines still being worked at Selenica. Holland (1815, pp. 518-524) offers the most detailed picture of the bitumen works at Selenica. He is the first traveler to describe his descent into one of the modern mine shafts. Holland concludes, based on antiquities he saw in the vicinity of modern Romës, that it was the location of the Nymphaeum and oracle. Pouqueville (1820, pp. 16-17) also describes his visit to the pitch mines near the confluence of the Vjosa and Shushica and remarks on how flames spread across the surface of the ground when it is lit. Hughes (1820, p. 262) did not visit Apollonia or the bitumen mines, but quotes from the diary of a Mr. Jones, who descended into one of the shafts in 1815. Jones said that he found remains of ancient buildings about two miles upstream, and he took these to be the remains of the Nymphaeum. Leake (1835, vol. 1, pp. 377-379), too,
The early Greek colonists had a maritime perspective of the world, and sea communication was of vital importance in choosing the location for a colonial site. This was especially true along the south coast of Illyria, where overland travel was exceptionally difficult. The northern Ionian islands and the southeast coast of the Adriatic comprise a geographical unit that is bounded by the southern branch of the Dinaric Alps and separated from the coastal plain that opens to the north at the Bay of Vlora (Fig. 5.1). The Acroceraunian mountain range that runs along the coast from Saranda, opposite Corcyra, to Vlora rises steeply from the coast, all but cutting off travel by land from Buthrotum to the site of ancient Aulon at Triporti. The only two archetypal apoikiai founded on the mainland in the eastern Adriatic, Apollonia and Epidamnus,

visits Selenica and discusses the bitumen mines; he also notes the fire on the surface. He describes asphalt at Patos (pp. 364-365), reported to him by his host (Leake did not actually visit Patos), but he rejects it as the location of the Nymphaeum because the pitch is different from that described by Strabo. Patsch (1904, pp. 194-195) and Praschniker (1922-1924, cols. 57-63) offer an alternative location for the Nymphaeum, setting it ca. 20 miles from Selenica on the frontier between Apollonia and the Bylliones, where Pliny placed it. For general discussion of the asphalt mines, accounts by Early Modern travelers, and possible locations for the oracle, see Hammond 1967, pp. 231-234 and Morris 2006.


were (and are) separated from all that lies to the south by this formidable mountain barrier.\textsuperscript{704}

Archaeological and literary evidence suggests that the earliest Greek prospectors, the Euboeans, came to the Adriatic for commercial reasons,\textsuperscript{705} perhaps in search of metals.\textsuperscript{706} Amber and tin moved down the coast of the Adriatic from the Baltic to Greece in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.\textsuperscript{707} Pottery of Greek manufacture was transported to both sides of the Adriatic as early as the beginning of the 8th century B.C., probably by Euboean

\textsuperscript{704} The nearest "Greek" apoikia to the south of Apollonia, Corcyra, was reachable only by sea (cf. Pseudo-Scylax 28; Pseudo-Scymunus 445). Aside from Corcyra, Pseudo-Scylax (32) and Pseudo-Scymnus (444-461) do not mention another Greek city until Ambracia. Phoenice and Buthrotum were omitted from both the Periplus and the Periegesis (see Chapter 2). Phoenice, the capital of Chaonia, was not founded until the 4th century B.C. See Hammond 1967, pp. 115-116, 473-476; Bogdani and Giorgi 2007, pp. 13-14. It is likely that Corcyra controlled the site of Buthrotum on the mainland opposite in the Archaic period (cf. Thuc. 3.85). The earliest imported Greek material from the site dates to the 8th century B.C. (Ceka 1999, pp. 12-13; Arafat and Morgan 1995, p. 29), but pure Archaic levels have not been found (cf. Hammond 1967, pp. 514-515; Ceka 2006, pp. 177-178). Ceka (2005, pp. 60-61) contends that Buthrotum was an Illyrian "proto-city" that was developed in the 7th century B.C. by a new class of Illyrian traders and artisans as a center for exchange and production. See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the Albanian communist view of Illyrian development and see below for the ethnicity of the Chaonians.


\textsuperscript{706} Cf. Morris 2006, p. 98.

\textsuperscript{707} The early Corinthian artifacts (i.e., 8th century B.C.) found at Dodona and Vitsa probably reflect the Archaic amber trade. Herodotus was familiar with this amber route and described how offerings for Delos were transported from the land of the Hyperboreans to the priests at Dodona, the first Greeks to receive them (4.33). See Beaumont 1936, pp. 198-201; Hammond 1967, p. 436; Coldstream 2003, pp. 184-188. See Gaffney et al. 2002, pp. 38-39 for amber and Greek finds in early Iron Age contexts on Hvar. The earliest documented amber from Albania in a historical context is a bead recently recovered in a 6th century B.C. stratum at the Bonjakët site (see Chapter 7, Site 043).
traders.\textsuperscript{708} There is, however, no evidence that pottery of this date transported by seafarers penetrated from coastal locations into the Illyrian interior, and 8th century B.C. Greek artifacts are restricted to the coast.\textsuperscript{709} The earliest Greek commercial activities therefore appear to have been limited to the seaboard.\textsuperscript{710} No evidence for permanent or temporary Euboean settlements has been found in southern Illyria and their presence in the eastern Adriatic is only attested in myths and legends.\textsuperscript{711}

Although the post-Euboean permanent apoikiae at Apollonia and Epidamnus might appear to be isolated outposts in a territory remote from the rest of the Greek world, they should be viewed as part of a greater whole.\textsuperscript{712} Like the colonies in western Sicily, the spacing of the Greek settlements in Albania provided inter-visibility among them; on a clear day it is possible to see from the territory of Epidamnus to that of Apollonia, from Apollonia to Oricum on the Karaburun cape, from the territory of

\textsuperscript{708} D'Andria 1990a, pp. 282-284; 1990b, pp. 8-10. He notes that over 600 fragments of MG II Corinthian pottery have been found at Otranto, only 60 km across the straits from Apollonia.

\textsuperscript{709} Illyrian Iron Age pottery reached the opposite shores of the Adriatic, and early 8th century B.C. matt-painted Devollian ware from the Korça basin and incised pottery from northern Albania have been found at Otranto. D'Andria (1990a, p. 284) suggests that the presence of these types in southern Italy is due to the migration of small groups of Illyrians, rather than commercial exchanges. See also D'Andria 1986, 1987; Lamboley 1987, 1993; Lomas 2000, pp. 81-84.

\textsuperscript{710} See below for contemporary inland trade routes.

\textsuperscript{711} See below.

\textsuperscript{712} Epidamnus and Apollonia were probably established as competing sister cities and should be considered together. See below.
Oricum to Panormos and thence to the Greek city at Buthrotum, from Buthrotum to Corcyra, and from Corcyra to the Corinthian colonies on the gulf of Ambracia. One result of the establishment of *apoikiai* and pockets of Greek settlers in the Adriatic was to convert a barbarian shoreline into a "Greek" coast that was linked not only with the motherland, but also with the Greek colonies in Sicily and Italy.\textsuperscript{713} Thus, the colonization of the Adriatic completed the process of creating a "Greek sea," with "friendly" (i.e., Greek) ports around the perimeter.

The Archaic "wave of colonization" in the west began to wind down at the end of the 7th century B.C. and had virtually ceased by the mid-6th century B.C.\textsuperscript{714} The *apoikiai* in Albania were among the last Greek colonies to be founded. Various reasons have been suggested for their late appearance. For example, John Myres thinks the Adriatic was colonized later than Sicily and Italy because of the adverse effects of winds and current.\textsuperscript{715} Murray, in a similar vein, hypothesizes that the Albanian coast was

\textsuperscript{713} This inter-connectedness of the coastline of southern Illyria with the rest of the Mediterranean instilled the sense of security of being a part of the *oikumene*, of that which was familiar and known. Cf. Morris 2003, pp. 37-40; Malkin 2004, p. 348; Purcell 2005, pp. 121-124. See also Chapter 2.

\textsuperscript{714} See Chapter 4 for the opening up of the Mediterranean to increased Greek sea traffic beginning in the mid-8th century B.C., which was probably due, in part, to the explorations of the Euboeans. See also Osborne 1996a, pp. 121-125 and table 5 and Whitley 2001, pp. 124-127.

inhospitable and that “the prevailing north wind made it climatically unattractive.”\textsuperscript{716} Robert Beaumont, on the other hand, suggests that the Adriatic was colonized last because it had the least desirable land.\textsuperscript{717} Alternatively, Jean Bérard says that the danger of Illyrian piracy was a strong deterrent for mariners and settlers.\textsuperscript{718} A combination of these four factors, in addition to the original focus of Greek ventures abroad towards Magna Graecia, helps explain the somewhat belated migration of Greeks to the coast of Albania.

Within southern Illyria, Apollonia occupied a strategic position because of its location at the crossroads of an ancient (prehistoric) trade route that both linked the northern Adriatic with the Aegean and the Adriatic coast with the interior. This route into the interior existed before the Greek colonists arrived and later became the Roman Via Egnatia.\textsuperscript{719} It was the more valuable because of the difficulties noted above of overland travel elsewhere in the region.\textsuperscript{720} Very few Greek goods moved inland along this byway, however, before

\textsuperscript{716} Murray 1980, p. 104.
\textsuperscript{717} Beaumont 1936, pp. 160-162. See also Casson 1926, p. 322; Gitti 1952; Lepore 1983. I will argue later in this chapter that Beaumont’s suggestion about the undesirability of the land is not applicable to the hinterland of Apollonia.
\textsuperscript{718} Bérard 1957, p. 274, 1960, p. 126.
\textsuperscript{719} Cf. Strabo 7.7.4 [C 322-323]. See below.
\textsuperscript{720} This byway into the interior probably originated as a transhumance route. Cf. Morgan 1988, pp. 319-320; Hammond 2000, pp. 346-347; Galaty 2002, pp. 120-121. See also Chapters 8 and 9.
Apollonia was founded. On the other hand, Corinthian trade with the interior of Epirus that passed through Ioannina is well documented from the mid-8th century B.C. onward. The earliest Greek pottery in the hinterland of Apollonia, in contrast, which dates no earlier than the mid-7th century B.C., is exclusively Corinthian, and its movement inland likely resulted, in part, from ritualized gift exchange (xenia). Although numismatic evidence suggests that the Apollonians were not as active in overseas trade as the Epidamnians, the colony was, nevertheless, an important staging ground for the movement of imported Greek goods into the Illyrian interior.

The apoikia at Apollonia was probably founded for both commercial and agricultural purposes. Cabanes and Morris suggest that colony was settled primarily for the exploitation of natural resources in its hinterland, such as timber, bitumen, and perhaps silver. It is likely that

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723 Cf. Ceka 1986, pp. 71-72. See below Section IV.
724 See Chapter 4 and discussions in Malkin 1987, 1994b, 1998a. Conversely, Ceka (2005, pp. 58-59) suggests that Greek goods that moved inland were intended for ordinary consumers, not for the elite.
725 Morgan 1988; Lamboley 1993; Malkin 2001b, p. 190. See Chapter 4 for the debate about motives for colonization.
728 Morris 2006, p. 98.
729 See also Hammond 1967, p. 428.
the search for agricultural land was also a driving force behind the Corinthian presence in the Adriatic. The districts of Myzeqe and Mallakastra, where Apollonia is located, offered some of the best grazing in the Balkans. In antiquity Apollonia was famed for the excellence of its pastures, and the wealth of the city that resulted from its flocks is attested in several ancient sources, as well as by ancient mythology; the cattle of the Hyperboreans or Helios were said to have grazed in the vicinity of Apollonia, and Geryones guarded his cattle near the Ceraunian mountains. Herodotus, too, implies that the land was superior for grazing; a flock of sheep sacred to the Sun was kept at Apollonia. The existence of such

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730 The exploitation of the hinterland around Epidamnus in the Archaic-Classical period is attested by an abundance of archaeological finds, which suggests early expansion of the settlement. See Davis et al. 2003, pp. 69-70.

731 Epirus and southern Illyria in general were renowned for the fertility of their soil and for the quality of their flocks. See Hecataeus, FGrH 1 F26; Plin. HN 8.70; Livy 24.40; Caes. B Civ 3; Arist. Hist An. 3.21; Ael. NA 12.11.

732 Pseudo-Scylax 26; Hecataeus, FGrH 1 F26; Phot. Bibl. 186.30.136a; Eust. 2.18.40. Seafarers and traders would have transmitted information about the quality of the land and the suitability for colonization to prospective colonists.

733 Hdt. 9.93-9. During the day, the sheep of the Sun grazed freely along the Aous river, but at night they were penned in a cave that was guarded by men selected from Apollonia's wealthiest and most distinguished families. When it was the turn of a certain Evanius to watch the flock, he fell asleep on the job and wolves killed 60 sheep. Evanius offered to replace the lost sheep at his own cost, but, instead, the people of the polis brought him to trial and sentenced him to be blinded. As a result of this harsh punishment, animals stopped procreating, and the earth ceased producing grain. The townspeople consulted oracles at Delphi and Dodona and were instructed to make reparations to Evanius in whichever way he chose. Evanius asked for the two best estates in the community (kleroi/lots) and the best house in town. When the conditions specified by the oracles had been met, prosperity returned to the city. Evanius was given the gift of
traditions suggests that animal husbandry was an important raison d'êntre for the apoikia, and that, since each settler received a kleros, the prospect of owning a plot of rich land would have been a strong incentive for individuals to venture into the Adriatic.\textsuperscript{734}

Ancient testimonia describing Apollonia were largely concerned with its location at the narrowest scale of consideration, within its own territory. Many of these descriptions are found in the literary genre of marvel stories, or paradoxa, as discussed in Chapter 2. Reference to the apoikia provided a geographical context for discussions of the nearby bitumen mines and oracle of the Nymphs. Topographical information about the colony was of secondary importance, crucial only for fixing the thauma within the oikumene. Few of the authors who discussed the wonder are likely to have visited it or Apollonia. Real physical characteristics of Apollonia were of little consequence, and "facts" about the polis, therefore, are often contradictory or misleading in these ancient descriptions. These details have, however, encouraged modern scholars to speculate about the physical features of the colony.

The mid-4th century B.C. geographer, Pseudo-Scylax, recorded in his *Periplus* that Apollonia was two days march from Epidamnus and 320 *stades* from Amantia. He further noted that the city center was located 50 *stades* (7.5-10 km) from the sea. Strabo placed the polis 60 *stades* from the sea (ca. 9-12 km). Pliny, in contrast, wrote approximately a century later that Apollonia was "4 *milia passuum*" from the coast (ca. 6 km); several editors have emended his text to read "7 *milia passuum*" (ca. 10.5 km) in order to reconcile his description with the text of Strabo. It is likely, however, that by early Roman times the coastline had moved outward. Recent geomorphological investigations suggest that the coast was approximately 5 km from Apollonia in the 7th century B.C., i.e., half its current distance; Pliny's figure therefore appears more plausible for later antiquity than those of Pseduo-Scylax or Strabo.

In view of the distance between Apollonia and the coast, the port of the city must have been on the Aous river, just below the acropolis. Pseudo-Scylax recorded that the Aous (Vjosa) flowed beside the town, and Strabo

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735 Pseudo-Scylax 26.
736 Strabo 7.5.8 [C 316]. See Bauslaugh (1979) and Pothecary (1995) on variations in the length of the *stade*.
noted that the city was situated 10 stades from its right bank.\textsuperscript{740} Herodotus, too, mentioned a river that flowed through the territory of Apollonia to the sea, although he was misinformed about where it emptied.\textsuperscript{741} Apollonia, therefore, was a riverine port and, in this respect, it differed from its neighbor to the north, Epidamnus, which was situated beside an excellent harbor.

Apollonia was just within the border of Illyria. The Aous river was considered to be the frontier between Illyria and Chaonia, between the unknown and the familiar world.\textsuperscript{742} Legend had it that the river was named after the Greek hero Ajax, son of Telamon.\textsuperscript{743} As discussed in Chapter

\textsuperscript{740} Strabo 7.5.8 [C 316].
\textsuperscript{741} Hdt. 9.93.1.
\textsuperscript{742} Strabo 7.5.8 [C 316]. Pseudo-Scylax (28) noted that Oricum, just south of the Aous, marked the end of Illyrian territory and the beginning of Chaonia (Epirus), a fact already known in the 6th century B.C. (cf. Hecataeus, \textit{FGrH} 1 F103). See Hammond 1966a, 1989b. See, however, Korkuti, Baçe, and Ceka 2008, pp. 65-66 who place the border of Chaonia farther south, below Oricum. Chaonia was the northernmost district of Epirus and had its administrative center at Phoenice (Plin. \textit{HN} 4.1.2-4; see De Maria 2001, 2004, 2007; De Maria and Gjongecaj 2002, 2003, 2005, 2007). The Chaonians were first mentioned by Thucydides (2.80-81). They traced their ancestry to Helenus, son of Priam (Paus. 1.2.2). There has been much debate about whether the Chaonians were "Greek" or "Illyrian." In the 5th century B.C. Chaonia was not considered to be part of "Greece," but by the beginning of the Hellenistic period, it was. Compare Herodotus 8.47 and Plutarch \textit{Pericles} 17 with Plutarch \textit{Phocion} 29, where the Acroceraunian headland is considered to be the northwestern boundary of Greece. Thucydides (2.80-81) considered the Epirotes barbarians, as Pseudo-Scynmus (\textit{SEG} XV 397) did the Chaonians. Polybius (4.9.4), on the other hand, considered the Epirotes and specifically the Chaonians to be Greek. According to Plutarch, the Hellenization of Epirus began when King Tharypas of the Molossians was sent to Athens in the 5th century B.C. to be educated (Plut. \textit{Pyrrh.} 1; Paus. 1.11.1; Justin 17.3.12). On the ethnicity of the Chaonians, see Ugolini 1932, p. 70; Cross 1932, p. 2, n. 1, pp. 10-11; Cabanes 1976, pp. 115-116; Malkin 1998a, pp. 142-151; Winnifrith 2002, pp. 47-49.

\textsuperscript{743} Hammond 1967, p. 384.
2, Strabo noted that Hecataeus used the Archaic name for the Aous, calling it the Aias. He also repeated Hecataeus' belief that the Aous originated in the region of Lacmus, where the river Inachus also had its source.\textsuperscript{744} The Aous was navigable in its lower parts, at least to Apollonia, and thus linked the acropolis with the Adriatic.\textsuperscript{745} Once it was established, this riverine port provided the link between the overland route and coastal traffic. The course of the river has changed greatly since antiquity: in Graeco-Roman times the mouth lay far to the north of its present location.\textsuperscript{746}

Greek settlers generally sought uninhabited or sparsely populated areas for their colonies.\textsuperscript{747} Although Albanian scholars contend that Apollonia was an Illyrian settlement before the Greeks arrived, there is no conclusive evidence to confirm this.\textsuperscript{748} Ancient sources, in fact, support the conclusion that there was no indigenous settlement on the acropolis at Apollonia and that the area around the city center was largely uninhabited when the

\textsuperscript{744} Strabo 7.5.8 [C 316] = Hecataeus, \textit{FGrH} 1 F102b; Strabo 6.2.4 [C 269] = Hecataeus, \textit{FGrH} 1 F102c. The Archaic name used by Hecataeus, Aias, was incorrectly cited by later authors. Cf. Pseudo-Scylax 26; Pliny \textit{HN} 3.26; Steph. Byz., s.v. \Lambda\acute{α}κμων = Hecataeus, \textit{FGrH} 1 F102a. Lycoph. \textit{Alex.} 1020 called the river "Aias" and also said it issued from Lacmon.

\textsuperscript{745} According to Plutarch (\textit{Caes.} 38), Caesar tried to put to sea from Apollonia in a twelve oared boat but met with difficulties at the mouth of the Aous because of an onshore wind.

\textsuperscript{746} Fouache et al. 2001; Fouache 2007; Hammond 1967, p. 493. For an analysis of the ancient testimonia concerning the port of Apollonia, see Masci 1943.


colonists arrived.  

> Archaeological evidence presented in Chapter 7 and discussed in Chapter 9 reinforces this hypothesis.

As seen in Chapter 2, the early Greek geographers were familiar with the coast of the Adriatic. The first extant, though fragmentary, references to southern Illyria's geography are from the 6th century B.C. works by Hecataeus of Miletus and Scylax of Caryanda. Scylax appears to have been familiar not only with the geography of coastal Illyria, but also with the areas inhabited by the various Illyrian tribes living near the sea. Pseudo-Scylax, relying heavily on Scylax, discussed the Adriatic coast and the territory associated with various Illyrian tribes in great detail in the *Periplus* (22-33). While all the geographers were familiar with the inhabitants along the coast, none of them knew very much about the situation inland.

The territory between the Apsus (Seman) and the Aous (Vjosa) rivers is the only area in Illyria that is not linked with a specific Illyrian tribe, nor do any of the Greek geographers assign control of Apollonia to anyone. Pseudo-Scylax, in his discussion of Illyrians and the

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749 The coastal plain in front of Apollonia was probably marshy, hot, and mosquito ridden.
750 See Chapter 2.
751 Beaumont 1936, p. 159.
extent of their territories, referred to Apollonia as "a Greek city." He mentioned no tribe in the immediate vicinity of the apoikia, information that he did record for Epidamnus, which he specifically placed in the land of the Taulantii. Pseudo-Scylax did, however, record that the Atintanes lived inland from the coast, in the hinterland and to the south of Apollonia.

Strabo, as noted, provided information about the origin of the Greek colonists and the location of the polis. He said nothing about any native inhabitants in or near the city. He did comment, though not specifically in reference to Apollonia, on the excellence of the Illyrian seaboard regarding harbors and land fertility, but noted that earlier inhabitants made small use of the coastal plain either out of ignorance or because of the wildness of the natives and their piratical habits. Strabo provided different information about the inland neighbors of Apollonia than did other ancient writers. He placed the territory of Bylliaca between Apollonia and Oricum and later noted that the Bylliones were the inland neighbors of Apollonia as well as the most southern of the Illyrian...
The Bylliones were among those tribes that became bilingual. The fact that they minted coins with legends in Greek suggests that they became thoroughly Hellenized.\textsuperscript{756}

The capital of the Bylliones was at Byllis; the location has been securely identified by a rock cut inscription of the Roman era.\textsuperscript{757} This confirms that their territory lay to the east and southeast of Apollonia, along the Aous river. As noted below, the Myrmidons returning from the Trojan war, who were being led home by Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, supposedly founded Byllis.\textsuperscript{758}

A late 3rd century B.C. inscription at Dodona mentions a "Koinon of the Bylliones."\textsuperscript{759} This information led Ceka to propose the existence of an Illyrian federated state known as the "Koinon of the Bylliones." He contends that the confederation was composed of three Illyrian tribes: the Bylliones, the Amantes, and the Atintani.\textsuperscript{760} According to

\begin{footnotes}
\item[755] Strabo 7.5.8 [C 316], 7.7.8 [C 326].
\item[756] See Hammond 1966a, p. 242.
\item[758] Steph. Byz., s.v. Βύλλις.
\item[759] Prakt 1965, p. 59.
\item[760] Ceka 1984, 1987b. The Atintanes are listed as part of the Epirote League in the second Delphic list of theorodokoi dated ca. 220-189 B.C. On the territory occupied by the Atintani and their relationship to the Atintanes, see Holleaux 1921, pp. 109-111; Lévêque 1957, p. 184; Hammond 1966a, p. 247, 1989b; Cabanes 1976, pp. 78-81. For a discussion of the Delphic list, see below and Plassart 1921, pp. 1-85;
\end{footnotes}
Ceka, the federation was founded before the arrival of the Greeks, and the territory controlled by its member tribes included all of southern Illyria, which extended beyond the modern day Albanian/Greek border into Epirus.\textsuperscript{761}

The area

\begin{footnotesize}

From the Archaic period onwards states that were organizing Panhellenic festivals sent out official envoys known as theoroi who traveled from city to city to notify Greeks of upcoming festivals (Boesch 1908, pp. 100-102; Dillon 1997, pp. 1-3). Theoroi extended invitations to Greek cities to send representatives to participate in these celebrations and also announced the inception of sacred truces that accompanied Panhellenic events (Dillon 1997, pp. 250-254). The sacred ambassadors were given hospitality in cities they visited by individuals known as theorodokoi (Boesch 1908, pp. 105-108; Plassart 1921, p. 36). Theorodokoi, who hosted sacred embassies from participating cities, were appointed by the festival organizers and provided envoys with food, lodging, transportation, and logistical assistances (see Boesch 1908, pp. 110-113; Plassart 1921, p. 36, n. 2; Daux 1949, p. 2; Charneux 1966a, pp. 167-168; Perlman 1984, pp. 12-17, 2000, pp. 48-49).

As noted above, Panhellenic festivals emphasized ethnic and political ties as well as shared religious practices. Since only Greek citizens were allowed to participate in Panhellenic events, theoroi traveled only to Greek cities. Sanctuaries often kept lists of the the places the envoys visited and the people who received them. These are known as the theorodokoi lists. Eight theorodokoi lists from five different locations, ranging in date from the early 4th century B.C. to the late 2nd century B.C., are extant. These are from Epidaurus (IG IV\textsuperscript{2} 1, 94-95; Rigsby 1996, pp. 41-44), Argos (Charneux 1966a, 1966b, pp. 710-714; SEG XXIII 189; SEG XXXIII 289), Nemea (Miller 1988; SEG XXXVI 331), Delphi (Syll.\textsuperscript{1} 90; Plassart 1921, pp. 5-80; Daux 1949, pp. 4-28), and Hermione (IG IV 727a).

The lists of theorodokoi, although from different places and chronologically disparate, share certain organizational features. The entries are divided into columns and each entry contains the name of the city to be visited, followed by one or more personal names, presumably the host or hosts in that city. Cities that received theoroi are listed by region and topographically arranged within each region. It is possible that in some cases this topographical organization reflects the actual itineraries followed by the sacred envoys (cf. Boesch 1908, pp. 36-37; Robert 1946, pp. 506-510; Cabanes 1976, p. 117; Perlman 1984, p. 4, 2000, pp. 30-34). Other scholars, however, doubt that the arrangement of cities in the inscriptions record the route taken by the theoroi (cf. Kahrstedt 1936, pp. 416-444; Daux 1949, pp. 3-4, 1967, pp. 295-296, 1980b, pp. 120-121; Cook 1973, pp. 221, 342-343, 1988, pp. 7-19). Only three lists are relevant to the discussion below: one from Epidaurus, the Argive list, and one from Delphi.

\textsuperscript{761} Anamali 1976b; H. Ceka 1982; Ceka 1984; Cabanes 1986a; Papazoglou 1986, p. 444.
and city of Apollonia fall within this territory, so it follows that Apollonia was originally an "Illyrian city." This proposal, endorsed by other Albanian archaeologists, is an example of the type of ideologically "correct" argument that was encouraged under communism and was designed to promote the notion of Illyrian supremacy over foreign (Greek) foundations. This line of reasoning also resulted in the construction of an enlarged Illyrian territory that extended beyond modern Albania's borders into Greek Epirus. The fact is, however, that the Koinon of the Bylliones was probably a formation of the Hellenistic period, by which time the Illyrians had been influenced by various other leagues and federations that existed in Greece and Molossia (and thus irrelevant to understanding the situation at the time Apollonia was founded). Additionally, it is unlikely that the Illyrian

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762 Ceka 1984, p. 80, fig. 8; Anamali 1976b.  
763 The League of the Molossians was created by Alexander I (342-326) and was formalized between 330-297 B.C. This "symmachy of the Epirotes," combined elements of tribal organization, monarchy, and federalism; it was the first time that the tribes in Epirus met together in a single assembly. See Tarn 1913, pp. 55-60; Hammond 1967, pp. 536-539, 701-704; Cabanes 1981, pp. 82-94; Shipley 2000, p. 139. On the later Koinon of the Epirotes, see Lévéque 1957, pp. 211-218; Cabanes 1976, pp. 198-239; Papazoglou 1986, pp. 444-446.  
The Chaonians were not a part of the Epirote koinon at this time; they are not mentioned as part of the Molossian territory in the Argive list of theorodokai of ca. 330 B.C., which lists as a group other Epirote cities that are a part of the League. SEG XXIII 189; SEG XXXIII 289; see Franke 1955, p. 46; Lévéque 1957, p. 215; Larsen 1968, p. 278; Hammond 1980a, p. 16. For dating and discussion of the Argive list, see Charneux 1966a, pp. 178-179, 1966b; Cabanes 1969, pp. 550-551, 1976, pp. 117-120, 144-145, 173-175; Daux 1971, pp. 355-357; Hammond 1980a, 1980b, pp. 473-476, 1989b; Perlman 2000, p. 102.
koinon ever encompassed as large a territory as Ceka proposes. It more probably was restricted in extent to the southern, non-Greek speaking portion of Illyria, which does not include Epirus.  

The medieval lexographer, Stephanus of Byzantium, who provided great detail in his lexicon, also knew of no ancient tradition firmly linking Apollonia or the area around the polis with an Illyrian tribe. He described the geographical position of Apollonia in the most vague way possible; his entry reads "a city of Illyria, that used to be inhabited by the Illyrians, from Epidamnus." In antiquity, the term "Illyrian," as used by Stephanus, was a general term applied to non-Greek speaking neighbors who lived to the north of Greece, and the land of "Illyria" referred to the area north of Chaonia, from the north bank of the Aous river to Istria. No specific "Illyrii" tribe existed in Archaic or Classical times, although several powerful tribes were included under the appellation of Illyrians, all of whom were known to, and described by, Greek geographers and historians.

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764 Epirus was Greek speaking. See Hammond 1967; Papazoglou 1986, p. 439.
765 Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀπολλωνία.
766 For example, cf. App. Ill. 1.5; Strabo 7.7.1 [C 321], 7.7.8 [C 326]. On the use and meaning of "the Illyrians," see Chapter 2 and Zippel 1877; Papazoglou 1965; Hammond 1966a; Wilkes 1992. Hammond (1966a, p. 241) suggests that the name "οἵ Ἰλλυριοί" had a Bronze Age origin.
767 Hammond (1966a) notes that "Illyrii proprie dicti" is first used in Pliny HN 3.144 to describe a tribe living to the north of the
In his entry for Epidamnus, Stephanus said that the Parthini inhabited the territory around Epidamnus.\textsuperscript{768} According to Pliny, however, the Parthini were centered inland around Elbasan, and controlled the Shkumbi valley between the ancient Genusus and Apsus rivers.\textsuperscript{769} Cassius Dio hypothesized that early on the Parthini may have held the lands around Epidamnus, but were later pushed inland and lost their coastal holdings to the Taulantii when this tribe moved south.\textsuperscript{770} It is possible that Stephanus misinterpreted these earlier passages when he described Apollonia as an Illyrian city.

Based on the two passages in Stephanus of Byzantium, even though one may be incorrect, some modern scholars, both Albanian and foreign, argue that in the 7th-6th century B.C. the area around Apollonia was controlled by the Taulantii,\textsuperscript{771} although only the geographer Ptolemy, a late ancient, made this claim.\textsuperscript{772} According to their argument, Cassius Dio was correct in calculating that the Taulantians originated north of Epidamnus, but came to

\textsuperscript{768} Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἐπίδαµνος. All other sources stated that Epidamnus was in the territory of the Taulantii. Cf. App. B Cív. 2.39; Thuc. 1.24.1.
\textsuperscript{769} Plin. HN 3.23.145. This meant that the Parthini controlled the best route to the east, which the Romans later transformed into the Via Egnatia.
\textsuperscript{770} Cass. Dio 41.49.2.
\textsuperscript{772} Ptol. Geog. 3.12.2.
control the fertile coastal plains along the Adriatic between Epidamnus and Apollonia by the time the apoikiai were founded. They had been expelled from their lands and forced to move south by the Liburnians, a seafaring tribe from farther north.\textsuperscript{773} It is indeed likely that at the end of the Early Iron Age the Taulantii were centered inland from the coast near modern Tirana.\textsuperscript{774} Thucydides in 435 B.C. wrote that the Taulantii were neighbors of the Epidamnians, but mentioned nothing about any relationship with Apollonia.\textsuperscript{775} At the height of their power, under king Glaucias ca. 435 B.C., they managed to control territory as far south as the Myzeqe plain, including the lands of the Parthini, but were unable to capture the city of Apollonia.\textsuperscript{776} This fact suggests that, prior to the mid-5th century B.C., the Taulantii were never in control of Apollonia or the southern part of the Myzeqe plain.

The lack of clarity reflected in ancient sources indicates that there existed no single tradition in antiquity about who controlled the territory around Apollonia when the Greeks arrived. The textual confusion lends credence to the hypothesis that the hinterland of the

\textsuperscript{773} The Taulantii invited colonists to Epidamnus ca. 627 B.C. in order to regain control of their city. Appian (\textit{B Civ.} 2.39) noted this as the reason for the foundation of Epidamnus, and Eusebius (Schone 1866, p. 89, line 1392) recorded the date. See Davis et al. 2003, p. 41.

\textsuperscript{774} Pseudo-Scylax 26.

\textsuperscript{775} Thuc. 1.24.1.

\textsuperscript{776} App. \textit{Ill}. 2.7; Polyaenus 4.2.4.
apoikia was virtually uninhabited during the Iron Age. Apollonia was probably located on the border between the Bylliones to the east and the Taulantii and/or Parthini to the north. The colonists likely took advantage of this territorial vacuum, and would have exploited the enmity between these two rival Illyrian tribes.

The preceding summary describes the benefits of Apollonia's location and outlines what is recorded in the ancient sources about the colony. As noted above, it is likely that Apollonia was established for both commercial and agricultural purposes.\(^{777}\) Apollonia was part of a seaborne network that linked the shores of the Mediterranean. It was a gateway city for coastal and inland trade, and the site of the colony was selected for its location on land routes, as well as its proximity to the sea and suitability as a riverine port.\(^{778}\) The quality of the land around Apollonia suggests that the site was also selected for the excellence of its pastureland. Moreover, although the city was built on a defensible acropolis above the floodplain, the location of the settlement does not appear to have been chosen solely for defensive reasons. Finally, the area around Apollonia


\(^{778}\) See Hammond 1992, p. 34.
appears to have been uninhabited or very sparsely populated when the colonists arrived.

**Euboeans in the Adriatic**

As Chapter 4 relates, the earliest post-Mycenaean Greek maritime presence in eastern and western Mediterranean was Euboean; this was also the case in the Adriatic. Euboean forays north of the Ionian Sea probably began as early as the 9th century B.C.; indeed, Malkin suggests that these proto-colonial contacts preceded the exploration of the west coast of Italy. In addition to their activities in the Levant, Italy, and Sicily, the Euboeans, in conjunction with Phoenician traders, established exchange networks along the eastern shores of the Adriatic that included the sites of Corcyra, Buthrotum on the mainland opposite, Oricum, Apollonia, and Epidamnus. These trade routes followed the same paths that had been traversed during the Mycenaean period, as remembered in the *nostoi* legends of Bronze Age heroes attached to localities up and down the Albanian coast.

Archaeological confirmation has not been forthcoming at most sites where there is a memory in the literary

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779 Malkin 2002b, p. 151.
780 Lamboley 1996, p. 60; Malkin 2001b, p. 188.
record of a Euboean presence.\textsuperscript{782} This is particularly true in the Adriatic, where strong mythological traditions, discussed in detail below, about pre-Corinthian activities along the coast prior to the arrival of Archaic colonists survived in ancient sources, but very little archaeological evidence of Euboeans has been found.\textsuperscript{783} The lack of artifactual confirmation, however, does not necessarily mean that Euboean seafarers did not venture into these parts. Rather, the foundation myths and legends that exist in the ancient texts for Apollonia, Thronium, and Oricum are likely, in my view, to preserve a memory of early Euboean explorers along the eastern seaboard of the Adriatic,\textsuperscript{784} and several circumstances of the history of archaeological research in this region could help to explain their invisibility in the current archaeological record.

\textsuperscript{782} The presence of the Euboeans in the Adriatic is even more evanescent than in those places where Euboean pottery has been found, such as Torone. On "phantom Euboeans," see Chapter 4 and Papadopoulos 1996, 1997a.

\textsuperscript{783} See Morgan 1998 who discusses in detail the archaeological evidence for Euboeans in the Ionian and Adriatic seas. She concludes (pp. 299-301), based on the paucity of material evidence, that the literary testimonia should be disregarded. See also Bakhuizen 1976, pp. 22-25; Papadopoulos 1996, pp. 166-167, 1997a.

Alternately, evidence might be lacking because the later colonial foundations may not have been on the same spots as Euboean trading posts (since they may have had somewhat different criteria for choosing locations); research that has focused on later Greek cities would not have found the earlier evidence of Euboean activity. No conclusions can be valid until some broad program of sampling and surface survey has been conducted.

\textsuperscript{784} There is more evidence for Mycenaean activity in Albania and farther north than for Euboean. For the Mycenaeans in the northeast Adriatic, see Harding 1976, 1984, 1992; Gaffney et al. 2002, pp. 32-33.
Apollonia, which has a history of systematic excavations spanning over nearly a century is illustrative of the impediments to detecting evidence for the Euboeans. Like other sites in Albania, much of the excavation was conducted prior to World War II, especially on the acropolis and within the ancient city walls. At that time (as today), the earliest levels were not the primary research focus, which was rather directed at the better-preserved Hellenistic and Roman monuments. Sporadic and random excavations of graves in the vast necropolis outside the city walls also consumed considerable energy.

Moreover, most excavations at Apollonia took place well before Sir John Boardman began his seminal study of Euboean pottery, which enabled him to define a regional Euboean style for Iron Age pottery. It is likely, therefore, that Euboean pottery would not have been recognized by early excavators at Apollonia, even if it had been recovered. Additionally, in 1967, the archaeological site was seriously and irrevocably disturbed when the upper acropolis was assaulted with heavy machinery and nearly 400

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785 For the history of excavation, see, most recently, Ceka 2005, pp. 9-32; Dimo, Quantin, and Vrekaj 2007.
787 See Chapter 3.
788 Only a small fraction of the necropolis has been excavated to date. See Section III.
789 Boardman 1957.
huge concrete military bunkers were installed at and near the ancient polis. The probability of finding archaeological evidence to support a Euboean presence at Apollonia has been, therefore, very slim.

Other sites along the Albanian coast have a similar history of spotty excavation and modern military disturbance, with similar challenges for the discovery and recognition of any possible evidence for an early Euboean presence. The literary testimony alone remains, which, although scant, is nevertheless persistent and plausible.

Several ancient sources suggest that the Adriatic was a region of enterprise for the Euboeans prior to the arrival of the Corinthians. Both Strabo and Pausanias recorded early Euboean activities in southern Illyria, which might have been prompted, as at Pithekoussai, by the search for metals. Eretrians, as discussed below, were mentioned specifically at Corcyra and Oricum, and unspecified Euboeans were recorded at Apollonia and in the Ceraunian Mountains.

According to Plutarch, the island of Corcyra was first settled by Eretrians from Euboea. If a Euboean trading

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790 Strabo 10.1.15 [C 449]; Paus. 5.22.3-4. See Chapter 4.
792 Plut. Mor. 293a-b. In this particular passage of the Moralia (Quaestiones Graecae 11), Plutarch offered an aition to explain the identity of the aposphendonetai, Eretrian colonists who were refused the right to return to their homeland after they were expelled from
station existed on Corcyra, it was established sometime before the middle of the 8th century B.C. and was of fairly short duration; it is therefore hardly inexplicable that archaeological evidence for its existence has not been found. Because of its strategic location and protected harbors, the Euboeans probably used Corcyra as a base for voyages further west and northward. This information is not mutually exclusive with other traditions about different groups of pre-Corinthian residents on the island, including ancient identifications of Corcyra with Phaeacian Scheria in the Homeric nostos of Odysseus' homeward journey from Troy to Ithaca. Corcyra is large enough to have accommodated several different groups of settlers. The


Lamboley 1996, p. 60; Malkin 1994b, pp. 3–4, 2001b, p. 189. Myres (1925, p. 672, n. 1) and Blakeway (1932–1933, pp. 205–206, n. 4) note that the Corcyraean coin followed an old Euboean type with a cow suckling a calf. Cf. Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, http://www.sylloge-nummorum-graecorum.org/, e.g., SNGuk 0300 1662. A similar motif is found on the coins from other Euboean colonies (Naxos, Zancle, and Himera). Corinthian colonies in the Adriatic, on the other hand, employed coin types that bore a resemblance to those of Corinth.


Thucydides (1.25.4) and Callimachus (Aet. F12) said that the Phaeacians inhabited Corcyra before the Corinthians. Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1212–1214a (Wendel) also cited the Phaeacians as the original inhabitants of Corcyra. For the equation of Corcyra and Phaeacians, see also Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.982–992g (Wendel) = Timaeus, FGrH 566 F79; Mueller 1835, pp. 9–10; Thomas and Stubbings 1962, p. 309; Calligas 1982; Mackie 1996; Tandy 1997, p. 79; Malkin 1998b, p. 3.
previous inhabitants, including the Eretrians and any other groups, were reportedly expelled in the second half of the 8th century B.C. by a splinter group of Corinthian colonists en route to Syracuse,\textsuperscript{796} who founded the historical polis of Corcyra (see below).

Quasi-historical nostoi attributed Euboean foundations during the prehistoric past to Apollonia and other eastern Adriatic cities; these legends are strikingly similar, only varying in their details and locations. The nostos attached to Apollonia is recorded in the Epitome of Apollodorus, the 1st century A.D. mythographer.\textsuperscript{797} According to Apollodorus, the city was founded after the fall of Troy by the survivors of the Greek contingent that had been led to Ilium by the heroic hegemon of the Euboeans.\textsuperscript{798} Elephenor, who left his native land because he had killed his grandfather, did not accompany his men on their homeward journey because he was slain in battle outside the walls of Troy by Agenor.\textsuperscript{799} According to Apollodorus, Elephenor's troops were unsuccessful in their efforts to

\textsuperscript{796} Strabo (6.2.4 [C 269]) reported that the Corinthian colonists expelled a group of Liburnian pirates from the island. Timaeus, \textit{FGrH} 566 F80 = Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.1216 (Wendel), on the other hand, claimed that the earliest inhabitants were Colchians who were subsequently displaced by the Corinthian colonists; cf. Ap. Rhod. 4.1131-1137.
\textsuperscript{797} Apollod. \textit{Epit.} 6.15b; Schol. Lycoph. \textit{Alex.} 911 (Scheer).
\textsuperscript{798} Hom. \textit{Il.} 2.536-545; Paus. 8.15.6; Apollod. \textit{Epit.} 3.11; Lycoph. \textit{Alex.} 1032-1044; Biffi 1986; Walker 2004, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{799} Cf. Hom. \textit{Il.} 4.463-472; Schol. Lycoph. \textit{Alex.} 1034 (Scheer). Agenor was in turn killed by Neoptolemus and his father, Achilles, killed Aegenor's son. Cf. Paus. 10.27.2. See below for Neptolemus and Achilles.
return home to Euboea after the war and found themselves cast away into the Ionian gulf where they founded Apollonia.

Pausanias recorded a similar story, which, although also involving Apollonia, ascribed Euboean foundation not to that colony but to a different city, Thronium. In his commentary on the monument at Olympia set up by Apollonia in commemoration of its victory over Thronium and the land of Abantis (see above for quote), Pausanias supplemented his description of the dedication with additional details about the foundation of the vanquished territory.\textsuperscript{800} He wrote that the Abantes (Euboeans)\textsuperscript{801} and the Locrians from Thronium were driven against the Ceraunian mountains on their way back from Troy and founded a colony on the south bank of the Aous. They named the city Thronium after the Locrian city and the surrounding territory Abantis after the name used for Euboea in Homeric poetry.\textsuperscript{802} Pausanias was apparently trying to reconcile confusion in his sources about the name of the city, Thronium, and the name of the

\textsuperscript{800} Paus. 5.22.4. For the actual inscription, see \textit{SEG} XV 251 = Kunze 1956, pp. 149-153; Cabanes and Ceka 1997, pp. 78-79. On the date of the monument, see Beaumont 1952, p. 65; Hammond 1967, pp. 494-496; Jeffery 1990, p. 229; Cabanes and Drini 1995, p. 32. The information recorded by Pausanias, as noted, was similar to the \textit{nostos} that Apollodorus attached to Apollonia.


\textsuperscript{802} See Biffi 1986, pp. 90-94.
territory, Abantis, a problem that Apollodorus did not have because his *nostos* was attached only to Apollonia.\textsuperscript{803}

Heroic origins that involved Euboeans were attributed to several other early settlements around the Bay of Vlora, in addition to those located at, or near, Apollonia and recorded by Apollodorus and Pausanias.\textsuperscript{804} Euboean survivors of Elephenor's Trojan contingent were placed in the Ceraunian mountains by the *Etymologicum Magnum*, written in the mid-12th century A.D., citing the scholiast to Lycophron,\textsuperscript{805} and both Apollonius Rhodius and Timaeus also mentioned Abantes in those mountains.\textsuperscript{806}

The associations are more complex between possible Euboean founders and Oricum, one of the most important Greek cities in Chaonia,\textsuperscript{807} which was located on a small coastal plain/marsh at the southern edge of the Bay of Vlora; divergent foundation legends were recorded for this city. Although Apollonius Rhodius, Pliny the Elder, and possibly Callimachus attributed the settlement at Oricum to

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\textsuperscript{803} See Chapter 4 for an example of a similar compromise between dual metropoleis at Cumae.
\textsuperscript{804} See also Cabanes 2000, pp. 53-56; 2001, pp. 43-45.
\textsuperscript{805} *Etym. Magn.*, s.v. "Αβάντες.
\textsuperscript{807} Cf. Hecataeus, *FGrH* 1 F106; Caes. B Cív. 3.11-40. For a discussion of the geography of Oricum and the Bay of Vlora, see Pseudo-Scylax 26-27; Heuzev 1886, pp. 20-32; Patsch 1904, pp. 70-72; Miller 1917; Beaumont 1952, p. 66-68; Hammond 1967, pp. 126-130; Cabanes 2000, pp. 53-56; Lamboley 2005, p. 17.
\end{flushleft}
Colchians,\textsuperscript{808} and Timaeus added the detail that this had followed their expulsion from Corcyra by Chersicrates and the Corinthians,\textsuperscript{809} Pseudo-Scymnus ascribed the foundation legend recounted by Pausanias for Thronium to the settlement of Oricum.\textsuperscript{810} Oricum may be further associated with Euboean nostoi by sources that fused the term “Abantes” with “Amantes,” and the territory of Abantis with that of Amantia,\textsuperscript{811} a variation in spelling attributed by Stephanus of Byzantium to Antigonus Gonatas that was then adopted by some Hellenistic poets.\textsuperscript{812} The location of Amantia is not altogether clear. A fragment of Callimachus may have suggested that the hora of Amantia was in the territory of Oricum, which was founded by people who were


\textsuperscript{809} Timaeus, FGrH 566 F80 (= Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.1212-1216 [Wendel]) is the only ancient author who provides a terminus ante quem (ca. 733 B.C.) for the settlement of Oricum.

\textsuperscript{810} Pseudo-Scymnus 442-443. See also Lycoph. Alex. 1044-1045. The attachment of the same nostos to both Oricum and Thronium suggests that the foundation of the two were conflated in antiquity. This has led some later scholars to incorrectly equate Oricum and Thronium. See, for example, Malkin 1998a. It is not, however, uncommon for the same myth to be appropriated by a number of different places. For example, numerous claims have been made about the location of the cave of the Cyclopes, including placing it at modern Himara by a local shopkeeper (pers. comm.). See RE XVII, 1937, cols. 1955-1961 (esp. 1956), s.v. Odysseus (E. Wüst); Thomas and Stubbings 1962, p. 309. In many cases, too, toponyms are changed for political reasons. For shifting toponyms, see Zarinebaf, Bennet, and Davis 2005.


expelled from Corcyra; although the subject of the passage is not preserved, Stephanus of Byzantium believed that the poem attributed the foundation of Oricum–Amantia to the Abantes. Stephanus also noted that Amantia was settled by Abantes returning from Troy, attaching the same nostos about Elephenor’s survivors to yet another location near the Bay of Vlora. According to Pseudo-Scylax, the territory of Amantia included 60 stades bordering the sea. Malkin suggests that Oricum was founded in the 8th century B.C., contemporary with the Euboean settlements on Pithekoussai and Corcyra, as a way station on voyages across the Adriatic to Otranto; there is currently, however, no archaeological evidence for an early settlement there.

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813 Callim. Aet. F12; cf. Schneider (1873, F259), which was reconstructed from Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀβαντίς, Ἄµαντία.
814 Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀβαντίς, Ἄµαντία.
816 Pseudo-Scylax 26. The PECS, following Hammond and older scholarship, locates the site of Amantia at Klos near Byllis (p. 459, s.v. Klos [N. G. L. Hammond]); see Patsch 1904, pp. 118-119; Miller 1917; Praschniker 1922-1924, col. 88-93; Beaumont 1952, p. 65-67; Hammond 1967, pp. 233-234, 519-522; Papajani 1976a, 1976b. This identification has now been ruled out by recent archaeological discoveries, which indicate that Amantia is located at Ploče, between the Shushica and the Aous rivers; see Anamali 1972, pp. 67-148; Cabanes 1976, pp. 384-386. See above for the length of a stade.
817 Malkin 1998a, p. 5, 2001b, p. 189. He suggests (2001b, p. 192), however, that Oricum was then on Sazan island in the Bay of Vlora with a peraia on the shore of the mainland opposite. There is no evidence to support this hypothesis, which is refuted both by the geography of the bay itself and by excavations on the mainland at the site believed by most to be that of Oricum.
818 The site of Oricum was excavated by a joint Albanian-Russian team in 1958-1960. Although there is Archaic pottery from the site, the earliest dates to the 6th century B.C. See Blavatski and Islami 1960.
The entire area thus retained strong Homeric associations into late antiquity, and it appears that various communities vied to appropriate the same legends in order to legitimize their claims to a Greek identity. Two early foundation stories appear to have been in circulation and were variously attributed to different specific areas on the eastern littoral of the Adriatic; one was a Homeric nostos in which the contingent that was blown ashore in their attempt to return home from Troy always included Euboeans, the other involved early Greek inhabitants of Corcyra expelled by the Corinthian colonists, who were not always said to have been Euboean in origin. A memory of Euboeans in the vicinity is encapsulated in a diversity of sources; the confusion in the details may be evidence for the authenticity of the distant memory, since if the versions were in complete agreement, they might be suspected of repeating some single and thus unconfirmed source. Therefore, it seems probable that the tradition that there were Euboeans at Corcyra, Apollonia, and Oricum is indicative of the detailed geographical knowledge about the coast of the Adriatic that pre-colonial seafarers possessed. Most of the references to Euboean traders in the area are preserved in mythological or legendary

\footnote{For the application of nostoi genealogies to people on the periphery of the Greek world, see Malkin 2002b.}
contexts, suggesting that they were remnants of a quasi-historical stratum that predated the arrival of the Corinthians.

As the first post-Mycenaean Greek seafarers in the Mediterranean, the Euboeans were responsible, at least initially, for the spread of Greek culture and were also the carriers of Homeric myths and legends.⁸²⁰ They facilitated later Archaic colonization by exploring unknown territories and endowing them with recognizable heroic overtones. The process of implanting the seeds of "Greekness" in "barbarian" soil was particularly fruitful in the Adriatic, where the Greeks likely encountered a nomadic, tribal population⁸²¹ and the transplantation of Greek stories onto this territory met with little resistance from the natives. As a result, the Euboeans invested this unfamiliar, non-Greek landscape with a Greek familiarity that persisted into historical times, in spite of that fact that most of the region continued to be inhabited by non-Greeks.

The superimposition of Greek myths onto a barbarian land was a way of colonizing an alien region; the grafting of Greek nostoi onto the toponymy Hellenized the foreign

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landscape of Chaonia and southern Albania. The stories of heroic predecessors in an uncharted territory served to familiarize the unfamiliar for later Greek sailors; exotic lands were tamed and remote geographical locales became comprehensible; they should not be accepted at face value. The residue of this legendary mosaic that had been transported and deposited by the Euboeans along the east coast of the Adriatic must have helped to justify the appropriation of barbarian lands by later colonists, if the colonists felt any need of justification. The continued attachment of these mythological strata to the landscape into historical times bears witness to the strength of the traditions and the considerable continuity in Greek activity along the Albanian coast.

The Euboean maritime presence in the Adriatic was proto-colonial in nature. There is no evidence that they planted settlers in the places with which they had contact and they were not, so far as is known, interested in territorial expansion. Their mission was not to convert the natives to their way of thinking, or press them into adopting Greek material culture. The Euboeans were, rather, transient seafarers with an interest in establishing trade networks that relied on interaction and cooperation with indigenous populations and other

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Although the Euboeans did eventually reside permanently in some other places, initially for the exploitation and processing of metals, later perhaps at strategic nodes on their maritime routes, there is, as yet, no archaeological or direct literary evidence for such settlements in Albania.

The magnitude of the Euboean presence in the western Mediterranean declined towards the last quarter of the 8th century B.C., just as other poleis in Greece were beginning to send out colonies, and their pottery disappeared completely from the west at the beginning of the 7th century B.C. It is unclear why the Euboean maritime supremacy ended. One hypothesis is that the decline in their overseas activities was caused by the Lelantine War in the late 8th-early 7th century B.C., which is thought to have weakened severely both Eretrian and Chalcidian power. Whatever the reason for their disappearance from the international scene, the memory of their presence was preserved in later myths and legends.

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823 See Chapter 4. The Euboeans resembled the Phoenicians in this respect. See Kopcke 1992; Crielaard 1996; Markoe 2000; Aubet 2001; Malkin 2002b.
824 Osborne 1996a, p. 115; Hall 2007a, p. 4.
825 On the Lelantine War, see Thuc. 1.15; Strabo 10.1.12-13 [C 448]; Hdt. 5.99; Bradeen 1947; Donlan 1970; Bakhuizen 1976, pp. 34-36; Ridgway 1992, pp. 19-20; Boardman 1999b, p. 157; Malkin 2002b, p. 155; Hall 2007a, pp. 4-8. For the date of the war (715 B.C.), see Forrest 1969, p. 96.
Such were the Euboean traditions concerning the areas of Albania in which Greek colonies were established. During the later half of the 8th century B.C., Corinth began to replace Euboea as the hegemon in the western Mediterranean. In two places—Corcyra and Apollonia—Corinthian colonists were said to have supplanted Euboeans directly, as previously noted.\(^{826}\) The inscription dedicated by the Apollonians at Olympia preserved the memory of the expulsion of Euboeans from Abantis and Thronium by colonists from Corinth (see below).\(^{827}\) These examples of Corinthians replacing Euboeans reflect a shift in the balance of power in the Adriatic and herald the decline of Euboean maritime ascendancy and the rise of Corinthian. Before, however, turning to the Corinthian apoikiai in the Adriatic, it is first necessary to consider briefly certain aspects of early Corinthian history that may have a direct bearing on the colonization of Epidamnus and Apollonia.

**Corinth and Corcyra**

The Corinthians were at the forefront of the colonization movement that began in the middle of the 8th century B.C. and soon replaced the Euboeans as the main

\(^{826}\) Plut. Mor. 293a-b.

\(^{827}\) See above for the text and below for a detailed discussion of the monument.
Greek maritime presence in the West. Already by the beginning of the Archaic period, Corinth was a wealthy city and a renowned commercial port. The Corinthians began to expand their overseas concerns as the aristocratic ruling class became more interested in trade and the acquisition of luxury goods. According to Thucydides, Corinth's first colonies, at Corcyra and Syracuse, were founded in 734/733 B.C., the year following the Euboean settlement of Naxos, which Thucydides had described as the first Greek colony (see Chapter 4). The early Corinthian colonies were quite different from the Euboean settlements abroad in that they did not have the same type of symbiotic relationships with non-Greeks that the Euboeans seemed to have had at Al Mina and Pithekoussai. There is no doubt, however, that, like the earlier Euboean emporia, the Corinthian apoikiai were largely commercially motivated enterprises, although the

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829 Strabo 8.6.20 [C 378]; Thuc. 1.13.2-5.
830 See Chapter 4 and Will 1955, pp. 319-337.
831 Thuc. 6.3.1. According to Eusebian chronology, Naxos was founded by Chalcis in 737 B.C. Cf. Ephorus, FGrH 70 F137a, b; Hellanicus, FGrH 4 F82. See Bérard 1957, pp. 121-124; Coldstream 2003, pp. 233-237.
832 As noted in Chapter 4, archaeological evidence suggests that Al Mina and Pithekoussai were multi-ethnic settlements. On the other hand, there is no evidence that Corinthian colonists incorporated indigenous inhabitants or earlier groups of settlers into their settlements, with the possible exception of native women taken as wives; these, however, would not have been citizens. The available evidence suggests the contrary: that the colonists expelled whomever was there. Cf. Thuc. 6.3.2; Coldstream 2003, p. 234; Hall 2007a, p. 256 for Syracuse and Strabo 6.2.4 [C 269] Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.1212, 4.1216 (Wendel) = Timaeus, FGrH 566 F80; Plut. Mor. 293a-b; for Corcyra.
colonists may also have been prompted by agrarian interests, too.\footnote{See Chapter 4 and Salmon 1984, pp. 215-217 for commercial motives and pp. 63-65 for \textit{stenochoria}.}

According to our sources, the Bacchiad oligarchy was responsible for the first Corinthian ventures abroad. The Bacchiads came to power in Corinth around 747 B.C. with the overthrow of Telestes, the last of the hereditary Dorian kings, and ruled Corinth for over 90 years.\footnote{Paus. 2.4.4; Diod. Sic. 7.9.2-6. Much of the "early history" of Corinth is assembled from the fables of the Bacchiad poet, Eumelus (Eumelus, \textit{FGrH} 451; Paus. 2.1.1; see Dunbabin 1948b, pp. 66-67; West 2002, pp. 118-125). Early Corinthian chronology remains very ephemeral and controversial, and great caution is needed in any attempt to reconstruct Archaic "history." For a discussion of the early kingship at Corinth, the names of the early rulers, and the date and manner in which the monarchy was terminated, see Larcher 1802, vol. 7, pp. 515-525; Dunbabin 1948b, pp. 62-63; Will 1955, pp. 295-319; Hammond 1959, pp. 142-144; Oost 1972, pp. 10-11; Salmon 1984, pp. 46-47, 55-57.} The oligarchy was composed of 200 members of a tightly restricted aristocracy which claimed descent from the Dorian Heracleid, Bacchis, who was himself listed as one of the early Corinthian kings.\footnote{Paus. 2.4.4; Diod. Sic. 7.9.6; Arist. \textit{F}611.19; Hdt. 5.92B.1. See the discussion in Larcher 1802, vol. 7, pp. 528-531; Will 1955, p. 279; Morgan 2002.} Each year the oligarchs would select one member from among them to be 	extit{prytanis}, which meant, in essence, to rule as king.\footnote{Diod. Sic. 7.9.6; Paus. 2.4.4. See Will 1955, pp. 303-306; Oost 1972, p. 10; Salmon 1984, pp. 56-57.} One of the most significant aspects of Bacchid rule for the rise of colonization was an increase in Corinthian commercial
activity at home and abroad, which led to the foundation of Corcyra and Syracuse (see Fig. 4.1).\textsuperscript{837}

Three ancient sources provide somewhat contradictory information about the foundation of Corcyra. Thucydides did not record a foundation date, but according to Strabo this colony was contemporary with the establishment of Syracuse,\textsuperscript{838} which Thucydides did discuss.\textsuperscript{839} Eusebius, however, assigned Corcyra a foundation date about a generation later than Strabo had indicated (ca. 708-706 B.C.), in which case Corcyra's foundation would be contemporary with that of Taranto.\textsuperscript{840} A date as late as the

\textsuperscript{837} See Will 1955, pp. 306-319; Jones 1980; Williams 1995, pp. 32-34; Coldstream 2003, pp. 187-188.
\textsuperscript{838} Strabo 6.2.4 [C 269]. Dodwell (1702, pp. 39-40) was one of the first modern scholars to attach precise dates (732 B.C.) to the foundation of Syracuse and Corcyra. Larcher (1802, vol. 3, pp. 320-321) and Cooley (1844, vol. 1, p. 439) agree that Corcyra and Syracuse were founded at the same time and argue that this took place in the 3rd year of the 5th Olympiad or 756 B.C. They also hypothesize that Archias and Eumelus were contemporaries, which helps to anchor that date. Larcher, in general, prefers a high chronology for the early history of Corinth. Malkin (1998a, p. 5) thinks it only logical that Corcyra and Syracuse were contemporaneous since Corcyra is a natural stopover on the way to Sicily. Salmon (1984, pp. 62-70), on the other hand, proposes that the colony on Corcyra was established slightly later than Syracuse. See also Mueller 1835, p. 12; Blakeway 1932-1933; Dunbabin 1948a, p. 65; Oost 1972, pp. 27-28; Wilkes 1992, p. 110; Tandy 1997, pp. 78-79.
\textsuperscript{839} Thuc. 6.4.2-3. Thucydides placed the foundation of Syracuse 45 years before the foundation of Gela (688 B.C.) and 153 years before the foundation of Acragas (580 B.C.). For detailed discussions about the foundation date of Syracuse, including both high and low chronologies, see RE XIV, 1932, cols. 1479-1480, s.v. Syrakusai (L. Wickert); Béard 1957, pp. 121-124; Coldstream 2003, pp. 233-237. See Chapter 4 for Thucydides' chronology and below for the perils associated with "foundation dates."
end of the 8th century B.C. is unlikely for Corcyra, however, and most scholars accept both Thucydides' date of ca. 733 B.C. for the foundation of Syracuse and Strabo's assertion of its contemporaneity with that of Corcyra.

The following tenuous *ktisis* for Corcyra can be put together from ancient sources. The *oikist* of the colony at Corcyra was Chersicrates, who was accompanying the Corinthian aristocrat, Archias, on his voyage west to found Syracuse. Chersicrates was himself a member of the aristocracy who, according to one account, was the leader of a group of Bacchiads who had been expelled from Corinth as expiation for the death of Actaeon. Strabo implied

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841 Cf. Hammond 1982b, p. 266. Placing the foundation date for Corcyra as late as the end of the 8th century B.C. creates problems for the entire chronological sequence of colonial foundation dates. See Bérard 1957, pp. 121-123 and below.

842 Cf. RE XI.2, 1922, cols. 1409-1415, s.v., Korkyra, Kerkyra (L. Büchner).


844 Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.1212-1214a (Wendel). Violence and bloodshed were elements of the *ktiseis* for Syracuse and Corcyra. Plutarch (Mor. 772b-773e) told the story of how Archias, the *oikist* of Syracuse, was responsible for the murder of the one he desired, Actaeon. As a consequence of this crime, Corinth suffered from drought and plague. When the Corinthians consulted the oracle about how to obtain relief from this civic crisis, they were told to punish those responsible for Actaeon's murder. Since he was a member of the delegation sent to the oracle, Archias heard the god's response, and rather than returning to Corinth, he sailed to Sicily and founded Syracuse. Plutarch's account, combined with Strabo's, suggest that Corcyra was founded en route to Syracuse. All the sources imply that the Corinthians expelled an earlier group of settlers, either Eretrians, Liburnians, or Colchians.
that the colonization of Corcyra was an afterthought, not
the original objective of the overseas venture, i.e., the
colony was founded by a group of renegade Corinthians.\footnote{Strabo 6.2.4 [C 269].}

Corcyra was an ideal location for a colony since it
occupied an important strategic position between Greece,
Illyria, Italy, and Sicily; it was a natural staging ground
for voyages up, and across, the Adriatic.\footnote{Cf. Thuc. 1.36.2, 1.37.3 on the strategic excellence of Corcyra.}

Because of its
geographical setting as the northernmost of the Ionian
islands and that closest to the coast of Italy, ships
making the crossing were forced to put into Corcyra's
harbors.\footnote{See Will 1955, pp. 332-338; Hammond 1959, p. 118; Roebuck 1972, pp. 96-97; Williams 1984, 1995, p. 32 for some possible reasons why Corinth planted a colony on Corcyra.}

Malkin suggests that the Corcyra-Naxos route
controlled by the Euboeans began to be replaced in the mid-
8th century B.C. by a new Corcyra-Syracuse route controlled
by the Corinthians.\footnote{Malkin 1998a, p. 5. Syracuse had a larger and more sheltered harbor
than Naxos. See also Morgan 1998, pp. 290-298.}

The small shift in distance from
Naxos to the excellent harbor at Syracuse as the terminus
for commercial vessels crossing to and from Sicily would
help account for the exceptional wealth Syracuse accrued,
as described by Strabo.\footnote{Strabo 6.2.4.}
The earliest Greek material from Corcyra, to date, consists of three Eretrian sherds of the 9th or early 8th century B.C., one of which is a fragment of a pendent semi-circle skyphos; the presence of early Euboean material is in keeping with Plutarch's reference to an Eretrian settlement that predated the arrival of the Corinthians (see above). Catherine Morgan, however, doubts the identification of these sherds as Euboean and has seen nothing yet that she dates earlier than the mid-8th century B.C. The earliest Corinthian material, on the other hand, can be securely dated to the mid-8th century B.C., lending support to Thucydides' foundation date. Corinthian imports increase and come to dominate the ceramic assemblages in the 7th-6th centuries B.C., along with a smaller quantity of Ionian and Attic imports. Yioryios Dontas, who conducted excavations in the 1960s at a Late Geometric-Early Archaic cemetery in the Evelpidis plot on Corcyra, found a similar assemblage: the pottery was mostly

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850 Kallipolitis 1972, 1984; Arafat and Morgan 1995, p. 27; Coldstream 2003, p. 185. The majority of the earliest pottery from the island is, however, Corinthian. This is not problematic since most of the material on Pithekoussai is also Corinthian, yet there is no doubt that Euboeans lived there. For a discussion of the Archaic material from Corcyra, see Kallipolitis 1972, pp. 53-57, 1984, pp. 74-75; Arafat and Morgan 1995; Morgan 1998, pp. 284-286; Thomas 2004.
Protocorinthian, with some Attic and East Greek imports.\textsuperscript{854} Locally produced Corcyraean pottery that imitated Corinthian wares was also recovered from all excavated contexts.\textsuperscript{855} As Morgan notes, the foundation of Corcyra came at a time when Corinth appeared to be restructuring her inland trading routes in the northwest via Ioannina in favor of coastal land and sea routes.\textsuperscript{856} Goods continued to move into the interior of Illyria, but in a west-east direction from starting points on the coast, rather than along the south-north routes described above.

Corcyra began to make her presence felt in the Ionian and Adriatic seas almost immediately and the colony quickly became an important naval power.\textsuperscript{857} The early relationship between Corcyra and Corinth is somewhat obscure, although it appears to have been contentious from the beginning.\textsuperscript{858} Herodotus, for example, noted that relations between Corinth and her colony had always been strained.\textsuperscript{859} Thucydides, too, talked about conflict between metropolis and apoikia, which later was one of the primary catalysts

\textsuperscript{855} Morgan 1995, p. 342.
\textsuperscript{856} Morgan 1988; Arafat and Morgan 1995, p. 28. See also Chapter 4 and above.
\textsuperscript{857} See Cabanes 2001, pp. 45-54.
\textsuperscript{858} Cf. Sainte-Croix 1779, pp. 110-112. Larcher (1802, vol. 3, p. 321) suggests that enmity between Corcyra and Corinth existed from the beginning because the oikist, Chersicrates, a Bacchiad, and his group were exiles who were hostile to Corinth.
\textsuperscript{859} Hdt. 3.49.1.
for the Peloponnesian war. He recorded an early sea battle between the Corinthians and the Corcyraeans in which the Corcyraeans were victorious, clearly indicating that the Corcyraeans had violated any apoikia-metropolis bond that might have, or should have, existed. According to Thucydides' chronology, this would have taken place in 664 B.C., during the final years of the Bacchiad reign. This would imply, therefore, that Corinth had no authority over Corcyra by the middle of the 7th century B.C. Some scholars suggest that the Corcyraean "revolt" might ultimately have led to the downfall of the Bacchiad oligarchy in the middle of the 7th century B.C. Other scholars, however, challenge the Thucydidean date of 664 B.C. for the Corcyraean victory over the Corinthians and therefore the correlation between that event and the political situation in Corinth, while some even question

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860 Thuc. 1.49-55.
861 Thuc. 1.13.4. The speeches Thucydides attributed to the Corcyraean and Corinthian ambassadors suggest that the lack of respect shown by Corcyra for Corinth was not normal. Cf. Thuc. 1.34, 1.38.
862 Thucydides (1.13.4) said that the conflict occurred 260 years before the end of the Peloponnesian War (404 B.C.), which implies a date of 664 B.C. Larcher (1802, vol. 7, pp. 443-444) places the battle in the 28th Olympiad, which leads to the calculation of a similar date; he thus situates the battle prior to the expulsion of the Bacchiad oligarchy, which, according to his chronology, occurred the following year, in the 29th Olympiad.
863 And conversely, Corcyra felt no loyalty to Corinth as its metropolis by the mid-7th century B.C. See Chapter 4 and below.
864 PECS, p. 449, s.v. Kerkyra (L. Vlad Borrelli); Hopper 1955, p. 8; Andrewes 1963. Gomme (1945, p. 122) suggests that the sea battle occurred in either 680 B.C. or 660 B.C. and that it certainly predated the inception of the Cypselid tyranny.
865 Hornblower (1991, p. 45), following Forrest (1969, p. 99), places the Corcyraean-Corinthian naval battle much later (almost 75 years),
the historicity of the sea battle itself, since the latter is not mentioned in any of the chronographers and nothing else is known about it. The date of the sea battle and when, if ever, Corcyra was yoked to Corinth are relevant to the foundation dates of Epidamnus and Apollonia and to the composition of the original colonizing bodies, as will be further discussed below.

William Forrest thinks that the date of the naval battle between Corinth and Corcyra should be down-dated from 664 B.C. He regards Thucydides' dates with suspicion because they rely on an allotment of 40 years to a generation, which Forrest considers too long and would lower by 10 years per generation. This revised calculation would thus place the conflict in the last quarter of the 7th century B.C. and would ensconce it safely within the time of the Cypselid tyranny, situating it perhaps even as late as the reign of Periander, rather than just prior to the overthrow of the Bacchiads.

Forrest argues that one problem with dating Corcyra's

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866 One group of scholars, among them Graham in particular (1982, p. 131), suggests that the sea battle never took place.
867 Eratosthenes also calculated 40 years per generation. Burn (1935, pp. 130-146), too, argues that this figure is too high and likewise suggests that chronological calculations should assume 30 years per generation. See discussion in Chapter 4.
revolt before the downfall of the oligarchy is that, according to Nicolaus of Damascus, some of the Bacchiads settled in Corcyra after they were expelled from Corinth by Cypselus; it is unlikely that the fleeing aristocrats would have been welcomed if the Corcyraeans had just revolted against their overlordship.\textsuperscript{869} A lower date for the struggle would make sense politically, if members of the oligarchy, after having settled on Corcyra, displayed hostility towards Cypselus, the tyrant who had deprived them of power and forced them into exile, by fomenting revolution.

Although Forrest's proposed date for the sea battle between Corcyra and Corinth makes historical sense, it is not without problems. His resolution of the dating dilemma casts suspicion on the veracity of Thucydides' chronology and suggests, in turn, that all of Thucydides' early dates are subject to question. Also, Nicolaus of Damascus should be used with caution in this case, since he is a late source and his information is not always reliable.\textsuperscript{870} It is alternatively possible that Corinth never had control of Corcyra and the colony was independent from the beginning.\textsuperscript{871}

\textsuperscript{869} Nic. Dam., \textit{FGrH} 90 F58.7. See Chapter 4 for political dissidents as colonists.
\textsuperscript{870} Cf. Salmon 1984, pp. 188-189.
\textsuperscript{871} Graham (1982, p. 131, 1983, pp. 8-9) dismisses Thucydides' sea battle as viable evidence for the relationship between Corinth and Corcyra. Will (1955, pp. 413-460) suggests that the first colonies, including Corcyra and Syracuse, were founded as entirely independent entities and that these differed in status from the later Corinthian \textit{apoikiai} established under the tyrants. See also Shepherd 2000, p. 58 for a
If, however, Corcyra did revolt, most historians would prefer to situate this incident at the beginning of Cypselus' tyranny and to believe that the island remained independent until the reign of Periander.\textsuperscript{872}

The beginning of the Cypselid tyranny is generally dated to ca. 655 B.C.\textsuperscript{873} Cypselus, the founder of the dynasty, was himself an aristocrat and a member of the ruling Bacchiad oligarchy;\textsuperscript{874} the "revolution" thus originated within the ruling elite. Despite numerous obstacles, he managed to seize control of the government and install himself as tyrant, as had been foretold by

\textsuperscript{872} According to Thucydides, the ties between colony-mother city outlined by Thucydides would never have existed between Corcyra and Corinth. This conclusion leads back to the questions discussed in Chapter 4 of the nature of the ties between colony and mother city, the date that the polis emerged at Corinth, and whether or not colonization was state sponsored. Williams (1984, pp. 9-19, 1995) discusses the emergence of the polis at Corinth in light of archaeological evidence from the city center. He notes changes in the location of burials and the attendant grave rituals in the 8th century B.C. and suggests that these might be indicative of the evolution of a new community consciousness. This suggests that at least a fledgling polis structure existed in Corinth when Corcyra was founded. On the urbanization of Corinth, see Roebuck 1972; Williams 1984, 1986, 1995; Salmon 1984, pp. 57-62; Rhodes 2003.

\textsuperscript{873} Ancient sources do not agree on the dates of Cypselus' reign. See Larcher 1802, vol. 7, pp. 525-528, who provides textual citations and commentary and discusses previous scholarship. He calculates Eusebius's date for the beginning of the tyranny to be 660 B.C., but himself prefers 663 B.C. The high chronology for the Cypselid tyranny, which is widely accepted today, is 657-583 B.C. Servais (1969, pp. 28-81) gives the sources and also argues for a high chronology, placing Cypselus' coup in the mid-7th century B.C. See Oost 1972 for a discussion of modern scholarship. The low chronology, which is championed by Busolt (1893a, pp. 625-671, 1893b, pp. 313-319) and Will (1955, pp. 363-440), but is not generally accepted, would place the reign of the Cypselids from 610-537 B.C. See also van Compernolle 1960; Lloyd 1975, p. 45, n. 2; Oost 1972, p. 16; Salmon 1984, p. 186; West 2002, p. 110.

\textsuperscript{874} See Larcher 1802, vol. 4, pp. 348-350 for the genealogy of Cypselus.
several oracles from Delphi.\footnote{Herodotus (5.92) gave a lengthy account of Cypselus' rise to power and the oracles that foretold his success. See also Diod. Sic. 7.9; Paus. 2.4.3-4; Nic. Dam., FGrH 90 F57. For modern accounts, see Busolt 1893a, pp. 637-640, 1893b, pp. 313-319; Dunbabin 1948b, pp. 59-69; Will 1955, pp. 296-298; Hammond 1959, pp. 146-147; Oost 1972, pp. 10-30; Salmon 1984, pp. 186-196; Osborne 1996a, pp. 194-196. For a discussion of the oracles that foretold Cypselus' coup, see Parke and Wormell 1956, vol. 1, pp. 116-120; den Boer 1957, p. 339; Oost 1972, pp. 16-18. For a discussion of the "Cypselus myth" and its meaning in Herodotus, see Gray 1996; Johnson 2001; West 2002.} John Salmon interprets the tradition that the Delphic oracle sanctioned his coup as evidence that Cypselus had popular support for his "revolution."\footnote{Salmon 1984, pp. 188-192. Salmon (1977, pp. 97-101) contends that Cypselus was successful because he had hoplite support.} As gratitude to the gods for his success, Cypselus dedicated a beaten gold statue of Zeus at Olympia and a treasury at Delphi.\footnote{Andrewes 1963, pp. 44-45. See also Oost 1972, p. 15. At any rate, relations between apoikia and metropolis would have been strained if many of the Bacchiads settled in Corcyra.} Antony Andrewes suggests that general dissatisfaction with the Bacchiads' inability to maintain control of Corcyra facilitated Cypselus' overthrow of the oligarchy.\footnote{Hdt. 1.14.2; Strabo 8.3.30 [C 353], 8.6.20 [C 378].} Cypselus ruled for 30 years and died in 625 B.C. at the height of his prosperity.\footnote{Hdt. 5.92F; Arist. Pol. 1315b. See Larcher 1802, vol. 7, pp. 531-532, who places the beginning of Periander's reign in 633 B.C.; Salmon 1984, p. 187.} Herodotus noted the harshness of the beginning of Cypselus' tyranny: he deprived people of their wealth and exiled or killed his rivals.\footnote{Hdt. 5.92F1. See Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Ant. Rom. 3.46-47) and Strabo (5.2.2 [C219-220], 8.6.20 [C 378]) for the example of the Bacchiad, Demaratus, who fled with a group of artisans from Corinth to Tarquinii in Etruria because of Cypselus. Larcher (1802, vol. 7, p. 443) places this event in the 29th Olympiad, along with the expulsion of the Bacchiads. See also Larcher 1802, vol. 4, pp. 350-351; Cooley} In spite of his brutal start, however, later
tradition was favorable to Cypselus and hostile to the Bacchiads. Before his death, Cypselus passed control of
control to his son, Periander.

A number of colonies are recorded to have been founded by Corinth during Cypselus' tenure, three of which are near
the mouth of the Adriatic: Anactorium, Ambracia, and Leucas. All three colonies were founded by illegitimate
sons of the tyrant. According to Nicolaus of Damascus, Cypselus appointed his bastard sons as oikists of two of
them, Pylades at Leucas, and Echiades at Anactorium.
Strabo added that Ambracia was founded at the same time as the other two, perhaps around 630 B.C., by Gorgus, another of Cypselus' sons, and that the three colonies were conceived of as a single enterprise with Gorgus in charge of the entire expedition. At least some of the participants in all three ventures were political dissidents who, voluntarily or involuntarily, left Corinth because of dissatisfaction with the tyranny. The colonies, on the other hand, remained loyal to Corinth, perhaps specifically because the oikists were relatives of the tyrant, and even fought with Corinth against Athens during the Peloponnesian War.

Periander's reign in Corinth began ca. 625 B.C. and lasted 40 years. Eusebius placed the first year of his tyranny at the start of the 38th Olympiad and the last year of his reign in the first year of the 48th Olympiad, (585 B.C.). The evaluations of Periander's tyranny were mixed;
some sources considered him one of the Seven Sages, but others used him as an example of the "bad tyrant."\textsuperscript{889} Herodotus recorded that Periander began by displaying tolerance towards enemies, but quickly reversed this policy,\textsuperscript{890} thus inverting the sequence of mild and harsh rule recorded for Cypselus' reign. He illustrated Periander's ruthlessness with the following story about the cruel punishment of Corcyraean youths, which also contains instructive information about the relationship between Corinth and Corcyra at this time.\textsuperscript{891}

Lycophron was a legitimate son of Periander who had long refused to have anything to do with his father, considering him guilty of the murder of his mother, Melissa.\textsuperscript{892} Lycophron lived peacefully in exile on Corcyra for some time until Periander, in his old age, asked his son to come back to Corinth to take over the tyranny. Lycophron's condition for returning was that Periander switch domiciles with him, so that they need not have any

\textsuperscript{889} Cf. Diogenes Laertius (1.97) for the favorable tradition, and Aristotle (Pol. 3.1284a26) and Herodotus (5.92, 3.50) for the unfavorable. Periander was not included as one of the Seven Sages by everyone; alternatives were Myson of Chena, Anacharsis, Epimenis of Crete, or Arcesilous of Argos. See Larcher 1802, vol. 3, pp. 317-318; Busolt 1893a, pp. 644-645; Martin 1993, p. 111. See Aristotle (Pol. 1279a32-b10, 1305a6-28, 3.1310b12-1311b6) for a general discussion of tyranny.

\textsuperscript{890} Hdt. 5.92, 3.50.1; Plut. Mor. 1104d; Nic. Dam., FGrH 90 F59.2-4; Arist. Pol. 1313a35-b32; Ephorus, FGrH 70 F70. See Berve 1967, pp. 529-530; Salmon 1984, pp. 197-205.

\textsuperscript{891} For an analysis of this passage, see Cawkwell 1995, pp. 84-86; Gray 1996, pp. 370-371; Johnson 2001; Hall 2007a, pp. 136-137.

\textsuperscript{892} Hdt. 3.50-53. According to Herodotus (5.92G3), Periander had sex with his wife's corpse.
contact.893 However, before this could happen, the desperate Corcyraeans killed Lycophron, seeing his murder as the only certain way to prevent Periander from moving to Corcyra. In retaliation for the death of his son, Periander sentenced 300 Corcyraean aristocratic youths to be sent to Sardis to be made into eunuchs.894

Periander was left without a direct heir after Lycophron's murder and, when he died in ca. 585 B.C., power passed to his nephew.895 Psammetichus, who was the grandson of Cypselus and the son of Gorgus, the oikist of Ambracia, only ruled for a few years, and the tyranny was abolished in 584/583 B.C., shortly after Periander died.896 It is not clear whether Psammetichus controlled Corcyra, but the island had certainly reasserted its independence upon the demise of the tyranny. Thucydides' discussion of the

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893 Hdt. 3.52.  
895 Cf. Herodotus (5.92), where the Delphic oracle foretold that the sons of Periander would not inherit the tyranny. One of Periander's sons was the oikist for Potidæa; he was killed while founding the colony (Nic. Dam., FGrH 90 F59.1). Periander's other surviving son was deemed unfit to rule (Hdt. 3.53.1). According to Nicolaus of Damascus (FGrH 90 F59.4), Psammetichus went from Ambracia to Corcyra after Lycophron was murdered and from there to Corinth after Periander's death.  
896 Arist. Pol. 1315b. See Servais 1969; Oost 1972, p. 30; Salmon 1984, p. 186, n. 1. It is likely that Periander's nephew was named after the Egyptian ruler of the Saite period, Psammetichus I. See Lloyd 1972, 1975, pp. 55–56 for the close relations enjoyed between Egypt and Corinth during the reigns of Necho and Periander. Periander's nephew Psammetichus also went by the name of Cypselus, perhaps after he became tyrant.
dispute over Epidamnus indicated clearly that the Corinthians and Corcyraeans were not on friendly terms after Periander's death, and Corinthian supremacy in the Adriatic was waning by the time the last Cypselid tyrant was deposed.\textsuperscript{897}

The era of Corinthian colonization and maritime ascendancy began to unravel with the downfall of the Cypselid tyranny. One of the first Corinthian colonies, Corcyra, which occupied a valuable strategic position for ships crossing to and from Magna Graecia, was founded under the Bacchiads, who, as it was suggested above, encouraged trade and overseas exploration.\textsuperscript{898} As Thucydides\textsuperscript{899} and Herodotus stated,\textsuperscript{900} the Corinthian-Corcyraean relationship was contentious from early on, contrary to the normal ties that, according to Thucydides, existed between metropolis and apoikia. This enmity perhaps occasioned the sea battle mentioned by Thucydides, as discussed above, that presented an early challenge to Corinthian naval supremacy. One theory about the origin of the tension, as noted, is that the Corcyraean colonizing body was composed, partially or wholly, of Corinthian political dissidents, something that is common in ktiseis of other colonies (see Chapter 4).

\textsuperscript{897} Cf. Hdt. 3.49.1.  
\textsuperscript{898} The quantity of Corinthian goods found abroad begins to increase dramatically after the mid-8th century B.C. See above and Chapter 4.  
\textsuperscript{899} Thuc. 1.49-55.  
\textsuperscript{900} Hdt. 3.49.1.
With hoplite support, Cypseulus was able to take control in Corinth and remove the Bacchiads from power. He was responsible for expanding Corinthian maritime suzerainty and founded at least three *apoikiai*, Anactorium, Ambracia, and Leucas, using his illegitimate sons as *oikists*. His son and heir, Periander, followed suit and expanded Corinthian commercial activities into the Black Sea and southern Illyria. The colonies at Epidamnus and Apollonia, which are among the latest *apoikiai* founded during the Archaic "wave of colonization," were likely established during Periander's tenure. The following section examines the foundation and history of those two *apoikiai*.

**The Foundation of Epidamnus and Apollonia**

The foundations of Epidamnus and Apollonia, the only two *apoikiai* established in southern Illyria, are generally held to have framed Periander's tyranny, with the former founded in the year that he came to power, and the latter shortly before his death. Mixed traditions survived about the origins of the colonists for both settlements, in which Corcyra, Corinth, or both together are named as the *metropol(e)is*. As noted above, it is unclear whether
Corcyra was controlled by or independent of Corinth when the colonies were established.

Epidamnus has usually been interpreted as the first Corinthian colony established in the Adriatic.\(^{901}\) The traditional foundation date, based on Eusebius and Jerome, is the second year of the 38th Olympiad, or 627 B.C.\(^{902}\) Eusebius placed the beginning of Periander's reign in the same Olympiad as the colonization of Epidamnus, but listed

\(^{901}\) The name Epidamnus is troublesome because the colony was also referred to as Dyrrachium, and controversy existed in antiquity about why there were two names. Explanations were offered by Pliny the Elder (HN 3.145), Pomponius Mela (2.56), Pausanias (6.10.8), Appian (B Civ. 2.39), Cassius Dio (41.49), and Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Δυρράχιον and Ἐπίδαμνος). The name had been changed to Dyrrachium by ca. 330 B.C. when the Argive list of theorodokoi was compiled. Cf. SEG XXIII 189; Charneux 1966, pp. 156-159. See above for theorodokoi.

Appian (B Civ. 2.39) offered the most detailed explanation for the dual names. According to him, the city was built by, and named after, a "barbarian" king, Epidamnus. The king's daughter had a son, ostensibly by Poseidon, named Dyrrachus, who built a harbor for the city. When his rule was challenged by his brothers, Dyrrachus received help resecuring his throne from Heracles. In exchange for his assistance, Heracles was given a part of Dyrrachus' territory. Because he had a share of the land, the townspeople of Dyrrachium considered Heracles to be the oikist of their city. Cf. Steph. Byz., s.v. Δυρράχιον.

Both Strabo (7.5.8 [C 316]) and Eratosthenes (in Step. Byz., s.v. Δυρράχιον) described Epidamnus as a city on a peninsula named Dyrrachium. Thucydides (1.25) called it an isthmus. See Heuzey (1886, p. 44) regarding the interpretation of this passage of Thucydides in light of the geography of the Durrës area. It seems probable that the peninsula of Strabo and Eratosthenes consisted of the uplands that were examined by the Durrës Regional Archaeological Project, an area that has until recently been almost completely separated from the mainland by a marsh. See Raoul-Rochette 1815, vol. 3, pp. 345-346; RE V.1, 1905, cols. 1882-1887, s.v. Dyrhrachion (A. Philippson); Beaumont 1936, p. 166; Ducellier 1981, pp. 500, 507, 525; Schmitt 2001, pp. 537-542; and, most recently, Davis et al. 2003, p. 69.

\(^{902}\) Eusebius placed the foundation of Epidamnus in the 38th Olympiad, which falls between 628 B.C. and 624 B.C. (Schoene 1866, p. 89, line 1392). Jerome's continuation of Eusebius put the foundation in 627 B.C. (Helm 1956, p. 97b). Regarding the foundation of the original colony at Epidamnus, the problem of the dual name, the uncertainty of its location, and what little is known of its early history, see Raoul-Rochette 1815, vol. 3, pp. 344-345; Hammond 1967, pp. 425-426, 469-470; Cabanes and Drini 1995, pp. 19-28; Davis et al 2003, p. 41, n. 2.
Periander's ascension first. Thucydides, Strabo, and Pseudo-Scymnus recorded that Epidamnus was founded by Corcyra. Diodorus Siculus, however, noted that the Corcyraeans were joined by colonists from Corinth, as well as other Dorians.

Epidamnus had a legendary oikist as well as a historic one. As noted above, Polybius said that the Epidamnians regarded Heracles as their founder. Thucydides, on the other hand, named Phalius, a Heracleid who hailed from Corinth, as the oikist. Thucydides suggested that the Corcyraeans were acting in accordance with an old custom (kata de ton palaion nomon) by inviting their metropolis to supply the oikist and some colonists for their venture. Phalius is likely also to have been a member of the Bacchiad aristocracy, which might have made him attractive to the Corcyraeans if, as suggested above, members of the exiled oligarchy had moved to the island after Cypselus' coup.

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903 Graham (1983, p. 31), however, seems to imply that the colony was founded at the end of Cypselus' reign.
904 Thuc. 1.24.1-2; Strabo 7.5.8 [C 316]; Pseudo-Scymnus 435-436.
905 Diod. Sic. 12.30; Gwynn 1918, p. 112; Gomme 1945, p. 159; Oost 1972, p. 21. See Hopper 1955, p. 5 for the view that Phalius was from a genos hostile to the Bacchiads.
908 The fact that Corcyra asked Corinth to select an oikist suggests that Corcyra recognized to some extent the apoikia-metropolis relationship. Even though Corinth provided an oikist and some colonists for the new colony, Corcyra was regarded as the metropolis for Epidamnus. See Chapter 4.
Modern historians have concluded that Apollonia was the second *apoikia* founded in ancient Illyria. No coherent *ktisis* is preserved among the ancient sources for Apollonia, so its sketchy foundation history must be cobbled together from a variety of apparently contradictory sources, some of which have been presented above, but will be summarized here and discussed in detail below. Apollo,\textsuperscript{911} Elephenor's contingent of Abantes returning from Troy,\textsuperscript{912} and a Corinthian named Gylax were all put forward as founders.\textsuperscript{913} The *metropolis* was either Corinth, or Corinth and Corcyra together, and the original colonists numbered 200.\textsuperscript{914} Originally the settlement was called Gylakeia, but later the name was changed to Apollonia.\textsuperscript{915} Sometime during the Early Classical period, the polis conquered the city of Thronium and expanded to the south of the Aous.\textsuperscript{916} The city was associated with divination, and wealth was based on landed property and animal husbandry.\textsuperscript{917} In mythology, the area around Apollonia was pastureland for the cattle of the

\textsuperscript{910} No ancient source explicitly stated that Epidamnus was founded before Apollonia; it is an assumption of modern historians, based on Eusebius's date for the foundation of Epidamnus and the interpretations of passages in Plutarch, Strabo, and Pausanias about Apollonia. Eusebius did not record a foundation date for Apollonia in his chronology.

\textsuperscript{911} Paus. 5.22.4. The attribution of Apollo as the *oikist* was a later interpolation to Apollonia's *ktisis*. See below.

\textsuperscript{912} Apollod. *Epit.* 6.15b.

\textsuperscript{913} Steph. Byz., s.v. *Γυλάκεια*.

\textsuperscript{914} Thuc. 1.26.2; Cass. Dio 41.45; Plin. *HN* 3.23.145; Steph. Byz., s.v. *Ἀπολλωνία*; Strabo 7.5.8 [C 316]; Pseudo-Scymnus 439-440.

\textsuperscript{915} Steph. Byz., s.v. *Ἀπολλωνία*; *Γυλάκεια*.

\textsuperscript{916} Paus. 5.22.4.

\textsuperscript{917} Hdt. 9.93-9.95.
Hyperboreans, and Geryones was said to have pastured his cattle in the area around Oricum.\textsuperscript{918}

The date typically given by modern authors for the foundation of Apollonia is 588 B.C., shortly before Periander's death.\textsuperscript{919} Although archaeological evidence supports a foundation date almost half a century earlier, the traditional "literary" date has maintained a tenacious hold in modern scholarship, and various attempts have been made to reconcile the textual evidence with the archaeological. It is clear, however, that neither type of evidence, when considered in isolation, is fully comprehensive, and that only through a combination of both is it possible to approach a more accurate narrative. As demonstrated below, there are no compelling textual or archaeological reasons to accept the 588 B.C. foundation date.

Although no foundation date for the colony at Apollonia is reported explicitly by any ancient source, 588 B.C. is standard in modern historical discussions.\textsuperscript{920} Despite its apparent precision and frequent citation, this date was established only in modern times, based on the

\textsuperscript{918} Pseudo-Scylax 26; Phot. \textit{Bibl.} 186.30.136a; Eust. 2.18.40.
\textsuperscript{919} Some of the following discussion has already been published in Stocker and Davis 2006.
\textsuperscript{920} Cf. \textit{RE} II, 1896, cols. 111-113, s.v. Apollonia (O. Hirschfeld); Praschniker and Schöber 1919, p. 71; Rey 1930, p. 116, 1932, p. 27. See Blavatsky (1962, 1966, 1971) and van Compernolle (1953) for a review of earlier scholarship.
interpretation of problematic passages in Plutarch, Strabo, and Pausanias.\footnote{Plut. Mor. 552e; Strabo 8.3.32 [C 357]; Paus. 6.22.4.} Examination of the evidence for and bibliography of this date demonstrates that it is entirely a fabrication of 18th and early 19th century scholars.\footnote{Van Compernolle (1953, p. 56, n. 1) was first to challenge this date. Still earlier, the date of 588 B.C. is given as a terminus ante quem by Curtius (1876, p. 230), who himself refrains from suggesting a precise date for the foundation of Apollonia.}

The following section will review the three ancient sources, Plutarch, Strabo, and Pausanias,\footnote{Plut. Mor. 552e; Strabo 8.3.32 [C 357]; Paus. 6.22.4.} that have been used to construct Apollonia's foundation date. A passage in Plutarch's \textit{Moralia} is given as the first step. Plutarch linked the establishment of Apollonia with the final years of Periander's tyranny,\footnote{Plut. Mor. 552e: "So, too, no Greeks would now be living in Apollonia, in Anactorium, or on the peninsula of Leucas, if the punishment of Periander had not been long deferred."} providing the first evidence for a foundation date for the colony in 588 B.C. As noted above, Eusebius placed the last year of Periander's reign in the first year of the 48th Olympiad. Calculating from 776 B.C. as the first year of the first Olympiad, therefore, the 
\textit{terminus ante quem} for any act of Periander must be 585 B.C. according to Eusebius' chronology. The wording in Plutarch, however, lacks precision; Apollonia could have been founded at any time during Periander's forty-year rule. Nevertheless, the passage does tie the foundation of
Apollonia to the chronology of the Cypselids, particularly that of Periander.

Strabo wrote that the inhabitants of Dyspontium emigrated to Epidamnus and Apollonia after the city was destroyed, implying that Apollonia had already been colonized by that time.\(^{925}\) The destruction of Dyspontium was linked with the struggle between Pisa and Elis for control of the sanctuary at Olympia. The defeat of Pisa and its allies by the Eleans, which brought about the destruction of Dyspontium, took place ca. 575 B.C.\(^{926}\) The passage by Strabo does not say that Apollonia was founded to receive these displaced immigrants, nor does it support the supposition that Epidamnus was an old foundation and Apollonia a new one.

Pausanias provided supplemental information about the destruction of Dyspontium.\(^{927}\) Damophon, son of Pantaleon and king of Pisa, aroused the suspicions of the Eleans in the

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\(^{925}\) Strabo 8.3.32 [C 357]: "Here, too, is Cicysium, one of the eight cities; and also Dyspontium, which is situated in a plain and on the road that leads from Elis to Olympia; but it was destroyed, and most of its inhabitants emigrated to Epidamnus and Apollonia."

\(^{926}\) For the date that Elis regained control of the Olympic games from Pisa, see RE V.2, 1905, col. 2385-2390, s.v. Elis (E. Swoboda); RE XXII, 1950, col. 1738-1739, s.v. Pisa, Pisatis (E. Meyer); Morgan 1990, pp. 53-56; Cabanes and Drini 1995, p. 27; Yalouris 1996, pp. 26-27.

