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THESPROTIA EXPEDITION I
TOWARDS A REGIONAL HISTORY

Edited by Björn Forsén

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Cover: The Early Hellenistic fortress Agios Donatos of Zervochori seen from the south. Photo: Esko Tikkala.

Layout: Vesa Vahtikari

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Preface

This volume originates in the Thesprotian colloquium that was organised in June 2006 in Athens by the Finnish Institute at Athens and the 8th Ephorate for Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities. As several of the papers given at the colloquium already have been published elsewhere, this volume includes less than half of the original papers. Instead new chapters written by members of the Thesprotia Expedition or by other colleagues working in the region have been added. The aim has been to produce a book that will give a general picture of some of the newest results concerning the past of Thesprotia in northwestern Greece, with a special emphasis given to the results of the first three years of the Thesprotia Expedition.

The Thesprotia Expedition took place with permission of the Greek Archaeological Service and the Institute for Geological and Mineral Research (IGME). The archaeological field work was conducted under the auspices of the Finnish Institute at Athens and under supervision of the 32nd (formerly 8th) Ephorate for Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Igoumenitsa and the 8th Ephorate for Byzantine Antiquities in Ioannina. I wish to express my thanks to these organizations for their constant support and cooperation, and especially to Georgios Riginos, Garyfallia Metallinou, Ourania Palli and Kassiani Lazari at the 32nd Ephorate for Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, to Franziska Kephallonitou and Barbara Papadopoulou at the 8th Ephorate for Byzantine Antiquities, and to Martti Leiwo, Vesa Vahtikari, Maria Martzoukou, Maria Gourdouba and Marjaana Vesterinen at the Finnish Institute.

While planning the Thesprotia Expedition I received much support and encouragement from Leena Pietilä-Castrén, at that time director of the Finnish Institute at Athens. I am most grateful to her for this, as well as to all those who during my term as her successor were engaged in working for the Thesprotia Expedition as part of their positions at the institute. Here I especially want to emphasise my two consecutive assistant directors, Esko Tikkala and Vesa Vahtikari, as well as the CIMO trainees Tiina Piiroinen, Mikko Suha, Tommi Turmo and Anna Patteri for their genuine enthusiasm and constant willingness to help in what must have seemed like an endless task.

The archaeological field work of the Thesprotia Expedition would not have been possible were it not for the expertise of my wife Jeannette Forsén, who apart from functioning as assistant director singlehandedly sorted out all the collected finds. I also want to express my thanks to Evangelia Balta, who agreed to join the project and created the much needed contact with the Istanbul archives, as well as to Jon van Leuven, who patiently read through the manuscript paying special attention to the English language. Finally I want to thank the anonymous readers who commented on the different chapters in the book, as well as the following colleagues whose interest in the Thesprotia Expedition was an important incentive for all of us: William Bowden, Jack Davis, Søren Dietz, Angelika Douzougli, Mogens Herman Hansen, Anna Philippa-Touchais, Curtis Runnels, Giovanni Salmeri, Gilles Touchais, Ken Wardle, Geert Jan van Wijngaarden, James Wiseman and Konstantinos Zachos.

Between 2004 and 2006 the following colleagues and students took part in the project in one way or another: Evangelia Balta (2005-2006), Yannis Bassiakos (2004), Euthymios Dokos (2004), Konstantinos Dokos (2006), Vasiliki Eleutheriou (2005), Björn Forsén (2004-2006), Jeannette Forsén (2004-2006), Maria Gourdouba (2004), Barbara