\(^{927}\) Paus. 6.22.3-4: "When Pyrrhus, the son of Pantaleon, succeeded his brother Damophon as king, the people of Pisa of their own accord made war against Elis, and were joined in their revolt from the Eleans by the people of Macistus and Scillus, which are in Triphylia, and by the people of Dyspontium, another vassal community. The last were closely related to the people of Pisa, and it was a tradition of theirs that their founder had been Dysponteus the son of Oenomaus. It was the fate of Pisa, and of all her allies, to be destroyed by the Eleans."
first year of the 48th Olympiad (588 B.C.). Although Damophon succeeded in averting a war with Elis on that occasion, his brother Pyrrhus, who inherited the throne, led the people of Pisa and their allies, including Dyspontium, in a revolt against Elis. Pyrrhus became king sometime after the first year of the 48th Olympiad (ca. 587 B.C.), near the time when Periander died.

None of the preceding passages demonstrates, or even suggests, that Apollonia was itself founded in 588 B.C., but rather that it was in existence by the time Periander died in the 48th Olympiad (588-584 B.C.). The following section illustrates how this date has become so firmly rooted in modern scholarship.

Désiré Raoul-Rochette’s 18th century study of Greek colonization appears to be the source of the dubious foundation date of 588 B.C. Raoul-Rochette discusses the textual evidence for the foundation of Apollonia in great detail, and he is the first modern scholar to attach a specific year to the event. He sees as simultaneous acts the establishment of colonies by the Corinthians at Apollonia, Anactorium, and Leucas and he believes that Plutarch (Mor. 552e) not only linked the dates of these colonies, but also placed all three in the final years of
Periander's tyranny.\textsuperscript{928} He concludes from the passage in Strabo (8.3.32) that Apollonia was a recent foundation at the time Dyspontium was destroyed.\textsuperscript{929} Finally, from these disparate bits of information, the destruction of Dyspontium and the emigration of its inhabitants to Apollonia on the one hand, and the end of Periander's reign on the other, he places the establishment of Apollonia, Anactorium, and Leucas at the beginning of the 48th Olympiad, i.e., 588/7 B.C.

Central to Raoul-Rochette's argument is the belief that the colonies must have been founded at the end of Periander's reign, because, based on the passage in Plutarch, Periander did not become "tyrannical" until his final years.\textsuperscript{930} If and when Periander lapsed into "tyrannical" behavior, the specific event to which Plutarch was referring\textsuperscript{931} cannot be determined with certainty. The passage does seem to imply, however, that Periander was responsible for the foundation of Apollonia sometime after committing an act for which he deserved to be punished. Nevertheless, the length of time between his outrageous

\textsuperscript{928} Raoul-Rochette 1815, pp. 347-348.
\textsuperscript{929} Raoul-Rochette was one of the first scholars to propose that Epidamnus was "re-founded" with colonists from Dyspontium.
\textsuperscript{930} See van Compernolle 1953, p. 63 on Raoul-Rochette's confusion of "tyrannical" with "tyrant."
\textsuperscript{931} See Lapini (1996) for a different interpretation of Periander's "tyrannical" behavior.
behavior and the foundation of the colony is not specified, and it could have occurred at any time during his reign.

Throughout his discussion about the foundation of Apollonia, Raoul-Rochette criticizes Pierre-Henri Larcher, who wrote extensively about the chronology of Greek colonization in a translation and commentary on Herodotus published in 1802, a few years before his death. Larcher, in a detailed chronological analysis, discusses the passages in Plutarch, Strabo, and Pausanias with meticulous attention and concludes that they provide no firm basis for assigning a foundation date either to Epidamnus or Apollonia; conclusions more precise than that both colonies were founded during the reign of Periander are deemed unsupported by Larcher. Raoul-Rochette criticizes Larcher for his unwillingness to commit to a specific foundation date for either colony, in spite of the obvious ambiguity of the textual evidence.

The German dissertation by Wilhelm Mueller cites Raoul-Rochette’s date of 588 B.C. for the foundation of Apollonia with approbation. He interprets the passage in Plutarch as implying that the colony at Apollonia was founded on the advice of Periander before the end of his reign.

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932 Larcher 1802.
933 Cf. Raoul-Rochette 1815, pp. 185, 347. See Chapter 4 for the importance of establishing foundation dates in earlier scholarship.
934 Mueller 1835.
tyranny and then contends that Strabo, Pausanias, and Raoul-Rochette equated the migration of the inhabitants of Dyspontium to Apollonia with the start of the colony. Mueller does not offer an analysis of the sources or an opinion about the work of Raoul-Rochette other than to assert that Apollonia cannot have been founded much earlier.\footnote{935 “Non molto antea Apollonia condita fuerit (Mueller 1835, p. 18).”}

The date of 588 B.C. for the foundation of Apollonia was ratified through its inclusion by Otto Hirschfeld in the 1895 edition of authoritative reference work, Real-

\textit{encyclopa"{d}ie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft}.\footnote{936 \textit{RE} II, 1896, cols. 111-113, s.v. Apollonia (O. Hirschfeld). Most early 20th century scholars cite Hirschfeld as their source. See, for example, Praschniker and Schober 1919, pp. 69 and 71; Praschniker, 1922-1924, col. 37; Rey 1932, pp. 26-27.} He cites Plutarch Mor. 552e as his source for dating the foundation of Apollonia to the first year of the 48th Olympiad (588 B.C.) without explanation, however, of the reasoning that derived this date from the passage nor acknowledgement that it might be problematic. Mueller, who had explicitly cited Raoul-Rochette, may have been Hirschfeld’s direct source for the 588 B.C. date.

The unwarranted certainty that has been attached to the specific date of 588 B.C. for the foundation of Apollonia has seriously hampered interpretations of the archaeological evidence. In Albania, it has facilitated
the construction of nationalist myths compatible with accepted historical narratives preferred by socialist archaeologies (see Chapter 3). 937 Neritan Ceka provides an example: "Plutarch gives a precise date: the year 588 B.C." 938 He subsequently explains finds dated earlier than the 6th century B.C. from the vicinity of the colony by postulating the existence of a pre-colonial emporion that was the site of mutually beneficial trade between the native Illyrians and Greeks. 939 His emphasis on reciprocal exchange is consistent with the role in stimulating indigenous social development assigned by Marxism to trade, with a view of the culture of Apollonia as a fusion of the indigenous and exogenous, and thus with a conclusion that the Illyrians participated actively in the process of urbanization.

If Apollonia was not founded in 588 B.C., then when was it established? A small group of cautious scholars have followed Larcher. Édouard Will, for example, discusses the texts and concludes that the 588 B.C. date is highly questionable. 940 Although he cites 625 B.C. as the Eusebian foundation date for Epidamnus, he does not accept

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937 See Chapter 3.
940 Will 1955, pp. 518-520.
Eusebius's chronology unequivocally. Will concludes that no precise date can be assigned to the colonization of Apollonia and that, because the passage in Plutarch is so imprecise, it is better to say only that the colony was founded by one of the Cypselids. He suggests, in conclusion, that the foundation of both Epidamnus and Apollonia should be set between the last quarter of the 7th or the 1st quarter of the 6th century B.C. Salmon and others agree with him and think that the best historical context for Periander's involvement in the foundation of apoikiai in the Adriatic would have been after his intervention in Corcyra, ca. 600 B.C. Based on archaeological evidence, Beaumont also suggests a turn of the century or early 6th century B.C. date for the colonization of Apollonia, noting that no late 7th century B.C. Corinthian pottery had yet been found at the site.

Aleksandre Mano and Vangjel Dimo are among the first Albanian archaeologists to discard the traditional foundation date, on the basis of imported pottery found during excavations in the necropolis of Apollonia, and to

941 Van Compernolle himself (1953) suggests that Apollonia was founded ca. 600 B.C., using the high chronology for the Cypselids. See also Salmon 1984, pp. 209-211; Cabanes and Drini 1995, p. 28; Hansen and Nielsen 2004, p. 328.
942 Beaumont 1936, p. 168. He notes (1936, p. 168, n. 69) that the oldest Corinthian sherds at Apollonia date to the 1st quarter of the 6th century B.C. Bérard (1957, p. 274, 1960 p. 126) and Casson (1926, p. 322) also accept a date of ca. 600 B.C. or earlier, although they do not offer an explanation for how they arrived at this date.
postulate that the Apollonia was colonized in the late 7th century B.C.\textsuperscript{943} Ceramics from the MRAP survey and artifacts recently excavated at the Bonjakët site also suggest that Raoul-Rochette's foundation date is too late.\textsuperscript{944}

The preceding critique of the texts and review of 17th and 18th century scholarship demonstrates how and when the 588 B.C. foundation date was manufactured for Apollonia, and it obviates the need for archaeologists to use it to interpret the material record. There is no compulsion to fit this alleged foundation date to the archaeological remains or the archaeological remains to this supposed foundation date, as earlier archaeologists, like Praschniker, Rey, and Nicholas Hammond felt obliged to do.\textsuperscript{945} There is likewise no reason to be surprised by the presence of 7th century B.C. finds at, or near, Apollonia, and material of this date no longer needs to be explained as evidence of "pre-colonial trade."

An additional glaring problem requires discussion. Plutarch linked the foundation of Apollonia to that of Anactorium and Leucas and implied that all three colonies

\textsuperscript{943} Mano 1986; Dimo 1991, p. 75.
\textsuperscript{944} Recent survey and excavations have recovered ceramics that should be dated to the 7th century B.C. See Stocker and Davis 2006, Davis et al. 2006, 2007. See also Quantin 2007b, pp. 340-342 for a brief summary of the 2004-2006 seasons at the Bonjakët site (Chapter 7, Site 043).
\textsuperscript{945} Hammond (1967, p. 515), for example, tries to reconcile the 588 B.C. date with the archaeological evidence by suggesting that the Corcyreans organized a new venture at this time to join an original group of settlers.
had come into being only because Periander's punishment was delayed by the gods; if he had died earlier, the colonies would not have been founded.\textsuperscript{946} Here, however, traditions are in conflict. Nicolaus of Damascus and Strabo both recorded that Anactorium and Leucas were founded by bastard sons of Cypselus, rather than Periander.\textsuperscript{947} There is no need to link the foundation of Apollonia, Leucas, or Anactorium to Periander, and it is just as likely that these colonies were founded during the reign of his father. Salmon concludes, as Larcher had postulated over a century and a half earlier, that the only legitimate inference from Plutarch is that Apollonia was likely to have been established during the years of the Cypselid tyranny at Corinth, i.e., between 657/6 B.C. and 585 B.C.\textsuperscript{948}

**Apollonia's Metropolis**

Other aspects of Apollonia's early history are shrouded in even thicker mist than the foundation date. There is confusion about the composition of the colonizing body, the *oikist*, and even the name of the colony. Contradictory traditions existed about the origin of

\textsuperscript{946} Plut. Mor. 552e.
\textsuperscript{947} Nic. Dam., *FGrH* 90 F57.7; Strabo 10.2.8 [C 452]. It is likely that Strabo took his information from Ephorus. See above. Will (1955, pp. 517-518); Hopper (1955, p. 10); Oost (1972, p. 27); and Salmon (1984, pp. 54, 209-211) agree that Anactorium and Leucas were founded during the reign of Cypselus. See also Oberhummer 1887, pp. 73-74; Busolt 1893a, pp. 642-643; Berve 1951, p. 163.
\textsuperscript{948} Salmon 1984, pp. 209-211.
Apollonia's settlers: as in the case of Leucas and Anactorium, ancient authors did not agree whether Apollonia was a Corinthian foundation, a Corcyraean colony, or a joint Corinthian-Corcyraean enterprise. \textsuperscript{949} Thucydides, Cassius Dio, Pliny, and Stephanus of Byzantium claimed that Apollonia was founded by Corinth. \textsuperscript{950} Strabo and Pseudo-Scymnus, however, recorded that Apollonia was a joint Corinthian-Corcyraean colony. \textsuperscript{951} In his commentary on the Apollonian monument at Olympia quoted above, Pausanias has been interpreted as having attributed the colonization of Apollonia to the Corcyraeans. \textsuperscript{952} Some of the confusion about the colony's foundation date may result from ambiguity about the origins of the colonists. Uncertainty must also have arisen because the various ancient authors consulted different sources.

How and why did such mixed traditions arise in antiquity, and why were the roles of Corinth and Corcyra so intricately interwoven? As noted above, both Herodotus and

\textsuperscript{949} See Hammond 1967, p. 426; Salmon 1984, pp. 210-212. See also below. \textsuperscript{950} Thuc. 1.26.2; Cass. Dio 10 F42, 41.45.; Plin. HN 3.23.145; Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀπόλλωνια. Cf. Zonaras 8.7. \textsuperscript{951} Strabo 7.5.8 [C 316]; Pseudo-Scymnus 439-440. Praschniker and Schober (1919, p. 71) make Apollonia a joint Corinthian-Corcyraean foundation, as do PECS (pp. 70-71, s.v. Apollonia [P. C. Sestieri]) and Cabanes and Ceka 1995, p. 30. Graham (1983, p. 31) proposes that all three colonies (Leucas, Anactorium, and Apollonia) were joint Corinthian-Corcyraean foundations. \textsuperscript{952} Paus. 5.22.4. Bunbury (1883 vol. 1, p. 93) believes that both Epidamnus and Apollonia were Corcyraean foundations. Rey (1930, p. 116) states Apollonia is a Corcyraean foundation. Cabanes seems also to favor this view because it lends credence to his argument that the Apollonians identified with Trojans (see below). See discussion below.
Thucydides spoke of longstanding enmity between these two poleis;\textsuperscript{953} why, in that case, would Corinth and Corcyra be involved in joint colonial endeavors, as they probably were at Epidamnus and may also have been at Apollonia according to one tradition of ancient historical narrative?\textsuperscript{954} Clearly such shared colonial ventures could have been founded only in periods when either the two metropoleis were not estranged, or Corinth had hegemony over Corcyra; for the latter possibility it is therefore crucial to consider whether the sea battle mentioned by Thucydides actually took place, if so when, and therefore when Corinth might have been in control of Corcyra.\textsuperscript{955}

Forrest prefers the explanation that Epidamnus and Apollonia were each founded during periods when Corinth controlled Corcyra. He suggests that there were two periods after the initial rupture between Corinth and Corcyra (i.e., after the naval battle mentioned by Thucydides) when the metropolis regained hegemony over her colony, both during Periander's tyranny; he places one at the beginning of the tyrant's reign, during which he assigns the foundation of Epidamnus, and the other shortly

\textsuperscript{953} Hdt. 3.49.1; Thuc. 1.49-55.
\textsuperscript{954} Cf. Diod. Sic. 12.30; Thuc. 1.24.1.
\textsuperscript{955} Thuc. 1.13.
before his death, during which he believes Apollonia was founded.  

Forrest's theory might elucidate aspects of the foundations of both Apollonia and Epidamnus. It could explain the confused tradition about the origins of the colonists at Apollonia; if that apoikia had been established after Periander had regained control of Corcyra, settlers would probably have included, in addition to Corinthians, Corcyraean rebels who were fleeing the tyranny.  

Similarly, Corinth's leadership in the foundation of Epidamnus should not, according to Forrest's reconstruction of the history of Corinth and Corcyra, be attributed to the palaion nomon, but rather to Periander's effort to control the new apoikia by appointing an oikist loyal to himself; this would have been especially important if the colonists included political dissidents who were unhappy with Periander's regime.  

In contrast to Forrest, however, I think it unlikely that Corinth controlled Corcyra at the beginning of Periander's reign, when Eusebius placed the establishment of Epidamnus. Since Periander did not immediately become

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956 Forrest (1969, p. 106) suggests Corcyra was subdued by Periander around 625 B.C., revolted again ca. 590 B.C., and was re-subdued shortly before Periander's death.
957 See Chapter 4 for colonists who were political exiles.
958 Forrest 1969, p. 106, n. 3.
"tyrannical," it is possible that Corcyra was both independent of and on friendly terms with Corinth. Periander might initially have respected the island's autonomy. Archaeological evidence points toward uninterrupted economic cooperation between the two cities throughout much of the Archaic period.⁹⁶⁰ If the two poleis were not enemies when Epidamnus was founded in the late 7th century B.C., it would make sense for Corcyra to respect the *palaion nomon*, as Thucydides asserted, by asking Corinth to provide an *oikist* and by including Corinthians who were interested in participating in the venture.⁹⁶¹

The political climate might have been different when Apollonia was founded, which could have occurred when Corcyra was yoked to Corinth. The dates of this period of Corinthian domination are unclear. Alexander Graham suggests that Periander conquered Corcyra as revenge for the murder of his son.⁹⁶² On the contrary, it is more likely, as Herodotus suggested, that the island had already been subjugated by the time Lycophron went into exile there, and that Periander installed his son as tyrant of

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⁹⁶⁰ The quantity of Archaic Corinthian pottery found in all archaeological deposits on Corcyra indicates that trade continued unbroken. Corinth and Corcyra also produced macroscopically indistinguishable Corinthian Type B jars from the late 6th-mid-3rd centuries B.C. See Chapter 6 and Koehler 1978a, p. 237.

⁹⁶¹ Beaumont (1936, p. 166), on the other hand, thinks that Corinth was strong enough to force the Corcyraeans to accept a Corinthian *oikist* and colonists.

the island.\textsuperscript{963} Although Herodotus did not specify the length of Lycophron’s sojourn on Corcyra, it is implied that he was there for a number of years before his summons by his father to return to Corinth. Periander’s willingness to move to Corcyra in his old age suggests that Corinth controlled the island in the 580s B.C.

Another plausible explanation for the conflicting ancient traditions about Apollonia’s metropolis is that at some time in antiquity it became politically expedient for the colony to switch mother cities. Apollonia might have manipulated its ktisis to suit changing historical circumstances, a change of allegiance similar to (but in the opposite direction from) that attempted by Epidamnus at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.\textsuperscript{964}

Both the metropolis of Epidamnus and its endeavor to change that identity are clearly documented. Thucydides specified that Epidamnus was founded by Corcyra.\textsuperscript{965} In 435 B.C., however, just before the onset of the Peloponnesian War, Epidamnus attempted to change her metropolis from Corcyra to Corinth for political motives. After the democratic faction had seized control of the government and

\textsuperscript{963} Hdt. 3.52.6. Herodotus stated explicitly that Corcyra was subject to Periander when Lycophron arrived. Gomme (1945, p. 122) places this event around 610 B.C.
\textsuperscript{964} See Chapter 4 and Osborne 1998, pp. 127-129 on the manipulation of ktiseis.
\textsuperscript{965} Thuc. 1.24.1-2.
the exiled oligarchs had joined with the barbarian Taulantii to retake the city, the democrats in the city applied to the *metropolis*, Corcyra, for help in suppressing the *stasis*.\textsuperscript{966} The Corcyraeans rejected the democrats' request, perhaps because they felt more sympathy with the exiled aristocrats than with the newly installed government. Because their original *metropolis* refused to send help, the Epidamnians sought permission from the Delphic oracle to regard Corinth as their mother city on the grounds that some of the colonists, including the *oikist*, had hailed from there. The Corinthians regarded Epidamnus "as belonging just as much to them as to Corcyra," so, when asked, Corinth agreed to send help to the democrats.\textsuperscript{967} Two groups of volunteers were dispatched to *re-colonize* Epidamnus and thereby strengthen Corinth's claim as *metropolis*.\textsuperscript{968} The first group was composed primarily of Corinthians, but also included people from the loyal Corinthian colonies of Leucas and Ambracia.\textsuperscript{969}

Corinth's attempt to plant new colonists in Epidamnus in order to bolster its position as the colony's new

\textsuperscript{966} See Sheets 1994, pp. 64-70.
\textsuperscript{967} Thuc. 1.25. See Sheets 1994.
\textsuperscript{968} Thuc. 1.26; Diod. Sic. 12.30.3. The new settlers marched overland to Apollonia before embarking on ships for Epidamnus. See discussion in Beaumont 1952, pp. 65-66.
\textsuperscript{969} This is a good indication that Corinth's status and rights as the *metropolis* of Leucas and Ambracia were still undisputed at this time. The Corinthians promised the new colonists, whether they set out at once or bought the right to come later for 50 Corinthian drachmae, "absolutely equal rights" to those held by the original colonists.
metropolis underscores the potential for a colony to change its allegiance. Because, however, the Corinthians were defeated in the ensuing struggle, and the Corcyraeans replaced them as the dominant maritime force in the Adriatic, the tradition that Corinth was Epidamnus' metropolis never seriously supplanted the earlier narrative of foundation from Corcyra in the works of ancient authors.

An alteration to Apollonia's ktisis for political reasons subsequent to the foundation of the colony would be expected to have left traces in the ancient sources; the conflicting accounts about the origin of the colonists may be precisely such evidence. The oldest, strongest, and probably correct tradition is that preserved in Thucydides, which identified Corinth as Apollonia's metropolis. 970 Several later writers – Pliny, Cassius Dio, and the surviving epitome of Stephanus of Byzantium – all repeated this attribution, of which Thucydides was the original source. 971 Plutarch also supported it by linking the foundation of Apollonia with that of two other Corinthian colonies and the punishment of Periander. 972 Theopompus was the primary source used by Pliny and Cassius Dio for details about the Nymphaeum, as previously noted, and,

970 Thuc. 1.26.2.
972 Plut. *Mor.* 555e. The passage in Plutarch is rarely cited in modern scholarship as evidence to support Corinth's position as metropolis.
probably also for their information about Apollonia;
Theopompus, in turn, had relied heavily on Thucydides and,
since he lacked first hand knowledge about the eastern
Adriatic, had taken details directly from his account.\(^\text{973}\)

Strabo and Pseudo-Scymnus, on the other hand, both
recorded that the Corcyraeans were co-founders of
Apollonia, although they might have encountered this
tradition in different sources.\(^\text{974}\) Posidonius, who might
actually have visited Apollonia during his travels abroad,\(^\text{975}\)
was Strabo’s source for information about Illyria, while
Pseudo-Scymnus derived his account of colonization,
probably including the foundation of Apollonia,\(^\text{976}\) from
Ephorus, whom he also followed closely in his description
of the Adriatic in his *Periegesis*.\(^\text{977}\) A tradition assigning
the Corcyraeans a role as co-founders of Apollonia would
have been most politically advantageous for the Apollonians
in the late 5th century B.C. during the Peloponnesian War
when Corinthian ascendancy in the Adriatic was overturned.
This altered *ktisis* would then have been available to

\(^{973}\) Thucydides, in turn, derived his geographical information from
Hecataeus.

\(^{974}\) Strabo 7.5.8 [C 316]; Pseudo-Scymnus 439-440.

\(^{975}\) Cf. Posidonius, *FGrH* 87 F19, F93.

\(^{976}\) Pseudo-Scymnus is unlikely to have derived the account that Corinth
and Corcyra were co-*metropoleis* of Apollonia from Theopompus, his other
main source, since authors who followed Theopompus in this matter all
favored the Thucydidean version of the *ktisis* naming Corinth as the
sole mother city. See Chapter 2.

\(^{977}\) Ephorus preserved a different body of geographical knowledge about
the Adriatic than that of Hecataeus; see Chapter 2.
Ephorus in the 4th century B.C. and by the beginning of the 1st century B.C., when Posidonius was conducting his research, the inhabitants of Apollonia might well have accepted the revised version of their history without question, feeling a closer affinity with Corcyra than with Corinth. Posidonius, moreover, was born shortly after Corinth was razed by Mummius, when the pre-eminence of Corinth was at a nadir, which may have predisposed his generation to discard the Thucydidean assertion of Corinth as the sole metropolis in favor of the altered ktisis assigning a co-founding role to Corcyra. Furthermore, Pseudo-Scymnus was a contemporary of Posidonius and both had access to the same sources, so that even if Ephorus had not provided Pseudo-Scymnus with the revised ktisis of joint foundation by Corcyra with Corinth, it is nevertheless plausible that Pseudo-Scymnus also consulted more recent accounts, perhaps based on the research of Posidonius, despite following Ephorus in most other matters.

Modern scholars have sometimes attributed the apoikia at Apollonia to the Corcyraeans alone, based on a passage in Pausanias: "ἀποικισθῆναι δὲ ἐκ Κορκύρας τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν, οἱ δὲ Κορινθίοις αὐτοῖς μετείναι λαφύρων."\(^{978}\) A close examination of the text and modern recensions indicates, however, that this

\(^{978}\) Paus. 5.22.4.
interpretation is incorrect. Scholars have long realized that the final sentence in the passage, which mentions Apollonia's foundation in conjunction with spoils from Thronium (5.22.4.39), is corrupt and that something is missing; however, where the lacuna occurs and how much of the text has been affected is unclear.979

The first clause of the sentence in question reads "ἀποικισθῆναι δὲ ἐκ Κορκύρας τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν." The "ἐκ" is almost always translated in English as "by," i.e., Apollonia was founded by Corcyra. It could also, however, be translated as "from," thus considerably altering its meaning and modern interpretations that depend on it: in this interpretation the colonists would have been dispatched from Corcyra, but not necessarily by the Corcyraeans. If Corcyra was, at the time, a dependency of Corinth, that would explain why Corinth, as the metropolis, received a share of Apollonia's spoils, but Corcyra did not. Pausanias only used the perfect passive infinitive ἀποικισθῆναι in two other passages, in both instances with the preposition "παρά" to express "by."980

The second clause of the sentence at first glance appears to be a non sequitur, bearing little relation to

979 I am grateful to W. Hutton for discussing this passage and the character of Pausanias with me.
980 Paus. 2.30.103.13, 8.4.3.4. Frazer noted (1898, vol. 1, p. lxx), however, that Pausanias was famously careless in his choice of prepositions.
the first clause. In addition, there is no subject to go with the infinitive, "μετείναι." It is clear, therefore, that something integral is missing from the text. Editors usually assume that the "οἱ δὲ" is the second part of an "on the one hand... on the other" statement in indirect discourse and that the connecting link to the first clause has fallen out. It is not certain, however, if there is a lacuna before the "οἱ δὲ," after the "οἱ δὲ," or both before and after.981

The problem with the text existed already in the 15th century in the exemplar in the library of Niccolò Niccoli, from which all 18 Renaissance manuscripts of Pausanias are descended. Upon Niccoli's death in 1437, his manuscript passed to the monastery of St. Mark in Venice, where it was catalogued at the end of the century, but then disappeared.982 The editio princeps of Pausanias was prepared by Marcus Musurus and was printed by the Adeline press in Venice in 1516.983 Musurus spent almost 20 years producing his edition of Pausanias and was familiar with the original manuscript in St. Mark and some of the later copies.984 He did not indicate that the text of 5.22.3 was

983 Musurus 1516. This edition is in the Gennadius library, and I was fortunate to have the opportunity to consult it. I am grateful to the librarians who assisted me.
984 See Diller (1957, pp. 184-185) for Musurus' familiarity with Pausanias.
corrupt, either because he did not believe that a problem existed, or because he merely copied the text as it existed.

The first translations of the Adeline edition were in Latin, one of the earliest by Abraham Loescher in 1550. His Latin rendition remained true to the Greek, and he did not emend the text or add commentary on the passage in question.\(^{985}\) Other editors, however, soon emended the sentence, recognizing that it made no sense. The apparent lacuna was first noted in the 16th century in Wilhelm Xylander's translation, in which the phrase (in italics) was added "succississe in eorum locum;" this emendation was incorporated in the early 19th century Latin editions of Karl Siebelis and by Johann Schubart and Christian Walz.\(^{986}\)

After the 16th century, when Pausanias was more widely translated into Italian, French, and English, looser translations of the Greek began to appear. One example is Nicolas Gédoyn's 1731 French edition; he restored the passage so that it incorporated both Thucydides' and Strabo's divergent accounts of Apollonia's *metropolis*.\(^{987}\)

Schubart and Walz were the first modern scholars who attempted to classify the Renaissance codices and to

\(^{985}\) Loescher 1550. This edition in the Gennadius library is bound together in a single volume with Latin translations of Diodorus Siculus and Thucydides.

\(^{986}\) Xylander 1583; Siebelis 1822-1828; Schubart and Walz 1838-1839.

\(^{987}\) Gédoyn 1731.
produce a recension of Pausanias' text. Their 1838 Latin
translation follows Xylander's, but their apparatus
criticus summarized earlier readings of the passage. In
1898, James Frazer translated the second clause to read ". . . and some <say that> the Corinthians shared the spoils
with them. . . ," interpreting the "αὐτοῖς" to refer back to
the Corcyraeans. This is based on an incorrect reading of
the dative, which is almost certainly emphatic. Friedrich
Spiro, on the other hand, emended the text and added the
phrase "τὴν δὲ Κορινθίων εἶναι φασίν ἀποικίαν," in order to clarify
the second clause of the sentence, "οἱ δὲ Κορινθίοις αὐτοῖς µετείναι
λαφύρων." He thought that, without an explanation of
Corcyra's relationship to Corinth, it made no sense for
Corinth to receive a share of the spoils. Spiro thus
interprets the sentence to mean that, because Corinth was
the original metropolis of Corcyra and the "grandmother" of
Apollonia, it received a share of Apollonia's booty,
according to the palaion nomon.

Although it is difficult to determine the exact spot
of the corruption, a simple emendation such as the addition
of <φασί>, which is proposed in the recent Budé translation,

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988 Schubart and Walz were first to conclude that all Renaissance codices
originated from Niccol'i's exemplar.
989 Schubart and Walz 1838-1839. Diller's (1955, 1957) more recent
recension confirmed Schubart's hypothesis, but noted that only three of
the 18 Renaissance manuscripts were primary: Vn, Fb, and Pc (1957, p.
169).
990 Spiro 1903.
991 The Loeb edition (Jones and Ormerod 1977) follows Spiro.
would suffice to solve the problem.\footnote{Casevitz, Pouilloux, and Jacquemin 1999, p. 240.} The second clause would then become more instructive about the relationship between Apollonia and its \textit{metropolis} than the first. It would be clear that Pausanias considered Corinth to be Apollonia's \textit{metropolis}, because Corinth alone, as the mother city of the colony, received a share of Apollonia's war booty. With this emendation, Pausanias would support the Thucydidean identification of Corinth as the \textit{metropolis} of Apollonia, although the passage is so corrupt that certainty is impossible; in any case, readings according to which Pausanias provides evidence for a third possibility for Apollonia's \textit{metropolis} – Corcyra alone – can be rejected.

While the Epidamnian democratic faction can be documented to have tried unsuccessfully early in the Peloponnesian War to change their \textit{metropolis} from Corcyra to include Corinth, it appears likely that the Apollonians revised their \textit{ktisis} later during that conflict in the opposite direction, from foundation by Corinth to a joint venture including Corcyra, and were rather more successful in promulgating their altered history. Thucydides, who believed that Corinth alone was responsible for the foundation of the \textit{apoikia} at Apollonia, seems more reliable than Strabo (via Posidonius) or Pseudo-Scymnus. These
later writers are likely to have incorporated an emended version of Apollonia's *ktisis*, which appears to have been created at a later stage in the life of the colony for politically motivated reasons. Pausanias's exegesis about Apollonia cannot be adduced as proof that the colony was founded by the Corcyraeans.

**The Oikist and Name of Apollonia**

In addition to uncertainty about the foundation date and the *metropolis* of Apollonia, its *oikist* and the original name of the colony are also unclear. There were three ancient accounts about the colony's *oikist*. The epigram on the base of Apollonia's victory monument at Olympia (quoted above) attributed the foundation of the colony to Phoebus Apollo.\(^{993}\) Apollodorus, on the other hand, said the settlement was established by Abantes from Euboea, blown off course on their way home from Troy;\(^{994}\) this is the heroic *nostos* that was ascribed to various places along the eastern shore of the Adriatic, as discussed previously. Stephanus of Byzantium was the only ancient author who reported the name of a human *oikist* – an aristocrat from Corinth named Gylax. He also preserved the tradition that

\(^{993}\) Paus. 5.22.3.
the colony was originally named Gylakeia, after the oikist, but then renamed Apollonia, ostensibly in honor of Phoebus Apollo. The entry in the Epitome almost certainly contains a kernel of truth— that there was an oikist from Corinth named Gylax and that the name of the colony was changed early in its history.

Several theories have been proffered by modern scholars to explain why Apollonia was renamed. As Malkin points out, it was a very radical step for a Greek polis to change its name. By designating Phoebus Apollo as the oikist, it would appear that the colonial venture had been sanctioned by his oracle. As noted in Chapter 4, authorization from the Delphic oracle for the establishment of a colony was a recurring element in many ktiseis of apoikiai, which were not, however, named in honor of that god.

It is possible, too, that re-naming the colony in honor of Apollo would, in addition to providing oracular legitimization for the colony, have had the objective of

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995 Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀπολλωνία, Γυλάκεια, Ἰλλυρία; Paus. 5.22.3. See RE II, 1896, cols. 111-113, s.v. Apollonia (O. Hirschfeld). See Chapter 4 and Malkin 2003, pp. 64-65 for examples of other colonies that switched allegiance from a human oikist to a hero or god.

996 A 2nd century A.D. funerary inscription (Cabanes and Ceka 1997, p. 57, no. 213) that refers to "Γυλάκιον πεδίον" adds support to the name mentioned by Stephanus. The inscription was found in the fortress of Berat and is today missing. A photograph of a facsimile was published by Patch 1904, col. 193, fig. 177. See also Cabanes and Drini 1995, p. 30; Ceka 2005, p. 66.

strengthening ties with Delphi. Divination at Apollonia figures in Herodotus's story about Evanius, who received the gift of prophecy from the gods as compensation for his blinding.\footnote{Hdt. 9.94.} More importantly, emphasizing a connection with divination and the Pythia would have served to establish a bond between the Delphic oracle and the oracle at the Nymphaeum near Apollonia. Apollo and the Nymphs were worshipped jointly at Delphi, where the cave of the Nymphs was directly above the site of the oracle. Apollo was also frequently linked with the Nymphs at other sites, particularly at Corinth and at other Corinthian colonies, such as Corcyra and Leucas.\footnote{Tzouvara-Souli 2001, pp. 238-239, 240-241. Cf. Ap. Rhod. 4.1216; Lamboley 2000, pp. 136-137.}

The new name inserted Apollo into the city's \textit{ktisis} and applied \textit{ex post facto} oracular endorsement.\footnote{Malkin (1987, pp. 86-88) suggests that Apollonia's renaming is an example of a Delphic inquiry into the rightful \textit{oikist} of a colony \textit{after} the foundation. As discussed above, another example of a post-foundation oracular consultation occurred when Epidamnus sought sanction from the Pythia to switch mother cities at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.\footnote{Tzouvara-Souli 2001, p. 233.} Moreover, the worship of Apollo, often as Apollo Archegetes, was common in many Corinthian colonies, as well as at Corinth itself,\footnote{Tzouvara-Souli 2001, p. 233.} where he was one of the principal gods, as illustrated by the prominent surviving Archaic temple; this new name would have also emphasized the connection between cult in the new \textit{apoikia} and that of the
metropolis. The association of Apollo with Apollonia was then proclaimed by the colonists on their victory monument at Olympia (see below).\cite{Paus. 5.22.2-4; SEG XV 251 = Kunze 1956, pp. 149-153.}

It is possible that the colony acquired its new name in the context of the political crisis in Corinth that heralded the demise of the tyranny. Since the colony seems to have been founded during the reign of the Cypselids, the name change from Gylakeia, with its aristocratic overtones, might reflect the colonists' desire to disassociate themselves with the stigma of that regime. Apollo, according to Will, played a role in the expulsion of the tyrants, even though he was originally hailed as their protector.\cite{Will 1955, pp. 410-413. See also Tzouvara-Souli 2001, pp. 233, 238.}

It is also possible that the name was changed to reflect a "re-foundation" of the colony, marked by an infusion of new colonists, perhaps people seeking refuge after the destruction of Dyspontium, as Strabo suggested.\cite{Strabo 8.3.32 [C 357].}

Hammond, on the other hand, hypothesizes that the Corcyraeans organized a new venture in the early 6th century B.C. to join an original group of Corinthian settlers, at that time drawing colonists from both Corinth and Corcyra.\cite{See Hammond 1967, p. 515.} In addition to explaining when and why
Apollonia was renamed, his theory offers a neat explanation for the dual traditions about the colony's metropolis. With this theory, Hammond reconciled the presence of 7th century B.C. finds with the usual foundation date of 588 B.C., which he viewed as unassailable; apart from the supposed discrepancy between the archaeological evidence and the interpretation of the literary testimonia concerning the foundation date, however, there is no evidence to support this elegant theory. Additionally, as suggested above, it is likely that any perceived tie between Apollonia and Corcyra, especially in a role as the apoikia's metropolis, did not originate until after the Peloponnesian War.

State Participation

The colonial ventures at Epidamnus and Apollonia were state undertakings. They were settlements established as apoikiai proper and each maintained close if volatile ties with its metropolis. Thucydides' description of the rival claims made by Corcyra and Corinth in the dispute over Epidamnus confirms that each state proclaimed its role and rights as metropolis and considered itself to be

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1006 Corinth was clearly a polis by the time Epidamnus and Apollonia were founded. See above and Chapter 4.
1007 See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the nature of the ties between colony and mother city.
responsible for the colonies. In this passage, Thucydides described the relationship that might normally have existed between colony and mother city. The importance of the bond between apoikia and metropolis and the respect due the mother city are underscored by the intensity with which the Corinthians denounced what they perceived to be the insolent behavior of their first colony, Corcyra. Even three centuries after Corcyra was founded, the Corinthians regarded their position as Corcyra's metropolis to be an undisputed fact. It is evident that both the Corinthians and Corcyraeans professed their legitimate right to intervene in the affairs of Epidamnus and both were willing to submit their claims to arbitration, committing themselves to the position that "the colony should go to whichever side the arbitrators awarded it."

Moreover, the aristocratic pedigree of oikists also proves that the metropolis played an important role in the organization of Corinthian colonial ventures. All of the oikists of Corinthian colonies were of noble descent, many

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1008 Thuc. 1.24-1.30, 1.31-1.55.
1009 Or Thucydides regarded Corinth's position as an undisputed fact. His interpretation of what their relationship should be was perhaps based on how it was with Corinth's other colonies in the mid-5th century B.C. Thucydides could have been retrojecting into the past the circumstances of his present. As noted above, it is plausible that Corinth did not command the same amount of respect in Corcyra and Syracuse as it did in its later colonies. See Chapter 4.
1010 Thuc. 1.28. The alternative means of resolving the conflict was to appeal to Delphic oracle for advice.
related to the tyrants. As already noted above, Cypselus' sons spearheaded Corinth's colonies in the Ambracian Gulf. According to Nicolaus of Damascus, the founders of Anactorium and Leucas, Echiades and Pylades, were his bastards, as was Gorgus, the oikist of Ambracia. Periander's illegitimate son, Euagoras, led the colony to Potidaea.\footnote{Nic. Dam., FGrH 90 F59. Cf. McGlew 1993, p. 174.}

Oikists who were not the progeny of either tyrant were also aristocrats closely connected with the regime in Corinth. Corcyra and Syracuse, which were founded under the Bacchiad oligarchy, had two Bacchiads as their oikists, Chersicrates and Archias.\footnote{Strabo 6.2.4 [C 269]; Timaeus, FGrH 566 F80 = Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.1216 (Wendel). Plutarch (Mor. 293a-b) said the Corcyraean oikist was Charikrates. See Gomme 1945, p. 159.} Epidamnus's oikist, Phalius, who was appointed by Corinth in observance of the palaion nomon, was a Heracleid and probably a Bacchiad as well.\footnote{Thuc. 1.24. See Gomme 1945, p. 159; Oost 1972, p. 21.} Gylax was also a member of the Corinthian aristocracy. It is probable that these Corinthian oikists ruled the newly established apoikiai as tyrants, following the example of the administration in their metropolis.\footnote{As noted in Chapter 4, founding a colony was a source of wealth and political power for illegitimate sons who would otherwise be deprived of an inheritance in their metropolis.} Given the powers that they were to wield, it was imperative that oikists were loyal to their mother city.
Apollonia was one of only two colonies for which ancient sources report the precise number of colonists who participated in the original overseas venture. Stephanus of Byzantium recorded a very specific number: 200 colonists from Corinth.\textsuperscript{1015} Hammond hypothesizes, because the colonists were so few, that Apollonia began as a mixed Greek-Illyrian settlement.\textsuperscript{1016} He cites as evidence the coexistence in the necropolis of tumuli, which he believes represent indigenous burials, and interments in sarcophagi, supposedly used by the Greek colonial population. It is now evident, however, as will be further demonstrated below in this chapter, that the tumuli were constructed and used by the Greek colonists.

**Hinterland and Expansion**

If violence and bloodshed accompanied the foundation of Apollonia, a common trope in \textit{ktiseis}, only a faint echo of it is preserved.\textsuperscript{1017} Stephanus of Byzantium suggested that the site was an Illyrian city before the arrival of

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Hammond 1967, p. 426, 1982b, p. 267. See above.
\item According to Lycophron, Elephenor, the hegemon of the Abantes whom Apollodorus said founded Apollonia, killed his grandfather before embarking for Troy. Lycoph. \textit{Alex.} 1034-1046; Schol. Lycoph. \textit{Alex.} 1034 (Scheer); Apollod. \textit{Epit.} 6.15b. As noted above, Archias, the \textit{oikist} of Syracuse, left Corinth with blood on his hands (cf. Plut. \textit{Mor.} 772b-773e). This might also have been true for Chersicrates, the \textit{oikist} of Corcyra (cf. Timaeus, \textit{FGrH} 566 F80. See below.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
the Greeks.\textsuperscript{1018} Although he did not specify whether the Greeks expelled the natives, such action would have been consistent with the later xenophobia said to be characteristic of Apollonia's ruling aristocracy.\textsuperscript{1019}

Whatever the case during the foundation, an element of violence is patently evident in Apollonia's territorial expansion. The polis extended its holdings south of the Aous in the mid-5th century B.C. through the conquest of the territory of Abantis and the city of Thronium.\textsuperscript{1020} The people of Apollonia proclaimed their victory in an epigram on the base of a bronze statue group at Olympia; both the inscription and the symbolism of the statue group merit detailed discussion (see above for the passage).\textsuperscript{1021}

According to Pausanias, the figures on the monument were grouped as opponents facing each other on opposite sides of the semicircular pedestal. He presented the

\textsuperscript{1018} Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀπολλωνία. See above.
\textsuperscript{1019} At Epidamnus, in contrast to Apollonia, the Greek colonists were invited to settle in the area by the Taulantii after they helped them expel a group of invading Liburnians. Cf. App. B Civ. 2.39. See above and Davis et al. 2003, p. 69, n. 66. For accommodation between non-Greeks and Greeks, see Gaffney et al. 2002.
\textsuperscript{1020} The precise location of Thronium remains unknown. Hammond (1967, pp. 493-496) suggests that Kanina, ca. 5 km east of Vlora, was its site. Cabanes (2007a, pp. 534-536), on the other hand, identifies Triporti at the north end of the Bay of Vlora as Thronium, but Hammond thinks Triporti was the site of ancient Aulon.
\textsuperscript{1021} Paus. 5.22.2-4. The actual base of the monument was recovered in archaeological excavations; see SEG XV 251 = Kunze 1956, pp. 149-153. From Pausanias's description, it is possible to surmise that the monument was semicircular and consisted of juxtaposed pairs of warriors grouped around statues of Eos, Zeus, and Thetis (with Zeus in the center). See Cabanes and Drini 1995, pp. 31-33; Cabanes 2000, pp. 52-53, 2007a; Malkin 2001b, pp. 191-194; Lamboley 2005, pp. 15-16; Stocker and Davis 2006, pp. 62-63.
pairs, starting with Achilles-Memnon and Odysseus-Helenus, naming the Greek first and Trojan second, but then switched the order of presentation for the next three groups from Greek-Trojan to Trojan-Greek. Regardless of such inconsistency, it is likely that all the Greeks stood on one side of the base, the Trojans on the other. It is unclear, however, whether Pausanias was describing the monument from his perspective (i.e., that of the viewer), placing Achilles on the left, or from that of the statues, with Achilles on the far right. It cannot, therefore, be determined definitively which group of warriors, Greeks or Trojans, stood in the position of honor to the right of Zeus; this information would indicate with which side the Apollonians identified themselves, a matter of dispute among scholars.

Cabanes sets the Trojans to the right of Zeus, relegating the Greeks to the less privileged position because he believes that the Apollonians were making a public declaration of an identification with the Trojans, rather than the Achaeans. Cabanes bases his conclusions on three arguments. He compares the Apollonian victory monument at Olympia with the east frieze of the Siphnian

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1022 For the argument in favor of the Trojans representing the Apollonians, see Cabanes 1993b, pp. 145-150, 2000, pp. 52-53, 2007a. Kunze (1956, p. 150) also restores the Trojans to the right of Zeus.
Treasury at Delphi, which depicts the same myth;\textsuperscript{1023} he uses Vinzenz Brinkmann's reconstruction of the Siphnian frieze, which places gods favorable to the Trojans on the right side of Zeus,\textsuperscript{1024} to support his reconstruction of the Apollonian statue group.\textsuperscript{1025} Cabanes suggests that Apollonia was attempting to forge a link with the house of Priam in order to insert itself into the Trojan foundation legends that prevailed along the coast from Epirus to Epidamnus.\textsuperscript{1026} As evidence for this he notes the prominence of Apollo, a pro-Trojan god in the Epic Cycle, both in the epigram on the victory monument, where Apollonia claimed to have been founded by, and named after, Phoebus Apollo, and in worship at Apollonia, where his cult is attested within the city walls.\textsuperscript{1027} Finally, Cabanes suggests that the cult of Thetis and Achilles, which is mentioned in two inscriptions from

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\textsuperscript{1023} The story of Thetis and Eos begging Zeus to spare the life of their respective sons was described in Aeschylus's \textit{Psychostasia}, as well as in the \textit{Aethiopis} poem in the Epic Cycle; cf. Frazer 1898, vol. 3, p. 629; Neer 2003, pp. 137-141.
\textsuperscript{1024} Brinkmann 1985, pp. 79-87, 110-117. See the works of De la Coste-Messelière (1936, p. 314, 1944-1945, pp. 20-21) for the question of dexterity.
\textsuperscript{1025} Cabanes 2007a, p. 533.
\textsuperscript{1026} This is a condensed version of his argument. See Cabanes 2007a for his most recent exposition of the issue.
\textsuperscript{1027} The temple at Shtyllas is frequently associated with Apollo (especially by Albanian archaeologists), but no conclusive evidence supports this identification. See Quantin 1999, p. 237; Lenhardt and Quantin 2007. Although Apollo sided with the Trojans (in the \textit{Iliad}), he was unable to tamper with the pre-ordained destiny of the city or alter the will of Zeus.
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Apollonia, was purposefully placed outside the walls of the polis, rather than within them.\footnote{Cabanes 2007a; Cabanes and Drini 2007, p. 328.}

As Frazer and Malkin argue, however, it is more likely that the Greeks stood in the position of honor, on the right of Zeus, on Apollonia’s victory monument.\footnote{Frazer 1898, vol. 1, p. 629; Malkin 2001b.} In spite of Cabanes’ well-constructed theory, there is no reason to believe that the Apollonians sought to articulate a link with the Trojans. The people at Apollonia were, after all, Greeks and were publicizing their achievements at Olympia, one of the most important Panhellenic sanctuaries in the Greek world.\footnote{See Chapter 4 for the role of Olympia in cementing colonial identities.} Moreover, by the mid-5th century B.C. when the statue group was erected, the subject of "Greeks versus Trojans" had become a common iconographical theme used to represent Greeks triumphing over barbarians.\footnote{E.g., the theme of the Trojan War was depicted on the north metopes of the Parthenon. Cf. Spivey 1996, pp. 132, 142-143; Hall 1997, pp. 44-46, 2002, pp. 179-189; Malkin 1998a, p. 18; Cartledge 2002, pp. 28-29.} The monument of the Apollonians is representative of a genre of roughly contemporary, prominently placed, bronze statue groups that featured this iconography.\footnote{Greeks versus Trojans was the theme of the slightly earlier "Nine Heroes of the Trojan War" monument that stood in front of the east façade of the Temple of Zeus. The bronze figures of that statue group, which depicted Greek heroes casting lots for the privilege of engaging Hector in single-handed combat, also were arranged on a semicircular pedestal. The monument was dedicated by all the Achaean cities and was the work of Onatas of Aegina (Paus. 5.25.8-10).} Since the monument at Olympia commemorated successful territorial
conquest, it would have been counterintuitive for the Apollonians to equate themselves with a vanquished foe.\textsuperscript{1033}

In attributing the foundation of the colony to Apollo and by crediting him for the victory over Thronium, the colonists might have been seeking expiation for their belligerent territorial aggrandizement.\textsuperscript{1034} As noted in Chapter 4, religious sanction for aggressively expansionist policies was often sought from the Delphic oracle. Even though, as Cabanes points out, Apollo supported the Trojan cause during the war, he was worshipped at many Greek cities, including Corinth.\textsuperscript{1035} As noted above, since Apollo was also widely worshipped in other Corinthian colonies, including Corcyra, Ambracia, Leucas, and Anactorium, his worship in Apollonia does not require any special explanation.

According to Pausanias, the figures were arranged so as to pit Greek against "foreigner," Hellenic victor against vanquished Trojan. There can be little doubt that the pairs of opponents on the monument were carefully chosen. Moreover, many of the figures had a mythological

\textsuperscript{1033} Cf. Malkin 1998a, pp. 138-140.
\textsuperscript{1034} For the worship of Apollo at Apollonia, see N. Ceka 1982a; Tzouvara-Souli 1993, 2001; Riccardi 2007, pp. 168-170. The baetyl in the agora at Apollonia might be a symbol of his cult.
\textsuperscript{1035} There is evidence for the cult of Apollo at Corinth, beginning in the 7th century B.C. Cf. Will 1955, pp. 235-238, 401-412; Salmon 1984, pp. 59-62, 78-79; Tzouvara-Souli 2001, p. 233.
connection to the area around Apollonia; the exceptions are Eos and her son Memnon, Menelaus, Deiphobus, and Alexander. Zeus, the central figure, was a popular deity in northern Greece and Chaonia, as attested by the eminence of his oracle at Dodona, which Herodotus believed to be the oldest in Greece. As Zeus Chaonius, he was also associated with Acroceranian mountains, which formed the boundary between Epirus and Illyria. Since Apollonia was conquering territory that lay on the border of the known world, it is logical that the polis would invoke the protection of the most powerful god in the Greek pantheon, erect the victory monument at his most famous sanctuary, and choose a mythological subject that gave him the place of prominence. The presence of Zeus would have suggested a link between his famous oracle at Dodona and the oracle at the Nymphaeum, a connection reinforced by the representation of Thetis, herself a nymph, at his knees.

Of the divine mothers flanking Zeus in the Apollonian monument – Thetis and Eos – and beseeching him to spare the life of their sons, the former was destined to win her
campaign since it was Memnon's fate to die at the hands of Achilles. It was preordained, too, that the Achaeans would vanquish the Trojans, as it was that Greeks would conquer non-Greek lands. It can thus be no coincidence that there was a cult of Thetis and Achilles at Apollonia, whose presence is attested by two inscriptions recently discovered near the ancient port of the city.

The worship of Achilles at Apollonia may have been inspired in part by Illyrian tumuli that the colonists found on their arrival. Achilles was closely associated with tumuli in Homer, especially in connection with the funeral of Patroclus. According to the Odyssey, Achilles was buried at the Hellespont, his grave marked by a large tumulus conspicuous to seafarers. Achilles, furthermore, had ties to the hinterland of Apollonia through his son, Neoptolemus. Legend associated the foundation of the

representations of the figures as a group, see LIMC III.1, 1986, pp. 780-787, nos. 289-333, s.v. Eos (C. Weiss).

1039 Cf. Hom. Od. 3.236-238 on the gods' inability to change the fate of humans.

1040 See Cabanes and Drini 2007, pp. 327-328; Cabanes 2007a, pp. 529-532. Cabanes dates the inscriptions to the 2nd half of the 4th century B.C. on the basis of the forms of the alpha, epsilon, sigma, and omega. Furthermore, as noted in Chapter 2, there was a strong, though erroneous, association in some ancient works between the Adriatic and the Euxine, which were thought to be linked via a branch of the Ister river or by an isthmus. Cults of Achilles were common in the Black Sea and the ancients might have believed that he or his cult traveled to the Adriatic by this route. Also see Hedreen 1991 and Rusyaeva 2003 (with bibliography).

1041 Hom. Il. 23.245-262.

nearby city of Byllis with Neoptolemus. According to Pindar, the Myrmidons founded Byllis on their way to Molossia. Neoptolemus then continued south to Molossia, where he became the dynast of the Molossian royal family through a son born to Hector's widow, Andromache. The Molossians thus claimed their descent from Achilles.

The second pair of combatants mentioned by Pausanias was Odysseus and Helenus, both of whom were connected in legend with the area around Apollonia. Odysseus was associated with the Adriatic, where, in some myths, he traveled alone and in others he traveled with Aeneas. After his return to Ithaca, Odysseus was said to have visited Thesprotia and fought against the Brygi. Pseudo-Scymnus located the Brygi in close proximity to the Taulantii and Epidamnus, where Hecataeus may also have placed them. Hammond equates them with Appian's Briges of Epidamnus. The association between Odysseus and the

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1043 Steph. Byz., s.v. Βύλλις.
1044 Pind. Nem. 7.34-40. There are two different traditions about how Neoptolemus reached Molossia: one that he came by land (Pind. Pae. 6.111), the other, by sea (Apollod. Epit. 6.5; 6.12). Pindar first claimed that Neoptolemus was killed by Apollo at Delphi, but later revised his opinion; after his death Neoptolemus presided at Delphi over the procession that was a part of Apollo's festival. Cf. Paus. 4.17.4, 10.24.4-6. See Hammond 1967, pp. 383-384; Lamboley 2005, p. 15.
1046 See Malkin 1998a, pp. 138-151.
1049 Pseudo-Scymnus 436-437; Strabo 7.7.8 [C 326].
Brygli points to the existence in antiquity of a tradition linking him with the Illyrian tribes in closest proximity to the early Corinthian colonies.

Odysseus's opponent, Helenus, was the twin brother of Cassandra; both he and his sister were known for their prophetic powers. Helenus became the leader of the Trojans after Hector's death. He was wounded by both Achilles and Menelaus and was later captured by Odysseus, who forced him to foretell how the Greeks could take Troy. Helenus was said to have stopped at Oricum, whence he founded Buthrotum. According to another version of his story, Helenus was taken to Epirus as a captive of war by Neoptolemus after the fall of Troy and married his fellow Trojan captive, Andromache, after Neoptolemus had left Molossia; Helenus then briefly ruled over Chaonia and Molossia from Butrint. The aetiological explanation for the name of northern Epirus, Chaonia, was that Helenus' brother, Chaon, had followed him from Ilium and the area was called after him. After Helenus' death, however, the

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throne reverted to Neoptolemus's son, Molossos, through whom the Molossians claimed Greek descent.\textsuperscript{1056}

The inclusion of Helenus on the monument at Olympia may have evoked memories of Apollonia's incursion into Chaonia and the annexation of barbarian territory on the left bank of the Aous, as far south as Oricum. There is reason to believe that Apollonia took control of the quarries at Karaburun shortly before the victory monument was erected at Olympia. It is likely, therefore, that parts of the Early Classical temple at Bonjakët were constructed from this limestone.\textsuperscript{1057} The wealth of Thronium, although commonly linked to the bitumen mines thought to be near Selenica, may, in fact, have derived in part from control of these quarries. It is equally possible that Apollonia took control of the bitumen mines and the oracle at the Nymphaeum at the same time. The presence of Helenus, one of the most famous Trojan seers, on the Apollonian victory monument may also have recalled the Greek seer, Evanius, as well as the oracles at the Nymphaeum, Dodona, and Delphi.

Diomedes, son of Tydeus and leader of the Argive contingent, was juxtaposed with Aeneas, son of Anchises and

\textsuperscript{1057} See Davis et al. 2006, p. 122.
Aphrodite; again, both heroes were associated with the Adriatic in the nostoi. The two fought in single combat at Troy and Diomedes would have slain Aeneas had it not been for divine intervention. The cult of Diomedes was well established in the Adriatic and Italy by the Classical period and a group of islands off the Dalmatian coast was named in his honor. Diomedes was, in fact, worshipped as a seafarer and traveler all along the east coast of the Adriatic.

Aeneas, too, was said to have stopped in Chaonia, while Helenus was ruler. In one legend, Aeneas was taken as a prize by Neoptolemus; in another, later made more famous through its adoption by the Julian gens in Rome and its literary elaboration by Vergil, he left Troy as a free man. He was said to have visited Leucas, Ambracia, Dodona, Buthrotum, and areas farther north, before crossing

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1058 Hom. Il. 5.305; LIMC III.1, 1986, pp. 396-400, s.v. Diomedes I (C. E. Vafopoulou-Richardson).
1059 Diomedes wounded Aphrodite when she tried to intervene on her son’s behalf, and Apollo needed to intercede to save Aeneas. Hom. Il. 5.290-351; 432-442; LIMC I.1, 1981, pp. 381-396, nos. 1-10, 23, 33-47, s.v. Aineias (F. Canciani).
1060 Cf. Strabo 2.5.20 [C 124], 6.3.9 [C 284]; Verg. Aen. 246-247.
1062 Vir. Aen. 3.349-351; Dion. Hal. 1.51.1-2; Steph. Byz., s.v. Tphia. See Vanotti 2002 for accounts of Aeneas in the northern Adriatic.
to Italy. In one version of his post-*Ilioupersis* biography, he even traveled with Odysseus.

The final pair of combatants on the monument of the Apollonians consisted of Ajax, son of Telamon, and Deïphobus, son of Priam. The Aous river, which flowed beside the city of Apollonia, was named after Ajax, as has already been noted. At the time when Apollonia conquered Thronium, it formed the boundary between Epirus and Illyria. No literary association between Ajax and Deïphobus is preserved; there is likewise no legend that places Deïphobus in the Adriatic—indeed he is usually said to have died in the *Ilioupersis*.

By the mid-5th century B.C., as the monument at Olympia proclaimed, Apollonia controlled territory far from its acropolis. When the polis conquered the neighboring city of Thronium, it encroached upon the territory of Abantis. Although Thronium was the only place mentioned by name, the monument likely celebrated more than a victory over this one city. The representation of Greeks

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1064 Horsfall 1979, pp. 378-390. Many of the places where Aeneas and Helenus stopped were "refounded" in historic times by the Corinthians. Emphasis on Trojan connections probably intensified in the Augustan period, when Epirus sought to stress ties with Rome. See Hansen 2007, pp. 45-48.

1065 Cf. Lycoph. Alex. 1232-1243.

1066 Deïphobus was the son of Priam and Hecuba. He was awarded Helen's hand in marriage after Hector's death. *LIMC* I.1, 1981, pp. 312-336, nos. 22-23, 30-31, s.v. Aias I (O. Touchefeu).


1068 Paus. 5.22.4.
victorious over Trojans would have been more broadly symbolic of the spread of Corinthian-based hegemony and Greek culture in the Adriatic.\textsuperscript{1069} In this way, the nostoi legends were successfully incorporated into the historical reality of Corinth's colonial expansion into barbarian lands.

As already noted, the cities of Chaonia and Epirus were associated with the nostoi concerning either Trojans or Euboeans. The prevalence of such myths along the Adriatic probably indicates that the Albanian coast, at least in part, had been explored by several different strata of Greeks at different times: Mycenaeans, Euboeans, and finally, Corinthians. It is unlikely that by the Classical period, however, any of those living in these areas who might have been descendants from pre-Corinthian voyagers, identified themselves as Greeks, or were viewed as such by the Corinthians who founded Apollonia.

The Government of the Colony

Apollonia was founded as a polis:\textsuperscript{1070} a self-governing community of citizens that consisted of both an urban

\textsuperscript{1069} See Malkin 2001b and Owen 2005 for the equation of colonization and Hellenization.
\textsuperscript{1070} See Chapter 4. Apollonia was a polis both in the physical sense (urban and territorial [Hdt. 9.93.1, 9.94.2]) and in the political sense (community of male citizens [Arist. Pol. 1290b11-12]).
center and the surrounding countryside. Strabo claimed that the city was exceedingly well-governed. Aristotle described the Apollonian government as a narrow oligarchic regime with no element of democracy, citing the colony without disapprobation as an example of an undemocratic city, ruled over by a minority of citizens. The citizens were said by him to be the descendents of the original Greek colonists and offices were filled by members of this nobility. According to Aristotle, a large body of non-freeborn and indigenous inhabitants were oppressed by the ruling class and relegated to the status of serfs. Herodotus's tale about the choice of guards for the sacred sheep probably also reflects the role of the aristocracy in the governance of the polis.

Bakhuizen, however, thinks that the colonists and the natives had, for the most part, good relations, and that the indigenous population interacted freely with the new

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1071 The earliest coins date to around 450 B.C. A city had to be fairly wealthy in order to issue its own coinage; to do so was to assert a degree of independence and autonomy. The establishment of a self-governing polis at Apollonia contrasts with neighboring political systems: viz., monarchical rule in Macedonia and the tribes of the Illyrians. See Crawford 1985; Gjongecaj and Picard 1999, 2000.
1072 Strabo 7.5.8 [C 316].
1073 Arist. Pol. 1290b3-20.
1074 See Cabanes 2002, pp. 186-187 for a discussion of Apollonia's institutions. This is in contrast to Epidamnus, which was a joint foundation of Greeks and native Illyrians. The system of government there was tripartite, with an assembly of citizens at the bottom and a constitutional monarchy at the top. Civic projects were undertaken by publicly owned slaves. See Aristotle 1301b21-27; 1287a; 1267b18.
1075 Hdt. 9.93-9.
settlers. He cites onomastic evidence in support of the presence of Illyrian inhabitants at Apollonia. Hammond expresses similar views in his chapter about Illyria in the Cambridge Ancient History where he uses the different mortuary practices in the cemetery mentioned above as his evidence. As noted above, Ceka, too, believes that the Greeks and Illyrians lived together peacefully at Apollonia. He also cites as evidence the tumuli in the necropolis, which he contends represent the "rebirth" of an Illyrian rite used by tribal families who were included among the first colonists. He suggests that the monument at Olympia recording the forcible expropriation of land was an exception in the long history of good relations between Greeks and natives at Apollonia. The opinions of these three scholars contradict ancient sources, however, and were probably influenced, directly or indirectly, by the communist ideology prevalent in Albania, as described in Chapter 3.

It seems more likely that a rigid distinction between citizens and non-citizens was maintained at Apollonia, in contrast to the situation at its neighbor, Epidamnus.

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1078 Hammond 1982b. See also Wilkes 1992, p. 112; Bereti et al. 2007, p. 129.
1080 The situation at Epidamnus was different. As noted above, the evidence suggests that the Greeks and Illyrians lived together at
The citizens were said to have been particularly xenophobic and practiced *xenelasia* (the expulsion of foreigners).\textsuperscript{1081} Cabanes points out that the number of people with non-Greek or mixed non-Greek and Greek names is lower at Apollonia than at Epidamnus, where it is well known that the colonists co-existed with the indigenous Illyrian inhabitants.\textsuperscript{1082} This onomastic evidence, taken in conjunction with the passage in Aelian, suggests that the citizens of Apollonia actually did relegate foreigners to a subsidiary position, and, in particular, kept their distance from members of the indigenous population.\textsuperscript{1083} Such xenophobia on the part of the colonists would have encouraged and perpetuated a bipolar opposition between "Greeks" and natives and would have ensured that ethnic distinctions remained very pronounced.\textsuperscript{1084}

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\textsuperscript{1081} Ael. *VH* 13.16.  
\textsuperscript{1082} Cabanes 1993a.  
\textsuperscript{1083} Malkin 2001b, p. 190.  
\textsuperscript{1084} Cf. Hall 1995, 1997; Antonaccio 2001; Cartledge 2002 for Greek versus others.
As noted in Chapter 4, it is unclear if the colonists included women (and children) or if the men intermarried with the indigenous population.\textsuperscript{1085} It is, of course, possible that mixed marriages occurred. As noted in Chapter 4, a number of scholars including Morel\textsuperscript{1086} and (John) Nicolas Coldstream\textsuperscript{1087} speculate that Greek colonizing groups came without women.\textsuperscript{1088} Jonathan Hall speculates that colonists intermarried with the natives and suggests that this was a means to stabilize and cement indigenous-colonial relations.\textsuperscript{1089} We have already seen that Ross Holloway and Buchner argue that the colonists married native women, based on indigenous jewelry found associated with female burials in some of the earliest graves at Syracuse and Pithekoussai.\textsuperscript{1090} Material culture should be used with caution to substantiate claims of ethnicity, as noted in Chapter 4, because artifacts are not necessarily ethnically or gender specific.\textsuperscript{1091}

On the other hand, given what Aristotle said about the exclusivity of the citizens at Apollonia, all of whom were

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1085} Women were usually not mentioned in sources relevant to colonization. A few exceptions are Hdt. 1.164.3; Polyb. 12.5.8. See McGlew 1993, 169-170.
\item \textsuperscript{1086} Morel 1984, pp. 133-134
\item \textsuperscript{1087} Coldstream 1993.
\item \textsuperscript{1088} See also Van Compernolle 1983, pp. 1038-1041, Shepherd 1999; Lyons 2000, pp. 88-89; Hall 2002, pp. 100-103.
\item \textsuperscript{1089} Hall 2002, pp. 100-103.
\item \textsuperscript{1090} Holloway 1991, pp. 51-52; Buchner 1979, pp. 133-135.
\item \textsuperscript{1091} The ethnicity of the people buried with Greek pottery is unlikely to be definitively determined without DNA testing. See Chapter 4 and Shepherd 1999, p. 275. See also Graham 1982, pp. 147-148; Morgan 1999; Owen 2005, p. 8; Hall 2007a, pp. 40-51.
\end{itemize}
descendants of the original colonists, it is plausible that Greek women were included among the settlers. The case of Epizephyrian Locri might be analogous. Polybius noted that 100 noble families had been designated to found the colony in Sicily.\textsuperscript{1092} He stated specifically that women joined the venture, and it was their descendants who comprised the nobility (nobility was passed through the female line in Locris). If intermarriages were prevalent, cultural blending likely would have occurred as a result, and one would expect to find evidence of this in the archaeological record. The paucity of indigenous material found inside, or even near, the city walls, as shown in Section III, suggests the opposite, however, and lends credence to the argument that women were included among the colonists. Only a single grave in the entire Apollonia necropolis has produced native Illyrian Iron Age goods that are contemporary with the Greek Archaic period.\textsuperscript{1093}

It appears, therefore, that the citizens at Apollonia continued to define themselves in relation to their Greekness and to maintain close contacts with their metropolis and with the larger Greek world, rather than with the indigenous population. With a few exceptions, all

\textsuperscript{1092} Polyb. 12.5.3-11.
\textsuperscript{1093} An iron spectacle fibula and two bronze bracelets of Iron Age date were found in association with a female burial in Tumulus 9 in the Apollonia necropolis. The burial also included imported Corinthian skyphoi. See Amore 2003-2004, pp. 276, 278-279, 2005b, pp. 307, 310.
of the Archaic and Classical artifacts from the acropolis and necropolis are of Greek type.\textsuperscript{1094} It is likely, therefore, that ethnic groups continued to define social groups at Apollonia, at least throughout the Archaic period.\textsuperscript{1095} The tradition of xenelasia described by Aelian seems to support the conclusion that the colonists and Illyrians formed distinct bodies.\textsuperscript{1096}

The Greeks who migrated to Apollonia brought with them, and continued to import, objects from their homeland. In the Archaic period, especially, ethnic and cultural distinctions between the colonists and natives appear to have been very well-defined. The Illyrians were not Greek and their neighbors to the south, the Chaonians and Epirotes, who might have spoken Greek, also inhabited the fringes of the known world.\textsuperscript{1097} Yet, the world of the Illyrians was to be irrevocably altered by their contact

\textsuperscript{1094} See Section III. The production center for material of "Greek type" is unknown. It is clear that imitations of Greek ceramics were produced locally. Local production, however, cannot be equated with indigenous production, as Mano (1971) and other Albanian archaeologists suggest, or used as evidence for the mixing of native Illyrians with Greek settlers. It is likely, rather, that many of the vessels of Greek shape produced in local clays, especially in the Archaic and Classical periods, were manufactured by Greek-trained itinerant potters, rather than by Illyrians, and were intended for Greek consumption. Illyrian potting traditions and technology were totally different from Greek. On itinerant potters see Papadopoulos 1997b; Crielard 1999, pp. 56-57; Malkin 2002b, pp. 161-162; Boardman 2004, pp. 151-160; Ridgway 2004, pp. 25-26. For pottery workshops and local production, see Vreka 1994; Bereti et al. 2007.

\textsuperscript{1095} Hall 1997. See also Graves-Brown, Jones, and Gamble 1996; Jones 1997; Papadopoulos 1997a, pp. 203-207.

\textsuperscript{1096} Ael. VH 13.16.

with the Greeks. The process of urbanization in Illyria began only after the foundation of the Greek colonies. The indigenous population soon adopted many elements of Greek culture and the process of acculturation is evident from the distribution patterns of Greek and Greek-style artifacts. 1098 As Chapters 8 and 9 describe, results of the MRAP survey demonstrate that Greek material culture spread gradually from Apollonia into the interior, both reflecting and precipitating changes in native social structures and material culture.

It was not until the middle of the Hellenistic period that the clear distinctions between Greek and non-Greek populations had blurred and some "Illyrian communities" had sufficiently "become Greek" to be invited to participate in Panhellenic games. 1099 The preserved lists of theorodokoi preserve this transition. No native settlements in Illyria were included on the Epidaurian list of places to be visited by the sacred envoys, which is the earliest preserved list (ca. 365-359 B.C.). 1100 Although Chaonia was

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1099 See above for theorodokoi.
1100 Apollonia and Epidamnus were not included on this list and it is possible that this particular theoros did not travel that far north. On the other hand, citizens from both apoikiai participated in Panhellenic games in the Archaic period. Pausanias (6.10.6, 6.14.13) recorded monuments dedicated at Olympia from Cleosthenes of Epidamnus who won the chariot race in the 66th Olympiad (516 B.C.) and Meneptolemus of Apollonia who won the boys' race in the 70th Olympiad.
mentioned on this list, no specific city was named. Apollonia was mentioned on the Argive list, which is ca. 30 years later (330 B.C.).\textsuperscript{1101} The Argive list also included two specific cities in Chaonia, Phoinice and Himara, both of which must have been Greek, but no "Illyrian" cities. A century later, however, on the Delphic list (ca. 220-189 B.C.), Byllis and Abantiai were included among the recipients of a sacred envoy.\textsuperscript{1102} The length of time that elapsed before Illyrian cities were recorded on a list of theorodokoi makes it clear that acculturation did occur in southern Illyria, but that the process was gradual. The archaeological evidence presented in Section III confirms this and demonstrates that the Hellenization of the hinterland of Apollonia was completed only in the 2nd century B.C.

Some Illyrian leaders would have been in close contact with the colonists and perhaps used Greek objects to increase their prestige.\textsuperscript{1103} They certainly adopted Greek (500 B.C.). For the Epidaurian lists, see Kabbadias 1891, pp. 105-106, no. 243; IG IV, 1504; Hiller von Gaertringen 1925-1926, pp. 74-83; IG IV\textsuperscript{2} 95; Cabanes 1969, pp. 550-551, 1976, pp. 116-120; Hammond 1967, pp. 517-519, 1980a, p. 79, 1980b, pp. 471-476; Daux 1971, pp. 355-357; Gauthier 1979, p. 121; Perlman 1984, pp. 39-44, 2000, pp. 69-74.
\textsuperscript{1103} The use of Greek objects by indigenous peoples does not mean that they held the same symbolic meaning or served the same function for
practices, learning the language and otherwise "acting" Greek. The progression of mutating ethnic identities can, for example, be traced at the site of Margelliç. Chapters 8 and 9 will examine the diachronic changes in, and expansion of, the indigenous settlement there as it came to absorb populations from nearby Illyrian sites that consequently ceased to exist by the beginning of the Hellenistic period.

Apollonia appears to have preserved through the Early Hellenistic period the aristocratic values and way of life that existed in Corinth when the colony was founded. The descendents of the colonists continued to maintain the aristocratic virtue of eunomia (lawfulness) by limiting access to political power to members of the aristocracy. According to Aristotle, this system produced a lasting, well-ordered society. Thus, since Apollonia never had a democratic faction, it did not undergo the debilitating stasis that pitted democrats against oligarchs, as at Epidamnus.

As will be discussed in later chapters, the patterns of land use around Apollonia in the Archaic and Classical

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1105 See Pin. Ol. 13.3-10; Jones 1980.
1106 See Thuc. 1.24.
periods reflect the extent to which land remained in the hands of the elite. Settlement in these periods was concentrated in the immediate vicinity of the polis center; there is very little evidence for extensive exploitation of the hinterland.\textsuperscript{1107} Kleroi probably continued to be held by the descendents of the colonists, who likely resided in the polis center, working their land from afar with a servile labor force.\textsuperscript{1108} In the Hellenistic period the pattern of landholding changed and small farms proliferated in the countryside, probably reflecting a different system of land division and ownership.

**The Identity of the Colonists**

Apollonia, like other new colonies, sought to acquire a degree of autonomy from its metropolis soon after its foundation. New customs defined the settlers as a body separate from those who had remained at home.\textsuperscript{1109} Apollonia also differed from other Greek apoikiai, with political institutions distinct from those of Corinth, Corcyra, or other Corinthian colonies; nor were they even similar to

\textsuperscript{1107} This pattern of land use is reflected in Herodotus' (9.94) tale about Evanius. As reparations for his blinding, Evanius received a house in town and two kleroi in the hinterland.

\textsuperscript{1108} Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1326a40-45 on the desirability of this system of land tenure. In contrast to Apollonia, the archaeological evidence at Epidamnus points to widespread intensive exploitation of the hinterland in the Archaic and Classical periods. Davis et al. 2003, p. 69.

those at Epidamnus. Apollonia's form of government, its attitude toward foreigners, and its unusual burial practices must all have combined to produce a peculiar colonial identity.\footnote{Cf. Hall 2007b, pp. 350-353.} The character of the colony was molded by a unique set of circumstances that its colonists encountered when they established their new polis.

One unusual practice that set Apollonia apart from other Greek poleis represented a deviation from standard Greek funerary practices.\footnote{Cf. Shepherd 1995 for other examples of deviation in mortuary practices between apoikiai and metropoleis.} Rather than single interments in individual graves in sarcophagi, as was the standard practice at Corinth,\footnote{See Chapter 4 for Corinthian burial practices.} the mortuary ritual at Apollonia involved multiple burials in large earthen tumuli,\footnote{Snodgrass 1994a; Shepherd 1995.} a type of tomb and burial practice not found among Greeks on the mainland or in other Greek apoikiai.\footnote{See Morris 1998, p. 13.} The distinct colonial character that evolved at Apollonia coalesced around this unique death ritual and set the colony apart from other Greek poleis.\footnote{Burial was a very important custom that helped define social and ethnic unity and was held sacred in the ancient world. The importance of this ritual is evident in Homer, and Herodotus considered burial as a defining factor in Greek national character. The colonists, too, used mortuary practices to cement their colonial identity. For the development of colonial identity through hybrid burial customs, see Shepherd 1999, 2005, pp. 36-37. For the importance of ritual, myth, and religion in the formation of colonial identities, see Malkin 1987, 1994b, 1998a, 2002b.}
Illyrians had buried their dead during the Bronze and Early Iron Age in tumuli, which were anchors in the landscape for nomadic tribes.\(^{1116}\) Burial in tumuli in the area around Apollonia appears, however, to have ended in the late 8th century B.C., precisely the time when Euboeans were becoming increasingly active in the Adriatic and coastal Illyrian tribes first encountered Greeks (see Chapter 9). It is also about this time that Illyrians began to construct permanent settlements in hill-forts, which apparently replaced tumuli as a focus for ritual expressions of group identity.\(^{1117}\)

Various hypotheses, which are presented in Section III, have been proffered to explain why Greek colonists at Apollonia buried their dead in tumuli.\(^{1118}\) Albanian scholarship seeks to demonstrate continuity between an indigenous practice and Greek usage, in keeping with the Marxist interpretive framework.\(^{1119}\) The question of why the colonists adopted this practice is, however, not addressed; continuity alone would offer no explanation for the

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\(^{1116}\) Stocker and Davis 2006; Papadopoulos 2006, pp. 78-84. See Galaty 2002, pp. 120-121.
\(^{1118}\) Cf. Galaty 2002, pp. 120-121; Morris 2007, p. 389.
\(^{1119}\) See Chapter 3. On the issue of who was buried in the tumuli in the necropolis of Apollonia, see Anamali 1956, p. 20; Mano 1959, pp. 237-239, 1971, p. 199, 1977-1978, pp. 65-66; Ceka 1998; Stocker and Davis 2006. Mano and Anamali support a native origin for the tumuli and burials in the necropolis; Ceka, on the other hand, suggests the presence of foreign influence and foreigners.
adaptation and adoption of this unusual and foreign burial method by the colonists.

Moreover, the dating does not support such continuity between Illyrian pre-Greek burial in tumuli and Greek use of structures of similar appearance. As will be demonstrated in Section III, archaeological evidence suggests that a hiatus occurred between the discontinuation of the practice by the indigenous peoples and the foundation of Apollonia. Earlier Illyrian tumuli, no longer used for burial, however, would have remained highly visible in the landscape around Apollonia when the Greeks arrived. Tumuli were not, of course, entirely unfamiliar to the Greeks; they were the graves of Greek heroes, as described by Homer,\textsuperscript{1120} and visible (in the form of even longer disused examples than the Illyrian mounds around Apollonia) in some places in the Greek homeland, including both Euboea\textsuperscript{1121} and Corinth,\textsuperscript{1122} which, therefore, rendered them a familiar and meaningful artifact. The colonists could thus transform the foreign mounds into a burial field of Greek heroes. This process of taming a "barbarian"

\textsuperscript{1120} Cf. Hom. II. 23.
\textsuperscript{1121} A Homeric-style tumulus, erected over an aristocratic burial, has been found at Lefkandi. See Antonaccio 1994, 1995, 2002.
\textsuperscript{1122} In the 8th century B.C. (MG II) burials began at the western edge of the North Cemetery at Corinth where, as Rutter and Dickey note, a Middle Helladic tumulus remained visible and was venerated until the Classical period. See Shear 1930; Corinth XIII, pp. 1-12; Corinth XX, p. 78; Williams 1984; Rutter 1990, pp. 455-458; Dickey 1992, pp. 128-129; Morgan 1995, pp. 314-315. See Coldstream 2003, pp. 349-352 for "heroic burials."
landscape, as has been already demonstrated in this chapter, began with the grafting of nostoi myths onto the alien Adriatic coast.

The Illyrians were not venerating their ancestral burial grounds, or necessarily even present to interpret them when the colonists arrived. At Apollonia the colonists took an Illyrian form of burial and altered it in such a way as to make it uniquely their own. They integrated themselves into an existing landscape and incorporated its past as their past.\footnote{Cf. Owen 2005, p. 20.} The Greek burial mounds at Apollonia were not constructed according to the same methods as the indigenous tumuli;\footnote{Cf. Korkuti 1981, p. 9; Papadopoulos 2006, pp. 82-83; Papadopoulos, Bejko, and Morris 2007, pp. 127-130 on the construction of Illyrian tumuli and Dimo, Fenet, and Mano 2007, pp. 305-307 on the construction of the Greek tumuli in the necropolis at Apollonia.} the colonists developed their own set of manufacturing techniques that enabled them to achieve the same visual results.\footnote{It is not possible to distinguish visually the older Illyrian and the Greek tumuli at Apollonia. See discussion in Sections III and IV.} Although the Greeks were imitating a native burial practice, they were, at the same time, claiming it as their own.\footnote{Grave goods often function symbolically as a signal of social identity and/or group solidarity, and can be used to include or exclude individuals from defined groups. As noted above, almost all of the artifacts from the necropolis are of Greek type. It is, therefore, likely that both imported and locally produced "Greek" pottery played such roles in Apollonia's necropolis. For further discussion, see Hodder 1981; van Wijngaarden 1999; Arafat and Morgan 1989; Crielaard 1999.}
A New Ktisis for Apollonia

The preceding close examination of the ancient sources that mention Apollonia make it possible to construct a "new" ktisis for the apoikia. Coastal Illyria had already been explored by Euboean traders prior to its formal colonization; the residue of these seafarers is to be found in the nostos legends that were preserved into historic times, although archaeological evidence of their presence remains scant. Such foundation myths were a way of taming the unknown. The Euboeans were replaced by the Corinthians, and the later Greek apoikiai along the east coast of the Adriatic comprised a "Corinthian colonial zone," where the Corinthians, and, by extension, Corcyraeans, exercised a monopoly on colonization. The Corinthians maintained control of this area of the Mediterranean through their colonies – at Anactorium, Ambracia, and Leucas founded by sons of Cypselus, and at Epidamnus and Apollonia founded later in the Cypselid reign. The strategic placement of these apoikiai was designed to reinforce Corinthian power in the region.

Apollonia was one of the last colonies founded in the west by mainland Greeks during the Archaic "wave of colonization." The location was chosen because of its...
strategic position at the crossroads for trade north-south along the Adriatic coast and east-west with the interior of Illyria and Macedonia, its proximity to Italy across the Straits of Otranto, its suitability as a riverine port on the banks of the Aous, the quality of its pastureland, and the paucity of indigenous settlements in the immediate hinterland of the asty. The economic potential of the nearby bitumen mines might also have influenced the placement of the colony. The polis was situated on a significant cultural border – that between Chaonia, the northernmost part of Epirus, and Illyria. Ancient sources seem to imply that Apollonia was occupied by Illyrians before the arrival of Greek colonists, although textual and archaeological evidence from the MRAP survey suggest otherwise; native settlement in and around Apollonia, if it existed at all, was very limited when the apoikia was founded.

As Thucydides recorded, the apoikia at Apollonia was founded by Corinth; it was likely established as a sister city to, and then perhaps became also a rival to, the Corcyraean colony at Epidamnus. It was colonized in the last quarter of the 7th century B.C., probably during the reign of Periander; the traditional date of 588 B.C. often

\[1127\] See Deniaux 2005b, pp. 7-14 for interactions between Italians, Illyrians, and Greeks on opposite sides of the Straits.

\[1128\] Thuc. 1.26.2.
cited in modern literature is an 18th century fabrication. At a later stage in the history of Apollonia, Corcyraean participation in its foundation was inserted into its *ktisis* for political reasons, which resulted in confusion among later sources about Apollonia's *metropolis*.

A legendary foundation myth for Apollonia claimed the site was founded by Abantes returning from Troy.\(^{1129}\) The human *oikist* of Apollonia, however, was Gylax, probably a member of the old Bacchiad aristocracy; contrary to normal procedure, he named the colony Gylakeia after himself. The name was changed soon afterwards though, ostensibly in honor of its divine "founder," Apollo. In re-naming the colony, Apollonia acknowledged the power of divination and incorporated the Delphic oracle into its *ktisis*; it may also have repudiated its human *oikist*, Gylax, presumably for political reasons that can no longer be deduced. The colony might have received additional settlers during the 6th century B.C., perhaps from Dyspontium (according to a passage in Plutarch's *Moralia*) or Corcyra, but it is unlikely that these later arrivals ever achieved a status equivalent to that of the original colonists, as both ancient descriptions of its government and archaeological evidence for land-use patterns attest. Control of the government remained in the hands of a tightly knit

\(^{1129}\) Apollod. *Epit.* 3.11.
oligarchy and the polis was known for its xenophobia. The colony was renowned for the richness of its pastureland and derived much wealth from its flocks.

From the beginning, the colonists at Apollonia emulated a non-Greek form of burial in tumuli that had been practiced by Illyrians prior to their arrival. The colonists observed these mounds in the landscape and arguably interpreted them as "Homerica." Their use contributed to the production a unique colonial identity. The colonists soon began to expand their holdings aggressively into Illyrian territory on the south bank of the Aous and by the mid-5th century B.C. had conquered the neighboring city of Thronium, whose location still remains unclear, but which was probably near modern Vlora. The famous bitumen mines and the oracle at the Nymphaeum were located in the vicinity of Apollonia; for this reason some of the surviving sources that mention the colony fall into the paradoxa genre of ancient literature and must, therefore, be interpreted with caution.

The clash between Corinth and Corcyra, which began shortly after the latter was founded as a colony, came to a head at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. The stasis between the warring political factions at Epidamnus resulted in irrevocable changes. Corinth was defeated at
sea and the Corcyraeans assumed a role as hegemons in the northeast; the colonies and the Hellenized centers along the east coast of the Adriatic fell under its suzerainty at that time. The political balance of power did not shift again until the Romans became masters of the Mediterranean in the 2nd century B.C.
Chapter 6.

Transport Amphoras from Apollonia and Its Hinterland

The problem with Hellenist archaeology is not its commendable level of detail, but the idea that mastery of artifacts is all that there is.\textsuperscript{1130}

Introduction

The study of imported transport amphoras collected by the MRAP survey (Tables 6.1, 6.2) provides important evidence for trade with Corinth and Corcyra prior to the supposed 588 B.C. foundation date of Apollonia (see Chapter 5).\textsuperscript{1131} Although imported fine ware would be a more sensitive chronological indicator, the relative scarcity of Archaic fine ware in the hinterland of the asty precludes using this category of artifact for such analysis. Amphoras, too, are good chronological markers because their morphological evolution is well documented, the beginning of their production cycle corresponds to the rise of colonization,\textsuperscript{1132} and, because of their weight and compact

\textsuperscript{1130} Morris 2000, p. 52.
\textsuperscript{1131} For the plural of amphora, I have chosen to follow Grace and Koehler and use the Anglicized "amphoras" rather than the Greek "amphorai" or the Latinized "amphorae."
form, amphora sherds are practically indestructible.\footnote{Pithoi, too, are very durable and were also imported from Corinth. A few fragments from Corinthian pithoi were found, almost exclusively in the necropolis. Some of these are included in the fabric analysis discussed below. Corinthian amphoras and pithoi filled with contents were heavy to transport from one location to another. See Koehler 1986, pp. 56-60 for a discussion of methods of handling transport amphoras.} Fortunately, they are more prevalent in the MRAP survey area than imported fine ware. Typological analysis has confirmed that amphorae were imported to Apollonia. Many of the specimens selected for this study are clearly of Corinthian or Corcyraean manufacture, and the stratigraphic sequence for Corinthian pottery is already well established.\footnote{Amyx 1988; Solomon 1993; de Vries 2003; Risser 2003.} Through scientific analysis, it is possible to determine where some of these pieces originated (i.e., their source) and to differentiate imitation vessels from those actually produced at Corinth.

Scientific analysis is essential because both Greek colonies and native populations became proficient at producing virtually perfect "imitations" of Greek pottery, and it is difficult to distinguish macroscopically between imports and imitations.\footnote{Morgan 1995, p. 340. Whitbread (1986b, p. 97) notes how misleading macroscopic descriptions of fabric can be.} Identification of Corinthian imports, therefore, requires analyses of clay and mineral contents.\footnote{As a first step, Tammie Gerke and Barry Maynard of the University of Cincinnati Department of Geology have undertaken chemical analyses of the samples of amphoras discussed in this chapter. Petrographic analysis of the samples from Apollonia is in progress.} Several recently published studies have
considered the composition of Corinthian fabrics, and analyses of Apollonian amphoras can be compared to their results.\textsuperscript{1137}

The study of the distribution of amphoras also helps identify patterns of exchange between mother city, colony, and indigenous populations. The fact that MRAP did not recover many Archaic imports from places other than Corinth or Corcyra suggests that the colonists focused on trade with their mother city, rather than with other poleis.\textsuperscript{1138} Archaic Corinthian amphoras are primarily of Type A, which is the first series to be produced at Corinth; these illuminate most clearly the earliest activities of the colonists.

Some of the amphoras from the MRAP survey that have been sampled are from the Archaic period, and at least six, all Type A, are earlier than 588 B.C. (Table 6.3).\textsuperscript{1139} These provide material evidence that strengthens the arguments for discarding that date entirely, as developed in Chapter 5. It is interesting to note that, with one exception, all

\textsuperscript{1137} Whitbread 1995a. Through petrographic analysis, it is possible to determine where some of these pieces originated (i.e., their source) and to differentiate imitation vessels from those actually produced at Corinth.

\textsuperscript{1138} An alternative hypothesis – yet to be explored – might be that amphoras from other Greek poleis were not traded in the Adriatic in the Archaic period. This is also true of fine ware, which is predominately Corinthian until after the 1st quarter of the 6th century B.C. See Chapters 8 and 9.

\textsuperscript{1139} The majority of the Archaic Corinthian or Corcyraean amphoras are Type A or A', although two Type B amphoras date to the late Archaic period. Those that predate the traditional foundation date are: AS2, AS22, AS42, AS66, AS76, and AS86.
of the Archaic amphoras come from two locations: the necropolis of Apollonia and the Illyrian regional center at Margelliç;\textsuperscript{1140} those that are more widely dispersed throughout the survey area are all of later date.

The research described in this chapter is both inter- and intra-regional. This is the first project to examine the distribution of Corinthian and Corinthian-style amphorae in the countryside around a Greek colony; previous studies have focused on material from excavations at major polis centers. Therefore, the combination of scientific analysis of these amphorae and an analysis of their off-site distribution offers a new approach to studying the types of formative interactions that occurred between a colony and its hinterland. This chapter begins with an introduction to transport amphorae and their role in the ancient Greek world, followed by a general discussion of Corinthian amphorae, their production, and their characteristics. A catalogue of the amphorae that have been analyzed is next, and I then conclude with a presentation of the results of the scientific analyses.

\textbf{Amphorae in the Greek World}

Ancient pottery is ubiquitous in Mediterranean landscapes because of its durability. As already noted,\textsuperscript{1140} A Late Archaic Type B amphora from S033 (A100) is the exception.
amphora sherds exemplify this property of indestructibility, since they are derived from large, hard, resilient vessels.\textsuperscript{1141} Pottery can be used, among other types of analysis, as a dating tool, an indicator of social organization and level of economic complexity, and an index of trade and circulation of goods.\textsuperscript{1142}

Transport amphoras reappeared in the Greek ceramic repertoire in the late 8th century B.C.\textsuperscript{1143} The beginning of amphora production at this time corresponded to the rise of long distance trade, and the states that first produced them are those associated with overseas commerce and colonization.\textsuperscript{1144} The production of transport amphoras was

\textsuperscript{1141} On the preservation of ceramics in the archaeological record, see Arafat and Morgan 1989, pp. 311-312.
\textsuperscript{1142} Pottery has also been used to define archaeological cultures and to determine ethnic identities. See, for example, Childe (1925). For problems related to the use of pottery in writing social and economic history, see Papadopoulos 1997b. There can, of course, be an overemphasis on pottery to the exclusion of other categories of evidence resulting in a biased picture of trade. Van Wijngaarden (1999) defines three important areas of study: production, consumption and circulation.
\textsuperscript{1143} Koehler 1979, p. 55; Whitbread 1995a, p. 4. The earliest Archaic Greek transport amphoras were produced in Euboea, the Dodecanese, and Corinth. Transport amphoras are not unique to Classical antiquity. They were first made in the Mediterranean in the Bronze Age, probably by the Canaanites, and continued to be used long after the fall of the Roman Empire, when the use of wooden barrels became common. See Grace 1956a, 1961; Koehler and Matheson 1993, p. 88 and n. 2. The word amphora is attested in the Mycenaean period in Linear B documents Kn 233 (a-pi-po-re-we) and MY 234 (a-po-re-we). See Aura Jorro and Adrados 1985. Homer in the Odyssey distinguishes between the wine jars stowed by Telemachos on his journey to Pylos (2.290, 349, 379) "amphiphoreis" and the wine jars used for storage (2.340 "pithoi"); Odyssey 2.353 describes the stoppers used to block them.
\textsuperscript{1144} The production and development of Corinthian amphoras coincides with first wave of colonization, especially with the foundation of the Corinthian colonies at Syracuse and Corcyra. See Corinth XV.1; Salmon 1984, pp. 96-97; Williams 1995. Numerous transport amphoras have been found on Pithekoussai, attesting to the economic importance of wine and
state controlled; this is evidenced by standardization in fabric, shape, and size.

Bulk commodities were frequently shipped in transport amphoras; they were plain and inexpensive, and could contain either liquids, such as wine or oil, or solids, such as nuts, olives, pitch, pigments, or processed fish.\footnote{1145} Because they themselves were not particularly expensive, their importance lay mainly in their contents.\footnote{1146} Amphoras were not shipped back to their point of origin once empty, but could be reused for storage, or even as funerary urns.\footnote{1147} They have been found in contexts as diverse as ports, sanctuaries, cemeteries, agoras, and workshops.\footnote{1148}

The form of transport amphoras was dictated by functional concerns; these vessels were fashioned for snug shipboard storage and easy maneuverability. Their shape is characterized by a narrow mouth and neck that could be blocked with a stopper, two strong vertical handles for carrying and pouring, a bowed, elongated body, and a thick

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\footnote{1146}{Amyx 1958, p. 174.}
\footnote{1147}{Grace 1961; Pelagatti 1995, p. 407; Whitbread 1995a, p. 39. Empty transport amphoras were often resold. Those confiscated from the Athenians who had profaned the Mysteries are recorded in the Attic Stelai, where resale value varied from extremely low for plain examples (stele II, line 240) to moderately expensive for Eretrian and Chian products (stele II, lines 18-19, 20). See Amyx 1958, pp. 174-178, 279.}
\footnote{1148}{Pelagatti 1995. Transport amphoras were frequently reused for enchytrismoi in the necropolis of Apollonia. See Chapters 7 and 8.}
pointed toe that could function as a third handle.\textsuperscript{1149} Amphorae that were intended to hold liquids had to be watertight.\textsuperscript{1150}

Amphorae have been used to study trade, colonization, modes of production, resource procurement, and ceramic technology. They were produced in workshops and, since production was state controlled, jars made for the same purpose in the same center were usually similar or uniform.\textsuperscript{1151} There was, however, a large degree of variation between vessels from different production centers. Thus, the shapes of amphorae, which differed by locale, identified their places of origin and were recognizable by


\textsuperscript{1150} Those transport amphorae that were not impermeable as a result of their manufacture were often coated on the interior with a substance such as bitumen or pitch, which made them so. For a discussion of various techniques used to make amphorae impermeable, see Koehler 1986, pp. 50-52. For a discussion of bitumen, see Morris 2006.

those who traded and used them;\textsuperscript{1152} they therefore "branded" their original contents by source.