Greiner (2006), Mika Hakkarainen (2004-2006), Nina Heiska (2004-2006), Anniina Hopeala (2006), Janne Ikäheimo (2005-2006), Paula Kouki (2004-2005), Maria Lahtinen (2006), Mika Lavento (2004-2006), Jeanette Lindblom (2005), Jukka Moisanen (2004), Markku Niskanen (2006), Mustafa Oğuz (2006), Jari Okkonen (2005-2006), Tuula Okkonen (2005-2006), Aleksi Okkonen (2005-2006), Ourania Palli (2005-2006), Antonis Papardukakis (2004-2005), Anna Patteri (2006), Petros Petsios (2005-2006), Yanis Pikoulas (2005), Tiina Piiroinen (2005), Sarianna Silvonen (2004-2006), Erkki Sironen (2005-2006), Tatyana Smekalova (2006), Mikko Suha (2004-2006), Nicolas Teyssandier (2004), Thanasis Themelis (2005), Esko Tikkala (2004-2006), Evangelos Tourloukis (2005), Thanasis Tsiproftis (2006), Tommi Turmo (2006), Rauno Vaara (2005), Nikolaos Zacharias (2004), Tiina Äikäs (2006).

A project like the Thesprotia Expedition cannot be undertaken without local support, and I gratefully acknowledge all the help, advice and support we have received – especially from Vasilis Lolos (†), previous mayor of Paramythia, from Georgios Riginos, who also after leaving his position as chief archaeologist in Thesprotia keeps returning to Elea and the Kokytos river basin, and finally from Ourania Palli, Petros Petsios, Eleni Nikolaou and Stavros Banakos, who all worked with us in field at different stages. Special mention also goes to Kostas and Eleni Lolos with siblings, children and grandchildren as well as to Vasilis, Katerina, Chrysoula and Maria Bika, who nearly adopted part of my family and made the village of Chrysaugi stand out as a second home for many of us.

The main funding for the Thesprotia Expedition during the years 2004 to 2006 was received from the Kone Foundation, a position that since 2007 has been taken over by the Academy of Finland. I owe many thanks to them as well as to all other foundations that have offered financial support to the project between 2004 and 2006: the Finnish Institute at Athens (2004-2006), Finnish Cultural Foundation (2004), Institute for Aegean Prehistory (2005-2006), Niilo Helander Foundation (2005), University of Helsinki (2005), SanomaWSOY (2006), Oulu University Scholarship Foundation (2006) and Oscar Öflund Foundation (2006). I am especially grateful for Rafaela Seppälä's help in obtaining support from SanomaWSOY, which carried the costs of the Thesprotian colloquium and the printing of this book.

This first volume of the Thesprotia Expedition is dedicated to Agios Donatos, protector and patron of all those trying to balance on rolling stones.

Björn Forsén
Helsinki, 10 December 2008

An Interdisciplinary Odyssey into the Past

Björn Forsén

The Thesprotia Expedition is an interdisciplinary project combining archaeology, history and geology with the aim of writing the diachronic history of the Kokytos river basin in Thesprotia from prehistoric to modern times.[1] The Kokytos river basin stretches from the modern town of Paramythia and the Roman *colonia* Photike in the north, southwards for some 20 km until it reaches the Acheron river, not far from where Odysseus stopped in order to ask the Nekyomanteion (the Oracle of the Dead) for advice how to find his way back to Ithaca (Homeros, *Il.* 10.506-520; 11.14-22). The dramatic Paramythia mountain range, rising to a height well over 1000 masl (highest point 1658 masl), demarcates the Kokytos river basin in the east from the Souli valley, whereas a series of lower hills separates it in the west from the valley of Margarithi and Parga. In the north the Kokytos valley is connected via Neochori to the Kalamas river, the region's second largest river after the Acheron (Fig. 1).

The Kokytos river basin, which in a sense is located at the very heart of Thesprotia, has always been of strategic importance. Firstly it is next to the Kalamas river basin, one of the region's most fertile areas. Secondly, one of the main roads leading from the south to the north has throughout history followed the course of the Kokytos river. In addition, some of the main routes leading from the sea towards Dodona and Ioannina further inland also pass through the Kokytos river basin (with Photike/Paramythia located at the very crossing-point of the routes leading from south to north and from west to east).