Transport amphoras can be classified according to style, chronology, stamp impressions, and form. They can also be dated and assigned to specific production centers on the basis of their stylistic variations; this is certainly the case for a number of amphoras produced at Corinth. Some examples also bear stamp impressions that were pressed into the malleable clay before the vessels were fired. These, too, are useful for identification, and stamps that have been labeled "explicit" allow for precise sourcing.\textsuperscript{1153} As the shape and fabric of specific amphora types evolved through time, so also did a variety of types of stamps.\textsuperscript{1154}

Laboratory analyses have facilitated provenance studies and have provided information about technological choices made by potters in the manufacture of transport amphoras. These methods allow for the identification of

\textsuperscript{1152} Amyx 1958, p. 175; Grace 1961; Garlan 1983b; Whitbread 1995a, p. 35; Lawall 1997, p. 113, 1998.
\textsuperscript{1153} Garlan 1983b makes the distinction between explicit and non-explicit amphora stamps. Archaeologists are unable to read/interpret the meaning of non-explicit stamps that are often found on Archaic and Classical amphorae. This is largely due to their simplicity. Explicit stamps, which began to appear in the Classical period, can be "read" and indicate the place of production and sometimes the precise date of the vessel. Notable at Apollonia, however, is the absence of stamped amphorae.
production centers and the location of raw materials. The combined work of Virginia Grace, Mark Lawall, and Carolyn Koehler has provided the foundation for the creation of a large database of transport amphoras, which is an invaluable resource for scholars of the ancient Mediterranean.\textsuperscript{1155}

**Corinthian Amphoras and Their Imitations: A Brief History**

The study of Corinthian amphoras is well advanced; it is possible to date examples within a 25-year range.\textsuperscript{1156} As already noted, transport amphoras began to be manufactured in Corinth in the late 8th century B.C., at approximately the same time that the Corinthians began to found colonies abroad.\textsuperscript{1157} Three different series of transport amphoras are attributed to Corinth, in whole or part: A, A' (called "A-prime"), and B. These morphological types are defined on the basis of style, technology, and the composition of their fabric.\textsuperscript{1158} Scientific studies support the supposition that amphoras of types A and A' were manufactured at Corinth. Type B has been more problematic; evidence

\textsuperscript{1155} Cf. Solomon 1993.
\textsuperscript{1157} Koehler 1979, p. 55; Whitbread 1995a, p. 4. See Chapter 5.
\textsuperscript{1158} For a stylistic typology, see Koehler 1992; for a technological typology, see Vandiver and Koehler 1986; for a typology based on the scientific analysis of fabric, see Whitbread 1995a.
suggests that some were made at Corinth, but it is likely that some were also produced at Corcyra.\textsuperscript{1159}

Some of the workshops at Corinth have been explored in which transport amphoras were made.\textsuperscript{1160} Corinth is rich in clays of several varieties; the pale clays used for Type B amphoras and the \textit{terra rossa} used for Type As occur in a number of outcrops and are easily accessible.\textsuperscript{1161} The complexity of Corinthian amphoras suggests that the potters who manufactured them were well versed in a complicated ceramic technology. The tradition, as with most pottery manufacture, was conservative, yet it was open to modification and change.\textsuperscript{1162} Change is evident in Corinth when, towards the end of the 6th century B.C., the production of Type B jars began.\textsuperscript{1163}

\textbf{Type A Amphoras}

The production of Corinthian Type A amphoras began in the late 8th century B.C.; thereafter, they were

\textsuperscript{1159} Grace 1953, p. 108 was the first to suggest a Corcyraean provenance for Type B amphoras. See below.
\textsuperscript{1160} Stillwell (\textit{Corinth} XV.1, pp. 4-9, 13-22) originated the suggestion that Corinthian ceramics and tiles were produced in the area known as the "Potters' Quarter" from Middle Geometric II onwards. See Morgan 1995, pp. 322-325.
\textsuperscript{1161} Morgan 1995, p. 320.
\textsuperscript{1162} For conservatism in pottery production, Rice 1984b.
\textsuperscript{1163} Vandiver and Koehler 1986, p. 213.
manufactured continuously for over four centuries. The earliest examples found at Corinth date to the 3rd quarter of the 7th century B.C. Jars of this period are characterized by a horizontal projecting rim, heavy rolled handles, a spherical body, and a long cylindrical toe. The shape evolved through time to a sloping, less pronounced rim, handles that were pinched at the top, and a peg toe, while the body remained roughly spherical.

Type A amphoras were made from red clay, or terra rossa, which resulted from the weathering of limestones. These vessels have a very distinct fine reddish gray fabric with many large, angular, mudstone and tuffite or breccia inclusions. The clay body and fabric did not change

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1164 The form of early examples suggests that Corinthian Type A amphoras were modified from Geometric storage jars. See Koehler 1981, p. 451, 1992, p. 1; Vandiver and Koehler 1986, p. 176.

1165 Koehler 1981, p. 451, 1992, p. 2. These were excavated at Corinth in a stratified well deposit. See Corinth VII.2, pp. 157-158.

1166 Koehler 1992, p. 1; Caravale and Toffoletti 1997, p. 64.


1168 The clay is found near Acrocorinth, and, according to Farnsworth (1964, p 224, 1970), it is very plastic and very fine grained. Jones (1986, p. 179) notes that it has a high Ca content, but is less calcareous in nature than the typical yellow Corinthian clay. See Whitbread 1995a, pp. 308-334, 2003 for a summary of previous studies of Corinthian clays, the problems arising from these earlier studies, his own analyses, and the possible sources of the raw materials used to make amphoras.

1169 In Type A amphoras, inclusions account for 10-20% of the volume of the fabric. Vandiver and Koehler 1986, p. 176; Whitbread 1986b, p. 97, 1995a, pp. 268-269. The mudstone temper (Agrillaceous rock fragments = ARFs) probably came from outcrops on the acropolis of Acrocorinth (Farnsworth 1964, 1970; Whitbread 1986a). Mudstones change color in the firing process and, therefore, do not necessarily display a uniform color throughout the vessel. Mudstone temper is often mis-identified as grog. For the source of the temper, see Farnsworth 1970, pp. 9-11; Whitbread 1986a, 1995a, pp. 334-335. Mudstone temper was also added to Corinthian pithoi, tile, and architectural sculptures to prevent
through time. The fracture is usually gray to red with lighter red to orange surfaces. Because the terra rossa is highly plastic, the potter intentionally added coarse temper to the clay used to fashion these vessels, which necessitated that they be made by hand. As a result of this manufacturing technique, voids (some quite large) are often visible in the fracture. Type A amphoras were extremely hard fired, almost vitrified. This effect was produced by adding potash to the clay body; the potassium in the potash reduced the firing temperature needed for vitrification, which, in turn, made these amphoras impermeable. Because of their impermeability, it has been suggested that Corinthian Type A amphoras were primarily used to transport oil.

From the last quarter of the 8th century, Type A transport amphoras were exported to Greek colonies in

shrinkage (Pfaff 2003, p. 103). A similar, very fine reddish clay matrix with a very hard orange to gray core, but with fewer inclusions, is often referred to as "blisterware." This fabric was used for the production of various coarse ware pots. See Farnsworth, Perlman, and Asaro 1977, p. 456.


Vandiver and Koehler 1986, p. 204. The addition of potassium, which reduced the temperature at which the clay turned to glass, also decreased the amount of fuel required for the production of impermeable amphoras. The knowledge of such procedures points to a high degree of technological competence. See Vandiver and Koehler 1986, pp. 205-210 for discussion of firing techniques.

Koehler 1978a, p. 231, 1981, p. 452; Pelagatti 1995, p. 404; Caravale and Toffoletti 1997, p. 64; Garlan 2000, p. 87. No results from residue analyses have been published.
Sicily and Magna Graecia. The quantity of these vessels and the number of sites in the western Mediterranean where they are found increased steadily throughout the Archaic period. Most early Type A amphoras have been found in colonial Greek cemeteries, where they were reused as urns for burials, often of infants. The earliest come from Gela and the area around Metapontum; other seventh century examples also have been found at Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea, Cavallino, Heraclea Minoa, Leontinoi, and Sybaris. The large number of Type A amphoras from the cemetery at Camarina and their continuous use throughout the 6th century B.C. allow changes in shape to be traced chronologically. Numerous examples have also been found on Corcyra, which is perhaps indicative of their route of dispersion to the West.

The presence of Corinthian amphoras in so many early colonies demonstrates the importance of Corinth as a leader in overseas trade, as a disseminator of Greek material culture, and as a link between Greece and the newly established colonies. In the 5th century B.C., however, the number of Type A amphoras declined, and their export

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1174 See Koehler 1979, p. 58 for a list of the places where Corinthian Type A amphoras have been found.
abroad seems to have slowed further throughout the 4th century B.C.\textsuperscript{1178} Type A amphoras also became rare at Corinth during this time, until about the middle of the 4th century B.C., when they reappeared in quantity. They remained principally a domestic product henceforth, until they ceased to be produced around 300 B.C.\textsuperscript{1179}

**Type B Amphoras**

The production of Corinthian Type B transport amphoras began around 525 B.C.\textsuperscript{1180} They were made alongside Type A jars until the manufacture of the latter was discontinued at the end of the 4th century B.C. The manufacturing process for Type B amphoras represents a different potting tradition than that of Type A, and it is possible that Type B was developed to hold a new or different commodity.\textsuperscript{1181} It is not clear when the production of Type B amphoras ceased; they continued to be produced at least throughout the 3rd century B.C. and perhaps even until the sack of Corinth by Mummius in the 2nd century B.C.\textsuperscript{1182}

Archaic Corinthian Type B amphoras are similar to several other kinds of transport amphoras that are found

\textsuperscript{1178} Vandiver and Koehler 1986, p. 213. It is at this time that Type A' is introduced.
\textsuperscript{1179} Koehler 1979, p. 58; Vandiver and Koehler 1986, p. 176.
\textsuperscript{1180} Koehler 1982, p. 284.
\textsuperscript{1181} Vandiver and Koehler 1986, pp. 195-200, 213.
around the Mediterranean. They may have been inspired by "Ionian" types, which were produced in various places and have been found in numerous western Greek colonies, but which do not seem to have been imported by cities on the Greek mainland, however, until late in the Archaic period. Unlike the coarse "Ionian" vessels that may have been their models, Type B amphoras were produced in a fine yellow or light reddish brown fabric. Type B jars are closely related in shape to "Graeco-Massiliote" amphoras, which predate them. This commonality of shape is a clear example of the exchange of ideas resulting from widespread trade contacts already in the Archaic period.

Corinthian Type B amphoras differ from Types A and A' in shape, as well as fabric and technology. The earliest examples have a neck characterized by a thick, rounded rim, usually with a groove or ridge around the top, a squat body, a small cylindrical toe, and arched handles. As

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1183 For the origin of Corinthian Type B amphoras, see Koehler 1981, pp. 452-453; Garlan 2000, pp. 73-74.
1184 According to Koehler (1981, p. 453), the earliest examples of Graeco-Massiliote amphoras on the Greek mainland also date to the beginning of the 5th century B.C.
1186 The theory that the inspiration for Corinthian B amphoras came from the west supports the supposition that certain elements of material culture moved from the colonies and the west to the Greek mainland discussed in Chapter 4. Barletta (1990) has argued that what she terms the "Ionian Sea" style of Archaic Doric architecture originated in the Achaean colonies of South Italy and was transferred from there back to their mother cities in Achaia. See also Malkin 1987, 1994a; de Polignac 1995; Papadopoulos 2001, p. 376.
they evolved in shape throughout the 5th century B.C., the body became more elongated and ovoid, the rim flared, and the handles became less arched.\textsuperscript{1189} Koehler suggests that the distinctions in fabric and shape between Type B, Type A, and Type A' would have made the different commodities they contained easily identifiable.\textsuperscript{1190}

Corinthian Type B amphoras were wheelmade.\textsuperscript{1191} Their yellow or light reddish brown fabric is finer and softer than that of Type A and A' and has only a few visible inclusions, primarily quartz and chert as petrographic study has indicated.\textsuperscript{1192} Type B amphoras are more porous than Type A, although both are water tight.\textsuperscript{1193} Pitch or a resinous substance was, however, often used to Type B amphoras.\textsuperscript{1194} It is possible that Type B amphoras were used to transport wine.\textsuperscript{1195} Their export abroad increased steadily during the 4th century B.C., as that of Type A amphoras decreased.\textsuperscript{1196}

Chemical analyses of Type B amphoras suggest that they were not produced exclusively at Corinth. Some certainly

\textsuperscript{1190} Koehler 1981, p. 452.
\textsuperscript{1191} For a discussion of manufacturing techniques see Vandiver and Koehler 1986, pp. 195-200.
\textsuperscript{1192} Whitbread 1986b, p. 97; Koehler 1992, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{1193} Vandiver and Koehler 1986, pp. 204-205.
\textsuperscript{1194} Koehler 1986, p. 51; Vandiver and Koehler 1986, p. 213.
\textsuperscript{1196} Koehler 1979, p. 58.
were made on Corcyra, as was first suggested by Grace.\textsuperscript{1197} Because the clays from Corinth and Corcyra are difficult to distinguish optically, however, scientific tests have been necessary to verify that there were dual production centers.\textsuperscript{1198} These have shown that some samples match the Corinthian control group while others match the Corcyraean.\textsuperscript{1199}

A kiln complex, probably associated with an amphora workshop, has been excavated recently on the Michalef property in Figareto, Palaiopolis on Corcyra.\textsuperscript{1200} Local and Corinthianising sherds of the early 7th century B.C. were found in the lowest levels, the majority from Corinthian Type B amphoras.\textsuperscript{1201} The abundance of Type B amphora sherds

\textsuperscript{1197} Grace 1953, pp. 108-109. Her suggestion is based on the presence of a star with seven or eight rays on the handles of some Type B amphoras; a stamp with this motif was found on an amphora handle from Corcyra and it resembles a 4th century B.C. Corcyraean coin type.

\textsuperscript{1198} Neutron activation was used by Farnsworth, Perlman, and Asaro 1977; samples analyzed by optical emission fell into two groups on the basis of their chemical composition; Mössbauer spectroscopy confirmed these groupings by documenting variation in the iron content of the clay. See Jones 1986, pp. 115-121, 176-189, 712-720, 739; Koehler 1981, p. 452, 1992, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{1199} Whitbread 1995a, p. 260. "Corinthian Type B" should, therefore, technically be called Corinthian/Corcyraean to indicate that pots from these two different production centers are not macroscopically distinguishable.

\textsuperscript{1200} Kourkoumelis 1988, 1990; Preka 1992a, 1992b; Whitbread 1995a, p. 260; Kourkoumelis and Demesticha 1997. The complex, which was used from the 6th to the 3rd century B.C., consists of a minimum of six kilns, basins for clay processing, a building, and two wells. For kilns in general, see Hasaki 2002; for problems associated with studying ceramics from kiln sites, see Whitbread, Jones, and Papadopoulos 1997; Eiring, Bocleau, and Whitbread 2002.

\textsuperscript{1201} Morgan 1995, p. 324, n. 23; Preka 1992a, 1992b. "Corinthian type roof tiles" were also found in and around the kilns, which suggests that the Corcyraeans were imitating other products in addition to amphoras. A mass of red clay, as yet unanalyzed, was found in the interior of the chamber of Kiln 1, and since clay of this color is rare
appears to confirm Palaiopolis as a production center for vessels of this type. It has even been suggested that Corcyra was the primary production center, rather than Corinth, and that the Type B amphora should be referred to as "Kerkyraïkos."\(^{1202}\)

**Type A’**

Koehler first recognized Corinthian Type A' transport amphorae as a separate series. Evidence for the type was discovered in the 5th century B.C. Punic Amphora Building, excavated at Corinth during the late 1970s and early 1980s.\(^{1203}\) Type A' amphorae were produced from the early 5th century B.C. until the sack of Corinth by Mummius in the mid-2nd century B.C.\(^{1204}\) From ca. 450 B.C. until ca. 350 B.C., they became increasingly prevalent abroad, while the number of the more bulky Type A amphorae steadily declined outside of Corinth. Type A' thus gradually supplanted Type

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\(^{1203}\) The Punic Amphora Building was built in the 460s B.C. and was used for approximately 25 years. In addition to numerous imports, the building contained a large number of apparently local Corinthian amphorae. These were labeled Type A' amphorae. Koehler 1981, pp. 449-450, 454-458; Whitbread 1984; Williams 1978, 1979; Maniatis et al. 1984.

A as Corinth's chief export container, and totally replaced it in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.\textsuperscript{1205} The Type A' series was developed from Type A, and is related to it in three ways: method of manufacture; style; and, often, fabric.\textsuperscript{1206} Type A' amphoras have a characteristic narrow, ovoid body, an offset cylindrical toe, a cylindrical neck, and a relatively broad, thin overhanging rim.\textsuperscript{1207} The body is more elongated and ovoid than the spherical Type A jars.\textsuperscript{1208} The shape continued to change during the 3rd century B.C., when the toe cap became more conical and the slant of the rim steeper.\textsuperscript{1209} There is, through time, some stylistic variation in rim profiles and in the amount of temper that was added to the clay matrix.\textsuperscript{1210}

The fabric of the Type A' amphora shares characteristics with both that of Type A and B. In the earliest stages of their production, the fabric is visually very similar to that of Type A, even though Type A' was made from yellow clays derived from Neogene sediments. This is because early A' jars have large mudstone and

\textsuperscript{1206} Koehler 1992, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{1207} Koehler 1981, p. 456.
\textsuperscript{1209} Koehler 1992, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{1210} Koehler 1981, p. 456.
tuffite temper like that used for Type A.\textsuperscript{1211} During the later periods of their production, however, they were made without temper. After the middle of the 5th century B.C., A' amphoras can, therefore, be distinguished by their finer yellow fabric, which resembles that of Type B.\textsuperscript{1212}

Corinthian Type A' amphoras were originally made entirely by hand, but after the fabric changed in the mid 5th century B.C., the top part of the vessel was thrown on a wheel, whereas the lower part remained handmade.\textsuperscript{1213} Type A' amphoras were semi-permeable, but there is little evidence to suggest that the interiors were coated. The greater permeability of Type A' amphoras compared to Type A might indicate that they were designed to hold a different commodity; their differences in shape might suggest the same.\textsuperscript{1214}

The timeline for the production of Corinthian amphoras can be summarized as follows:

ca. 725 B.C. (late 8th century B.C.): Type A series began.\textsuperscript{1215}

\textsuperscript{1211} Whitbread 1986b, pp. 97-99.
\textsuperscript{1213} For method and stages of manufacture, see Vandiver and Koehler 1986, pp. 179, 200-202; Koehler 1992, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{1214} If the shape changed only to make Type A' amphoras easier to handle, it is likely that Type A amphoras would have ceased to be produced. Vandiver and Koehler (1986, pp. 213-214) suggest "nuts, dried fruit, or grain" as possible exports in Type A'.\textsuperscript{1215} See Vandiver and Koehler 1986.
700-550 B.C.: Type A produced exclusively, technology remains same; impermeable.

600-500 B.C.: Increase in the numbers of Type A amphoras found abroad, especially in cemeteries.\textsuperscript{1216}

c. 550 B.C.: Production of Type A changed: more permeable; incorporated some wheelmade elements.

c. 525 B.C.: Type B introduced. Permeable (but coated with pitch or resin); new technology (wheelmade) and fabric; new commodity?

c. 500 B.C.: Type A' introduced. Used clay body of Type B, more permeable than A, without coating.

500-400 B.C.: Type A still exported, but numbers declined abroad.

500-400 B.C.: Numbers of Type A' increased abroad.

400-300 B.C.: Type A now used almost exclusively at Corinth.\textsuperscript{1217}

400-300 B.C.: Increase in the numbers of Type B amphoras. Type B outstripped A, and was more widely distributed overseas.

300 B.C.: Production of Type A stopped.

300-200 B.C.: Large numbers of Type B amphoras were still exported abroad.\textsuperscript{1218}

\textsuperscript{1216} Koehler 1979, p. 59.
\textsuperscript{1217} Koehler 1978a, p. 237.
\textsuperscript{1218} Koehler 1979, p. 59.
Types of Scientific Analyses of Ceramics

Pots are more than soils; they are a result of human agency entailing many purposeful decisions in their manufacturing process. Potters carefully select their components and manipulate their raw materials to achieve a required set of properties;\textsuperscript{1219} the fabric of any individual ceramic can thus be quite complex.\textsuperscript{1220} It is rare for a potter to construct a pot from untreated clay, and the handling of clay throughout the production process affects mineral and elemental concentrations.\textsuperscript{1221} Clays are often mixed together to make them more durable.\textsuperscript{1222} Temper can be added to improve the workability and strength of the clay and to prevent shrinkage and deformity during drying and firing.\textsuperscript{1223} Differently tempered clays may be used in the construction of handles, bases, rims, and bodies of the same vessels.\textsuperscript{1224}

Both chemical and petrological analyses have been employed to study the composition of the clay bodies used for the production of the transport amphoras discussed above; the brief survey below of analytical methodologies

\textsuperscript{1219} Whitbread 2003, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{1220} See Brodie 1997.
\textsuperscript{1221} Levigation, which removes naturally occurring minerals from clay, is one example of how a clay fingerprint might be altered. \textsuperscript{1222} Jones 1984.
\textsuperscript{1223} Angularity suggests that temper was obtained by crushing the selected material; rounded inclusions point to a natural origin. See Whitbread 1986a.
\textsuperscript{1224} Matson 1995, p. 16. This is certainly the case for Corinthian Type A' amphoras, which are partially handmade and partially thrown.
for pottery includes only those types of analyses that have produced significant results in the study of the provenances and manufacturing techniques of Corinthian and Corinthianising transport amphoras.\footnote{Because it was not used as a primary analytical method on transport amphoras, I therefore omit extended discussion of optical emission spectroscopy (OES), although it was one of the first scientific techniques applied to provenance studies and provided important information about the sources of raw materials (see Jones 1986). It was initially introduced in Greece by Hector Catling to identify local production centers of Mycenaean pottery (Catling, Richards, and Blin-Stoyle 1963.) OES has now been superseded by NAA (neutron activation analysis), one of the methodologies used in my study below of transport amphoras from the region of Apollonia, and ICP (inductively coupled plasma emission), which both provide more precise information about elemental composition; see Brodie 1997, p. 55.} 

The pioneering studies by Frank Asaro and Isaac Perlman at Berkeley, in collaboration with Marie Farnsworth, were instrumental in introducing neutron activation analysis (NAA) to Greece and to the study of transport amphoras.\footnote{Farnsworth, Perlman, and Asaro 1977.} NAA can be used to obtain precision data for a large number of elements; these scholars were successful in distinguishing between Corinthian and Corcyraean pottery made from light colored clays and were able to demonstrate that Type B amphoras were produced in both centers.\footnote{Brodie 1997, p. 55. As Farnsworth, Perlman, and Asaro point out (1977, p. 455), their analysis was conducted before typological categories were distinguished. Jones (1986, pp. 714-720) performed OES analysis and re-analyzed Farnsworth data; he was able to confirm that the Type B jars can be assigned either to a Corinthian or a Corcyraean control group.} NAA was also applied to Corinthian pottery, including Type A and Type B amphoras, by Michael Oladipo in his unpublished Ph.D. thesis. According to the
summary in Whitbread, Oladipo found that the two different amphora types can easily be distinguished because their fabrics differ in amounts of vanadium and manganese. Type A and Type B amphorae also differ in composition from other types of fine and coarse Corinthian ceramics and terracottas.\(^{1228}\)

X-ray florescence spectrometry (XRF) has also been used to determine the chemical composition\(^{1229}\) of transport amphoras. This method was used by Watson to analyze major and minor elements of Corinthian amphora fabrics.\(^{1230}\) He included both Corinthian Type A and Type B amphora samples in his analysis. Cluster and discriminant analyses of the resulting data grouped Type A and B samples in distinct clusters. XRF is among the analytical methodologies applied to samples from the region of Apollonia in the results reported below.

Recent studies have shown the effectiveness of ceramic petrology as an aid in the description and classification of amphorae.\(^{1231}\) An accurate description of the fabric is essential for any system of classification, and

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\(^{1228}\) Oladipo 1987; Whitbread 1995a, p. 267. Whitbread (1995b, p. 97) notes that early studies of coarse ceramics that used NAA and OES often yielded more interpretable results after petrographic studies had also been undertaken.

\(^{1229}\) This method was used by Picon and Garlan to identify different workshops (and possibly potters) that were producing Thasian amphoras at the same time. See Picon and Garlan 1986.

\(^{1230}\) Whitbread 1995a, p. 45.

\(^{1231}\) See Peacock and Williams 1986; Whitbread 1986c, 1995a.
petrological analysis can be used to confirm macroscopic identifications. Petrology offers semi-quantitative information about ceramic temper: it is used to identify rock and mineral inclusions.\textsuperscript{1232} It is, therefore, an important means to understanding what raw materials were used in the production of ceramics, knowledge essential for determining provenance.\textsuperscript{1233} Petrology is best used in conjunction with the results of chemical analyses to determine the origin of individual pots and raw materials;\textsuperscript{1234} Whitbread\textsuperscript{1235} notes conversely that early studies of the chemical composition of coarse ceramics, like those of Type A and early Type A’ transport amphoras, often yielded more interpretable results after petrographic studies had also been undertaken. Data from these analyses can be used to identify production centers and even different workshops within the same center.\textsuperscript{1236} Petrology,

\textsuperscript{1232} A thin section, about 0.03 mm thick, from a vessel is examined under a polarizing microscope. Minerals become transparent in the thin section and the types of inclusions can be identified by the way the mineral structures affect the light from the polarizing microscope as it passes through them. The clay matrix can also be analyzed in this manner. The petrographer records the type, size, shape, and quantity of inclusions. Point count analysis used to determine percentage compositions provides semi-quantitative data. For preparation of a thin section, see Whitbread 1986b, pp. 95-96, 1986c, 1989, 1991; for the application of petrology to ceramic analysis, see Peacock 1970, pp. 375-389; Bishop, Rands, and Hooley 1982, pp. 275-330.

\textsuperscript{1233} Jones 1993, p. 12.

\textsuperscript{1234} Whitbread (1986b, p. 97) stresses the importance of integrating petrological studies with an understanding of the process involved in ceramic manufacture. Petrological analysis of the samples from Apollonia is currently underway.

\textsuperscript{1235} Whitbread 1995b, p. 97.

\textsuperscript{1236} See, for example, Picon and Garlan 1986; Whitbread 1986c. One important step in the provenance studies is to determine the nature of
combined with the traditional macroscopic description of pottery fabrics, is also essential for an understanding of ancient ceramic technology. ¹²³⁷

The Program of Analysis of Amphoras from MRAP

I gratefully thank the team of scholars who contributed their expertise to the research program to analyze transport amphorae from MRAP under my direction. The sherds selected for analysis in the initial group were preliminarily identified as Corinthian or Corinthianizing transport amphorae dated to the Archaic period by Skënder Muçaj, a co-director of MRAP and now Director of the Late Antique Division of the Institute of Archaeology in Tirana. Those artifacts were exported to Cincinnati in 2000. Koehler, of the Department of Ancient Studies at the University of Maryland Baltimore County, whose contributions to the study of transport amphorae need no introduction, selected the second group of the samples and provided a macroscopic description of their shape, fabric, inclusions, color, and date in the field in 2003. She confirmed the identifications, dates, and descriptions of the local soils through chemical analysis. For example, Guy Sanders, Director of the Corinth Excavations, in cooperation with the Fitch laboratory, has undertaken characterization studies of Corinthian clays located in the immediate area of ancient Corinth. ¹²³⁷ Jones 1993, p. 13. Replication experiments are particularly useful in the investigation of ceramic technology.
the initial sample group in Baltimore in February of 2004; all dates and typological distinctions presented below are based on her identifications. Tammie Gerke and Barry Manard of the Department of Geology at the University of Cincinnati conducted the scientific analysis of the samples using XRF, macroscopic and microscopic thin section analysis, and materials characterization studies.

The initial objective for the analysis of transport amphorae from MRAP was to determine chemically and petrographically whether those identified macroscopically and stylistically as Corinthian were indeed imports from Corinth. Four principal research questions were posed:

1. Were the vessels found at Apollonia produced at Corinth? How do they compare to those from Corinth analyzed by Whitbread?

2. If all are not from Corinth, how many production centers are likely to be represented?

3. What, if anything, do these amphorae reveal about contact between Corinth and Apollonia prior to 588 B.C.?

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1238 Securely dated pre-Medieval transport amphorae comprise about 10% of the total number of vessels collected by MRAP (1,109 out of 11,662). Of these, 209 are Corinthian or imitation Corinthian. Roughly 10% of the total corpus of transport amphorae and 40% of the possible Corinthian examples were examined in this study.
4. Is it possible that any of the amphoras were manufactured locally, given what is known about local soils and clays?\textsuperscript{1239}

A total of 101 sherds were included in the analysis; the initial group of 46 sherds was exported to Cincinnati from Albania in 2000, and a second group of 55, selected by Koehler, were exported in 2003. The initial corpus included examples from all areas surveyed during the first three years of fieldwork sponsored by MRAP and was chosen to comprise a well-defined class of amphoras, easily recognizable and chronologically distinct, namely, those of Type A. Koehler's selection of sherds expanded the sample to include all three types of Corinthian amphoras, as well as pieces that she considered to be imitations, perhaps "local;" the latter samples were chosen without reference to their date.\textsuperscript{1240} Included in the group of "local" sherds are examples that have a "mixed" fabric: i.e., two types of clay that were so poorly combined that layers of each are macroscopically visible.

\textsuperscript{1239} As Whitbread 1995b, pp. 97-98 notes, "it is much easier to say whether ceramics are imported or local than to say from where they originated." See Maggetti 1982, p. 130.

\textsuperscript{1240} It would not be surprising if there was local production of Corinthian-type transport amphoras. They were extremely functional vessels, both for transport and storage. See Garlan 1983b.
The corpus consists of 91 amphoras and 10 non-amphoras. Of these, 40 are, or might be, Type A, 11 are A', six are A or A', and 17 are B. The entire MRAP study area is represented by the samples, although some zones are better represented than others, simply because more amphora sherds were found there (Fig. 6.1). Most of the sites represented in the sample are in close proximity to the asty of Apollonia. Indeed, the greatest number of Corinthian amphoras comes from its necropolis (32 samples), where the vessels were reused as burial containers. S007 is the designation that has been applied to the entirety of the eastern necropolis. S005 is a robbed and badly eroded burial tumulus immediately above the necropolis and S006 is also an individual tumulus. S016, which is also near, but not actually in, the necropolis has the largest quantity of transport amphoras collected at any site (23, five of which were sampled); these include Corinthian Type A and A', as well as imitation Type A. One of the earliest samples, a Type A amphora, comes from this site. The

Amphora Sample numbers (AS) were assigned to each sample by the year that the sample was exported. They are not sequentially numbered according to MRAP collection units.

The samples consist of 13 rim fragments, four neck fragments, two shoulder fragments, 32 handles, 14 toes, one base, and 35 body sherds. Of the 35 body sherds collected, 22 pieces are from A or A' amphoras or their imitations, eight are not from amphoras, but are probably of Corinthian Type A fabric, three are not from amphoras and are not Corinthian, and two are Type B or imitations.

See Chapter 8 for a discussion of MRAP zones.

S005 and S006 are both inside the borders of S007, but were collected and analyzed as separate sites. See Chapter 7.
hypothesis that the colonists lived in or near the city center in the initial phase of the colony is thus confirmed by the location of the majority of the Archaic amphora.

The other part of MRAP's survey area where Corinthian transport amphorae were abundant is the area of Margelliç, including its acropolis and lower town (nine samples). Such overland movement of Corinthian products, some 25 km into the countryside, probably represents trade between Apollonia and that Illyrian stronghold.

The Type A transport amphorae from MRAP provide welcome evidence that Apollonia was in existence prior to 588 B.C. Six amphorae from the MRAP sample group date to the Early Archaic period.\textsuperscript{1246} Koehler has postulated that of these amphorae, four range in date from the mid to late 7th century B.C.\textsuperscript{1247} Two of these come from the necropolis of Apollonia, and two from Margelliç.\textsuperscript{1248} Two other samples are also probably earlier than 588 B.C., but could be as late as 550 B.C.\textsuperscript{1249} Both were found in the necropolis. Five of the Early Archaic amphorae are Type A; AS66 is an imitation of Type A.

\textsuperscript{1246} AS2, AS22, AS66, AS76, AS86, and AS42. All dates used here were provided by Koehler.
\textsuperscript{1247} AS2, AS22, AS76, and AS86.
\textsuperscript{1248} AS2 and AS22 are from the necropolis, AS76 and AS86 are from Margelliç.
\textsuperscript{1249} AS66 and AS42.
Two additional amphoras, one Type A, one Type A', might be Early Archaic, but could be as late as the end of the Archaic period.\textsuperscript{1250} Two of Type B are certainly Late Archaic in date.\textsuperscript{1251} Of these four, two were found near the acropolis of Apollonia, one near Margelliç, and the fourth at a site on the ridge above the Shtyllas valley.\textsuperscript{1252} Of the ten Archaic amphoras, only the last is not from the area of a major center.

N. Ceka, who conducted excavations at Margelliç in the 1970s and 1980s, illustrated about two dozen rims from Corinthian Type A amphoras that he found in his 1982 campaign.\textsuperscript{1253} Based on his illustrations, Koehler has confirmed his dating of the majority to the second half of the 7th century B.C., but notes that several might be earlier still, perhaps from the first half of the 7th century B.C.\textsuperscript{1254}

Ceka contends, because of the early date of his Corinthian transport amphoras, that Illyrian centers like Margelliç (and nearby Gurzeza, where he also excavated) had pre-colonization contact with Greeks, independent of the

\textsuperscript{1250} AS63 and AS77.
\textsuperscript{1251} AS65 and AS100.
\textsuperscript{1252} AS63, AS65, AS77, and AS100 respectively.
\textsuperscript{1254} Pers. comm. A few of the amphoras might be slightly later (early 6th century B.C.). Ceka 1986, p. 72.
colony at Apollonia. This interpretation is in keeping with the communist ideology discussed in Chapter 3. It is more probable, however, as noted in Chapter 5, that the colony was already established in the later part of the 7th century B.C. and that amphoras were being transshipped through it to Margelliç, since the earliest Corinthian amphorases in the necropolis of Apollonia and at Margelliç are contemporary.

Results of the Scientific Analysis of MRAP Amphoras

Several different methodologies are employed in this study of amphoras. Koehler provided typological and chronological data based on her macroscopic and stylistic analysis. Gerke and Manard employed Rigaku X-ray Florecence (XRF) to establish major and minor rare earth (trace) elements in each sample and macroscopic and microscopic thin section analysis to determine the petrographic composition of inclusions. Characterization studies were also employed to learn what raw materials were included in the composition of imported amphoras.

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1256 Their examination of thin sections determined the porosity and permeability of each. Porosity refers to the number of pores or voids in the clay; permeability indicates the amount of connection between the pores, which allows for the penetration of water; if the voids are not connected, the vessel will be watertight, even if there are numerous pores. See Vandiver and Koehler 1986.
A small part of each sherd was ground into powder in a tungsten carbide ball mill for XRF analysis. The major elements recorded for each sample are SiO₂, Ti O₂, Al₂O₃, Fe₂O₃, MnO, MgO, CaO, Na₂O, K₂O, and P₂O₅. The minor or trace elements that were noted are Mo, Nb, Zr, Y, Sr, U, Rb, Th, Pb, Zn, Cu, Ni, Co, Cr, V, and Ba. Intensity data were converted to weight percent (wt%) or parts per million (ppm) using simple and multiple regressions applied to United States Geological Survey and Japanese Geologic Survey rock standards. The major elements that were then singled out for plotting are K₂O (potassium) and CaO (calcium), and the trace elements Ni (nickel) and Cr (chrome) (Fig. 6.2). Potassium and calcium were chosen on the assumption that calcium content would remain fairly constant between different amphora types, whereas Type A and A' amphoras would be higher in potassium since this mineral was typically added to the clay body as a flux. Nickel and chrome were selected as the trace elements in an attempt to distinguish local Albanian from Corinthian products; Albanian soils are very high in both, whereas Corinthian soils are low in both (Fig. 6.3).

1257 The sample was ground to a particle size of 5 to 10 microns.
1258 Potash is comprised largely of potassium. Therefore, variation represented on K₂O and CaO plots is likely to be a function of technology rather than of the source material.
1259 Identification and collection of local clays for export was conducted by Gerke, with assistance from Ols Lafe, during the 2005
Most of the Type A amphoras have similar amounts of chrome and nickel and fall into one cluster when these minor elements are plotted (Fig. 6.4). AS5 has the highest concentration of nickel, and AS77 has the highest amount of chrome. When broken down by period, some of the earlier Type A amphoras have slightly more nickel than the later. AS2, however, which is Early Archaic in date, falls exactly within the nickel range of the later sherds.

Corinthian Type B amphoras fall into two distinct clusters, one large and one small. Many of those that Koehler had trouble categorizing and ultimately classified as B or B local fall into a smaller group on the left of the plot. It is likely that these were all from one production center. This group includes AS79, AS82, and AS83. “Local” Type B amphoras (i.e., those that were theorized at the outset of the program of analysis to have been produced locally) are low in both nickel and chrome; the analysis, therefore, refuted the initial supposition that they were locally manufactured.

Several possibly locally produced and "mixed" amphoras had been selected by Koehler because she was curious about the technology used to manufacture them. A working hypothesis was that these vessels had been produced in the season at Bonjakët. Analyses of the clays were performed in Cincinnati during the winter of 2006.
vicinity of Apollonia from local clays. It was, therefore, expected that they would plot with the other "local" Type B amphoras in a cluster that was expected to be distinct from Corinthian imports.

Other initial theories were also disproved by the analysis. One group of Type A' amphoras, the early ones, had been expected to resemble the Type A amphoras, even though the clays are different, because the inclusions are the same; a second group of A' amphoras, the later ones, had been expected to plot closer to those of Type B because they share the same clay type and because they lack added temper. No chronological differentiation is, however, apparent. Several early examples of Type A' (AS56, AS93, AS96, and AS98) plot near the group of Type A; they are slightly higher in nickel than the Type A group, but are similar in their chrome content. Three other early Type A' amphoras, (AS48, AS81, and AS89) plot with a smaller group of Type B. Two others, (AS51 and AS63), fall close to the large cluster of Type B amphoras. One (AS59), is an outlier. Of the amphoras that were identified as Type A or A', four (AS11, AS18, AS25, and AS40), plot most closely with the Type A' examples. Seven are associated with the

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1260 The powder analyzed is composed of both clay and temper. For this reason, any two sherds from the same pot will not necessarily plot on top of each other. This effect can be seen in the slightly different amounts of Cr and Ni that are present in AS47a and b, which represent two sherds from the same vessel.
large Type A group (AS8, AS19, AS38, AS43, AS44, AS62, AS69). One (AS21) plots between the A and A' group, and another (AS15), is an outlier.

The variation apparent when Type A amphoras are plotted suggests that these vessels were produced in several Corinthian workshops, each using a clay with a slightly different chemical signature. It is, indeed, likely that there were a number of workshops at Corinth itself, and that clay would have been mixed by each in a slightly different way; perhaps there were other production centers around the Isthmus and at other "Corinthian" centers such as Corcyra.\(^\text{1261}\) On the other hand, it is not possible to draw any significant conclusions about change through time since the sample is small and most examples are not tightly dated (Fig. 6.5).

**Transport Amphoras from MRAP: A Preliminary Synthesis**

The original goal of the particular research program discussed in this chapter was not to examine trade patterns in general between Apollonia and the outside world, but rather to study in detail evidence for the earliest contacts between Corinth and Apollonia and between Apollonia and sites in the hinterland. On the other hand, the virtual absence of other types of transport amphoras of

\(^{1261}\) Whitbread 1995a, p. 28.
non-Corinthian provenances (e.g., Chian, Thasian, Euboean, etc.) among the 1189 pre-Medieval examples in the MRAP database suggests that Apollonia and its *chora* had a special relationship with Corinth, especially in the Archaic and Classical periods.

It is not yet possible to answer questions about what types of commodities the colonists at Apollonia were importing in Corinthian amphorae or why they were importing them. It is likely that the use of Corinthian products is indicative of a certain degree of dependence on the metropolis. It is also likely that the colonists imported agricultural products that they could not or did not produce themselves. They probably did not, for example, produce their own olive oil in the early years of the colony. Even commodities that were produced locally might also have been imported from Corinth because of their prestige value.

The typological and scientific analysis of amphorae collected by MRAP in the hinterland of Apollonia demonstrates conclusively that there were contacts with Corinth prior to the traditional foundation date of the colony. These early amphorae are all Corinthian Type A and belong to the earliest generation of amphorae manufactured at Corinth. The presence of imported Archaic amphorae at
Apollonia and in the hinterland, as well as imitations of Corinthian jars, confirms that already in the Archaic period Apollonia was a well-integrated part of a Greek *oikoumene*. 
A Catalogue of Amphoras Sampled

The concluding section of this chapter presents a detailed catalogue of all amphoras included in the scientific analysis discussed above. The following information is presented for each entry, according to a consistent format:

1) Amphora sample #; vessel type, shape and part.

The catalogue is organized by MRAP amphora sample numbers (AS). Amphora sample numbers were assigned in the year that each sample was exported. They are not sequentially numbered according to MRAP collection units (SRCU). The vessel shape is, in most cases, a transport amphora. Most pieces are either Corinthian or imitation (Corinthian). Type B amphoras are here referred to as "Corinthian," rather than Corinthian/Corcyraean.  

2) Figure references.

3) MRAP SRCU, associated site number, if applicable, and zone number.

The MRAP collection unit and sequence number (SRCU) is given. If the sherd is from a MRAP tract that is associated with a site, the site number is provided in parentheses. The zone number follows the SRCU.

4) Dimensions

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1262 See above.
Measurements are given in centimeters. Dimensions were not systematically recorded for the initial 46 examples before they were sampled, and in some cases are, therefore, not available.

5) Catalogue entry

a. Form description (number of sherds, elaboration on part and shape).\textsuperscript{1263}

b. Fabric description (hardness, texture, core and surface Munsell colors).\textsuperscript{1264}

I have used Koehler’s chromatic terminology (i.e., color designations). Her Munsell numbers and Munsell colors are provided in parentheses. Readings were taken in the museum workroom at the site, where both the natural and artificial light are very inconsistent. She often recorded Munsell numbers that fall between the lines of those given in the Munsell book. In such cases, the applicable color range is given. If she did not provide a color description, I have used the Munsell color listed on the chart. I have supplied any missing Munsell information; she had provided the Munsell data largely for the 55 sherds that were catalogued and taken to Cincinnati in 2003. My Munsell readings were taken inside, beneath a Halogen

\textsuperscript{1263} Koehler’s method of pot description is from the bottom up.
\textsuperscript{1264} Munsell numbers are provided, even though Whitbread (1986b, pp. 97-98) notes how misleading a macroscopic description of fabric color can be. He suggests refiring sherds at 1100°C for 3 hours in an electric kiln with oxidizing atmosphere to determine their “true” color.
light. They are provided in brackets [], with the Munsell color description following the number. Our color readings vary slightly; mine tend to be a bit redder than Koehler's. Only one Munsell number is provided when the color of the biscuit and surfaces are uniform.

c. Inclusions: quantity, size, shape, color; presence of voids.

The description of inclusions in the catalogue is based on macroscopic observation. The order in which inclusions are presented is based on their frequency, with the most numerous given first. Inclusions are described as angular or rounded.\textsuperscript{1265}

d. Surface features.

e. Additional information.

6) MRAP Period. Date.

MRAP periods are given first. The date ranges for periods are as presented in Table 1.1. The period is followed by a more precise date, given in years, when Koehler was able to supply it. Question marks after the more refined date mean that it is uncertain, but possible.

7) Information about where each sample plots is presented first for Ni and Cr, and second for K and Ca.

\textsuperscript{1265} See Whitbread 1986a, pp. 80-81 for a discussion of inclusion shapes.
The following items are used in the special sense here defined:

**Imitation**: Imitations look Corinthian in shape, but the fabric, although similar, is not Corinthian. As Koehler examined the corpus of transport amphoras, she noticed that a number of pieces were similar to Corinthian Type B amphorae in shape, and had fabric that was similar but not identical to what she recognizes as Corinthian. She called these "imitation Corinthian Type B," and their fabric is described as "fine fabric similar to Corinthian B."

"Local": A number of the imitation Corinthian Type B amphorae have a fabric that is macroscopically similar to that of jars excavated on the acropolis of Apollonia now kept in the museum storerooms. These are designated as Local? since it was previously thought that vessels with this fabric were produced at Apollonia; the analysis of local clays in the vicinity of the site, however, suggests otherwise.

**Mixed**: Mixed indicates that two different clays are visible as separate, joined layers; one is usually "blond," i.e., pale or yellowish-brown (2.5Y 8/3), and the other is
reddish brown (2.5YR 5/8). These amphoras are thought to be local.

Amphora Catalogue

AS1 Type B Transport Amphora, rim

A-191-06, Zone 3.

Not Available.

Fragment preserves small part of rim, with possible rounded outer edge and upper face sloping to interior. Fine to medium-fine beige to cream fabric [10YR 8/2, very pale brown]. Some tiny gray inclusions; some tiny voids.

Late Archaic-Early Classical. 500-400 B.C.

Plots near upper group of Bs.

AS2 Type A Transport Amphora, rim and neck

Fig. 6.6.

B-094-04 (S007), Zone 2.

Est. Diam. (interior) 14.0 (15%); est. Diam. (exterior) 20.0; p.H. 5.0; Th. 1.8; W. of rim 4.0.

Two joining fragments preserve part of horizontal rim and upper neck. Rim is heavy, broad, and overhanging with concave outer face; upper and lower faces slope slightly. Hard coarse fabric with thin gray-brown core [10YR 6/1, gray] and orange exterior bands (5YR 7/8, reddish yellow).
Many large and medium rounded and angular gray, dark gray, red-brown, and white inclusions.

Early Archaic.  650-550 B.C., probably 625-600 B.C.
Plots slightly outside A cluster, near lower A' group.

**AS3**  Closed shape, Corinthian?, body sherd

B-022-29 (S007), Zone 2.
Th. 0.6-0.7.


Late Archaic-Early Hellenistic. Probably 500-300 B.C.
Plots near A'/A or A' group.

**AS4**  Pithos, body sherd

B-090-04 (S007), Zone 2.
Th. 1.6.

Body sherd of pithos; wall too thick for transport amphora. Hard coarse orange to light-brown fabric [5YR 7/6-10YR 6/3, reddish yellow to pale brown] with vitrified
grayish-brown interior surface [2.5Y 5/2]. Many small gray and white inclusions, some large angular white and gray ones, and a few extremely large rounded white and gray. Possible import, but not Corinthian.

Archaic-Early Hellenistic.

Outlier.

**AS5**  Type A? Transport Amphora, handle  
B-022-08 (S007), Zone 2.  
Not Available.

Fragment preserves small part of lower attachment of large handle, round in section, and part of body wall. Hard coarse fabric with dark gray core [10YR 4/1], orange outer band [5YR 6/8, reddish yellow], and tan surface [7.5YR 7/6, reddish yellow]. Many large angular red and gray inclusions, and some small white ones; horizontal voids. Worn surface. Possibly overfired.

Late Archaic-Early Classical. 500-450 B.C.?

Plots near, but not in, A cluster.

**AS6**  Type A? Transport Amphora, handle  
B-094-01 (S007), Zone 2.  
Not Available.

Late Archaic-Early Hellenistic.

Plots with A cluster.

**AS7**  Type A Transport Amphora, handle

C-176-02, Zone 5.

W. 4.1; Th. 3.9.


Classical-Early Hellenistic.

Plots slightly below main A cluster.

**AS8**  Type A? Transport Amphora, body sherd

D-341-03, Zone 6.

Th. 1.1.

Body sherd. Hard coarse fabric with yellow-gray core [2.5Y 6/2, light brownish gray] and orange surfaces [7.5YR
7/8, reddish yellow]. Many large angular gray, white, and dark gray inclusions. Probably Corinthian.

Archaic-Early Classical. 625-400 B.C.

Plots with A cluster.

AS9  Type A Transport Amphora, handle

D-372-01, Zone 6.

Not Available.

Small fragment of upper part of handle. Hard coarse fabric with gray core [5YR 6/1] and orange outer band [2.5YR 7/6, light red]. Many small to very large rounded and angular white, gray, black, and red inclusions; many large voids.

Late Classical-Early Hellenistic.

Plots with A cluster.

AS10  Type A Transport Amphora, handle

D-372-02, Zone 6.

Est. Diam. 3.6.

Fragment of handle, round in section. Hard coarse fabric with slightly gray-brown core [10R 6/2, light brownish gray] and orange outer band [2.5YR 6/8, light red]. Many large angular brown and gray inclusions, and a few small rounded white ones; many voids.
Late Archaic-Classical.  500-400 B.C.?
Plots with A cluster.

AS11  Type A? Transport Amphora, handle
D-125-02 (S007), Zone 2.
Est. Diam. ca. 3.6.


Classical-Early Hellenistic.

Plots slightly outside A cluster.

AS12  Type A Transport Amphora, body sherd
D-268-08, Zone 3.
Th. 1.2-1.3.

Body sherd.  Hard coarse fabric with dark gray core [1GL 5/N, gray] and thin orange outer bands [2.5YR 7/6, reddish yellow].  Many small to large angular white and gray inclusions; many voids.  Dark smudges on surface.

Classical-Early Hellenistic.

Plots with A cluster.
**AS13** Type A Transport Amphora, body sherd

F-330-03, Zone 8.

Th. 1.1.

Body sherd. Hard coarse gray-tan fabric [2.5Y 6/2, light brownish gray] with thin orange outer bands [2.5YR 7/8, light red]. Some small to large rounded and angular white, red, and gray inclusions; some voids.

Late Archaic-Early Hellenistic.

Plots with A cluster.

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**AS14** Type A Transport Amphora, handle

J-119-01, Zone 1.

W. 3.0; Th. 3.3.

Fragment of handle, round in section. Hard coarse fabric with gray core [2GL 6/5PB, bluish gray] and thin light orange outer band [2.5YR 7/6, light red]. Many large angular light gray inclusions, and a few small white ones.

Late Archaic-Early Hellenistic. 450-300 B.C.?

Plots with A cluster.

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**AS15** Type A or A’ Transport Amphora, handle

J-395-07 (S007), Zone 2.

Diam. 3.5.
Fragment preserves lower part of handle, round in section at base, with part of attachment. Hard coarse tan fabric [7.5YR 7/3; pink] with paler surface [10YR 8/3, very pale brown]. Many small to very large angular gray, brown, and white inclusions, and some small to very large rounded red ones.

Late Archaic-Early Classical.

Outlier, plots above cluster of Corinthians.

**AS16**  Type A Transport Amphora, rim and handle

Fig. 6.6.

J-363-01 (S007), Zone 2.

Est. Diam. of rim (exterior) 20.0; W. of rim 4.3; p.H. 9.7; Th. 2.5.

Fragment preserves part of rim and upper part of "horned" handle. Handle touches overhanging rim, rim has slightly sloping upper face. Hard coarse fabric with gray-brown core [10YR 4/2, dark grayish brown], thick orange bands [2.5YR 5/6, red], and beige surfaces [5YR 6/6, reddish yellow]. Many small to large angular red-brown inclusions; some voids.

Late Archaic-Early Classical. 500-400 B.C.

Plots slightly above and to right of A cluster with A's.
AS17  Type A Transport Amphora, body sherd

    J-393-12 (S007), Zone 2.
    Th. 1.0.

    Fabric more red-gray than other Corinthian Type A samples.
    Some large angular brown and gray inclusions; many voids.
    Archaic-Early Hellenistic.  600-300 B.C.
    Plots at upper end of A cluster.

AS18  Type A or A' Transport Amphora, body sherd

    J-393-14 (S007), Zone 2.
    Not Available.

    Body sherd.  Hard coarse tan fabric [7.5YR 7/4-7/6, pink to reddish yellow].  Very many small to large angular
    brown inclusions.  Probably A'.
        Archaic-Early Classical.
        Plots with A' cluster.

AS19  Type A or A' Transport Amphora, neck

    J-393-15 (S007), Zone 2.
    P.H. 4.7; Th. 1.1.
Fragment preserves small part of lower neck. Hard coarse tan fabric [7.5YR 7/4, pink]. Very many medium to large angular gray, dark gray, and red inclusions; some voids. Possibly A'?

Archaic-Early Classical.
Plots with A cluster.

**AS20** Imitation Type A? Transport Amphora, body sherd

J-393-16 (S007), Zone 2.

Th. 1.1.

Two joining body sherds. Hard coarse beige fabric [7.5YR 7/2, pinkish gray] with pink surfaces [7.5YR 7/4]. Many medium to large angular white, gray, and red inclusions, and a few tiny sparkles. Not Corinthian, probably not local.

Archaic-Early Hellenistic.
Plots near lower B and "B local" group.

**AS21** Type A or A' Transport Amphora, body sherd

J-393-17 (S007), Zone 2.

Th. 0.9.

Body sherd. Hard coarse tan fabric [7.5YR 8/6, reddish yellow] with slightly lighter surfaces [7.5YR 8/4, pink]. Very many small to large angular gray, dark gray,
and white inclusions, and a few medium rounded red ones.
Could be A'?

Late Archaic-Classical.

Plots with A or A'.

**AS22** Type A Transport Amphora, rim

Fig. 6.6.

J-394-10 (S007), Zone 2.

Est. Diam. 22.0.

Fragment preserves small part of horizontal overhanging rim. Hard coarse tan fabric [7.5YR 7/4, pink]. Very many medium to very large angular brown and dark gray inclusions; many voids.

Early Archaic. 650-600 B.C., probably 650-625 B.C.

Plots with A cluster.

**AS23** Type A Transport Amphora, body sherd

J-395-03 (S007), Zone 2.

Th. 1.1-1.2.

Body sherd. Hard coarse gray-brown fabric [10YR 5/2, grayish brown] with tan outer bands [7.5YR 7/4, pink]. Many small to very large angular red-brown inclusions, a few small white and dark gray ones, and a few small sparkles; a few voids.
Archaic-Early Hellenistic.
Plots slightly to the left of main A cluster.

**AS24** Closed shape, Corinthian?, body sherd

J-395-04 (S007), Zone 2.
Th. 0.6-0.7.


Late Archaic-Early Hellenistic.
Plots with A' cluster.

**AS25** Type A or A' Transport Amphora, body sherd

J-395-06 (S007), Zone 2.
Th. 1.1.

Body sherd. Hard coarse tan fabric [7.5YR 8/3, pink]. Many small to very large angular dark gray and red inclusions, and a few white ones.

Late Archaic-Early Classical.
Plots with A'/A or A' groups.
AS26  Transport Amphora, body sherd
J-395-09 (S007), Zone 2.
Th. 1.0.
Classical-Early Hellenistic.
Outlier.

AS27  Transport Amphora, body sherd
J-395-10 (S007), Zone 2.
Th. 1.0.
Classical-Early Hellenistic.
Plots with lower group of Bs and B locals.

AS28  Closed shape, Corinthian, body sherd
J-395-11 (S007), Zone 2.
Th. 0.6-0.7.

Late Archaic-Classical.

Plots with A, A', and A or A' clusters.

**AS29** Closed shape, Corinthian?, body sherd

J-395-13 (S007), Zone 2.

Th. 0.6-0.7.


Late Archaic-Early Hellenistic.

Plots with A' cluster.

**AS30** Pithos?, Corinthian?, rim

Fig. 6.6.

J-396-01 (S006), Zone 2.

Diam. 50.0; p.H. 5.0.
Fragment of heavy overhanging pithos rim with flat top and slightly sloping outer face. Hard coarse tan fabric [7.5YR 7/4, pink] with gray core [10YR 6/1]. Many small to large angular brown, gray, and red inclusions, and a few small white ones; voids. Fabric very like Corinthian Type A. Probably Corinthian.

Late Archaic-Classical.
Plots with A cluster.

**AS31** Type A Transport Amphora, body sherd

J-771-18, Zone 7.
Th. 0.9.

Body sherd. Hard coarse fabric with light gray-brown core [10YR 6/2, light brownish gray] and orange outer bands [5YR 7/6, reddish yellow]. Many large to small angular brown inclusions, and a few large rounded white ones.

Classical-Early Hellenistic.
Plots with A cluster.

**AS32** Closed shape, Corinthian?, body sherd

J-398-09 (S006), Zone 2.
Th. 0.7-0.8.

Body sherd of large, coarse, closed vessel; walls too thin for transport amphora. Hard coarse orange-tan fabric
[5YR 7/6, reddish yellow]. Many small to large angular gray and red inclusions. Fabric similar to Corinthian Type A. Probably Corinthian.

Classical-Early Hellenistic.

Plots with A cluster.

**AS33** Closed shape, Corinthian?, body sherd

J-400-03 (S007), Zone 2.

Th. 0.6-0.7.

Body sherd of large, coarse, closed vessel; walls too thin for transport amphora. Hard coarse tan fabric [7.5YR 7/6, reddish yellow]. Many small to very large angular brown, red, and gray inclusions. Fabric is very similar Corinthian Type A. Probably Corinthian.

Late Archaic-Early Hellenistic.

Falls at top of A cluster with A's and A or A's.

**AS34** Imitation Type B Transport Amphora, body sherd

Fig. 6.6.

J-401-04 (S007), Zone 2.

P.H. 11.0; Th. 1.1.

Fabric is similar to Corinthian Type B, but with more inclusions. Imitation Corinthian fabric?

Late Archaic-Classical.

Plots with large cluster of Bs.

**AS35** Type A Transport Amphora, body sherd.

J-619-02, Zone 7.

Th. 1.0.


Late Archaic-Early Hellenistic.

Plots with A cluster.

**AS36** Type A Transport Amphora, body sherd

J-653-01, Zone 7.

Th. 1.0.

Body sherd. Hard coarse fabric with light gray core [1GL 6/N, gray] and orange outer bands [2.5YR 6/6, light red]. Many medium angular gray and white inclusions, and a few large rounded white ones.

Late Archaic-Early Hellenistic.

Plots with A cluster.
**AS37**  Type A Transport Amphora, handle

J-660-01, Zone 7.

W. 4.1; Th. 4.1.

Fragment preserves base of handle, round in section, with lower attachment and part of shoulder wall. Hard coarse fabric with gray core [1GL 6/N] and orange outer band [2.5YR 6/6-5YR 6/6, light red to reddish yellow]. Many small and some medium and large angular gray, red, and white inclusions.

Late Archaic- Classical. Probably 500-400 B.C., possibly later.

Plots with A cluster.

**AS38**  Type A? Transport Amphora?, body sherd

J-673-01, Zone 7.

Th. 0.7.

Body sherd with very thin walls. Hard coarse dark gray fabric [1GL 5/N, gray] with gray surfaces [2.5Y 5/1]. Many small to large rounded and angular white and gray inclusions, and some medium red ones; many horizontal voids. Inclusions protrude through surface. Burned or overfired?

Late Archaic-Early Hellenistic.
Plots near A cluster.

**AS39** Closed shape, Corinthian?, body sherd

S005-001G-07, Zone 2.

Th. 0.7.

Body sherd of large, coarse, closed vessel; walls too thin for transport amphora. Hard coarse fabric with gray core [10YR 5/1] and orange exterior band [5YR 7/6, reddish yellow]. Many small to large angular brown, gray, and white inclusions. Fabric similar to Corinthian Type A. Possibly Corinthian.

Late Archaic-Early Hellenistic.

Plots below A cluster.

**AS40** Type A or A' Transport Amphora, body sherd

S005-001G-06, Zone 2.

Th. 0.9.

Body sherd. Hard coarse tan fabric [7.5YR 7/4, pink]. Many medium to large angular gray, red, and brown inclusions, and a few medium rounded white ones; some voids.

Late Archaic-Early Hellenistic. 500-400 B.C.?

Plots with A' cluster.
AS41  Closed shape, Corinthian?, base

Fig. 6.6.

S009-003G-11, Zone 4.

Est. Diam. 22.0.

Fragment preserves part of flat circular base with concave sides, separately made and articulated from flaring body wall. Hard coarse orange-tan fabric [5YR 7/6, reddish yellow]. Many small to large angular brown and gray inclusions, and a few large and very large rounded white ones. Fabric is rather like Corinthian Type A.

Late Archaic-Classical.

Outlier. Plots above A and B clusters.

AS42  Type A Transport Amphora, handle

S016-004G-03, Zone 2.

P.H. 4.6; W. 5.1; Th. 5.0.

Fragment preserves lower attachment of large handle, round in section, and part of body wall. Hard coarse gray-brown fabric (5YR 5.5/1.5, gray to reddish gray) with beige surface (10YR 8/3, very pale brown). Many small to large angular dark gray and brown inclusions, and two large soft white ones; voids.

Early Archaic. Probably 650-600 B.C., but could go to 575 B.C.
Slightly outside A cluster near upper B cluster.

**AS43** Type A or A' Transport Amphora, handle

S016-010G-01, Zone 2.

P.H. 8.2; W. 3.7; Th. 3.9.

Fragment preserves middle section of curved handle, round in section. Hard coarse fabric with gray core (1GL 5/N) and beige outer band (7.5YR 7/5, pink to reddish yellow). Many large angular brown and gray inclusions, and a few small to medium white ones. Fabric perhaps more like Corinthian Type A?

Late Archaic-Middle Hellenistic. Most likely 500-450 B.C., but possibly 300-275 B.C.

Plots with A cluster.

**AS44** Type A? Transport Amphora, body sherd

S016-010G-05, Zone 2.

Th. 0.9.

Body sherd. Hard coarse fabric with gray core [1GL 6/N] and orange outer bands [7.5YR 7/6, reddish yellow]. Many medium to large angular white, gray, and brown inclusions; many voids. Inclusions protrude through worn surfaces.

Late Archaic-Early Hellenistic.
Plots with A cluster.

**AS45**  Type A Transport Amphora, body sherd

S016-005G-09, Zone 2.

Th. 0.9.

Body sherd with thin walls. Hard coarse fabric with gray core [2GL 6/5PB, bluish gray] and thin orange outer bands [5YR 7/6, reddish yellow]. Many small to large angular dark gray, white, and brown inclusions; many voids.

Late Archaic–Early Hellenistic.

Plots with A cluster.

**AS46**  Type A Transport Amphora, toe

Fig. 6.6.

S016-005G-10, Zone 2.

P.H. 6.5; max. p.Diam. of toe 6.2.

Fragment preserves part of short broad peg toe and beginning of body wall. Hard coarse fabric with gray core (1GL 5/N), orange outer bands (2.5YR 6/8, light red), and orange surface (5YR 7/6, reddish yellow). Many small to large angular gray, red, and white inclusions, and some very large angular gray and white ones.

Late Classical. 400-350 B.C.

Plots with A cluster.
**AS47** Type A Transport Amphora, body sherds

A-054-01/05 (S002), Zone 4.

(-01) P.L. 5.5; p.W. 4.8; (-05) p.L. 6.0; p.W. 4.8.


Classical-Early Hellenistic. 450-300 B.C.

Both samples (a, and b) plot with A cluster.

**AS48** Type A' Transport Amphora, toe and body sherd

A-054-06/03 (S002), Zone 4.

(-03) P.H. ca. 10.5; H. of toe 3.4; Diam. 5.8; (-06) p.L. 9.0; p.W. 7.0; Th. 2.2.

Two joining fragments preserve complete toe and part of lower body. "Cap" toe shaped like truncated cone. Broad groove above upper edge. Hard medium-coarse beige fabric (5YR 7/5, a little toward 7.5 YR 8/6, pink to reddish yellow). A few small and large angular gray and brown inclusions; voids.
Classical-Early Hellenistic. 425-300 B.C.
Plots with small lower group of A'.

**AS49** Type B Transport Amphora, handle

Fig. 6.7.

A-054-11 (S002), Zone 4.

P.H. ca. 20.0; W. 4.8; Th. 3.7.

Fragment preserves vertical side to beginning of curve of large heavy handle, oval in section, and part of lower attachment. Powdery medium-coarse creamy-beige fabric (closest to 10YR 8/4, slightly toward 7.5YR, very pale brown to pink). Many small angular gray and brown inclusions, and a few medium rounded red ones. Worn surface.

Middle Hellenistic. 300-250 B.C.

Plots with lower cluster of Bs.

**AS50** Type A Transport Amphora, rim

Fig. 6.7.

A-102-02, Zone 4.

P.H. 2.5.

Fragment of heavy sloping overhanging rim. Hard coarse fabric with dark gray core [1GL 5/N, gray] and orange surfaces (5YR 6.5/6, reddish yellow). Many large
angular gray and red-brown inclusions, some medium and small beige and red ones, and a few medium white.

Late Classical–Early Hellenistic. 400–300 B.C., but possibly as early as 425 B.C.

Plots with lower part A cluster.

**AS51** Type A' Transport Amphora, handle

A-122-03 (S015), Zone 4.

P.H. 5.5; W. 3.0; Th. 3.0.


Classical. Probably 480–400 B.C.

Plots with upper A' group.

**AS52** Type A Transport Amphora, body sherd

A-145-02, Zone 4.

P.H. 3.9; p.W. 3.4.

Body sherd from base of neck. Hard coarse fabric with dark gray core (closest to 7.5YR 6/1, gray) and orange
surfaces (5YR 7/7, reddish yellow). Many medium to large angular gray, red-brown, and white inclusions.

Classical-Early Hellenistic. Probably 480-400 B.C. Plots with A cluster on right near a few A or A's.

**AS53** Small Type B? Transport Amphora, handle

A-169-02, Zone 4.

P.L. 4.6; W. 3.5; Th. 2.0.

Fragment of small vertical handle, flattened oval in section, with edges pinched and slight central rib on either face. Powdery medium-coarse beige fabric (7.5YR 7/5, pink to reddish yellow). Some very small gray inclusions. Possibly local? imitation, but looks Corinthian.

Late Classical-Middle Hellenistic. 400-275 B.C. Plots with large B cluster.

**AS54** Imitation Type B? Transport Amphora, rim

Fig. 6.7.


P.H. 3.8.

Fragment preserves small part of flaring rim with nearly horizontal upper face. Rim has flaring outer face nearly straight in profile and lower edge offset outside.
Powdery medium-coarse orange fabric (2.5YR 6/6, light red)
with slightly lighter surfaces [5YR 6/6, reddish yellow].
Many very small gray, red, and white inclusions, a few
large red-orange and white ones, and trace of sparkles.

Late Classical-Early Hellenistic?
Plots with A cluster.

**AS55** Small Type B Transport Amphora, nearly complete profile

B-014-03 (S007), Zone 2.

P.H. of body and toe 15.0; p.H. of neck and shoulder ca. 3.0; Diam. of handle (interior) 7.7; W. of handle at base 1.1; Th. of handle at base 1.4; W. of handle at outer curve 1.7; Th. of handle at outer curve 1.6.

Forty-five joining and non-joining fragments preserve part of body with top of toe, small part of shoulder with small part of lower neck, 2/3 of one handle, another small part of neck, and multiple body sherds of a very finely made "table size" Corinthian Type B amphora. Largest fragment consists of beginning of "cap" toe and rounded lower 1/2 of body. Handle is round in section. Soft powdery very fine tan fabric (10YR 7.5/5, very pale brown to yellow). Some very small gray inclusions, and a few
very small white ones; a few very small voids. Some faint wheel ridging on body interior and rather more on neck.

   Early Classical. 450-400 B.C.?

   Plots with large B cluster.

AS56  Type A' Transport Amphora, toe

   Fig. 6.7.

   B-043-02 (S007), Zone 2.

   P.H. 4.6; max. Diam. of toe 5.8.

   Fragment preserves complete toe to bevel and concave side to beginning of flair of body wall. Hard coarse grayish-tan fabric [10YR 7/4, very pale brown]. Many large angular dark brown, red, gray, and white inclusions, one very large angular white one, and one very large rounded red.

   Early Classical. 450-400 B.C.?

   Plots with upper A' cluster.

AS57  Small Imitation? Type B? Transport Amphora, toe

   Fig. 6.7.

   B-045-02 (S006), Zone 2.

   P.H. 4.8; est. Diam. of toe 2.1.

   Fragment preserves complete toe of very small transport amphora. Almost button toe. Powdery very fine
tan fabric (7.5YR 7/6, reddish yellow). A few tiny brown inclusions; tiny voids.

Middle Hellenistic. 300-250 B.C.

Outlier. Plots top right corner with AS75.

**AS58** Type B Transport Amphora, handle

C-177-01, Zone 5.

P.H. 4.0; W. 4.0; Th. 2.9.

Fragment preserves upper curve of arched handle, flattened oval in section, with pull marks characteristic of 2nd half of 4th century to 1st half of 3rd century B.C. Point where flaring rim touched handle is visible. Fine beige fabric [7.5YR 8/4, pink]. A few very small brown, gray, and red-orange inclusions, a few tiny white ones, and trace of sparkles; voids.

Late Classical-Middle Hellenistic. 350-250 B.C.

Plots with large B cluster.

**AS59** Type A or A' Transport Amphora, toe

Fig. 6.7.

D-203-02, Zone 3.

P.H. 4.1; Diam. of toe 6.0.

Fragment preserves complete solid toe, approximately cylindrical, with concave bottom. Lower side vertical to
flaring, convex outer profile which then curves in.
Medium-coarse orange fabric (2.5YR 6.5/6, light red) with
beige outer band (7.5YR 7/5, pink to reddish yellow). Some
very small red-orange and brown inclusions, and a few
medium red ones; voids.

Classical. 475-375 B.C.

Outlier. High in Cr.

**AS60**  Imitation? Type A Transport Amphora, body sherd

H-003-01, Zone 6.

P.L. 6.6; p.W. 4.0; Th. 1.1.

Body sherd. Hard coarse fabric with gray core (2GL 7/5PB, bluish gray) and orange exterior surface (2.5YR 6/6, light red). Very many large angular dark gray, brown, and pale yellow inclusions, and some medium light gray and angular white ones. Inclusions protrude through weathered? surface. Imitation?

Classical-Early Hellenistic?

Plots at bottom of A cluster.

**AS61**  Type A? Transport Amphora, handle

J-184-01, Zone 2.

P.H. 8.0; W. 3.8; Th. 3.9.
Fragment preserves base of handle, round in section. Hard coarse fabric with gray core (2GL 7/10B, light bluish gray) and orange surface (2.5YR 7/8, light red). Many large angular gray and red-orange inclusions, and some large white ones; voids.

Classical-Early Hellenistic. Probably 480-400 B.C.?

Plots in center of A cluster.

AS62 Type A'? Transport Amphora, handle
J-393-04 (S007), Zone 2.
P.H. 11.3; W. 3.0; Th. 2.8.
Fragment preserves lower 1/2 of slanted handle, round in section, and attachment. Small round impression punched at base on either side. Medium-coarse beige fabric (7/5YR 7.5/4, pink) with gray core [1GL 6/N]. Some large angular gray inclusions, at least one very large dark red one, and one red-orange; some voids. Imitation?

Late Archaic-Early Classical. 500-400 B.C.?

Plots with A' cluster.

AS63 Type A' Transport Amphora, handle
J-395-08 (S007), Zone 2.
P.H. 16.0; W. 3.3; Th. 3.8.
Fragment preserves side of handle from above lower attachment to outside corner of top. Handle perhaps round in section at base, side slightly slanted?, outside top corner is a rounded angle. Very coarse beige fabric (7.5YR 7/5, pink to reddish yellow). Very many very large angular red, brown, and gray inclusions. Inclusions protrude through surface.

Archaic. 600-480 B.C.?

Plots with A' cluster.

**AS64** Type B? Transport Amphora, handle

J-398-12 (S006), Zone 2.

P.H. 8.5; W. 3.9; Th. 2.2.

Fragment preserves upper side and beginning of curve of arched handle, flattened oval in section. Soft medium-fine beige fabric (7.5YR 7/4, pink). A few small angular red, orange, and brown inclusions, and trace of sparkles. Worn surface.

Late Classical–Early Hellenistic?

Plots with large B cluster.

**AS65** Type B Transport Amphora, rim

Fig. 6.7.

J-399-03 (S007), Zone 2.
P.H. 4.2; est. Diam. 15.0; H. of rim 3.1.

Fragment preserves part of rim with flat upper surface and convex outer face. Groove around neck 1 cm. below base of rim. Medium-coarse creamy beige fabric (2.5Y 8/3-10YR 8/3, pale yellow to very pale brown). Some small rounded gray and brown inclusions, and one large angular brown one.

Late Archaic. 525-500 B.C.

Plots with large B cluster.

**AS66**  Imitation Type A Transport Amphora, toe

Fig. 6.7.

J-401-01 (S007), Zone 2.

P.H. 7.8; max. Diam. of base 9.5; Diam. of base (bottom) 8.2.

Fragment preserves complete base and beginning of body walls. Wide shallow cylindrical toe with nearly flat bottom and outward sloping beveled lower edge with concave sides above that flare to beginning of body wall. Hard coarse beige fabric (7.5YR 7/4, pink). Many small to medium white and translucent inclusions, some rounded, and trace of sparkles. Wheel ridging on interior wall and bottom. Local?

Early Archaic. 625-550 B.C.?

Plots closest to imitation B group. No Ni.
AS67  Type B Transport Amphora, handle

J-523-03 (S061), Zone 2.
P.H. 4.7; W. 4.2; Th. 2.2.


Early-Middle Hellenistic. 323-275 B.C.
Outlier. High in Cr.

AS68  Type B? Transport Amphora, handle

J-543-02 (S052), Zone 4.
P.H. 5.5; W. 5.2; Th. 3.0.

Fragment preserves part of upper curve of handle, flattened oval in section, with small part of neck attached. Medium-coarse beige fabric (10YR 8/3, very pale brown). Some medium and small rounded red-orange inclusions, and some small brown ones. Imitation?

Early-Middle Hellenistic. 323-275 B.C.?
Plots with imitation B cluster. Very low in Ni.

AS69  Imitation? Type A Transport Amphora, body sherd

K-011-08, Zone 6.
Max. Dim. 8.5 x 8.7; Th. 0.8.

Fragment of thin walled, curved body sherd. Hard coarse fabric with banded gray and orange core (1GL 5/N and 2.5YR 6/8, gray and light red) and reddish yellow exterior surface (7.5YR 7/6). Many medium to large angular white and dark gray inclusions, some medium to large yellow ones, and some small black and white; some voids. Inclusions protrude through surface. Imitation?

Late Classical–Early Hellenistic?

Plots at bottom of A cluster.

**AS70** Imitation Type B Transport Amphora, toe

Fig. 6. 7.

K-022-03, Zone 6.

P.H. 3.8; Diam. of toe 3.7.

Fragment preserves complete "button" toe with very convex bottom, and beginning of very narrow lower body wall. Medium-coarse beige fabric (closest to 7.5YR 7/4, pink). Many large rounded orange-tan inclusions, and some small brown to gray ones. Worn surface. Shape similar to Corinthian Type B. Local?

Middle Hellenistic. 300-250 B.C.?

Outlier. High in Ni, low in Cr.
**AS71** Imitation Type B Transport Amphora, body sherd

K-043-04, Zone 6.

P.L. 5.7; p.W. 3.9, Th. 1.0.

Body sherd. Powdery coarse fabric mixed with streaks of orange-tan and blond clays (2.5YR 5/8, red and 2.5Y 8/3, yellow). Beige surfaces (7.5YR 7/4, very pale brown). Many large rounded red inclusions (2.5YR 5/8, the same shade as some of the red streaks), and trace of sparkles. Sherd shows mixing of red and blond clays like "layers" in section and on exterior surface. Similar to M-089-09 (AS85) and M-255-01 (AS88). Local?

Late Classical-Middle Hellenistic? 400-200 B.C.?

Plots by itself closest to lower A' group.

**AS72** Imitation Type B Transport Amphora, shoulder and handle attachment

K-060-01, Zone 6.

Max. p.L. 11.0; max. Th. of body 2.0; piece with handle attachment: p.L. 6.2; p.W. 6.4; 2nd fragment: p.L. 6.2; Th. 1.3-1.4.

Two joining fragments preserve part of shoulder and beginning of handle attachment. Sherds show mixing of red and blond clays. Two lengthwise adjoining layers visible in section. Layers have separated in firing underneath the
handle attachment. Exterior layer: coarse orange-tan fabric (2.5YR 7/5, light reddish brown to light red). Many large rounded red-orange inclusions (2.5YR 5/8, red), many small to medium red-orange and brown-gray ones, some small white, and a few sparkles. Interior layer: coarse beige fabric (7.5YR 7/4, pink). Many large rounded red-orange inclusions like the above, and many small gray ones.

Local?

Late Classical-Middle Hellenistic. 400-200 B.C.?

Plots with lower B imitation/local cluster.

**AS73** Type A Transport Amphora, toe

Fig. 6.7.

K-070-01, Zone 6.

P.H. 5.5; max. p.Diam. of toe 6.0.

Fragment of broad peg toe with outward sloping concave side above which is a concave side that flares to beginning of body wall. Hard coarse fabric with gray core (1GL 5/N) and thin orange outer bands (2.5YR 6/7, light red). Many large angular gray, orange-red, and white inclusions.

Late Classical. 400-350 B.C.?

Plots in middle of A cluster.

**AS74** Small Type B? Transport Amphora?, neck
K-117-01, Zone 6.

P.H. 4.2; p.W. 5.8; Th. 0.6.

Fragment preserves small part of upper neck wall and upper handle attachment. Powdery fine fabric with pink-orange core (5YR 7/5, pink to reddish yellow) and beige surfaces (10YR 7/4, very pale brown). Some small brown and red inclusions, and a few very small white ones. Possibly somewhat larger than K-117-02, but at least as thin-walled. Table amphora or imitation?

Early-Middle Hellenistic. 323-275 B.C.

Does not plot with B cluster.

**AS75** Small Type B? Transport Amphora? or Table Amphora, rim and neck.

Fig. 6.7.

K-117-02, Zone 6.

P.H. 4.5; p.W. 5.0.

Fragment preserves small part of triangular rim and upper neck. Rim is flaring, fairly short (profile of outer face uncertain) with an approximately horizontal upper face. Vertical strap handle presses close to rim at upper attachment, probably rose at least to its height. Hard medium-fine beige fabric (10YR 7/3, very pale brown) with slightly lighter surfaces (10YR 7.5/4, very pale brown).
Many small dark gray or black inclusions, and a few large brown ones; voids. Possibly table amphora? Shape, especially rim, is similar to small Corinthian Type B transport amphora of the late 4th-early 3rd century B.C., but probably not because there are no parallels this late.

Early-Middle Hellenistic. 323-275 B.C.

Outlier. High in Ni and Cr.

**AS76** Type A Transport Amphora, rim

Fig. 6.8.

L-028-01 (S055), Zone 11.

P.L. 7.0; p.W. 3.9; Th. of rim 2.5; est. Diam. of rim 18.0.

Fragment preserves small part of horizontal rim, broken on three sides. Rim is heavy and overhanging with approximately flat upper and lower faces, lower one is a bit irregular. Outer face rounded at top with very slight bevel; concave profile side; sharp, protruding lower edge. Coarse fabric with gray core [1GL 5/N] and thin orange outer band (2.5YR 6.5/7, light red). Many large angular red-brown inclusions, and some medium to large white or light gray ones.

Early Archaic. 650-600 B.C.

Plots slightly outside large A cluster with Bs.
**AS77**  Type A Transport Amphora, toe

L-035-02 (S055), Zone 11.

P.H. 2.1; p.Diam. (close to Diam. of toe) 6.4.

Fragment preserves 1/2 of bottom of toe. Bottom of toe is flat, sides vertical in one place, convex in another. Hard coarse orange-beige fabric (2.5YR 7/8, light red) with gray to tan core (5YR 6.5/6, reddish yellow). Many large and small sharp angular gray, brown, red, and white inclusions, and trace of sparkles.

Archaic. 600-500 B.C.?

Outlier. High in Cr.

**AS78**  Imitation Type B Transport Amphora, handle

L-053-03 (S055), Zone 11.

P.L. 9.5; W. 4.3; Th. 2.8.

Fragment preserves lower 1/2, from base to beginning of curve, of a battered short? handle, flattened oval in section. Coarse gray to orange-beige fabric (5YR 7/6, reddish yellow) with lighter surfaces (7.5YR 7.5/4, pink). Many large to small dark and light gray inclusions, and some small sparkles; voids. Local?

Late Classical-Middle Hellenistic. 400-275 B.C.

Outlier. High in Cr.
AS79  Imitation Type B Transport Amphora, handle

L-077-01 (S055), Zone 11.

P.L. 9.8; W. 4.2; Th. above base 2.8.

Fragment preserves lower 1/3 of handle, flattened oval in section, and small part of shoulder wall attachment. Coarse fabric with orange core (5YR 6.5/6, reddish yellow) and beige surfaces (10YR 8/4, very pale brown). Many small to medium and some very large rounded orange-tan inclusions (5YR 7/8, reddish yellow), some very small brown ones, and trace of tiny sparkles; some voids. Local?

Late Classical-Middle Hellenistic. 400-275 B.C.

Plots with cluster of B imitations.

AS80  Type A Transport Amphora, handle

L-077-02 (S055), Zone 11.

P.H. ca. 12.0; W. 4.0; Th. 4.0.

Fragment preserves lower part of handle, roughly round in section, broken at top, bottom, and along most of interior face. Hard coarse fabric with gray-brown core (1GL 6/N, gray) and orange outer band (closest to 2.5YR 7/8, light red). Many large, sharp, angular red and gray inclusions, some small to large white ones, and trace of sparkles; voids. Possibly stamped?
Early Classical. 350-300 B.C. if stamped.
Plots with A cluster.

AS81  Type A' Transport Amphora, toe

Fig. 6.8.
L-208-01, Zone 11.
P.H. 8.0; Diam. of toe 4.8.

Two joining fragments preserve complete toe and part of lower body. Toe is truncated cone with irregularly rounded lower and upper edges. Hard coarse fabric with orange core (2.5YR 6/8, light red) and beige exterior surface (7.5YR 7/5, pink to reddish yellow). Many medium and large angular dark gray, brown, and red inclusions, some small white ones, and one larger rounded white.

Early Classical. 450-400 B.C.
Plots between A cluster and local B cluster.

AS82  Imitation Type B Transport Amphora, handle

L-388-02, Zone 1.
P.L. 9.5; W. 4.4; Th. 3.1.

Fragment preserves lower 1/3 of handle, oval in section, from base up. Medium-coarse tan fabric (5YR 7/6, reddish yellow) with slightly paler surface (7.5YR 8/4, pink). Many medium to large rounded red-brown inclusions
(7.5YR 5/6, pink to reddish yellow), some small red and gray ones, one large white, and trace of sparkles; voids. Worn surface. Local?

Early-Middle Hellenistic. 323-200 B.C.

Plots with lower cluster of B imitations.

AS83  Type B? Transport Amphora, handle

L-407-02, Zone 1.

P.L. 10.5; W. 4.8; Th. 3.3.

Fragment preserves lower 1/3 of handle, flattened oval in section, and attachment. Surface broken on interior face. Fine beige-tan fabric (7.5YR 7.5/4, pink), slightly more orange at core (5YR 7/6, reddish yellow). Many small brown and gray inclusions, a few white ones, and occasional sparkles. Fabric looks Corinthian, but might be local imitation.

Early-Middle Hellenistic. 323-200 B.C.

Plots with imitation B cluster.

AS84  Imitation Type B Transport Amphora, handle

M-069-01 (S041), Zone 13.

P.L. 13.0; W. 4.6; Th. 2.6.

Fragment preserves vertical side of handle, slightly recurved and flattened oval in section, with slightly
pinched edges. Coarse beige fabric (10YR 8/3, very pale brown). Many small to large dark gray, red-brown, and white inclusions, and some small to medium sparkles; voids. Gritty surface. Local?

Late Classical–Early Hellenistic?

Plots with imitation B cluster.

**AS85** Imitation Type B Transport Amphora, handle

M-089-09 (S041), Zone 10.

P.L. 13.0; W. 4.4; Th. 2.7.

Fragment preserves vertical side of misshapen handle, flattened oval in section. Medium orange-tan fabric (2.5YR 6/8, light red) with streaks of blond clay (7.5YR 8/4, pink) and slightly lighter surface (7.5YR 7.5/4, pink). Some large and small red-orange inclusions (2.5YR 6/8, light red), a few small dark and white ones, and some sparkles; voids. Worn surface. Sherd shows mixing of red and blond clays. Mixing streaks clear in patches, especially where surface sheared off. Fabric and inclusions similar to K-043-04 (AS71) and M-255-01 (AS88). Local?

Late Classical–Middle Hellenistic.

Plots with B "local" cluster.
**AS86** Type A Transport Amphora, toe

Fig. 6.8.

M-090-06 (S041), Zone 10.

P.H. 6.0; p.Diam. of toe 9.0; est. max. Diam. of toe 12.0; Diam. of bottom 10.0.

Fragment preserves ca. 1/4 of broad toe. Toe is flat on bottom with lower side flaring to bevel, above which profile is convex. Can see where outer "cap" was added onto closed lower body in the section. Very hard coarse grey to beige fabric (7.5YR 7.5/4, pink). Many large angular brown and red-brown inclusions, and a few light gray ones; voids.

Early Archaic. 650-550 B.C., probably 650-600 B.C.

Plots at top of A cluster.

**AS87** Imitation? Type A Transport Amphora, body sherd

M-195-01, Zone 10.

P.L. 5.4; p.W. 5.1; Th 0.7.

Fragment of thin walled body sherd. Hard coarse fabric with gray core [2GL 6/5PB, bluish gray], beige-orange exterior surface (2.5YR 7/5, light reddish brown to light red), and brown interior (7.5YR 6/2, pinkish gray). Many very large angular red and gray inclusions, and a few white ones; voids.
Classical-Early Hellenistic.

Plots below A cluster.

**AS88** Imitation Type B Transport Amphora, shoulder

M-255-01 (S046), Zone 11.

P.L. 10.0; p.W. 7.0; Th. 1.2.

Fragment preserves part of shoulder. Powdery medium-coarse orange-tan fabric (5YR 7/6, reddish yellow) with streaks of blond clay (2.5Y 8/3, pale yellow). Some small to large rounded red-orange inclusions (2.5YR 6/8, light red), some small dark gray ones, a few white, and trace of sparkles. Mixed blond and red clays; streaks visible, especially in sheared-off horizontal interior. Fabric and inclusions similar to K-043-04 (AS71) and M-089-09 (AS85). Local fabric resembling Corinthian Type B?

Late Classical-Middle Hellenistic. 400-300 B.C.?

Plots with local cluster.

**AS89** Type A'? Transport Amphora, handle

M-305-02, Zone 13.

P.H. 6.6; W. 3.2; Th. 2.9.

Fragment preserves curve of handle, round in section, from upper part. Coarse beige to orange fabric (5YR 7/4, pink) with very pale brown surface (10YR 8/3). Many medium
to large angular red-brown inclusions, a few angular white ones, and rare very large orange. Very worn surfaces.

Imitation?

Late Archaic-Early Classical. 500-400 B.C.

Plots close to B local cluster.

**AS90**  Type A? Transport Amphora, handle

M-308-01, Zone 13.

P.H. 9.8; W. 3.4; Th. 3.5.

Fragment preserves lower 1/2 of handle, round in section at base, oval at mid-point, and lower attachment. Hard coarse fabric with gray core [2GL 6/5PB, bluish gray] and orange outer band (2.5YR 6/6, light red). Many large angular red-brown inclusions, some large angular white ones, and a few small sparkles; voids.

Late Archaic-Early Hellenistic. 500-400 B.C.?

Plots with A cluster.

**AS91**  Type A Transport Amphora, toe

Fig. 6.8.

M-386-09 (S050), Zone 1.

P.H. 7.0; max. Diam. of toe 6.1.

Fragment preserves complete broad solid peg toe and beginning of body wall. Toe has flat bottom and sloping
sides with a concave curve above that flares to lower body. Hard coarse fabric with light gray core [1GL 6/N, gray] and orange outer bands (2.5YR 7/7, light red). Many large angular gray, white, and orange inclusions, and several very large angular white ones.

Late Classical. 400-350 B.C.

Plots with A cluster.

**AS92** Type A? Transport Amphora, body sherd

M-386-36 (S050), Zone 1.

P.L. 8.7; p.W. 5.0; Th. 1.3.

Curved body sherd. Hard coarse fabric with thin gray core (1GL 6/N), orange outer bands (2.5YR 6/5, light reddish brown to light red), and orange-red surface (10R 7/7, light red). Many large angular gray and red-orange inclusions, and some medium to large white ones. Possibly local imitation, but probably Corinthian.

Classical-Early Hellenistic.

Plots with at bottom of A cluster.

**AS93** Type A' Transport Amphora, rim

Fig. 6.8.

P-007-01 (S008), Zone 1.
P.H. 3.4; p.Diam. (interior) 10.0; p.Diam (exterior) 19.0.

Fragment preserves small part of broad overhanging rim with slightly sloping upper face. Hard coarse pinkish-tan fabric (5YR 7/4.5, pink to reddish yellow). Many large angular red-brown and gray inclusions, and some small brown and white ones.

Early Classical. 475-425 B.C.

Plots on upper left side of A cluster.

AS94  Type B Transport Amphora, toe

Fig. 6.8.

P-162-02 (S008), Zone 1.

P.H. 5.7; Diam. in center of bottom 1.6.


Late Classical. 400-350 B.C., perhaps 400-375 B.C.

Plots with large B cluster.

AS95  Type B Transport Amphora, rim

S001-211G-01, Zone 4.
P.H. 3.4; p.L. 6.2.

Fragment preserves small part of rather tall, narrow, flaring rim, approximately triangular in section, with nearly horizontal upper face (probably from longer side with oval mouth) and somewhat convex outer face. Very fine tan fabric (7.5YR 7/4, pink). A few tiny dark and white inclusions, and trace of sparkles; voids. Worn and powdery surfaces.

Late Classical–Middle Hellenistic. 350–300 B.C., perhaps to 275 B.C.?

Plots with B cluster.

**AS96** Type A' Transport Amphora, handle

Fig. 6.8.

S001-311G-05, Zone 4.

P.H. 8.0; W. 3.4; Th. 3.9.

Fragment preserves upper 1/2 of handle, curved in profile, round in section. Hard coarse tan fabric (7.5YR 7/4, pink). Many small to large angular red and tan inclusions. Worn surface.

Classical. 450–375 B.C.

Plots with A' cluster.

**AS97** Type A Transport Amphora, handle
S005-004G-04, Zone 2.
Diam. of handle at base 3.8.
Fragment preserves base of handle, round in section, and small part of body wall. Hard coarse fabric with gray core (1GL 5/N) and orange surface (2.5YR 6/8, light red). Some small and large angular gray and red inclusions, and a few large beige ones.
Classical-Early Hellenistic. 425-300 B.C.
Plots with A cluster.

AS98  Type A' Transport Amphora, body sherd
S005-004G-11, Zone 2.
P.L. 5.9; p.W. 4.4; Th. 0.8-0.9.
Body sherd. Hard very coarse tan fabric (7.5YR 7/4, pink). Many medium to large angular red and brown inclusions, and a few very large angular dark gray ones.
Late Archaic-Early Classical. 500-450 B.C.?
Plots with A cluster.

AS99  Type A Transport Amphora, body sherd
S015-011G-08, Zone 4.
P.L. 4.5; p.W. 4.0; Th. 0.8.
Body sherd. Very hard coarse fabric with gray core (2GL 5/5B and 1GL 5/N, bluish gray and gray) and tan
surfaces (5YR 7/5, pink to reddish yellow). Some large angular gray inclusions, and a few large rounded light gray ones.

Late Classical–Early Hellenistic.

Plots at bottom of A cluster.

**AS100** Type B Transport Amphora, rim

Fig. 6.8.

S033-001G-01, Zone 3.

P.H. 5.5; H. of rim 2.8.

Fragment preserves small part of rim and neck. Cylindrical neck has two grooves around top, with a further groove around bottom of rim. Outward thickened rim has upper surface of rim slanting toward interior, outer face convex in profile. Medium-coarse beige fabric (5Y 8/2, pale yellow). Some small gray and brown inclusions, and rare white ones. Hackly surface.

Late Archaic?

Plots with B cluster.

**AS101** Small Type B Transport Amphora, rim, neck, and handle

Fig. 6.8.

S045-411G-01, Zone 11.
P.H. 4.0; W. of handle 3.7; Th. of handle 1.4; H. of rim 2.0.

Fragment preserves small part of rim, upper neck, and upper curve of strap handle. Cylindrical neck pressed to oval at top where handles were attached. Ridge around base of neck. Flaring rim, elongated triangle in section, with almost straight slanting outer face and horizontal upper face that rises over center of handle attachment. Base of rim offset inside neck. Mouth a figure-eight in plan view. Handle strap rises slightly above height of rim, except where rim bulges at its center. Fine fabric with gray core (1GL 5/N) and thin beige outer band (10YR 8/3, very pale brown). Some very small gray and white inclusions, and one platey larger white one. Black deposit on rim upper face and a bit of handle top.

Early-Middle Hellenistic. 323-275 B.C.

Plots with B cluster.
Chapter 7.

The Mallakastra Regional Archaeological Project Survey: The Primary Data

Archaeology’s most important contribution to the study of the city has been the paradoxical one of shifting its attention away from the city and its monumental structures and towards the countryside.\(^{1266}\)

A single Doric column forms the sole vestige of this once great and populous city, the theatre of Caesar and Pompey's contests, the place of Augustus's early education. In every map which I have seen, it is placed too far from the sea, and too near to the Voïussa.\(^{1267}\)

Introduction

This chapter presents the primary data collected during the course of MRAP. My thesis draws on this data in order to reconstruct patterns of settlement in the hinterland of Apollonia. MRAP was, of course, not designed to test the propositions advanced in this thesis. Quite the opposite: the ideas set forth here evolved as a result of my participation in MRAP. Nonetheless, the analysis of the results of MRAP in this section does provide a body of


\(^{1267}\) Hughes 1820, pp. 386-387 (quoted from the journal of Mr. W. Jones).
information that supports certain fundamental ideas that I have developed in this thesis. Most notably the results of MRAP point to a presence of Greek material culture, and probably also Greeks, at Apollonia prior to the traditional foundation date of the apoikia (the reliability of which has already been rejected as a result of the source criticism documented in Section II). Additionally, MRAP data demonstrate the scarcity of indigenous sites in the immediate hinterland of the asty, suggesting that the colony was established in an underexploited landscape.

Albania offers great potential for the application of modern techniques of regional surface archaeology. Like other Mediterranean countries, its landscape and natural environment are well suited to this type of investigation; much of the Albanian countryside offers the additional advantage that, when MRAP began, it had been little affected by intensive agricultural or industrial development.\textsuperscript{1268} At the same time, a strong tradition of indigenous Albanian archaeology is well-established that includes scientific excavations at sites of all periods and a record of prompt publication. Although much archaeological exploration and excavation has taken place in the area of Apollonia and its immediate environs, prior

\textsuperscript{1268} This is no longer the case, and the countryside is rapidly changing because of both agricultural development and urban sprawl.
to MRAP only an incomplete archaeological map of its hinterland could be constructed based on disparate pieces of data collected from local archaeologists, teachers, farmers, and school children. MRAP employed modern survey techniques that are intensive, systematic, and conducted in an organized scientific manner by small teams of experienced archaeologists, leading to the discovery of dozens of new sites, and to a much clearer presentation and analysis of the "big picture."

Survey is able to track changes that occur over the longue and moyenne durée that are often elusive in single site excavations. The methodologies employed by MRAP were similar to the techniques that were pioneered on Keos (1983-1984), in the Nemea Valley (1984-1989), and in Messenia (1991-1996), and almost identical to those used by the Durrës Regional Archaeological Project in 2001. The general procedures have been briefly described in a number of preliminary publications, as well as being discussed in detail in the final report on the survey of northern Keos.

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1270 Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991.  
1271 Cherry et al. 1988; Wright et al. 1990.  
1272 Davis et al. 1997.  
1273 Davis et al. 2003.  
1274 Cherry, Davis and Mantzourani 1991.
Robin Osborne claims that survey has not met the challenge of integrating survey results with the cultural history of a given region. Until now, a bridge linking historical events (causes) with the consequent effects (manifested archaeologically) in central-western Albania could not be built because there were no concrete archaeological data to substantiate or refute historical claims. As anticipated in previous chapters, the results of MRAP suggest that ethnic changes wrought by the arrival of the Greeks are visible in the landscape, and the data to support this claim are presented here. More generally, this chapter provides the data required for a first attempt at integrating archaeological data from the vicinity of Apollonia with written testimonia about historical events in the Adriatic in antiquity.

MRAP was the first diachronic, inter-disciplinary, intensive regional archaeological survey to operate in Albania. The project consisted of a program of systematic intensive surface survey, geomorphological research, palynological investigations, and select excavations that were conducted in the vicinity of Apollonia. Groundwork

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1275 Osborne 2004, pp. 88-89. He believes that current survey publications fail to meet this challenge and he criticizes survey for remaining "more heavily focused upon theoretical problems of method and interpretation than upon bringing results of one survey into dialogue with the results of another survey or with wider archaeological and historical concerns."
for the project was laid in 1994-1996. A total area of approximately 35 sq km was then intensively surveyed during the course of four seasons of field walking, and test excavations were undertaken at several sites (Fig. 7.1). Prior to the advent of MRAP, no systematic program of rural archaeology had been practiced in Albania.

Goals were to investigate 1) the area immediately around the polis of Apollonia, including the necropolis and the plain; 2) an area around an Illyrian hillfort with known pre-Greek and Greek material (Margelliç); and 3) several areas between the urban centers where few or no sites of any period had been previously identified. The areas were comprised of large contiguous territories in which the entirety of the passable landscape was intensively surveyed.\textsuperscript{1276} The plain of Apollonia was the western boundary of the survey, the lower town of Margelliç the eastern. In the south the area investigated extended to the outskirts of the modern village of Levan. Mike Galaty of Millsaps College directed all field work on a daily basis.

The Methods of the Survey

\textsuperscript{1276} Areas that were covered with dense maquis, cliffs, or steep slopes were deemed impassable. In a very few cases we were denied access to certain properties. See Korkuti et al. 1998.
The areas selected for intensive survey were investigated by teams of five or six archaeologists and students of archaeology under the direction of a team leader. These team members or field walkers were spaced about 15 m apart as they walked transects (Fig. 7.2), parallel lines within the borders of a unit of land called a "tract," sometimes a cultivated field or naturally bounded parcel of land, but in any case rarely larger than one or two ha. Total numbers of sherds, bricks/tiles, lithics, and other artifacts were recorded for each walker per 100-m segment of a transect. This information was recorded in a team notebook by the team leader and later entered into the "MRAP Collection Units Database (Fig. 7.3)." Teams were instructed to collect all "diagnostic" ceramics, i.e., rims, handles, bases, decorated sherds, and unusual fabrics; these were collected and bagged by tract. Tract walkers counted all bricks/tiles in their

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1278 See Snodgrass 1987; Cherry et al. 1988; Wright et al. 1990; Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991; Alcock, Cherry, and Davis 1994, p. 138.
1279 Bricks and tiles were counted together in the field, and are here referred to as bricks/tiles, unless only one category was found. Counts for bricks and tiles are presented separately in Tract and Site Tables.
1280 Our methodology of collecting only diagnostics is typical of intensive surveys in Greece, but differs from some other projects, such as the Biferno Valley Project in Italy, where field walkers retained all artifacts. More recent projects such as the Iklaina and Eastern Corinthia surveys in Greece, in contrast, performed analyses in the field and retained almost no artifacts. See Barker 1995, p. 45; Tartaron et al. 2007.
path but only collected unique fragments such as those with stamps, black glaze, unusual fabrics, and/or complete profiles. All small finds, i.e., non-ceramic artifacts, were also collected.

Within the areas that were intensively surveyed, subsequent to initial tract walking, denser concentrations of surface finds (sites) were examined in greater detail. Most were examined by laying 10- or 20-meter grids over them and then collecting the surface artifacts within each grid-square. Others were revisited by the directors or a field team, who gathered a few chronologically distinct diagnostic artifacts. Information about individual sites was recorded in the "MRAP Sites Database (Fig. 7.4)," which was linked with databases containing information about pottery and small finds collected at the site. Subsequent to the initial analysis of artifacts by the museum staff, team leaders suggested the category and function of a site.

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1281 Data about artifact densities were used to define sites systematically. On the definition of sites, see Alcock, Cherry, and Davis 1994, p. 138.
1282 Policy on artifact retention from site collection was different in 1998 from that of following years. All artifacts, including tiles, were collected in vacuums, and diagnostics, including tiles, were collected in grabs. Tiles were sorted in the field and only a very small representative sample was brought to the museum. The rest were left in piles on-site, and total quantities were not recorded.
1283 Artifacts from revisitations were labeled with a tract number followed by an R, and were kept separate from other tract finds in the databases in order not to mix material obtained from different collection methodologies.
based on its location, size, artifact densities, and the types of material that were collected.\textsuperscript{1284}

Detailed information about the find-spots of artifacts from site collection allows changes in the size of sites through time to be calculated more precisely and the relationship to be measured between patterns in surface density of artifacts, on the one hand, and soil and micro-topographic conditions, on the other. Such knowledge is valuable not only for newly discovered sites but also for the many known, and sometimes partly excavated, sites in the area that had already been located by Albanian archaeologists.

The field teams brought their finds to the base camp at the end of each day of field walking. Processing of artifacts and analysis in the museum was organized and conducted under my supervision on a daily basis in all years of the project. Team members counted the number of ceramics and other artifacts, and a staff member recorded these counts in separate columns on a "Museum Tracking Form." After washing and drying, artifacts were brought into an artifact processing room for analysis. There, artifacts were "read" (i.e., described and dated) (Fig. 7.5). Small finds, e.g., lithics, bones, metal objects, and stone objects, were separated from pottery. Ceramics

\textsuperscript{1284} See below.
were divided into groups of fine and coarse wares based on the size and quantity of inclusions. Tiles and bricks were isolated. All finds were counted and weighed, and this information was recorded on the "MRAP Museum Registration Form," and then in the "Museum Registration Database (Fig. 7.6)." Each pot or sherd from a tract, and representative examples from sites, was given a sequence number. Less diagnostic pieces from sites were counted and described as groups.

The preliminary analysis of all ceramic artifacts collected in 1998-2002 was made by Skënder Muçaj. All ceramics were re-examined in 2003: prehistoric by Lorenc Bejko, Archaic-Roman by Kathleen Lynch, with assistance from Maria Grazia Amore, and post-antique by Joanita Vroom (Fig. 7.7). Information was collected about the fabric, form, date, and decoration. Munsell numbers and dimensions of artifacts were recorded where applicable. This information was first entered onto the "MRAP Catalogued Pottery Form (Fig. 7.8)," then into the "MRAP Pottery Database." After analysis, a selection of representative artifacts was singled out for drawing or photography. Ceramic specialists filled out a "Site Feedback Form" for

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1285 See below.
each site, suggesting its function based on their analysis of the artifacts.\textsuperscript{1286}

All terracotta figurines, loomweights, and non-ceramic objects were classified as small finds and were assigned unique numbers. Small finds were processed in a manner similar to ceramics. Muzafer Korkuti analyzed the lithics, with assistance from Curtis Runnels, and Jack Davis examined all other categories of objects (Fig. 7.9). Information about small finds was recorded on "MRAP Small Finds Forms (Fig. 7.10)," then entered into the "Small Finds Database." At the end of each season, artifacts were placed in storage by tract.

The Progress of Fieldwork

A first season of fieldwork was conducted in 1998 during which ca. 5 sq km in the immediate vicinity of Apollonia were intensively surveyed in 12 days by two teams of field walkers.\textsuperscript{1287} Team A surveyed the ridges and valley to the northeast of the modern village of Shtyllas (the ridge ends above the village of Radostina); the area is just over 3 sq km and was divided into 213 tracts. Team B worked east and northeast of the acropolis of Apollonia, from the modern village of Kryegjata to Havaleas-Radostina,

\textsuperscript{1286} See below.
\textsuperscript{1287} See Korkuti et al. 1998, pp. 257-258.
including a large part of its ancient necropolis, and covered almost 1.5 sq km divided into 153 tracts.\footnote{Areas surveyed by teams do not correspond to zones. See below and Table 8.2.} Seventeen concentrations of artifacts were identified as sites (Table 7.1; see Fig. 7.1).\footnote{These were labeled S001-S017, and include the acropolis (S008) and necropolis (S007) of Apollonia. S001, S002, S009, S010, S011, S012, S013, S014, and S015 were in the territory of Team A, S003, S004, S005, S006, S007, S016, and S017 were in the area surveyed by Team B. Team B identified the first significant open-air Paleolithic sites discovered in Albania since WW II and the first examples from central Albania (S003 and S017). On the designation and nature of "site" vs. "off-site" artifact scatters, see Bintliff 2000; Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991; Davis et al. 1997.} An extensive earth sciences program was also initiated in 1998 with advice from Eberhard Zangger, and preliminary geological reconnaissance was completed.

Two teams were also put into the field in 1999; together they investigated a 6.5 sq km area during 21 days of field walking. Team C surveyed the area between the modern villages of Shtyllas and Levan to the southwest of Apollonia and filled in some of the gaps in the Shtyllas valley left by Team A; Team C covered slightly over 2 sq km in 380 tracts. Team D worked in the area east of Apollonia in the Vadhiza valley between Havaleas and Fier and filled in several previously uninvestigated areas in the Kryegjata valley, walking 3.5 sq km in 370 tracts. Eleven concentrations of artifacts were identified and designated.
as sites (see Fig. 7.1). In addition to field walking, an electronic mapping project in the necropolis was begun under the direction of Galaty and Korkuti (Fig. 7.11). Geomorphological studies of the area were conducted by Michael Timpson, and paleobotanical research was carried out by Sergei Yazvenko.

At the beginning of the 2000 field season, prior to the start of field walking, a small test excavation was undertaken at a Mesolithic and Paleolithic site, S003 (Kryejgata B). In conjunction with it, geomorphological investigations were undertaken at the Paleolithic sites in the Kryegjata valley by Timpson, and a soil map of the area was produced. During this season, the mapping project in the main necropolis of Apollonia was completed. Cores for pollen analysis were extracted in three places: the Narta Lagoon, near the island of Zvernek, the Roskovec marsh, and the Mbrostar basin near Fier.

Field survey began in July 2000, upon the conclusion of the excavation; three teams were put into the field (F, H, and J). A total area of 10.5 sq km was covered in 21 days of field walking. Team F primarily worked in the Peshtan valley south of the road linking Fier and Vlora and

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1290 S018-S028. S021, S022, S026, S027, and S028 are in the area surveyed by Team C, S018, S019, S020, S023, and S025 by Team D; S024 is a Paleolithic site in the area covered by Team B in 1998.
covered a 3.5 sq km area in 433 tracts. Team H surveyed the Gjanica river valley near Fier around the villages of Pluk and Mbyet; Team J covered the western slopes of the Shtyllas valley, including the area around the temple at Shtyllas, and finished the survey of the Kryegjata valley (see Fig. 7.1).\textsuperscript{1292}

Two small excavations were undertaken at the beginning of the 2001 season at sites that had been identified the previous year. These were a Hellenistic farmstead at Shkoza e Zezë in the Levan Valley (S034) and a small Bronze Age settlement overlooking the Gjanica river valley near the modern village of Portez (S038). On completion of excavations, one field team, K, completed survey in a small area between Vadhiza and Levan that had not been investigated previously.

The last season of field work took place in 2002. Nine sq km were surveyed by three teams. Two teams, L and M, worked in the vicinity of Margelliç in an attempt to define the limits of the settlement outside the citadel walls and to determine patterns of land use in the area. Together they covered an area of ca. 4.4 sq km in and around Margelliç, and identified three new sites (S044, S046, and S054). The teams also investigated the acropolis

\textsuperscript{1292} At the beginning of the survey season, Teams F and H covered unwalked areas near Levan.
of Margelliç (S041), its lower town (S045 and S055), and its necropolis (S060) (see Fig. 7.1).

The third team, P, began survey of the extensive coastal plain west of Apollonia. Using GPS, the team established a long transect from the center of Apollonia's acropolis and walked west along it to the sea some 8 km away; the goal was to determine at what distance from the city pottery densities fall off, and thus define the western limits of the asty. They next established a north-south transect within the walls of Apollonia and collected artifacts from inside the city walls that could be compared with those found in the hinterland. Team P also surveyed around Buçova, between the Lagoon of Narta and Apollonia, an area that includes an old oxbow of the Vjosa river.

After Teams L and M completed survey around Margelliç, they were transferred to the plain west of Apollonia where Team P was operating. Team L began work just outside the ancient walls of the polis and filled in the area south of Pojan and around the modern village of Sopi. Team M surveyed a large area north of Pojan, moving south to meet Team L near the village of Islamaj.

In 2003, all sites were revisited by Galaty, and GIS coordinates were registered. Several additional artifact concentrations were designated as sites. Galaty then
divided the entire survey area into zones, which were based on topographical considerations such as watersheds. These are numbered 1-13 (Fig. 7.12). All artifacts from previous years were reexamined for publication by experienced ceramic specialists, including Carolyn Koehler, Bejko, Lynch, Amore, Muçaj, and Vroom (see above).

In 2004, test excavations began at the Bonjakët compound, a site (S043) that had been surveyed in 2002. Excavations revealed a previously unknown temple apparently of Classical date. Investigations of S043 continued in 2005–2006, and a study season in 2007 brought the Mallakastra Regional Archaeological Project to completion.

Sixty-one sites of all periods were identified through MRAP in the hinterland of Apollonia, from the Paleolithic through the modern era (See Fig. 7.1). One of the most concrete benefits of this project has been to provide an inventory of the archaeological resources of this region of Albania, which can be and currently is being used to guide future decisions about site protection and programs of excavation, particularly since Apollonia has been declared a national park.

A total of 11,662 records were entered into the Catalogued Pottery database, documenting 30,700 individual artifacts from a maximum of 29,560 vessels and
bricks/tiles; 478 of these records are for artifacts found in excavation (8,499 sherds for a maximum of 8,298 vessels and bricks/tiles).  

Eight thousand seven hundred fifty-five records document 24,092 sherds of a maximum 23,003 vessels of pre-Roman date. I have been responsible for maintaining the databases of the project.

**Introduction to the Gazetteer of Sites**

In the following pages, primary data collected during the course of MRAP are presented in a “Gazetteer of Sites.” The gazetteer provides the basis for the analyses presented in Chapters 8 and 9 and contains a catalogue of all sites that were defined. Ceramic data (or in the case of aceramic sites, lithics) were used to compile the list of periods and period ranges represented at each site. Periods and period ranges are presented separately so as to emphasize those more securely dated artifacts that fall within a single period. The data obtained from tract and site collections are also presented separately so that the results of the two collection strategies can be easily compared; a table showing the shapes, quantities, and dates of the finds in each assemblage is provided at the end of the thesis. It is clear that site collection often yields valuable information, otherwise lacking, about site

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1293 Some sherds are from the same vessel.
function, less visible periods of occupation, and site size.\textsuperscript{1294}

Pottery is the most significant tool of the archaeologist who engages in surface survey, not least because it typically constitutes the most prolific residue of antiquity, at least for historical periods. In this regard, even the presence of one or two sherds of a particular period may have significance in attesting to a human presence in a given place at a given moment in the past. This does not, of course, exclude the possibility that in still other locations we have failed to detect such evanescent traces of human activity because, for example, artifacts have been hidden by eroded soils or simply overlooked by us because they are masked by the presence of large quantities of artifacts of other dates. None of these factors need effect the interpretation of survey evidence so long it is clear that the focus of MRAP and of this thesis is on the "big picture," patterns in the distribution of artifacts \textit{grosso modo}.

The study of particular fabrics represented in archaeological contexts at Apollonia is in its infancy. In most cases it is not possible to determine the place of

\textsuperscript{1294} In the Durrës survey, the dates of sites were determined solely on the basis of tract collection; sites were not gridded or otherwise reexamined systematically because of time constraints. See Davis et al. 2003.
manufacture of finewares, not least because of their fragmentary nature. Of the few imports that can be stylistically identified, many are products of Corinth. Certainly, Attic imports are present, especially in the necropolis from the mid-6th century B.C. onwards, and in large quantities, but a good amount of petrological research is an important desideratum for the future in order to determine where certain categories of vessels, such as those with black glaze, were produced.

In general, very little fineware was recovered in the course of the survey except at the sites directly associated with the major centers of Apollonia and Margelliç. Identifiable imported finewares, especially of the Archaic and Classical periods, were especially rare outside the immediate environs of Apollonia (i.e., the necropolis, the asty, and the Bonjakët sanctuary) and Margelliç (i.e. the acropolis, the slopes, the lower town, and the necropolis). On the other hand, as noted in Chapter 6, MRAP found numerous imported Corinthian transport amphoras in the hinterland. As will be seen below and in Chapter 8, transport amphoras are the earliest

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1296 S007, S008, and S043 respectively. For imported ceramics at Apollonia, see Mano 1971, pp. 158-163; Dimo 1991, pp. 65-68; Bereti et al. 2007, pp. 129-133; Dimo, Fenet, and Mano 2007, pp. 312-313.
Greek material at indigenous sites. At Margelliç, these were sometimes found in conjunction with drinking vessels and other fineware shapes. Moreover, in the few instances where Archaic-Classical finewares were found in the hinterland of Apollonia, Corinthian transport amphoras and/or pithoi were also found in almost every case. The reverse, however, is not the case: Archaic-Classical storage vessels, especially transport amphoras, were found in numerous locations where there were no finewares. This suggests that the Illyrians were primarily interested in the commodities these transport amphoras contained, rather than the vessels themselves.

In addition to pottery, brick and tile are important categories of artifacts found in large numbers in the countryside of Apollonia. Both have been the object of detailed study by Albanian archaeologists, particularly Alexandra Mano, doyenne of the excavators of Apollonia during the communist decades. Apollonia lacked supplies of stone nearby and, no doubt for that reason, relied more heavily on ceramics for building materials than many other parts of the Greek world. Tiles of the type used in roofing systems of Corinthian style were commonly employed already in the Archaic period and can be dated on the basis of their profiles to broad periods (e.g., Archaic,
Classical, Hellenistic, or Roman).\textsuperscript{1298} Bricks, on the other hand, were already used at Apollonia in pre-Roman times, which is unusual for the Greek world. They, too, can be roughly dated on the basis of their dimensions, if they are sufficiently well-preserved.\textsuperscript{1299} Besides their function as building materials, both bricks and tiles were used in the Apollonia necropolis for graves.\textsuperscript{1300}

In this thesis I have tried to suggest the functions of particular sites: i.e., the types of activities that may have been supported at them at various times in the past. It is important to note that such observations are highly speculative in the case of any particular site. My approach has been to consider the estimated size of the site, the description of the landscape provided by the team leader, and the date and range of artifacts that were documented at it by the ceramic specialists. Some questions I asked are, for example: Is a given location the sort of place where an ancient farmstead is likely to have been situated? Is the size of the site reasonable in light of what we know about the size of ancient farmhouses? Is the range of pottery and other finds typical of that found

\textsuperscript{1298} Mano 1965; N. Ceka 1982b.
\textsuperscript{1299} See Balandier and Koço 1999; Balandier 2000.
\textsuperscript{1300} For brick graves, see Mano 1971, p. 125; Amore 2005c, pp. 130-131; Dimo and Fenet 1999, pp. 220-222; Dimo, Fenet, and Mano 2007, p. 308. For tile graves, see Praschniker 1922-1924, cols. 51-54; Rey 1932, p. 7; Mano 1971, 1977-1978; Dimo and Fenet 1999, pp. 220-222; Dimo, Fenet, and Mano 2007, p. 308.
in excavations of farmhouses? For example, does the ceramic assemblage include the types of vessels one would expect to be associated with a farmstead, e.g., storage vessels, cooking wares, fine wares, and open and closed plain ware shapes associated with food consumption and preparation?

In part, such analysis has necessarily involved a comparison with the results of MRAP's excavations at S034, but also, as in the case of our publication elsewhere of those excavations, explicit comparison with data from the excavations of farmhouses elsewhere in the Greek world (e.g., the Vari and Dema houses in Attica). In other cases, the distribution of surface artifacts seems so large that I have suggested that a site may have been comprised by a cluster of farmhouses, i.e., a hamlet. In yet other cases, finds seem too restricted in type to be convincingly interpreted as deriving from activities that involved year-round settlement in the countryside: e.g., fine pottery might be absent, while coarse pottery of the sort used for large jars and other vessels employed for the storage and transport of agricultural products are abundant. In such cases, I have suggested that these sites may have been the focus of less permanent or enduring activities: e.g., field

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houses (of the type ubiquitous in the modern rural landscape) that served only seasonally as a locus for agrarian endeavors, such as the storing and processing of agricultural commodities. Again, what is important is the overall picture and in this regard the patterns are clear. At certain times in the past there is evidence for intensive exploitation of the rural hinterland of Apollonia, at other times, not. It is the explanation and interpretation of these broad trends that is of greatest significance to me in this thesis, although these must themselves be documented through thick analysis of the data from each and every site that MRAP defined.

As noted above, both team leaders and ceramic specialists formulated ideas about a site's function. In some cases their interpretations were quite different. This is, in part, because their conclusions were based on different types of data. As already mentioned, team leaders attempted to determine the category to which a site belonged: e.g., field house, farmstead, regional center, tumulus, grave. They identified a site's function based on its context, i.e., its position in the landscape, its relation to other topographical features, its size, the distribution and density of artifacts, and a preliminary reading of the dates and types of ceramics that were
present. Obviously, team leaders' interpretations of sites were dependent on the expertise of the museum staff for an understanding of the dates and types of artifacts that were present in site assemblages.

Ceramic specialists, on the other hand, reached conclusions about a site's function based on their reading of the material culture that was brought in from the field. As noted above, those decoding the pottery from particular sites regularly reported on "Site Feedback Forms" regarding the composition of the assemblage, e.g., the dates and types of artifacts that are present. In addition to dating the ceramics, when possible ceramic specialists also recorded information about vessel function, decoration, place of manufacture, and, in some cases, quality. Based on these data, the museum staff made suggestions about the function of sites and the range of activities that might have taken place at each, such as domestic, production, commercial, agricultural, and ritual. These observations were made, in most cases, without an understanding of sites' physical contexts, as recorded by team leaders.

Because of the different criteria that were used by team leaders and ceramic specialists, discrepancies in the interpretation of sites sometimes arose. Three examples are discussed below. The first is Site 045, which is
located on the slope below the acropolis of Margelliç. This site, as discussed below, formed part of the lower town of the native Illyrian regional center at Margelliç.\textsuperscript{1302} The presence of high quality black glaze vessels, some of which were used for ritual elsewhere in the Greek world, however, led to the conclusion that S045 also had a ritual function. The presence of cooking wares, storage vessels, and plain open and closed shapes, on the other hand, points to a domestic function, as does the context of the site. As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, it is likely that some of these high quality imports were acquired by members of the indigenous population, perhaps as status symbols. As also noted above, imported objects seldom hold the same symbolic meaning for a culture importing them as they do for the originating culture. There is, therefore, no reason to conclude that items used for ritual purposes by Greeks at Apollonia and elsewhere were used in the same way by the Illyrian population at Margelliç.

The second example comes from the necropolis of Apollonia (S007). Site 006 is located within the borders of the necropolis of Apollonia and is, very obviously, a burial tumulus. Based on the presence of a small number of cooking ware fragments, cover tiles, and bricks with

mortar, however, the suggestion was put forth that this site also had a domestic function. The evidence suggests otherwise. As noted above, both bricks and tiles were used for graves. Furthermore, as Mano notes, cooking ware was sometimes used at Apollonia as grave offerings.\textsuperscript{1303} Additionally, the physical context of the site indicates that S006 had an entirely mortuary function.

The final example is the farmstead at S034 where excavations were conducted by MRAP in 2000. The excavators, myself among them, concluded, based on the types and quantities of artifacts, the location of the site, and comparisons with other farmhouses, that S034 was a "typical" rural farmstead of Hellenistic date.\textsuperscript{1304} Analysis of the ceramics alone, however, led to the conclusion that S034 was used as a production or storage facility, but not for domestic purposes. This determination was based on the large number of transport amphoras/pithoi and the small percentages of cooking ware and closed shapes. Nevertheless, the identification of the domestic nature of S034 is substantiated by the evidence. The proportions of vessel fragments in the site assemblage appears low because of the large number of tiles. When vessel sherds are considered separately from tiles, the

\textsuperscript{1303} Mano 1971, pp. 155-158.
\textsuperscript{1304} Galaty et al. 2004.
percentages of cooking wares and closed shapes are more in line with vessel assemblages from other farmsteads (see below). Nor is the large number of storage vessels abnormal for an isolated rural farmstead where the processing and storing of agricultural products are the very sorts of activities that would take place.

In the Gazetteer of Sites that follows I have reviewed all the useful and essential information provided by both team leaders and ceramic specialists in the context of all else know about sites in order to produce my own interpretations regarding site function. In some cases I agree with one or both sets of interpretations, in others I do not. The information contained in the following catalogue of sites identified by MRAP affords both a diachronic and a synchronic view of the hinterland around Apollonia from historic through Roman times. In Chapter 8, I use this information to compose a new cultural history for the area around the apoikia.

Each entry in the Gazetteer of Sites contains the following information:

Name: Name assigned to the site, usually a local toponym.

Figures and Tables: Illustrations and tables relevant to the site.
Zone: Upon the completion of tract walking, the survey areas were divided into zones, based on topographical considerations. These are numbered 1-13 (see Fig. 7.12).

Site Location and Description: A verbal description of the location of the site, its physical characteristics, and its primary features. The average visibility is noted (i.e., the percentage of the surface open to inspection).

Size: Estimate of the size of the site (expressed in hectares) based on densities of artifacts observed in tract walking and site collection. In some instances, estimates of size were later revised using GIS calculations. These estimates, generally smaller than the first, are given in parentheses.

Year(s) Investigated and Team: The year the site was discovered, the year it was collected, and the teams that originally investigated it. In some cases a site was under continuous investigation.

Associated Tracts: List of MRAP survey tracts that fall totally or in part within the boundaries of the site. In most cases, these are the initial survey tracts that led to the identification of the site.
Periods Represented: List of periods that are represented among the artifacts collected from tracts associated with a site. The number of vessels that date to each period is given in parentheses.\textsuperscript{1305} This subheading is also used for artifacts collected during site collection, revisitation, and excavation.

Period Ranges Represented: List of ranges of dates that are represented in the artifacts collected from tracts associated with a site. The vessel count represented in the assemblage for each period range is given in parentheses. This subheading is also used for artifacts collected during site collection, revisitation, and excavation.

Collection Method: Describes the method of collection used for the site.

Periods Represented: Same as above for tracts, except data presented are for site collection units.\textsuperscript{1306}

Period Ranges Represented: Same as above for tracts, except data presented are for site collection units.\textsuperscript{1307}

\textsuperscript{1305} Multiple sherds that are from a single vessel are only counted once. It is likely, especially in site collection assemblages such as those from the necropolis, that many sherds are from the same pot. Vessel counts thus denote the maximum number of possible vessels.

\textsuperscript{1306} If the site was revisited, these periods and period ranges are provided under separate headings.

\textsuperscript{1307} See Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991, pp. 328-331 on problems associated with imprecision in dating sherds. This issue will not be addressed here.
**Pottery Discussion:** A verbal summary of the dates and types of ceramics that are represented in the combined tract and site assemblages. The percentages of finds of specific periods are based on vessel count, rather than sherd count. The general character of the pottery (i.e., storage vessels, cooking ware, black glaze, and plain ware), and what these might mean for site function, is briefly discussed.\(^{1308}\) Tract and site assemblages are compared to see if data from tract collection alone are sufficient to accurately determine the chronological and functional ranges of each site.

**Site Function:** The possible function of the site is suggested.

**Tables of Shapes Represented by Period and Period Ranges:**

These data are presented in tabular form for tract and site assemblages. The shapes represented in each assemblage and the number of examples from each period are listed.

The following technical terms and phrases are used in the Gazetteer of Sites:

\(^{1308}\) The percentage of bricks/tiles is calculated from the total ceramic assemblage. Percentages of categories of sherds, i.e., black glaze, cooking ware, storage vessels, are calculated from the total number of Graeco-Roman sherds minus bricks/tiles.
Dogleash sample: A piece of string 1.26 m long that, when held taut, defines a 5-m sq circle. A dogleash sample was generally taken from the center of a grid square on a site.\textsuperscript{1309}

Enchytrismos: Burial in a pithos, transport amphora, or, rarely, some other type of vessel.

Farmstead: Usually a single-family habitation site. The typical assemblage found at such sites generally includes fine tablewares, plain domestic wares, cooking wares, storage vessels (pithoi and transport amphoras), and bricks/tiles.\textsuperscript{1310}

Field house: A site with architecture that is smaller than a farmstead.\textsuperscript{1311} Field houses were probably used on a seasonal basis.

Grab Sample: A technique employed during site collection that consisted of the collection only of diagnostic artifacts within a defined area, usually a grid square or quadrant.\textsuperscript{1312}

\textsuperscript{1309} Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991, p. 29; Alcock 1991, pp. 442-443.
\textsuperscript{1311} Standing or visible architecture is rare in the survey area.
\textsuperscript{1312} See Wright et al. 1991, pp. 604-608; Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991, p. 54; Alcock, Cherry, and Davis 1994, p. 159.
**Halo:** A scatter of artifacts often found around a site that decreases in density as one moves farther from the center.\(^{1313}\)

**Hamlet:** A cluster of two or more farmsteads.

**Off-Site:** Data were collected by field walkers from the entire area selected for investigation, not just sites. In the course of off-site survey, discrete concentrations of artifacts were noted and singled out for further investigation.\(^{1314}\)

**Perroi:** The Albanian term for ravine.

**Revisitation:** Reexamination of places with high-density artifact concentrations. In some cases, a few select diagnostics were collected.

**Site:** An area with an anomalously dense concentration of artifact, usually discrete and well-bounded.\(^{1315}\)

**Site Collection:** Second phase of survey during which a sample of artifacts was gathered at locations defined as sites. Sites were usually collected through a combination of grab and vacuum samples.


\(^{1314}\) See Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991, pp. 20-28 for a complete description and the benefits of this survey methodology.

\(^{1315}\) See Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991, pp. 12, 28, 45-47; Alcock, Cherry, and Davis 1994, p. 159; Bintliff 2000, pp. 205-207. Terms other than site have been used by different survey teams to designate the same conceptual entities, for example, POSI (Place of Special Interest) was used by Davis et al. 1997, LOCA by Tartaron et al. 2007, p. 457, table 3.
Storage Vessels: Includes pithoi, transport amphoras, and other large coarse vessels. Transport amphoras are included in this category on the assumption that, after their original contents were used, they served a secondary function of storing agricultural commodities that were being transported to and from the hinterland.\textsuperscript{1316}

Tract: A parcel of land defined by a team leader, often making use of natural boundaries (such as those of a field), and collected as a separate unit. Each tract was walked by a team of field walkers, and all artifacts were counted.\textsuperscript{1317}

Transect: Two perpendicular lines across the site center that divided the site into four quadrants. In the case of Zone 1, the term also refers to the courses walked with guidance from GPS from the acropolis of Apollonia to the sea.

Vacuum Sample: A technique employed during site collection that involved the collection of all artifacts larger than a thumbnail within a given area, usually as defined by a dogleash.

\textsuperscript{1316} It is also unlikely that the original contents in the imported Archaic and Classical transport amphoras found in the hinterland of Apollonia were actually transported into the rural landscape since there is no evidence of permanent Greek occupation outside the polis center at this early date.

\textsuperscript{1317} Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991, p. 22.
Visibility: The average estimated percentage of ground that is visible to walkers in a given tract. Among numerous factors that affect visibility are the time of year, ground cover or lack thereof, type of crops, plowing techniques, and steepness of slope.\textsuperscript{1318}

\textsuperscript{1318} Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991, pp. 27, 39-45.
Gazetteer of Sites

SITE 001

Name: Mali i Shtyllasit.

Fig. 7.13; Tables 7.2, 7.2.

Zone: 4.

Site Location and Description: S001 is located on the Mali i Shtyllasit ridge midway between highland pastures and lowland fields. It is represented by a highly concentrated scatter of sherds isolated primarily in a single tract (A-013). The site is cut by three bunkers to the southwest and a modern cart path. Tiles were concentrated in an area of approximately 40 m² with a smear of sherds extending another 20 m downslope. Visibility ranged from 40-60%.

Size: 1.60 ha (0.06).

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1998, A.
Associated Tracts: A-013.

Periods Represented: EIA (1); LCL (1); HL (19); M (1).

Ranges Represented: CL-HL (2).

Collection Method: 10 x 10 m grid. A grab of diagnostics was collected from each grid square. Vacuum counts were recorded, but no artifacts were retained. Tiles were collected in the field, but only diagnostic fabrics were brought in.\textsuperscript{1319} 16 grabs, 16 vacuums.

Periods Represented: CL (1); HL (67) LHL (1); R (1).

Ranges Represented: A-ECL (1); A-CL (1); A-HL (4); CL-EHL (1); CL-HL (32); CL-R (2); LCL-EHL (1); LCL-HL (2); HL-R (1).

Artifact Discussion: The ceramics are primarily Hellenistic (62%); an additional 45 pieces (32%) might belong to this period. There are six pieces that could be Archaic, two of which are no later than Classical. Two fragments are definitely Classical, and 43 (30%) additional pieces may be, although 39 of these might

\footnote{1319 See above for methodology.}
instead be Hellenistic. One fragment is from an Early Iron Age vessel; one piece is Modern. There is one Roman sherd, and three other pieces that could also be Roman.

A variety of shapes are present (minimum of 23) in the assemblage from S001.1320 Most sherds come from unidentified closed plain and cooking pots. Only diagnostic tiles with unique fabrics were retained; therefore the quantity of tiles in the assemblage is small: 14 fragments (10%); there is no brick. Thirty-two fragments of transport amphorae were collected (26% of the vessel assemblage); many of these are probably 4th century B.C. in date and are of the type initially termed "local" (only one appears to be Corinthian). Black glaze sherds account for 16% (20) of the assemblage and cooking ware for 22% (28). The largest category is plain ware, which comprises 34% of the finds. A pithos and modern pipe fragment were also found.

Also recovered from S001 was a bronze coin with an image of Artemis on the obverse and a tripod on the reverse;

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1320 The term "storage vessels" here includes transport amphorae, pithoi, and other large coarse ware vessels.
this coin was minted in Apollonia and dates to the middle of the Hellenistic period, ca. 200 B.C.\textsuperscript{1321}

The tract material is similar in character to the larger assemblage from site collection. Both bodies of material suggest a domestic function for the site, primarily in Hellenistic times, although some earlier finds are present. The percentage of black glaze sherds is low in both assemblages: 8\% (2) from tract walking, 16\% (18) from site collection. The percentages of transport amphoras are similar: 21\% (5) from the tract material and 23\% (27) from the site assemblage. The amount of cooking ware, however diverges greatly: one fragment (4\%) in the tract assemblage, but 27 fragments (23\%) from the site assemblage.

The dates of the tract and site assemblages from S001 differ slightly. A higher percentage of material from the tract collection is closely dated to the Hellenistic period (79\% vs. 58\%). The Archaic and Roman periods are not represented at all in the tract assemblage, although the Iron Age is.

\textsuperscript{1321} See Ceka 1965, p. 40. See also Crawford 1985, p. 225 for the production and spread of coins from Apollonia and Dyrrachium. He suggests that the monies that were in use in the 3rd, 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. (up to 50 B.C.) were probably minted to facilitate the purchase of slaves from the Danube basin. On coinage in Albania, see Ceka 1965, 1972; Franke 1976; Papajani 1976a; Poenaru-Bordea 1983; Gjongecaj 1987, 1998; Konovic 1989; Picard and Gjongecaj 1995; Gjongecaj and Picard 1999, 2000; Meta 2006.
S001 was principally used during the Hellenistic period, although use might have started in the Archaic period, and occupation was continuous from the Classical period. The presence of the non-Greek, Early Iron Age piece is noteworthy. The assemblage looks domestic in nature, which is also suggested by the ratios of cooking, storage, and fine wares. The site does not appear to have been occupied after the Hellenistic period.

Site Function: Small Late Classical to Hellenistic farmstead.

SITE 002

Name: Çuka e Bukur, upper.

Fig. 7.14; Tables 7.4, 7.5.

Zone: 4.

Site Location and Description: Site 002 is located on the Çuka e Bukur ridge midway between highland pastures and lowland fields. It is the upper of two adjacent
sites on this ridge; Site 009 is located downslope. S002 is situated on light-gray, marly soil, and has been disturbed by bunker trenches and a road that bisects the site. A bunker trench and a modern wall cut through possible remains of an ancient wall. Although the site was larger, time constraints restricted the collection to Tract A-054. Average visibility was 70%.

Size: 0.40 ha (0.05).

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1998, A.


Periods Represented: CL (2); HL (14); MHL (1).

Ranges Represented: CL-EHL (1); HL-R (1); UNKN (1).

Collection Method: Quadrants. The site was divided into four quadrants. Vacuums were taken with a dogleash every 10 m and a grab of diagnostics was made in each quadrant. Vacuum counts were recorded, but no artifacts were retained. Bricks/tiles were collected
and sorted in the field, but only diagnostic fabrics were brought to the museum. Four grabs, five vacuums.

**Periods Represented:** CL (1); EHL (2); HL (34); LHL (2).

**Ranges Represented:** CL-EHL (2); CL-HL (4); LCL-HL (1); HL-R (1).

**Artifact Discussion:** The ceramics from S002 are primarily Hellenistic (53 = 79%), but three pieces (4%) are Classical and eight (12%) might be Classical or Hellenistic. There are only two pieces that could be as late as Roman (3%), and one piece could not be dated (2%).

The range of shapes from S002 is limited. Most sherds are from plain unidentifiable closed vessels. Bricks/tiles are generally underrepresented due to the collection methodology; 22 tiles were retained, which account for 33% of the total assemblage. Of the remaining sherds, 12 are from transport amphoras (27%), five from black glaze vessels (11%), and five from cooking pots (11%). The remaining 51% of the vessel assemblage consists of plain ware sherds.
Storage, cooking, and a few fine wares are present in both tract and site assemblages, and the same conclusions about site function can be drawn from both. The range of shapes is broader in the site assemblage, and a disproportionately large number of transport amphoras is represented in the tract collection. Both assemblages are largely Hellenistic in date.

The range of shapes from S002 is consistent with a domestic assemblage. The large number of transport amphoras suggests that some type of activity necessitating the transfer of agricultural products took place at the site. Since both Early Hellenistic and Late Hellenistic are represented, it is possible that the site was used throughout the period. The Classical finds probably indicate that there was a small, earlier component.

Site Function: Small Classical field house? Hellenistic farmstead.

SITE 003

Name: Kryegjata B.

1322 A millstone of unknown date was also collected at the site. See Gerke et al. 2006.
Site Location and Description: S003 is situated below the crest of a low rise overlooking the Seman river valley. Today the site is cut by a small, dirt field road that intersects with a larger road running to the village of Radostina (Fasko); the two form a "T" junction just north of the main artifact scatter. There is an extensive concentration of lithics along the bed of the field road, in the exposed red-beds beside the road, and in the surrounding fields. The heaviest concentration of Paleolithic artifacts is situated in the field road and its scarps. Red Pleistocene alfisols are between 0.5 and 1 m below the current ground surface. Kryegjata B is very close to Kryegjata D, and both may be part of one large site. Visibility was 85% in the cut field; 15% in the planted field; and 90% in the road.

Size: 4.00 ha (0.33).

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Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1998–2000, B.

Associated Tracts: B-058.

Collection Method: Microtracts, 3 x 3 m grid, excavation.
   The road in Tract B-058 was vacuumed by team members walking shoulder to shoulder. In 1999, the road from the T intersection to 100 m south of it was gridded with 3 x 3 m squares; each square was fully vacuumed. Five trenches were subsequently excavated in 2000.
   Revisitation; 78 vacuums; five trenches.

Site Function: Open-air Paleolithic–Mesolithic camp or work station.\textsuperscript{1324}

SITE 004

Name: Kodra e Kripës, settlement.

Fig. 7.16; Tables 7.6, 7.7.

Zone: 2.

\textsuperscript{1324} No ceramics from S003 were catalogued.
Site Location and Description: S004 is a small, dense concentration of artifacts situated 300 m north of the Kodra e Kripës tumulus. It is on the southern slope of the hill below a small knoll and bunker west of the Kodra e Kripës road. There is a ravine to the south. S004 appears to be eroding down the slope, and may continue into and perhaps across the ravine. It rests on yellow-brown, silty soil that is derived from the underlying marl, which outcrops nearby along the ridge. S004 is part of Apollonia's eastern necropolis. Visibility ranged from 50-70%.

Size: < 1.00 ha (0.33).

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1998, B.

Associated Tracts: B-031, B-032.

Periods Represented: HL (7); PMED (13).

Ranges Represented: O-EM (3); LO-EM (10); UNKN (1).

Collection Method: Quadrants. The site was divided into four quadrants and grabs of diagnostics were made in
each quadrant. Vacuums with a dogleash were taken from transects spaced 10 m apart. Bricks/tiles were counted in vacuums and diagnostics were retained; numbers were not recorded for grabs. Four grabs, four vacuums.

*Periods Represented:* HL (30); PMED (36); M (2).

*Ranges Represented:* A–HL (1); O–EM (27); O–M (1); LO–EM (26); UNKN (1).

*Artifact Discussion:* The material from S004 divides into two phases, Hellenistic (24%) and Post-Medieval, principally Late Ottoman to Early Modern (75%).

There is one fragment that might be Archaic; it also could be Classical or Hellenistic. Two fragments are definitely Modern. Tiles make up 29% of the overall assemblage.

The Hellenistic material from the site collection consists principally of tiles (17 = 45%) and sherds from plain unidentifiable closed shapes (57%). There is also a hydria fragment, a typical domestic vessel. Nineteen percent (4) of the fragments are black glaze, 10% (i.e., two handles) are from cooking pots. Only two

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1325 One percent is unknown.
transport amphoras (10%) are represented in the assemblage; there are no other storage jars.

The range of shapes from the Hellenistic tract and site assemblages are very similar, although only 17% of the tract assemblage is tiles, but 52% of the site material is. The percentage of black glaze is approximately the same in both assemblages (17% vs. 20%), but there is no cooking ware in the tract assemblage.

The scarcity of cooking ware and storage vessels in both assemblages, the presence of black glaze sherds, and the location of the site help to identify S004 as a Hellenistic grave (or graves).

Most of the later material from S004 belongs to the late 18th and 19th centuries. The Post-Medieval assemblage includes slipped, combed, and plain sherds that cannot be closely dated. A large number of amphora sherds were collected from two grid squares; amphorae are not represented in the tract assemblage. The Late Ottoman-Early Modern vessels are glazed and painted; the range of shapes is the same in both tract and site assemblages, but the tract assemblage consists entirely of glazed pieces with no slip-painted or underglazed painted pieces.
Although cooking wares are notably absent, the shapes and types of Post-Medieval vessels found at S004 suggest a domestic context.

*Site Function:* Hellenistic grave (or graves); Late Ottoman–Early Modern farmstead.

**SITE 005**

*Name:* Kodra e Kripës, tumulus.

*Figs. 7.16, 7.17; Tables 7.8, 7.9.*

*Zone:* 2.

*Site Location and Description:* S005 is located downslope from the road on Kodra e Kripës, just inside the eastern edge of the main (eastern) necropolis of Apollonia (i.e., S007; see below). There are marl and sandstone outcrops along the ridge. The tumulus is poorly preserved; it has been robbed and is largely destroyed by military trenches running across the top of the mound and along the southern flank to the road.
Looters have been active along the west edge of the tumulus where sarcophagi have been pulled from graves and broken. Damaged tile graves can be seen along the road. Artifacts extend downslope well beyond the limits of the tumulus proper. S005 is part of S007. Visibility ranged from 50-70%.

Size: 50 m diameter (0.25 ha).

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1998, B.

Associated Tracts: B-035.

Periods Represented: CL (1); LCL (1); HL (1); MHL (1).

Ranges Represented: CL-HL (1).


Periods Represented: LHL (2).\textsuperscript{1326}

\textsuperscript{1326} The two sherds collected during revisitation are included in the tract table.
Collection Method: Quadrants. The tumulus was divided into quadrants and grabs were made in each. Only diagnostic tiles were collected and retained. Four grabs.

Periods Represented: A (2); CL (1); HL (89); LHL (1); R (2).

Ranges Represented: A–CL (1); A–EHL (1); LA–CL (1); LA–EHL (2); CL–EHL (1); CL–HL (6); LCL–EHL (1); UNKN (1).

Artifact Discussion: The majority of the material from S005 is Hellenistic (81%). Seven (6%) fragments are definitely earlier; two are Archaic, and three are Classical; the remaining two are either Archaic or Classical. Twelve other pieces (10%) could predate the Hellenistic period; three of these could be Archaic, but they could also, as with the other nine, be Classical or Hellenistic. There are two definite Roman sherds.

Numerous shapes are represented in the assemblage from S005. Bricks/tiles are underrepresented because of the collection strategy: they account for only 11% of the material. Thirty-two percent of the vessel sherds
are from transport amphoras; of these, eight might be pre-Hellenistic (24%). It is likely that some fragments belong to the same vessels. The percentage of plain ware sherds (39 = 38%) is only slightly higher than transport amphoras. Twenty-two (21%) of the fragments have black glaze. There is also a fragment of a banded olpe and a piece with red-figured decoration. Cooking ware is represented by only seven (7%) sherds. Imports from both Greece (Corinthian transport amphoras and an Attic krater) and Italy (transport amphoras) are present.

The tract finds are sufficient for chronological and functional identification of the site, even though only a small, representative sample of sherds was collected. Only the Archaic period is not represented in the assemblage. The shapes and quality of the tract material, as well as the high tile counts, would be enough to indicate the function of the site.

The ceramic assemblage from S005 reflects the funerary nature of the site. The large number of fine black glaze fragments, especially the kraters and red-figured fragment, are indicative of grave offerings. The quantity of sherds from transport amphoras suggests that these vessels were used for
ENCHYTRISMOI, perhaps as early as the Late Archaic period. Although not collected, large quantities of tiles were noted, which indicate the presence of tile graves within the tumulus. On the other hand, the closed forms and cooking wares are unusual in mortuary contexts, although they could represent offerings or funerary feasts.

The large number of sherds that are or probably are from the same vessels is evidence of the recent looting at the site: for example, seven fragments from a single Classical black glaze krater were collected. The presence of pre-Hellenistic finds, i.e., securely dated Archaic and Classical pieces, points to the early use of S005 for burials. Additionally, the Late Hellenistic fragment is evidence for the longevity of the site, which appears to have continued in use throughout the Hellenistic period. Although two Roman sherds are in the assemblage, they should probably be associated with Site 058, which is located just downslope and is the only concentration of Roman material in the necropolis.

*Site Function:* Burial tumulus.
SITE 006

Name: Kryegjata, tumulus.

Figs. 7.18, 7.19; Tables 7.10, 7.11, 7.12.

Zone: 2.

Site Location and Description: S006 is located north of Kryegjata village near a cluster of derelict army buildings. There is a north-south electric line immediately to the east of the site. S006 is a robbed tumulus with numerous looted tile graves that have also been severely disturbed by bunkers and army trenches. The tumulus was probably built on top of a natural eminence, which exaggerates its size. S006 is a part of the main Apollonia necropolis (S007). Average visibility was 20% due to heavy maquis.

Size: 40 m diameter (0.16 ha).

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1998, B.
Associated Tracts: B-044, B-045, B-054, B-055.

Periods Represented: LCL (1); HL (18); MHL (1); PMED (1).

Ranges Represented: LBA-EIA (1); CL-EHL (1); CL-HL (3); LCL-EHL (2); LCL-HL (1); O-EM (3).


Periods Represented: CL (1); LCL (4); HL (6).

Ranges Represented: A-CL (2); A-EHL (1); LA-CL (2); LA-EHL (1); CL-EHL (1); CL-HL (13); LCL-EHL (14).

Collection Method: Quadrants. The tumulus was divided into quadrants and grabs were made in each. Tile were not counted and only diagnostics were collected. 4 grabs.

Periods Represented: CL (1); LCL (1); HL (36); M (1).

Ranges Represented: A-CL (1); CL-HL (19); LCL-EHL (4); LCL-HL (2).
**Artifact Discussion:** The majority of the material from S006 is Classical/Hellenistic (85%). Thirteen pieces are definitely pre-Hellenistic; five could be as early as Archaic, although they could also be Classical. Two additional pieces could be Archaic, but they could also be as late as Early Hellenistic. Eight fragments (6%) are definitely Classical; 60 pieces (42%) could be Classical, but might also be Hellenistic. Therefore, 51% of the assemblage could predate the Hellenistic period. Definite Hellenistic material comprises 43% of the assemblage. There is one Late Bronze-Early Iron Age sherd. Five pieces (4%) fall into the Post-Medieval range.

Tiles account for 20% of the finds from S006 and consist principally of very large fragments.\(^1\) Over half the vessel assemblage has black glaze (63 = 55%); two pieces are banded, and three skyphoi fragments have red-figured decoration. There is a wide range of shapes among the black glaze vessels; these include the askos, bowl, cup, kantharos, krater, lamp, lekythos, mug, pyxis, and skyphos. There are six transport amphoras (5%) and two pithoi (2%), all of which were probably used for *enchytrismoi*. Only two fragments of cooking ware were found (2%), both of

\(^{1327}\) Only two bricks were found.
them Hellenistic. Plain ware sherds comprise 36% of the assemblage; most are from unidentified closed shapes.

The dates of the assemblages from the three different collection methods are similar except for the Late Bronze-Early Iron Age sherd that was picked up in tract walking. Possible Archaic sherds are present in the revisitation and site collections, but not in the tracts. Fifty-nine percent of the tract material is Hellenistic, as is 55% of the site collection. However, only 13% of the revisitation assemblage is Hellenistic; almost all of these finds are or could be pre-Hellenistic. The revisitation assemblage has the highest percentage of black glaze pieces (73%), compared with 44% of the tract assemblage, and 24% of the site assemblage. The function of the site can be determined from any of the assemblages: the shapes represented in the tract assemblage would be sufficient to identify the funerary nature of the site and is similar in composition to the revisitation and site collections.

The abundance of joining and non-joining pieces from the same vessels points to recent disturbances at the site; the sherd count is 242, but the vessel count is
142. Seventy fragments of a small open black glaze vessel of unidentified form were found together, as were seven pieces of a lagynos. The presence of a black glaze votive cup suggests the possibility of ritual at the graveside. Despite some closed shapes and a mortarium, it is unlikely that S006 had a domestic component; the quantity of material that can be associated with graves, including tiles, is overwhelming. There is only one piece of cooking ware, making it all the more improbable that the site was used for habitation. Transport amphora and pithos fragments suggest the presence of *enchytrismoi* in this tumulus, in addition to tile graves and sarcophagus burials.

*Site Function:* Burial tumulus.

SITE 007

*Name:* Apollonia, eastern necropolis.\(^{1328}\)

Figs. 7.16, 7.18, 7.20; Tables 7.13, 7.14.

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\(^{1328}\) See Praschniker 1922-1924; Mano 1971; Ceka 1982a; Amore 2003-2004, 2005a; Dimo 2004.
Site Location and Description: S007 is the large tumulus cemetery that is associated with the asty of Apollonia. The necropolis is located east and slightly north of the acropolis on the ridge that runs parallel to perroi Vajës between the villages of Kryegjata and Radostina. Many of the tumuli are easily identifiable and some are fairly well preserved. Others have suffered severe erosion, often caused by goat trails. Army bunkers and trenches have caused considerable damage, as has a road that runs along the perroi. Looters are very active in the cemetery. Natural hilly ridges have been incorporated into the tumuli to enhance their size and scale. Average visibility was 20%.

Goals of MRAP included determining the boundaries of the cemetery, estimating the number of tumuli present, ascertaining whether diachronic distinctions existed spatially, and collecting information about the nature of the material culture used in burials by the people.

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1329 See Amore 2005c for a thorough treatment of the necropolis and a summary of all previous work there, including that by MRAP. For a history of research in the necropolis, see Dimo and Fenet 1999; Lafe 2003, pp. 77–84.
who were interred there. The boundaries have been somewhat arbitrarily determined.\footnote{Praschniker (1922-1924, cols. 51-54) was the first to conduct scientific excavations in the necropolis. For the excavation of individual tumuli see also Rey 1932; Mano 1959, 1971, 1975, 1977-1978; Dimo 1977-1978, 1984, 1987, 1988, 1991; Dimo and Fenet 1999; Dimo, Fenet, and Mano 2007; Amore 2003-2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c.}

We started with a limited area, which Galaty and Korkuti mapped with an EDM (Electronic Distance Measuring instrument).\footnote{See Davis et al. 2003-2004, pp. 311-313; Stocker and Davis 2006.} The "perimeters" were gradually expanded from the originally mapped area to include other tracts that contain burials, but not necessarily tumuli. Additional tumuli are located outside the boundaries of S007, but no graves associated with the necropolis are located outside Zone 2.\footnote{The watersheds that mark the boundaries between Zone 2 and Zones 3 and 4 form the borders of the Greek necropolis.}

The area of the necropolis was tract walked, but most of it was not site collected. Two tumuli (S005 and S006) were collected as separate sites and have been treated individually. Both of these were identified before the borders of the necropolis were defined. Both were being looted and warranted immediate investigation. S004, S017, and S058 are other sites that fall within the perimeter of the necropolis, but were individually numbered; these also are treated in detail under their site headings and excluded from the counts presented below. S004 is a Late Ottoman to Early Modern...
settlement with a few underlying Hellenistic graves; S017 is a Paleolithic site; and S058 is primarily a Roman habitation site.

Size: Ca. 0.5 km x 1 km.\textsuperscript{1333}

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1998, 1999, 2000; B, D, and J.

Associated Tracts: B-001, B-002, B-003, B-004, B-005, B-006, B-007, B-008, B-009, B-010, B-011, B-012, B-013, B-014, B-015, B-016, B-017, B-018, B-019, B-020, B-021, B-022, B-023, B-024, B-025, B-026, B-027, B-028, B-029, B-030, B-031, B-032, B-033, B-034, B-035, B-036, B-037, B-038, B-039, B-040, B-041, B-042, B-043, B-044, B-045, B-046, B-047, B-048, B-049, B-050, B-051, B-052, B-053, B-054, B-055, B-056, B-057,* B-089, B-090, B-091, B-092,* B-094, B-095, B-096, B-097, B-098, B-099, B-100, B-101, B-102, B-103, B-104,* B-107,* B-148, B-149, B-150, B-151; D-001, D-002, D-003, D-004, D-005, D-006, D-007, D-008, D-009, D-010, D-011, D-012, D-013, D-014, D-015, D-016, D-017, D-018, D-019, D-020, D-021, D-022, D-023, D-024, D-025, D-

\textsuperscript{1333} N. Ceka (1982a, p. 15) also estimates the size of the necropolis at ca. 50 ha.

Periods Represented: LBA (2); EA (3); A (11); LA (3); ECL (5); CL (25); LCL (4); EHL (3); HL (207); LHL (1); R (1); PMED (19); EM (2); M (6).

Ranges Represented: A-ECL (2); A-CL (17); A-EHL (10); A-HL (11); LA-ECL (7); LA-CL (5); LA-EHL (4); CL-EHL (11);

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1334 A "*" is used to indicate a break in the sequence of tract numbers. Italics have been used for tracts that are part of other sites within the necropolis; the material from these sites is excluded from the discussion of S007. On the number of tumuli in the necropolis, see Dimo 2004, p. 12; Stocker and Davis 2006, p. 60.
CL-HL (47); LCL-EHL (36); EHL-MHL (2); HL-R (1); LHL-ER (2); LB-EM (1); LO-EM (1); EM-M (5); UNKN (16).


Periods Represented: CL (1); HL (11); ER (2).

Ranges Represented: LCL-EHL (2); UNKN (1).

Artifact Discussion: There are two pre-Greek sherds in the necropolis assemblage, both of which are Late Bronze Age. Eighty-three pieces (17%) of Greek type are definitely pre-Hellenistic. Of these, 17 sherds (3%) are definitely Archaic; 37 (7%) are definitely Classical; the other 31 (6%) are either Archaic or Classical.

Of the Archaic pieces from S007, three are Early Archaic, 11 are Archaic, and three are Late Archaic. Two of the Early Archaic sherds predate the traditional foundation date of the colony.\textsuperscript{1335} In addition to the

\textsuperscript{1335} All three Early Archaic sherds are from Corinthian Type A transport amphoras (AS2, AS22, and AS66; see the amphora catalogue in Chapter 6).
31 pieces that are Archaic-Classical, 25 other pieces might be Archaic; these could also be Classical or Hellenistic. The total number of the sherds that are or could be Archaic is 79 (16%).

Of the 35 sherds that are definitely Classical, five are Early Classical, 26 are Classical, and four are Late Classical. In addition to the above-mentioned Archaic-Classical and Archaic-Hellenistic sherds, 96 fragments (20%) are either Classical or Hellenistic. The total of definite and possible Classical pieces is 187 (38%).

Most of the ceramics from the necropolis date to the Hellenistic period. There are 224 sherds that are definitely Hellenistic (46%), and 124 (25%) that could be; three of the latter are Hellenistic or Roman, 96 are either Classical or Hellenistic, and 25 are Archaic, Classical, or Hellenistic. The total of possible Hellenistic sherds is 348 (71%).

A large number of tiles were recorded during tract walking, but most were not retained. Tiles (53) account for only 11% of the assemblage, which is a vast under-representation of the quantity present in the

See also Stocker and Davis 2006, pp. 60–62; Davis et al. 2004, p. 310. The earliest Greek sherds from excavations come from Tumulus 7; they are Corinthian imports from the last quarter of the 7th century B.C. (Dimo 1988). See Amore 2005a for Early Archaic finds from the necropolis.
necropolis. The majority of the tiles are Hellenistic (68%). Five (9%), however, are definitely earlier, among which two have black glaze surfaces; these are either Archaic or Classical. Four others (8%) might possibly be pre-Hellenistic, and two might be as late as Roman. Six tiles (11%) are of Modern or unknown date. Most of the tiles are probably from tile graves, one of the principal types of burial used in the necropolis.

The assemblage from S007 has the greatest variety in vessel shapes of any site in the survey region. Thirty percent of the sherds (132) are black glaze; 19 shapes were identified. An additional 41 sherds (9%) come from unidentifiable closed and open vessels. The percentage of black glaze fragments (39%) is higher here than at any other site outside of the necropolis. This is, of course, due in part to the size of the area under consideration, but also to the variety of ceramic types that were used as grave offerings. Ten pre-Roman sherds (2%) have either red- or black-figured decoration. The skyphos is the best represented shape. There is one sherd from a

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1336 The black glaze shapes represented are the amphora, askos, bowl, chous, cup, hydria, kantharos, krater, kylix, lamp, lekythos, lykinic, mug, olpe, plate, pyxis, salt cellar, skyphos, and unguentarium. See S007 tables.
1337 See Amore 2005c.
miniature votive, but most of the vases from the
cemetery are standard household items; there are few
specifically funerary shapes.

Plain wares, especially closed shapes, are also well
represented (137 = 32%). The number of cooking ware
sherds, on the other hand, is low (16) and accounts
for only 4% of the assemblage.\(^{1338}\) Two pieces are
Archaic or Classical, two are Classical or
Hellenistic, 10 are Hellenistic, and two are of
unknown date. This paucity of cooking ware sherds is
to be expected since it is unlikely that any part of
the necropolis was used for domestic purposes during
the Classical and Hellenistic periods. The presence
of some cooking ware, though, is not problematic since
other limited activities besides burial are likely to
have taken place in the cemetery.

The quantity of sherds (73) from transport amphoras is high
in the necropolis, although they only account for 17%
of the total assemblage. Two transport amphoras are
decorated with black glaze; one dates to the Archaic
period, the other is Archaic to Hellenistic. The
large number of transport amphoras is in part due to
the durability of these vessels, but also to the
secondary use of many for burials. Pithoi, also used

\(^{1338}\) Nine of the sherds are from tracts on the border of the necropolis.
for burials, represent only 2% (11 pieces) of the sherd material.\textsuperscript{1339} Most of the pithoi are imports, probably from Corinth; pithoi are rarer than transport amphoras, perhaps because of their bulk and the difficulty involved in their transportation.

Tile and pit graves are the most common forms of burial in the necropolis. Tile graves were used in all periods, but are the principal form of burial during the Hellenistic period; the survey finds confirm this chronological distinction. Amore notes that the burial methods are more elaborate in the Archaic and Classical periods; in contrast, during the Hellenistic period the graves are simpler, but the types of grave goods deposited with the deceased are more elaborate.\textsuperscript{1340}

S007 was not used as a burial ground during the Roman period,\textsuperscript{1341} and a new cemetery to the west of Apollonia was established at this time.\textsuperscript{1342} The eastern necropolis probably went out of use before 44 B.C.; very little securely dated Late Hellenistic material was found. It is possible that the Hellenic form of burial in tumuli became obsolete after Apollonia was

\textsuperscript{1339} The other 4% is Post-Medieval vessels.
\textsuperscript{1340} Amore 2005b, p. 310.
\textsuperscript{1341} Mano 1973. Tumulus 9, however, went out of use at the end of the 4th century B.C. See Amore 2005b, p. 310.
\textsuperscript{1342} Mano 1975, 1977-1978, pp. 75-77; Dimo, Fenet, and Mano 2007, p. 305.
incorporated into the province of Macedonia in 149 B.C., that people wished to express a reorientation in their allegiance, and that they did so through a shift in burial place and rituals.

There are only three definite and three possible Roman sherds in the S007 assemblage. Most of these come from two contiguous tracts that are associated with S058, a Roman habitation site found within the area of the necropolis. This body of material is in keeping with a domestic context; the assemblage includes a plain closed shape, a table amphora, and tiles. It appears that a small Roman household was established in this restricted area after the necropolis had ceased to be used as a burial ground. Two other sherds, one definite and one possibly Roman, are from Tract J-341 which is on the southwest edge of the necropolis boundary; no other material was collected in this tract.

Post-Roman finds account for 7% of the total assemblage from S007 (34 pieces). In addition to single sherds in two tracts, the Post-Medieval-Modern material falls into four distinct clumps. Much of the later material comes from tracts that are contiguous to the Early Modern site at Kodra e Kripës (S004) or tracts
immediately contiguous to that site's borders. A few other fragments were found in the vicinity of S006. Two other areas with some post-Roman sherds are located in the southwestern corner of the necropolis. In most cases the Post-Medieval ceramics are in tracts with Early Modern or Modern sherds.

Because revisitation was spotty across the area of the necropolis, the Archaic component is not well represented in the revisitation assemblage, and the Roman and post-antique components are completely absent. The shapes in the tract and revisitation assemblages are basically the same; those that are best represented in the tract collection are also present in the revisitation assemblage.

The large number of transport amphoras and pithoi, the high tile counts, the quantity and quality of the black glaze fragments, the number of imports, and the lack of cooking ware point most clearly to the funerary, rather than domestic, context of the area in the Archaic to Hellenistic periods.

*Site Function*: Archaic-Hellenistic necropolis; Roman house.
SITE 008

Name: Apollonia, settlement and fortifications.\textsuperscript{1343}

Figs. 7.21, 7.22, 7.23; Table 7.15.

Zone: Zone 1, eastern third in Zone 2.

Site Location and Description: S008 is located on the ridge and slopes above and leading down into the flood plain. It comprises the asty of Apollonia and consists of the parts of the ancient city-state that are located within the city walls.\textsuperscript{1344} Explorations of the fortification walls around Apollonia have been conducted since the time of Pouqueville, and various parts of the circuit have been excavated.\textsuperscript{1345} Although the city was founded in the Archaic period, the monuments that are visible today date principally to

\textsuperscript{1343} See Cabanes 1994, pp. 521-523 and Dimo, Quantin, and Vrekaj 2007 for a history of prior scholarship.
Visibility within the city walls ranged from 20-75%.

Size: Ca. 130 ha.

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 2002, P.

Associated Tracts: P-001–P-011; P-089–P-101; P-135–P-183.

Periods Represented: A (2); ECL (1); CL (4); LCL (1); HL (171); LHL (4); R (6); MR (7); LR (6); PMED (6); M (2).

Ranges Represented: A-HL (1); CL-EHL (1); CL-HL (7); LCL-EHL (1); EHL-MHL (1); HL-ER (6); HL-MR (5); HL-R (3); LHL-R (1); ER-MR (18); MR-LR (5); UNKN (6).

Collection Method: Transects. Four transects divided into 50 m segments running N-S and E-W were walked across

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1347 N. Ceka (1982a, p. 15) estimates the size of the polis at its height as ca. 130 ha.
the site. One transect to the west continued to the sea; the other was terminated when artifact density dropped to zero ca. 800 m into the plain.

Artifact Discussion: The majority of the material (66%) from S008 is from the Hellenistic period. Very little Archaic material was found, and surprisingly little Classical pottery as well. Definite pre-Hellenistic sherds (8) account for only 3% of the assemblage, with an additional 10 pieces (4%) that might be; there are only two definite Archaic pieces. This lack of earlier finds is probably related to the parts of the site that were collected: we now know that the Archaic material is centered in the plateau, between the lower and upper acropoleis, an area which was not tract walked.\textsuperscript{1348} There are no indigenous finds from S008. The Roman period, on the other hand, is well represented (16% definite, with another 6% that might be).\textsuperscript{1349} The percentage of post-antique sherds, specifically Late Ottoman-Early Modern, collected at the site is much smaller than in the necropolis (14 pieces = 5%).

\textsuperscript{1348} Bereti et al. 2007, pp. 129-133; Verger et al. 2007.
\textsuperscript{1349} A large number of the amphora sherds cannot be more closely dated than Hellenistic-Roman.
The Classical-Hellenistic shapes in the assemblage from S008 differ from the necropolis assemblage. Shapes that are absent include the lamp, lekythos, olpe, pithos, pyxis, salt celler, unguentarium, and, most noticeably, the skyphos. The only skyphos and krater fragments found (one each) date to the Archaic period and are the only two definite Archaic pieces. Shapes found in the asty assemblage, but not in the necropolis, include the chytra, kantharos, lekane, pitcher, and plate. There are more cooking (26 = 12%) and plain ware sherds (85 = 38%) from S008 than from S007; these account for half of the vessel fragments. Moreover, there are fewer fine black glaze pieces (35 = 15%, including 10 banded pieces); there is only one sherd with black-figured decoration. Although the percentage of transport amphoras is higher (31% vs. 17%), the number of imported Corinthian amphoras is lower (4% vs. 22%). Most of the transport amphoras from the necropolis are Archaic-Hellenistic, whereas most from S008 are Hellenistic and could date as late as the Roman period. Unlike the necropolis, where many sherds often belong to the same vessel, there is

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1350 The total number of lekythoi from the MRAP survey area is 21; 14 of these are from Zone 2 (13 from the necropolis [S006/S007] and one from S016). Only four are not from a site, and two of these are in a tract located immediately outside the lower town of Margelliç, between S044 and S055.
only one join among these finds, suggesting a much greater degree of long-term surface disturbance here.

Site Function: Archaic-Roman asty.

SITE 009

Name: Çuka e Bukur, lower.

Fig. 7.24; Tables 7.16, 7.17.

Zone: 4.

Site Location and Description: S009 is situated between highland pastures and lowland fields on the Çuka e Bukur ridge, midway along the ridge near a small bunker complex. It is the lower of two sites on the ridge; S002 sits above it, closer to the ridge-top. The northern half of the site has been damaged by bunker excavations. The southwestern scarp of the knoll is carpeted with shells. Average visibility was 60%.
Size: 0.60 ha (0.07).

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1998, A.


Periods Represented: HL (5); M (1).

Ranges Represented: UNKN (1).

Collection Method (G): Transects. Vacuums with a dogleash were taken along transects at 10 m intervals; very little material was collected and none retained. The site was then divided into quadrants and grabs for diagnostics were taken from each. Very few tiles were collected. 4 grabs, 6 vacuums.

Periods Represented: CL (1); HL (31); R (1).

Ranges Represented: A-HL (1); LA-EHL (1).

Artifact Discussion: The majority of the material from S009 is Hellenistic (86%). There are two pieces that could be as early as Archaic, but they could also be
Classical or Hellenistic. One Classical pithos
fragment is the only definite pre-Hellenistic sherd
from the site. There is one piece of a Roman cooking
jug and one piece of Modern tile.
Thirty-one percent of the Hellenistic sherds are
bricks/tiles. Most of the vessel fragments are either
plain (38%) or cooking ware (42%) from a variety of
open and closed domestic shapes. Four transport
amphoras were collected, all Hellenistic, except one
that is Archaic-Hellenistic. There is a noticeable
lack of fine wares; only one fragment of black glaze
was found. Small finds from the site include an
Archaic-Hellenistic loomweight.
Material was recorded during tract walking that was not
brought in for analysis, including at least five
Hellenistic amphora sherds and a large quantity of
tiles. Cooking wares are not represented in the tract
assemblage, although they are an important component
of the site; for this reason alone, the tract
collection is not representative of S009. Nor does it
reflect the potentially earlier and later components;
the Archaic-Classical and Roman periods are
represented only in the site collection. This is not
surprising, however, given the scarcity of both pre- and post-Hellenistic finds from the site.

The amount of cooking ware, the number of storage jars, and the open and closed plain shapes, suggest S009 was used for domestic purposes. The loomweight strengthens this identification. It is likely that the site was a small farmstead in the Hellenistic period. If there were earlier or later components, they are very ephemeral, suggesting the site was used on a temporary basis.

*Site Function*: Small Hellenistic farmstead.

SITE 010

*Name*: Shtyllas, spring.

*Fig. 7.25; Tables 7.18, 7.19.*

*Zone*: 4.

*Site Location and Description*: S010 is located at the St. Ilias spring on the south side of the Shtyllas valley,
just below Mali i Shtyllasit. The site is east of, and downslope from, S001. S010 is in a broad grassy field around several modern 1 m sq quadrangle holes that have been dug to collect water. The bedrock is shelly conglomerate. Average visibility was 50%.

Size: 0.20 ha.

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1998, A.

Associated Tracts: A-076.

Periods Represented: HL (11).

Ranges Represented: LCL-EHL (2); LCL-HL (1).

Collection Method: Revisititation with grab of diagnostic sherds in vicinity.

Periods Represented: HL (6).

Ranges Represented: CL-HL (24); UNKN (4).
Artifact Discussion: Almost all the material from S010 from both tract walking and revisitation could be Hellenistic (92%; the other 8% consists of undated sherds). Of this, 39% is definitely Hellenistic, and 61% could be, but it could also Classical.

No tiles are present in the assemblage (four fragments were reported, but not collected). Most of the sherds are from plain water vessels or other unidentifiable closed shapes (55%). Twenty-five percent of the sherds are black glaze, including one banded table amphora. Five fragments (11%) are cooking ware.\(^{1351}\) There are three storage vessels (one pithos and two transport amphorae). There is also an unidentified Hellenistic sherd with red slip.

There is a higher percentage of black glaze from tract collection than site revisitation (50% vs. 13%). More cooking ware, on the other hand, is present in the revisitation assemblage (22% vs. 7%), and the variety of shapes is greater.

The high percentage and the quality of black glaze fragments, some of which are imports, is unusual for sites in the hinterland of Apollonia. The concentration of fine wares might suggest ritual at the site. Also of note is the absence of tiles. The

\(^{1351}\) The four unidentifiable sherds are also cooking ware.
shapes represented in the assemblage are primarily vessels associated with drinking, i.e., amphoras, kantharoi, and skyphoi; these are the types of pots one would expect to find at a spring. The storage vessels and the cooking pots, however, point to a domestic component. The quantity of possible Classical material suggests there might be a pre-Hellenistic component to S010.

It is interesting to note that two pre-Greek sherds were recovered in an adjacent tract, A-080; one is Late Bronze-Early Iron Age, the other Early Iron Age. The presence of pre-Greek material in close proximity, as well as a small concentration higher up at S026, suggests that native inhabitants were using the spring and the area around Shtyllas before the arrival of the Greeks.

*Site Function:* Spring. Illyrian?; Classical?; Hellenistic, perhaps sacred?

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1352 The small quantity of broken plain ware sherds associated with water collection is perhaps due to modern disturbance at the site and lack of formal, intensive site collection.
Name: Pyll i Shtyllasit, upper.

Figs. 7.26, 7.27; Tables 7.20, 7.21.

Zone: 4.

Site Location and Description: S011 is situated in the scarps of a bluff north of a road that once ran out of Radostina towards Çuka e Bukur. It is on the east side of the Shtyllas valley, immediately west of an agricultural road. The site was identified on the basis of high tile counts recorded during tract walking. It is poorly preserved and has been disturbed by military excavations, bunkers, and a modern road. S011 is associated with a series of large gun emplacements that have been converted into animal pens. S012 is located directly downslope from S011. Dark red alfisols are visible in a section of the road scarp. Average visibility was 30%.

Size: 0.16 ha (0.27).

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1998, 1999, A.
Associated Tracts: A-104.

Periods Represented: HL (1).

Collection Method: 20 x 20 m grid. Axes were N-S and E-W.

Each square was vacuumed. Artifacts were counted in the field and diagnostics were brought in for processing. 16 vacuums.

Periods Represented: HL (96); PMED (1).

Ranges Represented: A-HL (1); CL-HL (5).

Artifact Discussion: The bulk of the material from S011 is Hellenistic (93%). There is nothing that is definitely pre-Hellenistic, although one piece could be as early as Archaic, and five pieces could be Classical. One tile is definitely Post-Medieval.

Tiles comprise 28% of the assemblage. The vessel sherds are primarily from closed shapes, in both cooking (17%) and plain wares (60%). There are only two black glaze fragments. Storage vessels include two pithoi and 13 (17%) transport amphora. Many of the tiles and
transport amphoras are represented by unusually large fragments.
The tract assemblage does not accurately reflect site function since only one sherd was retained from the initial investigation.
S011 appears to have been used primarily in the Hellenistic period; 2/3 of the sherds that could be earlier are from large storage vessels. The quantity of cooking ware and closed vessels suggest a domestic function. Noteworthy is the large number of transport amphoras, which suggests the site was used for storage, perhaps of agricultural products.

Site Function: Small Hellenistic farmstead.

SITE 012

Name: Pylly i Shtyllasit, lower.

Figs. 7.28, 7.29; Tables 7.22; 7.23.

Zone: 4.
**Site Location and Description:** S012 is located on the south side of the Shtyllas valley on a tongue of maquis-covered land between two larger ridges. It is 200 m south and downslope of S011. The edges of the site are defined by a number of erosion gullies that have exposed red soil in their scarps. There are well-defined sheep and goat paths across and around the hill. The tract through site center has one stone that is possibly cut and many that are not. These were originally interpreted as a wall. Average visibility was 20%.

**Size:** 0.24 ha (0.33).

**Year(s) Investigated and Team:** 1998, 1999, A.

**Associated Tracts:** A-107, A-108.

**Periods Represented:** HL (6); R (4); MR (1).

**Collection Method:** 20 x 20 m grid. Axes were N-S and E-W. Each square was vacuumed. Artifacts were counted in the field and diagnostics were brought in for processing. 25 vacuums.
Periods Represented: HL (22); LHL (7); R (1); MR (72); LR (1).

Ranges Represented: CL-EHL (1); HL-R (1); UNKN (23).

Artifact Discussion: Thirty-five percent of the material from S012 is Hellenistic. Two other pieces might be, but one could also be Classical, the other Roman. The former, a possible imitation of a Corinthian Type A transport amphora, is the earliest piece from the site. Tiles comprise 56% of the total site assemblage. Over half of the material is Roman (57%), of which 63% is tiles. Seventeen percent of the sherds could not be dated.

Black glaze is rare; there is only one sherd. There are 17 (28%) cooking ware fragments, but the highest percentage of sherds is from plain closed shapes (46%). Eleven sherds (18%) are from storage jars: three from pithoi, eight from transport amphorae.

The dates of the sherds in the tract collection differ from those in the site assemblage, with over half of the tract finds dating to the Hellenistic period, while 60% of the site assemblage is Roman.
The types of Roman vessels present reflect the domestic function of S012. The small number of ceramics (24%) vs. tiles (76%) also suggests a domestic context, especially given the unusually large percentage of cooking ware. The Hellenistic sherds probably represent a component of this date, perhaps with architecture, but of unknown function. Most of the storage vessels are Roman, so it is possible that the site was occupied by a small farmstead during this period.

*Site Function*: Hellenistic field house?; Roman farmstead.

SITE 013

*Name*: Shëndëlli church.

*Fig. 7.30; Tables 7.24, 7.25.*

*Zone*: 4.

*Site Location and Description*: S013, a church of St. Ilias, is situated just south of the Radostina-Shtyllas road
on a small hill approximately 500 m from the edge of Shtyllas village. A path up to the site is lined with small cypresses. The church was destroyed in 1967. Foundations were visible in 1998-2000. An elaborately decorated masonry block, used as an altar in the church and probably a spolium brought from the bouleuterion at Apollonia, and a metal safe had been dragged to what would have been the center of the building. The church had been completely rebuilt by 2005. Average visibility was 80% on top of the mound, 30% on overgrown sides.\textsuperscript{1353}

\textit{Size:} 2.00 ha (0.12).

\textit{Year(s) Investigated and Team:} 1998, A.


\textit{Periods Represented:} HL (1); R (1); EO (4).

\textit{Collection Method:} Quadrants. The site was divided into quadrants. Grabs were made in each quadrant, only ceramics were collected. 4 grabs.

\footnote{1353 See Galaty, Stocker, and Watkinson 1999.}
Periods Represented: HL (1); LR (1); O (1); PMED (4).

Ranges Represented: EM-M (7); UNKN (3).

Artifact Discussion: S013 was identified on the basis of high tile densities recorded in tract walking and actual architectural remains at the location. Only two tiles were collected, however, and these are both Hellenistic. Two Roman fragments (a brick and a slipped table amphora sherd), one of which is specifically Late Roman, were also found; one during site collection, the other in tract walking.

The tract material can be more closely dated than the finds from the site collection. There are no specifically Early Ottoman sherds in the site collection, although the shapes are similar in both assemblages, and most of the material in the site assemblage is Early Modern-Modern. The few pieces of ancient material from the combined site and tract assemblages (two Hellenistic, one Roman, one Late Roman) might represent background scatter rather than actual site use in antiquity. The tract material closely mirrors the site collection; one piece of Hellenistic and one
of Roman are in each assemblage, as are Ottoman pieces.

Most of the Post-Medieval glazed shapes from S013 are open; the plain and slipped pieces are closed. Coarse and cooking ware sherds are absent. The function of the site before the construction of the church in the Early Modern period is unclear.

**Site Function:** Early Modern-Modern Church.

SITE 014

**Name:** Shtyllas, head of valley.

**Fig. 7.31; Tables 7.26, 7.27.**

**Zone:** Primarily in 4, but a small part at the crest of the knoll is in Zone 3.

**Site Location and Description:** S014 is on the west side of a knoll at the east end of the Shtyllas valley. It sits in a pass leading to Radostina on a ridge midway between highland pastures and lowland fields. The
site is located where the roads to Shtyllas and Mali i Portës split, and commands an impressive view over both the Fier plain and the Shtyllas valley. Site 014 is the largest Hellenistic site located by MRAP in the Shtyllas Valley. Large quantities of material on the terraces are visible from the Shtyllas road. The site had multiple centers. Two human skeletons are eroding from the scarps of a terrace near the bottom of the slope in S014-019G. The site is terraced and bunkers have been cut into the top. Average visibility was 10% on the lowest terraces, 50% on the upper.

Size: 2.00 ha (1.4).

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1998, A.


Periods Represented: HL (47).

Ranges Represented: CL-HL (3); LCL-EHL (1); HL-R (1); MHL (1).

\textsuperscript{1354} The site might include Tracts A-181–A-196.
Collection Method: The summit of the hill was divided into quadrants, and the lower terraced slopes into three sectors. Each third of a terrace and quarter of the summit was defined as a collection unit. Vacuums with a dogleash and grabs of diagnostics were taken from each unit. 32 grabs, 32 vacuums.

Periods Represented: HL (436); R (6); M (15).

Ranges Represented: A-CL (1); CL-EHL (1); LCL-HL (12); HL-R (1); HL-EM (2); UNKN (2).

Artifact Discussion: The vast majority of the material from S014 is Hellenistic (91%). There is one transport amphora fragment that is earlier; it is either Archaic or Classical. Seventeen other pieces (3%), mostly transport amphorae, could be Classical, but they could also be Hellenistic. There is a small scatter of Roman tiles (6 = 1%), and two other pieces might be Roman, but could also be Hellenistic. Fifteen pieces of Modern bricks/tiles were collected, one unidentifiable piece, and two sherds that are no more closely dated than Hellenistic-Early Modern (3%).
Tiles (336) comprise 64% of the assemblage from S014. One large fragment of a Middle Hellenistic pan tile was found that bears the stamp "IT."\textsuperscript{1355}

The largest percentage of pottery sherds is from plain closed vessels of Hellenistic date (66%). Thirty-two storage vessels (18%) were found: 31 transport amphorae and one pithos. Almost all of these could be Hellenistic, but one is definitely earlier. There is a noticeable lack of black glaze (4%); only three sherds were picked up in site collection and five in tract walking. Cooking ware sherds are better represented at S014; they account for 12% of the assemblage. Most of the plain and cooking ware fragments come from closed vessels, and the number of open shapes is small.

Small finds from S014 consist of four prehistoric lithics and two unidentified and undated scraps of metal. Human bones of unknown date were found in the scarp in A-195/S014-019. The material from these units is predominately tiles, which suggests the presence of one or more tile graves. There are also several transport amphora fragments and some plain closed vessel fragments. No identifiable grave offerings are

\textsuperscript{1355} Mano (1965, p. 72; 2006, pp. 607, 615) has identified this stamp on tiles from Apollonia, which she dates to the 3rd-2nd century B.C.
present in the assemblage, though, and the lack of black glaze sherds is unusual in comparison to the quantity that was recovered in the necropolis. Although they comprised the largest percentage of the finds in both assemblages, plain ware vessels from site collection are much more dominant than from tract walking (71% vs. 49%). Cooking ware, black glaze, and storage vessels are present in equal proportions in the tract assemblage (17% ea.). The percentage of storage vessels in the site collection is also 17%, but the percentage of black glaze is much smaller; it accounts for only 2% of the assemblage. Shapes from tract collection that are not represented in the site assemblage are the bowl, chytra, mortarium, and olpe. Modern and Roman sherds are present in the site collection assemblage, but are absent from the tract collection. The quantity of tiles is somewhat higher in the site assemblage (66%) than the tract (43%), but this is to be expected given the different collection techniques.

The nature of the assemblage from S014 is in keeping with a domestic context. The presence of human bones, however, points to the existence of one or more graves.
Site Function: Hellenistic hamlet and cemetery.

SITE 015

Name: Shtyllas, farmyard.

Figs. 7.32, 7.33; Tables 7.28, 7.29.

Zone: 4.

Site Location and Description: S015 is located on a farm at Shullëri, near a modern reservoir and pumping station. The site is on a ridge midway between highland pastures and lowland fields, above the road that runs through the Shtyllas valley. Artifacts were spread out on the slopes of a low knoll, scattered throughout the vegetable fields of a modern farmstead. The area is intensively farmed. Remains of ancient walls were found on top of the knoll in unit S015-009. Farmers are robbing stones from these walls for use in modern constructions. Visibility was 20% in maquis, 80% in farmyard and fields.
Size: 2.00 ha (0.60).

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1998, A.


Periods Represented: HL (13); R (5); MR (1); PMED (1).

Ranges Represented: CL-EHL (1); UNKN (2).

Collection Method: Collection units were defined by natural landscape boundaries; diagnostic grabs were made in each unit. 11 grabs.

Periods Represented: IA (1); HL (190); LHL (1); ER (2); R (23); M (7).

Ranges Represented: CL-EHL (1); CL-HL (2); EHL-MHL (2); HL-R (1); MHL-LHL (1).

Artifact Discussion: One Iron Age sherd was found at S015. The vast majority of the material, however, is
Hellenistic; material of this date accounts for 81% of the assemblage. Five other pieces might be Hellenistic, too, although four could also be Classical, and the fifth could be Roman. There is a small Roman component to the site; 12% of the assemblage is of this date. Seven sherds, four from a single pipe, are Modern.

Eighty-nine tile fragments were collected, which comprise 35% of the assemblage. The largest percentage of sherds, however, is from plain vessels (57%), primarily closed shapes. Cooking ware makes up 21% of the vessel assemblage, and storage vessels only 5%.

The Roman component is smaller than the Hellenistic.

Nevertheless, the assemblage from S015 represents the most significant concentration of Roman material in the Shtyllas valley. Finds include tiles, cooking vessels, plain wares, and one fragment of Terra Sigillata.

Small finds include a Hellenistic bronze coin and a Roman millstone. The coin has an image of Artemis on the obverse and a spearhead on the reverse; it was minted by the Koinon of Epirus in the Middle Hellenistic period, ca. 234-168 B.C. \[1356\]

\[1356\] See Meta 2006.
The tract assemblage is an accurate reflection of the site assemblage, although the percentages of Hellenistic and Roman are different. There is more Hellenistic from site collection (84% vs. 57%), but this is a result of collection methodology. There are twice as many Roman sherds in the tract assemblage (26% vs. 11%). On the other hand, Iron Age and Modern sherds are not present among the tract finds. There is a much greater variety of shapes in the site assemblage, but the quantity of plain vessels comprises the largest group of finds in both assemblages.

The presence of Hellenistic and Roman tablewares, cooking vessels, and storage containers suggests that S015 was a domestic site in both periods. The few black glaze shapes are standard household equipment. It is unclear whether there is continuity in site use between the Hellenistic and Roman periods; the presence of both Late Hellenistic and Early Roman sherds, however, suggests this possibility. The site was probably the location of small Hellenistic and Roman farmsteads.

*Site Function:* Hellenistic farmstead; Roman farmstead.
SITE 016

Name: Kodra Ullirit ("Hill of Olives").

Fig. 7.34; Tables 7.30, 7.31.

Zone: 2.

Site Location and Description: S016 is in a grove of olive trees at the southwestern end of Kodra Ullirit, ca. 1.4 km from Apollonia. The site is located just outside the boundaries of the necropolis (S007). S016 is well preserved, and there is little evidence of erosion at the site; the olives appear to have stabilized the area. There are several bunkers at the edge of the site, but not in the center. The recent planting of young olives probably uncovered artifacts that were then dumped, with the soil, into nearby corn fields. An ancient building may have stood in grid square S016-003G in the northeast quadrant of the site, where substantial concentrations of tiles and stones were found. Visibility ranged from 60-70%.
Size: Ca. 1.00 ha (0.60).

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1998, B.

Associated Tracts: B-085, B-086, B-087, B-088.

Periods Represented: CL (3); LCL (1); HL (38); ER (1).

Ranges Represented: LCL-EHL (1); UNKN (2).

Collection Method: Revisitation, Tracts J-042, J-043.\textsuperscript{1357}

Periods Represented: HL (4).

Ranges Represented: CL-HL (1).

Collection Method: Grabs were made in naturally bounded garden plots. Vacuums with a dogleash were taken along transects at 10 m intervals. 12 grabs, 4 vacuums.

Periods Represented: EA (1); LCL (1); HL (80); LR (6); R (1); PMED (1).

\textsuperscript{1357} Five sherds from revisitation are included in the tract table.
Ranges Represented: A-CL (1); A-EHL (1); A-HL (1); LA-EHL (3); CL-EHL (4); CL-HL (4); LCL-EHL (2); HL-R (1); MHL-LHL (1); O-EM (3).

Artifact Discussion: The majority of the ceramics from S016 date to the Hellenistic period (76%). Seven pieces (4%) are definitely earlier; one is Early Archaic, one is Archaic or Classical, three are Classical, and one is Late Classical. Seventeen other pieces (11%) might also be earlier; five of these could be Archaic. There are five sherds (3%) that are definitely Roman, and one additional piece (1%) that is either Hellenistic or Roman. Six fragments (4%) are Post-Medieval or unknown.

Thirty percent of the sherds are tiles; 43 pieces (90%) are Hellenistic, and another could be. Plain ware makes up the largest group of vessel sherds, comprising almost 1/2 of the assemblage (48%). Transport amphorae are the second largest category of finds; they make up 25% of the total. All of the definite and most of the possible sherds that predate the Hellenistic period are from transport amphorae, most of which are imports or imitations of Corinthian
types. The percentage of black glaze (16) tallies well with that from other sites in the vicinity, as does that of cooking ware (11%).

The dates of shreds from tract collection accurately reflect the larger body of finds from site collection. Archaic is the only period that is not represented in the tract assemblage. The quantity of Roman sherds in both groups is small. Most of sherds in both the tract and site assemblages are tiles (82% and 72%). The percentages of cooking ware (15% and 19%) and black glaze (12% and 10%) are also similar; this is true, too, for the number of sherds from plain vessels (59% and 41%). A wide variety of shapes are represented in both assemblages.

The possible Classical material consists primarily of fine wares and transport amphoras, some of which are imports or imitations. There is a piece of imported Classical Attic black glaze, an Attic black glaze krater, and "local" Classical black glaze. Only two fragments of Classical cooking ware were found. Most of the finds are in keeping with a domestic assemblage, but the krater and lekythos might point to the presence of a disturbed Classical grave.
S016 appears to be the only Classical habitation site found by MRAP outside the asty of Apollonia. Although it is located near the boundary of the necropolis, it is outside the perimeter of the cemetery. The presence of cooking ware sherds strengthens its identification as a domestic site, but the black glaze sherd and transport amphora raise the possibility of a Classical burial.

The Hellenistic shapes are typical of a domestic assemblage. There are black glaze drinking and pouring vessels, cooking pots, and storage jars. The only pithos fragment was collected during tract walking, but there are numerous transport amphoras from site collection.\(^{1358}\) The quantity of, and variety in, black glaze sherds suggests that this assemblage is from a wealthy household.

The Roman assemblage is also in keeping with a domestic context, but on a smaller scale. In addition to cooking vessels there are several Late Roman table amphora fragments that are coated on the interior with bitumen.

\(^{1358}\) S016 has the largest quantity of amphoras collected at any site (23, five of which were exported for analysis); these include examples of Corinthian Types A and A', as well as imitations of Corinthian Type A. One of the earliest Type A amphoras, which predates the traditional foundation date, comes from S016.
**Site Function:** Classical grave or habitation site;
Hellenistic farmstead; small Roman farmstead.

SITE 017

**Name:** Kryegjata A.

**Table 7.32.**

**Zone:** 2.

**Site Location and Description:** S017 is located northwest of the military base at Kryegjata, in the gravel road below and to the south of the ridge of the eastern necropolis of Apollonia. The site consists of a concentration of lithics that were found in the roadbed. The site is part of the necropolis of Apollonia. Visibility was 80% on road, 20% in maquis.

**Size:** 0.60 ha?

**Year(s) Investigated and Team:** 1998, B.
Associated Tracts: B-027.

Periods Represented: HL (1).

Ranges Represented: A-CL (2); UNKN (1).

Collection Method: Microtracts and Revisitation. The road in B-027 was re-walked with team members spaced shoulder to shoulder. The site was also revisited in subsequent years (1999-2001) and diagnostic stray finds were collected.

Periods Represented: HL (1).

Ranges Represented: A-CL (2).

Artifact Discussion: The small number of Archaic-Classical artifacts would be in keeping with Greek burial activity in the area, given that the site is located in the middle of the necropolis of Apollonia.

Site Function: Middle Paleolithic station.
SITE 018

Name: Vadhiza, farmyard.

Fig. 7.35; Tables 7.33, 7.34.

Zone: 3.

Site Location and Description: S018 is located in the bottom of a small valley between the first two hills east of Radostina on the way to Vadhiza, in the yard and fields of the Saliaj family. There is a water source nearby. The site center has been systematically plowed and cultivated, but is fairly well preserved. A channel cut around the field may have disturbed the periphery of the site. Visibility was 50% in field, 30% in remainder of the site.

Size: 1.20 ha (1.30).

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1999, D.

Associated Tracts: D-095, D-096, D-097, D-098.
Periods Represented: LB (1); LO (10); PMED (25).

Ranges Represented: LO-EM (3); UNKN (1).

Collection Method: 20 x 20 m grid. The site center was identified and collected first. Two axes, N-S and E-W, were laid out, dividing the area into four transects. Vacuums with a dogleash were taken at 10 m intervals along the four transects (T1-4) until artifact densities dropped off. Once the extent of the site was determined, the area was covered with a grid and each square was grabbed for diagnostics. 54 grabs, 30 vacuums.

Periods Represented: CL (1); HL (100); R (3); MR (1); MED (1); PMED (1024); EO (4); O (14); LO (225); M (7).

Ranges Represented: O-EM (1392); LO-EM (21); UNKN (10).

Artifact Discussion: The majority of the material from S018 is Post-Medieval, specifically Ottoman/Late Ottoman to Early Modern, and many of the Ottoman-Early Modern sherds are tiles. Most of the ceramics can be dated no more closely than Post-Medieval. There is great
variety in the repertoire of shapes represented in the assemblage. It is likely that the Ottoman/Late Ottoman-Early Modern and the Post-Medieval finds are from the same occupation episode.

There is a small amount of Hellenistic material mixed in with the post-Roman finds; 85% of this is bricks/tiles, the rest is from plain closed vessels. There is one imported transport amphora sherd that is either a Corinthian Type A' or an imitation. Four Roman sherds were also found, one of which is a Middle Roman transport amphora.

Cooking, plain, glazed, and underglazed vessels are present in the Post-Medieval assemblage; these are consistent with a domestic character. The quantity of Hellenistic tiles suggests the possibility that there was a small structure on the site during this period.

Hellenistic and Roman sherds are absent in the tract assemblage, as are specifically Early Ottoman and Ottoman finds. The post-Roman range of shapes is similar in both assemblages, although there is wider variety in the site collection.

Most of the Graeco-Roman sherds from S018 are bricks/tiles. It is unlikely that S018 was permanently inhabited during the Hellenistic period in view of the small
number of vessel sherds of this date. It is possible, however, that the site was used on a temporary basis, perhaps as a field house or storage shed.

*Site Function:* Hellenistic field house; Post-Medieval hamlet.

SITE 019

*Name:* Radostina.

*Fig. 7.36; Tables 7.35, 7.36.*

*Zone:* 3.

*Site Location and Description:* S019 is located on the slope of a hill southeast of Radostina on the Radostina-Shtyllas road. The site faces the valley to the southeast of Radostina. Site preservation appears to be good, although a cut for a nearby field road probably disturbed a few parts of the site. Visibility was 60% in vineyard, 30% in grassy area, and 10% in overgrown olives.
Size: 0.65 ha (2.40).

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1999, D.

Associated Tracts: D-064, D-065, D-066, D-067, D-068, D-072, D-073, D-074.

Periods Represented: HL (13); R (2); LR (11); PMED (3); LO (2); M (2).

Ranges Represented: HL-R (2); MR-LR (1); O-EM (4); EM-M (1); UNKN (5).

Collection Method: Microtracts. Microtracts of similar size and vegetation were defined in the original tracts. Vacuums with a dogleash were collected from the center of each microtract, and grabs for diagnostics were made. 38 grabs, 38 vacuums.

Periods Represented: CL (7); HL (1194); R (1); MR (2); LR (29); B (2); PMED (37); O (3); EM (2); M (438).
Ranges Represented: LBA (1); IA (1); A-HL (1); A-CL (1); CL-EHL (1); CL-HL (1); ER-MR (12); LR-EB (1); LO-EM (4); UNKN (4).