While planning the project back in 2003 it was clear that the Kokytos river basin was far too large to be covered by an intensive field survey. It was also obvious that the lush vegetation would pose problems for such a survey. The western lower slopes of the Paramythia range with several rich water sources, for instance, are totally overgrown by an impenetrable forest which makes any kind of field survey impossible. The visibility in the valley bottom again varies a lot; in cultivated fields, intensive field surveying can produce good results after ploughing, whereas other parts left fallow reveal absolutely nothing.

Intensive field surveys need to be based on and to take into account the archaeological work previously done in the region. This created quite a challenge for our conduct of an intensive survey in the Kokytos basin. At the same time as large parts of Thesprotian history remained poorly understood in 2003, the valley had changed dramatically during the 1990s as a result of agricultural improvements sponsored by the European Union (including building an irrigation system and creating larger fields through bulldozing). Due to these activities, large numbers of archaeological sites had been found and partly destroyed. However, thanks to the vigilant work of the local Greek archaeological authorities, rescue excavations had been conducted at several of the sites.

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[1] I owe thanks to Jeannette Forsén, Jon van Leuven and Giovanni Salmeri for commenting on the contents and language of this chapter. All figures were made by Esko Tikkala, and Figs. 4-5 in collaboration with Tatyana Smekalova, who supplied the magnetometer data.

Fig. 1. General map of the Kokytos river basin, including some of the sites mentioned in the text as well as the three lakes of Chotkova, Prontani and Morphi (from north to south).

Any attempt at writing the diachronic history of the Kokytos river basin thus clearly had to take into account the results of these mostly unpublished rescue excavations.

With all these factors in mind the Thesprotia Expedition was designed as a larger umbrella project, in which everyone working in the region would be invited to take part.

The purpose of the project is to produce two or three volumes with contributions not only from our own team members but also from other colleagues, especially from the Greek Archaeological Service. Our own work was planned to encompass, apart from an intensive archaeological and geological survey in part of the Kokytos river basin (due southwest of the acropolis of Elea and roughly between the villages Daphnoula, Zervochori and Agora in the east and Sevasto, Xirolophos and Skandalo in the west), also small-scale trial excavations in a number of locations of special interest, as well as palynological work in the Chotkova, Prontani and Morphi lakes to the north and west of the survey area. Efforts have also been put into re-studying inscriptions from Photike and collecting archival sources concerning Thesprotia in general in Istanbul and Venice.

Previous research and specific research aims

Landscape archaeology conducted in the form of intensive field surveys has developed into one of the most important research methods for regional history in the Mediterranean. One of the reasons for the popularity of the method is the fact that landscape archaeology enables us to assess the Braudelian *longue durée* developments. From the very beginning, intensive field surveys have been carried out in collaboration with natural sciences (geo-archaeology, palynology, etc.) and anthropology (e.g. phenomenology) in order to create a picture of the relationship between human beings and the environment. Historical sources, too, have always played an important role in such projects.[2]

Intensive field survey projects generally have a diachronic approach, although some of the earlier projects did not include the periods later than the Byzantine. Recent projects, however, include the history of the study areas until the advent of the modern era. Thereby, the use of Venetian and Ottoman archival sources has developed into an important facet of the projects, which at the same time have, in a sense, been transformed into regional history projects aiming at writing an ideal *histoire totale* on the basis of an increasingly sophisticated interdisciplinary approach. As examples of two recent projects of this type, where the use of historical sources has played an especially important role, one could mention the *Asea Valley Survey*[3] and the *Pylos Regional Archaeological Project*.[4]

During the last few years an increasing emphasis has been put on comparing the diachronic settlement patterns of different regions in the Mediterranean.[5] Only in this way can we establish any regional differences in the development that may help us to understand the economic, social and political history of the Eastern Mediterranean. Therefore it is of great importance that we also collect similar sets of data from the more peripheral regions. Much less archaeological research has been conducted in northwestern Greece, i.e. Epirus, than in the rest of Greece. Thus, the Thesprotia Expedition is only the