Artifact Discussion: Pre-Medieval sherds account for 72% of the total site assemblage. Of these, 68% are Hellenistic. There are two indigenous fragments, one Late Bronze Age, the other Iron Age. Eight pieces are definitely pre-Hellenistic; one of these could be Archaic. Three other sherds could be earlier than the Hellenistic period; one could be as early as Archaic, the others could be Classical. The Roman period is fairly well represented with 58 pieces, although this is only 3% of the total. Most of the post-antique material is Modern (87%). Ninety-nine percent of this is tiles.

Seventy-six percent of the finds from S019 are bricks/tiles. Of these, 89% are Hellenistic. Of the pre-Medieval pieces, 71% are tiles. The majority of the pre-Medieval vessel sherds are from plain vessels (68%). Most of these are unidentifiable closed shapes. Cooking pots account for 24% of the assemblage, and black glaze for only 1%. There are 24 storage vessels (6%). There is also one piece of
Terra Sigillata, and three unidentified Hellenistic glazed sherds.

The tract material and the site assemblage are the same only in the fact that both are composed of two groups of finds; Hellenistic and Post-Medieval. Only 30% of the material from tract walking is tiles (vs. 77% from site collection). The percentages of the vessel types represented are similar; although there are more storage and plain ware vessels from site collection; the amount of cooking ware is higher in the tract assemblage. The sole piece of Terra Sigillata came from a tract.

The site collection provides evidence for more periods of use. No indigenous sherds were found by tract walkers. Moreover, there are no finds whatsoever that predate the Hellenistic period. The percentage of Roman sherds from tracts is much higher than from site collection (30% vs. 3%), however; this quantity difference is made even more significant by the fact that most of the site material is tiles, while only one tile fragment was collected in tract walking. Additionally, the Post-Medieval component of the site is more pronounced in the tract assemblage, where it comprises 37% of the finds.
The tract assemblage is, however, sufficient to identify the function of S019. The material from both collections is in keeping with domestic use. All the basic household shapes are present, including large quantities of cooking ware. Almost all of the earlier sherds are from large storage jars, and several of the transport amphoras appear to be Corinthian imports. This suggests that the site might have been used for agricultural storage prior to the Hellenistic period. The paucity of fine vessels of Hellenistic date, however, suggests a rather poor household.

*Site Function*: Hellenistic hamlet; Roman farmstead?; Post-Medieval farmstead.

SITE 020

*Name*: Vadhiza, upper.

*Fig. 7.37; Tables 7.37, 7.38.*

*Zone*: 3.
**Site Location and Description:** S020 is situated in a small fenced field next to the Radostina-Mali i Portës road. The site is positioned so that it commands a view of the entire Vadhiza valley, as well as the ridges of Çuka e Bukur and Mali i Portës. Deep plowing, which has caused considerable damage to the site, has brought to the surface numerous artifacts and sandy stone blocks of various sizes. These blocks are probably parts of buried structures. Large quantities of building material were present. Average visibility was 60%.

**Size:** 0.25 ha (0.30).

**Year(s) Investigated and Team:** 1999, D.

**Associated Tracts:** D-199, D-200.

**Periods Represented:** HL (14); LHL (1).

**Collection Method:** Quadrants. The field was divided into quadrants and diagnostics were grabbed from each. 4 grabs.
*Periods Represented:* HL (74); M (1).

**Artifact Discussion:** All of the material from S020 is Hellenistic except for one Modern brick fragment. Most of the assemblage consists of tiles (77%). The percentages of plain vessels and storage jars are roughly equal (48% and 52%). The few shapes that are present are all plain, principally closed tablewares. No black glaze or cooking ware sherds were found.

The site and tract assemblages differ in percentages because only four pieces from the tract assemblage are not tiles; three of these are transport amphoras. Seven fragments of similar vessels are in the site assemblage, but account for only 41% of the vessel assemblage. The rest consists of plain vessels. Both assemblages clearly indicate that S020 was a single-period site, and probably not permanent.

The lack of cooking and fine wares makes it unlikely that S020 was a habitation site. Rather than a farmstead, therefore, the site was probably used as a field house for the storage and/or processing of local agricultural products.

**Site Function:** Hellenistic field house.
SITE 021

Name: Shtyllas-Levan road.

Fig. 7.38; Tables 7.39, 7.40.

Zone: 4.

Site Location and Description: S021 is located south of Shtyllas village on the low ridge immediately east of, and parallel to, the Shtyllas-Levan road. The site is just above the Myzeqe plain. Site preservation is good although a few bunkers have caused disturbances. Large cobbles of limestone, quartz, quartzite, and chert are eroding out of the conglomerate bedrock and lie on the surface. Average visibility was 70%.

Size: 1.20 ha. (1.80).

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1999, C.
Associated Tracts: C-021, C-022, C-023, C-025, C-026, C-031, C-032, C-033.

Periods Represented: HL (18); R (2); MR (1); LR (8).

Ranges Represented: CL-HL (1); HL-R (1).

Collection Method: A long N-S axis was laid out along the ridge, and two perpendicular E-W axes were laid out across this, thus creating a framework of six transects that were numbered T1-T6 (clockwise from the north). Vacuums with a dogleash were spaced at 10 m intervals along each of the six transects. Grab samples of diagnostics were taken from the sector between transects. 6 grabs, 61 vacuums.

Periods Represented: HL (843); R (36); M (5).

Ranges Represented: CL-EHL (1); HL-R (3); UNKN (23).

Artifact Discussion: The material from S021 divides neatly into two periods, Hellenistic and Roman; the Hellenistic is the largest component (93%). There are only two pieces that could be earlier, i.e.,
Classical, but they could also be Hellenistic. The body of Roman material is much smaller; it comprises only 4% of the total assemblage. The other 3% is made up of fragments of unidentifiable plain vessels and Modern tiles.

The majority of the assemblage is tiles (83% of the total, 87% of the Hellenistic material). There is only one piece of black glaze; this is from an unidentifiable closed shape. The vast majority of the vessel sherds are from plain, closed shapes (84%). Cooking ware accounts for 6% of the vessels, and storage vessels for 8%. The Roman assemblage is similar to the Hellenistic; most are also tiles, with a few plain closed vessels, transport amphoras, and cooking ware sherds.

The dates and types of sherds from both tract walking and site collection are similar, although Modern is not present in the tract collection. It is possible to get an accurate picture of site date and function from the tract material alone. As expected, the proportion of tiles is higher in the site assemblage, but it is also clear in the tract assemblage that this is the largest category of finds at the site. Although Hellenistic cooking ware is underrepresented in the
tract assemblage, and the percentage of Roman pieces is a bit higher, it is, nevertheless, possible to assess site use fairly accurately from either body of finds.

The finds from both the Hellenistic and Roman periods are indicative of the domestic function of S021. A loomweight was also found, strengthening this identification. Cooking ware, plain closed shapes, and storage vessels are all represented; the category that is most underrepresented is black glaze. The vast quantity of tiles suggests that some type of architectural structure (or structures) was associated with the site. The size of S021 might indicate that the site was composed of more than one household. A few Paleolithic lithics were also collected, suggesting prehistoric visitation.

*Site Function:* Hellenistic hamlet; smaller Roman component of undetermined type.

**SITE 022**

*Name:* Shtyllas Jaroi, upper.
Zone: 4.

*Site Location and Description:* S022 is located on the southwest spur of Mali i Shtyllasit, just to the west of a track leading from Shtyllas-Jaroi village towards Çuka e Bukur. A modern rock quarry is located nearby. Military installations, including bunkers, terraces, and a modern track have caused considerable damage to the site. Average visibility was 70%.

*Size:* 0.20 ha (0.30).

*Year(s) Investigated and Team:* 1999, C.

*Associated Tracts:* C-048, C-049, C-050, C-51.

*Periods Represented:* LCL (1); HL (30); LR (1); PMED (1).

*Ranges Represented:* LBA-EIA (1); CL-EHL (1); CL-HL (5); EHL-MHL (1); HL-LR (1); UNKN (2).
Collection Method: A long axis was laid out along the ridge parallel to the tract. Two perpendicular axes were laid out across this, creating a framework for six transects which were numbered T1-T6 (clockwise from the north). Vacuums with a dogleash were spaced at 10 m along each of the six transects. Grab samples of diagnostics were taken from the sector between transects. 6 grabs, 32 vacuums.

Periods Represented: HL (261); M (3).

Ranges Represented: CL-EHL (1); LCL-HL (1).

Artifact Discussion: The vast majority of the finds from S022 are Hellenistic (94%), suggesting a single period of occupation. There is only one piece that is definitely earlier: a Late Classical cup fragment. Eight additional pieces might be Classical or Late Classical, but they could also be Hellenistic. There is one non-Greek sherd, Late Bronze-Early Iron Age in date. A very small amount of post-Hellenistic material is present: one Late Roman piece, one Post-Medieval piece, three Modern pipe fragments, and two
fragments of unknown date. It is likely that these are not indications of occupation.

Only 32% of the Hellenistic assemblage from S022 is tiles. Sixty-six percent of the remaining Hellenistic sherds are from plain unidentified closed vessels (70% of the vessel fragments). The percentage of black glaze is low (5%), and half the pieces could be or are earlier; one piece is definitely Late Classical and four others could be. Although the quantity of black glaze fragments is low, there is unusual variety in the shapes represented; the pieces are all from different vessels. Thirteen percent of the sherds come from cooking vessels and 12% from storage vessels (20 from transport amphorae, one pithos); three of these could be Classical.

Although one indigenous sherd was collected from S022 during tract walking, this period was not represented in the site collection. All of the black glaze sherds from the tract assemblage might, but do not need to, predate the Hellenistic period; there are no fine wares that are securely Hellenistic in date. On the other hand, the quantity of black glaze from the site collection is very low (3%). Nevertheless, both
assemblages reflect the same date and function of the site.

The quantity of tiles at S022 suggests the presence of a structure. Cooking wares, storage vessels, and plain closed shapes all point to a domestic function. The variety of black glaze shapes in the assemblage is suggestive of a wealthy household. The uniformity of date in the finds from S022 is indicative of a single-period site.

*Site Function:* Hellenistic farmstead.

**SITE 023**

*Name:* Vadhiza, lower 1.

*Fig.* 7.40; *Tables* 7.43, 7.44.

*Zone:* 3.

*Site Location and Description:* S023 is located on a slope facing the Vadhiza valley, near the village of Vadhiza. The site extends along the same slope of the
ridge as S020, although it is at a higher elevation. Most of the finds were concentrated around two rectangular features, probably recent constructions. The site is poorly preserved because of deep, extensive erosion and lack of ground cover along the ridge. Visibility was 80% in lower part, 30% in upper.

*Size*: 0.15 ha (1.50).

*Year(s) Investigated and Team*: 1999, D.

*Associated Tracts*: D-190, D-191.

*Periods Represented*: HL (11); R (4); MR (2); O (4); LO (1).

*Ranges Represented*: CL-HL (1); HL? (2); MHL-LHL (1); HL-R (1); UNKN (1).

*Collection Method*: A transect oriented 300° was laid out on the ridge. Vacuums with a dogleash were taken every 20 m until artifact densities dropped off. Two additional horizontal transects were laid out and dogleashes were taken along them to determine the
extent of the site. Grab samples were taken from each quadrant. The two rectangular features were grabbed separately. 8 grabs, 19 vacuums.

*Periods Represented*: HL (155); R (19); LR (17); PMED (6); O (2); M (3).

*Ranges Represented*: O-EM (10); UNKN (3).

*Artifact Discussion*: Most of the material from S023 belongs to the Hellenistic period (70%). There is only one piece that could be earlier, i.e., Classical. Another piece might be Roman. Definite Roman material accounts for 17% of the assemblage. There is also a small Post-Medieval/unidentifiable (12%) component to the site.

Of the Hellenistic material, 72% is bricks/tiles; 23 other fragments are Roman. Fifty-six percent of the pre-Medieval assemblage consists of plain, primarily closed, vessels. The table amphora is the best represented identifiable closed vessel form; there is also one fragment from a Late Roman combed table amphora. Only one piece of black glaze was found on the site. Cooking ware (13%) and storage vessels
(28%), both pithoi (2) and transport amphoras (7), are also present.

The tract and site assemblages from S023 are similar in both date and vessel types, although there are fewer fragments of cooking ware and storage vessels from the tract collection. The Roman component is evident in both bodies of material, but in the tract assemblage some of the finds were identified as Middle Roman, while in the site assemblage the closely datable pieces are Late Roman.

The Hellenistic finds point to the presence of a small domestic structure. The scarcity of black glaze suggests it was fairly impoverished. The Roman material, which consists of cooking pots, closed shapes, table amphoras, and tiles, is also consistent with domestic use. It is not clear if there was site continuity between the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Site Function: Small Hellenistic farmstead; small Roman farmstead.

SITE 024
Name: Kryegjata C.

Fig. 7.41.

Zone: 2.

Site Location and Description: S024 is a Paleolithic site that is located along a small field road running up the ridge from Radostina along the border between survey Areas B and D. Artifacts are eroding down hill from the roadbed; it is possible that undisturbed portions of the site are preserved upslope. Visibility was good in the road cut, but poor in the surrounding fields.

Size: Ca. 200 m in road.

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1999, 2000-2001, B and D.

Associated Tracts: B-137.

Collection Method: Revisitation. The site was revisited twice with grabs for diagnostics. The site was not collected.
Site Function: Paleolithic site.

SITE 025

Name: Shtyllas Jaroi, modern village. Ethnographic interviews were conducted in the village, but no material was collected.

Fig. 7.42.

Zone: 5.

Site Location and Description: S025 is used to designate the modern village of Shtyllas-Jaroi on the main asphalt road from Shtyllas towards Levan. Interviews with villagers conducted by Thurstan Robinson, Blerina Dode, and Ols Lafe determined that the current village dates to 1956.

Size: Not available.

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1999, 2003, C.
Collection Method: Not collected.

Site Function: Modern communist period village.

SITE 026

Name: Shtyllas, pumping station.

Figs. 7.43, 7.44; Tables 7.45, 7.46.

Zone: 4.

Site Location and Description: S026 is located on a steep hill 400 m southeast of Shtyllas; there is also a water pumping station on the same slope. The site is poorly preserved; the hilltop has been heavily disturbed by bunker placement and a modern water pumping station. Average visibility was 75%.

Size: 0.25 ha (0.70).

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1999, 2002, C.
Associated Tracts: A-025, C-006, C-007, C-008, C-009, C-010, C-011.

Periods Represented: PH (1); HL (25); M (3).

Ranges Represented: LBA-EIA (1); A-EHL (1); A-HL (1); CL-EHL (1); LCL-EHL (2); HL-R (1); UNKN (3).

Collection Method: Revisitation, Tract C-011R.  

Periods Represented: LBA (1); EIA (1).

Ranges Represented: LBA-EIA (1).

Collection Method: Revisitation. 20 x 20 m grid. Grid squares were grabbed and vacuums with a dogleash were collected from the center of each square. 20 grabs, 20 vacuums.

Periods Represented: HL (152); PMED (1); O (1); M (2).

\[1359\] The three sherds from the revisitation are included in the tract table.
Ranges Represented: LCL-HL (2); HL? (1); HL-R? (1); UNKN (2).

Artifact Discussion: S026 is one of the rare sites in the Shytllas area where a concentration of indigenous sherds was collected. There is one Late Bronze Age fragment, one Early Iron Age piece, and three that could belong to either period; one other sherd could be no more closely dated than Prehistoric. In addition to these, two Late Bronze Age fragments were collected during tract walking in Tract A-022, which is immediately adjacent to the site. The non-Greek material probably points to a small Late Bronze Age-Early Iron Age site, either here or in the vicinity. Almost all of the other finds from S026 are Hellenistic (88%). There is no definite pre-Hellenistic Greek material; two fragments could be, but do not need to be, Archaic, and four pieces could be Classical (three Late Classical); all of these could also be Hellenistic. One other pre-Medieval sherd could be Roman or Hellenistic. One Post-Medieval and two Ottoman pieces were found, and five pieces of Modern pipe/tile. Five sherds could not be identified.
Tiles comprise 62% of the potential Hellenistic assemblage from S026. Most of the fragments are from unidentified plain closed vessels (55%) or transport amphoras (29%). There are only four pieces of cooking ware (6%), and three fragments of black glaze (4%). Four pieces of Hellenistic pipe were also collected from the site.

Most of the sherds in the tract and site assemblages are Hellenistic in date and are primarily from tiles or transport amphoras. The percentage of tiles is lower in the tract collection, with a resultant increase in the percentages of other finds. Transport amphoras, however, account for 53% of the tract finds, which is extraordinarily high. The absence of prehistoric material from the site assemblage is striking since five pieces were found in tract walking. All of these sherds are from the same tract; three were found during the site revisitation. The tract material, therefore, offers a more diachronically diverse picture of the site. The function of the site during the Hellenistic period can also be ascertained from the tract assemblage.

The presence of cooking ware and plain vessels suggests a domestic function for S026 during the Hellenistic
period. The large quantity of transport amphoras indicates that the site might have been used for the storage or processing of agricultural products; this is in keeping with normal activities associated with farmsteads. The post-Hellenistic material does not appear to be indicative of occupation. On the other hand, the quantity of prehistoric material, although low, is likely to indicate site use during the Late Bronze-Early Iron Age, given the rarity of pre-Greek material throughout the survey area.

*Site Function:* Prehistoric occupation?; small Hellenistic farmstead.

**SITE 027**

*Name:* Shaban.

*Fig. 7.45; Tables 7.47, 7.48.*

*Zone:* 6.
Site Location and Description: S027 is located east of the main Shtyllas-Levan road, about 500 m north of Shaban village. The site is on a gradual incline between uncultivated terraces and the road. The terraces are unlikely to be susceptible to erosion; except for bunker and modern road disturbance in the western part, S027 is fairly well preserved. Average visibility was 40%.

Size: 0.50 ha (0.40); probably larger before modern disturbances.

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1999, C.

Associated Tracts: C-239, C-240, C-241, C-242.

Periods Represented: HL (3); R (2); MED (1); M (1).

Ranges Represented: LCL-HL (1); O-EM (1).

Collection Method: 20 x 20 m grid. A 3 x 5 m grid was arranged E-W by N-S and subsidiary squares were laid out at the north and south ends. Each square was grabbed and a vacuum with a dogleash was taken from
the center of each. The northern and southern boundaries of the site were well defined, but the eastern and western boundaries were more problematic. Grid squares north of 411 and 111 on the terraced eastern slope would need to be installed and considerably more squares west of 322, 312, 212, and 222 are necessary for adequate spatial resolution, but impenetrable brambles and a modern road made more squares in this direction impractical; future research on the other side of the paved road in the flat area next to the Fier-Levan canal might prove useful. 21 grabs, 21 vacuums.

*Periods Represented:* CL (1); HL (467); LHL (19); ER (1); MR (22); LR (7); M (13).

*Ranges Represented:* HL-R (3); LHL-ER (1); ER-MR (17); MED? (1); UNKN (1).

*Artifact Discussion:* S027 has both a Hellenistic and a Roman component. The Hellenistic is largest. There is only one piece that is definitely Classical, and another that might be. Hellenistic finds account for 87% of the assemblage, Roman for 9%; four other sherds
are either Hellenistic or Roman. Later material (3%) includes one piece that is, and one piece that might be, Medieval, and one tile that is Ottoman–Early Modern. There are 14 Modern fragments and one unidentifiable piece.

Tiles is the largest category of material from S027 (87%).

Tiles also account for 87% of the Hellenistic assemblage and 89% of the pre–Medieval assemblage. The rest of the Hellenistic sherds come principally from plain closed vessels (52%) and storage vessels (34%). There is only one fragment of black glaze (>1%) and nine pieces of cooking ware (13%).

The Roman material also consists primarily of tiles (94%). Two table amphora fragments and one cooking jug are the only sherds from vessels. The Ottoman through Modern material consists of 14 tile fragments and one flowerpot.

The tract assemblage from S027 is sufficient for chronological identification. The broad periods that are found in the site collection are represented in the tract assemblage, but the dates are more refined for the site material. The tract assemblage is not adequate to determine site function. Only Hellenistic tile and Roman vessel fragments were collected in
tract walking. On the other hand, with one exception, there are only Roman tiles in the site collection and many Hellenistic vessel fragments. The variety of shapes found during tract walking is representative of the whole, except for the Hellenistic period, which is represented only by tiles and one transport amphora. No black glaze was found by tract walkers; the percentage from the site collection is also very low (1%).

The presence of bricks/tiles, plain ware vessels, cooking ware, and storage vessels suggests S027 had a domestic function in the Hellenistic period and was probably a small farmstead. Use of the site for storing agricultural produce is suggested by the large quantity of pithoi and transport amphoras; the number of tiles indicates that there was a structure on the site. The Roman tiles are also indicative of a small structure of this date; the paucity of vessels, however, suggests that it was not used for habitation. Because both Late Hellenistic and Early Roman tiles are present in the assemblage, it is possible that the site spanned the transition, and continued to be used, although on a reduced scale, through the Roman period.
Given the paucity of post-antique material, it is unlikely that S027 was used after the Roman period.

*Site Function:* Hellenistic farmstead; Roman field house.

**SITE 028**

*Name:* Shtyllas Jaroi.

*Fig. 7.46; Tables 7.49, 7.50.*

*Zone:* 5.

*Site Location and Description:* S028 is located in the middle of the Shtyllas-Jaroi valley, about 1 km east of the main Levan-Shtyllas road junction. The site is on a low hill, bounded by maquis and surrounded by fields of straw. Erosion appears to be minimal and the site is well preserved. Visibility was 40% in straw field, 30% in maquis.

*Size:* 0.50 ha (0.60).
Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1999, C.

Associated Tracts: C-094, C-095, C-096, C-097, C-098, C-099, C-150.

Periods Represented: HL (20).

Ranges Represented: CL-HL (1); LCL-EHL (1); M? (1).

Collection Method: 20 x 20 m grid. A primary 3 x 4 grid oriented E-W by N-S was established across the top of the slope and downslope to the west. Vacuums with a dogleash were taken from the center of each grid square and a diagnostic grab sample was taken from the whole square. Five additional squares were added along the west end and at the northeast corner of the site in order to improve spatial resolution and find artifact distribution drop-off points. Time constraints did not allow enough squares on the eastern side of the site to be collected to define the boundary in this direction, but tract walking did not generate large counts in this area. On the other hand, since significant concentrations of artifacts were recovered from Tract C-150, this might suggest
that the site extended farther east, and that the deep ravine 30-40 m east of the gridded area is the result of very recent erosion. 17 grabs, 17 vacuums.

*Periods Represented*: HL (222); R (20).

*Ranges Represented*: CL-EHL (1).

*Artifact Discussion*: Most of the material from S028 dates to the Hellenistic period (91%). There are three pieces that might be earlier; they could be Classical. There are also 20 pieces of Roman tiles (8%) and one possible Modern tile. Eighty-three percent of the Graeco-Roman assemblage is comprised of tile fragments. All of the Roman finds are tiles, as are 87% of the Hellenistic sherds. Very few vessel shapes could be identified; most of the sherds are from plain closed shapes (72%). There are two pieces of cooking ware (5%), and two of black glaze (5%). Storage vessels (a pithos and transport amphoras) account for the remaining 18% of the vessel fragments. A tile with black glaze is an unusual element in the assemblage.
Roman finds are completely missing from the tract assemblage, but are present in the site assemblage. The composition of the tract assemblage is also different; there are fewer tiles, but more black glaze. The percentage of storage vessels is roughly equivalent in both bodies of material. The presence of storage vessels and the quantity of tiles, as well as the absence of tablewares, suggest that S028 was used in the Hellenistic period for agricultural purposes rather than as a habitation site.

*Site Function:* Hellenistic field house; Roman field house.

**SITE 029**

*Name:* Vadhiza, lower 2.

*Figs.* 7.47, 7.48; *Tables* 7.51, 7.52.

*Zone:* 3.
Site Location and Description: S029 is located northwest of Vadhiza, at the foot of the cemetery hill. The site is located on marly ground and is poorly preserved. Visibility ranged from 50-70%.

Size: ca. 1.80 ha.

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1999, D.


Periods Represented: HL (25); R (27).

Ranges Represented: CL-EHL (1); CL-HL (2); HL-R (1); LO-EM (1); EM-M (2); UNKN (6).

Collection Method: Microtracts. The original tracts were divided into microtracts. Vacuums with a dogleash and grabs of diagnostics were made in each microtract. 12 grabs, 12 vacuums.

Periods Represented: HL (105); R (26); MR (66); PMED (1); M (1).
Ranges Represented: LCL-HL (2); MR-LR (4); O-EM (1).

Artifact Discussion: Hellenistic (51%) and Roman (41%) sherds predominate at S029. There are five sherds that might be, but do not have to be earlier, i.e., Classical, and six fragments that are later, i.e., Ottoman to Modern. Six other sherds cannot be identified.

Forty percent of the finds are tiles; 68% of the Hellenistic sherds are tiles, but only 21% of the Roman are. The majority of the remaining sherds are from plain closed vessels (77%). There are 22 fragments of cooking ware, one of which could be Classical. Only two fragments of black glaze were found, one of which could also be Classical and thus earlier than Hellenistic. There are seven fragments of storage vessels (six transport amphoras and one pithos); two of these might be, but do not need to be, pre-Hellenistic. Most of the Roman vessel sherds also come from plain closed shapes, primarily table amphoras. More pieces of cooking ware are present in the Roman assemblage. There are also two fragments of Terra Sigillata, one glazed piece, and one slipped
piece. Interesting among the Roman sherds are several Epirote amphora fragments covered with bitumen.

The tract and site assemblages from S029 are similar except that no black glaze was found during site collection. The quantity of tiles is much higher in the site assemblage, but there is a representative sample of both Hellenistic and Roman pieces in each group. The finds from both periods suggest domestic contexts. It is likely that S029 was a small farmstead in both the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The quantity of Roman finds is higher here than normal, and the presence of imported amphoras and Terra Sigillata fragments suggests that the site was used on a more permanent basis than other Roman sites in the area. The exitmate of site size has probably been affected by deep plowing, which has spread artifacts over a large area.

*Site Function:* Hellenistic farmstead; Roman farmstead.

SITE 030

*Name:* Kryegjata D.
Zone: 2.

*Site Location and Description:* S030 is a Paleolithic site located just before the crest of the ridge immediately east of S003 on the terraces on the south side of the road. The densest concentration of artifacts was found in a shallow gully at the junction of Tracts J-076 and J-077, on the second terrace down from the bunkers. Three cultivated terraces run northeast-southwest above the gully on the east side of the ridge and a string of bunkers runs along the top. The site has been heavily damaged by military activities. Average visibility was 90%.

*Size:* Unknown.

*Year(s) Investigated and Team:* 2000, J.

*Associated Tracts:* J-076, J-077.
**Collection Method:** Revisitation. The site was revisited and diagnostics were brought in, but it was not collected.

**Site Function:** Paleolithic and Mesolithic hunting camp?

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**SITE 031**

**Name:** Dushku i Kuq, upper.

**Figs. 7.50, 7.51; Tables 7.53, 7.54.**

**Zone:** 4.

**Site Location and Description:** S031 is located near an olive grove 150 m southeast of Dushku i Kuq, on the ridge road from Radostina to Mali i Portës. The site has been substantially disturbed by the road and bunker construction. Average visibility was 50%.

**Size:** > 1.00 ha (0.80).

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 2000, A and D.

Periods Represented: HL (16); LHL (1); MR (1).

Ranges Represented: LCL-EHL (2); UNKN (2).

Collection Method: 20 x 20 m grid, oriented N-S and E-W. Vacuums with a dogleash were made in the center of each square. Grabs of all artifacts in the squares were made; counts of pottery and tiles were made on site with only diagnostics from each grab brought in. 28 grabs, 28 vacuums.

Periods Represented: A (1); HL (286); LHL (1); MR (1); LR (27); LB (1); PMED (2); O (1); M (1).

Ranges Represented: A-CL (1); A-HL (3); CL-EHL (1); LCL-HL (1); UNKN (3).

Artifact Discussion: The majority of the material from S031 dates to the Hellenistic period (87%). Archaic is the earliest period found at the site; it is definitively represented by one fragment. Four other pieces might
be of the same period; one of these is definitely pre-
Hellenistic (Archaic or Classical), and the other
three could be Archaic, Classical, or Hellenistic.
There are four additional fragments that might be, but
do not need to be, Classical; three of these are no
later than Early Hellenistic. Twenty-nine sherds (8%) 
date to the Roman period; two are Middle Roman and 27
are Late Roman. Of the remaining 3% of the material,
half is post-Roman and half is of unknown date.

The majority of the pre-Medieval sherds are tiles (55%).
Most of the vessel sherds are from plain closed shapes
(50%) or cooking pots (30%). The quantity of storage
vessels is high (18%); 19 fragments are from transport
amphoras, seven of which might be earlier in date than
the Hellenistic period, and eight fragments are from
pithoi. There is only one piece of black glaze.

Thirty-eight percent of the Roman material consists of
Late Roman tile fragments. The Roman vessel
assemblage is composed largely of cooking ware
pitchers. Two fragments are from Late Roman storage
vessels: one from a transport amphora, and the other
from a pithos. There is one piece of Terra Sigillata
from a Middle Roman plate.
The tract assemblage is an accurate reflection of the site assemblage in the percentages of vessel categories, but, because it is so small, the tract material is not really sufficient to identify site function. Possible pre-Hellenistic sherds are underrepresented in the tract assemblage, although the single piece does suggest its presence. The Roman period is also poorly represented in the tract assemblage, and post-Roman finds are totally absent. Since the only Roman sherd from tract collection is from a Middle Roman cooking vessel, the Late Roman component is unrecognizable in the tract assemblage. The variety of shapes present at the site is evident only in the larger body of finds.

The Hellenistic cooking wares, storage vessels, and closed shapes suggest that S031 was used for domestic purposes in the Hellenistic period. The lack of fine tablewares probably indicates it was a poor farmstead. The type of Roman material found also points to domestic use; the quantity of Roman sherds suggests that the site was small.

Site Function: Hellenistic farmstead; Roman farmstead.
SITE 032

Name: Mali i Portës.

Figs. 7.52, 7.53; Tables 7.55, 7.56.

Zone: 6 (4).

Site Location and Description: S032 is located on the south side of the Mali i Portës ridge, to the east of, and below, the road along the ridge from Radostina to Çuka e Bukur. The site is in both Zones 4 and 6, and is discussed with Zone 6. S032 sits on stable terraces with no obviously eroded or redeposited artifacts. Average visibility was 70%.

Size: ca. 0.30 ha (1.80).

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1998, 2000-2001, A, D, and K.

Periods Represented: HL (22); LHL (1); R (2).

Ranges Represented: A-HL (1); CL-HL (2).

Collection Method: Revisitation, Tract K-109.\textsuperscript{1360}

Periods Represented: HL (3).

Ranges Represented: CL-HL (1).

Collection Method: A 150° flag line was installed down the spine of the interfluve, dividing it into two parts. The site was collected only on the southwest side of the flag line, in an area that was not tract-walked prior to site collection since artifact distributions were low in density to the northeast. Another flag line was installed at 150°, bisecting the upper six terraces, and a third flag line bisecting the lower four terraces at 180°. Vacuums with a dogleash were taken from the approximate center of each unit; all artifacts were collected. Pairs of walkers then grabbed each unit, counting all artifacts and

\textsuperscript{1360} The four sherds from the revisitation are included in the tract table.
collecting all diagnostics. Only half of the site was collected. 21 grabs, 21 vacuums.

Periods Represented: A (1); HL (57); LR (4); M (6).

Ranges Represented: A-CL (1); A-EHL (4); A-HL (1); CL-EHL (2); CL-HL (1); LCL-HL (1); EHL-MHL (1).

Artifact Discussion: Most of the material from S032 dates to the Hellenistic period (75%). Two pieces are definitely earlier; one is Archaic, and the other is Archaic or Classical. Ten other sherds have a date range of Archaic to Hellenistic, so they might or might not be pre-Hellenistic; all of these are from transport amphoras. No certain Classical material was found, although six of the above mentioned fragments could be. Nine pieces (8%) are Roman; the other six fragments (6%) are Modern.

Forty-five percent of the pre-Medieval assemblage is tiles; 89% of these are Hellenistic, 11%, Roman. Half of the Hellenistic finds are tiles, as are 56% of the Roman. All of the sherds that are, or might be, pre-Hellenistic are from transport amphoras. A total of 17 fragments of this vessel type were collected from
the site, some of which appear to be imitations of Corinthian Type A or A'. It is possible that a few of these sherds are from the same vessel, but the date ranges and fabric types suggest that this is not the case for most. Many of the other vessel sherds are from plain closed shapes (49%). Only four fragments (7%) of black glaze and five (9%) of cooking ware were found. The post-Hellenistic assemblage is comprised solely of bricks/tiles.

Although the tract and site assemblages are similar in some respects, they differ in others. The percentage of Hellenistic sherds is much higher in the tract collection, and the number of potentially pre-Hellenistic sherds is underrepresented. There is more Roman and a greater variety of shapes. Additionally, tract walking produced no Modern finds. The tract and site assemblages are similar in the percentages of storage vessels and black glaze fragments, but there is no cooking ware in the tract assemblage. Furthermore, all of the Roman finds from the site collection are tiles. So, although the small Roman component is present in both assemblages, nothing can be determined about site function from the site assemblage alone.
The presence of fine tablewares, cooking vessels, and numerous fine and coarse plain wares suggests that the site had a domestic function in the Hellenistic period. The large quantity of pre-Hellenistic transport amphoras might indicate that S032 was first used as a field house and that some type of agricultural crop was collected, processed, and/or stored at the site.

*Site Function:* Archaic-Classical field house; Hellenistic farmstead or farmsteads (hamlet?); small Late Roman structure.

**SITE 033**

*Name:* Vadhiza, south ridge.

*Zone:* 3.

*Fig.* 7.54; *Tables* 7.57, 7.58.

*Site Location and Description:* S033 is on a ridge 2 km west of the Shtyllas-Radostina road junction. To the north
there are good views to Fier; to the south, down the Levan valley. A dirt road cuts through the site; although both sides are terraced, there is substantial erosion. Average visibility was 60%.

Size: 0.30 ha (0.50).

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 2000, D and H.


Periods Represented: HL (20); R (1).

Ranges Represented: A-CL (1); CL-EHL (1); LCL-HL (1).

Collection Method: A 100 m long axis (T1) was laid along the line of the terraces (300-120°) based on an estimated site center. Three axes 100 m long were laid perpendicular to T1. Vacuums with a dogleash were collected at 10 m intervals along each axis. A grab sample of diagnostic material was then taken from each 20-30 m x 50 m unit between the axes. Rough tile and pottery densities were noted by fieldwalkers; only
diagnostic ceramics and small finds were collected. 8 grabs, 41 vacuums.

Periods Represented: CL (2); HL (154); PMED (1); M (3).

Ranges Represented: A-CL (1); CL-EHL (3); LCL-HL (2); O-EM (1).

Artifact Discussion: Most of the material from S033 is Hellenistic in date (91%). There are four sherds that are earlier; two are either Archaic or Classical and two are Classical. Seven additional sherds might predate the Hellenistic period; four of these are Classical to Early Hellenistic and three are Late Classical to Hellenistic. There is one Roman sherd and five pieces that are Post-Medieval. Forty-three percent of the pre-Medieval finds are tiles (44% of the Hellenistic material); this amount is lower than recorded at many other sites, but could be a reflection of partial rather than complete collection. All of the vessel fragments that certainly or possibly predate the Hellenistic period are from storage vessels; two Archaic-Classical
fragments are from pithoi, the rest, from transport amphoras.

The majority of the vessel fragments are from plain closed shapes, many of which are unidentifiable. Storage vessels account for 23% of the assemblage. Cooking ware sherds make up 17% of the vessel fragments. Only 6% of the sherds are black glaze. Roman is represented by one chytra fragment.

The tract material would be sufficient to identify the date and function of S033, although Roman would be overrepresented since it is present in the tract collection, but absent from the site. Although there are no definite Archaic-Classical pieces in the tract assemblage, there are three pieces that might be earlier than Hellenistic. The percentages of categories of material, however, differ only slightly (i.e., tile is lower in the tract collection, making other categories higher).

Given the presence of tablewares, however limited, and cooking, storage, and plain household vessels, it is likely that S033 was a habitation site in the Hellenistic period. The presence of such a large percentage of storage vessels that are, or might be, Archaic-Classical is probably representative of a
small pre-Hellenistic component to the site. The small quantity of Roman and Post-Medieval sherds suggests there was no post-Hellenistic use of the site.

*Site Function*: Archaic-Classical field house; Hellenistic farmstead.

SITE 034\textsuperscript{1361}

*Name*: Shkozë e Zëzë.

Figs. 7.55, 7.56; Tables 7.59, 7.60, 7.61.

*Zone*: 6.

*Site Location and Description*: S034 is located on a knoll in the Perroi i Levanit Valley. It sits at the lower end of a prominent interfluve that extends northwest from near the Vadhiza-Levan road to the bottom of the valley. Two small ravines border the interfluve, and from its position on the knoll, S034 was able to control the Perroi i Levanit. The site is well

\textsuperscript{1361} Galaty et al. 2004.
preserved, although there is some erosion downslope. Average visibility was 35%.

Size: 0.84 ha.

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 2000, 2001, H.

Associated Tracts: H-007, H-008.

Periods Represented: HL (12).

Ranges Represented: CL-HL (1).

Collection Method: Revisitation, Tract H-007R.\textsuperscript{1362}

Periods Represented: HL (1); MHL (2).

Collection Method: 10 x 10 m grid. A total station was placed over site center and two main axes N-S and E-W were laid out and marked. Squares were laid out with the total station. A vacuum with a dogleash was taken from the center of each grid square. Team members then grabbed diagnostic finds from each square, and

\textsuperscript{1362} The three sherds from the revisitation are included in the tract table.
counted and recorded non-diagnostic and duplicate diagnostic pieces. Grid squares were laid out until vacuums stopped producing artifacts. 120 grabs, 120 vacuums. The site was excavated in 2001. 26 trenches.

*Periods Represented*: HL (499); MHL (1); PMED (3); EM (1); M (1).

*Ranges Represented*: A-CL (1); CL-HL (1); LCL-EHL (2); LCL-HL (9); EO-EM (1); UNKN (1).

*Collection Method*: Excavation.

*Periods Represented*: 1363 HL (87); MHL (7814).

*Ranges Represented*: LCL-HL (10); UNKN (1).

*Artifact Discussion*: Almost all of the material from S034 is Hellenistic; finds of this period account for 99.6% of the total, and 93% are specifically Middle Hellenistic. The excavation finds comprise 94% of the total assemblage (7912 out of 8448 finds); 99.8% of S034 has 385 excavation records: 203 tiles; 28 bricks; and 154 vessels. 
this material is Hellenistic, primarily Middle Hellenistic, and 95% of the total is tiles. Ten sherds could be Classical, but they could also be Hellenistic, and there is one post-Roman piece. Most of the sherds from tract and site collection were given a more general date of Hellenistic, rather than Middle Hellenistic (96%). There is one fragment that is definitely pre-Hellenistic, either Archaic or Classical, and 14 others that might be, but do not need to be, Classical. Six pieces are post-Hellenistic: three Post-Medieval, one Early Ottoman-Early Modern, one Early Modern, one Modern.

Eighty percent of the non-excavated sherds from S034 are Hellenistic tiles; one piece has black glaze on its outer surface. Of the vessel sherds, 45% are from storage jars; this is an unusually high percentage (vs. 36% of excavated vessel fragments). Most of the sherds that are, or could be, earlier than Hellenistic are from transport amphorae. Cooking ware is present, but not in large quantities (13 fragments [13%]). Plain ware sherds represent 34% of the vessel count; most of these are from unidentifiable shapes. There are only a few black glaze sherds (7 [7%]). The
percentage of cooking ware is higher in the excavation assemblage (18%) and that of black glaze lower (2%).

There is no post-Hellenistic material in the tract assemblage, nor is there any definite pre-Hellenistic, although the presence of one sherd that might be Classical suggests this possibility. Although fragments from two different pithoi were collected by tract walkers, no transport amphoras were found. As with the site assemblage, there are very few pieces of black glaze and cooking ware from tract collection. In spite of these differences, the tract assemblage provides an adequate picture of site date and function.

Given the presence of cooking wares, tiles, a few fine wares, and the high number of storage vessels (pithoi and transport amphoras), S034 was, most probably, the site of a Hellenistic farmstead, perhaps specifically Middle Hellenistic.

*Site Function:* Hellenistic farmstead.
Name: Peshtan Binjaket.

Fig. 7.57; Tables 7.62, 7.63.

Zone: 9.

Site Location and Description: Site 035 sits on a small knoll in the Peshtan valley ca. 1 km south of the Cakran-Peshtan road junction. Several houses and agricultural structures built around an abandoned shepherd's shack in the last two decades have disturbed the center of the site, but not the artifact-rich slopes to the south. Average visibility was 60%.

Size: At least 2.00 ha (0.60).

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 2000, 2002, F.

Associated Tracts: F-043, F-045, F-046, F-052.

Periods Represented: PMED (5); EM (2).

Ranges Represented: O-EM (1); EM-M (2).
**Collection Method:** 20 x 20 m grid. Each square was grabbed for diagnostics. A vacuum with a dogleash was collected at the center of each square. 24 grabs, 24 vacuums.

**Periods Represented:** A (1); PMED (9); O (10); EM (3); I (2); C (3); M (75).

**Ranges Represented:** CL-HL (1); O-EM (1); LO-EM (1); LO-M (1); EM-M (357).

**Artifact Discussion:** Only two fragments from S035 are earlier than Post-Medieval; one is Archaic, the other is Classical or Hellenistic. The vast majority of the material falls into the Early Modern to Modern range (94%); one percent of this is definitely Early Modern and 18% is Modern. There are only 18 sherds that might be, but do not need to be earlier, and ten sherds that are definitely Ottoman. Two fragments were identified as specifically dating to the period of Albanian Independence, and three can be securely dated to the Communist period.
Most of the Early Modern-Modern assemblage is comprised of bricks/tiles (59%). Jars and jugs are the most common shapes. Many of the vessels are either slipped (34%) or glazed (31%). Plain ware sherds account for only 19% of the vessel assemblage. There are six fragments with underglaze painted decoration. The composition of the small Ottoman assemblage is almost equally divided between plain, glazed, and slipped wares. The only fragment of cooking ware dates to the Classical-Hellenistic period.

The tract material from S035 consists entirely of jars and jugs. There are no examples of slipped vessels, and more finely decorated pieces are not represented. Half the material from the tract assemblage was assigned a Post-Medieval date, and 40% an Early Modern-Modern date. There is one fragment that might be, but does not need to be, Ottoman. The quantity and variety of the site collection assemblage allows for greater chronological resolution, but the tract material conveys the overall character of the site.

The material is domestic in nature and probably from one or more households. It is possible that there was a small Ottoman component that predated the larger Early Modern to Modern occupation.
Site Function: Early Modern to Modern farmstead or small hamlet.

SITE 036

Name: Peshtan.

Fig 7.58.

Zone: 9.

Site Location and Description: Sheshi i Gushallareve. S036 is located on a broad-saddled ridge extending west down from the Cakran road. To the south a high (ca. 120 m) maquis covered ridge blocks the valley. The area is also referred to as “Fusha e madhe.” The site is well preserved, although plowing and erosion have caused some damage. There is easy access to water. Average visibility was 25%.

Size: 1.80 ha (2.60).
Year(s) Investigated and Team: 2000, 2002, F.

Associated Tracts: F-223, F-224, F-225, F-226, F-227, F-229, F-249.

Collection Method: 20 x 20 m grid. The fields were divided into grid squares oriented N-S by E-W starting from the track-road to the south of the area of the site. Two team members were placed in each square and given 15 minutes to vacuum all artifacts. The grid was expanded until artifact densities dropped off. 48 vacuums, 1 revisitation.

Site Function: Lower Paleolithic to Neolithic lithic manufacturing station.

SITE 037

Name: Mbyet.

Tables 7.64, 7.65.

Zone: 7.
Site Location and Description: S037 sits at the end of a long steep interfluve that runs at a right angle to the main north-south ridge bounding the Gjanica valley on the east; it is perched on a slope between a field road and a conspicuous house. Immediately north of the site is a broad subsidiary valley that extends up over the ridge north of Portez. The Fier railway line runs just past the site on the west. Artifact counts suggest that there has been serious soil displacement in the southwest of the site, in the direction of a house complex, and in the northwest, downslope above a field road. A preliminary density plot shows a concentration of artifacts on level ground at the center of the site, an area of lower densities downslope where the ground is steeper, and higher densities again at the base of the slopes where artifacts have been redeposited on more level ground. Average visibility was 80%.

Size: > 1.10 ha (1.00).

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 2000, H.

**Periods Represented:** HL (10); PMED (17); EM (9).

**Ranges Represented:** CL-HL(1); O-EM (17); O-M (1); EM-M (2).

**Collection Method:** 10 x 10 m grid. Squares were initially laid out along two axes (120° and 30°). The edge of the site was not reached at the south, where there was a fenced house complex that was guarded by dogs and consequently not tract-walked, and at the north. A vacuum with a dog leash was collected at the center of each square. A grab of diagnostics was collected from each grid square. 112 grabs, 112 vacuums.

Periods Represented: EIA (1); HL (181); LHL (1); O (7);

PMED (137); EM (61); M (21).

Ranges Represented: LBA-EIA (1); CL-HL (1); O-EM (537); EM-M (2); UNKN (4).

**Artifact Description:** S037 has two chronological components. Eighty-one percent of the assemblage is post-Roman and 19% is Hellenistic. Two fragments are

1364 S034-432V was the exception; a circle of 20 m² was vacuumed.
indigenous and predate the arrival of the Greeks; one is Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age and the other is Early Iron Age. Two other pieces might be, but do not need to be, Classical; they could also be Hellenistic.

Seventy-three percent of the total assemblage is tiles. The majority of the Hellenistic material is also tiles (84%). Most of the vessel sherds come from transport amphoras (41%) or unidentified closed plain vessels (34%). Twenty-two percent of the vessel fragments are cooking ware. There is only one piece of black glaze; it is from a plate.

Eighty percent of the post-antique sherds from S037 are tiles. All of the Modern and all but one of the Ottoman–Early Modern finds belong in this category. The most closely dated pieces are Early Modern (30%); the majority of the vessels, however, has been assigned a broad Post-Medieval date (67%), so they also might, but do not necessarily need to be, Early Modern. Forty-three percent of these vessels are slipped, 33% glazed, 3% underglazed-painted, and 2%, slip-painted. There are no cooking ware fragments.

Except for the non-Greek material that was found during site collection, the tract material provides an accurate chronological snapshot of S037. The tract
assemblage alone, however, is insufficient to determine the site's function since the finds are comprised almost entirely of tiles (except for one transport amphora). The tract and site assemblages mirror each other fairly consistently regarding post-antique date and function.

The Hellenistic vessel types and fabrics from S037 are characteristic of household use, with emphasis on storage capacity; the fragments, however, are extremely small and worn. Therefore, although it is possible that the site was occupied by a small farmstead in the Hellenistic period, the large area over which the material is spread raises the prospect that the material was brought to the site through manuring. The post-antique material is also consistent with domestic occupation.

*Site Function*: Small Hellenistic farmstead?; Ottoman-Early Modern hamlet.

**SITE 038**

*Name*: Kraps, Bronze Age.
Zone: 7.

*Site Location and Description:* S038 is located at the top of a hill southwest of Portez. The small hilltop is part of a long flat ridge that controls both the Gjanica river valley (village of Mbyet) and the open lowland east of Portez. The site center is near an electric power line pylon at the top of the hill. S038 is generally well preserved, although erosion has washed material down the southwestern slope of the hill. The installation of bunkers at the northern edge of the hill and of the electric pylon at the eastern end caused disturbances on the periphery of the site. Average visibility was 70%.

*Size:* 0.51 ha (0.30).

*Year(s) Investigated and Team:* 2000, 2001, H.

*Associated Tracts:* H-143, H-144, H-145.
Periods Represented: MBA (2); LBA (71); EIA (1); HL (15).

Ranges Represented: MBA-LBA (2); LBA-EIA (2); A-HL? (1); CL-HL (2); UNKN (3).

Collection Method: Revisitation, Tract H-144R.\textsuperscript{1365}

Periods Represented: LBA (9).

Ranges Represented: LBA-EIA (1).

Collection Method: 10 x 10 m grid, excavation. The grid was laid over two main N-S and E-W axes. Each square was grabbed and a vacuum with a dogleash was taken from the center. The grid was expanded until probable site boundaries were established. 49 grabs, 49 vacuums. The site was excavated in 2001. 14 trenches.\textsuperscript{1366}

Periods Represented: MBA (1); LBA (56); EIA (3); IA (1); HL (48); PMED (1); M (1).

\textsuperscript{1365} The 10 revisitation sherds are included in the tract table.
\textsuperscript{1366} S038 has 94 excavation units.
Ranges Represented: MBA-LBA (52); MBA-EIA (69); LBA-EIA (163); CL-EHL (3); CL-HL (18); UNKN (9).

Collection Method: Excavation.

Periods Represented: MN (1); MBA (15); LBA (39); HL (17).

Ranges Represented: MBA-LBA (17); MBA-EIA (33); LBA-EIA (136); CL-HL (5); UNKN (124).

Artifact Discussion: Most of the material from S038 is prehistoric (73%). There is also a small Hellenistic component, which accounts for 12% of the total assemblage. Fifteen percent of the finds from the site cannot be dated. Three pieces are post-antique; two are Post-Medieval, and one is a Modern brick. The highest percentage of prehistoric material dates to the Late Bronze-Early Iron Age (33%); the percentages are roughly the same for the non-excavation (33%) and excavation assemblages (35%). The percentage of securely dated Late Bronze Age finds is much higher for the non-excavation body of material (27% vs. 10%). Only eighteen pieces (2%) are definitely Middle Bronze Age, and there is one piece of Middle Neolithic.
Most of the prehistoric sherds from S038 are from plain unidentifiable (81%) or plain open (9%) vessels. Bowls are the most frequent recognizable vessel type (15 = 2%); two of these are burnished. Also present are kantharoi (7), mugs (2), and jars (4). There are 56 fragments from burnished vessels, one from a slipped pot, and one from a pot with painted decoration.

Twelve percent of the entire assemblage is or could be Hellenistic; this includes a few pieces that could be as early as Classical. Unusually, only 3% of the finds are tiles. Most of the sherds come from plain closed vessels (84%). Eleven percent of the vessel assemblage consists of black glaze pieces, while cooking ware (2%) and transport amphoras (3%) account for only a small portion of the finds.

The date and function of S038 can be determined from either the tract, site, or excavation assemblage alone. The only unusual find was the Middle Neolithic fragment from the excavation.

The character of the prehistoric finds suggests that S038 had a domestic function. It is possible that it was used on a semi-permanent basis, rather than for full time occupation. The body of Hellenistic finds is
interesting, given the high percentage of black glaze and the paucity of tiles, cooking wares, and storage vessels. The assemblage does not appear to be domestic in character.

Site Function: Illyrian hamlet; small Hellenistic site of undetermined type.

SITE 039

Name: Kraps, Paleolithic.

Fig. 7.60; Tables 7.69, 7.70.

Zone: 7.

Site Location and Description: S039 is located near the village of Kraps on an old river terrace near the gravel road and railroad tracks, several kilometers up the Gjanica river valley from Pluk. The site is situated near a spring. The terrace is well preserved although the top few meters of the knoll were stripped to construct a dam that holds back the water for the
pond; this might explain how many of the artifacts came to be on the surface. Average visibility was 50%.

Size: < 0.50 ha (0.60).

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 2000, 2002, H.


Periods Represented: HL (1); PMED (2).

Ranges Represented: CL-HL (1).

Collection Method: 20 x 20 m grid. A grid was placed along the whole interfluve to the west of the modern house and pond. Each square was completely vacuumed. 32 vacuums.

Periods Represented: HL (287); LHL (1); PMED (3); EM (1); M (4).

Ranges Represented: CL-HL (1); LCL-HL (3); O-EM (14).
Artifact Discussion: Most of the material from S039 dates to the Hellenistic period (91%). There are five fragments that might be, but do not need to be, earlier, either Classical or Late Classical. One piece can be securely dated Late Hellenistic. The rest of the assemblage (8%) falls into the Ottoman to Modern range.

Of the potential Hellenistic sherds, 91% are tiles, one of which has black glaze on the upper surface. The variety of vessel shapes is limited; the sherds are primarily from plain closed shapes (65%). Three transport amphoras and one fragment from an undetermined cooking vessel might be earlier than Hellenistic; there are no other transport amphoras in the assemblage. Three additional pieces come from cooking pots, and only two pieces of black glaze were found, both from bowls.

The post-antique sherds from S039 are primarily Post-Medieval jugs and Ottoman to Early Modern tiles (58%). The tract assemblage is very small. It does not offer an accurate reflection of the site, and it would be impossible to interpret such a small body of material in any meaningful way.
Site function is difficult to determine because of the paucity of Hellenistic artifacts; if S039 was inhabited, it was probably on a seasonal basis or only for a short period of time. The limited amount of post-antique material indicates that S039 was probably not used in any substantial way after the Hellenistic period.

*Site Function*: Hellenistic field house?

**SITE 040**

*Name*: Levanit.

*Fig. 7.61; Tables 7.71, 7.72.*

*Zone*: 6.

*Site Location and Description*: S040 is located on the saddle of a hill about 500 m southeast of Çuka e Bukur. Military installations and terracing have disturbed the area around the site, but the site itself seems relatively well preserved. It is
possible that there are unshaped masonry blocks on the surface. Average visibility was 90%.

**Size:** 0.70 ha (0.40).

**Year(s) Investigated and Team:** 2001, 2002, K.

**Associated Tracts:** K-034, K-035, K-036, K-037.

**Periods Represented:** HL (11).

**Ranges Represented:** A-HL (2); CL-HL (1); LHL-ER (1).

**Collection Method:** 20 x 20 m grid. Each square was grabbed and a vacuum with a dogleash was taken from the center of each. 23 grabs, 23 vacuums.

**Periods Represented:** CL (1); HL (283); PMED (2); M (2).

**Ranges Represented:** LCL-HL (3).

**Artifact Discussion:** Hellenistic material is predominant at S040 (96%). Only one sherd is definitely earlier (Classical) and six pieces might be (two Archaic to
Hellenistic, three Classical or Hellenistic). One fragment might be later (Late Hellenistic to Early Roman). There are two Post-Medieval and two Modern fragments.

Most of the Hellenistic sherds are tiles (83%). The variety in the recognizable vessel shapes is substantial, given the small number of sherds. Storage vessels account for 40% of the vessel assemblage; 17 are transport amphoras, three of which might be Classical. There are also three fragments from pithoi. Sherds from unidentifiable plain closed vessels make up 34% of the Hellenistic vessel assemblage; other plain vessel shapes include a plate and amphora. Ten percent of the sherds are cooking ware and 6% are black glaze; the black glaze fragments are from a cup, a kantharos, and a banded hydria.

The later material from S040 consists of two Post-Medieval slipped jug fragments and two Modern tiles. It is unlikely that this small quantity of material represents post-Roman use of the site.

The tract assemblage is similar to the site collection in chronological and functional representation. As in the site collection, the number of storage vessels from the tract collection is high; they account for
40% of both assemblages. Tract walkers collected one piece of black glaze and one fragment of cooking ware; both categories are also underrepresented in the site assemblage. The only potential post-Hellenistic sherd from the tract collection is one fragment that could date as late as Early Roman; there is no Post-Medieval. The tract assemblage is a fairly reliable subset of the site collection and would be sufficient to characterize the date and function of the site.

Small finds from S040 include two loomweights and four millstones. These items, along with the categories of ceramics that are present, are indicative of domestic occupation. The large number of storage vessels suggests that agricultural products were collected and/or stored at S040. Given the quantity of tiles, it is likely that a small Hellenistic structure stood on the site. The post-Hellenistic material does not reflect occupation.

Site Function: Hellenistic farmstead.

SITE 041
Name: Margelliç acropolis.

Figs. 7.62, 7.63, 7.64; Tables 7.73, 7.74.

Zone: 10.

Site Location and Description: S041 consists of a steep hill, Mali i Kalasë, to the southeast of the modern village of Margelliç, and a steep-sided ridge that extends to the northwest. The Illyrian hillfort located on the acropolis has received much attention from Albanian archaeologists. The site was first explored by Patsch at the beginning of the 20th century, and then by Praschniker and Schober during World War I.\textsuperscript{1367} Excavations were undertaken here by Neritan Ceka, beginning in the 1970s.\textsuperscript{1368} He found evidence for Late Bronze and Early Iron Age occupation, as well as Early Archaic from the 7th century B.C. and later Greek pottery.\textsuperscript{1369} Most of the area of the acropolis has been extensively disturbed by modern building activities. The summit of the hill

\textsuperscript{1367} Patsch 1904; Praschniker and Schober 1919, pp. 75-77.
\textsuperscript{1369} Almost all of the 7th century B.C. pieces are Corinthian Type A transport amphoras. The quantity of later Archaic imports increases in the 6th century B.C. See Ceka 1978, pp. 252-253, 1986, 1987a; Andrea 1984, p. 109. Ceka (1990a, p. 139) also found a LH III Mycenaean pyxis in a grave, as well as a few earlier Mycenaean sherds.
is partially surrounded by Late Antique walls that were also excavated by Ceka. The site is heavily eroded, and the top of the ridge has been greatly disturbed by bunkers, oil workings, and a water tower. Average visibility was 70%.

Size: 2.00 ha.

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 2002, L and M.

Associated Tracts: M-069, M-079, M-081, M-082, M-089, M-090, M-091, M-092, M-093.

Periods Represented: EA (1); A (3); CL (3); HL (61); MHL (1); LHL (6); MR (1); LR (3); PMED (1); M (1).

Ranges Represented: LBA-EIA (1); A-CL (1); CL-EHL (1); CL-HL (2); LCL-EHL (3); UNKN (2).

Collection Method: Microtracts. 25 m wide microtracts running 60/240°. Grabs for diagnostics were taken from each tract and a vacuum with a dogleash from the center. 19 grabs, 19 vacuums.

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1370 Ceka 1985; 1987a. Excavations revealed Late Bronze Age walls, Hellenistic walls and houses, and a Late Antique/Early Modern church.
Periods Represented: BA (1); LBA (4); IA (3); CL (1); HL (399); MHL (1); LHL (3); R (1); LR (6); LB (2); PMED (1); M (18).

Ranges Represented: LBA-EIA (1); A-CL (1); CL-HL (3); LCL-HL (1); MR-LR (1); LR-MED (1); EM-M (1); UNKN (1).

Artifact Discussion: Eighty-seven percent (471 pieces) of the material collected from S041 dates to the Hellenistic period. Two percent of the finds are non-Greek, and 2% predate the Hellenistic period. Of the indigenous finds, four are Late Bronze Age, one is Bronze Age, two are Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age, three are Iron Age, and one cannot be dated more closely than Bronze Age. Also present is an Early Archaic Corinthian transport amphora. An additional 2% of the finds might be, but do not need to be, pre-Hellenistic. Two percent of the material is Roman, and 5% is post-Roman.

Tiles account for 48% of the Hellenistic sherds. The largest percentage of the vessel assemblage is sherds from plain shapes; the shape could not be identified for 77% of the finds. There are 39 pieces with black
glaze, which constitutes 25% of the vessel fragments; 16 are from skyphoi and seven from kantharoi. Also included in this category are seven banded fragments. Cooking ware comprises 14% of the finds. There are only 21 fragments of storage vessels (three transport amphoras and two pithoi). Most of the Roman sherds come from cooking vessels.

The non-Greek sherds are from plain jars and plain vessels of unknown shape.

The tracts on the west side of the Margelliç acropolis are associated with the site. The material from the tracts is similar in composition to the site collection; it is diverse in both date and vessel type. Again, the majority is Hellenistic, but Bronze-Iron Age and Roman finds are also represented. There is a larger percentage of Greek material that predates the Hellenistic period in the tract assemblage, and a larger quantity of storage and black glaze vessels. Nevertheless, the tract assemblage provides an accurate chronological and functional picture of S041. The nature of the finds indicate clearly that the acropolis at Margelliç was used as a habitation site, probably continuously, from the Late Bronze Age through the Roman period.
Site Function: Illyrian regional center; Graeco-Roman regional center.

SITE 042

Name: Levan.

Fig. 7.65; Table 7.75.

Zone: 6.

Site Location and Description: S042 is located in the Shaban valley, north of the asphalt road from Shtyllas to Levan, ca. 1 km from Shtyllas near the village of Jaroi. The site, probably a Roman villa, was excavated by Maksim Gjata but never published. The site appears to be well-preserved except for the excavation. Average visibility was 80%.

Size: Undetermined.

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1999, C.
Associated Tracts: C-289, C-290.

Periods Represented: HL (1); R (4); PMED (2).

Ranges Represented: EM-M (1).

Collection Method: Not collected.

Artifact Discussion: Very little material was collected during tract walking. Half of the finds are Roman. The Hellenistic and Early Modern to Modern periods are represented by one sherd each, and two Post-Medieval pieces are present. There are two amphora fragments and two jar fragments, one glazed, and the other plain; the rest of the finds are tiles. The nearby Tract C-277, located just upslope from the Roman villa excavated by Gjata produced 31 joining and non-joining pieces of a Roman water pipe, which are likely to have been from the villa. An Early Iron Age wide-mouthed jar with incised decoration was also found in this tract. The Early Iron Age vessel suggests a pre-Greek presence at the site.
The tract assemblage is not sufficient to define the chronology or function of the site. Although Roman was found in the tracts, the finds are not in themselves representative of what one might expect to find in the ruins of a Roman villa.

*Site Function:* Roman villa?

**SITE 043**

*Name:* Pojan Bonjakët.

*Figs.* 7.66, 7.67; *Tables* 7.76, 7.77.

*Zone:* 1.

*Site Location and Description:* S043 is located on the plain below the walls of Apollonia, south of Pojan village and across the western canal from the Apollonia acropolis. The site sits on the land of the Bonjakët family. It was the location of a religious sanctuary, possibly dedicated to Aphrodite. S043 has been extensively damaged by house building, the digging of
drainage ditches, and plowing. It was partially excavated by an Albanian-Russian team in 1960 under the direction of Skender Anamali and is currently under investigation by a team from the University of Cincinnati Department of Classics, the International Centre for Albanian Archaeology, and the Institute of Archaeology at Tirana.\textsuperscript{1371} Average visibility was 45%.

\textit{Size:} 0.75 ha (1.90).

\textit{Year(s) Investigated and Team:} 2002, 2004-2006, L and P.

\textit{Associated Tracts:} P-020, P-021, P-022, P-131, P-132, P-133, P-134, L-427.

\textit{Periods Represented:} HL (35); LHL (2); PMED (2); M (1).

\textit{Ranges Represented:} A-CL (1); CL-EHL (1); LCL-EHL (1); LCL-HL (2); EHL-MHL (1); HL-MR (1) ER-MR (1).

\textit{Collection Method:} Microtracts. Microtracts with approximately the same visibility and vegetation were established using fenced areas between and around the houses. The fields outside the current habitation

area were also divided into microtracts of similar size. Grabs of diagnostics were taken from each microtract, and a vacuum with a dog leash was collected at the center. Following site collection, the area was intensively walked by Team L. It seems likely, given the high density of pottery, that Tracts L-425–L-434 are associated with S043. In addition, a well-bounded Hellenistic scatter located to the southeast, across the irrigation ditch in L-401 and L-403, could also be part of the site. 24 grabs, 24 vacuums, 1 revisitation.

*Periods Represented:* A (1); CL (2); LCL (2); HL (964); MHL (2); LHL (24); R (4); MR (2); LR (3); PMED (3); EM (3); M (24).

*Ranges Represented:* CL-EHL (1); CL-HL (3); LCL-EHL (7); LCL-HL (11); HL-MR (1); LHL-ER (1); ER-MR (16); UNKN (74).

*Artifact Discussion:* Most of the material from S043 dates to the Hellenistic period (86%); an additional 2% (26 sherds) might also be Hellenistic, but it could be earlier. There are only six sherds (1%) that are
definitely pre-Hellenistic; one is Archaic, four are Classical, and one is Archaic or Classical. Two percent of the material from S043 is Roman. Twenty-five sherds are Modern (2%), and five additional pieces are Post-Medieval. Six percent of the material cannot be dated.

Tiles account for only 20% of the pre-Medieval assemblage, and all are Hellenistic in date. Of the vessel sherds, 71% are plain, mostly from unidentifiable closed shapes (52%). Black glaze fragments account for 13% (114 pieces) of the assemblage; 17 of these (15%) predate, or might predate, the Hellenistic period. Cooking ware fragments comprise 10% of the vessel assemblage, and storage vessels 6%. All of the storage vessel fragments are from transport amphoras; no pithos fragments were found. One fragment of a Late Classical red-figured askos that preserves the wing of a bird was also found.

The single Archaic artifact is a fragment of tile with a red-slipped surface. An Archaic or Classical oinochoe fragment is probably a Corinthian import, and two Late Classical to Early Hellenistic black glaze plate fragments are Attic; one skyphos of the same date is a miniature votive.
Most of the Modern material from S043 consists of bricks/tiles or pipe. There are a few pieces of Post-Medieval/Early Modern cooking ware and glazed vessels. The tract material accurately depicts site function and date, and the percentages of finds in each are almost identical in the tract and site assemblages. The tract finds alone would be sufficient to identify the date and function of the site.

*Site Function:* Sanctuary.

SITE 044

*Name:* Rusinja, north.

*Fig. 7.68; Tables 7.78, 7.79.*

*Zone:* 11.

*Site Location and Description:* S044 is in the Rusinja valley on a ridge running south from the main Margelliç-Ruzhdia asphalt road. It is 600 m east of Mali i Kalasë. The site is heavily eroded on the east
side where the slope is steepest, and the north end is cut by an asphalt road. Average visibility was 60%.

Size: 1.00 ha (0.50).

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 2002, M.

Associated Tracts: M-039, M-042, M-043, M-048, M-049.

Periods Represented: HL (36); MHL (1); R (1); LR (4); MED (3); M (2); C (1).

Ranges Represented: UNKN (1).

Collection Method: 20 x 20 m grid. A vacuum with a dogleash was taken in the center of each square, then grabs for diagnostics were made. 38 grabs, 38 vacuums.

Periods Represented: CL (1); HL (312); R (2); LR (6); O (3); PMED (3); M (3).

Ranges Represented: A-CL (1); A-EHL (1); A-HL (1); LCL-HL (1); ER-MR (1); UNKN (5).
Artifact Discussion: Ninety percent of the material from S044 is Hellenistic. Only two fragments are definitely earlier; one is either Archaic or Classical, the other is Classical. Three additional pieces could be pre-Hellenistic, but they could also be Hellenistic. Four percent of the material is Roman, and both Early and Late Roman sherds are present. Post-Roman and unknown finds comprise 5% of the assemblage. There are three Medieval, three Post-Medieval, three Ottoman fragments, and five Modern tiles. One fragment of a glazed jug is of Communist period manufacture.

Fifty-two percent of the assemblage from S044 is tiles; 94% of these are Hellenistic. Four of the remaining tile fragments are Roman. The largest group of sherds (54%) are from plain vessels, most of which are closed. Storage vessels account for 14% of the vessel assemblage, and all of the sherds that are, or might be, pre-Hellenistic are from transport amphorae. One quarter of the fragments are cooking ware and only 6% are black glaze. There is also a piece from an Early-Middle Roman Terra Sigillata plate. Small finds
include one kiln support and two game pieces that were perhaps reused as stoppers.

The tract assemblage provides a fair representation of the site. Hellenistic predominates, but the Roman component is also represented, although the percentage is slightly higher in the tract assemblage (10% vs. 3%). Material that predates the Hellenistic period is, however, absent from the tract assemblages. Three Medieval sherds were found, but no Post-Medieval. As in the site assemblage, the largest percentage of tract finds is tiles. Although the tract material is slightly poorer in quality, the functions and dates of the site can be determined from this assemblage. The finds from site collection, on the other hand, present a fuller picture of the types of ceramics that were used at the site.

The quantity of cooking and storage vessels from S044 is consistent with domestic use. Most of the fine ware shapes are associated with eating or drinking and ordinary household consumption. Although the Roman component is small, it suggests there was some activity at S044 during the Roman period.
Site Function: Hellenistic farmstead; small Roman farmstead.

SITE 045

Name: Margelliç, below acropolis.

Fig. 7.69; Tables 7.80, 7.81.

Zone: 11.

Site Location and Description: S045 is located at the foot of a cliff immediately to the northeast of the Margelliç acropolis (S041). It is part of the lower town (S055), but was collected and is discussed as a separate site. Substantial military constructions around S045, especially to the north and west, have caused considerable disturbance, and the site has been heavily eroded. Average visibility was 50%.

Size: 0.60 ha (0.30).

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 2002, L.
Associated Tracts: L-076, L-080, L-081, L-089, L-090.

Periods Represented: EIA (1); IA (12); A (2); CL (1); LCL (1); HL (35); MHL (1); LHL (2); LR (2).

Ranges Represented: LBA-EIA (1); A-CL (3); A-HL (1); CL-HL (8); MHL-LHL (2); UNKN (1).

Collection Method: 20 x 20 m grid. A vacuum with a dogleash was collected from the center of each square, then grabs for diagnostics were made. Stone piles were examined but no diagnostic material was collected. 22 grabs, 22 vacuums.

Periods Represented: LBA (1); IA (5); A (1); CL (1); HL (203); LHL (6); ER (1); R (6); MR (1); LR (5); M (2).

Ranges Represented: A-EHL (2); CL-EHL (1); LCL-HL (2); EHL-MHL (1); LHL-ER (1); UNKN (3).

Artifact Discussion: S045 has one of the largest bodies of non-Greek finds in the survey area; Late Bronze or Iron Age material accounts for 6% of the assemblage.
Most of the sherds, however, are Hellenistic (79%), with a strong Early Hellenistic component. Nine sherds (3%) are definitely pre-Hellenistic; three of these are Archaic. Fourteen additional pieces (5%) might also predate the Hellenistic period. Fifteen fragments are Roman (5%) and another piece might be; all phases of the Roman period are represented. Only two post-antique pieces were collected, one a Modern brick, the other a Modern tile. Four pieces could not be dated.

Most of the non-Greek sherds are from plain jars, but there are also two pieces of cooking ware. Thirty-seven percent of the Graeco-Roman assemblage is tiles. Sherds from plain vessels make up the largest percentage of the vessel assemblage (40%). Twenty percent of the sherds are cooking ware. Storage vessels from S045 account for 11% of the finds; eight of the definite or possible earlier pieces are from this category. The quantity of black glaze fragments is higher than usual and accounts for 26% of the Graeco-Roman vessel assemblage. One fragment comes from an imported Ionian black glaze kylix. In addition to the kylix, other black glaze or banded shapes include hydriai, cups, echinus bowls,
kantharoi, kylikes, oinochoiai, plates, and skyphoi. Also present are two moldmade vessel fragments. One of these is black glaze with a gorgon head medallion on the bottom; it is Middle to Late Hellenistic in date. Six percent of the finds are possible imports from Corinth, Ionia, Italy, or Attica. Most of the Roman fragments are from plain ware or cooking ware vessels, although there is one combed fragment and two glazed. Small finds from S045 include a Hellenistic cippus and figurine and a Late Roman altar fragment.

The percentage of non-Greek material is higher in the tract assemblage (19% vs. 2%), but there is slightly less Roman (3% vs. 6%). All of the Roman finds from tract walking are specifically Late Roman. No Modern material is in the tract collection, and tiles are underrepresented (only one piece). Thirty-eight percent of the tract finds have either banded, black glaze, or molded decoration, compared to 22% from the site collection.

The quantity of non-Greek finds indicates that S045 was part of an indigenous settlement, inhabited at least as early as the Late Bronze Age, long before the Greek apoikia was established at Apollonia. The variety, quality, and early date of some of the Greek material
suggests that the indigenous population had commercial ties with Apollonia from the inception of the colony. It is possible, although unlikely, that, given the quality of the early and later fine wares, the site functioned in some type of ritual capacity. S045 continued to be used, although on a much smaller scale, throughout the Roman period.

Site Function: Illyrian regional center; Graeco-Roman regional center.

SITE 046

Name: Rusinja, Paleolithic.

Zone: 11.

Fig. 7.70; Table 7.82.

Site Location and Description: S046 is on a low ridge to the east of the Margelliç acropolis at the junction of the Margelliç-Ruzhdia asphalt and Rusinja dirt roads. The Paleolithic component is concentrated on the
highest point of the ridge; the Hellenistic component is just above the Rusinja road. The site is well preserved. Visibility was 90% on roads, 20% off roads.

*Size:* 3.00 ha.

*Year(s) Investigated and Team:* 2002, M.

*Associated Tracts:* M-252, M-253, M-254, M-255, M-256, M-257, M-258.

*Periods Represented:* HL (13); PMED (1).

*Ranges Represented:* A-HL (1); LCL-EHL (2).

*Collection Method:* Revisited for lithics, other finds not collected.

*Artifact Discussion:* Although the majority of the material from S046 is Paleolithic, a small amount of non-prehistoric material was collected during tract walking. Most of these finds are Hellenistic,
although three pieces might be, but do not need to be, earlier, and two sherds are Post-Medieval.

The Post-Medieval fragments are both from combed jugs.
Half of the remaining fragments are bricks/tiles. Of the eight sherds from ancient vessels, four (50%) are fragments of transport amphorae, three of which might be, but do not need to be, earlier than Hellenistic. The remaining two sherds are from plain unidentified vessels.
The unusually high percentage of transport amphorae from S046 could in part be due to the durability and visibility of these vessels. Their presence, along with bricks/tiles, and the lack of cooking and fine ware vessels, suggests limited use of the site during the Hellenistic period, perhaps as a storage facility for crops or as an animal shelter.

*Site Function:* Hellenistic field house.

SITE 047

*Name:* Pojan Islamaj 1.
Figs. 7.71; 7.72; Tables 7.83, 7.84.

Zone: 1.

Site Location and Description: S047 is a small site on the plain near Pojan Islamaj. It is well preserved, except for a hedge and ditch system at the east end. Average visibility was 80%.

Size: 0.80 ha (0.10).

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 2002, M.

Associated Tracts: M-347, M-348.

Periods Represented: HL (3).

Collection Method: 10 x 10 m grid. Vacuums with a dogleash were collected from the center of each square, then grabs for diagnostics were made. 33 grabs, 33 vacuums.

Periods Represented: HL (354); PMED (3); M (1).
Ranges Represented: UNKN (2).

Artifact Discussion: Except for six fragments (2%), all of the material from S047 (98%) dates to the Hellenistic period; there are three Post-Medieval fragments, one Modern, and two of unknown date.

Seventy-nine percent of the Hellenistic assemblage is tiles. The rest of the finds are poor and scrappy. Only two vessel shapes can be securely identified; these are pithoi and transport amphoras. Sherds from storage vessels account for 29% of the vessel fragments, 50% are from plain unidentifiable closed vessels, and 21% from unidentifiable closed cooking ware vessels. No black glaze was found.

The tract assemblage from S047 accurately reflects the date of the site, but it is too small to allow any conclusions to be drawn about site function.

The paucity of pre- and post-Hellenistic finds indicates that the S047 was a single-period occupation site. A domestic function is suggested by the presence of cooking ware, plain ware, and storage vessels. The large quantity of tiles points to the presence of a building on the site. On the other hand, the lack of fine and tablewares might indicate that S047 was
impoverished or only occupied on a seasonal basis. The large quantity of storage vessels is indicative of the storage of agricultural products.

*Site Function:* Hellenistic field house or small farmstead.

SITE 048

*Name:* Sopi.

Table 7.85.

*Zone:* 1.

*Site Location and Description:* S048 is on the plain below Apollonia, at the southern edge of Pojan-Sopi village. The site is bounded by irrigation ditches on the east and west. Preservation is good although the site has been plowed. Average visibility was 60%.

*Size:* 1.50 ha.

*Year(s) Investigated and Team:* 2002, L.

**Periods Represented:** HL (4); PMED (8); EM (15).

**Ranges Represented:** HL-MR (1); ER-MR (3); O-EM (3); LO-EM (8); EM-M (2).

**Collection Method:** Not collected.

**Artifact Discussion:** Most of the material from S048 falls into the Ottoman to Early Modern date range. Only eight pieces (18%) are earlier: four Hellenistic, three Early or Middle Roman, and one Hellenistic to Middle Roman. The largest securely datable body of material is Early Modern (34%). An additional 21 pieces (48%) might be Early Modern (eight of these are Post-Medieval).

There is only one Hellenistic tile fragment in the assemblage. Over half (58%) of the Graeco-Roman vessel fragments are from transport amphorae. Of the
three other sherds, one is Roman Terra Sigillata, one is cooking ware, and one is plain ware. Almost all of the Post-Medieval sherds from S048 are from glazed, slipped or slip-painted vessels; cooking wares and plain vessels are totally absent. It is difficult to determine the function of the site in the Hellenistic and/or Roman periods because of the paucity of finds. The nature and quality of the Post-Medieval material from S048 suggests it was a settlement that included several households.

*Site Function:* Post-Medieval hamlet.

SITE 049

*Name:* Pojan, fusha e Qoramidhës ("field of pottery").

*Fig. 7.72; Table 7.86.*

*Zone:* 1.

*Site Location and Description:* The western necropolis of Apollonia has been designated S049. The site is
located on the plain below the slopes of the acropolis, just to the south of Pojan village. It begins just outside the city wall. The site is bounded by two main irrigation canals and is just to the west of the main western canal. Parts of the necropolis were excavated by Mano in 1962.¹³⁷² S049 has been disturbed by canal construction and plowing. Average visibility was 40%.

*Size:* 1.00-2.00 ha?

*Year(s) Investigated and Team:* 2002, L.

*Associated Tracts:* L-322–L-366, P-012, P-013, P-014, P-102, P-103, P-104.

*Periods Represented:* HL (79); MHL (1); LHL (6); ER (2); R (4); MR (2); LR (14); PMED (1); EM (3); M (2); UNKN (3).

*Ranges Represented:* A-CL (1); CL-EHL (1); LCL-EHL (1); HL-R (7); ER-MR (1); MR-LR (1).

*Collection Method:* Not collected.

Artifact Discussion: Most of the material from S049 is Hellenistic in date (67%). There is one black glaze tile fragment that is Archaic or Classical and two other fragments that could be pre-Hellenistic (3%). Nineteen percent of the material is Roman, and an additional seven fragments (5%) are either Hellenistic or Roman. Sherds from all phases of the Hellenistic and Roman periods are present. In addition, there are nine post-Roman or unknown sherds (7%); one is Post-Medieval, and three are Early Modern.

There are only nine pieces of tile in the Graeco-Roman assemblage (10%); one has black glaze on the surface, and another is slipped. Forty-three percent of the vessel assemblage consists of plain ware sherds from both open and closed domestic shapes. There is a great deal of variety in the number of shapes represented. Nineteen black glaze fragments from various shapes associated with dining or drinking account for 17% of the vessel assemblage. Transport amphoras comprise 27% of the assemblage; most of these are Hellenistic, but 13 are, or could be, Roman. Only 11% of the fragments are cooking ware. There are also two pieces of Terra Sigillata.
S049 divides into two components, one Hellenistic, and the other Roman. The Hellenistic assemblage is consistent with domestic use, and the unusually high percentage of fine tablewares suggests a wealthy household of this date. The field counts reported by tract walkers are extremely high, and it is likely that many of the uncollected sherds are of Roman date.

Site Function: Hellenistic houses; Roman necropolis?

SITE 050

Name: Pojan Islamaj 2.

Fig. 7.72; Tables 7.87. 7.88.

Zone: 1.

Site Location and Description: S050 is located on the plain directly west of Apollonia. The site is fairly well preserved, although it is cut by a field road and has been heavily plowed. Average visibility was 70%.
Size: 3.50 ha (3.40).

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 2002, M.

Associated Tracts: M-368, M-369, M-370, M-385, M-386, M-387.

Periods Represented: LCL (1); HL (47); PMED (1).

Ranges Represented: A-HL (1); LA-CL (1); HL-R (1); EM-M (1); UNKN (1).

Collection Method: Microtracts with vacuums. Microtracts were defined within previously walked tracts. Walkers were spaced 5 m apart. A vacuum with a dogleash was taken, and then diagnostics were grabbed during microtract walking. 52 grabs, 52 vacuums.

Periods Represented: IA? (1); CL (1); EHL (1); HL (480); R (1); LR (2); EO (1); LO (1); M (5).
Ranges Represented: A-HL (1); CL-EHL (1); CL-HL (2); LCL-EHL (1); LCL-HL (6); MHL-LHL (3); HL-ER (1); O-EM (1); LO-EM (5); UNKN (7).

Artifact Discussion: One sherd from S050 is non-Greek, probably dating to the Iron Age. Most of the finds from the site are Hellenistic (92%). Three percent of the sherds, however, are, or might be, earlier; two are definitely pre-Hellenistic, and 13 pieces might be. Three of these, all of which are from transport amphoras, might be Archaic. Three pieces are definitely Roman, and two pieces are either Hellenistic or Roman (1%). Fifteen sherds (3%) fall into the range of Ottoman to Modern; five are from Modern pipes and five are tiles. Eight pieces (1%) are unidentifiable.

Tiles comprise 69% of the Graeco-Roman assemblage; one fragment is definitely Classical in date. Only 173 sherds (31%) are from vessels. Fifteen percent of these are from storage vessels, and 12 of the 15 pieces that do, or might, predate the Hellenistic period belong to this category. The majority of the sherds are from plain vessels (56%), primarily amphoras or unidentifiable closed shapes. Although
only 14% of the fragments are black glaze, a great variety of shapes is represented. There is one fragment of a moldmade bowl, and one piece of Terra Sigillata. Cooking ware accounts for 13% of the vessel assemblage.

The tract assemblage provides a fairly accurate picture of site date and function. The major differences between the tract and site collection assemblages are the higher percentage of black glaze fragments in the tract collection (25% vs. 11%) and the lower percentage of cooking ware (5% vs. 16%). The percentages of storage vessels and plain ware sherds are approximately the same.

Even though the pre-Hellenistic component is small, it is likely that activity began at S050 in the Classical period, perhaps in the 5th century B.C., and continued into the Hellenistic period. The presence of Early Classical, Late Classical, and Early Hellenistic finds suggests unbroken continuity at the site.

The presence of fine wares, cooking wares, and storage vessels suggests that S050 was a domestic site. The size of the scatter might indicate that the site was comprised of more than just one household. The number
of black glaze shapes suggests a fairly wealthy settlement.

*Site Function*: Classical field house; Hellenistic hamlet.

SITE 051

*Name*: Shtyllas, northwest slope 1.

Tables 7.89, 7.90.

*Zone*: 4.

*Site Location and Description*: S051 is located on a small hill about 500 m from the spring on the northwest slope of the Shtyllas valley, ca. 200 m from the Radostina-Shtyllas road. The site is nestled among figs and vines, and pits dug for the trees have disturbed parts of the site. The lower slopes of the hill are terraced. Average visibility was 60%.

*Size*: 1.00 ha.
Year(s) Investigated and Team: 2000, 2003, J and K.

Associated Tracts: J-477, J-485.

Periods Represented: HL (3); R (2); LR (2).

Collection Method: Revisitation. The associated tracts were re-walked by a small team of museum experts; finds were analyzed in the field. A representative sample was collected, but probably does not reflect the full range of material.

Periods Represented: HL (24); LHL (3); R (16); LR (1).

Ranges Represented: HL-R (5).

Artifact Discussion: There are two components to S051; one Hellenistic, the other Roman. Fifty-four percent of the material dates to the former, and 37% to the latter. Three sherds are definitely Late Hellenistic, and three are Late Roman. Five pieces (9%) are either Hellenistic or Roman.

Tiles comprise 20% of the assemblage. The largest group of finds is from plain ware vessels (49%) that represent
common household shapes, including hydriai, pitchers, plates, and bowls. Storage vessels account for 20% of the finds, and cooking ware for 23%. There are two black glaze pieces (4%) and two fragments of Terra Sigillata (4%). A millstone was also found at the site.

All of the sherds from S051 that are either Hellenistic or Roman are from transport amphoras. The Hellenistic vessel assemblage consists principally of plain ware vases and includes both open and closed shapes. There are only four fragments of cooking ware. Three Hellenistic pithoi are represented in the assemblage, two of which are definitely Late Hellenistic. The Roman material also consists primarily of plain ware vessels. Cooking ware, however, accounts for a higher percentage of the Roman vessel assemblage than the Hellenistic (33%).

The tract assemblage from S051 is very small. The dates of the material suggest that the Roman component is larger than the Hellenistic. There are no black glaze sherds, and only one piece of cooking ware. Despite the small quantities, however, the tract assemblage is sufficient to identify the domestic nature of the site in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.
The presence of cooking wares, plain ware dining pots, and storage vessels, along with a few fine ware drinking vessels, suggests that S051 had a domestic function in the Hellenistic period and was probably a single-family farmstead. The same is also true for the Roman period.

*Site Function:* Hellenistic farmstead; Roman farmstead.

**SITE 052**

**Name:** Shtyllas, northwest slope 2.

**Table 7.91.**

**Zone:** 4.

*Site Location and Description:* S052 is located in a plowed field just below the large terraces on the northwest slope of the Shtyllas valley. The site is undisturbed except for plowing. Average visibility was 80%.

**Size:** < 0.20 ha.
Year(s) Investigated and Team: 2000, 2003, J.

Associated Tracts: J-543.

Periods Represented: HL (4); LHL (1).

Collection Method: Designated in 2003 and not collected.

Artifact Discussion: All of the material from S052 dates to the Hellenistic period. One sherd has been identified specifically as Late Hellenistic. The assemblage includes a cooking pot, a storage vessel, two plain ware fragments, and one black glaze plate. Although the body of material is very small, it is characteristic of a small domestic assemblage.

Site Function: Small Hellenistic farmstead.

SITE 053

Name: Mbyet, kiln.
Table 7.92.

Zone: 7.

Site Location and Description: S053 is located in a field to the east of the field road to S038, about 150 m from the gravel road to Pluk. The site has been plowed and olive trees planted; according to a local informant, a bulldozer uncovered a small circular brick building, perhaps a kiln, around 1990. Average visibility was 25%.

Size: < 0.10 ha.

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 2000, 2003, H.

Associated Tracts: H-148, H-149.

Periods Represented: HL (21); PMED (1); EM (1).

Collection Method: Designated in 2003 and not collected.
Artifact Discussion: Of the 23 sherds collected from S053, 21 are Hellenistic, one is Post-Medieval, and one is Early Modern. Fifteen of the Hellenistic fragments are tiles. There is one sherd from a plain unidentified closed vessel, one piece of cooking ware, and one fragment from a transport amphora. The percentage of tiles suggests that some type of structure was present at S053 in the Hellenistic period. The ceramic assemblage, however, is too small to determine the function of the site; the finds themselves do not suggest the presence of a Hellenistic kiln.

Site Function: Kiln?

SITE 054

Name: Rusinja, south.

Fig. 7.73; Table 7.93.

Zone: 11.
Site Location and Description: S054 is located at the crest and on the slopes of a small hill just beyond the olive pressing plant on the Margelliç-Ruzhdia road. The site has been plowed and somewhat disturbed by a road constructed to provide access to the olive press. Average visibility was 65%.

Size: 0.50 ha.

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 2002, 2003, L.

Associated Tracts: L-206, L-245.

Periods Represented: A (3); HL (11); R (1); MR (1).

Ranges Represented: O-EM (1).

Collection Method: Designated in 2003 and not collected.

Artifact Discussion: Hellenistic sherds comprise 65% of the assemblage from S054. There are three pieces (18%) that are Archaic and two that are Roman (12%), one of
which is Middle Roman. The only post-Roman find was an Ottoman to Early Modern tile.

There is only one piece of tile in the assemblage. Cooking ware makes up 40% of the vessel assemblage. Five sherds (33%) are from storage vessels; two of these are from Archaic pithoi. There are four plain ware fragments (27%), one of which is Archaic, and one Roman. No black glaze was found.

The material collected during tract walking suggests that the site was used for agricultural purposes, beginning in the Archaic period. The high percentage of cooking ware and storage vessels suggests a domestic function for this part of S054; the type of material would be consistent with a single-family unit. It is possible that there was also a small Roman component to the site.

*Site Function:* Archaic-Classical field house; Hellenistic farmstead; Roman site of undetermined type.

**SITE 055**

*Name:* Margelliç, lower town.
Fig. 7.74; Tables 7.94.

Zone: 11.

Site Location and Description: S055 is a large site located to the northeast of Margelliç. It spreads over the area below the acropolis, from S045 to the bottom of the perroi. Much of the area has been terraced, and oil drilling has created disturbances in places. Average visibility was 50%.

Size: 10.00 ha?

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 2002, 2003, L.

Associated Tracts: L-016–L-056, L-064–L-084, L-087–L-090.

Periods Represented: BA (1); LBA (10); IA (2); EA (1); A (5); LA (1); ECL (1); CL (1); HL (81); LHL (4); LR (8); PMED (17); O (1); M (5).
Ranges Represented: MBA-LBA (1); LBA-EIA (26); A-CL (3); A-HL (1); CL-EHL (2); CL-HL (5); LCL-HL (1); O-EM (1); LO-EM (9); EM-M (4); UNKN (3).


Periods Represented: PMED (1).

Ranges Represented: LBA-EIA (1).

Artifact Discussion: The large quantity of non-Greek material (21%) indicates that S055 was used by indigenous people for a long period of time, beginning in the Bronze Age. Twelve of 41 non-Greek pieces (29%) are definitely Bronze Age, one of which might be, but does not need to be, Middle Bronze Age. Twenty-seven additional fragments are either Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age, and two others are Iron Age. The lower town of Margelliç has the largest number of non-Greek sherds, with the exception of S038. Survey evidence confirms what is already known about the site; that there was a large indigenous

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1373 The two revisitation sherds, a Late Bronze-Early Iron Age jar and a Post-Medieval slipped jug, are included in the tract table.
community below the citadel. MRAP data demonstrates that the community here probably began already in the Middle Bronze Age.

The amount of Archaic and Classical material from the lower town of Margelliç is small in comparison to Hellenistic. Twelve sherds (6%) are definitely pre-Hellenistic, and one of these is specifically Early Archaic. Five others are Archaic, one is Late Archaic, two are Classical, and three are either Archaic or Classical. Nine pieces might or might not be pre-Hellenistic. The majority of the finds from the site are Hellenistic (43%). Late Roman accounts for 4% of the assemblage and post-Roman or unknown for 21%.

The identifiable shapes in the pre-Greek assemblage are plain jars and a kantharos, but 95% of the fragments are from plain unidentified vessels. There is also a piece of cooking ware and a burnished sherd from an unknown closed shape.

Twelve percent of the Hellenistic assemblage is tiles. There are 35 storage jar fragments in the vessel assemblage (35%); nine of the definite, and six of the possible, pre-Hellenistic sherds are from this category. Plain ware (38%) and cooking ware (21%)

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vessels are well represented, but the quantity of black glaze fragments is low (6%), especially when compared with the percentage from S041 (25%) and S045 (26%).

Site Function: Illyrian regional center; Graeco-Roman regional center.

SITE 056

Name: Levanit, near S034.

Fig. 7.75; Table 7.95.

Zone: 6.

Site Location and Description: S056 is located on top of a ridge, to the east of, and above, S034. It is situated along the road near a prominent concrete topographical marker. The ridge overlooks perroi Levanit. The site has been deep plowed. Average visibility was 85%.
Size: 0.50 ha?

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1999, 2003, D.

Associated Tracts: D-363, D-374.

Periods Represented: HL (27).

Ranges Represented: A-CL (1).

Collection Method: Designated in 2003 and not collected.

Artifact Discussion: All of the material from S056 is Hellenistic, except for one piece that is either Archaic or Classical.

The pre-Hellenistic fragment is from a black glaze tile; it is the only piece of black glaze from the site. Over half of the Hellenistic sherds are tile fragments (56%). There is one sherd from a table amphora, and one from a pithos; the rest are from plain, unidentified closed shapes or unknown vessels. No cooking ware or black glaze vessel fragments were found.
The lack of shapes makes it difficult to characterize the nature of the site. It is possible that the assemblage is from a small Hellenistic farmstead. Site collection would be necessary, in this case, to determine site function.

*Site Function:* Hellenistic farmstead?

SITE 057

*Name:* Dushku i Kuq, lower.

*Fig. 7.76; Table 7.96.*

*Zone:* 4.

*Site Location and Description:* S057 is located 500 m north of, and below, S031. It is at the eastern edge of an olive grove, ca. 150 m southeast of Dushku i Kuq, on the ridge road from Radostina to Mali i Portës. The site appears to be well preserved. Average visibility was 30%.
Size: 0.25 ha.

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 1998, 2003, A.

Associated Tracts: A-156.

Periods Represented: HL (2).

Ranges Represented: LHL-ER (1); EM-M (1).


Periods Represented: HL (2).

Artifact Discussion: Two thirds of the material from S057 dates to the Hellenistic period. There is one sherd that might be, but does not need to be later, i.e., Late Hellenistic or Early Roman. There is also one fragment that is either Early Modern or Modern. Two of the Hellenistic pieces are tiles, as is the Late Hellenistic or Early Roman piece. A table amphora fragment is the only identifiable Hellenistic vessel shape; the other fragment is from a plain unidentified
closed pot. There is too little material to determine site function.

Site Function: Hellenistic site of undetermined type.

SITE 058

Name: Kodra e Kripës, settlement.

Tables 7.97, 7.98.

Zone: 2.

Site Location and Description: S058 is located on the edge of the necropolis of Apollonia. It is west of, and downslope from, Kodra e Kripës (S005). The site has been almost completely destroyed by bunker construction. Average visibility was 50%.

Size: 0.40 ha.

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 2000, 2003, J.
Associated Tracts: J-414, J-415.

Periods Represented: HL (1); LHL (1); R (1).


Periods Represented: HL (3); MR (2); LR (6).

Ranges Represented: LCL-HL (1); MR-LR (1).

Artifact Discussion: Most of the material from S058 is Roman (63%). However, five sherds are Hellenistic (31%) and one piece is either Late Classical or Hellenistic.

Two of the four Hellenistic pieces are tiles. The other two are from plain unidentified vessels. A Late Classical or Hellenistic transport amphora fragment represents the only identifiable vessel shape in the pre-Roman assemblage.

The Roman assemblage from S058 contains one fragment of a Terra Sigillata plate. Four fragments of Late Roman cookware pitchers might or might not be from a single
vessel. There is also one piece of a transport amphora that is either Middle or Late Roman.

The tract assemblage has more Hellenistic than Roman material; the revisitation assemblage, on the other hand, is the opposite, with more Roman material than Hellenistic. The character of the Roman finds suggest a domestic function for the site. The quantity of Hellenistic material is too small and the type range too imprecise for a reliable definition of site function.

Site Function: Hellenistic site of undetermined type; Roman farmstead?

SITE 059

Name: Shën Marina.

Zone: 1.

Site Location and Description: S059 is located on a bramble-covered hill across the road from and to the west of the Shën Marina cemetery. The site has been
heavily disturbed by bunker construction. A partially robbed wall is preserved. A Doric capital and fragments from a sarcophagus were found nearby. Average visibility was 20%.

Size: 0.15 ha.

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 2000, 2003, J.

Associated Tracts: J-144.

Collection Method: Designated in 2003 and not collected.

Artifact Discussion: No artifacts were collected from the site; the identification is based on sarcophagus fragments.

Site Function: Grave of unknown date.

SITE 060

Name: Margelliç necropolis.
Table 7.99.

Zone: 11.

*Site Location and Description:* S060 is located to the north-northwest of the acropolis of Margellíç (S041). The site extends along the eroded, sandy marl ridge that separates Zones 10 and 11. The site has been damaged by erosion and modern building. Average visibility was 75%.

*Size:* 10.0 ha?

*Year(s) Investigated and Team:* 2002, L.


*Periods Represented:* A (1); LCL (1); HL (40); MHL (1); LB (2); PMED (1); M (2).
Ranges Represented: A-CL (1); A-HL (1); CL-HL (4); LO-EM (2).

Collection Method: Revisitation, Tracts L-096R, L-097R, L-106R. Not collected. Designated in 2006.\textsuperscript{1374}

Periods Represented: HL (2).

Artifact Discussion: Most of the material from S060 dates to the Hellenistic period (74%). There are three earlier sherds (5%); one of these is Archaic, one, Late Classical, and the third, either Archaic or Classical. Five additional pieces (9%) might be earlier, i.e., Classical or Hellenistic. Seven fragments (12%) are Ottoman to Modern.

Fourteen percent of the assemblage is tiles. Plain ware sherds comprise the largest percentage of the vessel assemblage (45%). Storage vessels are 30% of the total, and cooking ware 7%. The quantity of black glaze is high; 32% of the vessels pieces belong to this category. One of these is an Archaic sherd from a black-figured imported Corinthian closed shape decorated with a broad "tongue motif." The Late Classical piece is from a black glaze krater, and the

\textsuperscript{1374} Revisitation sherds are included in the Tract Table.
Archaic or Classical fragment is from a Corinthian Type A transport amphora. Small finds include human bone and a figurine.

The necropolis assemblage at Margelliç is distinguished from the acropolis material (S041) by the scarcity of cooking ware and the presence of imported vessels.

*Site Function*: Necropolis.

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**SITE 061**

**Name**: Shtyllas Temple.\(^{1375}\)

**Figs.** 7.77, 7.78; **Table** 7.100.

**Zone**: 2.

**Site Location and Description**: S061 is located south of the acropolis of Apollonia, above the modern village of Shtyllas. A single Doric column from the temple remains. The site has been heavily disturbed by

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\(^{1375}\) Heuzey and Daumet 1876, pp. 394-395; Holland 1815, p. 511; Leake 1835, pp. 372-373; Patsch 1904, p. 40. For recent discussions of the temple at Shtyllas, see Galaty et al. 2004; Amore et al. 1995, p. 779; Quantin 1999 (with full bibliography); Lenhardt and Quantin 2007.
erosion and post-Byzantine activities, and visibility is very poor. Average visibility was 25%.

Size: Ca. 0.50 ha.

Year(s) Investigated and Team: 2003, J.


Periods Represented: A (1); CL (1); PMED (4); O (1); LO (2).

Ranges Represented: A-R (1); CL-HL (1); EHL-MHL (1); LB-EO (1).

Collection Method: Designated in 2003 and not collected.

Artifact Discussion: Sixty-two percent of the finds from S061 are post-Roman. The Graeco-Roman assemblage consists of five pieces: two of the sherds are pre-Hellenistic, two are possibly pre-Hellenistic, and one is Hellenistic.
There is one fragment of Classical tile, two transport amphoras, and two black glaze sherds.

The tract assemblage alone is insufficient to determine the date and function of the site.

*Site Function: Temple.*
Chapter 8.

Toward a Rural Archaeology of Apollonia in Antiquity:

Analysis of MRAP Survey Data

It has been said before that the city of our state, so far as circumstances permit, be in communication alike with the mainland, the sea, and the whole of its territory.\textsuperscript{1376}

The cultivation of this noble plain, capable of supplying grain to all \textit{Illyria} and \textit{Epirus}, with an abundance of other productions, is confined to a few patches of maize near the villages. Nevertheless, the Mizakía is as well peopled as most of the great plains, either of Asiatic or European Turkey, and better than many of them. This part of it is well wooded; the hedges and great trees are festooned with wild vines, which produce a small grape of excellent flavour; and the villages in general are embosomed in clusters of trees, the huts standing far apart, each with its piece of garden ground.\textsuperscript{1377}

Introduction

Chapter 8 offers a detailed analysis of the data presented in Chapter 7. It provides a discussion of each zone in numerical order, the sites identified in each, and

\textsuperscript{1376} Arist. \textit{Pol.} 1330a34.
\textsuperscript{1377} Leake 1835, vol. 1, p. 366.
the periods represented (Fig. 8.1; Table 8.1).\textsuperscript{1378} A synthesis of these data organized by period will be given in Chapter 9. The analyses in both chapters focus on how rural settlement patterns in the MRAP survey area developed and changed through time. While much was known about the asty and necropolis of Apollonia before the advent of MRAP, almost nothing was known about its hinterland, since, as noted in Chapter 1, MRAP was the first project to apply a rigorous methodology to rural archaeology in Albania. Much recent scholarship has concentrated on Greek colonization in the Archaic period and the nature of native-Greek interactions, but few studies have looked at the impact colonization had on the surrounding landscape or traced diachronically the spread of Greek material culture into indigenous areas.\textsuperscript{1379}

Questions to be considered in this and the next chapters include: What were the borders of the Greek settlement? How did the Greeks organize landholdings within the territory of their colony and did this change through time? Did they expropriate land from indigenous peoples? Is it possible to distinguish archaeologically...
between Greek and non-Greek sites? Are changing relations between Greeks and native peoples reflected in settlement patterns and the distribution of Greek material culture? How can a transitory human presence in the landscape be differentiated from a more permanent locus of activity?  

During the second half of the 20th century, when Albania was cut off from much of the modern world, Albanian archaeologists, under the influence of a Marxist doctrine, formulated the theory of an unbroken continuity between the indigenous Bronze and Iron Age inhabitants at Apollonia which was thought to have occurred in 588 B.C. As noted in Chapter 3, this cultural continuum was traced in their analyses of the archaeological record. To support this hypothesis of continuity, Albanian archaeologists cited the unique method of tumulus burial found in the necropolis in the Kryegjata valley. It was argued that the indigenous population was still using this burial practice at the time of the establishment of the colony and that the Greeks adopted this practice directly from them. The analysis presented here suggests the opposite, that there was

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1380 Criticism has recently been leveled against survey archaeology by Osborne and others that, although it is now possible to mark accurately places of high artifact densities on a map, the interpretation of their meaning has not been adequately addressed. For example, do these concentrations indicate more than a casual human presence in the landscape? Osborne 2004, p. 88; Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991, p. 327; Pettegrew 2001, 2007.

1381 See Chapters 3 and 5.

instead cultural discontinuity in the area around Apollonia and that the newly arrived Greek colonists confronted an open, empty landscape that was devoid of permanent human occupation. The colonists also initiated major changes in land use in the hinterland of the colony by the end of the Classical period, which had in turn a profound effect on the indigenous Illyrian culture.

**Analysis of MRAP Data by Zone and Period**

In the remainder of this chapter I summarize what is known about archaeological remains, and consequently the development of settlement and land use, as a result of the MRAP survey. I proceed zone by zone, period by period, throughout the entire hinterland explored by MRAP (Table 8.2). The result is dense and descriptive, a product hardly intended to be read from start to finish, but clearly a necessary foundation for the synthesis that follows in Chapter 9.

**Zone 1**

Zone 1 is composed of the asty of Apollonia and the Myzeqe plain to the west of the city center.\(^{1383}\) It is the largest zone in the survey region and encompasses an area

of ca. 10 sq km. The coastal plain now extends across the area of the Gjoli lagoon, which is represented on an Austrian map of 1912, but was drained under communism. The sea is presently some 8.5 km distant from the acropolis, but that distance has doubled since antiquity when the coastline was closer to the base of the citadel. It is likely that a river port, not identified during the survey, was located near the city on an ancient paleochannel of the Vjosa. A total of seven sites were defined in Zone 1: S008, S043, S047, S048, S049, S050, and S059 (Fig. 8.2). S043, S047, and S050 were tract walked and site collected, S008, S048, S049, and S059 were only tract walked. Fragments from a maximum of 2,594 vessels and tiles were collected in the course of fieldwork.

The asty of Apollonia, S008, is the area inside the city walls – 130 ha. The entirety of the site was not tract walked; instead transects were taken across the acropolis and through the city walls, one of which went all

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1384 Fouache et al. 2001, p. 796.
1385 According to ancient sources, Apollonia was located 60 (Strabo 7.5.8 [C 316]) or 50 stades (Scylax 26) or 4 miles (Pliny HN 3.145) from the sea. See Chapter 5 and Fouache 2007, p. 12, figs. 5, 14; pp. 18-19, fig. 9.
1386 Pseudo-Scylax (26) recorded that the Aous flowed beside the town of Apollonia. Fouache and his team (2002, pp. 8, 14, fig. 3, Fouache et al. 2001, pp. 796, 799) have identified three courses of the Vjosa: ancient, medieval, and modern. In the Graeco-Roman period the river followed the ancient course; the paleochannel of this route has been identified 750 m west of the acropolis. See also Cabanes 1994, pp. 523-525; Cabanes et al. 1997, pp. 861-869; Fouache 2007.
1387 Davis et al. 2003-2004, p. 313, n. 9. For the city walls, see the bibliography in the Site Gazetteer for S008.
the way to the sea. Most of the visible remains of the civic center and the buildings just below the acropolis are either Hellenistic or Roman in date.\textsuperscript{1388}

S043 is located in the plain west of the acropolis. It was tract walked in the first transect laid out by Team P and later site collected. The site has since been excavated for three seasons by an international team from the University of Cincinnati Department of Classics and the International Center for Albanian Archaeology.\textsuperscript{1389} It is now clear that a Greek sanctuary with a monumental temple stood in this spot.

S047 is on the plain in the northern part of the zone, near the modern village of Pojan. To the south of S047 and ca. 3/4 km east of S043, is S049, which was only tract walked. The site is just outside the city walls and encompasses the area called "Fusha e Qoramidhës (field of ceramics)." In the southeastern part of the plain, a large area around the modern village of Sopi was designated S048. S050 is about 1/2 km west of S047 and 1 km north of S043. The final site in Zone 1, S059, is a possible ancient cemetery located at the northwest foot of the acropolis.

across the road from Shën Marina cemetery; no material was collected from this site.

The MRAP survey data provide no evidence that the plain and the acropolis of Apollonia were used before the arrival of the Greeks. The only possible non-Greek sherd in Zone 1, which might be an Iron Age fragment, was found at S050. This absence of indigenous material could indicate that the plain was not utilized in the Bronze and Early Iron Age, which would be in keeping with a preference for hill top habitation sites, at least during the Iron Age. An alternative explanation is, of course, that the massive alluviation and flooding to which the plain has been subjected in post-antique times has preferentially buried pre-Greek material so deeply as to obscure its presence.

Zone 1 has surprisingly few Archaic finds; only three sherds are definitely Archaic in date, and all of these are associated with sites. Two black glaze sherds are from S008; one from the summit of the acropolis, the other from near the plain. The other fragment, a slipped tile, was found at the sanctuary at S043. An Archaic figurine fragment of a standing female figure was found during site collection at S043. While these finds point to an Archaic phase at both S008 and S043, they are barely suggestive of

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See Chapters 5 and 9.
the pure Archaic levels that have been found in excavations by the French team on the acropolis and the American-Albanian team at S043.\textsuperscript{1391} The Archaic levels at S043, however, are deeply buried under several meters of alluvial fill, and on the acropolis they occupy a very small, well bounded area that was not covered by a MRAP transect; this helps explain the limited quantity of early Greek material in the survey assemblage from Zone 1.

Three additional sherds from Zone 1 are Archaic-Classical. One, a black glaze oinochoe, is from S043. A Late Archaic-Early Classical transport amphora, possibly Corinthian Type A, was found at S050, and a black glaze tile is from S049.\textsuperscript{1392} Six other potentially Archaic fragments are Archaic-Hellenistic.

There is slightly more Classical than Archaic material in Zone 1, but the quantity is still small. All of the sherds that are firmly dated to the Classical period were picked up at sites. Six pieces come from S008. A Classical tile was found in a transect near the plain, and another was found on the summit of the northern acropolis. Three fragments are from transport amphoras. One, an Early

\textsuperscript{1391} Excavations by the French team in 2006 revealed extensive Archaic remains on the acropolis, some of which were quite near the surface. See Davis et al. 2006, pp. 123-125; Verger et al. 2007, pp. 232-237.

\textsuperscript{1392} AS92. Amphora sample numbers (AS) assigned to sherds that were exported to Cincinnati for analysis are provided in the footnotes. See Chapter 5.
Classical Corinthian Type A, was found just below the summit. The other two are a Classical fragment and a Late Classical Corinthian Type B fragment that were found in contiguous tracts just inside the city wall.\textsuperscript{1393} There is also a piece of Classical cooking ware from near the northern gate of the city.

There are four definite Classical sherds from S043. A tile and black glaze skyphos date to the Classical period, and a red-figured askos and black glaze skyphos are specifically Late Classical.\textsuperscript{1394} There is also a fragment of an Archaic-Classical black glaze oinochoe. All of the above are shapes that can comfortably be associated with a temple or rituals at a sanctuary. The other two definite Classical sherds from Zone 1, a Classical tile and a Late Classical Corinthian Type A transport amphora, are from S050.\textsuperscript{1395}

In addition to S008 and S043, which were clearly in use in the Archaic and Classical periods, it is likely that S050 began in the Late Archaic or Early Classical period. Tracts M-385 and M-386, near the site center, contained the earliest firmly dated material, all transport amphorae.

Although the quantity of finds from these periods at S050

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\textsuperscript{1393} AS93, AS94.
\textsuperscript{1394} A large number of Archaic and Classical black glaze skyphoi have been found in excavations inside the city walls and in the necropolis.
\textsuperscript{1395} AS91.
is small, the Late Archaic-Early Classical transport amphora and the Iron Age sherd fall within the late 6th-5th century B.C. Also from the site are a Classical tile and another transport amphora that is definitely Late Classical. Two additional fragments, including another transport amphora, are Classical-Early Hellenistic. The presence of early Greek transport amphoras with indigenous pottery might be indicative of a pattern found elsewhere in the study area. If S050 had an indigenous component, perhaps the nearby sanctuary at S043 was established to mark the boundary of Greek territory.¹³⁹⁶

Seventeen pieces from Zone 1 range in date from Classical/Late Classical-Early Hellenistic; all but three of these are from S008, S043, or S050. Two, however, are from S049; one is from a Classical-Early Hellenistic black glaze plate, the other a Late Classical-Early Hellenistic bolsal. Thirty-six fragments are Classical/Late Classical-Hellenistic. Twenty-four of these are transport amphoras. All but five of the 36 are from S008, S043, or S050.¹³⁹⁷ All off-site Archaic/Classical/Late Classical-Hellenistic sherds are from transport amphoras and were found in tracts

¹³⁹⁶ See de Pologiçinac 1994, 1995 and Cole 1994, 2004 on liminal sanctuaries. See also Davis et al. 2003-2004, p. 313, where it is suggested that S043 was a liminal sanctuary situated on the edge of the lagoon.
¹³⁹⁷ Fourteen of the 19 Late Classical-Hellenistic pieces from S043 are from transport amphoras.
that had other Hellenistic material, but nothing earlier.\textsuperscript{1398} The only securely dated Early Hellenistic piece is also from S050.

There is very little change in the use of the plain from the Archaic through the Early Hellenistic period. The quantity of Hellenistic material in Zone 1, however, is astronomical compared to previous and subsequent periods; 2,322 sherds are definitely Hellenistic in date, and an additional 47 can be more closely dated within that broad period. This was clearly the period when the plain was most extensively exploited, probably for agriculture, but also for habitation. Hellenistic finds are present in almost every tract from which material was collected.\textsuperscript{1399}

One hundred eighty-seven sherds were collected off-site in Zone 1; 38% of these are from brick/tiles. Of the vessel fragments, 32% are from transport amphorae. Only 14 pieces of black glaze (12%) were found off-site, and only slightly more of cooking ware; most of the fragments are from plain closed vessels. Much of the plain to the east and northeast of the asty was utilized in the Hellenistic period. Apart from the area within the polis walls, however, the central third of the zone has the highest

\textsuperscript{1398} A Late Archaic-Early Hellenistic sherd is AS14, and AS82 and AS83 are two Corinthian Type B transport amphorae or imitations.

\textsuperscript{1399} Field walkers counted over 10,000 ceramics in tracts associated with S049.
concentration of material. This includes S043 and S049, and the area in between. The area to the north of S050 and S047 has lower densities, but there is, nevertheless, a fairly consistent scatter of Hellenistic material in the landscape. The southern portion of Zone 1, on the other hand, is relatively devoid of artifacts; this area was either not extensively used in antiquity or geomorphic factors have differentially obscured the visibility of sherds here. Densities decreased sharply immediately west of S043 in the long transect from the acropolis to the sea; no ancient material was found beyond the boundaries of the site.

S008, S043 and S050 continued to be used in the Hellenistic period, and two new sites were established: S049, just outside the city walls, and S047, on the plain. Several other dense clusters of Hellenistic artifacts exist.

The asty of Apollonia (S008) expanded in size during the Hellenistic period. There is material of this date in every tract walked inside the walls, except those where nothing was collected; many of these tracts, though, have high artifact counts that would undoubtedly have yielded Hellenistic material. All tracts from inside the walls with Archaic/Classical-Hellenistic sherds also contained
definite Hellenistic fragments, but not all tracts with Hellenistic finds had earlier material. Most of the vessel fragments are from plain closed shapes; although 27% are from transport amphorae, only three are recognized as imports and these are probably Italic. The quantities of cooking ware and black glaze are roughly equal. Four conical loomweights and a pierced circular game piece are probably Hellenistic in date. Two millstone fragments of unknown date were also found at S008.

The sanctuary at S043 also underwent expansion in the Hellenistic period. The quantity of Archaic and Classical finds is small compared to the proliferation of Hellenistic material. This increase first appears in the number of sherds that are firmly dated to the 4th century B.C. All Late Classical–Early Hellenistic sherds are from black glaze drinking vessels (cups and skyphoi) except for one black glaze plate fragment. Three figurine fragments – a face with the nose and mouth preserved and two pieces of wavy hair from larger protomes – might be Classical–Early Hellenistic.

One thousand twenty-eight of the Hellenistic sherds from Zone 1 were collected at S043; 33% of these are brick/tiles. The overwhelming majority of vessel fragments comes from plain closed shapes (65%); excavation results
indicate that many of these are probably hydriai. Twelve percent of the sherds from the sanctuary are from black glaze or banded pots: the black glaze pieces are from a wide variety of shapes, while the banded sherds are also from hydriai. Most of the figurines recovered are Hellenistic, including pieces of double recliners resting on a kline, some with Eros and some without. This type of figurine is very prevalent in the excavation assemblage. A large halo of Hellenistic sherds extends around the site; the only tracts in the vicinity that are lacking Hellenistic artifacts are those where no material was collected. Twenty-six sherds from S043 can be securely dated to the Late Hellenistic period, which suggests that the sanctuary continued to be used at least into the 1st century B.C.

S050 shows some evidence for continuity in use into the Hellenistic period, although the number of securely dated 4th century B.C. sherds is small. Seventy-one percent of the Hellenistic finds are brick/tiles. The amounts of black glaze, cooking ware, and plain closed vessel fragments are roughly equal. The black glaze sherds are all from standard household table items. Storage vessels only account for 8% of the vessel assemblage. There is a fairly broad halo of material around the site,

\[^{1400} \text{Cf. Davis et al. 2006, pp. 125-126.}\]
which extends to the south-southeast but not to the north. S050 is the only site on the plain with securely dated Middle-Late Hellenistic finds, although there is no definite Late Hellenistic. The site appears to have gone out of use by the Late Hellenistic period; nothing Roman was found here.

There is very little activity at S049 before the 4th century B.C., and only three sherds can be securely dated as pre-Hellenistic. One is an Archaic-Classical black glaze tile, one is a Classical-Early Hellenistic black glaze plate, and the third, a Late Classical-Early Hellenistic bosal. Many of the 51 tracts that make up this site have high density counts: most above 50 sherds and two, in the thousands. Material was not collected from every tract where it was noted, and, given the density of Hellenistic artifacts in this area, it is likely that there are sherds of this date in every tract where material was seen. Tracts L-439–L-449, on the other hand, which are situated right across the canal from S049, have very low densities.

A quarter of the vessel fragments from S049 are from transport amphoras. The black glaze pieces are standard table shapes, and the quantity is only slightly higher than cooking ware. Fragments from plain closed shapes
predominate in the assemblage. Because the site was not intensively collected, the number of tiles is low.
Activity continued at S049 in the areas of highest density through the Late Hellenistic period.

S047 is a well-bounded, isolated concentration of ancient material that is entirely Hellenistic in date. The site is confined to a small part of two tracts, with no encircling halo of material. The finds consist largely of bricks/tiles. Over a quarter of the vessel fragments are from transport amphorae, and slightly fewer from cooking pots. The rest are from plain closed shapes; no black glaze was found. The types and proportions of the Hellenistic finds suggest that S047 might have been a field house for the processing of agricultural products or a small farmstead.

The pattern of land use in the plain changes radically in the Roman period; only 116 pieces of pottery from all phases were collected in Zone 1 (compared to 2,322 Hellenistic). Eighteen of the Roman finds were picked up off-site, and all but six of the rest are from S008, S043, or S049. Seven out of the 17 pieces of Terra Sigillata found during the survey came from Zone 1. The largest Roman assemblages are from the city center and S049. No sherds of this period were collected in the long transect
west of P-102, and none were found at S047. Only a Roman Terra Sigillata plate fragment and two Late Roman sherds came from S050.

Forty-two of the definite Roman sherds were collected from S008, with all phases represented: 18 fragments are Early Roman, seven are Middle, five are Middle-Late, six are Late, and six are generally Roman. Fifteen additional pieces, all from transport amphorae, could be Hellenistic; seven are Hellenistic-Early Roman, five Hellenistic-Middle Roman, and three Hellenistic-Roman. Three pieces of Terra Sigillata were collected from inside the city walls. Most of the Roman material from S008 clusters on the west side of the acropolis at the very bottom of the slope just inside the fortification wall; the quantity of material here is much higher than in the rest of the plain or at any other site in Zone 1. Densities inside the walls drop significantly moving south of P-168.

There are a few Late Roman sherds around S043, but the majority of the material is Early-Middle Roman: 17 of 26 pieces are Early-Middle Roman, two are Middle, three are Late Roman, and four are Roman. Two additional fragments are Hellenistic-Middle Roman and one is Late Hellenistic-Early Roman. No Terra Sigillata was found. The range of dates and quantity of material in the Roman assemblage
suggests that S043 continued to be used throughout the Roman period, albeit in a much more limited fashion than in the Hellenistic period. The Roman material is more in keeping with a domestic assemblage, making it unlikely that the life of the sanctuary continued beyond the end of the Hellenistic period. The limited quantity of Roman material from S043 is surprising given that there are excavated Roman remains in the vicinity.\textsuperscript{1401}

There is a small amount of Roman material from around the modern village of Sopi (S048). As noted, S048 was not formally collected, and the size was determined through tract walking; it includes a rather large area.\textsuperscript{1402} There are three sherds, all Early-Middle Roman in date, one from a Terra Sigillata bowl. The pieces are not localized.

Although most of the finds from S049 are Hellenistic in date, Roman (or possible Roman) finds account for 26% of the assemblage. Sherds of this period cluster in two areas. The heaviest concentration is in Tracts L-345–L-348 and L-35–L-352; this consists of 24 sherds (71% of the Roman). The other group, nine sherds (26%), is in Tracts P-101–P-102, L-334, L-337, and L-342.\textsuperscript{1403} The closely datable material suggests that the former cluster is Late

\textsuperscript{1401} Anamali 1992.
\textsuperscript{1402} Most of the material is Post-Medieval in date.
\textsuperscript{1403} A solo Hellenistic-Roman sherd came from L-323.
Roman since half the material dates to this phase. There are also two pieces of Terra Sigillata, one Early and the other Late Roman, from this group. The second cluster could be entirely Middle-Late Roman, although two of the nine pieces could be earlier. This group more closely resembles a household assemblage than burial goods.

Only a single fragment of Terra Sigillata was collected from S050, and it is unlikely that the site was often used after the Hellenistic period. Other than the sites, Zone 1 shows a very limited, dispersed scatter of Roman material, mostly Early-Middle or Late Roman in date.

There is one group of Roman finds in the transect at the southwestern edge of Zone 1. The material is from four tracts and is either Early-Middle Roman or Late Roman; it consists entirely of cooking wares and amphoras. This concentration probably represents a small household assemblage.

In conclusion, there is only one indigenous sherd from the entirety of Zone 1. This is a possible Iron Age fragment that was found on the plain at S050. Definite Archaic material is very rare; it was found only inside the

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1404 Six transport amphoras are Hellenistic-Roman, and four pieces are Roman. The other two sherds are Early Roman. See discussion in Chapter 9.
1405 One piece is Early-Middle Roman, the other is Roman.
1406 P-121, P-122, P-123, P-124. Five sherds are Early to Middle Roman, four are Late Roman.
city walls (S008) and at the Bonjakët sanctuary (S043). There are more definite Classical sherds and most are again from S008 and S043. The finds from the asty are located both on the summit and near the city walls, which indicates that the early settlement was not limited to one nucleated area of the site. A small quantity of Late Archaic/Classical sherds was found at S050, and it is possible that this site was used as a field house or by a small group of indigenous people before the end of the Classical period.

The human presence in Zone 1 increased tremendously during the Hellenistic period. An abundance of finds of this date are scattered everywhere across the plain, except in the southern portion. S008, S043, and S050 continued to be used, although on a much expanded scale, and farmsteads appear at S047 and S049. Ceramic evidence suggests that three sites, S008, S043, and S049, remained in use through the Late Hellenistic period, at which time there was a marked decline in the utilization of the plain. The sanctuary at S043 appears to have ceased to function in this capacity during the Roman period and to have become, rather, a domestic site.

\(^{1407}\) Archaic finds are also found in the saddle between the two acropolises where the French team is currently excavating. See Verger et al. 2007.
Zone 2

Zone 2 is located on the east side of the acropolis of Apollonia in the Kryegjata valley. It covers an area of ca. 5.80 sq km and is the third largest zone in the survey area. Eleven sites were identified: S003, S004, S005, S006, S007, S016, S017, S024, S030, S058, and S061 (Fig. 8.3). A total of 1,086 pre-Medieval sherds were collected. The Greek necropolis, which includes a large area of the valley and the southern ridge above it, has been designated S007. The site consists of multiple tumuli and graves, many of which have been heavily disturbed by military construction, bunker placement, and recent looting. Five additional sites are located within the borders of S007. Two are individual tumuli that were gridded and collected separately; these are S005 and S006. S005 is located on the top of Kodra e Kripës, a ridge separating the Shtyllas and Kryegjata valleys, and S006 is just above the floor of the valley, east of the modern village of Kryegjata. Although these two tumuli are part of the necropolis, they are treated separately. S017 is primarily a Paleolithic site, but a few ceramics, probably from graves, were collected during tract walking. S004 is a Post-Medieval site, again with a scatter of Hellenistic material. S058,

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See Chapter 7 for a thorough treatment of the necropolis and bibliography.
which was designated as a site during the 2003 study season, also falls within the area of S007, even though it is not a burial site; it is located on the slopes below S005.

There are four other groups of tracts within the borders of the necropolis that did not receive site numbers but will be treated as such and discussed separately. These are Z2 G1, Z2 G2, Z2 G3, and Z2 G4.\textsuperscript{1409} Z2 G1 consists of 12 tracts that are located on the slopes below the south-central border of the necropolis and extend into the floor of the Kryegjata valley.\textsuperscript{1410} The area is truncated on the northwestern edge by derelict army barracks near the modern village of Kryegjata. On the east the artifact spread continues to the edge of tumulus S006, with which the lowest tracts are contiguous. The area immediately west marks the edge of the necropolis; it is covered with maquis and adjacent to a deep ravine and thus could not be surveyed. Five of the tracts in Z2 G1 were inside the boundaries originally defined for the necropolis; the rest were outside and were added when the territory was expanded to include areas not mapped.\textsuperscript{1411} For this reason it was not mapped during the GIS project.

\textsuperscript{1409} Z2 = Zone 2, G = Group.
\textsuperscript{1411} J-362–J-367 were inside, J-393–J-402 were outside.
Z2 G2 is a cluster of five tracts located along the north boundary of the necropolis on terraces that descend gently into the valley bottom.\textsuperscript{1412} The westernmost, B-089, is contiguous with S016. Graves are also found in adjacent tracts.\textsuperscript{1413} Z2 G3 on the west-central border of the necropolis is composed of two adjacent tracts. Part of one tract, D-137, contains a large concentration of material spread around a modern farmhouse.\textsuperscript{1414} Z2 G4 consists of three tracts located in the valley bottom between Z2 G1 and Z2 G2.\textsuperscript{1415}

Five sites in Zone 2 are located outside the necropolis. S016 is just outside the northwest border. Three sites, S003, S024, and S030, are entirely Paleolithic and will not be discussed. The lone surviving column from the temple at Shtyllas is located at S061; it sits on a hill south of the acropolis of Apollonia where the Kryegjata valley meets the Myzeqe plain. The area around the temple straddles the borders of Zones 2 and 4, but the site is included in Zone 2.\textsuperscript{1416}

Five pieces of non-Greek pottery were found in Zone 2. Two of these, both Late Bronze Age, are from contiguous

\textsuperscript{1412} The tracts in Z2 G2 are B-089, B-090, B-091, B-092, and B-094.
\textsuperscript{1413} The tracts in Z2 G3 are D-137 and J-354.
\textsuperscript{1414} The tracts in Z2 G4 are B-022, B-023, and B-027 (S017, which is primarily Paleolithic in date, is located in Tract B-027).
\textsuperscript{1415} One tract from the site in which no ancient material was collected or recorded is in Zone 4.
tracts in Z2 G1, just above S006. A third fragment, Late Bronze-Early Iron Age in date, was picked up during site collection at S006.\textsuperscript{1417} There is also a Bronze-Iron Age fragment from the southeast edge of Zone 2 in Tract B-117 and a Late Bronze Age piece from the center of the southern border (J-293). Both the two latter pieces are located near the top of the ridge that separates the Kryegjata and Shtyllas valleys; J-293 appears to be a random find unassociated with any other material.\textsuperscript{1418} The three former are from near the bottom of the Kryegjata valley and probably represent an indigenous site.

The two Late Bronze-Iron Age sherds from Z2 G1 were found in adjacent tracts near the floor of the valley. One piece was from a jar, the other from an unidentified closed shape. A Late Bronze-Early Iron Age sherd was found nearby in the southeastern quadrant of S006. This group of three indigenous fragments likely represents the ephemeral remains of a Late Bronze Age burial tumulus that had gone out of use by the end of the Early Iron Age, before the arrival of Greek colonists.

Tract B-117, just outside the southeastern boundary of the necropolis, has what Korkuti identified during tract

\textsuperscript{1417} Tracts J-396, J-397, J-398, and J-402 are revisitations of the tracts in S006.
\textsuperscript{1418} "Random" finds fall under Model 1 of Bintliff and Snodgrass's discussion of the explanations for off-site finds (1988, pp. 507-508). See also Alcock, Cherry, and Davis 1994.
walking as a moderate concentration of Bronze Age pottery. The only sherds collected from this tract are a Bronze-Iron Age cooking fragment and an Archaic-Early Hellenistic transport amphora. This material might have washed downslope from an indigenous site on top of the ridge, either a Bronze-Iron Age burial or, more likely, a settlement.\textsuperscript{1419} The summit itself is heavily eroded and devoid of finds.

A total of 23 pieces of Archaic pottery were found in Zone 2; 19 of these were collected in S007. One of the four from outside the necropolis was found in a tract near the northeast boundary, and another was found nearby in a tract near the northeast boundary of Zone 2. The former will be discussed with the four Archaic sherds found to the south in Z2 G2, which is just inside the limits of S007. The latter is a fragment of an Archaic black glaze tile, which appears to be an isolated find.\textsuperscript{1420} The other two Archaic sherds that are not from the necropolis were found at S016 in the northwest and S061 at the southwest tip of the zone.

Two Archaic sherds were picked up during site collection of the tumulus (S005) on Kodra e Kripês, which,

\textsuperscript{1419} A fragment of an Archaic cooking pot was found downslope on the Shtyllas side of the ridge. It is one of three fragments of Archaic cooking ware found outside the site of Apollonia. A second was found in the site collection of S005, which is at the top of the same ridge. \textsuperscript{1420} J-016.
as noted above, is situated on a high ridge along the very southern border of S007. One of these is a piece of cooking ware, the other a fragment of a banded olpe. These two pieces indicate that there was activity at the site already in the Archaic period, but the nature of the activity is unclear.

Of the 17 other Archaic sherds collected in S007, three are specifically Early Archaic and three Late Archaic. The earliest fragments are all from transport amphorae; indeed, eight of the 17 Archaic pieces from S007 are from this vessel type. Archaic material was collected in four non-contiguous areas in the necropolis. The majority is from Z2 G1 and Z2 G2.

Seven Archaic pieces are from Z2 G1; all of them are imports, most from Corinth. Two transport amphorae can be closely dated to Early Archaic and constitute some of the earliest Greek finds from the study area. One is definitely an imported Corinthian Type A, the other is an imitation Type A of unknown provenance. Three other imported transport amphorae, two Archaic (one another Corinthian Type A, the other a black glaze SOS form) and one Late Archaic (Corinthian Type B), are also from this cluster. A pithos fragment and a sherd with black-
figured decoration are the other two Archaic pieces from this group. The transport amphorae and pithos were probably used for *enchytrismoi*.

There are numerous graves and tumuli in the tracts that comprise Z2 G1; these extend from the top of the ridge to the valley floor. Sarcophagus fragments were noted in J-396 and J-393.\(^{1423}\) In addition to early Greek material, the indigenous pottery mentioned above was found in tracts that are contiguous to those with Archaic sherds. As already noted, it is highly likely that a burial tumulus (or tumuli) existed here already in the Late Bronze Age. There is, however, no evidence for continuity of use between prehistoric and historic times; it is likely, rather, that the first Greek settlers chose to inter their dead in, or around, an already existing indigenous burial mound.\(^{1424}\) Such is the case with Tumulus 10, recently excavated by Bejko and Amore. At the bottom of the tumulus they found a Late Bronze Age grave that is unrelated in date and nature to the material above.\(^{1425}\)

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\(^{1423}\) There are two definite and 11 possible Archaic pieces from J-393.

\(^{1424}\) As noted in Chapter 5, there is evidence for this practice of burial around a pre-existing tumulus at Corinth, Apollonia's *metropolis*. Burials begin to occur in the 8th century (MG II) in the North Cemetery at Corinth near a Middle Helladic tumulus that remained visible and venerated until the Classical period. See Williams 1984, pp. 9-19, 1995; Rutter 1990, pp. 455-458; Dickey 1992, pp. 128-129; Morgan 1995, pp. 314-315. See also Stocker and Davis 2006.

\(^{1425}\) Bejko and Amore (pers. comm.). See Chapter 9.
Four Archaic sherds were collected from contiguous tracts in Z2 G2. The earliest, a securely dated imported Early Archaic Corinthian Type A transport amphora, was collected in B-094, which is the southernmost tract in the group and runs from a lower terrace into the valley bottom.\textsuperscript{1426} It is among the earliest Greek finds from the study area. The other three pieces are Archaic in date: a pithos fragment was found in B-092, a fragment of a closed black glaze vessel in B-090, and a plain sherd from an unidentified open shape in B-089.

Two other Archaic sherds were collected from tracts near Z2 G2. An Archaic pithos shoulder was picked up to the east, outside the border of S007.\textsuperscript{1427} It is decorated with three raised, angular bands on the exterior, similar to the decoration on a pithos currently displayed in the stoa of the Apollonia museum.\textsuperscript{1428} To the west of, and contiguous to, Z2 G1, an imported Early Archaic Corinthian Type A transport amphora was collected at S016; it should probably be associated with the Archaic material from Z2 G1.\textsuperscript{1429}

There are graves, tumuli, and sarcophagus fragments in all the tracts in Z2 G2. Those tracts farther upslope,
however, including B-093, contain no evidence of burials; it appears that the colonists chose not to bury their dead on the steepest inclination. Z2 G2 is located in close proximity to the acropolis and seems to be one of the earliest burial spots used by the Greek colonists. The Archaic sherds in this assemblage are from household shapes that are also in keeping with typical Greek grave goods from the necropolis at Apollonia.  

The dates and types of Archaic finds from Z2 G1 and Z2 G2 are similar. Early Archaic Corinthian transport amphorae are the earliest sherds in both groups. The difference is that there is no indigenous material from Z2 G2; the area in the north appears to be an entirely Greek burial area, as opposed to one that made use of a pre-existing, indigenous site. These tumulus groups on the northern and southern edges of the necropolis were separated in antiquity by the Kryegjata valley. It is possible that the first colonists used these two widely separated funerary locales to mark the northern and southern boundaries of the apoikia's burial ground.

There is Archaic material from D-137 in Z2 G3, probably specifically of the late 6th-early 5th century.

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1430 For the range of household shapes, see Corinth VII.2; Agora XII; Galaty et al. 2004. For the range of shapes used in burials, see Rey 1932, pp. 12-22; Mano 1971, pp. 155-189; Amore 2005c, pp. 58-85, 132-136.
B.C. Four Archaic sherds came from this tract; three are from different black glaze lamps (two Archaic, the other Late Archaic) and one is from a pithos (Archaic).

B-022 is the nucleus of Archaic activity in Z2 G4. There are two Archaic finds from this tract, both imported from Corinth. One is a black-figured closed shape; the other is a transport amphora, possibly Type A, probably of the early 5th century B.C. This tract alone contains multiple tumuli, and field walkers reported at least 25 sarcophagus fragments. A stele, possibly Archaic, was also noted.

The final Archaic sherd from Zone 2 is an imported Corinthian black glaze skyphos found near the temple at Shtyllas (S061). On the whole, very little Greek material was found around the temple. This lone fragment, however, suggests that the site was visited already in the Archaic period; its shape and quality would be in keeping with a temple dedication, and many such Archaic skyphoi have been found in excavations at S043.

The Classical period is better represented in Zone 2 than the Archaic; 58 sherds are definitely Classical and 43 are Archaic-Classical. Of these, only 14 pieces were

1431 AS5.
1432 Five are Early Classical, 38 are Classical, and 15 are Late Classical; two are Archaic-Early Classical, seven are Late Archaic-
collected outside the necropolis. An additional 192 pieces are Classical-Hellenistic, 22 of which were not found at S007.\textsuperscript{1433} All of the sites and groups of tracts that have Archaic material have larger quantities of Classical.

In addition to the Archaic sherds, S005 has two that are Archaic-Classical and three that are Classical. The Archaic-Classical pieces are from a plain jar and a black glaze krater. Two other black glaze kraters, both Classical, are also from the site; five pieces from the same vessel were found together. There is also a Late Classical skyphos. Two other pieces, an Archaic-Classical pithos and a Classical skyphos, are from tracts contiguous to S005. Nine vessels are Classical-Early Hellenistic, two specifically no later than Early Hellenistic.\textsuperscript{1434} The combination of Archaic and Classical material at tumulus S005 points to continuity in use between these two periods. Evidence for use of the tumulus in the Archaic period is limited and increases only slightly for the Classical period.

\textsuperscript{1433} Twenty-three are Classical-Early Hellenistic, 60 are Late Classical-Early Hellenistic, 105 are Classical-Hellenistic, and four are Late Classical-Hellenistic.

\textsuperscript{1434} One is a Classical-Early Hellenistic transport amphora, one is a Late Classical-Early Hellenistic black glaze skyphos, and seven are from a variety of Classical-Hellenistic pots, five of which are transport amphoras.
The quantity of pre-Hellenistic material in Z2 G1 increases in the Late Archaic and Classical periods. In addition to those mentioned above, 25 sherds were collected that are Archaic/Classical. Seven are definitely Classical (two are specifically Early, one of which is a Corinthian Type A transport amphora, the other a red-figured krater); six are Archaic-Early Classical (two Corinthian Type A or A' are Archaic-Early Classical, four – including three Corinthian Type A, A' or imitation, and a black glaze lekythos – are specifically Late Archaic-Early Classical); and 12 are Archaic-Classical (eight Archaic-Classical, including one Corinthian Type A, and four Late Archaic-Classical, including three Corinthian imports or imitations). This brings the total number of vessels from the 5th century B.C. or earlier from Z2 G1 to 12.

Thirty-one sherds from Z2 G1 are no later than Early Hellenistic, 29 of them are specifically 4th century B.C. (Late Classical/Early Hellenistic). Nine pithos and transport amphora sherds from Z2 G1 are dated Archaic/Classical-Early Hellenistic and are just as likely to be pre-Hellenistic as not. This body of material is strong evidence of continuity at Z2 G1 between the Archaic

\footnote{AS16; AS18, AS19, AS62, AS25, AS15, AS63, AS21, AS28 (a coarse closed vessel in Corinthian fabric), AS34.}

\footnote{Five Archaic-Early Hellenistic and two Classical-Early Hellenistic pieces were selected for analysis: AS20, AS23, AS24, AS29, AS33, AS26, AS27.}
and Classical periods, with a marked increase of activity during the 4th century B.C.

There is no definite Archaic material from S006, but there are five Archaic-Classical sherds (three Archaic-Classical, two Late Archaic-Classical). These are a tile; a closed shape; two pithos fragments, one a Corinthian import; and a black glaze krater fragment.\textsuperscript{1437} There are also eight Classical sherds, six specifically Late Classical. The lack of securely dated Archaic is noteworthy given that S006 is contiguous to, and just north of, Z2 G1. Such evidence indicates that this specific location in the valley bottom was not used for burials as early as Z2 G1, and perhaps not until sometime in the Classical period.

The largest number of closely dated pre-Hellenistic sherds from S006 is of the 4th century B.C., and it is possible that much of the above mentioned material is also of this date. Six pieces are specifically Late Classical; these are two red-figured and two black glaze skyphoi, a black glaze cup, and a black glaze pyxis. The pyxis is a rare shape among our survey finds; only one other fragment was recovered, this also from the necropolis. Twenty other sherds are Late Classical-Early Hellenistic; 13 are from black glaze skyphoi. There are also two Classical-Early Hellenistic sherds and two Classical-Hellenistic, one of

\textsuperscript{1437} AS32.
which is a Corinthian Type B transport amphora. Two other pieces are Archaic-Early Hellenistic, one a transport amphora, the other from a closed vessel of Corinthian fabric. These data indicate that burials in the tumulus at S006 began in the Classical period, at least by the beginning of the 5th century B.C., and greatly increased in the 4th century B.C. Use of this tumulus, however, began later than at Z2 G1 to the south.

Two Archaic-Classical pithos fragments were collected at S017, the Paleolithic site, and graves were noted there in the scarp of the road. A large number of ceramics were counted in the tract, but only three were collected; these finds should be associated with the material from Z2 G4.

B-022, immediately north of S017, and also part of Z2 G4, is particularly rich in pre-Hellenistic material. One hundred ninety-seven ceramics were counted in the tract, 34 of which were collected. In addition to the two Archaic fragments mentioned above, an Archaic-Classical black glaze column krater handle, two skyphoi, and a closed plain fragment of Classical date were found. Tract B-023, which is contiguous, contained sherds from a Classical black glaze amphora and a Late Classical lekane and skyphos. Five sherds that are no later than Early Hellenistic were

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1438 AS64 and AS30.
1439 Four hundred eighty-nine ceramics were counted in the tracts associated with Z2 G4; only 45 (<10%) were collected.
also collected from these two tracts, as were 13 Classical-Hellenistic pieces (five black glaze, five transport amphoras). Also found were a Late Classical-Middle Hellenistic coin (ca. 400-200 B.C.) with the head of Apollo on the obverse and an obelisk crowned by a laurel wreath on the reverse (from B-023), and a stone stele of unknown date. Clearly, this central part of the necropolis was used only in a limited fashion in the Archaic and Early Classical periods, but activity increased during the 4th century B.C.

The amount of Classical material in Z2 G3 is larger than earlier finds. A fragment of an Early Classical black glaze lamp was found in D-137; this is one of four lamps from this tract. Two red-figured sherds from a Classical krater and a Classical skyphos piece also come from this tract, along with a Late Classical red-figured krater fragment. One piece, also black glaze, is Late Classical-Early Hellenistic and three are Classical-Hellenistic. A Late Archaic-Early Classical piece was found in J-354, and a Late Classical krater fragment came from an adjacent tract.

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1440 AS3.
1441 The quantity and quality of the lamps in D-137 suggests they might have been used as part of a funerary ritual.
1442 It is probable that the Late Classical red-figured krater fragment is from the same vessel as the two Classical pieces.
Five Classical sherds, in addition to the Early Archaic and Archaic-Classical transport amphorae mentioned above, were found in association with S016; two of these are the only pre-Hellenistic cooking ware from the site. The others are two black glaze sherds and one Corinthian Type A transport amphora.¹⁴⁴³

Use of the site increased in the 4th century B.C. Eleven fragments are definitely no later than 300 B.C.; four of these are Archaic-Early Hellenistic Corinthian transport amphorae, three are Late Classical-Early Hellenistic black glaze fragments, and four are Classical-Early Hellenistic (two of which are transport amphorae).¹⁴⁴⁴ Five pieces are definitely 4th century B.C.: a Late Classical transport amphora and a black Glaze krater, and a Late Classical-Early Hellenistic black glaze plate, salt cellar, and lekythos. Four other sherds are Classical-Early Hellenistic, and are likely also 4th century B.C. As noted, S016 is adjacent to the line of graves in Z2 G2 and it appears that burial activity in this part of the necropolis had also increased during the Late Classical-Early Hellenistic period.

There is great variety in the shapes from S016. Although two Classical cooking ware fragments were found,

¹⁴⁴³ AS46.
¹⁴⁴⁴ Three of the Archaic-Early Hellenistic sherds were sampled; they are AS45, AS43, and AS44.
it is unlikely that the site had a domestic function, since the other finds are in keeping with the types and quantities of ceramics found in the adjacent tumuli and graves. The paucity of Archaic material from S016, especially given that the site was intensively collected, suggests that activity did not begin in the Archaic period, but rather in the Classical period, and probably not until the 4th century B.C.

Z2 G2 is composed of a line of graves running to the east of S016, which, as noted above, includes some of the earliest finds from the study area. In addition to the Archaic sherds, there are three pieces that are Archaic-Classical and four that are definitely Classical, including a red-figured krater fragment. There are also five pieces that are no later than the 4th century B.C., three of which are from imported transport amphoras; the fourth is from a non-Corinthian imported closed shape.\(^{1445}\)

The line of graves in Z2 G2 continues to the east. Densities are high in these tracts, but fall off sharply to the north and south. J-008 is just outside the northern boundary of the necropolis and to the east of Z2 G2; it is an isolated tract with high ceramic counts. Bones were seen eroding out of the slope, and walkers reported graves, but no tumulus was obvious. The finds include an Archaic

\(^{1445}\) AS6 and AS4.
pithos, an Archaic-Classical black glaze plate rim, and a conical loomweight, possibly of Hellenistic date. Very little other material was collected. The finds in this tract should probably be associated with B-057 to the south where 14 tumuli were counted. The tumuli were all preserved, with little evidence of looting; this could account for the low artifact density from this tract. No finds were collected. Large, shaped, building stones were visible immediately to the south of the tract.

D-024 and D-025, immediately west of B-057, are a part of the cluster of graves and tumuli radiating out from Z2 G2. D-025 was identified as a tile grave. Both tracts have high field counts, and the finds include transport amphora and fine black glaze sherds. The earliest material is Classical-Early Hellenistic. The tombs in this area probably represent a 4th century B.C. expansion of the graves in Z2 G2. Counts fall off sharply to the southwest.

One Classical tile and a Classical-Hellenistic sherd that might be pre-3rd century B.C. were found at S061. The only other find is an Early-Middle Hellenistic Corinthian Type B transport amphora.\footnote{1446 AS67.} Although these data could be interpreted to mean that the temple at Shtyllas received only limited use in the Archaic and Classical periods, it is more likely that the paucity of material is a reflection

1446 AS67.
of the heavy erosion and continuous invasive activity S061 has suffered since antiquity.\textsuperscript{1447}

All but two of the 25 pieces dated Archaic–Early Hellenistic in Zone 2 are from tracts that have Archaic or Classical material (or both): seventeen are transport amphorae, two are pithoi, and the rest are coarse body sherds from closed vessels. All are from imported vessels, most of them Corinthian.\textsuperscript{1448} There is no \textit{a priori} reason that any need to be as late as Hellenistic. On the other hand, seven out of 23 Classical–Early Hellenistic fragments come from tracts where no earlier material was found. The other 16 sherds are from clusters of Archaic/Classical material, especially Z2 G1 south of S006. All of these sherds are also imported, and 16 of them are transport amphorae. These data lead to the conclusion that use of the necropolis intensified significantly in the 4th century B.C. The number of burials increased and the amount of space in use expanded. Sherds from this century appear in tracts where no earlier material was found. Almost everything that can be securely dated as Late Classical, Late Classical–Early Hellenistic, or Early Hellenistic is from fine black glaze vessels; drinking vessels

\textsuperscript{1447} Including systematic looting. See Galaty, Stocker, and Watkinson 1999.
\textsuperscript{1448} Two are AS61 and AS11. Two Classical pieces that were found off-site are AS55 and AS56.
predominate, but a variety of other forms are also present in the assemblage.

Zone 2 is littered with Hellenistic material, most of which is from graves and tumuli in the necropolis: there is a consistent scatter of sherds across the entire valley bottom. A total of 669 sherds out of 1,086 in Zone 2 is definitely Hellenistic, and another 22 can be more closely dated. Only a quarter of these are from bricks/tiles. All tracts that had material with date ranges from Archaic/Classical–Early Hellenistic or, more generally, Hellenistic, but lacked definite earlier material, have one or more Hellenistic pieces; this makes it more likely that these broadly dated pieces, too, are Hellenistic rather than earlier. The number of burials increased exponentially during the Hellenistic period, and tile graves came to surround most tumuli and even extend beyond the borders of S007.

Hellenistic is the most well represented period at both S005 and S006, and the quantity of material suggests that this was the primary period of use for both tumuli. The assemblages from both sites consist of a large number of black glaze sherds from a variety of shapes. Plain wares are also well represented, as are transport amphoras. One Middle Hellenistic and three Late Hellenistic sherds
were collected at S005, suggesting that the tumulus continued to be used for burials into the 1st century B.C. On the other hand, only one sherd from S006 can be closely dated; this is a Middle Hellenistic Corinthian Type B transport amphora.\footnote{AS57.} It is possible that burials in this tumulus did not continue beyond the 2nd century B.C.

S004, which is primarily Post-Medieval, has a small Hellenistic component. A likely Hellenistic ceramic amphora stopper and a millstone, perhaps Roman in date, were found during site collection. There is only a single piece that could possibly be earlier; this is an Archaic-Hellenistic transport amphora. The area around S004, which is located in the eastern portion of the valley, was not likely used before the Hellenistic period, and there is no post-Hellenistic occupation until the Ottoman period.

The clusters of graves in Z2 G1, Z2 G2, and Z2 G4 indicate increased Hellenistic use of the areas. Many pieces collected from all three groups are from black glaze vessels, but there is also a fair amount of plain ware in the assemblages. The number of transport amphora declines through time, and tile counts increase; this is probably the result of an upsurge in the use of tile graves at the expense of *enchytrismoi* (see Chapters 7 and 9). A conical
loomweight, possibly Hellenistic in date, was found in a tract adjacent to Z2 G1.

There is also an increased quantity of Hellenistic pottery from Z2 G3. Most of these sherds are from plain vessels, though, rather than black glaze; a variety of shapes are represented, many of which are consistent with domestic use. A completely preserved conical loomweight of unknown date was also found here.

Hellenistic sherds are plentiful along the periphery of the necropolis, especially in tracts at the base of the acropolis that follow the contours of the hill. No earlier material was collected in most of these tracts, and the majority of the sherds is from plain unidentifiable closed vessels. This assemblage differs from the necropolis finds in the paucity of black glaze. Hellenistic material is also found in other areas outside the borders of S007 where no earlier sherds were found.

Very few of the Hellenistic sherds from Zone 2 could be assigned to a specific phase within this 300-year period. Three pieces are specifically Middle Hellenistic, three are Early-Middle Hellenistic, two are Middle-Late Hellenistic, and seven are Late Hellenistic. None of these are from Z2 G1, Z2 G2, or Z2 G4. There is one Late Hellenistic tile from Z2 G3, and a Middle-Late black glaze
plate fragment from another tract at the foot of the acropolis.

The greatest quantity of tightly dated Hellenistic sherds is from S051 and consists of a Middle Hellenistic black glaze chous fragment and three Late Hellenistic pieces. Two other sherds from near the tumulus are Late Hellenistic-Early Roman. These pieces make it clear that S005 continued to be used throughout the Hellenistic period and perhaps even into Early Roman times.

Three closely dated sherds were found during site collection at S016; one is from a Middle-Late Hellenistic cooking pot, the other two from Late Hellenistic tiles. The quantity of cooking and plain wares increases at S016 in the Hellenistic period, as does the number of transport amphoras. A Hellenistic amphora stopper was also picked up at the site. Nearly all of the Hellenistic black glaze sherds are from drinking vessels. A substantial number of stone blocks and tiles concentrated in the area of the site were recorded, a fact that might indicate the presence of an ancient building. Again, it is likely that activity at S016 continued from the Archaic period through the Hellenistic period, but perhaps the nature of the activity changed.
Burials in, and use of, the necropolis appears to have ceased in most areas by the Late Hellenistic period. There are only six pieces from S007 that could be Hellenistic-Roman. Two Late Hellenistic-Early Roman tiles from S005 are the only evidence that suggests otherwise.

There is very little Roman material anywhere in Zone 2; no more than 22 pieces dating to this period were collected. The only areas in the necropolis where definite Roman sherds were found are at S016 and S058. The scarcity of post-Hellenistic material suggests that S007 was no longer much used as a burial ground in the Roman period. Yet Praschniker excavated substantial parts of a Roman funerary monument of the 2nd century A.D. very nearby S007 in the vicinity of Kryegjata.\textsuperscript{1450} Although we were unable to locate any traces of this building, or to identify the site with complete certainty, a surface scatter of Roman tiles was found near its approximate location. The general scarcity of Roman material in Zone 2 is surprising given that the Via Egnatia ran through the Kryegjata valley, probably past the monument that Praschniker described.

The most significant concentration of Roman material in Zone 2, and the only one from the necropolis, comes from  

\textsuperscript{1450} Praschniker 1922-1924, pp. 42-51; Davis et al. 2003-2004, p. 311, n. 7. This monument was first described by early travelers to the area. See Holland 1815, p. 513; Leake 1835, pp. 372-373; Gilliéron 1877, p. 15.
S058, which is situated on the hillside above the Kryegjata valley, ca. 200 m downslope from tumulus S005. The site was identified through tract walking, but not intensively collected. The only piece of Terra Sigillata in the zone comes from this site. Most of the Roman material appears to be Middle and Late in date; two sherds are Middle Roman, one is Middle-Late, and five are Late. Four additional sherds come from two tracts that are contiguous to S058 and should be considered part of the site. In contrast to the late date of the material from the site, however, the tract assemblage suggests an earlier date; two of the fragments are Late Hellenistic-Early Roman, and two are specifically Early Roman. There is also a Roman piece and a Middle Roman sherd from upslope at S005. The material is in keeping with a domestic context; the assemblage includes plain wares, cooking wares, a transport amphora, and tiles. The presence of such a large quantity of Roman material compared to its scarcity in the rest of the zone suggests the presence of a small Roman household in this area of the necropolis. It appears that there was continuity around S058 and S005 from the Late Hellenistic to Late Roman periods.

\footnote{This tract is B-038, which overlaps with J-412. See Chapter 7 entries for S007 and S058.}
Only two other possible Roman sherds were collected from S007, both from Tract J-341 on the western edge of the necropolis. One of these is a Roman? pipe fragment, the other is an imported Hellenistic-Roman transport amphora. There was also a concentration of Roman material at S016. Six Roman sherds were picked up during site collection, all in a single grid square: one is Hellenistic-Roman, one Roman, one Early Roman, and three Late Roman. Given the small size of the assemblage, it is impossible to determine whether or not this site was used continuously into and throughout the Roman period; it is likely that S016 was abandoned between Early and Late Roman times and was not occupied in the Middle Roman period. The scatter from the site, probably domestic in nature, is not surprising given its close proximity to the acropolis of Apollonia.

Five other sherds that might be Roman came from Zone 2, but cannot be closely dated. A fragment of an Archaic-Roman transport amphora was found at the temple at Shtyllas (S061). The four other pieces were random finds: one is a Hellenistic-Roman sherd from near the border with Zone 3 and three are from the slopes below the acropolis (two sherds from the same tract are Roman and Hellenistic-Roman, the other is Roman).

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1452 Three of the six are cooking ware, two are black glaze, and one is a plain Late Roman table amphora.
In conclusion, four of the assemblages discussed above are from loci where there are early Greek burials. One, Z2 G1, was used as early as the Late Bronze Age, and an indigenous tumulus (or cluster of tumuli) already stood on the slope of the hill above the valley bottom when the Greek colonists arrived. There is no evidence, however, that this area was still being used for indigenous burials when the colony was founded. Z2 G1 began to be used in the Archaic period as a Greek burial ground, and funerary activity increased in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., continuing through the Hellenistic period.

Z2 G2, on the opposite side of the Kryeggjata valley, was also a locus for Early Archaic burials, and the Early Archaic Corinthian transport amphora from S016 should probably be associated with this group. As with Z2 G1, Z2 G2 saw increased use, beginning in the 4th century B.C. This area, also continued to be used for burials throughout the Hellenistic period.

Roman finds are scarce in Zone 2, and the only area that might have been continuously used from Late Hellenistic to Roman times is in the vicinity of S058. While there is some Roman material from S016, it is late in date, which suggests that this site was largely abandoned until the beginning of the 4th century A.D.
A majority of the imported Archaic-Early Classical sherds in Zone 2 are from Corinthian transport amphoras, which were reused in a secondary capacity as burial urns. The quantity of transport amphorae, however, decreases substantially during the Late Classical period, and the quantity of black glaze, used as grave goods, increases. It is possible to trace the gradual infilling of select areas of the necropolis during the Archaic-Classical periods. Continuity is indicated by the fact that all tracts with Archaic material also have Classical finds. On the other hand, not all tracts with Classical finds had Archaic finds, which demonstrates that the number areas being used for burials expanded through time. There was a dramatic upsurge in mortuary activity in all parts of the necropolis during the Hellenistic period.

Zone 3

Zone 3 extends south from the village of Radostina. It is separated from the Kryegjata valley to the west by a steep ridge. The ridges and valleys that comprise Zone 3 look east onto the plain around the modern village of Vadhiza and the city of Fier. The ridge that separates Zone 3 from Kryegjata continues south and forms the eastern head of the Shtyllas and Levan valleys. The asty of
Apollonia is not visible from anywhere in this zone. The zone itself is ca. 2.65 sq km in area, which makes it the 6th largest zone in the survey area. Six sites were identified: S018, S019, S020, S023, S029, and S033 (Fig. 8.4). A maximum of 2,272 pre-Medieval ceramics were collected from the zone.

S018 is in fields behind the house of the Saliaj family, in a little valley below a pumping station. The site has a small pre-Medieval component, but most of the material is Late Ottoman. S019 is located southeast of Radostina, above the modern Radostina-Shtyllas road, on top of a ridge separating Zones 2 and 3. S020 is in the west-central part of the zone, on the border separating Zones 3 and 4. It is in a field beside the Radostina-Mali i Portës road and commands an excellent view of the Shtyllas valley. S023 is between S020 and S029 on the slope of a hill above a small valley near the village of Vadhiza. Immediately northwest of Vadhiza, towards the Radostina-Mali i Portës road and less than 1/2 km northeast of S023, is S029, which spreads across several fenced fields. S033 is near the southern boundary of Zone 3 along a dirt road on top of a ridge. The territory south of S033 towards Peshtan was not surveyed.

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1453 One tract from S019 is located in Zone 2, but will be discussed here.
Only five fragments of non-Greek pottery were collected in Zone 3; two of these are Neolithic. One, a Middle Neolithic sherd, was found at the southeastern edge of the zone, the other, a Neolithic-Bronze Age piece, was found in a nearby tract; six prehistoric lithics were also picked up in adjacent tracts. Neolithic material is rare throughout the study area; only two other securely dated Neolithic sherds were collected, one of these from an almost adjacent tract across the border in Zone 6. This cluster of three sherds is the only trace in the MRAP survey area of a possible Neolithic site.

Two later indigenous sherds were picked up during site collection at S019. One is from a Late Bronze Age bowl, the other from a closed Iron Age vessel. The fifth sherd, which is Late Bronze-Early Iron Age, was found on the lower slope of a hill near S019. Two prehistoric lithics were also found in this tract. These pieces might be the vestiges of a prehistoric site; they are enough to signal an indigenous presence in the vicinity.

No sites in Zone 3 began prior to the Classical period. There is no definite Archaic and very little Classical material from this area. The earliest piece is a Late Archaic-Early Classical transport amphora; it is from

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1454 Three are from the same tract, in which three specifically Mesolithic lithics were also found.
1455 D-085.
Tract A-191, which is on the border with Zone 4, adjacent to S014.\textsuperscript{1456} All the finds from this tract, which include an Archaic-Hellenistic sherd, a Late Classical-Early Hellenistic amphora (which joins with a sherd from A-190 in Zone 4), a Classical-Hellenistic piece from a closed shape, and a Late Classical-Hellenistic tile, should be associated with S014.

An Archaic-Classical and an Archaic-Hellenistic transport amphora are from S019; it is likely that neither of these is Archaic, though, since no other material of this period was found there. Two other transport amphoras from the site are definitely Classical, as are a pithos fragment, three table amphora sherds, and a tile. There are also two transport amphora fragments that could predate the Hellenistic period; one is Classical-Early Hellenistic, an imitation Corinthian Type A; the other is Classical-Hellenistic. Two Classical-Hellenistic sherds were picked up in a tract adjacent to the site.

These data suggest that S019 began in the Classical period, probably in the 4th century B.C. The definite and possible pre-Hellenistic artifacts from the site point to seasonal use in this period, and it was probably a field house. If there was indigenous occupation at the site, it appears to have ceased before the Greeks arrived.

\textsuperscript{1456} AS1.
Four definite pre-Hellenistic sherds were found at S033. Two are Archaic-Classical pithos fragments, one found during tract walking, the other in site collection. The pieces are decorated in different Corinthian patterns with raised bands. The other two are Classical; one is from a Corinthian Type B transport amphora, the second from a closed cooking pot. As with S019, S033 was first used in a limited way in the Classical period, again probably as a field house.

There are only four other definite pre-Hellenistic sherds in Zone 3, and these appear to be random finds. A fragment of a Classical transport amphora comes from a tract near S020, but the site itself is entirely Hellenistic. There is another Classical piece from near S029, but this site, too, began in the Hellenistic period. A Late Classical transport amphora fragment was found in the southwest portion of the zone in a tract with a Hellenistic tile. Finally, an Archaic-Classical tile came from the valley near Radostina in the northwestern part of the zone; it was the only sherd in the tract, and the surrounding area is almost entirely devoid of finds.

1457 AS100.
1458 AS59.
1459 There are four sherds from S029 that could be pre-Hellenistic, but it is more likely they are not, given the quantity of Hellenistic material from the site.
Activity had increased at S033 by the Early Hellenistic period. Four pieces are Classical-Early Hellenistic; all are transport amphoras, three of them imitation Corinthian Type A. Three other transport amphorases from the site are Late Classical-Hellenistic. The fact that seven out of the eight sherds that are 4th century B.C. or earlier come from storage jars, indicates that S033 continued to be used as a field house through the Early Hellenistic period.

Five fragments that might be 4th century B.C. or earlier were collected at S029; two of these are black glaze, one a Classical-Early Hellenistic lekane, the other a Classical-Hellenistic sherd from an open shape. There is also a Classical-Hellenistic chytra and two Late Classical-Hellenistic transport amphorases. The amphorases were found in the same grid square and, based on similarity of fabric, are probably from the same pot.

There are two other sherds from Zone 3 that are definitely no later than Early Hellenistic; one of these is a Classical-Early Hellenistic Corinthian Type A transport amphora. Four other pieces are Classical-Hellenistic; since all these come from tracts where other Hellenistic sherds were found, it is likely that they were brought here

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1460 Five are transport amphorases, and two are pithoi. The eighth piece is from a Classical cooking pot.
1461 AS12.
during the Hellenistic period. The scarcity of Archaic and Classical material indicates that the entirety of Zone 3 was little utilized until at least the end of the 4th century B.C. The nature of finds that predate this time suggest that, prior to the Early Hellenistic period, there was no permanent habitation in this area.

Exploitation of the land in Zone 3 intensified in the Hellenistic period, and material of this date was found in much greater quantity than that of previous periods. A maximum of 1,971 ceramic objects are Hellenistic, 87% of the total pre-Medieval finds from Zone 3. Only 102 of these were collected off-site. New sites were established in this period, and preexisting ones had much larger Hellenistic components. The new sites are located above the Vadhiza valley, along present-day major and minor roads that were probably the same in antiquity.

A continuous spread of Hellenistic material runs through the center of Zone 3, following terraces that ascend from the Vadhiza valley, north and west of the modern village. This smear of Hellenistic artifacts extends from S020 in the west to beyond S029 in the east, engulfing S023; it accounts for over a quarter of the off-site finds. There is also a continuous blanket of off-site sherds in the southern part of Zone 3 that stretches
northwest from S033 to S031 and continues across the border into Zone 4. The triangular area between S019, the plain of Fier, and S023, on the other hand, is fairly devoid of material, as is the area south of Vadhiza between S033 and the modern village. All off-site finds ranging from pre-Hellenistic to Hellenistic come from tracts in which unambiguous Hellenistic sherds were found.

Evidence of a small Hellenistic component is present at S018. Except for a conical loomweight found during tract walking, material of this period was only picked up during site collection. Eighty-nine brick/tile fragments were collected, but just 12 vessel fragments, all plain unidentifiable closed shapes. In pre-Medieval times S018 was a single-period site in use only during the Hellenistic period; there is no earlier material and only three pieces of Roman.

S019 was much larger in the Hellenistic period and was then permanently occupied. A large concentration of Hellenistic material was found at the site, and a halo of sherds extends into nearby tracts to the north and west, but not the east. Most of the pieces are from plain closed shapes, cooking pots, or transport amphoras. Only four fragments of black glaze were collected, three of these from cups. The vast majority of the material picked up
during site collection is bricks/tiles. The finds are consistent with a single-family farmstead.

S020 is entirely Hellenistic in date. The site itself is very small, and the concentration of material comes primarily from one tract where two piles of sherds had been gathered by farmers and placed in a corner of the field. Most of the finds are bricks/tiles and transport amphorae. Only plain closed vessels are represented in the assemblage, and no black glaze was found. In addition to ceramics, a grinding stone of unknown date was found during tract walking. S020 was clearly a small, single-period, farmstead.

S023 was also first occupied in the Hellenistic period. As with S020, most of the sherds are from bricks/tiles. Almost all of the vessels are either cooking pots, plain closed shapes, or transport amphorae; there is only one fragment of black glaze, that from a drinking vessel. The percentage of storage jars is smaller than at S020. S023 appears also to have been a small, rural, single-period farmstead.

S029 is located upslope from, and in close proximity to, S023. The Hellenistic assemblage is very similar to that from S023; it mostly consists of cooking wares and plain closed shapes. Only two transport amphorae and a
single fragment of black glaze were found. The number of tiles is double that of vessels, but there were no bricks. In the Hellenistic period, S029 unquestionably has an occupational history similar to that of S020 and S023.

The Hellenistic assemblage from S033 is larger and spread over a greater area than the other sites in Zone 3 except S019, which is situated at the opposite end of the ridge. The large number of fragments from unidentifiable closed vessels makes the assemblage similar to those from the other sites in the zone. Plain wares predominate, mostly from closed shapes. Cooking ware and transport amphorae are also well represented. A wider variety of shapes, however, is recognizable at S033 than at other sites, and more pieces of black glaze, from both drinking vessels and closed shapes, were collected.

S018, S020, and S033 appear to have been abandoned by the end of the Hellenistic period.\textsuperscript{1462} The Roman presence in Zone 3 is confined to S019, S023 and S029, and is chiefly Late Roman in date.

The Roman material from S019 is localized in the northeast portion of the site. Two-thirds of the sherds

\textsuperscript{1462} There is a small amount of Roman material at S018, which is otherwise almost completely Post-Medieval. Two of the four fragments are Roman bricks or tiles, one is a Middle Roman transport amphora, and the fourth is a plain unidentified closed Roman vessel. S033 appears to have been completely abandoned after the Hellenistic period. There is only one fragment associated with the site which was collected during tract walking. No material was found during more intensive site collection.
(40 of 60) are Late Roman; of these, 75% are tiles. Twelve fragments, however, are Early-Middle Roman; all are from plain table amphoras and were collected in two contiguous grid squares, making it highly likely that most of them belong to the same vessels. These amphora fragments represent the only possible securely dated Early-Middle Roman in the zone. Given the quantity of Middle Roman at this site, though, it is likely that they are of this date. If not, their presence might indicate that use of S019 spanned the Hellenistic-Roman transition, although the portion of the site that remained in use was much reduced in scale. A small, single-family farmstead probably existed at S019 in the Late Roman period, but it is unclear whether the site underwent a period of abandonment prior to this or was in continuous use throughout the Roman period. Given patterns of Roman settlement in Zone 3 and throughout the survey area, the former seems more plausible.

Another concentration of Roman material was found at S023. Unlike S019, however, the closely datable material is almost exclusively Late Roman; 17 fragments are from this period, most of them from cooking pots, table amphoras, and transport amphoras. Two tiles are Middle Roman, but nothing needs to be earlier than this. Of the 23 sherds that are dated generally as Roman, 18 are
bricks/tiles and the rest are mostly unidentifiable body sherds. On the basis of the finds from the site, S023 also looks like a small, Late Roman single-family farmstead. Evidence suggests that there was a hiatus in occupation between Hellenistic and Late Roman times.

S029 has the largest Roman assemblage from the study area, apart from the Apollonia acropolis. The site, located on the slopes of the hills northwest of the Vadhiza valley, was perhaps situated near the Via Egnatia. Most of the material is Middle Roman, but there are some sherds that are Middle-Late Roman in date. Thirty-one percent of the assemblage, however, could not be more closely dated than Roman. The sherds are primarily from household-type vessels (only 21% of the fragments are tiles), including plain and cooking wares. Two fragments of Terra Sigillata, which is exceedingly rare throughout the survey area, are also from the site.1463 As with S023, the lack of securely identified Early Roman finds suggests that the Hellenistic component at S029 did not span the Hellenistic-Roman transition, but rather that the site was reoccupied in the Middle and Late Roman periods. Unlike S019 and S023, the Late Roman assemblage is not as large as the Middle.

1463 Only 17 fragments of Terra Sigillata were collected in the entire survey area; all of these are from sites.
Only fourteen Roman sherds were collected off-site; eight of these were found in tracts around or between S023 and S029.\textsuperscript{1464} Given their close proximity to each other, it is likely that there was some type of connection between these two farmsteads in the Roman period, or that they represent one large site. Most of the other off-site material was found on lower terraces near the plain of Fier.

In conclusion, Zone 3 has the strongest evidence for a Neolithic presence in the study area. The few other prehistoric sherds from the zone are centered around S019. There is no securely dated Archaic material in Zone 3, and the first sites, S019 and S033, began in the Classical period, perhaps specifically in the 4th century B.C.; they probably were originally used on a temporary basis as field houses for the storage of agricultural products. The quantity of finds from the Hellenistic period increases greatly and spreads throughout the zone. Four new sites were established during this period, S018, S020, S023, and S029 (S029 in the Early Hellenistic?). S019 and S033 expanded in size and were now permanently occupied. There is very little evidence at any of these sites for continuity of use into the Early Roman period; S019 could be the only exception. S018, S020, and S033 went out of

\textsuperscript{1464} D-176, D-188, D-192, D-193.
use by the end of the Hellenistic period and were not reoccupied in pre-Medieval times. There are localized Late Roman components at S019, S023, and S029.

Zone 4

The Shtyllas valley, which is the next valley to the south of Apollonia, and the surrounding ridges comprise Zone 4. The northwest boundary of the zone is the ridge that separates it from Zone 2; large parts of the slope, where it is not too steep, are covered with modern terraces (and perhaps ancient?) that descend into the floor of the valley. On the opposite side, the ridge that separates Zones 4, 5, and 6 forms the southeast boundary. The west side of Zone 4 is formed by the intersection of the slopes of Mali i Shtyllasit and the Myzeqe plain. Zone 4 is the second largest in the survey area; it encompasses ca. 6.35 sq km. A total of 3,402 pre-Medieval sherds were collected from the catchment.

There are 16 sites in Zone 4, which is the largest number of sites found in any zone; they are S001, S002, S009, S010, S011, S012, S013, S014, S015, S021, S022, S026, S031, S051, S052, and S057 (Fig. 8.5). Three additional sites are located on the border of the zone; S061, the temple at Shtyllas, is just inside Zone 2; S020, Zone 3;
and S032, Zone 6. There is an interesting cluster of sherds in Tracts A-001, A-002, and A-009 that will be called Z4 G1. Another undesignated site in Tracts J-431, J-432, and J-433 has extremely high field counts, but very few artifacts were collected; this is labeled Z4 G2.\textsuperscript{1465}

Seven of the sites in Zone 4 were collected during the 1998 season, when the methodology for sherd retention was different from that of later years; for this reason, the overall ceramic counts cannot be compared with similar sites in the same and different zones.\textsuperscript{1466} Three sites were defined during the study season, but only one was revisited.

S001, which looks north towards Apollonia, is located on the Mali i Shtyllasit ridge; the site has been damaged by bunker construction. Z4 G1 is just downhill to the northwest, almost in the bottom of the Shtyllas valley. S002 also has good views of Apollonia. It is located on a road on the Çuka e Bukur ridge, above S009, which is on the lower part of the ridge. Both sites have been disturbed by bunkers. S010 is a water hole located in a field below Mali i Shtyllasit; it was likely the site of an ancient spring.

\textsuperscript{1465} A total of 112 sherds were noted, but only 12 were collected.
\textsuperscript{1466} S001, S002, S009, S010, S013, S014, and S015.
S011 is located on top of a ridge in the south-central part of Zone 4 on the border with Zone 6; it is only 200 m upslope from S012. S012 commands a good view of the Shtyllas valley and is located near a road. S014, located strategically at the east end of the zone in the pass between Radostina and the head of the Shtyllas valley, is one of the largest sites in Zone 4. It is on a small hill close to the Shtyllas-Radostina road, near the boundary with Zone 3, with an excellent view of the Shtyllas valley.\textsuperscript{1467} The junction of three modern roads is located immediately west of the site. S015 is in a field on a small knoll on the ridge above the main road that runs through the Shtyllas valley. The site has been disturbed by recent building.

S021 is located on the edge of the Myzeqe plain on a low ridge that runs parallel to the main Shtyllas-Levan road. Less than 1 km to the east of S021, on a spur of the Mali i Shtyllasit ridge that separates the Shtyllas and Jaroi valleys, is S022, which commands impressive views of the plain and the sea. The site is next to a ridge road and has been heavily disturbed by bunkers. S026 is situated on a steep slope southeast the modern village of Shtyllas, midway up the slope of Mali i Shtyllasit. The site is along a road that runs to the top of the ridge and

\textsuperscript{1467} The site is ca. 2.0 ha in area.
has a good view towards the plain. S026 is upslope from S021 and less than a quarter kilometer from S022. S031 is opposite S021 and S026 in the eastern part of Zone 4, near the borders of Zones 3 and 6. It is on top of a ridge facing the Shtyllas valley, beside a road that runs towards Radostina.

S051, S052, and S057 were designated as sites during the 2003 study season. S051 is on a small hill on the southeast slope of the Shtyllas valley, just above the main road. S052 is directly west-southwest near the top of the ridge separating Zones 2 and 4. S057, on the other hand, is in the eastern portion of the zone, just below S031. Finally, the artifact cluster designated as Z4 G2 is on the north slope near the bottom of the Shtyllas valley, just below S001.

S013 is the Post-Medieval church of Shëndëlli located near the floor of the Shtyllas valley.\textsuperscript{1468} Two Hellenistic sherds were found here and should be considered background scatter. The material from this site is late and will not be discussed. Possible cut blocks were noted at S057 during tract walking, although densities in the tract were not very high. Only four sherds were collected: two are Hellenistic, one is Late Hellenistic–Early Roman, and one is Early Modern–Modern. Given the small size of the

\textsuperscript{1468} See Galaty, Stocker, and Watkinson 1999.
assemblage, nothing can be said about site function or periods of use.

Most of the sites in Zone 4 are located near transportation routes. Four sites are located on the main road through the valley or near large road arteries (S014, S015, S021, and S051); six others are near smaller roads (S002, S011, S012, S022, S026, and S031). A number of the sites in Zone 4 are relatively close to one another. S012 is located only 1 km south of S015, and S014 is located in a pass at the east end of the Shtyllas valley, approximately 2 km northeast of S015. S051 is situated between S014 (just over 1 km to the northeast) and S015 (less than 1 km to the southwest). Most important is the fact that S014, S015, and S051 are located near the main road.

Fifteen fragments of non-Greek pottery were collected in Zone 4. A small concentration of sherds was found at S026. The group consists of a Late Bronze, two Late Bronze-Early Iron, an Early Iron Age, and a Prehistoric fragment. A Neolithic-Bronze Age grinding stone was also collected from here, as were several Prehistoric lithics. In addition, two joining Late Bronze Age sherds were found during tract walking in an adjacent tract.\footnote{This body of material suggests the presence of an indigenous site on the A-022.}
slope of Mali i Shtyllasit, overlooking the Myzeqe plain. The site was abandoned during the Early Iron Age and was deserted by the time the apoikia was founded at Apollonia.

Another piece of Late Bronze-Early Iron Age cooking ware was found at S022, as were five Prehistoric lithics; S022 is above S026 near the summit of Mali i Shtyllasit. Below S022, an Iron Age fragment was found at S001. Two Early Iron Age pieces were collected farther downslope in Z4 G1, which is almost in the valley bottom. It is possible that this group of material, all of which could be Early Iron Age in date, is also the vestige of an indigenous site that might have continued to be used into the Archaic-Classical period.

Four other indigenous sherds were found in Zone 4, but are unrelated to surrounding ceramics. Two pieces, one Late Bronze-Early Iron Age, the other Early Iron Age, were found upslope from the spring at S010, just below the summit of Mali i Shtyllasit. A stray Late Bronze Age sherd was found in the east part of the zone, near S057, and an Iron Age piece was found in the center at S015. A Neolithic axe and 10 Prehistoric lithics were also collected at S015. The pre-Greek material suggests that native inhabitants were present at the spring and in the area around Shtyllas before the arrival of the Greeks.
Only two definite Archaic sherds were found in Zone 4, and both of these are from cooking pots. One was found during site collection at S031, the other in tract walking at Z4 G2.\(^{1470}\) Eleven other pieces from Zone 4 are Archaic-Classical. Two are Corinthian transport amphoras, one each from the sites that had definite Archaic sherds. There is even less securely dated Classical material from Zone 4 than there is Archaic-Classical. Only 10 fragments are Classical, and two of these are Late. Half of the pieces come from locations where possible Archaic material was collected.

It is unlikely that S031 was used more than sporadically before the 4th century B.C. Besides the Archaic and Archaic-Classical pieces, the only other certain pre-Hellenistic find in the area is a Classical tile from a tract near the site. On the other hand, a Classical-Early Hellenistic sherd is also from S031, as are two Late Classical-Early Hellenistic sherds; of the three, two are either Corinthian Type A or imitation transport amphoras. Based on the nature of this assemblage, if S031 was used prior to the Hellenistic period, it was on a very temporary basis, probably as a field house for agricultural storage.

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\(^{1470}\) Tract J-431.
There is some evidence for continuity between the Archaic and Classical periods at Z4 G2, where much of the material is no later than Early Hellenistic. In addition to the Archaic and Archaic-Classical transport amphoras, there is also one that is Classical. Two other transport amphoras, as well as a black glaze lamp fragment, predate the end of the 4th century B.C. A Classical-Hellenistic cooking ware sherd was also found here. The fact that four of the six sherds that predate the end of the 4th century B.C. are from transport amphoras, all Corinthian A, A', or possible imitations, suggests that Z4 G2 was first used in the Archaic or Early Classical period as a non-permanent field house, probably for agricultural processing and/or storage.

An Archaic-Early Classical black glaze fragment was found at S001; this is the only other sherd in Zone 4 that is definitely 5th century B.C. or earlier. In addition to this, an Archaic-Classical sherd from an unknown form, a Classical transport amphora, and a Late Classical skyphos fragment of Corinthian type were collected at the site. An Archaic-Classical black glaze fragment, possibly a Corinthian import, and one from a Late Archaic-Classical black glaze lekane were found nearby at Z4 G1. Because indigenous material is so evanescent and there is very
little evidence for Greeks living outside the asty before the Late Classical period, it is tempting to interpret these six Greek sherds from S001 and Z4 G1, along with the three Early Iron Age fragments, as the remnants of an Illyrian site that continued to be used by the indigenous inhabitants after the arrival of the Greeks.\footnote{1471} Occupation at both sites continued through the Classical period and into the Hellenistic period, by which time the site had coalesced around S001.\footnote{1472}

An Archaic-Classical transport amphora was found at S014. Another, Late Archaic-Early Classical in date, was collected in an adjacent tract, A-191, just across the border in Zone 3; this piece, which is among the earliest securely dated Greek material from that zone, and the others from this tract, should be associated with S014. A Classical piece comes from a tract contiguous to S014. As with other sites in Zones 3 and 4, this small assemblage of pre-Hellenistic material, which consists primarily of transport amphoras, points to impermanent use of the site as a field house prior to the 4th century B.C.

Two Archaic-Classical sherds, one a black glaze krater fragment possibly of Laconian manufacture, the other a

\footnote{1471} See discussion in Chapter 9.\footnote{1472} Pottery counts were extraordinarily high in the tracts that comprise Z4 G1, especially in A-001. The site is at the edge of the modern village of Shtyllas, and the vast majority of the finds is Post-Medieval in date.
black glaze tile, are from the same tract in the northwest corner of the zone, on the slopes just below the Shtyllas temple (S061). An Archaic-Hellenistic conical loomweight was found in the same tract. These pieces belong with the other material in the S061 assemblage that was discussed in Zone 2.

Another Archaic-Classical sherd, this one from a small pithos, was collected on the south slope of the Shtyllas valley, just below S005 in Zone 2. It is likely that this piece is from the tumulus on Kodra e Kripës and eroded downslope from the summit.

S002 is one of the sites in Zone 4 that has a small amount of Classical material, but nothing earlier. Three Classical pieces were found on the Çuka e Bukur ridge: two of them from transport amphorae, both Corinthian imports, and a third from a chytra. Such a small amount of material suggests that S002 was only sporadically visited in the Classical period, and it is probable that these broadly dated finds do not predate the 4th century B.C.

A Classical pithos fragment was found downslope from S002 at S009. This piece is the only definite pre-Hellenistic find from this site. A Late Archaic-Early

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1473 SF2146.
1474 In Tract B-037.
1475 One is probably a Type A, the other, two joining fragments from a Type A' (AS48).
Hellenistic transport amphora, possibly Corinthian, was also collected, but this need not predate the 4th century B.C. Another transport amphora is Archaic-Hellenistic. The presence of so few sherds that are Classical or earlier makes it unlikely that S009 was used during this period.

The quantity of sherds that are likely to be 4th century B.C., and are definitely no later than that, is much larger than those certain to be earlier. A total of 44 fragments, 27 of them transport amphorae, are probably or definitely Late Classical-Early Hellenistic; three are Archaic-Early Hellenistic (two of which are discussed above); 22 are Classical-Early Hellenistic (six discussed above); and 17 are Late Classical-Early Hellenistic. One hundred thirty-nine other sherds might be earlier than Hellenistic; thirteen are Archaic-Hellenistic; 97 are Classical-Hellenistic; and 29 are Late Classical-Hellenistic; 51 of these are from transport amphorae. In addition to the sites discussed above (S031, Z4 G2, S001, S002, S014), material of the 4th century B.C. was found at three new locations: S010, S022, and S026. Although there is evidence for new or increased activity at many sites in Zone 4, none of them were used on anything other than a temporary or seasonal basis until the end of the 4th century B.C.

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\[1476\] AS41.
A fragment of an Archaic-Early Hellenistic transport amphora was found at Z4 G1, as was a Classical-Early Hellenistic closed shape; both are possibly Corinthian imports. Two other sherds that might be earlier than Hellenistic, both from cooking pots, were also collected here; these are Archaic-Hellenistic and Classical-Hellenistic in date. Very little other material was picked up in this location, which could mean that the Hellenistic inhabitants moved upslope to S001.

Two transport amphora fragments were found nearby at S001; one is a Classical-Early Hellenistic Corinthian Type A', the other is Late Classical-Early Hellenistic, possibly a Corinthian Type B.\textsuperscript{1477} Thirty-six other pieces from the site are Classical/Late Classical-Hellenistic, as are two sherds from nearby tracts. Four sherds are Archaic-Hellenistic. Transport amphoras are prevalent in this assemblage, but not dominant; black glaze, cooking ware, and plain ware sherds are also well represented. The quantity of probable 4th century B.C material suggests that more vessels are from this century than closely datable finds alone indicate, implying that use of the site increased in the Late Classical-Early Hellenistic period. The lack of cooking ware and the limited amount of plain

\textsuperscript{1477} AS96 and AS95.
ware, however, suggests that S001 was still not permanently occupied at this time.

In addition to the three Classical pieces from S002, two transport amphorae from the site are Classical-Early Hellenistic, one of them definitely of Corinthian Type A. There is also a plain sherd from an unknown shape of the same date.¹⁴⁷⁸ Five additional sherds from S002 might be 4th century B.C. or earlier. Four are Classical-Hellenistic and one is Late Classical-Hellenistic. Two tiles were specifically dated Early Hellenistic. Based on the character of this assemblage, it seems likely that S002 was first used on a seasonal basis for agricultural purposes in the Classical period, probably in the 4th century B.C.

S010 marks the location of a spring that was used during the Late Classical-Hellenistic period. The concentration of artifacts is very well-bounded, confined to one area in a field, and densities fall off sharply in all directions. Many of the sherds found here are from drinking cups and water vessels.¹⁴⁷⁹ The majority of the finds is Hellenistic, but two 4th century B.C. sherds, both black glaze (one from a table amphora, the other from a skyphos) were collected, as was a Late Classical-Hellenistic amphora. Twenty-four other pieces are

¹⁴⁷⁸ The Corinthian sherd is AS47.
¹⁴⁷⁹ These include skyphoi, kantharoi, hydriai, jugs, and numerous table amphorae. There is a high concentration of black glaze sherds.
Classical-Hellenistic. Since this site was not intensively collected, it is likely that more 4th century B.C. material would be found here and that the site was first used on a limited basis at this time.

Seventeen pieces from S014 might predate the beginning of the 3rd century B.C.; one is from a Classical-Early Hellenistic transport amphora, one from a Late Classical-Early Hellenistic mortarium, three from Classical-Hellenistic vessels (a cooking pot, skyphos, and unidentified closed black glaze shape), and 12 are from Late Classical-Hellenistic transport amphoras. In addition, an Archaic-Hellenistic sherd, a Late Classical-Early Hellenistic table amphora (which joins with a sherd from A-190), a Classical-Hellenistic piece from a closed shape, and a Late Classical-Hellenistic tile were found in adjacent Tract A-191. A Late Classical-Early Hellenistic imitation of a Corinthian Type B transport amphora was also collected in a nearby tract.\textsuperscript{1480} The amount of definite and possible 4th century B.C. material at S014 suggests that the site began at this time, but the predominance of transport amphoras suggests that it was used seasonally rather than permanently.

Three sherds that are likely 4th century B.C. were found at S022; one is a Late Classical black glaze one-\textsuperscript{1480} AS54.
handler cup, the other two are Classical-Early Hellenistic transport amphoras, both possible imitations of Corinthian Type A. Another of the same date came from a contiguous tract. Five additional pieces, four from black glaze vessels, are Classical-Hellenistic, and a transport amphora is Late Classical-Hellenistic. There is no connection between these Greek sherds and the Late Bronze-Early Iron Age sherd also found here; it appears thus that, after a period of abandonment, S022 was reused on a temporary basis beginning in the 4th century B.C.

S026 probably was established in the 4th century B.C. Three sherds are definitely no later than Early Hellenistic. Two of these are transport amphoras, one Archaic-Early Hellenistic, the other Classical-Early Hellenistic. The third is a Late Classical-Early Hellenistic fragment from an open black glaze vessel. Two Late Classical-Hellenistic pieces, one a transport amphora, the other a skyphos, might be 4th century B.C. There is also an Archaic-Hellenistic transport amphora from the site and a Classical-Hellenistic Corinthian Type A or imitation from a nearby tract. Although this body of material is small, it suggests that there was some limited activity at S026 by the end of the 4th century B.C.

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1481 Another fragment of a Late Classical one-handler cup, the second of only five from the study area, was found downslope in a tract in Zone 5.
There is also definite 4th century B.C. material from S031. All of the sherds are from storage vessels. The three sherds that are no later than Early Hellenistic are a Classical-Early Hellenistic transport amphora and a Late Classical-Early Hellenistic transport amphora and pithos; both transport amphorae are possible or imitation Corinthian Type A. Five other transport amphora sherds from the site might be 4th century B.C. or earlier; three are Archaic-Hellenistic, one is Classical-Hellenistic, and one is Late Classical-Hellenistic. A Late Classical-Middle Hellenistic imitation of a Corinthian Type B shape was found in the halo around the site.\textsuperscript{1482} The fact that all the definite and possible 4th century B.C. sherds are from storage vessels suggests that S031, like the other sites in Zone 4, was first used on a seasonal basis as a field house for processing and storing agricultural products.\textsuperscript{1483}

Only three sherds that are or might be 4th century B.C. or earlier, and are not directly associated with a halo surrounding a site, were found in Zone 4. All are from transport amphoras, two of them Corinthian Type A or imitations.\textsuperscript{1484} In contrast to this, a carpet of securely

\textsuperscript{1482} AS53.
\textsuperscript{1483} The quantity of transport amphoras suggests that they were likely used at field houses to store agricultural produce that was awaiting transport back to the asty.
\textsuperscript{1484} AS50, AS52, AS54. There is also a Late Classical-Middle Hellenistic Corinthian Type B transport amphora (AS53) from a tract near S031.
dated Hellenistic material covers the landscape throughout the zone.

Zone 4 was intensively utilized during the Hellenistic period, and the quantity of material of this date is over five times greater than the total of definite and possible earlier and later sherds combined. Tiles and vessel fragments numbering 2,897 are securely dated to the Hellenistic period; of these, 1,186 are vessel fragments (1,046 from sites) and 1,711 are from bricks/tiles (1,623 from sites). Zone 4 appears to have been littered with small single-family Hellenistic farmsteads. Of the 15 pre-Medieval sites located in this zone, all but S057 have large Hellenistic components. Large halos of sherds were recorded in all tracts around sites, with some background scatter in between.\textsuperscript{1485} The quantity of Hellenistic material at sites with an earlier component is great.

Because Z4 G2 was not intensively collected, the assemblage is small. Although only four Hellenistic pieces were retained, the counts are very high in the tracts that make up this group. Some of the surrounding tracts also had finds of this period. J-434, further downslope, had high counts, but no material was collected. The tracts above Z4 G2, however, had low counts, suggesting that the

\textsuperscript{1485} For off-site background scatters of artifacts, see Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988, p. 506; Alcock, Cherry, and Davis 1994, pp. 139-141.
site was localized in a small area on the terraces of the hill. Z4 G2 was a farmstead that, like those in Zone 3, began as a field house and was later converted into a permanent residence in the Hellenistic period.

S001 is one of the larger sites in Zone 4. After being used on a temporary basis, a permanent farmstead was established in the Hellenistic period. The quantity, variety, and quality of sherds from this period increase greatly. A large number of transport amphoras is still present in the assemblage (18); a quarter of the vessel fragments are from this shape. The percentage of cooking pots and plain household shapes is much larger. Five black glaze fragments were found, all but one from drinking vessels. A worn bronze coin ca. 325-200 B.C. minted at Apollonia was found during site collection; Artemis facing right and wearing a helmet is on the reverse, and a tripod on the obverse; the legend is not discernable. A millstone of unknown date was found nearby. Because bricks/tiles were sorted in the field, it is impossible to get an accurate picture of the ratio of vessels to building materials. There is, however, no doubt that S001 was permanently occupied in the Hellenistic period.

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1486 Ca. 0.6-1.0 ha.
Most of the material collected from S002 is Hellenistic in date. Although the site is medium sized, very few vessel types are represented in the assemblage. Most sherds are from plain closed shapes or transport amphorae. There are only four pieces of cooking ware and two pieces of black glaze, both from unidentifiable shapes. A millstone of unknown date was also collected here.\(^\text{1488}\) One Corinthian Type B transport amphora from the site is Middle Hellenistic (early to mid-3rd century B.C.) in date and two tiles are Late Hellenistic. This closely dated material suggests that the site continued to be occupied into the 1st century B.C.\(^\text{1489}\) Although the assemblage is small, it is in keeping with that typical of a single-family Hellenistic farmstead.

S009 began in the Hellenistic period. Only two pieces from the site are of the 4th century B.C. or earlier and another transport amphora might be. Aside from these, all the finds are Hellenistic. The team leader suggested that S009 might be a cemetery site associated with S002, which is directly upslope. The finds, however, are typical household items such as cooking pots, plain tablewares, and storage vessels. A pre-Roman conical loomweight was also

\(^\text{1488}\) SF0421.  
\(^\text{1489}\) AS49.
found here.\textsuperscript{1490} In addition, only a single black glaze sherd was found at the site. It is more likely that S009 was a single-period Hellenistic farmstead than a burial ground.

The spring at S010 continued to be used in the Hellenistic period. There is more Hellenistic material than earlier, and a large proportion of the finds consists of black glaze sherds. A plain hydria, a form associated with water collection, is the only shape that could be positively identified.

S011 was a small Hellenistic farmstead; the concentration of material is very localized. All the finds are Hellenistic except for five sherds that might be earlier (Classical-Hellenistic), but probably are not, since no securely dated pre-Hellenistic material was found. There are, however, two Late Classical-Early Hellenistic transport amphoras, one of Corinthian Type A, from a nearby tract.\textsuperscript{1491} A large number of vessel fragments was collected from S011; sherds from fine plain closed pots predominate, but there are also fragments of cooking ware and transport amphoras. Only one fragment of black glaze was found at the site. A Middle Hellenistic Corinthian Type B transport amphora was found just downslope from the site in Zone 6

\textsuperscript{1490} SF0422.
\textsuperscript{1491} One is AS50.
and likely should be associated with the site.\textsuperscript{1492} S011 was clearly a single-family single-period Hellenistic farmstead.