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[2] Among the plethora of intensive field survey final reports may e.g. be mentioned the Southern Argolid survey (e.g. Jameson, Runnels and van Andel 1994), the Keos survey (Cherry, Davis and Mantzourani 1991), the Methana survey (Mee and Forbes 1997), the Laconia survey (e.g. Cavanagh *et al.* 2002), the Asea Valley Survey (Forsén and Forsén 2003) and most recently also the Boeotia survey (Bintliff, Howard and Snodgrass 2007).

[3] Forsén and Forsén 2003.

[4] The Pylos project has been published in a series of articles in *Hesperia* (for references to these and the project in general, see http://river.blg.uc.edu/prap/PRAP.html) as well as in Zarinebaf, Bennet and Davis 2005, and in Davis 1998.

[5] See e.g. S.E. Alcock and J.F. Cherry 2004; Bintliff and Sbonias 1999 with further references.

second intensive field survey project to take place in Epirus (the first being the Nikopolis project carried out from 1991 to 1996, the focus of which ended after the Byzantine period).[6] However, there are some similar projects of importance in Albania, such as the Butrint project[7] and the Mallakastra Regional Archaeological Project.[8]

The classical overviews of Thesprotian and Epirote antiquity were written by Dakaris and Hammond more than 30 years ago.[9] Another more recent and useful general survey of Epirote history, published by Sakellariou, stretches all the way until modern times.[10] Apart from these overviews there are particular studies of different aspects of the Epirote past, such as the prehistoric periods,[11] Hellenistic history or coinage,[12] Late Roman history,[13] Medieval history,[14] Early Modern to Modern history,[15] and even geological history.[16] Very useful for new archaeological and historical information on Thesprotia/Epirus are finally e.g. the conference series *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité*[17] and the local periodical *Epeirotika Chronika*.[18]

In the Kokytos river basin itself, the research since the publication of Dakaris' seminal opus in 1971 has mainly focused on the Late Classical through Hellenistic acropolis of Elea, although work also has been done e.g. in the Roman *colonia* Photike. Agricultural improvement works during the last 20 years have also led to a large number of rescue excavations at different places in the valley. Reports on these excavations are regularly published in the journals *Archaiologikon Deltion* and *Epeirotika Chronika*. Apart from such mainly annual reports there have appeared a handful of other important publications, such as Choremis' article on the remarkable fourth-century BC tomb in Prodromi,[19] some articles on sites found on the valley bottom,[20] a couple of overviews on Photike[21] and most recently a guide book on Elea and its surroundings by Riginos and Lazari.[22] There are also some recent works of local history dealing with the valley.[23]

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[6] Only the first volume of the final report, concerning the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic periods, has been published to date: Wiseman and Zachos 2003. For the later periods see also the doctoral dissertations by Tartaron 2004 (Bronze Age) and Moore 2000 (Hellenistic through Late Roman pottery).

[7] E.g. Hodges, Bowden and Lako 2005.

[8] For further information see the project's home page at http://river.blg.uc.edu/mrap/MRAP.html.

[9] Dakaris 1972; Hammond 1967. Cf. also Mouselimis 1980, a work by a teacher in Paramythia that contains some information not included in Dakaris 1972 and Hammond 1967.

[10] Sakellariou 1997.

[11] Papagianni 2000; Souaref 2001.

[12] Cabanes 1976 and Franke 1961.

[13] Bowden 2003.

[14] Nicol 1984; Soustal 1981.

[15] Among the most recent ones are Psimouli 1998 and Kokolakis 2003.

[16] Philippson 1956.

[17] So far four volumes have been published: Cabanes 1987; Cabanes 1993; Cabanes 1999 and Cabanes and Lamboley 2004.