S012 also began in the Hellenistic period and was a small site like S011. Material of this period is restricted to the grid squares west of site center. Only one sherd might be earlier; it is a Classical-Early Hellenistic transport amphora, possibly a Corinthian Type A imitation. The Hellenistic assemblage consists almost entirely of bricks/tiles; a mere nine pot sherds were collected at the site, including a few fragments of cooking ware, several transport amphorae, a pithos, and one small fragment of black glaze. Seven tiles are specifically Late Hellenistic in date, so the site appears to have survived into the 1st century B.C. Although S011 and S012 are located in close proximity to each other, no pottery or tile was found in the intervening tracts, making it unlikely that the two concentrations belonged to a single large site.\textsuperscript{1493}

As noted, S014 is one of the largest sites in Zone 4 and is also predominantly Hellenistic in date, although utilization of the site probably began in the 4th century B.C. Most of the sherds are from plain closed vessels,

\textsuperscript{1492} AS70.
\textsuperscript{1493} A-105 and A-106.
cooking pots, and transport amphorae. There are five fragments of black glaze, three from drinking vessels, one from a lamp, and one from an unidentifiable closed shape. Bones were found eroding from a scarp at the west edge of the site along the Shtyllas road (A-195/S014-019). The finds from this tract and collection unit, which include four transport amphorae and a fragment from a plain olpe, are no different than those from the rest of the site. Only one sherd, a fragment from a Middle Hellenistic black glaze bowl, could be securely dated, which indicates that the site was occupied at least through this period.

S015 is located near a water source above the major road through the valley; it is another of the larger sites in Zone 4. Although material is spread over a large area, the Hellenistic sherds are restricted to three contiguous collection units. The site was not used before the Hellenistic period; only four pieces might be earlier: two are Classical-Early Hellenistic transport amphorae, both possibly Corinthian; the others are a Classical-Hellenistic tub and a closed black glaze vessel. Two skyphos fragments, both from the same grid square, are specifically

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1494 One quarter of the olpe fragments from the survey area are, in fact, associated with graves.
1495 S015-002, S015-003, S015-007. One hundred sixty-six out of 203 Hellenistic sherds were found in these three units.
1496 One transport amphora might be a Corinthian Type A' (AS51), and the other is a Corinthian Type A or imitation (AS99).
Early-Middle Hellenistic. The rest of the material from the site is broadly dated to the Hellenistic period. Unlike other farmsteads in the area, the assemblage from S015 includes a large number of black glaze fragments (18); all are from drinking vessels except for a lekythos and two fragments from closed shapes. There are also sherds of cooking and plain wares. The number of storage vessels from the site is unusually low (two pithos sherds and two transport amphora). A Hellenistic bronze coin from the Koinon of Epirus was found during tract walking. S015 was a farmstead, perhaps larger or more long-lasting than others in Zone 4; one Late Hellenistic sherd suggests that the site was occupied from the late 4th to 1st centuries B.C.

S021 was established in the Hellenistic period. Only a Classical-Early Hellenistic transport amphora and a Classical-Hellenistic table amphora might be earlier. The Hellenistic component covers 1.2 ha., which makes it one of the larger sites in Zone 4. The assemblage is composed largely of bricks/tiles (87%); the vessels represented are mostly plain unidentifiable closed shapes and coarse wares. Cooking and storage vessels are also present, but only one fragment of black glaze. A conical loomweight, probably of

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1498 Only S014 and S015 are larger; S001 is approximately the same size.
Hellenistic date, was also found at the site. Although the assemblage is small, it is in keeping with those from other Hellenistic farmsteads in the area.

S022 is one of the smallest sites in Zone 4; it is only 0.20 ha. Almost all of the finds from the site are Hellenistic; there are two sherds that are definitely Classical and one fragment that is Late Roman. The assemblage looks domestic in nature and includes cooking wares, fine plain wares, and transport amphoras. Six fragments of black glaze from drinking and eating vessels were found; one is a kantharos that is specifically Early-Middle Hellenistic. It is likely that use of this site began in the Late Classical period, but permanent occupation began later and continued at least through the Middle Hellenistic period.

Most of the material from S026 is Hellenistic. The site itself is small, but a large halo extends in all directions from site center. Many fragments are from plain closed vessels, and recognizable sherds are standard household shapes associated with the collection and storage of liquids. There are two pithos fragments, and a quarter of the assemblage consists of transport amphoras; since a variety of fabrics were recognized, it is clear that all these pieces are not from the same vessel. Only seven

\[1499\] There is also a fragment of indigenous cooking ware.
fragments of cooking ware were collected from the site and
one piece of black glaze. The assemblage is in keeping
with expectations for a farmstead; the number of storage
vessels present suggests that the farmstead also served as
an agricultural processing center in the Hellenistic
period.

S031 was not permanently occupied until the
Hellenistic period. It is another of the sizeable sites in
Zone 4 and has a larger than usual ratio of vessel
fragments to bricks/tiles, many of which are from
identifiable shapes. The shapes represented are common
household items, tablewares associated with eating,
drinking, and water collection. The quantity of fragments
from cooking pots (23%) and storage vessels (13%) is large,
but only three pieces with black glaze were found. S031
was a single-family farmstead in the Hellenistic period.
One Late Hellenistic piece suggests that the site lasted
into the 1st century B.C.

S051 is a medium-sized site that also began in the
Hellenistic period. The small amount of material collected
from the site is consistent with a household assemblage;
most of the sherds are from plain vessels or cooking pots.
There are two black glaze fragments and three from pithoi,
two of which are Late Hellenistic. Unusually, there are no
transport amphoras that can be securely dated as Hellenistic; the five fragments are Hellenistic-Roman. An undated millstone fragment was also found at S051.\footnote{SF3882. See Gerke et al. 2006.}

S052 is a small well-bounded concentration of material from tracts with high field counts. Only five pieces were collected; four are Hellenistic and consist of a possible Corinthian Type B amphora, two fine plain sherds, and a cooking ware fragment.\footnote{AS68.} The fifth is a Late Hellenistic black glaze plate. This small assemblage of tract material has all the components characteristic of a Hellenistic farmstead.

Zone 4 appears to have been greatly depopulated at the end of the Hellenistic period and was never again as heavily utilized as during that time, except perhaps for today. The total number of definite and possible Roman sherds is only 256: six are Early Roman, 81 are Middle Roman, 43 are Late Roman, and 101 could be no more closely dated than Roman. The other 25 pieces, including nine transport amphorae, might or might not be Roman: three are Classical-Roman, 20 are Hellenistic-Roman, and two are Late Hellenistic-Early Roman. One hundred and thirteen of the 256 fragments are tiles. Eight sites from Zone 4 were abandoned by the 1st century B.C.: S001, S002, S009, S010,
S011, S022, S026, and S052. There are a few Roman sherds at S014, but it is likely that this site, too, went out of use during the Late Hellenistic period. The depopulation of Zone 4 continued through the Early Roman period, and the situation only began to change slightly in Middle Roman times.

Five Terra Sigillata fragments were picked up in Zone 4, and they are all from sites; this is approximately a third of the total number found by the survey. Almost all of the Roman sherds were found at or near sites, indeed only 17 pieces were found off-site, four of which were found near S051 (one Late Hellenistic-Early, one Early Roman, and two Late Roman). Three Early Roman pieces were found in contiguous tracts north of S015. These tracts had very high counts, but the lone Early Roman sherd was the only item collected in each of them.

Three Middle Roman fragments, two probably from the same glazed bottle, were found in a single tract near a ravine littered with pot sherds. The rest of the off-site finds are broadly dated to the Roman period, or, in one case, Hellenistic-Roman. They were collected in isolated tracts and were often the only find.

In a few cases, a small amount of Roman material was found at sites that were unoccupied in this period. Three
sherds from S001 might be Roman (two Classical-Roman, one Hellenistic-Roman), and one definitely is. Two Hellenistic-Roman fragments were collected from S002, as was a very worn bronze Roman coin with the head of Apollo on the obverse. A Roman cooking jug fragment came from S009. Two Roman pieces were found at S013 and S022, both sites had one Roman and one Late Roman sherd. Two Hellenistic-Roman pieces were found at S026. A Late Hellenistic-Early Roman fragment was picked up at S057; it is possible, but not certain, that the standing architecture in this tract might also be of this date. No material of Roman date was found at S010, S011, or S052.

Two Hellenistic-Roman and six Roman pieces were found at S014; all except one Hellenistic-Roman cooking ware sherd are tile fragments that could not be closely dated. The tile scatter might represent some limited activity in the pass between the Kryegjata and Shtyllas valleys. Such a paucity of material, none of which can be securely dated, makes it unlikely that this site was much used in Roman times. If the tile scatter does represent Roman activity, it need not necessarily be earlier than the Middle or Late Roman period, which would make it likely that S014 follows the pattern noted throughout Zone 4: a strong Hellenistic

phase, followed by a period of abandonment, with reuse in the Middle or Late Roman phases.

A mere five sites in Zone 4 had substantial Roman components: S012, S015, S021, S031, and S051. All of these are located near main roads. S015 is the only site that might have been used in Early Roman times; the rest seem to be reoccupied after a period of abandonment.

Only three out of 32 sherds from S015 can be closely dated; these are an Early Roman lamp and Terra Sigillata fragment, and a Middle Roman cooking pot. The rest of the pieces could be no more closely dated than Roman, except for one that is Hellenistic-Roman. The assemblage is composed almost entirely of cooking ware and tiles. A Roman millstone was also found at the site. The presence of a few definite Early and Middle Roman sherds, in addition to the three pieces found in a tract just to the north, might indicate that a small farmstead survived at S015 from Hellenistic into Roman times. There is no secure evidence for a Late Roman presence.

The closely dated Roman component at S012 is entirely Middle Roman except for one piece that is Late Roman. Seventy-three sherds are definitely Middle Roman. Six

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Cooking ware (11) and tiles (10) predominate in the assemblage. One of the Early Roman pieces is Terra Sigillata. See above. The assemblage also includes a pithos, a transport amphora, and eight plain vessel fragments. SF0388.
additional pieces are more broadly dated: one is Hellenistic-Roman and five are Roman, as is a millstone. All of these could be Middle Roman, though. The assemblage is typical of a small household: cooking pots, plain table wares, and storage jars. There is also one fragment from a Terra Sigillata bowl. The absence of securely dated Early Roman material strongly suggests that S012 was abandoned at the end of the Hellenistic period and only reoccupied in the Middle Roman period after a hiatus of ca. 200 years.

The Roman component at S021 is much smaller than the Hellenistic. Most of the material comes from one grid square from west of site center. The closely datable sherds are Late Roman except for one fragment of Middle Roman cooking ware. Most of the post-Hellenistic finds cannot be closely dated: 37 fragments are Roman and three are Hellenistic-Roman. Over half the assemblage is composed of tiles; the rest are containers for liquid and storage jars. There are only a few cooking ware fragments and no Terra Sigillata. The little evidence that exists suggests that S021 was reoccupied, possibly by the Middle, but definitely in the Late Roman period, after several centuries of abandonment. The material is in keeping with a domestic assemblage and its poor nature is surprising

1505 Three of the broadly dated fragments are from transport amphoras and one is a tile. The millstone is SF0627. There are also three pieces of glass from S026 that are Roman-Modern.
given that S021 is on the major Roman road linking Apollonia with Vlora.

The Roman material from S031 is exclusively Late Roman in date, except for two Middle Roman sherds, one of which is a piece of Terra Sigillata. The assemblage is typical of a small, single-family farmstead and consists of tiles, fragments of cooking ware jugs, storage vessels, and one plain ware table amphora. There is no doubt that S031 was reoccupied late in the Roman period after several centuries of abandonment.

Only three out of 26 sherds from S051 could be closely dated, and these are Late Roman. Five pieces, all transport amphoras, are Hellenistic-Roman; the rest are Roman. Two Terra Sigillata fragments were collected, one from a plate, the other from a bowl. The rest of the assemblage consists of closed cooking and plain vessels, and table ware shapes. A millstone, probably Roman, was also found here.\(^{1506}\) The material is characteristic of a single-family farmstead. As with S021 and S031, S051, after a period of abandonment, was reoccupied later in the Roman period.

In conclusion, Zone 4, the Shtyllas valley, situated in closest proximity to Apollonia, has the greatest number of sites in the survey area. Very little indigenous

\(^{1506}\) SF3882.
material was found in the zone, and surprisingly, all except one sherd of that sort came from tract walking rather than site collection. There were probably two indigenous sites in Zone 4: a Late Bronze-Early Iron Age site near S026 and an Iron Age site at Z4 G1. The site at Z4 G1 might have continued to be occupied by indigenous people after the *apoikia* at Apollonia was founded.

The quantity of material in Zone 4 that is 5th century B.C. or earlier is also very small. Seven sites, however, began to be used on a limited basis in the 4th century B.C., probably as field houses for agricultural processing and storage: S001, S002, S010, S014, S022, S026, and S031. All of the sites in Zone 4 have large Hellenistic components and all, with the possible exception of S015, were abandoned by the 1st century B.C. Five sites were permanently occupied in the Roman period: S012, S015, S021, S031, and S051. S012 is the only definite Middle Roman site in the zone. S021, S031, and S051 have small amounts of securely dated Middle Roman material, but are primarily Late Roman in date. S015 could not be more closely dated than Roman.

**Zone 5**
Zone 5 is enclosed by Zone 4 in the north, Zone 6 in the south, and the Myzeqe plain in the west; it is only 1.34 sq km in area, which makes it the smallest zone except for those in the area of Margelliç. The catchment is composed of the Shtyllas-Jaroi valley and the surrounding ridges. The valley opens onto the Myzeqe plain at the modern village of Shtyllas-Jaroi (S025). Besides S025, which was not collected, the only other site in Zone 5 is S028 (Fig. 8.5); this is located on a low hill in the middle of the Shtyllas-Jaroi valley, approximately 1 km inland from the Shtyllas-Levan road. A total of 383 pre-Medieval sherds were collected in Zone 5.

Only one pre-Greek sherd was found in the zone. This is an isolated Late Bronze-Early Iron Age fragment from the slope near S028. A possible Neolithic denticulate was also found in the east-central part of the zone. There is no definite or even possible Archaic material, and finds of Classical date are also rare; 20 definite or possible pieces were found in Zone 5. Two of the three securely dated Classical pieces are from two contiguous tracts that abut an erosional gully; they are both fragments of black glaze skyphoi. Three Classical-Early Hellenistic transport amphoras, two of which are imitation Corinthian

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\[1507\] Only 12 fragments of black glaze were found in Zone 5; four of them are from this gully.
Type A, the other a Corinthian Type A import, are also from this gully, as are two Classical-Hellenistic sherds.\textsuperscript{1508} The securely dated piece is a Late Classical one-handler cup found on the slopes below S022.\textsuperscript{1509}

S028 is a large site that is spread over seven tracts. The earliest material from the site is probably 4th century B.C. There is a Corinthian Type A or imitation transport amphora that is Classical-Early Hellenistic, and an one-handler cup that is Late Classical-Early Hellenistic. A sherd from an open black glaze vessel is Classical-Hellenistic. In a contiguous tract just south of the site, a Late Classical-Middle Hellenistic Corinthian Type B transport amphora was found.\textsuperscript{1510}

Three Classical-Early Hellenistic transport amphorae, all possible Corinthian Type As or imitations, were found in Zone 5. Two of them are from tracts with a single Hellenistic sherd; the third was found with no other definite pre-Medieval material. Three others, Late Classical-Hellenistic, were picked up on different terraces.

The total number of sherds dated broadly to the Hellenistic period is 335. Three additional sherds could be closely dated, one to Early Hellenistic, two to Middle

\textsuperscript{1508} The Corinthian Type A is AS7.
\textsuperscript{1509} Another piece of the same date was found at S022.
\textsuperscript{1510} AS58.
Hellenistic. Ninety-six of these are from pots, 242 from bricks/tiles. Of these, 242 are from S028 and 16 are from a halo extending south from S022 in Zone 4. The remaining 80 pieces were picked up off-site.

The Hellenistic component dominates at S028, although the ceramic assemblage is small and nondescript. Only two pieces of cooking ware were found, and eight fragments from storage vessels. The rest of the sherds are from plain unidentifiable closed vessels; the single black glaze fragment is from a tile. Tiles account for the majority of the finds (83%). The paucity of household vessels found at S028 make it doubtful the site was permanently occupied, even in the Hellenistic period; if it was, it was probably very short-lived.

There is a cluster of Hellenistic material in Tracts C-110 and C-111. The team leader noted that the finds were eroding from a scarp at the end of both tracts. One piece of cooking ware is Classical-Hellenistic; this is potentially the earliest sherd. Three other pieces of cooking ware, five tiles, three plain vessels, and a transport amphora, all Hellenistic in date, were collected in these tracts. An undated millstone was also found, as were two Middle Roman sherds.\footnote{SF3886.}
Apart from the Middle Roman sherds from the gully in C-110 and two other random sherds, the only Roman material in Zone 5 is from S028. The material collected from the site consists entirely of tiles that can be no more closely dated than Roman. The lack of vessels and the small quantity of tiles make it impossible to determine the function of the site or the phase in the Roman period when it was used.

In conclusion, Zone 5 appears to have been underutilized throughout antiquity. Only one indigenous sherd was found. There was no Archaic material, and sherds of Classical date were also rare. The only securely dated pre-Hellenistic pieces were from an erosional gully. S028 is the sole site in the zone, apart from the modern village of Shtyllas, and it began no earlier than the 4th century B.C. The Hellenistic assemblage from the site is small and nondescript. S028 might have been used in the Roman period, but the specific date and function cannot be determined.

Zone 6

Zone 6 encompasses the Levan valley; it is 4.39 sq km in area and the fourth largest zone. The zone opens onto the Myzeqe plain in the west. Its northeastern edge
borders Zone 3, and the northern boundary is formed by Zones 4 and 5. Six sites were identified in Zone 6: S027, S032, S034, S040, S042, and S056 (Fig. 8.6). S027 is located at the edge of the Myzeqe plain along the main Apollonia-Vlora road, just north of the modern village of Sheban. S032 is on the southern slopes of Çuka e Bukur in the northeast corner of the zone, near the border with Zone 4 and less than a kilometer southwest of S031. Only half of S032 was intensively collected; the other part was tract walked and is discussed as Z6 G1.1512 S034 is situated on a knoll above the valley in the center of the zone, and a spring is located just below the site.1513 S040 is perched on a high ridge near the head of the Levan valley, opposite (west of) S034; the site has good views in all directions. S042 is an unexcavated Roman villa about a half-km south of S027, also on the main Apollonia-Vlora road.

Two other groups of tracts with high densities will be discussed as units. The first, Z6 G1, consists of eight tracts1514 adjacent to S032; it makes up the east part of the site that was not intensively collected. These tracts are on terraces that descend gently to the bottom of the Levan

1512 One tract from S032, A-202, is located in Zone 4, but will be discussed here.
valley; the material in the lower tracts has been washed downslope from the top of the ridge.

Z6 G2 is composed of seven tracts, including C-254, which is on top of Çuka e Lisit. A large quantity of the material was found in tracts that ended in a gully below the ridge and is likely associated with a site on top.\textsuperscript{1515}

The total number of pre-Medieval sherds collected from Zone 6 is 9,947. Of these, 7,911 are from the excavation conducted at S034.\textsuperscript{1516} Except for 10 Late Classical-Hellenistic transport amphora fragments found in surface levels, all of the excavated finds are Hellenistic, and most are specifically Middle Hellenistic. There are 2,036 pre-Medieval finds from Zone 6 that are not from excavation; only 242 of these are not Hellenistic.

Six prehistoric sherds were found in Zone 6. A black burnished Middle-Final Neolithic jar fragment came from a tract in the northeast corner of the zone. It should be considered with the Neolithic cluster discussed in Zone 3. Four Neolithic lithics were also found in Zone 6, but all are unassociated with ceramics or other prehistoric finds.

Pieces of five other indigenous vessels are from Zone 6. A Late Bronze Age lug handle from a jar was found near the valley bottom in Z6 G1. A Late Bronze-Early Iron Age

\textsuperscript{1515} The tracts in Z6 G2 are C-254, C-260, C-334, C-335, C-336, C-237, and C-338.
\textsuperscript{1516} See Galaty et al. 2004.
piece came from a tract just south of Shtyllas, on a hill terrace almost at the plain. Several fragments of an Early Iron Age wide mouthed jar with a band of incised pendant triangles on the neck were found south of this, also near the plain, on the slope above the Roman villa at S042. Two fragments, one Late Bronze-Iron Age, the other Iron Age, are from a single tract on the northwest border of the site.

There is very little certain pre-Hellenistic material from Zone 6. Only two pieces of Archaic pottery were found, six Archaic-Classical, and six Classical. Eleven of these are from sites or groups of tracts. There are slightly more sherds that are certain to be no later than the 4th century B.C. (24). Four are Archaic-Early Hellenistic, 12 are Classical-Early Hellenistic, five are Late Classical-Early Hellenistic, and three are Early Hellenistic; 20 of these are from transport amphoras.

One of the Archaic sherds is from an imitation Corinthian Type A transport amphora that was found at S032 in the northeastern edge of the zone. A similar fragment, except of Archaic-Classical date, came from an adjacent grid square.

The other definite Archaic sherd is from a pithos found in Z6 G2. Two Classical pieces are from the same
tract; one is from a black glaze cup, the other, a plain closed vessel.

An Archaic-Early Classical Corinthian Type A fragment was collected near the valley bottom opposite Z6 G1. Only three sherds were collected in this tract, the other two being Hellenistic, and no other material was found in the surrounding tracts.

A closed cooking ware fragment that is Archaic-Classical was found at the northwest corner of Zone 6 in a tract on the slopes above Shtyllas. Two Classical-Early Hellenistic imitation Corinthian Type A pieces were found nearby, as was a Classical-Hellenistic sherd.

The only certain pre-Hellenistic sherd from S027 is from a Classical transport amphora; one other, a Late Classical-Hellenistic piece from the same vessel type, is also possibly of the 4th century B.C. These two sherds are not enough to suggest that S027 was used prior to the Hellenistic period.

The largest quantity of pre-Hellenistic material is from S032, and all the pieces are from transport amphorae. In addition to the Archaic and Archaic-Classical pieces mentioned above, four are Archaic-Early Hellenistic imitation Corinthian Type A. The rest of the possible 4th century B.C. material from S032 consists of two Classical-

\[1517\text{AS8}.\]
Early Hellenistic fragments; two others of the same date were found in adjacent tracts. A few other sherds could also be 4th century B.C.; two Archaic-Hellenistic fragments were found at the site, as were three Classical-Hellenistic and one Late Classical-Hellenistic. A Classical-Hellenistic piece was found nearby. The presence of this quantity of definite and possible Archaic-Early Hellenistic transport amphoras suggests that S032 was used on a temporary basis as a field house for storage purposes until the end of the 4th century B.C.

There is from Z6 G1 a Classical cooking vessel sherd and a Late Classical transport amphora from a bit further downslope. In addition, two Classical-Hellenistic and three Late Classical-Hellenistic transport amphora fragments were found in these tracts.

The earliest material from S034 is a lone fragment from an Archaic-Classical black glaze table amphora that might be an Attic import; it is unlikely that it represents anything other than chance visitation to the site, or possibly an heirloom. The next closely datable material is 4th century B.C. and consists of two Late Classical-Early Hellenistic imitation Corinthian Type A transport amphoras. Eight additional fragments from this vessel type are Late Classical-Hellenistic, as are 10 pieces from excavation.
Another transport amphora fragment is Classical-Hellenistic, as is one from an unidentifiable plain vessel. As with other sites in the study area, the sherds from S034 that are or could be 4th century B.C. are almost entirely from transport amphorae.

A fragment of a Classical plain closed vessel was collected from S040; this is the only securely dated pre-Hellenistic find from the site. Although two transport amphorae that are Archaic-Hellenistic, one that is Classical-Hellenistic and three that are Late Classical-Hellenistic, were collected here, it is unlikely that S040 was used prior to the end of the 4th century B.C., and then only on a temporary basis.

An Archaic-Classical black glaze tile was found at S056. A Late Archaic-Classical and Late Classical-Early Hellenistic Corinthian Type A sherd were collected from an adjacent tract.\textsuperscript{1518}

A Classical imitation Corinthian Type A transport amphora fragment was found in a tract on the ridge near the border with Zone 4.\textsuperscript{1519} An Archaic-Hellenistic transport amphora was found in the same tract. Another sherd of the same type and date was collected in an adjacent tract, along with a Classical-Hellenistic piece.

\textsuperscript{1518} AS10, AS9.
\textsuperscript{1519} AS69.
There are also from Z6 G2 two imitation Corinthian Type A pieces that are Classical-Early Hellenistic, a black glaze fragment that is definitely Early Hellenistic, and two additional transport amphoras that are Classical-Hellenistic. Two other Classical-Early Hellenistic sherds of the same type were found in adjacent tracts, as were two Classical-Hellenistic black glaze fragments.

The only other definite 4th century B.C. sherds from Zone 6 appear to be random pieces; all are from transport amphorae. Three pieces are Classical-Early Hellenistic, two of which are imitation Corinthian Type A, and two are Late Classical-Early Hellenistic sherds that are either Corinthian Type A or imitations.1520 The possible 4th century B.C. material also consists almost entirely of transport amphorae; two are Archaic-Hellenistic and 10 are Classical-Hellenistic.1521 Five additional sherds are Classical-Hellenistic, including two fragments from black glaze vessels. Five transport amphorae and one tile are Late Classical-Hellenistic.

The bulk of the finds from Zone 6 is Hellenistic. Material of this date was found in large quantities scattered throughout the landscape and at all sites except S042. Of the 9,947 sherds found in Zone 6, 1,881 are

1520 The Late Classical-Early Hellenistic pieces are AS60 and AS73.
1521 One of the Classical-Hellenistic fragments is AS71.
Hellenistic in general and 7,818 are specifically Middle Hellenistic. All of the Middle Hellenistic pieces are from S034, all but four from excavated contexts; 87 of the Hellenistic sherds are also from excavation. An additional 26 sherds fall within the 323-31 B.C. date range; three Early Hellenistic, one Early-Middle Hellenistic, one Middle-Late Hellenistic, and 21 Late Hellenistic, bringing the total of non-excavated finds from the Hellenistic period to 1,824. Indeed, sherds of the Hellenistic period make up 90% of the entire pre-Medieval survey assemblage from Zone 6.

S027 began in the Hellenistic period. The overwhelming preponderance of finds from the site are bricks/tiles (88%). The vessel assemblage consists mostly of plain unidentifiable closed pots. Twenty fragments are from storage vessels, equally from pithoi and transport amphoras. There is very little cooking ware and only one fragment of black glaze. Three Late Hellenistic sherds were collected at the site. The quantity of bricks/tiles indicates that a permanent structure was built at S027 in the Hellenistic period, and the nature of the assemblage indicates that it was a single-family farmstead. The quality of the pottery and the quantity of storage vessels
suggest that the farmstead was used primarily for the
collection and storage of agricultural products.

S032 was occupied on a permanent basis in the
Hellenistic period, probably beginning early in the 3rd
century B.C. The site appears to be not only the largest
in the zone, but also in the study area apart from
Apollonia and Margellía.\textsuperscript{1522} The assemblage is similar to
that from other single-family farmsteads; the majority of
the finds is bricks/tiles. Most of the vessel fragments
are from plain closed pots. A few fragments of cooking
ware were found and five storage jars. There are only
three pieces of black glaze. The composition of the
assemblage from Z6 G1 is almost the same, except that there
are fewer securely dated Hellenistic storage vessels.

S034 is almost entirely Hellenistic in date, and, as
excavation has shown, specifically Middle Hellenistic.\textsuperscript{1523}
As with the other sites in the study area, however, most of
the survey finds from S034 could be no more closely dated
than Hellenistic. The grid established over S034 was
larger than usual so that density fall-offs could be
closely monitored. For this reason, the quantity of survey
finds from the site is larger than usual, but the

\textsuperscript{1522} Ca. 2.5–3.0 ha.
\textsuperscript{1523} The total number of sherds retrieved from excavation is 7912. Of
these 10 are Late Classical-Hellenistic transport amphoras, 87 are
Hellenistic, 7,814 are Middle Hellenistic, and one is of unknown date.
percentages of ceramic categories are similar to survey assemblages from other Hellenistic farmsteads. Bricks/tiles account for 85% of the ceramics and the rest of the assemblage is dominated by sherds from plain closed unidentifiable shapes. After this, storage vessels are the most well-represented category of finds, with an equal number of pieces of pithoi and transport amphoras. Cooking ware is present, but the quantity is not large, and there are only five fragments of black glaze, mostly from unidentifiable shapes. Several ceramic wasters and Hellenistic nails were found during excavation. The nature of the survey finds suggest what excavation proved; that S034 was a small, single-family Hellenistic farmstead with an emphasis on agricultural production that began in the 3rd century B.C. and was abandoned by the 1st century B.C. Excavation was able to provide closer chronological resolution, but the categories of finds are the same as those from survey.¹⁵²⁴

S040 is similar to other sites in Zone 6 and the survey area. Occupation began in the Hellenistic period, probably Middle Hellenistic. The assemblage consists largely of tiles (86%). The vessels represented are almost

¹⁵²⁴ The ratio of bricks and tiles to vessels in the excavation assemblage is extremely high because all pieces larger than a thumbnail were collected, and there was 100% retention of the finds. Only vacuum samples at other sites employed similar procedures.
exclusively plain closed shapes, cooking pots, and storage jars. One difference between S040 and the other sites in the zone is that the percentage of cooking ware sherds and storage jars is higher in relation to plain wares. Black glaze is underrepresented; only two sherds were collected, both from drinking vessels. Fragments of two conical loomweights and four millstones were found during site collection.1525 The assemblage from S040 is typical of a single-family Hellenistic farmstead.

S056 also is primarily Hellenistic in date. Information about the site is based solely on tract data, which suggest that the site is similar to others already discussed. The assemblage consists largely of sherds from plain closed vessels. One storage jar is represented but there is no black glaze. Based on the tract material and what we know about other sites in Zone 6, it is safe to conclude that S056 was also a single-family Hellenistic farmstead.

Two hundred eighty-seven Hellenistic sherds were collected off-site in Zone 6; approximately a third of these are bricks/tiles. More material is located in the northern portion of the Levan valley than in the southern. There is an almost continuous carpet of Hellenistic sherds between S032 and S040, but the spread is more spotty

1525 SF3383, SF3384; SF3063, SF3064, SF3382, and SF3385.
between S040 and the Myzeqe plain. Most of the pot sherds are from plain closed vessels, but 15% are transport amphorae, 18% are cooking ware fragments, and 14% are black glaze. Almost all of the black glaze pieces are from drinking vessels. Finds of the Hellenistic period dominate both on-site and off-site assemblages from Zone 6.

There is very little Roman activity in Zone 6; 104 sherds were found, exactly half of which are broadly dated to the Roman period. Six additional pieces could be Roman. Fifty-six fragments are from tiles, 47 of which are from S027. Only 14 possible or definite Roman sherds were collected during tract walking, and just four are not associated with a site; eight are from tracts contiguous to S032, and two are upslope from S042. No Terra Sigillata was found in Zone 6.

S042 is the only site that begins in the Roman period. Just one of the Hellenistic sites in Zone 6, S027, has strong evidence of use or reuse in the Roman period. Three of the other five sites have no Roman component at all: S034, S040, and S056. All of these appear to have been

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1526 Four off-site transport amphora sherds were selected for analysis. One Hellenistic "mixed" sample is definitely not Corinthian and might be local (AS72). Two others of the same date are Corinthian Type B table amphorae (AS74 and AS75). The fourth is a Middle Hellenistic Corinthian Type B or imitation transport amphora (AS70). See Chapter 5.

1527 There is one unidentifiable plain closed sherd of Late Hellenistic-Early Roman date from S040. Given the large quantity of Hellenistic
completely abandoned by the end of the Hellenistic period, perhaps sometime in the early 2nd century B.C., judging by the closely datable material from S034.

S027 had the most substantial Roman component of the sites in Zone 6. As noted above, it is strategically located at the edge of the Myzeqe plain along the main Apollonia-Levan road, which probably was heavily used during the Roman period. Fifty-three sherds from the site are or might be Roman. S027 is the only place where there might have been continuity between the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Nineteen Late Hellenistic pieces were retrieved during site collection, as were one Late Hellenistic-Early Roman and one securely dated Early Roman sherd. There are also 17 fragments that are Early-Middle Roman. Besides these, 22 sherds are Middle Roman, seven are Late, two are Roman, and three are Hellenistic-Roman. Most of the definite Roman pieces that can be more closely dated are tile fragments (46 out of 49). Only one vessel sherd can be closely dated; an Early-Middle table amphora fragment. Another table amphora sherd and one from a cooking jug are more generally Roman. The lack of vessels means that the dating of the Roman component at S027 rests solely on tiles and makes it difficult to speculate on the material and otherwise complete lack of Roman material, it is likely that this sherd is Hellenistic rather than Roman.
function of the site. It cannot be said conclusively that there was continuity between Hellenistic and Roman use of the site. The presence of definite Late Hellenistic and Early Roman material leaves this possibility open even though the quantity of sherds is so small. It is clear, however, that there was a small Late, and possibly Middle, Roman component to S027.

If there was a Roman component at S032, it was very small. Only six sherds were found here, four of them Late Roman, two Roman; five of these are tiles. Another Roman piece was found in Z6 G1, and three others are from contiguous tracts upslope to the east. These tracts are almost adjacent to S031, which is on the same ridge just across the border in Zone 4; a substantial Late Roman component was found there. Such a small amount of material from S032, on the other hand, is unlikely to represent anything more than occasional use of the site in Roman times, perhaps specifically in the Late Roman period.

S042 in Zone 6 is a partially excavated Roman villa. Unlike the other sites in this zone, there is no documented Hellenistic component to the site. The site is located approximately 300 m southeast of S027, the only other Roman site in the zone, at the edge of the Myzeqe plain on the main Apollonia-Vlora road. The survey team did not find a
large quantity of material associated with it. Thirty-one fragments of a water pipe were recovered nearby in Tract C-277, however, and several other Roman fragments were found in Tracts C-274 and C-291. The location of these finds on the slopes above S042 attests to farming or even outlying buildings associated with the villa.

In conclusion, there was almost no indigenous or Greek activity in Zone 6 prior to the 4th century B.C. Single Archaic-Classical sherds were found at S027, S034, S040, and S056, but at S027, S040, and S056 there is no other definite material that predates the Hellenistic period. This makes it unlikely that these three sites experienced anything other than sporadic use before the Late Classical-Early Hellenistic period.

The largest number of 4th century B.C. or earlier finds came from S032. Almost all of the pieces are from transport amphoras, many of which are Corinthian or Corinthian imitations. The lack of other finds of this date, however, suggests that this site was only used on a temporary basis until the beginning of the 3rd century B.C.

Permanent occupation at all the sites in Zone 6 (except S042) began in the Hellenistic period, probably the 3rd century B.C. Excavation has shown that this was certainly the case at S034. S034, S040, S056 definitely
went out of use by the end of the 1st century B.C., and S032 probably did, too. S027 might have continued from Hellenistic into Roman times, but on a much reduced scale. The villa at S042 was constructed at some point during this period and is the only new Roman site in the zone.

**Zone 7**

Zone 7 encompasses a portion of the Gjanica river valley. It is ca. 3.54 sq km in area, the fifth-largest catchment in the survey region. The western boundary extends from the head of the valley in the north to the small hamlet of Kraps (Behardj) in the south; the eastern end of the zone is defined by the ridge separating the Gjanica watershed from the plain of Patos and the modern village of Portez. Four sites are located in Zone 7: S037, S038, S039, and S053 (Fig. 8.7). S037 and S039 are near the valley bottom on opposite ends of the zone; S039 has a large Paleolithic component and the historic finds were a by-product of intensive site collection. S053 is located on terraces in a field near the floor of the Gjanica valley, just east of the modern village of Pluk. S038, in contrast, is located on top of the ridge west of the modern village of Portez. The site commands an excellent view of both the Gjanica river valley to the west and the plain of
Patos to the east; the acropolis of Margelliç is visible to the southeast.

In addition to these four sites, two groups of tracts will be treated as units. The first is Z7 G1, which consists of 11 tracts located south of S038 along the same ridge spine. The uppermost tracts are on two peaks: H-275 and H-274 are on the north hilltop, J-767 on the south. Both summits have been heavily eroded and much of the material found in the lower tracts has likely ended up there as a result of geological processes. The second group is Z7 G2, which is comprised of several tracts on terraces west of S038 and north of S053, above the modern village of Pluk. In Zone 7, 1,628 pre-Medieval sherds were collected; 263 of these are from the excavation at S038.

The largest quantity of indigenous pottery in the survey area came from Zone 7. Although much of this is associated with S038, either from tract walking, site collection, or excavation, a great deal of it is also from tracts not associated with this site. In addition to random sherds in several localities, it is likely that the

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survey has identified another previously unknown Late Bronze-Early Iron Age site at Z7 G1.

A total of 674 pre-Greek sherds were collected from S038 in the course of tract walking, revisitation, site collection, and excavation; 241 of these are from excavation. The earliest piece, a fragment of a burnished Middle Neolithic vessel, was recovered during the excavation; three Neolithic lithics were also found here during the survey. S038 is the only site in the MRAP survey area with securely dated Middle Bronze Age finds; 18 sherds of this date were found at the site. Two of the pieces were picked up during track walking, one during site collection, and 15 during excavation. The only recognizable Middle Bronze Age shapes are bowls and jars. Fourteen of the pieces are burnished. An additional 173 sherds from S038 could be Middle Bronze Age; 71 are Middle-Late Bronze Age, and 102 are Middle Bronze-Early Iron Age.\footnote{Fifty-four of the Middle-Late Bronze Age sherds are from tract and site collection, 17 are from excavation. Sixty-nine of the Middle Bronze-Early Iron Age sherds are from site collection and 33 are from excavation.} In addition to bowls and jars, there is one kantharos fragment. Eighteen of the possible Middle Bronze pieces have a burnished surface, and one is slipped.

Late Bronze Age material is quite plentiful in Zone 7. Two hundred and six pieces were found, 175 of which were
collected at S038: 71 from tract walking, nine from revisitation, 56 from site collection, and 39 from excavation. Four other Late Bronze Age sherds are from adjacent tracts. The only recognizable shapes are bowls, kantharoi, mugs, and one burnished jar. The majority is plain; only eight pieces are burnished. An additional 302 pieces from S038 are Late Bronze-Early Iron Age; two are from tracts, 163 from site collection, one from revisitation, and 136 from excavation.

Thirty-one Late Bronze Age sherds were collected off-site. A group of 14 came from Z7 G1; they were found in three contiguous tracts near the northern summit. Nearby tracts contained two additional pieces. All of these fragments are from plain unidentifiable vessels. Other possible Late Bronze Age material from Z7 G1 includes one Bronze Age, three Late Bronze-Early Iron Age, and three Late Bronze-Iron Age sherds. Another Late Bronze-Iron Age sherd was found in an adjacent tract to the south. It is likely that this cluster of 25 sherds from Z7 G1 represents a second Late Bronze-Early Iron Age site in Zone 7.

The rest of the securely dated Late Bronze Age sherds were found in small groups or singly. Six fragments, all from plain bowls, came from two tracts on a ridge west of S038. Three other sherds were found further west on a
knoll near the valley bottom. Another Late Bronze Age piece was found on a terrace south of S037; three Late Bronze-Early Iron Age and one Late Bronze-Iron Age piece were found in contiguous tracts. The only other definite Late Bronze Age sherd came from an isolated tract in the southwest portion of the zone, just above S039.

A few other fragments from Zone 7 could be Late Bronze Age. A Late Bronze-Early Iron Age and a Early Iron Age fragment were found in association with S037, and another Late Bronze-Early Iron Age and a Prehistoric piece came from contiguous tracts a short distance to the east. These finds are at a low elevation near the bottom of the Gjanica valley, an unusual location for indigenous material.

The number of certain Iron Age vessels from Zone 7 is much lower than Bronze Age; there are only nine. Five of these are from S038; four are specifically Early Iron Age and one is Iron Age. None of the Iron Age pieces from S038 are from excavated contexts, and all but one are from site collection. As noted above, 102 vessels from the site range from Middle Bronze-Early Iron Age, and 302 are Late Bronze-Early Iron Age. These data suggest that S038 was abandoned at the end of the Early Iron Age.

Two sherds from Z7 G1 are securely dated to the Iron Age, in addition to the six possible pieces. There is also
an Early Iron Age piece from S037, and another from an isolated tract in the center of the zone. Although it is likely that habitation in this area continued beyond the Early Iron Age, survey data suggests it was on a reduced scale.

In contrast to indigenous material, very little early Greek material was found in Zone 7. There are only three definite Archaic pieces: two pithos fragments and a transport amphora. All three are from tracts at high elevations in the southeastern part of the zone. One Archaic pithos fragment is from Z7 G1. Two other sherds from this tract are Late Bronze-Iron Age and one is Iron Age. A definite Iron Age sherd and two Late Bronze-Iron Age pieces were found on the summit directly above this, while another Iron Age fragment came from the contiguous tract to the south. The other Archaic pithos fragment was found approximately 200 m south of here. The third possible Archaic fragment, from a 5th century B.C. Corinthian Type A transport amphora, was collected about 500 m farther south and was found in a tract with no other material in the vicinity; it should be associated with activities at Z7 G1.\footnote{Evidence suggests that these Archaic vessels, found in association with this quantity of possible and definite Iron Age material, were used by AS37.}
Illyrians, rather than Greeks, at an indigenous site that began in the Late Bronze Age and continued into the Iron Age.

There are only 10 other pieces from Zone 7 that are definitely pre-Hellenistic; seven are Classical and three are Archaic-Classical. Two transport amphoras, one Archaic-Classical, the other Classical, were found in adjacent tracts below S038. Five Classical tile fragments came from a tract just south of Z7 G1; all are from the same tract and could be from the same tile. Two Archaic-Classical transport amphora fragments were found adjacent to S053, as was a Classical piece; all are Corinthian Type A or in imitation of it.

Sixteen additional pieces from Zone 7 are definitely no later than the end of the 4th century B.C., and 45 pieces might be. The largest group of sherds that predates the Middle Hellenistic period is from Z7 G1 and adjacent tracts that are in close proximity to the two Archaic pithoi and the five Classical tiles. Four pieces are from Classical-Early Hellenistic transport amphoras; one of these is Corinthian Type A, the three others, imitations. An Archaic-Hellenistic and a Classical-Hellenistic fragment were also found here. It is likely that this material, especially if it is earlier rather than later, should be

\[1532\] The Corinthian Type A is AS31.
associated with the Illyrian site rather than any potential Greek habitation in the area.

Very little possible pre-Hellenistic material was found at S037 or S039. Two Classical-Hellenistic sherds, both transport amphorae, were found at S037. Three Late Classical-Hellenistic transport amphorae and two Classical-Hellenistic pieces, one from a black glaze tile, the other a cooking vessel, were picked up at S039. It is unlikely that either of these sites was used prior to the Hellenistic period.

Three Classical-Early Hellenistic transport amphora, all imitation Corinthian Type A, and a Late Classical-Early Hellenistic black glaze salt cellar were collected from S038 and an adjacent tract. Another black glaze sherd, this from a cup, was found in an adjacent tract. Also from the site are two Classical-Hellenistic transport amphorae and two black glaze skyphos pieces, as well as an Archaic-Hellenistic sherd from a plain closed vessel. An Archaic-Early Hellenistic sherd was found downslope from S038 in the tract with the Archaic-Classical piece. Six Classical-Hellenistic sherds, five of which are transport amphorae, came from contiguous tracts a bit further west. These definite and possible Archaic-Early Hellenistic pieces might indicate limited reuse of S038 and the surrounding
area by the 4th century B.C. following a period of abandonment at the end of the Early Iron Age.

In addition to the two Archaic-Classical transport amphoras from near S053, two Classical-Hellenistic sherds were found in adjacent tracts. It is impossible to say conclusively, based on such a small amount of evidence, whether S053 was used before the Middle Hellenistic period.

There is some possible 4th century B.C. material from Z7 G2. One Archaic-Hellenistic and six Classical-Hellenistic transport amphoras were found, as was a Classical-Hellenistic pithos fragment. A black glaze krater fragment was also collected here.

The rest of the definite or possible pre-3rd century B.C. sherds came primarily from the southern part of Zone 7; most are transport amphoras fragments. Almost all of the sherds were found in association with material of Hellenistic date. Three Archaic-Early Hellenistic Corinthian Type A fragments are from tracts along the southern border of the zone.\footnote{AS35, AS36, and AS38.}

Subsequent to the Late Bronze-Iron Age, increased exploitation of Zone 7 did not begin until the Hellenistic period. The quantity of material from this zone, however, is low compared to zones in the vicinity of Apollonia. Unlike other zones, many of the sherds were collected
during tract walking and are not associated with sites, but in no way could there be said to be a continuous blanket of Hellenistic sherds throughout the zone. Black glaze sherds account for only 4% of off-site finds. Eleven percent are from cooking vessels, and 13% from transport amphorae. The rest are from plain closed unidentifiable shapes.

The Hellenistic component at S037 is well-bounded; there is no halo of bricks/tiles or other finds around the site. Most of the sherds from the site are bricks/tiles (85%). No vessel fragments were found during tract walking; they are all from site collection. The same number of sherds are from transport amphorae as from plain closed unidentifiable shapes. Only six cooking ware fragments were found and one piece of black glaze. An unusual Hellenistic amphora stopper also came from the site. S037 was a small, single-family Hellenistic farmstead. One Late Hellenistic cooking ware fragment found during site collection might suggest that the site continued into the 1st century B.C.

There is a small Hellenistic component to S038. Unlike most of the other Hellenistic assemblages in the survey area, very few tiles were found (only 5%), all of which are from site collection; none were found during excavation. The assemblage consists primarily of plain
closed vessels. There are no transport amphorae or pithoi, and only one fragment of cooking ware. Three black glaze pieces were collected; two are from drinking vessels, the other from a closed unidentifiable shape. No halo of material surrounds the site or extends downslope from the ridge top. Most Hellenistic material from S038 should probably be associated with a large concentration of material downslope from the Bronze Age site that was not intensively collected. Perhaps, however, S038 was used on a temporary basis in the Hellenistic period as a field house or lookout post. Although the views from the site are excellent, the peak is very windswept and barren. It is likely that, then as well as now, there was no soil cover and the land was unsuitable for agricultural exploitation.

The Hellenistic component at S039 was small and localized. All except one sherd from the assemblage were found during site collection, and field counts were very low. All the vessel fragments and 77% of the bricks/tiles were restricted to four grid squares at site center. The assemblage consists almost exclusively of bricks/tiles (93%). The pot fragments are all extremely worn and, except for three cooking ware fragments and two pieces from black glaze bowls, are all from unidentifiable closed
shapes. No storage vessels were found. The lack of ceramics suggest that S039 was used as a field house in the Hellenistic period, perhaps on a seasonal basis, rather than permanently occupied.

The concentration of Hellenistic material at S053 is very localized and does not appear to have washed down from the hilltop since no finds were recorded in the tracts above. Because the site was not intensively collected, the assemblage is small. Three transport amphoras were collected during tract walking; two are Archaic-Late Classical (more likely Late Classical), the other is Hellenistic. The only other vessel fragment is from a plain closed unidentifiable shape, but a conical loomweight, probably Hellenistic in date, was also found here. The farmer who currently owns this site informed the field team that several years before, he uncovered a circular brick structure which he believed to be a kiln; he dismantled it and reused the bricks to build his house.

Twenty-three percent of the off-site Hellenistic finds from Zone 7 came from Z7 G2, and there was probably a small Hellenistic farmstead here, near the valley bottom. The assemblage is similar to those found at other small sites that may be presumed to represent single-family houses and consists mostly of plain closed vessels and tiles. There
are a few cooking ware and transport amphoras sherds. Three black glaze pieces were also found.

There is another concentration of Hellenistic finds from three tracts east of Z7 G2, downslope from S038. Seven tracts south of S053 have Hellenistic material, including two conical loomweights and a spindle whorl, but from south of here to Z7 G1 and S039, the landscape was almost entirely devoid of finds.

All of the sites in Zone 7 were abandoned after the Hellenistic period. Roman material was not found at any of them. Indeed, only 10 Roman sherds were collected from the entire zone. Unlike the Hellenistic sherds, these pieces were all found in the central third of the zone between S053 and S039. All of the tracts with Roman finds are near the valley bottom or on the lower portion of slopes. All but three of the 10 fragments are specifically Late Roman; the others are more broadly dated as Roman. Most of the tracts with Roman finds have very little, if any, other material; that which is present is post-Medieval in all cases except one, where there are also eight Hellenistic sherds. This lack of Roman material suggests that Zone 7 was almost totally abandoned after the Hellenistic period and, because of its remote location, was considered

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1534 The tract with Hellenistic material is H-203, the northernmost tract, which is closest to the Hellenistic site, S053.
marginal throughout most of the Roman period; there was very limited use of the area in Late Roman times.

In conclusion, Zone 7 was most heavily utilized during the Late Bronze-Iron Age by indigenous peoples. MRAP discovered two new sites on the summits of the ridge that were permanently occupied during this period: S038 and Z7 G1. Excavation results indicate that S038 was also occupied in the Middle Bronze Age, and both sites continued to be used into the Iron Age. S038 appears to have been abandoned at the end of the Early Iron Age, but use of Z7 G1 continued later into the Iron Age. Archaic material found here was clearly brought to the site for indigenous use.

Aside from these Archaic pieces, there are very few pre-Hellenistic finds from Zone 7. There appears to have been sporadic visitation to the area in the 4th century B.C., but no permanent occupation. It is unlikely that permanent residences were established anywhere in the zone before the Middle Hellenistic period, and even then the area appears to be sparsely inhabited; large portions of the landscape remained empty. The lack of settlement before the 3rd century B.C. is probably to be explained by the fact that this area remained within the Illyrian sphere of influence and continued to be exploited by indigenous
people. The whole zone appears to have been abandoned by the end of the Hellenistic period and remained unpopulated throughout Roman times.

**Zone 8**

Zone 8, which consists of the western half of the Peshtan valley, occupies ca. 2 sq km in area. It is separated from the eastern half of the valley, Zone 9, by the Kolinorit ravine, which runs from north to south. Zone 8 is bounded on the west by a steep ridge; the modern village of Peshtan is located on this ridge in the north part of the zone. There are no sites in Zone 8, and very little pre-Medieval material was found (Fig. 8.8).

Only 28 pre-Medieval sherds were found in the entire zone. None of these are indigenous, and the only possible prehistoric find is a possible Neolithic lithic. There are also no definite Archaic or Classical finds. The earliest possible sherds from Zone 8 are three Archaic-Early Hellenistic transport amphoras from widely dispersed tracts in the central part of the zone. One of these is a Corinthian Type A and another might be Corinthian. A Classical-Early Hellenistic sherd from an imitation Corinthian Type A was found in a tract adjacent to one of the above. The only other possible 4th century B.C. finds

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1535 The Type A is AS13.
are two Late Classical-Hellenistic pieces, one from another transport amphora, the other from a black glaze krater. All six sherds appear to be random finds; two are from tracts with a single Hellenistic sherd, one is the only pre-Medieval find in the tract, and the other three were the only finds in their tracts.

Only 20 Hellenistic sherds were collected from Zone 8. These, too, were dispersed throughout the area, singly or in small groups; there is no recognizable pattern to their distribution. The largest group consists of four sherds that came from two tracts: a transport amphora, a hydria, and two closed plain pieces. The transport amphora is the only securely dated Hellenistic example from the zone. Four tile fragments came from one tract; they could all be from the same tile. The rest of the Hellenistic assemblage consists of unidentified closed shapes or water vessels such as hydriai and amphoras. No black glaze sherds were found. It appears that Zone 8 was not occupied or perhaps even temporarily exploited during the Hellenistic period.

Similarly, almost no Roman material was found in Zone 8: there are only two sherds that can be no more closely dated than Roman. One of these was the only find in its
tract; the other came from a tract with nine Post-Medieval sherds.\textsuperscript{1536} Zone 8 was not used during the Roman period.

In conclusion, there was no permanent occupation in Zone 8 during pre-Medieval times, and it is questionable whether or not any resources in this area were exploited. Zone 8 appears to have been a marginal territory throughout antiquity because of its distance from both Apollonia and Margelliç, the two dominant regional centers in the survey area. Such evidence suggests that here, along with Zone 9, was the border between Greek territory to the west and indigenous territory to the east.

**Zone 9**

Zone 9 is the east part of the Peshtan valley, separated from it by the Kolinorit ravine. It is bounded on the east by a steep ridge, and the Gjanica river valley begins a bit farther east, with Zone 7 on the far side. The catchment is ca. 2.64 sq km in area, the seventh largest in the survey area. Only two sites were identified in Zone 9: S035 and S036 (Fig. 8.8). S035 is on a small knoll in the Peshtan valley; the finds are almost entirely Early Modern-Modern. S036 is in a field on a broad ridge just above the valley bottom in the west-central part of

\textsuperscript{1536} F-264 and F-172 respectively.
the zone, just across the border with Zone 8; the site is primarily Paleolithic in date.

Forty-one pre-Medieval sherds were collected in Zone 9; a quarter of these are from storage vessels. There are no indigenous ceramics in the assemblage, but four definite and three possible Neolithic stone tools were found. Four of these are from S036, the other three are scattered throughout the zone.

Only four sherds from Zone 9 predate the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. An Archaic transport amphora fragment was found during site collection at S035; this is the only Archaic piece from the area. The only other definite pre-Hellenistic find is an Archaic-Classical pithos sherd from a tract ca. 500 m south of S035. Two transport amphora fragments are likely 4th century B.C.; one is Classical-Early Hellenistic, the other Late Classical-Early Hellenistic. These sherds were found in the same tract at the northern edge of the zone.

Five pieces might be earlier than Middle Hellenistic. A Classical-Hellenistic chytra fragment was found at S035; this and the Archaic piece are the only two pre-Medieval finds from the site. Another Classical-Hellenistic piece, this from a plain closed unidentifiable vessel, came from a hilltop in the southern end of Zone 9; no other finds were
reported from this area. Three Late Classical-Hellenistic transport amphoras were also collected – two from the same tract as the Archaic-Classical pithos.

Thirty Hellenistic sherds were found in Zone 9; these are dispersed throughout the catchment, except for on the slopes above the ravine. Of these, 14 are tiles. Most of the fragments are from plain closed unidentifiable shapes; those that could be recognized are water vessels, such as amphorae and hydriai. There are also three Hellenistic transport amphoras from Zone 9, but no black glaze or cooking ware sherds, suggesting that there was no permanent habitation here during the Hellenistic period.

The largest cluster of Hellenistic sherds consists of nine fragments from three non-contiguous tracts on terraces in the east-central part of Zone 9. The assemblage includes fragments of two transport amphoras (one is Hellenistic-Roman), an amphoriskos, and a hydria; the rest are from tiles. The area was revisited and, upon inspection, the material was found to be eroding down the side of a steep slope, the summit of which was outside the MRAP survey zone.

Only one definite Roman sherd was found in Zone 9; this was from a plain amphora. This piece is the only sherd from its tract. There is also the Hellenistic-Roman
transport amphora mentioned above, but, because the other sherds found with it are Hellenistic, there is no reason to assign it a Roman date. It thus appears that Zone 9 may have been completely abandoned during the Roman period.

In conclusion, the nature of the finds from Zone 9 is similar to that from Zone 8. The catchment does not appear to have been permanently occupied at all between the Bronze Age and the end of the Roman period. The earliest ceramics are principally storage vessels; four of the 10 definitely predate the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. and three others could. The quantity of storage vessels might indicate that some short-lived, small-scale, seasonal agricultural activities were taking place in parts of the zone at that time. As noted above, Zone 9, like Zone 8, appears to have been a marginal territory throughout antiquity because of its distance from both Apollonia and Margelliç. Such evidence suggests that here, along with Zone 8, was the border between Greek territory to the west and indigenous territory to the east.

Zone 10

Zone 10 covers the area of the acropolis and modern village of Margelliç and the basin that extends west to the modern village of Rërëzi. The southern border of the zone
is the road that runs between these two villages. The
northern boundary is a steep ridge that divides Zone 10
from Zone 11; the necropolis (S060) of the ancient
settlement is located here. The acropolis of Margelliç,
S041, is located just inside the eastern border of Zone 10,
where the borders of Zones 10, 11, 12, and 13 converge. It
lies ca. 18 km east of Apollonia. The site has been
heavily damaged by a telecommunications tower and modern
buildings. Zone 10 is ca. 1.35 sq km in size and is the
fourth smallest in the survey region. S041 is the only
site in the zone (Fig. 8.9). The total number of pre-
Medieval sherds from Zone 10 is 547; only 50 (9%) of these
are not Hellenistic.

Ten indigenous sherds were found in Zone 10, all from
site collection at S041: four are Late Bronze Age, two are
Late Bronze–Early Iron Age, and three are Iron Age. One
sherd could be no more closely dated than Bronze Age. Jars
are the only recognizable shape. Ceka also found Late
Bronze and Iron Age material in his excavations at
Margelliç. MRAP survey results show that S041 was
occupied continuously from the Late Bronze into the Iron
Age.

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1537 One tract from S041, M-069, is located in Zone 13; it will be
included in the discussion of Zone 10. Three tracts, L-095, L-096, and
L-097 are in Zone 10, but associated with S060 in Zone 11. They will
be included in of Zone 11.
Twelve pre-Hellenistic sherds were found in Zone 10; 10 of these are from S041. Five of the 12 are specifically Archaic, and one is Early Archaic. Four pieces came from tract walking at S041; these include a Corinthian Type A transport amphora, a pithos, and two black glaze cup fragments that are probably Ionian imports. The transport amphora can be closely dated to the late 7th century B.C.\textsuperscript{1539}

The only other Early Archaic finds from the survey, which total six, came from the necropolis of Apollonia (S007) and the lower town of Margelliç (S055). The fragment from S041, an Illyrian hill-fort, shows that imported Greek material was moving inland to indigenous sites as soon as, or shortly after, the colonists arrived.

Four Classical and three Archaic-Classical sherds were also collected at S041. The Archaic-Classical pieces are unusual shapes; two are possibly from architectural terracottas (?acroteria), the third, a storage bin. One of the Classical pieces is from a banded hydria; three other closed fragments were found in the same tract, and all four could be pieces of the same vessel.

Another Archaic transport amphora was found in an isolated tract in the western part of the zone. It was found with a Classical tile, and, except for an Archaic-Hellenistic transport amphora in an adjacent tract, these

\textsuperscript{1539} AS86.
are the only pre-Hellenistic finds in the area. The only other off-site sherd that is no later than the 4th century B.C. is a Classical-Early Hellenistic transport amphora, probably Corinthian Type A, from an isolated tract in the west of the zone.\textsuperscript{1540} The first three sherds were found in association with a small quantity of Hellenistic tile and are perhaps from a small agricultural field house.

Twelve other pieces from Zone 10, ten of which are from S041, are, or could be, earlier than the 3rd century B.C. One is a Late Classical-Early Hellenistic imitation Type B transport amphora, perhaps of local manufacture.\textsuperscript{1541} Three additional sherds from Margelliç are decorated with black glaze; one is a Classical-Early Hellenistic salt cellar. The shapes of the other two could not be identified; one is open, the other, a definite import, is closed. Both are specifically 4th century B.C. in date.

Six sherds from S041 are Classical/Late Classical-Hellenistic. One is from a transport amphora, one from a black glaze open shape, one from a storage bin, and three from plain closed shapes. All of the definite pre-Hellenistic finds are from four tracts right below the

\textsuperscript{1540} AS87.  
\textsuperscript{1541} AS84.
acropolis; only one of the possible pre-Hellenistic pieces came from a tract further south.\textsuperscript{1542}

There is an abundance of Hellenistic material in comparison to earlier and later periods. Four hundred ninety-seven sherds are definitely Hellenistic. Of these, 258 were found spread across S041. Two can be closely dated to Middle Hellenistic, and nine are Late Hellenistic; eight of the 11 are from black glaze table vessels. All types of domestic vessels are present in the Hellenistic assemblage from S041: cooking wares, transport amphoras, and plain closed and open shapes.\textsuperscript{1543} Almost a quarter (22\%) of the sherds are from black glaze vessels, many of which are associated with wine: skyphoi, kantharoi, and kraters. Cooking ware accounts for 13\% of the assemblage, and storage jars 6\%. These proportions are a clear indication that S041 was a settlement site, as opposed to a burial site like S007, where the amount of cooking ware is very low and transport amphoras reused for \textit{encythrismoi} very high. The number of sherds from vessels and bricks/tiles is roughly equal. A conical loomweight, probably Hellenistic in date, and two millstones were found at the site. The presence of nine pieces that are definitely Late

\textsuperscript{1542} Tracts to the west are disturbed by a modern house complex.
\textsuperscript{1543} One of the Hellenistic transport amphoras, AS85, is an imitation Type B.
Hellenistic shows that the site continued to be occupied into the 1st century B.C.

The number of off-site Hellenistic finds in Zone 10, although higher than those of any other period, is very small in comparison to zones in the vicinity of Apollonia. Only 26 definite sherds and three possible were found in the zone. These were found throughout the catchment, and some were the only find from their tracts. Most of the fragments are bricks/tiles. The largest cluster is that discussed above, around M-188, which consists of 11 sherds from three tracts. Most of the finds are tiles, but there are also a pithos and a transport amphora. It is unlikely that this group represents anything other than the contents of a small field house. The diffused nature of the Hellenistic material in Zone 10 is evidence that the area west of Margelliç was not permanently inhabited in the Hellenistic period; there are no small farmsteads of the type found in the zones nearer to Apollonia.

There was a demographic decline in Zone 10 at the end of the Hellenistic period; very little Roman material was found. Of the 16 fragments that are or might be Roman, 12 came from S041. There is no definite Early Roman from the site, however, and only one fragment is Middle-Late Roman. On the other hand, nine sherds are specifically Late Roman.
One other piece could be no more closely dated than Roman. This dearth of Early and Middle Roman finds indicates that the acropolis of Margelliç was sparsely settled, if at all, after the 1st century B.C. and remained unoccupied until the Late Roman period, at which time a fortification wall was built around the citadel.\textsuperscript{1544}

Only three off-site Late Roman sherds were found in Zone 10. In two instances these were the only pieces found in the tract. In the other case, the Roman piece was found next to a tract with a Hellenistic-Roman fragment; the rest of the material from both these tracts is exclusively Hellenistic. It thus appears that Zone 10, with the exception of S041, was little used in the Roman period; the area west of the acropolis appears to have been abandoned after the 1st century B.C. and remained so throughout Roman times.

In conclusion, there was little pre-Medieval activity in Zone 10 except at Margelliç, where 94\% of the finds from the zone were collected. Indigenous people began to occupy the acropolis by the Late Bronze Age and continued to do so into historic times. The Archaic Greek material that reached Zone 10 was brought to the Illyrian site for their use; the presence of the Early Archaic transport amphora at S041 is evidence for trade between the natives and the

\textsuperscript{1544} Ceka (1985, 1987a) revealed part of this wall in his excavations.
Greeks from the inception of the *apoikia* at Apollonia. As already noted, the scarcity of fine wares suggests that the Illyrians were interested in the contents of the transport amphorae. The acropolis was heavily used during the Hellenistic period, at least into the 1st century B.C., after which time it was largely abandoned. It was reoccupied on a smaller scale at some time during the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.

Only four of the 24 definite or possible Archaic-Classical sherds were found off-site. The largest body of evidence for activity west of the citadel is Hellenistic; however, there are no single-family farmsteads of the type so ubiquitous in the zones around Apollonia. It appears that the whole area west of Margelliç was abandoned during the Late Hellenistic period and remained so for some time.

**Zone 11**

Zone 11 includes the area north, northwest, and east of the acropolis of Margelliç. The catchment is roughly 2.165 sq km in area and is the eighth largest in the survey area. The village of Rusinja is just inside the eastern border, and the Zharezes river, which flows into the Aliut north of the zone, is just outside. Much of Zone 11 consists of steep, badly eroded slopes, especially in the
western half. Parts of the eastern half have been heavily damaged by excavations related to modern oil extraction.

Six sites were identified in Zone 11: S044, S045, S046, S054, S055, and S060 (Fig. 8.9). S044 is located ca. 600 m east of S041; it is on a ridge in the Rusinja valley below the Margellić-Ruzhdia road. S045 is part of the lower town of Margellić (S055) but was collected and will be treated as a separate site. It is at the eastern foot of the acropolis. S046 is on a low ridge east of S044. There is a small pre-Medieval component to the site but it is otherwise Paleolithic and Mesolithic in date.

The assemblage from S054 is associated with two tracts, one from Zone 11, the other from 12; both tracts will be discussed in Zone 11.\textsuperscript{1545} The main component of the site was probably located at the crest of a small hill outside the survey area, just across the Ruzhdia road. S055 is not well-bounded and consists of a large group of tracts that fan out to the north, east, and south of the citadel.\textsuperscript{1546} Margellić's necropolis has been designated S060; it follows the ridge that defines the border between Zones 10 and 11, and then turns north where it constitutes

\textsuperscript{1545} L-245 is in Zone 12, but is considered here, since it is part of S055.
\textsuperscript{1546} L-082.
most of the western border of Zone 11. S060 is the only site located in the west half of the zone.\textsuperscript{1547}

Nine hundred ninety-one pre-Medieval sherds were collected from Zone 11, all but 14 from the eastern half of the zone or from S060. One hundred seventy-six pieces (18\%) are not Hellenistic. Apart from S007, which encompasses the entire eastern necropolis of Apollonia, S055 is the largest site in the survey area. Like S007, the site was tract walked, but not intensively collected. As noted, S045 is a site within S055 that was treated as a discrete unit and collected separately.

Sixty-three pieces of indigenous pottery were found in Zone 11: one Bronze Age, one Middle-Late Bronze Age, 11 Late Bronze-Early Iron Age, two Early Iron Age, and 19 Iron Age. Only two were found off-site; one, an Early Iron Age jar fragment, came from a tract contiguous with S060, and the other, a Late Bronze-Early Iron Age cooking ware fragment, was found in a tract between S044 and S046. The latter appears to be an isolated find, and, apart from it, no non-Greek material was found in the western half of the zone. The rest of the indigenous material is from S045 or S055.

\textsuperscript{1547} L-095, L-096, and L-097 are in Zone 10, but are discussed here, since they are part of S060.
S055 has the largest number of non-Greek sherds collected at any site in the MRAP survey area except for S038. Forty-one pieces were found, which range in date from the Late Bronze to the Iron Age; most of them are or could be Late Bronze Age. Two pieces, however, might be earlier than Late Bronze Age; one is a Middle-Late Bronze Age sherd which is the only potential Middle Bronze Age find not from S038. The other could be no more closely dated than Bronze Age. Ten sherds are specifically Late Bronze Age and 27 are Late Bronze-Early Iron Age. Two others are Iron Age. All were found in contiguous tracts on the hills north of S041. Eleven pieces were collected in one tract, L-034, which is just inside the northern boundary of S055 (and Zone 11). Six sherds are from identifiable shapes; two are from kantharoi, three from jars, and one from a pan. The rest are from plain unknown shapes. Two pieces in the assemblage, both from closed shapes, are burnished; there is only one piece of cooking ware.

Twenty indigenous sherds were collected at S045. In contrast to S055, most of these are Iron Age, one specifically Early Iron Age. Only one is Late Bronze Age and one is Late Bronze-Early Iron Age. Twelve fragments

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1548 This is Tract L-031.
1549 One of these is the Middle-Late Bronze Age sherd, one is Late Bronze Age, and nine are Late Bronze-Early Iron Age.
came from the same tract, L-081, which is immediately below the acropolis, and some of the pieces might have eroded downslope from the summit. The recognizable fragments are from jars, and one is from an amphora. The rest are from unidentified shapes, mostly closed. There is one piece of cooking ware in the assemblage.

Fifteen Archaic sherds were found in Zone 11; one of these is specifically Early Archaic, and one Late Archaic. This is the largest quantity of Archaic material in any zone except for Zone 2. Most of the pieces are from the lower town or tracts contiguous with it. The earliest piece is from S055; it is a Corinthian Type A transport amphora of ca. 650–600 B.C. Six other Archaic sherds are from S055, including a fragment with large red inclusions from a plain closed shape, two pithos sherds, a black glaze tile, and two transport amphorae, one of which is Late Archaic and might be of Corinthian Type B. The pithos and the tile are from two contiguous tracts just below S045.

Three Archaic pieces were found at S045: a black glaze kylix that is likely to be an Ionian import, a pithos, and a Corinthian Type A transport amphora. Three Archaic sherds also came from S054, all from the same tract. Two are pithos fragments and might be from the same vessel. The other is from a plain closed shape. An imported

\[1550\] AS76.
Corinthian black-figured fragment from a closed shape was found at S060. Only one piece, an imported Corinthian Type A transport amphora, was found off-site; it was in a tract below S041 and contiguous with S045.

Seventeen sherds from Zone 11 are Archaic or Classical: nine are Archaic-Classical, two are Early Classical, four are Classical, and two are Late Classical. Nine other pieces are no later than the end of the 4th century B.C. Only one fragment, an Early Classical Corinthian Type A' transport amphora, was found off-site (it was in a tract next to S054).

Three Archaic-Classical and three Classical sherds are from S045. The Archaic-Classical pieces were found in the same tract as one of the Archaic pieces; two are cooking ware, the other is a transport amphora. Another cooking ware fragment and an Attic black glaze plate are Classical, and a black glaze echinus bowl is specifically Late Classical. Three other sherds are definitely no later than the 4th century B.C. and nine might be. The definite pieces, two Archaic-Early Hellenistic, the other Classical-Early Hellenistic, are from imitation Corinthian transport amphorases. Eight of the possible pieces are Classical-Hellenistic (one specifically Late Classical); three of these are black glaze fragments, one is cooking ware, and
four are from plain closed pots; an Archaic-Hellenistic piece is also from a plain vessel.

Two transport amphorae, one a Corinthian Type A, and a pithos from SO55 are Archaic-Classical.\textsuperscript{1551} Two definite Classical pieces were also found; one is an imported Early Classical Corinthian Type A transport amphora, the other, a black glaze skyphos.\textsuperscript{1552} Two other sherds, from a black glaze closed shape and an imitation Corinthian Type B transport amphora, are probably 4th century B.C. (Classical-Early Hellenistic).\textsuperscript{1553} Seven additional fragments might be earlier than the 3rd century B.C.: one is Archaic-Hellenistic, five are Classical-Hellenistic, and one is Late Classical-Hellenistic; five are from transport amphorae, three possibly Corinthian.\textsuperscript{1554}

The only finds from SO60 that are definitely pre-Hellenistic, apart from the Archaic piece mentioned above, are a sherd from an Archaic-Classical Corinthian Type A transport amphora and one from a Late Classical black glaze krater. Three other transport amphorae fragments might be; one is Archaic-Hellenistic and two are Classical-Hellenistic. Two pithos fragments from the same tract are also Classical-Hellenistic. Because of modern disturbance

\textsuperscript{1551} AS77.
\textsuperscript{1552} AS80.
\textsuperscript{1553} AS78.
\textsuperscript{1554} One of these is AS79.
to the site, the small amount of Archaic-Classical material from S060 is unlikely to reflect accurately the number of pre-Hellenistic interments at the site. It is also possible that the indigenous inhabitants of the area used a different, as yet unidentified, burial ground prior to the 3rd century B.C.

Five transport amphora sherds were found at S044 that are, or might be, earlier than the 3rd century B.C. Three are definitely no later than the 4th century B.C.; one, which is similar to a Corinthian Type B, but an Ionian form, is Archaic-Classical. Another is Classical, and a third is Archaic-Early Hellenistic. Two other transport amphora fragments, one Archaic-Hellenistic, the other Late Classical-Hellenistic, might be pre-Hellenistic. The earliest securely dated sherds found at S046 are from two Late Classical-Early Hellenistic transport amphoras. Another transport amphora sherd is Archaic-Hellenistic. The paucity of Archaic-Early Hellenistic finds from both S044 and S046 indicates that neither of these sites existed prior to the Hellenistic period.

Only six other definite or possible pre-Hellenistic pieces were found off-site in Zone 11; all except one, an Early Classical Corinthian Type A' transport amphora found

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1555 One, a "mixed" example, is AS88.
below S060, are from the eastern half of the zone.\footnote{AS81.} They include an Archaic-Classical tile, a Late Classical–Early Hellenistic black glaze lekythos, and two Archaic–Hellenistic sherds. These data demonstrate that there was very little activity, and no permanent occupation, in the area of Zone 11 outside of the lower town, the acropolis, and the necropolis before the Hellenistic period.

As with other zones, there is a dramatic increase in the amount of Hellenistic material from Zone 11, and this was clearly the period that the area was most intensively occupied. Eight hundred fifteen Hellenistic sherds were collected here; 484 are from vessels, 331 are bricks/tiles. There is evidence for settlement expansion beyond S041, S045, and S055 at this time. At least one new site is established farther east, S044, and there is an increased quantity of Hellenistic material both on- and off-site.

The Hellenistic material at S045 is very dense; 250 fragments date to this period. Of these, 12 sherds could be more closely dated: one is an Early–Middle Hellenistic Corinthian Type B amphora;\footnote{AS101.} one is a Middle Hellenistic moldmade plate; two are Middle–Late Hellenistic sherds, one a medallion with a gorgon head from the base of a moldmade
bowl,\textsuperscript{1558} and the other from a black glaze kantharos; and nine are Late Hellenistic, all but two of which are from black glaze vessels. A quarter of the finds are from black glaze household shapes, many from drinking vessels, several of which are imported. Cooking ware is also well represented in the assemblage, but the number of storage vessels is low. Bricks/tiles only account for 38\% of the sherds. A fragment from a female figurine, probably of Hellenistic date, was also found at the site. Although the Hellenistic material from S045 is domestic in nature, the assemblage is of higher quality than those found at the farmsteads in the immediate hinterland of Apollonia. The quantity of Late Hellenistic material documents that the site continued to be occupied into the 1st century B.C.

The nature of the Hellenistic assemblage from S055 is also domestic, but it is quite different from that at S045. Material was found dispersed throughout the site, and most of the sherds are from plain closed unidentifiable vessels or from cooking pots. Very few pieces of black glaze or storage vessels were found. The domestic nature of S055 is reinforced by the presence of a Hellenistic loomweight and two millstones of unknown date. A rounded, pierced sherd, probably a pessos, also came from the site.\textsuperscript{1559} Four pieces

\textsuperscript{1558} Only three moldmade vessels were found by the survey.
\textsuperscript{1559} See Kurke 1999; Papadopoulos 2002.
from S055 are specifically of the 1st century B.C., suggesting that parts of the lower town remained in use in the Late Hellenistic period.

S044 is almost entirely Hellenistic in date. Three hundred forty-nine sherds (44% of the entire Hellenistic assemblage from Zone 11) date to this period; over half are bricks/tiles. Only one piece from the site could be closely dated; it is from a Middle Hellenistic black glaze cup. Two Hellenistic tiles with “Nine Men’s Morris” boards inscribed on their surfaces were found at the site; the game boards need not be Hellenistic in date, but they could be. The assemblage is domestic in nature, with plain closed vessels predominating. A quarter of the sherds, however, are cooking ware, and 12% are from storage vessels. There are nine fragments of black glaze, all from drinking or other open vessels. Single or multiple Hellenistic sherds are found in the surrounding tracts and form a low-density halo around the site. The assemblage from S044 is similar to those of many single-family farmsteads in the vicinity of Apollonia, but it is more likely that the site represented an expansion of the lower town around Margelliç that took place in the Hellenistic period.

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1560 See Vroom 1999.
The small amount of Hellenistic material collected from S046 consists almost exclusively of bricks/tiles. There are no black glaze sherds, nor is there any cooking ware. Other Hellenistic sherds were dispersed in tracts west of the site that are almost contiguous to S044. It is possible that the finds from S044, S046, and the tracts in between represent a single large community that expanded over the entirety of the eastern part of Zone 11 in the Hellenistic period.

S054, which lies on a hill to the southeast of S044, might also be part of this demographic expansion in the Hellenistic period. Although most of the site lies outside the MRAP survey territory, the finds from the tracts that were collected are primarily Hellenistic. The sherds consist almost entirely of cooking ware and transport amphoras, consistent with a domestic assemblage.

A third of the finds from S060 are black glaze. There is variation in shapes in keeping with the funerary nature of the site. The other pieces are from plain closed vessels except for a few fragments of cooking ware and one from a transport amphora that were found in contiguous tracts at the northern edge of the site. The absence of transport amphoras at S060 is to be expected since
enchytrismos was no longer practiced in the Hellenistic period (see Chapter 9).

Sixty-two Hellenistic sherds were found off-site in Zone 11; all but 12 are from the eastern half of the zone. Most of them were found around and between S045 and S044. There is also a concentration of material in Tracts M-058 and M-059, which are just outside the eastern border of S055; this cluster includes nine fragments of black glaze from eight different shapes, one of which is specifically Middle Hellenistic in date, and another, Late Hellenistic. Given the quantity and quality of the material, it is possible either that there are graves in these tracts or the assemblage derived from a small, wealthy Hellenistic residence. The find spots of the off-site sherds in such close proximity to heavier concentrations from sites support the conclusion that the lower town underwent a period of major expansion during the Hellenistic period.

There is more Roman material in Zone 11 than in most; 42 pieces were collected. All were found in the eastern half of the zone at sites or in adjacent tracts. Sixty percent of the finds are Late Roman, and 29% could be no more closely dated than Roman.

S045 is the only site in Zone 11 that has evidence of continuity from Late Hellenistic into Roman times. A black
glaze plate fragment is Late Hellenistic-Early Roman, and a cooking bowl fragment is Early Roman. There are six additional pieces that could be no more closely dated than Roman. Almost all of the other Roman material from the site, however, is Late Roman in date, except for one Middle Roman cooking ware sherd; these data suggest that S045 was used primarily (almost exclusively) in the Late Roman period. Given the presence of Late Hellenistic material, however, it is possible that S045 was used on a very limited scale during the 1st century B.C. and perhaps into the 1st century A.D. The site would then have been abandoned until sometime in the Late Roman period, when it was reused on a limited scale.

There was also a Late Roman component at S044. The earliest Roman sherd from the site is from an Early-Middle Roman Terra Sigillata plate. This is the only piece of Terra Sigillata found outside Zones 1-4. There is no Late Hellenistic material from S044 or any other Early Roman. On the other hand, ten Late Roman sherds were found, and three additional pieces are Roman. Three other sherds, one Late Roman and two Roman, were found in tracts contiguous to the site (this is the only Roman material collected off-site in Zone 11) and should be associated with the Late Roman activity at S044. The sherds are all from cooking
pots, plain closed shapes, or tiles, which is consistent with a small household assemblage. Evidence indicates that S044 was abandoned by the end of the Hellenistic period and not reoccupied before the beginning of the 4th century A.D. As in the case of S045, the Late Roman component at S044 was much reduced in scale.

Only eight pieces of Roman pottery were found at S055; these are all Late Roman in date. Five of these were collected in three contiguous tracts in the north-central part of the site; two are tiles, one is a pithos fragment, and two are amphora/amphoriskos sherds. The other three are from tracts contiguous to the boundaries of S045. All the fragments are in keeping with a domestic assemblage. The lack of Early and Middle Roman finds indicates that S055 was abandoned at some time during the 1st century B.C. and not reoccupied until Late Roman times. The localized nature of the finds suggests that only two very small parts of the site were reused: one area in the north, and the area around S045.

Two pieces of Roman pottery were collected from S054; one is Middle Roman, the other Roman. Since the rest of the finds are principally Hellenistic, there is no reason
to assume site continuity, or anything other than sporadic use in the Roman period.\textsuperscript{1561}

In conclusion, the settlement pattern in Zone 11 is different from that in other zones. The finds of all periods are very localized and restricted to a small area; the entire western half of the zone appears to have been underutilized throughout pre-Medieval times. A large quantity of indigenous material was found in a limited area. During the Late Bronze Age, a rather dispersed community existed in the lower town of Margelliç, but in the Iron Age, this community contracted to an area nearer Mali i Kalasë, the citadel of Margelliç.

The quantity of Early Greek finds from Zone 11 is paralleled only in the necropolis of Apollonia. Except for a few sherds from S045, most were found close to the citadel. The quantity of 4th century B.C. finds from Zone 11 does not increase as much as it does in Zones 1-6.

Hellenistic sherds are the most plentiful, as is the pattern throughout the survey area. Infilling of previously under-exploited areas is evident in the eastern part of the zone in the Hellenistic period, but appears to be the result of an expansion of the lower town of Margelliç rather than the establishment of dispersed

\textsuperscript{1561} Collection of the parts of S054 located outside of MRAP territory, however, is necessary before anything conclusive can be said about the site.
single-family farmsteads of the type found in Zones 1-6. The whole area, with the possible exception of a small part of S045, then appears to have undergone a serious demographic decline before the beginning of the Roman period; Zone 11 remained depopulated until at least the beginning of the 4th century A.D. The limited reoccupation of the area was probably contemporary with the construction of the Late Antique fortification wall at S041 (See Chapter 7).

Zone 12

Zone 12 is the smallest catchment investigated by the MRAP survey, less than 1 sq km in area. It is separated from Zone 13 by a steep, maquis-covered ridge. The landscape in the south part of the zone has been heavily damaged by oil drilling. The catchment appears to be devoid of sites, although one tract from S054 and one from S055 are situated on its border with Zone 11 (Fig. 8.9). Only 27 pre-Medieval sherds were collected from Zone 12, all, except three, are Hellenistic.

One Late Bronze Age fragment was found in the northwest corner of Zone 12 in a tract contiguous to S041. An Archaic-Classical ridge tile and a Classical pithos fragment are the only other pre-Hellenistic finds. The
tile was found in a tract adjacent to S054. The pithos fragment came from the southwest corner of the zone.

Although the Hellenistic period is the best represented in Zone 12, finds of this date are also sparse; a mere 24 sherds were found in the entire zone. Most of the material came from tracts immediately south of S054. A Hellenistic conical loomweight was also found in this area. The other Hellenistic sherds from Zone 12 were spread throughout the catchment with no discernible pattern to their distribution. Nothing of Roman date was found.

Although in close proximity to the settlement at Margelliç, Zone 12 appears to have been unoccupied and unexploited throughout pre-Medieval times.

Zone 13

Zone 13 is only slightly larger than Zone 12, separated from it by a steep ridge. No sites were identified by MRAP in this catchment, although one cluster of sherds on several terraces in the southwest will be discussed as group Z13 G1 (Fig. 8.9).1562 Fifty-nine pre-Medieval sherds were collected from Zone 13.

No non-Greek or securely dated Archaic sherds were found in Zone 13. The earliest finds, and the only definite pre-Hellenistic sherds, came from Z13 G1 and a

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1562 Tracts M-295, M-296, M-298, M-305, M-306.
contiguous tract. None of these five sherds is later than the 4th century B.C. Three are, or might be, Corinthian; two are from Late Archaic-Early Classical transport amphorae, one a Corinthian Type A, the other an A'; and the third is a coarse Archaic-Classical body sherd. There is also a Classical black glaze fragment from an unidentified open shape and a possible Corinthian transport amphora of Classical-Early Hellenistic date. Another piece, a fragment of a Classical-Hellenistic black glaze plate found near the border with Zone 12, could also be of 4th century B.C. date.

Activity in Zone 13 reached its apex in the Hellenistic period; 44 Hellenistic sherds were found scattered throughout the catchment, a quarter of them brick/tile fragments. The largest group of material is from Z13 G1, 38% of the Hellenistic finds from the zone. The assemblage includes cooking, plain, and banded fragments, mostly from closed vessels. It is a very small assemblage, but probably, nevertheless, represents the remains of a small, short-lived field house. The rest of the Hellenistic sherds from Zone 13, primarily from plain closed vessels or storage jars, show no pattern in their distribution.

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1563 AS89 and AS90.
Ten Roman sherds were collected in Zone 13. Two of these, both Middle Roman in date, were found at Z13 G1. Four Late Roman pieces came from Tract M-277, which produced the highest field counts in the zone. Two other Roman sherds were found in contiguous tracts. These tracts are located on terraces along the edge of a hill next to Z13 G1 and are bounded by a modern road — perhaps the location of a Late Antique grave.

There was slightly more activity in Zone 13 than in Zone 12 in pre-Medieval times, and it began at an earlier date. Z13 G1 appears to have been occupied already in the 5th century B.C., or perhaps a bit before, and was used in the Hellenistic period, although there are too few sherds to be certain that there was continuity. Only two Roman sherds were found, suggesting that Z13 G1 was hardly visited after the Hellenistic period.

This concludes the detailed analysis by zone of the survey data from MRAP. Chapter 9 provides a brief synthesis by period of the settlement patterns that these data elucidate.
Chapter 9.
Settlement and Land Use Patterns: A Diachronic Review

Townscapes and their populations were (and are) of course closely bound up with their hinterlands, territories, road links, landscapes and fields, woods, rivers and other natural resources....Effectively, towns were required to function in unison with the countryside.\textsuperscript{1564}

The indigenous peoples could be assimilated entirely into the state; they could be excluded from citizenship but allowed to remain within the state’s territory on terms of peaceful intercourse; they could be allowed to remain as dependent serfs; or they could be expelled altogether.\textsuperscript{1565}

Introduction

As we have seen above, prior to MRAP, archaeological investigations in Albania were confined to the documentation and excavation of monuments, large settlement sites, hill-forts, and burials.\textsuperscript{1566} Such targeted research agendas provided detailed information about specific sites and time periods, but were spatially and chronologically restricted. This chapter provides a synthesis of the

\textsuperscript{1564} Christie 2004, p. 2.  
\textsuperscript{1565} Snodgrass 1980, p. 91.  
\textsuperscript{1566} As noted in Chapter 3, Hoxha (1985) used archaeology as part of his nationalist program and emphasized the need to investigate Illyrian monuments that demonstrated the ethnogenesis of the Albanian people.
various data about Apollonia and its hinterland that were presented in Chapter 7 and summarized in Chapter 8, in light of the discussion about the foundation of the apoikia offered in Chapter 5. The examination of diachronic regional surface artifact distribution patterns recorded by MRAP allows more complete and global conclusions to be drawn about changes in land use and rural settlement at both small and large sites in the Mallakastra region (Fig. 9.1).

Certain zones in the MRAP survey territory constitute natural geographical and topographical units and should be discussed together: Zones 1-2, 3-6, 8-9, and 10-13 (see Fig. 7.12). Zone 7 is unique. Settlement and land use patterns within these groups are similar, any variation being largely a reflection of location, most specifically proximity to the "centers" at Apollonia and Margelliç.\textsuperscript{1567} The asty of the Greek colony was situated in parts of Zones 1 and 2, and consisted of the acropolis ridge (S008), some of the coastal plain to the west, as far as the sanctuary at S043, and the entire necropolis to the east (S007), including everything as far south as the sanctuary at Shtyllas (S061).\textsuperscript{1568} Zones 3-6 constituted the immediate

\textsuperscript{1567} Cf. Champion 1989; Rowlands, Larsen, and Kristiansen 1987 for discussions about "center" and "periphery" interactions.

\textsuperscript{1568} In this chapter, "Apollonia" is here more specifically used to mean the acropolis (S008) and the necropolis (S007).
hinterland of Apollonia. This area was controlled and in its entirety was heavily exploited by the colony by the 4th century B.C.

Zones 8 and 9, immediately west of the Gjanica river, appear to have been a "no man's land" throughout antiquity; very little material of any date was found in this area. The distribution of artifacts in Zone 7 on the opposite bank of the river is, however, different from all other zones; the settlement pattern corresponds most closely to that in the area around Margelliç. Zones 10-13 form a separate unit, representing the community and the hinterland of Margelliç. The settlement consists of the acropolis (S041), the area on the slopes immediately below the citadel (S045), the lower town (S055), and the necropolis (S060). The remainder of Zones 10-13 form the "hinterland" of Margelliç, and will normally be discussed as a single unit.

The Neolithic Settlement and Land Use Patterns

Neolithic artifacts were almost entirely absent from the study area. Only three definite sherds and one possible of Neolithic date were found (see Table 1.1 for dates). One of these, Middle Neolithic in date, came

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1569 Two are Middle Neolithic, one is Middle-Final Neolithic, and one is Neolithic-Bronze Age.
from an excavated context at S038. Two others were located in close proximity to each other, one in the northeastern corner of Zone 6, the other in the southwestern corner of Zone 3. A third fragment, Neolithic or Bronze Age in date, was also found along the southern border of Zone 3. These three sherds may derive from an as yet undetected Neolithic "site."

The paucity of Neolithic sherds is surprising given the large quantity of Paleolithic and Mesolithic stone tools recovered in the same area: there was much activity around Apollonia and farther inland prior to the Neolithic period.\[^{1570}\] The scarcity is also odd given the proximity of a large Middle Neolithic site at Cakran.\[^{1571}\] Ceramics of the sort recovered at Cakran would be easily recognized on the surface because of their decoration and/or highly burnished surfaces, so it is unlikely that, if they existed in the study area, field walkers overlooked them.

There are more Neolithic stone artifacts than sherds. Of 27 pieces that are or might be Neolithic, there are 25 flint tools of various types, an axe made of green stone, and a sandstone Neolithic or Bronze Age grinding stone.\[^{1572}\] None of the stone finds are from tracts in which the

\[^{1571}\] On excavations at Cakran, see Korkuti and Andrea 1974; Korkuti 1987.
\[^{1572}\] Seventeen are definitely Neolithic, nine are possibly, and one is Neolithic or Bronze Age. Eighteen of the 27 pieces are from site collections or revisitations.
Neolithic ceramics were found, but two are from nearby sites.\textsuperscript{1573}

\textbf{The Bronze Age Settlement and Land Use Patterns}

Later prehistoric pottery was also rare throughout the survey area; except for their tumuli, the indigenous Bronze and Iron Age inhabitants did not leave a lasting imprint on the landscape (Fig. 9.2). Early Bronze Age artifacts are completely absent, and Middle Bronze Age only slightly more plentiful. The quantity of Late Bronze/Early Iron Age finds is somewhat larger. Eight hundred twenty-six indigenous vessel fragments of those periods were found in the study area.

The highest concentration of indigenous pottery\textsuperscript{1574} was found at S038, on the ridge over the Gjanica valley above the village of Kraps. S038 is an entirely new prehistoric site identified by MRAP. Moreover, it is the only Bronze Age settlement site in the Mallakastra and Muzakia districts that has been excavated.\textsuperscript{1575} As noted in Chapters 7 and 8, finds from the site range in date from the Middle Bronze to Early Iron Age. The quantity of material collected in the initial phase of tract walking was

\textsuperscript{1573} A Neolithic flake was found during site collection at S031 and a truncation from S032 site collection.
\textsuperscript{1574} Six hundred seventy-four sherds = 82\%.
\textsuperscript{1575} Papadopoulos (2006, p. 83) laments the lack of excavated Late Bronze-Early Iron Age habitation sites in the area.
strikingly higher than anywhere else, and all other clusters of non-Greek material from tract walking are significantly smaller than this.

The only definite Middle Bronze Age sherds from the study region were found at S038, most of them from the excavation.\textsuperscript{1576} Middle Bronze pottery in general is often distinguished by a high burnish, which would make it more visible to walkers than later undecorated coarse wares; this suggests that material of this date was not simply overlooked by field walkers.\textsuperscript{1577} None of the sherds of this period appear to be imports and most of the fragments are from unknown vessel types; the only recognizable Middle Bronze Age shapes are bowls, jars, and a kantharos.

All but one of the 72 possible Middle-Late Bronze Age fragments are also from S038.\textsuperscript{1578} The other sherd was found in the lower town of Margelliç (S055). Additionally, all sherds that range in date from Middle Bronze-Early Iron Age are from S038.\textsuperscript{1579} The paucity of definite and potential Middle Bronze Age sherds from the study region, even from excavated contexts, suggests that Muzakia and Mallakastra were not permanently settled during this period.

\textsuperscript{1576} Fifteen of the 18 Middle Bronze Age sherds are from excavation contexts, 14 found in the same trench; another is from site collection, and two are from tract walking.
\textsuperscript{1577} Seven of the Middle Bronze Age fragments from S038 are burnished.
\textsuperscript{1578} Sixty-nine of the Middle-Late Bronze Age sherds are from excavation, two from tract walking.
\textsuperscript{1579} Thirty-three Middle Bronze-Early Iron Age sherds are from excavation, 69 from site collection.
The Late Bronze-Early Iron Age Settlement and Land Use Patterns

Since the majority of Late Bronze/Early Iron Age excavations in Albania have targeted burial mounds, very little is known about settlements of this period, and virtually nothing is known about prehistoric habitation sites in Mallakastra.\textsuperscript{1580} It appears that our study area was on the periphery of the mainstream Illyrian culture found to the north around Shkodra and inland in the Korça basin. Many of the artifacts characteristic of the Late Bronze-Early Iron Age Glasinač culture, which are found in northern and eastern Albania, are absent from the survey area. No Devollian ware, which is highly recognizable by its red and ochre geometric patterns, was found, nor was any imported Mycenaean pottery.\textsuperscript{1581} Although a bronze knife of Aegean type was recovered at S038, other bronze and iron artifacts such as weapons and jewelry, so common throughout Albania, were absent. MRAP, on the other hand, provides the first evidence, however meager, about the nature of Late Bronze-Early Iron Age settlement sites in Mallakastra.

\textsuperscript{1580} See Andrea 1990 for a discussion of Bronze Age levels in the Nezir cave in the Mat valley, which is one of the few habitation sites excavated in Albania.

\textsuperscript{1581} Because of its high visibility, Devollian ware sherds are unlikely to have been missed by field walkers. Examples of it are found in Maliq IIId levels. See Andrea 1976a, 1985.
Late Bronze and Early Iron Age pottery was more widely distributed throughout the survey area than Middle Bronze Age finds, but was nonetheless not very plentiful (Tables 9.1, 9.2). In all cases sherds were small and badly worn, identifiable only by their fabric, which is coarse and distinct from that of later historical periods. Dating them closely is impossible.\(^{1582}\) Except for those from the necropolis of Apollonia, all Late Bronze/Early Iron Age finds came from inland locations, at both high and low elevations; settlements were not restricted to defensible hilltop positions.\(^{1583}\) No sherds were found on the coastal plain west of Apollonia, suggesting that, at this time, indigenous people may not have been seafarers, and perhaps did not exploit marine resources. The presence of Late Bronze Age pottery in the necropolis does, however, indicate that some indigenous mortuary activity took place in the vicinity of Apollonia.

Two hundred and thirty securely dated Late Bronze Age sherds were collected in the study area. One hundred seventy-five came from S038.\(^ {1584}\) Of the 55 pieces not from S038, only 24 of these were found outside Zone 7.\(^ {1585}\) Ten of

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\(^{1582}\) The Middle Bronze-Early Iron Age covered more than 2000 years. See Prendi 1982, p. 230.


\(^{1584}\) Of the sherds from S038, 39 are from excavation, 56 from site collection, and 80 from tract walking or revisitation.

\(^{1585}\) Thirty-eight of the sherds were collected during the course of tract walking; the remaining 17 were picked up during site collection.
these, however, should probably also be associated with S038 since they are from tracts either adjacent to, or downslope from, the site. Most of the sherds are from unidentifiable open vessel types; the only recognizable Late Bronze Ages shapes are bowls, jars, mugs, one cup, and one kantharos; one piece of cooking ware and one burnished sherd were also found.

Three hundred fifty-one vessel fragments are Late Bronze-Early Iron Age in date; only 49 of these are not associated with S038. Twenty-eight of the latter are from Zone 11, and nine from the same tract. The number of securely dated Early Iron Age sherds drops drastically from that of Late Bronze Age, especially at S038 where only four pieces were found. A mere 14 pieces securely dated to this period were collected from the entire survey area, and the majority is from the immediate vicinity of the Margelliç acropolis. The Early Iron Age fragments include sherds from a wide-mouthed jar, a bowl, and a jar. The paucity of Early Iron Age sherds is not merely a case of being overlooked in the landscape; intensive site collection and excavation indicate that they simply are not there.

Aside from S038, the largest concentrations of indigenous pottery came from elsewhere in Zone 7 and from

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1586 Of the 301 vessels from S038, 136 are from excavated contexts, 163 from site collection, and two from tract walking.
S055 in Zone 11. A cluster of Late Bronze and Early Iron Age sherds was found in Zone 7 on two peaks to the south of S038 at Z7 G1. Twenty-one definite or possible Late Bronze Age sherds were collected from there; nine from the same tract, and possibly from the same vessel. The only recognizable shape in this assemblage is a Late Bronze-Iron Age amphora.

Another concentration of Late Bronze/Early Iron Age material was located around Margelliç. The acropolis and lower town of Margelliç are situated in a strategic position along a major prehistoric road that followed the tributaries of the Seman and ultimately connected the area around Apollonia to the Korça basin. Seven Late Bronze/Early Iron Age sherds came from the acropolis (S041). Ceka, too, found both Late Bronze and Early Iron Age material in his excavations on the summit.

In addition, the lower town of Margelliç (S055), where no previous systematic exploration had been undertaken, revealed pre-Greek material. Thirty-eight indigenous sherds that could be Late Bronze Age in date were

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1587 Three of the pieces are Late Bronze-Early Iron Age and three are Late Bronze-Iron Age in date.
1589 One is Bronze Age, four Late Bronze Age, two Late Bronze-Early Iron Age, and two Iron Age.
collected.\textsuperscript{1591} Although S055 is very large, the material was confined to a small area in the north-central part of Zone 11. No material was found in the east, west, or south of the zone. The fact that so many sherds came from the northern part of S055 indicates that the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age settlement was not restricted to the acropolis, but that a large part of the community was located in the lowlands at some distance from the ridge. The presence of the possible Middle Bronze Age sherd (mentioned above) could mean that an indigenous community existed in this locale prior to the Late Bronze Age. In any case, MRAP data suggest that by the Late Bronze Age there was a thriving community on the acropolis and in the lower town, one that continued to be occupied into the Iron Age.\textsuperscript{1592}

Bintliff and Snodgrass posed the question whether "'two or three sherds gathered together' constitute a case for the existence of a vestigial prehistoric site," noting that this is all one would expect to remain from many prehistoric assemblages given the dominance of coarse wares, the poor preservation potential of the material, the small number of artifacts in circulation, and the low

\textsuperscript{1591} The finds include 10 Late Bronze, 26 Late Bronze–Early Iron Age, and two Iron Age sherds.\textsuperscript{1592} The finds in the lower town contradict the premise that all Late Bronze Age settlements were on naturally defensible hills.
visibility of the sites.\textsuperscript{1593} If we accept this hypothesis, then MRAP located two other small Late Bronze-Early Iron Age sites, both in Zone 4. Five sherds were found at S026, at a high elevation inland from the Myzeqe plain.\textsuperscript{1594} A second group consists of two Early Iron Age sherds from Z4 G1.

Aside from those two small clusters in Zone 4, all of the Late Bronze-Early Iron Age settlements investigated by MRAP are located east of the Gjanica river. The artifacts from these sites were spread over relatively large areas. The finds from the settlement at Margelliç stretch from the acropolis to the northern edge of Zone 11. The material from S038 extends beyond the defined borders of the site, and artifacts from Z7 G1 were found below the twin peaks. Although it is likely at both sites in Zone 7 that geomorphological processes, especially erosion, have transported some of the material downslope, it seems that people also were occupying the areas below the summits.

Hammond suggests that the Late Bronze-Early Iron Age Illyrians practiced transhumance as a way of life, especially in areas around the Myzeqe plain.\textsuperscript{1595} Such a lifestyle leaves little visible archaeological evidence,

\textsuperscript{1593} Bintliff, Howard, and Snodgrass 1999, p. 146.
\textsuperscript{1594} The sherds include: one Prehistoric, one Late Bronze Age, two Late Bronze-Early Iron Age, and one Early Iron Age.
\textsuperscript{1595} Hammond 1982a, pp. 623, 639, 1982b, 1992. See also Galaty 2002 and Chapter 5.
since mobile groups possess few non-perishable goods. MRAP survey results, however, provide evidence for at least three, and possibly five, continuously occupied sites, one of which began in the Middle Bronze Age. The finds from S055 confirm the presence of a large permanent settlement in the Mallakastra region. Although it is possible that these sites were used on a seasonal basis over a long period of time by transhumant pastoralists, the quantity of material from S038 and S055 and the extent of its distribution suggests otherwise.

Prior to MRAP, continuity between Bronze and Iron Age in Mallakastra was documented only at Margelliç. In contrast, all Late Bronze Age settlements identified by us continued to be occupied into the Early Iron Age, and most of the Early Iron Age sites in our study region were already occupied in the Late Bronze Age, if not the Middle. Such longevity is known in Albania from sites in the Korça basin like Maliq. The evidence for continuity at S038, Z7 G2, S041, and S055 also provides no support for the hypothesis that there was an influx of new people into west-central Albania between the Bronze and Iron Ages.

There is evidence of a demographic decline at the end of the Early Iron Age at all sites east of the Gjanica river valley when indigenous groups began to leave the

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lowlands and move to fortified hill-forts.\textsuperscript{1597} The Illyrians began to abandon old settlements and relocate to new, more nucleated sites when Greeks were first settling in the area of Apollonia.

Although there is no evidence for indigenous habitation in Zone 2, an impoverished group of pre-Greek material was found along the southern edge of the necropolis where several clusters of later tumuli are located (Z2 G1). This group consisted of only three sherds, two of which are from Late Bronze Age jars. The third piece, Late Bronze-Early Iron Age in date, was found just downslope from the other two, at S006. It is likely that these three sherds were associated with one or more Late Bronze Age burial tumuli.

Prehistoric sherds have also been found in excavations in the necropolis in Tumulus 8 and Tumulus 10.\textsuperscript{1598} Late Bronze Age pottery was found in disturbed levels in Tumulus 8, at first leading the excavators to conclude that this material was present in earth that was brought from elsewhere to be used as fill in the construction of the tumulus.\textsuperscript{1599} Our evidence and that from Tumulus 10 suggest otherwise.

\textsuperscript{1597} On the process of Illyrian urbanization, see Ceka 1983a, 1983c, 1985. See also Harding 1992, pp. 22-26.
\textsuperscript{1598} Cabanes et al. 1997, p. 856; Bejko and Amore (pers. comm.).
\textsuperscript{1599} The prehistoric finds do not appear to be associated with burials.
As noted in Chapter 8, the excavators of Tumulus 10 found a Late Bronze Age grave in the lowest level that was unrelated to the later Greek burials above.\textsuperscript{1600} The large chronological gap between the Bronze Age and Greek material makes it clear that there was a hiatus between the deposition of these artifacts. A hiatus is also evident in the history of Tumulus 8, where the earliest imported Greek material consisted of early 6th century B.C. Corinthian sherds.

The fact that Late Bronze Age pottery has now been found in three locations in the necropolis, one of which is irrefutably a grave, strongly suggests that this area was a burial ground before Greek colonization. At this time, S007 was, most likely, a tumulus field similar to those found at Barç in the Korça basin, Çinamak in the Drin valley, and Pazhok in the Devoll valley.\textsuperscript{1601} The earliest tumuli in those places were constructed at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. Many of the mounds were set over a single central warrior burial, and it is unlikely that such interments would generate many visible surface artifacts. In some, but not all cases, after a hiatus, secondary Iron Age burials were placed around the edges of pre-existing

\textsuperscript{1600} Bejko and Amore (pers. comm.).
tumuli. Such tumuli and tumulus fields went out of use throughout Albania during the Early Iron Age.\textsuperscript{1602} Finds suggest that the necropolis at Apollonia conforms to this pattern; indigenous interments had ceased at S007 by the end of the 7th century B.C., the date of the earlier Greek finds.\textsuperscript{1603}

The rest of the Late Bronze or Late Bronze–Early Iron Age finds from the MRAP survey appear to be randomly distributed. Zones 1, 8, 9, and 13 were totally devoid of indigenous material, only one piece was found in Zone 5, and two in Zones 3 and 12. Apart from Z2 G1, there are only two non-Greek sherds from Zone 2, which are from widely separate locations. One sherd from a Bronze–Early Iron Age cooking pot was found in Tract B-117 in association with an Archaic–Early Hellenistic transport amphora. Korkuti suggested during tract walking that this place was a Late Bronze Age site, but since only these two sherds were collected, it is impossible to say conclusively whether or not this is the case. The other prehistoric sherd from Zone 2 (Late Bronze Age in date) came from J--

\textsuperscript{1603} This is not the case at Lofkënd; the excavators have suggested that the presence of 6th century B.C. Corinthian pottery in the fill of the tumulus (not in graves) indicates that the tumulus was used contemporaneously with the arrival of the Greeks. Papadopoulos 2006, p. 81.
293, a tract that otherwise produced only a cooking ware fragment of unknown date and shape.

All of the securely identified Late Bronze–Early Iron Age settlements in the MRAP survey area were found east of the Gjanica, while a contemporary burial ground seems to have been located in Zone 2, at a low elevation closer to the sea. As Hammond notes, no settlements of this period have been located near tumuli anywhere in Albania. MRAP also did not find evidence for an indigenous settlement associated with the burial ground at Apollonia or graves associated with the prehistoric sites in Zones 7 and 11, although the tumulus at Lofkënd is not far distant.

The Later Iron Age Settlement and Land Use Patterns

The quantity of Later Iron Age pottery found by MRAP was much smaller than that of Late Bronze/Early Iron Age, and two indigenous sites (S026 and S038) were abandoned by the end of the Early Iron Age. Only 29 sherds are dated

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1604 Hammond 1982a, p. 655.
1605 As discussed in Chapter 1, the Iron Age ceramic chronology in the study area is not well understood. The dates are neither firmly grounded in radiometric dates nor in better known ceramic sequences from the Aegean world. The Early Iron Age runs from 1050–750 B.C., ending shortly before Greek colonists arrived in the eastern Adriatic. The Albanian Iron Age II phase, or the "Developed Iron Age," runs from 750–625 B.C. and roughly corresponds to the first half of the Early Archaic period. The rest of the Archaic period overlaps with what Albanian archaeologists refer to as the Illyrian Proto-Urban phase (625–450), which is the same as Iron Age III. Such are the dates that are traditionally assigned to the Iron Age by Albanian archaeologists. As noted in Chapter 3, the Albanian periodization of the Iron Age itself, however, reflects communist ideology and its desire to
to the Later Iron Age; six others are dated Late Bronze-
Later Iron Age. Like Late Bronze-Early Iron Age finds, 
much of the Later Iron Age material came from inland and 
upland areas, but, unlike some earlier sherds, none of the 
later Iron Age were found at low elevations.

Z7 G1 is the only site in Zone 7 where there appears to have been site continuity beyond the Early Iron Age. Two definite and three possible Later Iron Age fragments were found here, and there is a Late Bronze-Later Iron Age sherd from an adjacent tract. The finds were localized near the top of the southern peak. This material, although limited, probably indicates that people continued to use Z7 G1 after the Early Iron Age, but suggests that the size of the inhabited area and population of the community were substantially reduced.

Only one Later Iron Age sherd was found at S038, in addition to four definite Early Iron Age pieces; none of these pieces came from excavated contexts. Such a dearth of material suggests that this site was no longer occupied

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demonstrate that there had been a substantial evolution in native Illyrian society prior to the foundation of Greek apoikiai in Albania. MRAP data discussed below suggest that it is likely that the latest Illyrian pottery in Mallakastra is contemporary with the earliest stages in the development of the colony at Apollonia. In the following discussion I refer to pottery that was not specifically identified as Early Iron Age as "Later Iron Age." The distribution patterns for these sherds are different from those of securely dated Early Iron Age sherds and "Later Iron Age" pieces were often found in association with Archaic Greek ceramics. This suggests to me that such Illyrian and Greek ceramics were being used contemporaneously.
after the mid-8th century B.C., and that most of Zone 7, with the probable exception of Z7 G1, was then abandoned.

The largest cluster of Later Iron Age sherds (17 sherds) came from S045 at Margelliç. Ten of these were found in one group of contiguous tracts and included a cooking pot, an amphora, and five jar fragments. Two other jar fragments were found upslope on the acropolis. In contrast, only two Later Iron Age sherds came from S055. Later Iron Age material is concentrated immediately below the citadel, while Late Bronze-Early Iron Age pottery was found some distance from the acropolis in the lower town. Clearly, by the end of the Early Iron Age, the indigenous community around Margelliç had contracted in size (and probably also in population) and relocated to a position closer to the acropolis. Although no fortification walls were found at S045, the move was likely prompted by the desire to assume a more defensible position.

MRAP survey data confirm what Albanian archaeologists have demonstrated through investigations at Iron Age hill-forts in and near our survey area: i.e., at Margelliç, Klos, Mashkjeza, and Gurëzeza. After the Early Iron Age the Illyrians preferred to occupy easily defensible sites
on summits, away from the sea.\textsuperscript{1606} Most hill-forts, including Klos, Mashkjeza, and Gurëzeza, were not occupied until late in the 6th century B.C., and there is no evidence that these sites were used prior to the arrival of the Greeks.\textsuperscript{1607} Imported Greek pottery, however, was used in these Illyrian strongholds from their inception.\textsuperscript{1608} All the new Iron Age sites discovered by MRAP had, however, an earlier component, often as early as the Bronze Age.

Only four Later Iron Age sherds were found outside Zone 7 or the area of Margelliç. One piece, along with a Late Bronze Age-Iron Age sherd, came from the top of a ridge near the northwest border of Zone 6. The rest of the pottery from this tract consisted of coarse wares that were not collected. It is possible that there was a small Iron Age settlement on this summit.

A Later Iron Age sherd was found at S001, just upslope from Z4 G1. These three fragments (including the two indigenous sherds mentioned above) might be all that remains of an indigenous site that began in, and continued beyond, the Early Iron Age.

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\textsuperscript{1608} Andrea 1984, p. 109.
Only a single possible Later Iron Age sherd was found on the Myzeqe plain, at S050. Such a dearth of Illyrian material from Zone 1 suggests that the area west of the acropolis of Apollonia was not settled by indigenous people when the Greeks arrived. No material that is later than the Early Iron Age has been found in the necropolis, confirming that burial there ceased prior to the foundation of the colony. Furthermore, no indigenous material has come from recent excavations at S043 or on the acropolis.

As discussed in Chapter 5, ancient sources support the conclusion that there was no indigenous settlement on or around the acropolis of Apollonia when the colonists arrived. The territory between the Apsus (Seman) and the Aous (Vjosa) rivers is the only area in Illyria that was not linked with a specific Illyrian tribe, nor do any of the Greek geographers assign control of Apollonia to anyone.\textsuperscript{1609} Strabo said nothing about any native inhabitants in or near the asty of Apollonia and commented instead, though not specifically in reference to Apollonia, on the excellence of the Illyrian seaboard regarding harbors and land fertility, but noted, however, that earlier

\textsuperscript{1609} As noted elsewhere, Apollonia is only noted as lying within the territory of the "Illyrians." Pseudo-Scylax (28) notes that Oricum, just south of the Aous, marked the end of Illyrian territory and the beginning of Chaonia (Epirus), a fact already known in the 6th century B.C. (Hecataeus, \textit{FGrH} 1 F103). See Chapters 2 and 5, and Hammond 1966a, 1989b.
inhabitants made small use of the coastal plain either out of ignorance or because of the wildness of the natives and their piratical habits.\textsuperscript{1610} As mentioned in Chapter 3, postulating a native Illyrian settlement on the site of the colony is an example of the type of ideologically "correct" argument that was encouraged under communism.\textsuperscript{1611}

The lack of clarity reflected in ancient sources indicates that there existed no single tradition in antiquity about who controlled territory around Apollonia when the Greeks arrived. MRAP data confirms what the textual ambiguity suggests: the area was virtually uninhabited during the Iron Age. As noted in Chapter 5, it is likely that Apollonia occupied a border zone between the Bylliones to the east and the Taulantii and/or Parthini to the north. The colonists would have taken advantage of this territorial vacuum and exploited the enmity between these two rival Illyrian tribes.

In conclusion, very little Bronze–Early Iron Age material was found in the MRAP survey region. The majority of the sherds came from either Zone 7 or the area around Margelliç. A few pieces were collected in the necropolis of Apollonia and were likely associated with burial tumuli of this date. Except for the Bronze Age burial at the

\textsuperscript{1610} Strabo 7.5.10 [C 317].
\textsuperscript{1611} Ceka 1984, p. 80, fig. 8; Anamali 1976b.
bottom of Tumulus 10, however, no unambiguous indigenous graves have yet been located. This pattern suggests that the indigenous inhabitants lived away from the coast, east of the Gjanica river. The lack of Bronze Age and Early Iron Age pottery is not simply a result of being overlooked by field walkers because it was also rare in excavated contexts. Since no ceramic imports of these periods have been identified, it appears that the Bronze-Early Iron Age Illyrians between Apollonia and Margelliç were not focused on commercial activities, either with Greeks or with other Illyrian tribes further inland. Rather, it is likely that many of the indigenous people who might have used this area were transhumant pastoralists who only occupied the Mallakastra area on a seasonal basis.

MRAP data suggests that there was a substantial demographic decline after the Early Iron Age. According to Frano Prendi, there was a wave of Panono-Balkan migration into Albania in the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age. This influx of outsiders dislocated the Illyrian tribes and resulted in an exodus to the east coast of Italy at the end of the Early Iron Age. These Illyrian tribes became the Italian Messapians, Iapyges, and Chonians.\textsuperscript{1612} The similarity between the names of the western Italian Chonians and the northern Epirote Chaonians, who lived just

south of the Aous, suggests that members of that Albanian tribe were among those Illyrians who migrated across the Adriatic. One explanation for the population decrease in the Mallakastra region might be that Illyrians from this area were also among those who moved to Italy. The period of movement and disruption among the Illyrians in Albania coincided with the appearance of the Euboeans in the Adriatic.\textsuperscript{1613}

The Archaic Settlement and Land Use Patterns

Very little securely dated Archaic pottery was found in the MRAP survey territory; only 54 sherds were collected (Fig. 9.3; Tables 9.3, 9.4).\textsuperscript{1614} All of the Early Archaic sherds are from transport amphorae; two definitely predate the traditional foundation date of the colony, and a third likely does. Four of the Early Archaic sherds came from Zone 2, three from the necropolis, and one from S016. The other two Early Archaic sherds are from the acropolis and lower town of Margelliç.

Thirty-one of the Archaic sherds (57\%) are from storage jars, 17 from transport amphorae (Tables 9.5, 9.6. See also Tables 6.1, 6.2). Five of the Early Archaic pieces are imported Corinthian Type A transport amphorae;

\textsuperscript{1613} See Chapter 5.
\textsuperscript{1614} Of these, six are specifically Early Archaic in date and four, Late Archaic.
the sixth, from Z2 G1, is an imitation.\textsuperscript{1615} Ten other transport amphoras are broadly dated Archaic, and two more are specifically Late Archaic. Most of these transport amphorae are also Corinthian imports.\textsuperscript{1616} Fifteen Archaic sherds are from pithoi or other large coarse vessels; again, most, if not all, are Corinthian imports.

The second largest category of Archaic material comprises 17 sherds with black glaze (31\%); two are tiles and one is the transport amphora mentioned above.\textsuperscript{1617} Four in the group, all Corinthian imports, have black-figured decoration. A mere four Archaic black glaze sherds were found outside Zones 1 and 2, and all of these were from around the Margelliç acropolis (two from S041, one from S045, and one from S060). Many of the Archaic black glaze pieces are from vessels associated with the consumption of wine: cups, skyphoi, and kraters.\textsuperscript{1618} As noted in Chapter 8, the paucity of Archaic finewares from the survey area is very pronounced.\textsuperscript{1619}

\textsuperscript{1615} The imitation Corinthian Type A, AS66, is an outlier when plotted on both a nickel/chrome and potassium/calcium graph; it is unlikely, however, that it is of local manufacture. See Chapter 6.
\textsuperscript{1616} Eight of the Archaic transport amphorae are also Type A, and the Late Archaic pieces are both likely to be Corinthian Type B. The other two Archaic transport amphorae are an imitation Type A and a black glaze SOS form.
\textsuperscript{1617} Another tile, with a slipped surface, is also Archaic.
\textsuperscript{1618} The other Archaic sherds are three pieces of cooking ware and two plain sherds.
\textsuperscript{1619} This scarcity of Archaic finewares makes it necessary to rely on transport amphoras as chronological markers and indicators of trade.
Twenty-three pieces of Archaic pottery were found in Zone 2. Twenty-one of the sherds are specifically from the necropolis of Apollonia (S007) or adjacent tracts. The two largest clusters, Z2 G1 and Z2 G2, each with Early Archaic finds, are on opposite sides of the necropolis; Z2 G1 is near its southern boundary, and Z2 G2 its northern. Smaller groups of Archaic finds came from S005, Z2 G3, and Z2 G4. All of the Archaic material from the necropolis is of Greek type, and most of it is imported.

The Archaic assemblage from Z2 G1 is the largest from the necropolis. It consists of seven pieces, six of which are from storage vessels. The second largest group came from Z2 G2 and, again, is composed primarily of transport amphoras and pithoi. Both assemblages, which are very similar in nature, are consistent with a funerary context. Two Archaic sherds were found at both S005 and Z2 G4; the only cooking ware sherd from the necropolis came from S005.

Four Archaic pieces, three of which are from different lamps, were found in the same tract in Z2 G3. Two other

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1620 Included here are the two sherds from S016 and J-008; both locations are adjacent to Z2 G2. See Chapter 8.
1621 As discussed in Chapter 5, only a single grave excavated in the entire necropolis has produced native Illyrian Iron Age goods that are contemporary with the Greek Archaic period. This is the grave of a woman from Tumulus 9 who was interred with an iron spectacle fibula and bronze bracelets, as well as with imported Corinthianskyphoi. The ethnicity of this individual is unknown. See Amore 2005b, p. 310.
1622 This group includes sherds from S016 and J-008. Five of the sherds are from transport amphoras, one from a pithos, and one from a closed black-figured vessel.
1623 This group is composed of two Early Archaic transport amphoras, two pithoi, a black glaze closed vessel, and a plain open vessel.
black glaze sherds that are no later than the 5th century B.C. also came from here; one piece is from a fourth lamp. It is possible, given the location of this group of tracts at the extreme western edge of the necropolis and the quantity of early lamps from here, that this area was used for funerary rituals, rather than burials (see Chapter 8).¹⁶²⁴

Two of the transport amphoras from Z2 G1 are specifically Early Archaic; one is definitely a Corinthian Type A and, as noted above, predates the traditional foundation date of the colony.¹⁶²⁵ The only Late Bronze/Early Iron Age material from S007 is also from Z2 G1; it was found in the same tracts as the Early Archaic and Archaic finds, or in tracts contiguous to them. As mentioned above, a Late Bronze Age burial tumulus (or tumuli) probably existed here when the first colonists arrived at Apollonia. There is, however, no evidence for continuity of use between the Late Bronze-Early Iron Age and the foundation of the colony; as already noted, the Illyrians had stopped using the Kryegjata valley for burials by the mid-8th century B.C. The Greeks, nevertheless, would have been familiar with this type of

¹⁶²⁴ See below.
¹⁶²⁵ AS22. The other, AS66, is an imitation Corinthian Type A.
funerary monument from Homer. It is likely that the Early Archaic colonists were drawn to an already constructed mound and were thus inspired to adopt a Homeric mode of burial for their dead. Use of a pre-existing tomb might have been a way for them to forge a link with a projected Greek past in a foreign land and to stake a visible claim to the new territory they were occupying.

The evidence from Z2 G1 and Z2 G2 makes it clear that the colonists began to use the necropolis for burials as soon as they arrived. Almost all of the Archaic material from S007 was recovered in four non-contiguous areas, and the specifically Early Archaic sherds were found on opposite sides of the Kryeggjata valley. This indicates that the colonists did not start burying their dead in one nucleated area within the cemetery and expand outward from there. Rather, from the beginning, multiple tumuli were constructed and disparate areas of the necropolis were in use contemporaneously. No Archaic burials have been found further into the hinterland of Apollonia; all seem to have taken place in the necropolis, just below the asty.

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1626 See Chapter 5 and Stocker and Davis 2006.
1627 As noted in Chapter 5, there was a precedent for this at Corinth where burials began to occur in the 8th century B.C. (MG II) in the North Cemetery around a Middle Helladic tumulus; this tumulus remained visible and venerated until the Classical period. See Shear 1930; Corinth XIII, pp. 1-12; Corinth XX, p. 78; Williams 1984, 1995; Rutter 1990, pp. 455-458; Dickey 1992, pp. 128-129; Morgan 1995, pp. 314-315.
Elsewhere in Zone 2, a fragment of an Archaic black glaze skyphos was found at S061 (the temple site at Shtyllas). Although there is no evidence for a structure of this date at Shtyllas, the sherd suggests that the location of the later temple was being visited as early as the Archaic period; it is possible that a shrine was established on this spot already in the 6th century B.C. The site might well have marked the southern territorial limit of the early apoikia.

Three Archaic sherds were found in Zone 1; one of these is from the lower acropolis of the asty, and one from the foot of the slope of the acropolis, just inside the later city wall. Both pieces are from black glaze vessels associated with the consumption of wine.\textsuperscript{1628} A slipped tile of Archaic date was found at S043. Although fragments of transport amphoras are the only securely dated Early Archaic sherds from the survey, we know from recent excavations that other types of ceramics, specifically fine imported black glaze vessels, were used on the acropolis, at S043, and in the necropolis.\textsuperscript{1629} The absence of Early Archaic black glaze sherds from other zones west of the Gjanica river suggests that they were used exclusively at Apollonia or S043 in this period.

\textsuperscript{1628} One is a krater, the other, a black-figured skyphos.
\textsuperscript{1629} See Amore 2003-2004, 2005b, 2005c; Stocker and Davis 2006; Davis et al. 2006; Verger et al. 2007, pp. 232-237.
Archaic finds were scarce in the triangular area bounded by Levan in the south, the necropolis in the west, and Fier in the east; except for two random sherds in both Zones 4 and 6, the entire area was devoid of definite 6th century B.C. material. The two sherds from Zone 4 are both from cooking pots; these account for two of the three exiguous fragments of Archaic cooking ware from the survey. The two sherds found in Zone 6 are both from storage vessels.\textsuperscript{1630} They were found along the northern border of the zone at opposite ends of the ridge. There is no securely dated Archaic material east of the Shtyllas valley, and only the two pieces from Zone 6 were found to the south; Zones 3 and 5 were devoid of Archaic finds, as were Zones 8, 9, 12, and 13.

The scarcity of Archaic finds in Zones 3–6 and the absence of evidence for graves outside the necropolis suggests that the early colonists lived exclusively on the acropolis and buried their dead in one well-defined area. As mentioned above, one might speculate that S043, the necropolis, and S061 delimited the territorial borders of the colony in the Archaic period; it is unlikely that the colonists securely controlled a larger hinterland at that time.

\textsuperscript{1630} These are a transport amphora and a pithos.
Apart from Apollonia, the largest quantity of Archaic material came from the area of Margelliç; 15 sherds were collected in Zones 10-11. As with the Iron Age sherds, most of the Archaic pieces were found on or immediately below the acropolis. Four sherds came from S041\textsuperscript{1631} and three pieces were found downslope at S045.\textsuperscript{1632} Three other Archaic pieces came from tracts in S055 that are adjacent to S045,\textsuperscript{1633} and a transport amphora was found on the slope of the acropolis just north of S045. As noted above, the only four pieces of Archaic black glaze not from Apollonia are from Margelliç; these were found on, or in close proximity to, its acropolis.

A mere four Archaic sherds were found north of the acropolis in the lower town of Margelliç. These were clustered in three tracts in the easternmost part of the site and include one of the imported Early Archaic Corinthian Type A transport amphoras that predate the traditional foundation of Apollonia. In contrast to S041 and S045, no black glaze pieces were found in S055. The paucity of Archaic finds from the lower town, in contrast to the quantity from around the acropolis, is consistent

\textsuperscript{1631} These are an Early Archaic transport amphora, a pithos, and two black glaze cups.
\textsuperscript{1632} These are a transport amphora, a pithos, and a black glaze kylix fragment.
\textsuperscript{1633} These are an Archaic pithos, transport amphora, and black glaze tile.
with the hypothesis that the community at Margelliç contracted and relocated to a site closer to the acropolis after the Early Iron Age. Although occupation of the lower town continued into the 6th century B.C. (and later), it was on a much reduced scale.

All the Archaic ceramics from Margelliç were found in conjunction with indigenous material (Figs. 9.3, 9.4). Both of the securely dated Early Archaic pieces were found in close proximity to indigenous Late Bronze-Iron Age sherds.\textsuperscript{1634} Imported Early Archaic transport amphorae have also been found in excavations on the acropolis.\textsuperscript{1635} The presence of these vessels demonstrates that already in the Early Archaic period the inhabitants of Margelliç were receiving imported Corinthian goods.\textsuperscript{1636}

The rest of the Archaic material from Margelliç was also found in or near tracts that had indigenous sherds. The three tracts in the eastern part of S055 with Archaic finds are adjacent to ones with Illyrian material. As noted above, the largest quantity of Later Iron Age material was collected from S045 and S041. This is also where the Archaic finds were concentrated.

\textsuperscript{1634} See Davis et al. 2003-2004, pp. 310-311.
\textsuperscript{1635} Ceka 1986, p. 86.
\textsuperscript{1636} See Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989, pp. 114-116 on the mechanisms of trade between colonists and natives.
The coexistence of Greek and indigenous finds in the same places at Margelliç demonstrates that Archaic and Later Iron Age sherds were most likely used contemporaneously by the same people (in contrast to the situation at Apollonia). The presence of 7th century B.C. transport amphoras and imported Archaic black glaze pieces at Margelliç show that the indigenous inhabitants were interested in, and able to procure, high status Greek commodities. The lack of evidence for Greek habitation outside of Apollonia and the absence of most elements of the typical Greek domestic assemblage make it improbable that Greeks actually lived at Margelliç. Rather, it is likely that Margelliç remained an Illyrian settlement for some time after the apoikia was established at Apollonia.\textsuperscript{1637}

The bulky nature of the Greek finds, i.e., pithoi and transport amphoras, make it clear that Margelliç was permanently occupied, since such cumbersome items are unlikely to have belonged to a transhumant population.

A scarcity of early Greek material outside Margelliç indicates that most of the Archaic pots moving inland from Apollonia were used by people living there, rather than in its hinterland; there was no other Illyrian occupation in

\textsuperscript{1637} As noted in Chapter 8, the Gjanica river valley appears to have been the border of Illyrian territory. Zones 8 and 9 to the east of this line were underutilized by Greeks, too, suggesting that the hinterland of Apollonia did not even penetrate this far west.
Zones 10-13 at this time. Three Archaic sherds, two from pithoi were found at S054, however, suggesting that, as at Margelliç, there might have been an early, albeit very small, component to this site. The only other Archaic piece from Zones 10-13 is a transport amphora fragment from the southwest part of Zone 10.

Elsewhere, only a meager eight Archaic sherds were recovered, all in Zone 7. Three of these were found in the southeastern part of zone. A pithos fragment was collected at Z7 G1 in a tract that borders three with Later Iron Age finds; another similar sherd was found in an adjacent tract. The third piece, from a Corinthian Type A transport amphora, was collected a short distance farther south. As at Margelliç, the Archaic finds from Z7 G1 were commingled with indigenous material, further supporting the hypothesis that Greek material east of the Gjanica river was being used by Illyrians rather than Greeks. The fact that the Archaic finds from Z7 G1 are storage jars, which are large, heavy, and difficult to transport, suggests that, at least in the Archaic period, this too was a permanently occupied Illyrian site.

Unlike Apollonia, none of the Archaic transport amphoras from Z7 G1 or Margelliç were found in association with burials. This makes it clear that vessels of the type
that moved inland to indigenous sites were reused for a different purpose than those retained at the polis. At Apollonia the contents of the amphorae were used by the inhabitants in the city center, and then the vessels themselves were reused in the necropolis for burials, while at indigenous sites the pots probably continued to be used as storage vessels long after the original contents were consumed.

In conclusion, the quantity of Archaic sherds that was found by MRAP is small. Well over half of the finds of this date are from transport amphorae or pithoi. The second largest category of Archaic sherds is from black glaze vessels. Almost all of the transport amphorae, black glaze vessels, and probably pithoi were imported from Corinth. Although transport amphorae and pithoi were most abundant in the necropolis, where they were reused for *enchytrismoi*, some were also found in other zones in the survey area. In Zones 3-6, which are in closest proximity to Apollonia, they were most likely used for the collection and transportation agricultural products. In contrast, in the zones that are on the east side of the Gjanica river valley (Zones 7 and 10-13), in areas that are some distance from Apollonia, transport amphorae and pithoi were frequently found in association with indigenous pottery and
it is likely the contents of the vessels, rather than the containers themselves, were the desired objective. There is no doubt, however, that the containers continued to be used once the contents were gone. On the other hand, find spots of black glaze sherds were much more localized than storage vessels. Except for four sherds that were found near Margelliç, all Archaic black glaze sherds came from the immediate vicinity of Apollonia (i.e., S007, S008, S043, and S050).

The Classical Settlement and Land Use Patterns

Although there are more sherds that are Classical in date than Archaic, finds of this date are still rare in the survey assemblage (Fig. 9.5). This is particularly true for the Early Classical period, when the settlement pattern differs little from that of the preceding period. Expansion beyond the asty of Apollonia and settlement in the surrounding countryside began to increase only in the 4th century B.C., in the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods (Fig. 9.6).\(^{1638}\) In addition to the Archaic finds (54), only 23 other sherds are no later than

\(^{1638}\) The Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods will be discussed together since settlement patterns in the 4th century B.C. are different than earlier and later periods.
the 5th century B.C. Sherds specifically dated to the Classical period (92) are more plentiful than Archaic or Archaic/Early Classical, and the quantity of possibly Classical finds increases only slightly when sherds with an Archaic-Classical date range are included (71). The percentage of sherds from black glaze vessels and from storage vessels in the Archaic-Classical/Classical assemblage is similar: black glaze pieces account for 34% (72) of the assemblage, and storage jars for 31% (66). Eight pieces have red-figured decoration. The rest of the assemblage is composed of tiles (28), plain ware vessels (22), and cooking pots (12).

As with Archaic finds, the largest concentrations of Classical sherds were found in close proximity to the city center, especially in the necropolis and the rest of Zone 2. Besides the necropolis, evidence for continuity at sites with an Archaic component has been noted almost exclusively in Zone 1, inside the city walls of Apollonia (S008) and at the Bonjakët sanctuary (S043), and on the other side of the Gjanica river valley, on the acropolis and in the lower town of Margelliç. Apollonia and Margelliç, however, supported very different types of settlements in the Classical period.

Four are Archaic-Early Classical, 11 Late Archaic-Early Classical, and eight are Early Classical.
As with Archaic finds, the majority of Classical sherds were found in association with graves and tumuli in the necropolis. Fourteen (61%) of the Archaic/Early Classical pieces came from Zone 2, as did 45% of the Archaic-Classical/Classical finds.\textsuperscript{1640} Classical black glaze vessels outnumber all other categories in the necropolis: 34 of 59 were found there (58%), and seven others have red-figured decoration. A minimum of 10 vessel shapes are represented, but the vast majority of the sherds are from kraters and skyphoi.

The parts of S007 that were utilized in the Archaic period continued to receive burials in the Early Classical period, and few new areas were put to use. Most of the securely dated 5th century B.C. sherds were found in the same tracts or contiguous to those that had Archaic finds. In only two instances were Early Classical pieces found in previously unused areas of the necropolis: one of these, however, is from a tract with Archaic-Classical and Classical finds. In this case, it is likely that the sherds represent the beginning stages in the use of a new tumulus in the 5th century B.C. The other Early Classical

\textsuperscript{1640} Seventy-seven sherds are definitely no later than 5th century B.C. In addition to the Archaic material, there are four Archaic-Early Classical pieces, 11 Late Archaic-Early Classical, and eight Early Classical. Fifteen of the Archaic/Early Classical pieces are imported Corinthian transport amphoras, and six are black glaze; two others, both possibly Attic imports, preserve red-figured decoration.
piece, in contrast, is from a tract with no other pre-
Hellenistic sherds, making it unlikely that this location
was used for burials at this time. The presence of
securely dated Archaic-Early Classical sherds from tumuli
in use prior to the 5th century B.C. provides unequivocal
evidence for continuity at these locales, and the absence
of securely dated 5th century B.C. sherds from new
locations in the necropolis indicates that the same
discrete areas continued to be targeted as burial spots at
this time.

Sherds from S007 that are dated generally to the
Classical period are more plentiful than those with an
Early Classical terminus ante quem and were found in places
without securely dated Archaic finds. This indicates that
new dispersed locations within the necropolis began to be
used in the Classical period, but probably not before the
end of the 5th century B.C. In all cases, tracts with
Archaic sherds also have, or are contiguous to, tracts with
Classical finds. Conversely, some tracts with Archaic-
Classical/Classical sherds are located in areas that lack
conclusive evidence of pre-5th century B.C. use: at least
some of these broadly dated sherds are likely to be Late
Classical.
The types of graves found in the necropolis include sarcophagus burials; enchytrismoi (see Chapter 7); tile graves; and pit graves.\textsuperscript{1641} Interment in sarcophagi was the most elaborate form of burial used by the colonists and was used almost exclusively in the Archaic and Classical periods. The presence of sarcophagus burials in the necropolis suggests an affinity with funerary practices at Corinth, where interment in stone sarcophagi had become the standard form of burial by 700 B.C.\textsuperscript{1642} Enchytrismos in transport amphoras and pithoi was also predominately an Archaic and Classical form of burial that fell into disuse in later periods.\textsuperscript{1643} The earliest burials that Rey excavated were in pithoi, some of which he dated as early as 650-575 B.C.\textsuperscript{1644} Inhumations in transport amphoras or pithoi was a customary burial practice in many Greek cities and colonies.\textsuperscript{1645}

The majority of the excavated burials in the necropolis of Apollonia are Hellenistic in date. In

\textsuperscript{1641} For the types of burials found in the necropolis, see Praschniker 1922-1924, cols. 51-53; Amore 2005b, 2005c.
\textsuperscript{1642} Pfaff 2007. Recent excavations show that sarcophagus burials began in Corinth in the 9th century B.C. See Dickey 1992 for more about Corinthian burial practices.
\textsuperscript{1643} On the date of enchytrismoi, see Mano 1971, 1977-1978; Dimo and Fenet 1996. Some of the earliest burials from Tumulus 9 were in storage vessels, and 24\% of all graves are enchytrismoi. See Amore 2005b, p. 308.
\textsuperscript{1644} Rey 1932, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{1645} See Morris 1998, p. 41. Pithos burials are also common at Epidamnus, which was founded by Corcyraeans, but burial in sarcophagi was not practiced there. For burial practices at Epidamnus, see Ceka 1995; Hidri 1996, 1997.
Tumulus 9, 15% of the graves are Archaic, 27% are Classical, and 36% are Early Hellenistic.\textsuperscript{1646} Tumulus 1, excavated by Mano in 1958-1959, contained 136 burials. She distinguishes three levels: 6th-early 5th century B.C., 5th-4th century B.C., and 4th-early 2nd century B.C. Twenty-five percent of the burials (34) are from the lower two strata, and 75% (102) are from the upper. Mano notes a lack of mid-5th century B.C. burials, an increase in the 4th-3rd centuries B.C., and a steep decline in the 2nd century B.C.\textsuperscript{1647}

The chronological distribution of the MRAP ceramic assemblage from the necropolis is similar to that from Albanian excavations (see also Chapter 8). The percentages by date of MRAP's pre-Roman assemblage from S007 fall somewhere between Amore and Mano's figures. MRAP data confirm that burial in the eastern necropolis was at its height during the Hellenistic period. Only 19% of the assemblage from S007 is Archaic/Classical, while 50% of the finds are certainly Hellenistic in date, and an additional 31% could be: only 2% of the Hellenistic sherds are definitely 2nd or 1st century B.C.

Changes in burial practices are evident in the necropolis beginning in the 4th century B.C.: more areas

\textsuperscript{1646} Amore 2005b, p. 308. The date of a fifth of the burials is unknown. \textsuperscript{1647} Mano 1977-1978.
were used, the number of burials increased, and the nature of the ceramic assemblage changed. The type and quantity of finds from Z2 G1 illustrate these differences between the Archaic/Early Classical and Late Classical/Early Hellenistic periods. Ten securely dated late 6th-5th century B.C. sherds were found in the tracts in this cluster; six are from transport amphoras. Also, 18 Archaic-Classical/Classical pieces, almost all transport amphorae or sherds with black glaze were found in the same tracts. In the Late Classical/Early Hellenistic assemblage, on the other hand, all of the 28 sherds are from black glaze vessels, with the exception of one transport amphora. The number of definite sherds of the 4th century B.C. is the same as the number of Archaic/Classical pieces, for which the time span is much greater, and some of the broadly dated pieces are probably also Late Classical. These data indicate that the number of burials in Z2 G1 increased during the 4th century B.C., that the quantity (and variety) of black glaze vessels used as grave goods increased, and that the number of enchytrismoi decreased. The size of the tumulus in Z2 G1 grew and began to expand into S006 during this time (there is no conclusive evidence that S006 was used prior to the 4th century B.C., and 70% of the finds that predate the

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1648 As noted above, excavation data show a similar pattern.
Middle Hellenistic period are specifically Late Classical/Early Hellenistic, and the rest could be).\footnote{1649}

The situation was similar on the opposite side of the necropolis at Z2 G2 and S016. The quantity of Classical finds in both assemblages is larger, and these two sites begin to merge. The increased number of certain and possible Classical sherds from this area demonstrates that it, too, remained in use throughout and received an increasing number of burials during the Classical period.

Elsewhere in Zone 2, at S061 and Z2 G3, there is evidence for ritual activity that is not directly associated with tumuli. There appears to be increased activity at S061, and it is possible that the first temple was constructed in the 5th century B.C.\footnote{1650} Although only five pre-Medieval sherds were found at S061, four of these are, or could be, Archaic/Classical.

The assemblage from Z2 G3 indicates that this area on the western edge of the necropolis also continued to serve a function that was different from the rest of S007 in the Classical period. Two late 6th-5th century B.C. black glaze sherds came from this group of tracts, as did two

\footnote{1649} All of the 4th century B.C. sherds from S006 are black glaze. Only six transport amphoras were collected at S006, two of which might predate the Late Classical period. Although seven Archaic-Classical/Classical sherds were found, they do not necessarily need to predate the 4th century B.C. \footnote{1650} Quantin 1999.
Classical pieces, both from vessels associated with wine consumption. The fact that there are no transport amphoras in the assemblage, and that all the sherds are from black glaze lamps or vessels associated with the symposium, defines this group of tracts as something other than a burial site. The assemblage would be in keeping with a ritual context; the lack of cooking ware and plain ware vessels demonstrates that Z2 G3 did not have a domestic function.

In contrast to Zone 2, very few sherds were found in Zone 1 that predate the Late Classical period. Indeed, only two certain 5th century B.C. sherds were collected: one on the upper acropolis of Apollonia, the other at S050. Both sherds are from Corinthian Type A transport amphoras. With the exception of an Archaic-Classical tile from S049 (probably 4th century B.C.), all the broadly dated Archaic-Classical/Classical material in this zone is from S008, S043, or S050.

S050 is the only site on the plain that has produced securely dated Classical finds; most of these, however, are more likely to be Late Classical than Early. Almost all of

1651 One sherd was from a red-figured krater, the other a black glaze skyphos.
1652 Only eight lamp fragments were found in the necropolis. Half of these are from the same tract in Z2 G3 and they are all 5th century B.C. or earlier. The other four are from various locales in the necropolis and are 4th century B.C. or later.
the finds that do, or might, predate the Middle Hellenistic period are from imported transport amphoras, suggesting that if the site was being used in the Classical period, it was probably for the collection and transportation of agricultural products, rather than for permanent occupation. Although an Archaic-Classical sherd was found at S049, there are only two other certain pre-Middle Hellenistic sherds, both of which are 4th century B.C. This scarcity of finds makes it unlikely that S049 was intensively used until after the Early Hellenistic period. Indeed, the small quantity of pre-Hellenistic finds from Zone 1 in general demonstrates that the Archaic and Classical colonists preferred to live inside the walls of the asty rather than on the plain.

Most of the pre-Hellenistic finds found through survey at S043 are also specifically of 4th century B.C. date. Except for two transport amphoras, all of these are from black glaze vessels, primarily shapes associated with drinking and eating (i.e., skyphoi and plates). The quantity of Classical, and specifically 4th century B.C., sherds from S008 is also larger than that of material from previous centuries. In contrast to S043, however, this assemblage includes more sherds from transport amphoras and cooking ware vessels than from black glaze vessels.
The distribution of finds in Zones 3-6 suggests that the agricultural land closest to Apollonia, particularly in the Shtyllas valley, was first exploited by the colonists in the 5th century B.C.; more widespread utilization, however, did not begin until the Late Classical period. Small scatters of sherds in Zones 3, 4, and 6 are mostly from transport amphoras or pithoi. Again, these vessels were probably used for the collection and storage of agricultural products. All of the 5th century B.C. sherds were found near roads, on low cultivatable terraces, or in valley bottoms. There is no evidence for habitation in Zones 3-6 before 300 B.C. The lack of evidence for permanent occupation outside the asty in the Classical period supports further the notion that farmers resided in the city and traveled from there to their land.

The majority of the evidence for land use in the hinterlands of Apollonia prior to the Hellenistic period was found in Zone 4. Much of the Archaic/Late Classical pottery collected from this zone was not found at locations that later became habitation sites; almost as many sherds were found off-site as on-site (47% versus 53%). Sherds from storage vessels comprise 56% of the pre-Hellenistic assemblage from Zone 4, and only 12% are black glaze. The largest quantity of closely dated pre-Hellenistic sherds
(24) are specifically of the 4th century B.C., and the rest could also be of this date.

S001 is anomalous among the Archaic-Early Classical sites in the vicinity of Apollonia, and is most similar in character to sites on the east side of the Gjanica river valley. As noted above, several 6th-5th century B.C. Greek sherds were found in conjunction with an Early Iron Age sherd. Other Archaic/Classical sherds were found just downslope at Z4 G1, in a tract adjacent to two that also had indigenous material. Early Greek finds were often found in conjunction with non-Greek sherds at Illyrian sites. Very little of the material from Z4 G1 is definitely Hellenistic, however, but the majority from S001 is. It is likely, therefore, that the pre-Hellenistic sherds from S001/Z4 G1 are associated with an indigenous site where a typical Hellenistic farmstead was established after the 4th century B.C.

S031 in Zone 4 might have been visited on a temporary basis in the Early Classical period, although the evidence is slight. S002, S014, and S032 also have small amounts of loosely dated Classical material, but it is unlikely that they were extensively used before the 4th century B.C. S010, S022, and S026 have sherds that are either Classical or Early Hellenistic, and these sites, too, might have had
a 4th century B.C. origin. It is clear, however, that there was no habitation in Zone 4 in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., but only sporadic visitation. There is more evidence by the Late Classical period for the use of some sites, but permanent occupation began only after the 4th century B.C.

The uplands and valleys between Radostina and Vadhiza in Zone 3 were also little utilized before the Hellenistic period. The only definite 5th century B.C. sherd was found in a tract adjacent to S014 in Zone 4 which, as noted above, had other finds of this date. Most of the 5th-4th century B.C. finds from Zone 3 were collected on-site; only 28% were not. The majority of these sherds are from transport amphoras (68%); only two are black glaze. Sites S019, which borders Zone 2, and S033 are the only locations with small pre-Hellenistic components, but again, most of the sherds are from storage jars, indicating that these sites were used as storage facilities and/or field houses in the 4th century B.C.

Zone 5, which borders Zone 4, has the fewest Archaic/Late Classical finds and the fewest storage vessels (58%) from any of the zones in the vicinity of Apollonia. It also has the largest quantity of off-site finds. Although S028 might have first been used in the 4th century B.C.,
the rest of Zone 5 was only sporadically visited prior to the 3rd century B.C. Only two securely dated Classical sherds were found; both are black glaze fragments from contiguous tracts located above S028. Several pieces from S028 are no later than Early Hellenistic. It is interesting to note that S028 is the only place in Zone 5 where an indigenous sherd was found. Since this piece, however, is Late Bronze-Early Iron Age, it is unlikely that there is a chronological overlap in site use.

In Zone 6, 63% of the Archaic/Classical finds were collected off-site; 74% are from transport amphorae. Most of the closely datable sherds are of the 4th century B.C. The largest quantity of pre-3rd century B.C. sherds was found at S032; all of these are from transport amphorae. Only one is definitely no later than 400 B.C., and the rest could not be closely dated. There are a few pre-Hellenistic finds from S034 which, given their quality, might be from a Classical grave. This is the only potential pre-Hellenistic Greek burial that was found outside the necropolis.

Although the standard reading of the victory monument at Olympia suggests that the colonists had begun to enlarge the size of the territory they controlled by the mid-5th century B.C., no archaeological evidence indicates that
their settlement pattern became more dispersed at this time.\footnote{See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the victory monument.} Nothing resembling a permanent settlement outside the asty before the Late Classical period has been documented, and little land beyond the Shtyllas valley seems to have been intensively exploited throughout the Classical period. As noted in Chapter 4, the importance of animal husbandry in the 5th century B.C. is reflected in the story about Evenios, and the area in close proximity to Apollonia was probably used for pasturage in Archaic-Early Classical times.\footnote{Hdt. 9.93-95.} Herodotus's passage also hints at a more specific pattern of land holdings that likely obtained in the early 5th century B.C.; Evenios asked for the two finest kleroi outside the city, as well as the best house in the town. Although the hinterland of Apollonia was almost certainly divided into lots in the Early Classical period, the land owners themselves would have resided in the city.\footnote{Cf. Hdt. 9.94; ML 5, 13, 49; Syll. 141.}

More 4th century B.C. pottery was found in Zones 1 and 3-6 than Archaic/Early Classical. There are 152 sherds that are Late Classical/Early Hellenistic, and 139 sherds that are broadly dated Archaic/Early Hellenistic: many of these, including definite Classical sherds, are probably of
the 4th century B.C. rather than earlier, given other evidence for settlement expansion at this time.

As noted, the majority of the 4th century B.C. or earlier sherds from Zones 3-6 are from storage jars (63%). Only 13% of the finds are black glaze. The quantity of storage vessels found at locations with a pre-Middle Hellenistic component suggests these rudimentary sites were used as temporary field houses, rather than as dwellings. The absence of the complete household kit typical of Greek farmsteads (storage jars, cooking ware, plain fine wares, and decorated table wares) prior to the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. is also evidence that these rural locations did not function at domiciles before the Early Hellenistic period.

No Archaic-Classical/Classical sherds were found in Zone 8, and only one sherd was found in Zone 9. Four sherds from Zone 8 are no later than 4th century B.C., as are two from Zone 9: all of these are from storage vessels, most Corinthian imports or imitations of Corinthian types. The paucity of definitely pre-Hellenistic sherds from these zones clearly shows that the western side of the Gjanica river valley continued to be unexploited.

The pattern of land use in Zone 7 prior to the 3rd century B.C. has close parallels with that of the zones
around Margelliç. Thirty-two sherds from Zone 7 are of the 4th century B.C. or earlier. Most of these were found in, or in close proximity to, Z7 G1. Seventy-two percent of the pre-Hellenistic assemblage consists of storage vessels. Two out of the four black glaze sherds found in the zone are specifically of the 4th century B.C., and the only other two could be.

It is likely that Z7 G1 remained an indigenous habitation site through the Classical period. Apart from the concentration of sherds at Z7 G1, there is no apparent pattern in the distribution of other Archaic/Classical finds in Zone 7 and it is unlikely that this zone was densely populated or intensively utilized before the Early Hellenistic period.

In contrast to Apollonia, the quantity of Classical finds from Margelliç is smaller than Archaic; the size of the settlement in the lower town contracted in the 5th century B.C. A mere four Archaic/Early Classical sherds were found in Zones 10-13. Unlike other zones, 5th century B.C. finds were almost always associated with Archaic finds, and, apart from Z13 G1, there is no evidence for an increase in the extent of occupation around Margelliç. Only one definite 5th century B.C. sherd was found at S055, and that in a tract contiguous to ones with Iron Age
sherds. It was found with an Archaic fragment on the north slope of the acropolis. Such data suggest that there was a demographic decline at Margelliç in the Classical period. The size of the lower town contracted and the population relocated to habitations closer to the acropolis.

Apart from sites associated with Margelliç, there is no evidence for occupation in Zones 10–13 during the Archaic and Classical periods. The largest quantities of Archaic/Classical finds are from S041, S045, and S055. This Greek material was used by indigenous peoples, rather than by Greek settlers. There is no evidence for habitation or exploitation of land outside the lower town. Nothing indicates that the agricultural land west of Margelliç was used by the indigenous population during the Archaic and Classical periods, and Zone 12 to the southeast is entirely devoid of finds.

In conclusion, although Classical finds are more numerous than Archaic, they are still rare and were found in fairly restricted areas. The percentages of transport amphorae and black glaze sherds in the Archaic/Classical assemblage are roughly equal, whereas the percentage of storage vessels is much higher in the Archaic assemblage. This decrease in Classical storage vessels and increase in black glaze sherds is most pronounced in the necropolis and
probably signals the shift away from *enchytrismoi* and towards the use of more elaborate grave goods. MRAP data show that the same areas in the necropolis that were used in the Archaic period continued to be used in the Classical period and the number of burials increased in these places during this time. Moreover, new tumuli were constructed in other areas of the necropolis in the 4th century B.C.

Although the largest body of material is still from the necropolis, there is an increase in the quantity of Classical sherds that were found in Zones 3-6. Transport amphoras continued to be the dominate vessel type used in the hinterland, but the quantities of tiles, plain wares, and cooking wares also increased, especially in the Late Classical period. It is unlikely, however, that there was any permanent occupation outside the asty during the Classical period. Rather, all of the data suggest that seasonal or temporary field houses were constructed during the 4th century B.C.

In Zone 7, most of the pre-Hellenistic finds are from storage jars. Many of these, as noted above, were found in conjunction with indigenous sherds. The only black glaze sherds probably date to the 4th century B.C., and it is unlikely that there were Greeks living in this area before that time. Zones 8 and 9 were unoccupied.
The pattern at Margelliç is different from that found elsewhere. At Margelliç there are fewer Classical finds than Archaic. Evidence suggests that size of the site contracted during the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., and people abandoned the low lands in favor of a nucleated area immediately below the acropolis. There is no occupation in Zones 10-13 apart from Margelliç.

The Hellenistic Settlement and Land Use Patterns

The vast majority of sherds in the MRAP assemblage are Hellenistic in date (Tables 9.7, 9.8). The total number of pieces from this period is 20,240; 14,332 (71%) of these are bricks/tiles. Of the total sherds, 7,901 are from the excavation at S034, 7,345 of which are tiles.

Settlement patterns changed radically in the Hellenistic period and an abundance of small farmsteads appeared in the countryside around Apollonia (Fig. 9.7). Survey data indicate that the landscape was intensively exploited at this time and that large numbers of people took up residence outside the city walls. As noted above, this evolution of rural settlement was already underway by the beginning of the Hellenistic period. It is only after the 4th century B.C., however, that the demographic shift is consummated. The shear quantity of finds of Hellenistic
date documents a transformation from a sparsely occupied landscape into a well-settled countryside, full of people. Almost all of the Hellenistic sites in Zones 1 and 3-6 were probably small, single-family farmsteads, and many of them had a single-period of occupancy. The sites in Zones 11 and 12, in contrast, do not appear to have been independent farmsteads, but rather small settlements or satellite agricultural facilities associated with an enlarged Margelliç.

The dissemination of large numbers of Greek artifacts into the hinterland was most pronounced in the Hellenistic period, probably beginning in Middle Hellenistic. The uplands in the triangular area bounded by Levan in the south, the Apollonia necropolis in the west, and Fier in the east (Zones 3-6), in which the best agricultural land is found, came then to support a particularly dense patchwork of small rural sites, most of them with no prior Classical components.

The vast majority of the finds from Zone 2 are also Hellenistic. During the 3rd century B.C., the entire area inside the borders of S007 was used as a burial ground. Burial was, however, no longer restricted to the necropolis of Apollonia as it apparently had been in the Archaic- Classical periods and graves of this date are found in the
countryside, too. The quantity of Hellenistic storage vessels from the necropolis decreases noticeably and the quantity of tile is exponentially larger. These data confirm that *enchytrismoi* were no longer fashionable after the 4th century B.C. and that tile graves became the norm. There is also a discernible decline in the quantity and quality of black glaze vessels and an upsurge in plain wares, suggesting a pronounced shift in the types of grave goods that accompanied the dead.

The quantity of definite and possible Hellenistic sherds is 10 times greater in Zones 1 and 3-6 than the combined total from earlier periods. In addition to the appearance of numerous new sites, Hellenistic sherds are ubiquitous in the landscape, forming a dense background scatter of artifacts.\(^{1656}\)

Eight sites with Archaic/Classical components expanded in size in the 3rd century B.C.: S050 in Zone 1, S019 and S033 in Zone 3, and S001, S002, S014, S031, and S032 in Zone 4 (see Fig. 7.1). Four sites that began in the 4th century B.C. also grew larger: S010, S022, and S026 in Zone 4 and S028 in Zone 5. All sites with earlier components were permanently occupied during the Middle Hellenistic

period. Eighteen new Hellenistic farmsteads were established in Zones 1 and 3-6: two in Zone 1 (S047, S049), four in Zone 3 (S018, S020, S023, S029), eight in Zone 4 (S009, S011, S012, S015, S021, S051, S052, and S057), and four in Zone 6 (S027, S034, S040, and S056). Most of these sites were located on ridges and hills above valleys, rather than in the lowlands themselves, and are situated along major and minor transportation routes. All are near water sources and adjacent to arable land.

More Hellenistic sites were located in the Shtyllas valley than in any other zone. Among these are some of the largest sites: S001, S014, S015, and S021. S019, which is just outside Zone 2 (in Zone 3), and S032, which straddles Zones 4 and 6, are two other large, independent farmsteads. S023 and S029 on the slopes above the Vadhiza valley, on the other hand, were probably part of clusters of homesteads in the 3rd century B.C. that formed small hamlets.

Although most of the Hellenistic sites were single-family farmsteads, the quality and quantity of finds from them differs. For example, S029 and S019 in Zone 3 were different from other farmsteads in the area. The assemblages include more fine wares and the sherd scatters covered a larger area. S018, on the other hand, is
slightly smaller, but the paucity of vessel sherds, especially fine wares, suggests that it was more impoverished than the other two sites. Diversity in the nature of the finds from different farmsteads is also evident in Zone 4. Although S021 and S031 are among the largest sites, only one Hellenistic black glaze sherd was found at each. In contrast, 15 pieces of black glaze were found at S015, which is approximately the same size as the others, and five pieces were found at S022, one of the smallest sites in the zone.

The assemblages from the farmsteads are unlike the finds from Apollonia itself or from the sanctuary at Bonjakët (S043): the rural sites had fewer pieces of black glaze, less variety in shapes, and higher percentages of plain and cooking wares. There is also more tile at the farmsteads, the quantities of which are paralleled only in the necropolis, where the tile served a different function. Storage vessels are well represented in all the assemblages from the farmsteads in Zones 3-6, but most of these might have been produced locally, rather than imported. In general, very few certain imported transport amphoras of Hellenistic date were found. This is in marked contrast to the Archaic and Classical periods, when the vast majority of these vessels found in the countryside were Corinthian
imports. This shift away from imported transport amphorae in favor of what are perhaps local ones is evident by the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. and suggests that some commodities that were once imported were now produced locally.

The pattern of settlement around Peshtan and Pluk (Zone 7) is entirely different in the Hellenistic period from that in the immediate hinterland of Apollonia; although some few sherds were found scattered in the landscape, few sites were identified in this zone and those have lower artifact densities than sites closer to Apollonia. Additionally the quantity and quality of black glaze and imported vessels is significantly lower in Zone 7 than in Zones 1-6 and in the immediate vicinity of Margelliç.

As with the zones around Apollonia, the majority of the finds from Zones 10-13 are Hellenistic. During this period, occupation in, and utilization of, locales farther away from the acropolis of Margelliç increased. All of the existing sites in Zones 10-13 reached their peak during the 3rd century B.C. and several new ones emerged. There is a consistent scatter of Hellenistic artifacts throughout Zones 10, 11, and 13, suggesting that the countryside was more intensively cultivated than in the past. Hellenistic
finds were rare in Zone 12, however, and this territory was devoid of habitation sites.

The number of Greek sherds at S041, S045, and S055 increased during the Hellenistic period and the pattern of land tenure around Margelliç appears to have been radically altered. There is an upsurge in the number of artifacts found on, and just below, the acropolis. By the 3rd century B.C. the hinterland around the citadel was occupied by people using non-indigenous ceramics: it appears that in terms of material culture, the native Illyrians had become "Hellenized" by this time. Although many of the ceramics were locally produced, perhaps even by indigenous potters, the products were all of Greek type.

In stark contrast to the hinterlands of both Apollonia and Margelliç, the zones immediately west of the Gjanica river remained underexploited throughout the Hellenistic period. Finds of this period, which are so ubiquitous elsewhere, were rare in Zones 8 and 9, and only a few sherds were randomly dispersed in the landscape.

Stability in the countryside around the centers at Apollonia and Margelliç seems to have been maintained until the end of the 3rd century B.C. A transformation is evident at this time, and people began to abandon domiciles in the countryside in favor of urban dwellings. The shift
away from rural living and the demise of the small farmstead is best illustrated at S034: there the closely dated pottery from the excavation indicates that the site was occupied only in the Middle Hellenistic period and was abandoned around 200 B.C., perhaps in conjunction with an escalation of Roman military involvement in the eastern Adriatic.\textsuperscript{1657}

Over half of the closely dated Late Hellenistic sherds in the survey assemblage are from Apollonia and Margelliç, specifically, the asty and S043, and the acropolis and lower slopes of Margelliç. Other sherds of this date came almost exclusively from S008 or "fusha e Qoramidhës (S049)."

It is unclear when the demographic shift that had taken place by the beginning of the Early Roman period was set in motion, although it is likely that it was towards the end of the Middle Hellenistic period. There is evidence for continuity into the Late Hellenistic at only three sites in Zones 3 and 4–6: S012 and S051 in Zone 4, and S027 in Zone 6. One or two Late Hellenistic sherds were found at a few other sites in the vicinity of Apollonia: S020 in Zone 3, and S001, S002, S015, S031, and S052 in Zone 4. Most of the farmsteads in these zones, however, appear to have been abandoned during, or by the

\textsuperscript{1657} See Chapter 2 and Galaty et al. 2004.
end of, the Hellenistic period. This is certainly the case for S047 and S050 in Zone 1; S018, S020, and S033 in Zone 3; S009, S010, S011, S022, S026, and S032 in Zone 4; S028 in Zone 5; and S034, S040, and S056 in Zone 6. Of the sites that were abandoned at this time, some were reoccupied later in the Roman period, but others were not.

Burial in the eastern necropolis at Apollonia ceased in the Late Hellenistic period; in contrast to the vast quantities of earlier Hellenistic finds, only one Late Hellenistic sherd was collected from S007. The presence of three Late Hellenistic sherds at S005 and two Late Hellenistic-Early Roman sherds in contiguous tracts, might indicate that this site, at least, continued in use (perhaps even into the Early Roman period); it may, of course, have assumed a different function by this time (i.e., as a workshop or small domestic site). There is also one Late Hellenistic sherd that was found just downslope from S005 at S058, one of the few places in Zone 2 with Roman finds.

Hellenistic sites in Zone 7 were also abandoned before or during the Late Hellenistic period. Only two Late Hellenistic sherds were found in the entire catchment, one each at S037 and S039. Nothing at all of Late Hellenistic date was collected in Zones 8 or 9.
Late Hellenistic sherds in Zones 10-13 came from the vicinity of Margelliç, most on the acropolis or its lower slopes. It is evident that the countryside around Margelliç was also being drained of residents by the 1st century B.C., as people relocated to larger regional centers. It is possible that manpower at inland settlements was depleted as farmers abandoned their land in favor of military careers or other more lucrative opportunities elsewhere. There is no doubt, however, that the hinterland was depopulated by the Late Hellenistic period.

In conclusion, the vast majority of the finds from all zones and most sites are of Hellenistic date. By the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. there was an enormous increase in the exploitation of the countryside and an upsurge in the number of small rural farmsteads in the hinterland of Apollonia, especially in Zones 1 and 3-6. In addition to numerous new sites, MRAP found a consistent background scatter of Hellenistic sherds throughout the countryside. The largest number of sites were identified in the Shtyllas valley, the fertile zone closest to Apollonia. The number of sites decreases, the farther away one moves from the polis center. Most of the Hellenistic farmsteads were situated on hilltops, ridges, or terraces.
and took advantage of water sources and transportation routes; very few sites were located in valley bottoms. The percentages of different categories of ceramics (i.e., black glaze, fineware, cooking ware, and storage vessels) vary from site to site.

There was also a drastic increase in the number of burials in the necropolis of Apollonia during the Hellenistic period. Tile graves were the preferred form of burial, and more plain ware vessels were used as grave goods at the expense of black glaze. In sharp contrast to earlier periods, transport amphorae of Hellenistic date are rare in the S007 assemblage.

Zones 8 and 9 remained unoccupied during the Hellenistic period. Zone 7, too, appears to have been underutilized. Moreover, the character of the finds from the few farmsteads that were found in Zone 7 suggests that they were more impoverished than those nearer to Apollonia. It is possible that these zones (7–9) were too remote from the urban centers at Apollonia and Margellin to have been attractive for permanent settlement.

The community around Margellin also expanded during the Hellenistic period. The settlement pattern, however, is quite different from that around Apollonia. At Margellin, a continuous urban sprawl extends out into the
area below the acropolis. The sites a short distance away from the acropolis appear to be satellite hamlets, while the small single-family farmsteads found around Apollonia seem to be absent.

As we have seen in Chapter 5, it is impossible to determine the ethnicity of the people living at Margellিç on the basis of material culture alone. It is likely that this center remained an Illyrian stronghold, in spite of the fact that Greek material culture replaced indigenous types. There is no evidence that Margellিç ever developed into a polis, like Byllis, or that any of the civic institutions associated with that type of political organization, such as a boule, ekklesia, or state cults, developed there. Moreover, Margellিç was never included on the theorodokoi lists, even when Byllis and Amantia were.

Another transformation, equally as radical, took place towards the end of the Middle Hellenistic period, probably during the 2nd century B.C. There was widespread abandonment of the countryside and a move back to urban center. There is only a small amount of evidence for site continuity between the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods. Moreover, burial in S007 ceased by the Late Hellenistic period (see Chapters 7 and 8). It is possible
that this second shift coincided with the appearance of Romans in the eastern Adriatic.

The Roman Settlement and Land Use Patterns

The Roman period is twice as long as the Hellenistic period, yet the number of finds from MRAP only totals 4% of the number of Hellenistic sherds (Fig. 9.8).¹⁶⁵⁸ Only 821 pieces of Roman ceramics were collected, among them 302 tiles (Tables 9.9, 9.10). Thirty-seven percent of the finds can be no more closely dated than Roman.

Changes in settlement patterns that almost certainly had begun by the Late Hellenistic period can be convincingly documented. There was a significant decrease in the number of rural sites, and those that did survive the Hellenistic to Roman transition contracted in size; the Roman component is always much smaller when both periods are represented at a site. Roman finds were collected mostly at sites located at low elevations and along major roads.

The Roman sherds from Zone 1 were largely confined to tracts inside the polis walls and S043.¹⁶⁵⁹ Both sites were in continuous use throughout the Roman period. Very few tiles were found at S043, and the number of storage vessels

¹⁶⁵⁸ The percentage is slightly higher (7%) if sherds from the excavation at S034 are excluded from the calculation.
is larger than in earlier periods. There is also an increase in the quantity of cooking and plain ware sherds, certainly indicating that the function of the site changed—as is clear from the excavation.

Twenty-three percent of the finds from S008 are Roman in date. This is the highest percentage of Roman material from any site with an earlier component; it is noteworthy that only 4% of the ceramics are tiles. Elsewhere in Zone 1, there is a substantial Roman component at S049, a site which also spans the Hellenistic-Roman transition. Most of the finds from there, however, are Late Roman in date. A couple Late Roman sherds from S050 possibly represent small scale reuse since there is no evidence for continuity between the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods. The rest of the sites in Zone 1 also appear to have been uninhabited in the Early Roman period. This is certainly the case for S047 and S050 where no Roman sherds were found at all.

The eastern necropolis (S007) ceased to function as a cemetery before the Late Hellenistic period. Mano suggests that the burial ground was relocated to the plain west of the acropolis during the 1st century B.C., her western necropolis, which almost completely replaced S007 as Apollonia's principal burial site.¹⁶⁶⁰ Mano's western necropolis forms part of MRAP site S049, but the survey

¹⁶⁶⁰ Mano 1975.
found very little evidence of mortuary activity there. The eastern necropolis might not have been entirely supplanted, though. Although Praschniker excavated a Roman funerary monument in the modern village of Kryegjata, almost no evidence of its existence remains today.\textsuperscript{1661}

As noted above, there is very little evidence in Zone 2 for continuity between the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods. Only two sites in the zone, S016 and S058, produced Roman finds. Most of the sherds from S016 are pieces of Late Roman cooking pots. The assemblage from S058 is similar, although there are a few Middle Roman tiles. S058 appears, however, to have been exclusively a Roman site, without a substantial Hellenistic component. Roman sherds were also recovered in several tracts around the periphery of the site, making this the largest concentration of Roman artifacts from Zone 2. S058, located just above the bottom of the Kryegjata valley, was situated next to the Via Egnatia.

Apollonia remained a major center into the Late Roman period. The city was a starting point of the Via Egnatia, the large Roman road that ran from the coast of the Adriatic to Thessalonica.\textsuperscript{1662} The road from Apollonia

\textsuperscript{1661} Praschniker 1922-1924, col. 60.
\textsuperscript{1662} Praschniker (1922-1924) was the first to document its route. See also Praschniker and Schober 1919; Hammond 1974b; and Fasolo 2002, pp. 192-173. For maps of the route, see Talbert 2000, \textit{Illyricum} 49; Amore
converged with the road from Epidamnus at Ad Quintum, somewhere around modern Elbasan, and then continued eastward through the valley of the Shkumbi river. The Via Egnatia was constructed after Macedonia was incorporated as a Roman province in 148 B.C., and, as noted elsewhere, it is likely that it followed the course of a much older road.

Sections of the Via Egnatia traversed areas that were surveyed by MRAP. After passing through the city walls of Apollonia, the road ran through the Kryeçjata valley (Zone 2), through the modern village of Radostina, and across the plain to Fier. The road veered south at Fier to avoid a swamp, continued west to Stephanaphana, skirting the village of Mbyet and completely bypassing the Gjanica river valley and Margelliç. The construction of the road had profound effects on settlement patterns both in areas that it traversed and in those that it bypassed.

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1663 The Via Egnatia project, directed by Bejko, Amore, and Gjipi has investigated the remains of the road around Elbasan. See Amore and Bejko 2001; Amore et al. 2001. See Ceka and Papajani 1972 for Ad Quintum.
1664 See Deniaux 1999; Fasolo 2002.
1665 Praschniker (1922-1924) reported seeing the remains of a bridge over the Gjanica river at Fier.
1666 For the Via Egnatia and the consequences of its construction on the territories through which it passed and bypassed, see Amore et al. 2001 and Fasolo 2003.
Another major Roman thoroughfare ran north from Apollonia to Epidamnus and south to Vlora, whence it continued down the coast to Nicopolis. This road intersected the Via Egnatia at Apollonia.\textsuperscript{1667} The route south skirted the edge of the coastal plain between Apollonia and Levan (Zones 4, 5, and 6), passing by the temple at Shtyllas. A Roman mile marker found at Levan confirms its trajectory.\textsuperscript{1668} This road almost certainly followed the course of the modern Shtyllas-Levan road, and geological investigations suggest that an ancient riverbed of the Vjosa ran parallel to it. By ca. A.D. 286 when the Antonine Itinerary was composed, Vlora had become the major port in central western Albania.\textsuperscript{1669} When the course of the Vjosa river changed in the Late Roman period, Apollonia lost its strategic position as the southern terminus of the Via Egnatia.\textsuperscript{1670}

Large areas of Zones 3–6 appear to have been abandoned throughout the Early and Middle Roman periods. Sites that did survive beyond the 1st century A.D. were greatly reduced in size. S019 is the only site in Zone 3 where there is a substantial Roman component; all phases are represented. S019 enjoyed a prominent location on the Via

\textsuperscript{1667} See Hammond 1974b, p. 190.
\textsuperscript{1668} \textit{CIL} iii, 7365; Patsch 1904, p. 195; Praschniker 1922–1924, col. 53; Fasolo 2002, p. 49.
\textsuperscript{1669} \textit{Itineraria Romana} 329, I. See Hammond 1974b, p. 193.
\textsuperscript{1670} Wilkes 2006, p. 170.
Egnatia, and for this reason appears to have remained important. Only one entirely new site was established in Zones 1–6 in the Roman period: the villa at Levan (S042) in Zone 6. It, too, lay on a Roman road—that from Shtyllas to Levan. The other sites in Zone 6, S023 and S029, had been abandoned before the Early Roman period and were not reoccupied until Middle or Late Roman times.

Early Roman sherds were found in Zones 4–6 at S015, S027, and in several tracts between S015 and S051. Although there are substantial Roman components at S015 and S027, the majority of the finds could not be closely dated, making it difficult to determine if these sites were continuously occupied. Late Roman is the most well represented phase at both. S015 is located just above the major thoroughfare through the Shtyllas valley and S027 next to the road to Vlora. There are also Roman sherds from S014 (Zone 4) and S028 (Zone 5).

Large Roman *latifundia* of the type found in Italy probably began to be introduced along the eastern seaboard of the Adriatic following the dramatic events of 167 B.C. when Aemilius Paullus and his army devastated parts of Epirus and southern Illyria at the end of the Macedonian War.\(^{1671}\) Many urban centers were destroyed and large parts

of the countryside were depopulated; changes in land tenure occurred at this time, as people retreated to urban dwellings. The decrease in rural occupation and the disappearance of small single-family farmsteads was abetted by the creation of vast estates worked by slaves. 

*Latifundia* probably were influential in redefining the use of rural space around Apollonia. By the 1st century A.D., the countryside had been transformed and small farmsteads had disappeared. There was an increasing emphasis on urbanization as people reverted to city life. The reduction in the number of Roman sites corresponds to an increase in the size of the community at Apollonia.

Apollonia will have been typical of the Balkans in this period. Frequent military incursions by Roman and Macedonian armies will have produced instability and turmoil in the countryside, and the Early Roman period was one of further decay in the rural landscape. The ubiquitous small farmsteads of the Hellenistic period did not reappear even after stability returned with the establishment of a Roman provincial administration.¹⁶⁷² The few rural sites that did survive near Apollonia were those

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¹⁶⁷² Alcock (1993, ch. 2) discusses the radical changes that took place in the countryside in the wake of Roman conquest and the subsequent redistribution of land.
situated along major transportation and communication arteries.\textsuperscript{1673}

It is clear that \textit{latifundia} existed in Albania in the Early Roman period: the correspondence between Cicero and Atticus attests to the practice at Butrint.\textsuperscript{1674} It is likely that these types of farms were established in Mallakastra and Muzakia, too, resulting in the consolidation of individual parcels of land into sizeable estates.\textsuperscript{1675} On the other hand, villas, common elsewhere during the Roman period, are rare in the countryside of Apollonia; the only known example in the survey area is S042 at Levan. If these large slave-managed estates existed at Apollonia, many owners must have lived in the city, rather than on their land.

Another transformation in the rural landscape occurred in the Late Roman period, and there seems to have been an infilling of the countryside—on a much smaller scale, however, than in the Early Hellenistic period. The shift from urban-dwelling probably began at the end of the Middle

\textsuperscript{1673} Ceka (2001, pp. 54-55) notes in other parts of Albania a shift in habitation from upland areas to the plains in close proximity to major cities during the Roman period.

\textsuperscript{1674} Cicero \textit{Ad Att.} 15.29.3. See Bergmann 1998 for Roman Butrint.

\textsuperscript{1675} There is, however, no evidence as yet for Apollonia, either textual or archaeological, that points to the Roman practice of \textit{centuriation}, the implantation of "new" Roman colonies with war veterans, each of whom received a small parcel of land. This practice is, however, documented at Butrint, Phoinike, and elsewhere in southern Albania. See Brunt 1971 for veteran colonies in general. See Shpuza 2006 for \textit{centuriation} in southern Albania.
Roman period and accelerated in Late Roman times. A redefinition of rural space and a change in the system of land tenure may have encouraged greater exploitation of the countryside. Late Roman sherds were found at S012, S021, S023, S029, S031, and S032.

Territory outside the immediate vicinity of Apollonia, with the exception of the few sites along Roman roads, remained unpopulated until the Late Roman period. An increased exploitation of the hinterland then is detectable in the reuse of a number of sites in Zones 1-6, as mentioned above, but also in the number of sherds of that date that were found in tracts, even in previously depopulated areas such as Zones 1, 7, 10, and 13. At this time, Apollonia itself was becoming less important, its demise perhaps hastened by an earthquake that altered the course of the Vjosa river. Such an urban decline is, however, visible in many other parts of the Mediterranean in the Late Roman period.

All sites in Zone 7 were abandoned before the beginning of the Early Roman period. The few Roman sherds found in Zone 7, are Late Roman. There is no evidence for permanent occupation or agricultural exploitation in the zone during the Roman period. Very little Roman material

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1677 Cf. Alcock 1993; Christie 2004, and other papers in the same volume.
was found in Zones 8 and 9 and those zones continued to be uninhabited.

Margelliç (S041, S044, S045, S055), an area continuously occupied from the Bronze Age through the Hellenistic period, appears to have experienced a dramatic demographic decline in the Early and Middle Roman periods. The disruption and depopulation of the area may largely have been a consequence of the construction of the Via Egnatia, which shifted the route from Apollonia into the interior of the Balkans to the north, completely bypassing the area of Margelliç.

The revival in rural occupation underway by the Late Roman period in Zones 3-6 also occurred in Zones 10-13, however. Middle Roman sherds were found in Zone 13 and at S045, where there is evidence for the reoccupation of a small part of the site. The only indication of a Roman presence on the acropolis is also Late Roman. S044, too, was reused for domestic purposes in the Late Roman period.

The quantity of Roman sherds from the survey area is astonishingly small, especially given the length of the period. As we have seen, the countryside had been depopulated during the Late Hellenistic period. The exodus from the hinterland was paralleled by an increase in urban residency. The multitude and magnitude of Roman buildings
and houses inside the walls at Apollonia attest to this transformation. Although Apollonia was perhaps an educational and cultural hub in the Early Roman period,\textsuperscript{1678} this does not mean that its \textit{chora} prospered. The lack of Roman transport amphorae in the countryside and the vast quantities of them at S008, the \textit{asty}, also underscores this demographic shift.

\textbf{Conclusion}

This chapter has documented the diachronic changes in settlement patterns in and around the Greek \textit{apoikia} at Apollonia and the Illyrian center at Margelliç. Apart from a few sherds in the necropolis, there is little evidence for a prehistoric presence around Apollonia. The most significant evidence for Illyrians in the hinterland of Apollonia is from east of the Gjanica river valley in Zone 7 and around Margelliç. It is possible that both of these areas were used already in the Middle Bronze Age, but they were certainly occupied during the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age. Greek material culture began to appear in these zones already in the Early Archaic period, probably contemporaneously with the foundation of the colony at Apollonia.

\textsuperscript{1678} Cf. Plut. \textit{Ant.} 16, \textit{Brut.} 22.
During the Archaic and Classical periods the Greek colonists lived in the polis center and worked the land in the *chora* from there, perhaps setting up temporary or seasonal structures outside the *asty* during the 4th century B.C. It was during the Hellenistic period, however, that the rural landscape was most intensively exploited, and there was a proliferation of small, permanently occupied, single-family farmsteads. The pattern changed once again after the Middle Hellenistic period and perhaps coinciding with an intensification of Roman military activity in the eastern Adriatic. This shift produced a pattern in the Early and Middle Roman periods that was similar to that of the Archaic and Classical periods and urban residency again gained favor at the expense of rural occupation. Another shift occurred again in the Late Roman period when field houses or small farmsteads were once again established outside the city center.
Chapter 10.

Apollonia and Its Hinterland: A Retrospect

The countries composing Albania, seem, in parts, to have been peopled by an almost uninterrupted succession of barbarians. Illyricum and Epirus are not often mentioned by historians, without a notice of the peculiar ferocity of their inhabitants. It was not until the reign of Tharrytas, king of the Molossians and Thesprotians, from whom Pyrrhus was fourth in descent, that the Greek manners and language were introduced into the country; which, as it was divided into several petty principalities and republics, could, after all, never have been more than partially civilized.\footnote{Broughton 1813, p. 125.}

The master-narrative of "colonialism" in antiquity is a classic instance of a problem of historical focus: it derives from a myopic reading of ancient literature, a long-sighted failure to discern the patterns which archaeology revealed, and an astigmatic preoccupation with colonial locations outside the geographical frame of discussion. The simple story of foundation and survival is extremely artificial. The colonial onset is part of the world of self-legitimating political persuasion. The legitimating narratives of the foundations of Greek apoikiai have been read for decades astonishingly literally.\footnote{Purcell 2005, p. 134.}

The Euboeans were the first post-Mycenaean Greek seafarers and traders in the Adriatic. They interpreted

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\item \footnotesize \textsuperscript{1679} Broughton 1813, p. 125.
\item \footnotesize \textsuperscript{1680} Purcell 2005, p. 134.
\end{itemize}
this foreign coast in ways comfortable to them and imbued their ports of call with familiar overtones by grafting Greek nostoi onto the peoples and lands they encountered. At Apollonia these early Greek mariners encountered a deserted landscape filled with abandoned tumuli, burial mounds they read as monuments of their Homeric ancestors. Thus, by the time an apoikia was founded at Apollonia, southern Illyria had become, in one sense, "Hellenized" and incorporated into the Greek oikumene.

Apollonia was almost certainly founded by Corinth in the second half of the 7th century B.C. The precise date of 588 B.C., generally repeated by historians and archaeologists for the foundation of the apoikia, is a relic of 17th and 18th century scholarship that sought to order antiquity by assigning exact dates to as many events as possible. The textual evidence, however, cannot substantiate such a late foundation date, and archaeological evidence, too, suggests that it must be entirely discarded.

The apoikia at Apollonia was a Corinthian foundation. Its ktisis appears to have been altered in antiquity, probably centuries after the foundation of the colony, to accommodate Corcyra’s increased regional significance and evolving political circumstances in the Adriatic. This
resulted in confusion in Hellenistic and Roman sources about what had been the *metropolis* of the colony. The use of limestone sarcophagi for burials, not usual in other Greek colonies or on the island of Corcyra, but a common practice at Apollonia in the Archaic and Classical periods, had become a standard practice at Corinth by the beginning of the 7th century B.C.\footnote{Sarcophagi were also used at Syracuse. See Chapter 5.} This fact lends credence to the hypothesis that Corinth was the *metropolis* of Apollonia.

The study of imported Corinthian transport amphoras has provided new and essential information about both Greek and indigenous settlement patterns in the hinterland of Apollonia. Charting the diachronic distribution of this category of artifacts documents the spread of Greek material culture from the *apoikia* into the surrounding countryside and pinpoints the date at which this occurred. Transport amphoras have also been valuable for determining changes in the relationship between *apoikia* and *metropolis*. Most of the Archaic vessels of this type are Corinthian imports and the earliest examples are found exclusively in the necropolis of Apollonia and at Margelliç, an indigenous regional center and Illyrian hillfort. By the end of the 4th century B.C., on the other hand, the number of imports from the *metropolis* had drastically decreased and non-
Corinthian transport amphoras are ubiquitous in the landscape.

The survey data presented in Chapter 7 and discussed in Chapters 8 and 9 support textual evidence in suggesting that the colonists encountered a very underutilized landscape when they arrived at Apollonia. Apollonia was on the border of the territory belonging to several different Illyrian tribes and was thus situated in a "no-man's land." The colonists took advantage of this opportunity: the easy availability of fertile land, without the need to wrest it from indigenous inhabitants by force, was probably one of the principal attractions in settling Apollonia.

The Illyrians were not initially a seafaring people. Strabo also notes that they did not take advantage of marine resources. These observations may in part explain why there were no indigenous people living in the immediate vicinity of Apollonia when Greek colonists arrived. Native settlement in Mallakastra at the time the apoikia was founded appears to have been confined to locations east of the Gjanica river valley.

There is nothing in our data to suggest an influx of Illyrians into the apoikia, or that attests to mingling of Illyrians and Greeks in the Archaic and Classical periods; the material culture found in the zones near Apollonia is
typically and exclusively "Greek." Greeks were not the only ones who used Greek-style products, however. The zones west of the Gjanica demonstrate this most clearly: although imported Archaic products, specifically transport amphorae and black glaze vessels, moved across the river, the fact that they are found in conjunction with contemporary indigenous ceramics argues that they were used by natives, rather than by Greek settlers. Rigid territorial boundaries and distinctions between Greeks and non-Greeks appear to have maintained until the Hellenistic period.

There was little or no permanent occupation in the hinterland of Apollonia during the Archaic and Classical periods, possibly because the colonists felt unsafe living far from the city center. For whatever reason, the colonists and their ancestors chose largely to reside inside the city walls throughout the 5th century B.C. and probably few Greeks, if any, resided in the countryside before the end of the 4th century B.C. Many of the inhabitants of the polis probably engaged in trade, which might have further anchored them to the asty. Others, however, as indicated by Herodotus, were pastoralists or farmers. Yet they, too, lived in the city, rather than on or near their land.
Greek exploitation of the hinterland around Apollonia increased in the Late Classical period: the first conclusive evidence for agricultural intensification in the countryside is from the 4th century B.C. There is an upsurge in the number of sites at this time, particularly in the Shtyllas valley. It is likely that, as the population increased, there was a higher demand for surplus crops, which in turn led to exploitation of lands in areas farther away from the asty. Even during the Late Classical period, however, most farmers probably continued to live in the city and travel from there to their plots; the majority of the sherds found outside the city are from storage vessels, suggesting that they were used for transporting and/or storing farm products.1682

Burial was held sacred in the Greek world and was a custom that helped define social and ethnic unity. The importance of death rituals is evident in the poems of Homer, and Herodotus, too, discussed the disposal of the

1682 The situation in parts of southern Italy is similar in some respects. At Taras and Metapontum almost all of the Archaic Greek artifacts from non-Greek contexts were found in tombs, where the most common shapes are black glaze vessels associated with the consumption of wine. Few sherds were found in native settlements, where indigenous ceramics predominate. As at Apollonia, there are no early Greek sites in the hinterland of the chora, and all Greek finds outside of the immediate territory of the apoikiai are always found in association with native. In contrast, however, numerous Archaic farmhouses have been identified within the chora at Metapontum. See Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989, pp. 107-113.
dead as a defining factor in "the Greek" character.\textsuperscript{1683} The Greek colonists at Apollonia were doubtless attracted to the area southeast of the acropolis by the presence of indigenous tumuli there, which they then imitated. Except for two Late Bronze Age sherds, however, all finds collected by our project in the necropolis of Apollonia are of Greek type.

The colonists began to bury their dead in the necropolis in the Archaic period, at least by the early 6th century B.C. Since the Archaic artifacts are from non-contiguous areas, it is clear that the colonists did not initially employ only one nucleated burial place within the cemetery. Rather, multiple disparate tumuli were used contemporaneously. These tumuli expanded in size over time, often merging to form larger mounds—a trend documented in the case of Tumulus 9. Small mounds built near to one another were gradually incorporated into a large tumulus. The colonists probably imagined both the Illyrians and themselves to be practicing burial rituals that, in some sense, were Homeric.

Patterns in burial at Apollonia in the Archaic and Classical periods mirror those of settlements. In the earliest decades of the apoikia, the dead were buried in close proximity to the world of the living in the asty.

\textsuperscript{1683} Morris 1998, p. 9.
Greeks did not live outside the city walls, nor were they buried in locations other than in the necropolis. This pattern is the opposite of that in the Hellenistic period, when there was widespread occupation and burial in the countryside; people began to be buried near their fields or in local cemeteries.

At the end of the 4th century B.C., evidence of activity rises markedly in all the zones around Apollonia and also in the area around Margelliç. It is at this time that there was a proliferation of small, single-family farmsteads in Zones 1, and 3-6. In contrast to earlier finds, which almost exclusively consisted of transport amphoras and pithoi, the Hellenistic assemblages contain all the characteristic domestic components typically found at farmsteads: tiles, plain and cooking wares, black glaze vessels, and storage jars. Sites around Margelliç appear to be of a different type. They were larger and were perhaps satellite villages around the nucleated center.

An exodus from the countryside is evident late in the Middle Hellenistic period, probably around the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. This shift is visible in all zones and is likely a result of an increased presence of Macedonian and Roman armies. Settlement contracts further in the Early Roman period, and it is only in Late Roman
times that there was a small revival in the number of individual dwellings outside the polis centers.

**Apollonia in the Mediterranean World**

As noted in Chapter 2, Albania, and its coastal areas in particular, have been subject to various outside influences throughout the past. In keeping with this more general trend, patterns of settlement in the area of Apollonia have been shaped and re-shaped profoundly through contact with foreign cultures and more powerful societies. The effect of such influences are archaeologically evident in the rural landscape explored by the Mallakastra Regional Archaeological Project, from the time of the foundation of the colony throughout the remainder of antiquity—the time frame that has been a concern to me in this thesis.

Over the *moyenne durée* of three centuries, between the 7th and 4th century B.C., the rural settlement pattern at Apollonia underwent only gradual changes. The apoikia was a node on trade routes, perhaps even on an amber route from the north, but still it occupied a position on the fringes of the Greek world and remained fairly isolated. The lack of knowledge and textual information about this part of the Adriatic coast even as late as the 4th century B.C. is evident in the misleading descriptions that have survived
from various Greek geographers. Thus, although Apollonia belonged to a Greek cultural milieu in the Archaic and Classical periods and even could play a major role in the international arena from time to time, as at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, it remained outside the scope of the familiar.

An intensification in rural land use in Hellenistic times is perhaps to be expected, given the increasingly important role that Apollonia came to play in international affairs. With the death of Alexander, unity imposed by Macedonia in the Balkans began to break down. As Macedonian despots vied for strategic locations and territorial expansion, an anchorage on the Adriatic was of immense importance. Various rulers, beginning with Cassander, sought to control important Greek ports in southern Illyria. Thus Apollonia entered the mainstream. The closer incorporation of the Adriatic in the larger Hellenistic world is also evidenced by the many Illyrian cities now included in the theorodokoi lists. But even in the 3rd and 2nd century B.C., when evidence for rural land use and settlement in the chora of Apollonia was at its height, the existence of certain “dead zones” suggest the boundaries between Greek and indigenous lands remained firmly fixed.
In 229 B.C. circumstances combined with individual agency to irrevocably alter the coast of the Adriatic and to put in motion a chain of events that led ultimately to the Roman conquest of Greece. The execution by Teuta of two ambassadors sent by Rome set the stage, and Apollonia became embroiled in battles that continued until southern Illyria was finally incorporated as a Roman province. The individual actions of Demetrius of Pharos, Scerdilaidas, Philip V, Perseus, and Aemilius Paullus, and the consequences of their choices, demonstrate the essential power of agency in the determination of historical trajectories. The incorporation of Apollonia within the Empire marked another shift in patterns of rural settlement and land use—this time a contraction back to the asty and perhaps an accompanying extensification in agricultural production as Alcock has argued occurred in other parts of the Greek world at that time.1684

The slender threads of a history summarized so briefly in this chapter are the hard-won product of five years of fieldwork in Albania, both surface survey and excavation. As a result of this research, which I helped plan and conduct, it is possible for the first time to gain a broad and diachronic view of the development of a Greek colony in

1684 Alcock 1993.
the eastern Adriatic, including its hinterland. Through the efforts of literally dozens of colleagues and associates, a rich body of information about the landscape of central Albania was collected, verified, and stored, one that it has been my privilege here to analyze in depth. Hundreds of pages of analysis have been required to substantiate only a few pages of conclusions and for this I must apologize to those readers whose patience I have tried. Only in this way has it been possible, however, to write a history for a Greek colony that is based as much on archaeological evidence as on textual criticism.

The advantage of such an approach should be clear. The archaeological data seemed to challenge traditional interpretations. This in turn led me to reconsider the latter—and, in so doing, to reject the substantive basis for much earlier scholarship. Whether the new *ktisis* and settlement history of Apollonia that I here propose will stand the test of time, god only knows. It is my hope, at least, that the way in which I have approached my subject will encourage others to design similar research strategies in other parts of the ancient world.
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BUST = Buletin i Universitetit Shetëror të Tiranës, Tirana.

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Table 6.2. MRAP transport amphora by date and zone

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Table 7.1. List of sites in numerical order with zone, area, year of collection, site size, and site name.
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**Table 7.3.** Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery from Site 001
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Table 7.4. Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery from tracts associated with Site 002
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Table 7.5. Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery from Site 002
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Table 7.14. Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery associated with revisititation of Site 007
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Table 7.18. Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery from tracts associated with Site 010
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Table 7.19. Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery associated with revisitation of Site 010
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Table 7.20  Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery from tracts associated with Site 011
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Table 7.21. Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery from Site 011
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Table 7.22. Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery from tracts associated with Site 012
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Table 7.23. Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery from Site 012
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Table 7.24. Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery from tracts associated with Site 013
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Table 7.37. Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery from tracts associated with Site 020
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Table 7.49. Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery from tracts associated with Site 028
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Table 7.51. Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery from tracts associated with Site 029
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Table 7.55. Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery and revisititation from tracts associated with Site 032
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Table 7.59. Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery from tracts and revisitation associated with Site 034
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Table 7.61. Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery from excavation associated with Site 034
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Table 7.70. Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery from Site 039
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Table 7.81. Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery from Site 045
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7.82. Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery from tracts associated with Site 046
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Table 7.83. Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery from tracts associated with Site 047
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Table 7.84. Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery from Site 047
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Table 7.88. Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery from Site 050
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**Table 7.97.** Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery from tracts associated with Site 058
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Table 7.98. Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery from revisitation associated with Site 058
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Table 7.99. Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery from tracts and revisitation associated with Site 060
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Table 7.100. Shapes represented by period in the collection of pottery from tracts associated with Site 061
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<td>S048</td>
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<td>PMED+; H; R</td>
<td>Sopi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S049</td>
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<td>HL+; R+</td>
<td>Fushe e Qaramidheës</td>
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<td>A?, CL; HL+; R</td>
<td>Pojan</td>
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<td>HL+</td>
<td>HL grave, LO site</td>
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<td>Tumulus</td>
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<td>BA; A+; CL+; HL+</td>
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<td>Kodra e Kripës</td>
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<td>A; CL; HL</td>
<td>Shtyllas Temple</td>
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<td>Periods Represented</td>
<td>Site Name</td>
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**Table 8.1. List of sites by zone with periods represented**
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Table 9.10. Roman pottery by date and zone Roman pottery counts by zone