[18] Especially useful is volume 40 (2006) of *EpChr*, including a whole series of papers on the past of Thesprotia.

[19] Choremis 1980.

[20] Riginos 1996; Riginos 2004; Svana 2004.

[21] Hatzopoulos 1980; Mouselimis 1994; Samsaris 1994. See also the important article by Swaddling 1979 on the famous Paramythia bronze hoard that now with certainty can be dated to the early second century AD.

[22] Riginos and Lazari 2007.

[23] E.g. Krapsitis 1991; Mouselimis 1997 and Bikas 1997.

The Thesprotia Expedition follows the general trend in the field, aiming at collecting all available information for part of the Kokytos river basin until the region became part of modern Greece in 1913, including historical sources for the Medieval and Early Modern periods. More specifically the project aims at answering the following questions.

1. How are we to explain the extremely rich finds of Middle and Upper Palaeolithic finds in Thesprotia and Epirus in general and the subsequent, surprisingly poor, evidence for occupation during the Neolithic period and the Bronze Age? Did the shift from hunting/gathering groups to agricultural societies follow a different path here than in the rest of Greece, where we generally have few Palaeolithic finds but very rich Neolithic and Bronze Age remains? Or is this difference due to environmental changes in Epirus?

2. How should we explain the apparent existence of "Dark Ages", or periods with no finds in Thesprotia? The Mesolithic period, parts of the Neolithic period, the Early Iron Age, the Archaic through Early Classical period, and the Early Medieval period (seventh to eighth centuries AD) are the most obvious lacunae. Was the territory depleted of population at those times, or is the lack of finds due only to the lack of research in the area? Can we gain new insights into the dating of prehistoric pottery of northwestern Greece?

3. In what way can the contacts of the indigenous inhabitants with the first Greek colonies that were founded on Corfu and along the Thesprotian coast in the late eighth and the seventh centuries BC be documented? How did these contacts influence the development of major sanctuaries and *poleis* in Thesprotia and its closest environment? Which kinds of relationships did the Thesprotian tribe and, later on in the Classical period, the *poleis* of Thesprotia have to the major sanctuaries of Dodona and the Nekyomanteion?

4. What impact did the development of political leagues during the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic period have on regional settlement patterns? To what extent do isolated farmsteads occur in Thesprotia at this time compared to elsewhere in Greece?

5. Which effects did the spread of Roman control have on the area? What were the immediate effects of the infamous destruction inflicted on the region by the Romans under Aemilius Paullus in 167 BC? At what stage did the typical Roman villa, or isolated farmstead, economy develop? And how was the area influenced by the development of the Roman *colonia* Photike just to the north of the survey area? How large was the Latin influx?

6. Can we obtain complementary information from the rich Byzantine, Venetian and, above all, Ottoman archival sources about the cultural clashes in the area during the Medieval and Early Modern period, when it was located at the crossroads between western and eastern Europe (represented by Venice in Kerkyra and Parga and by the Byzantine and Ottoman empires on the mainland)? Which effects did the infiltration of Albanian shepherds in the area, starting in the fourteenth century, have on the demographic and economic developments in the region?

7. Which environmental changes can be documented in the area through history, and how have they influenced the living conditions? When were cereals, olives and wine cultivated in the area for the first time? Can we see changes over time in the local inhabitants' dependence on agriculture versus transhumantic pastoralism?

Two methodological case studies

Interdisciplinarity is, as we have seen, one of the main ingredients of the Thesprotia Expedition. We are convinced that the interdisciplinary approach will create synergy effects and enable us to answer questions that otherwise would have remained at least partly unresolved. Two case studies from our intensive field survey may here exemplify what I mean, the first one concerning how to interpret and date a previously unknown industrial site in Xirolophos (PS 8) and the second one concerning the study of the immediate surroundings of a recently excavated Early Christian basilica at Paliokklisi of Zervochori (PS 27).

During the first field season in 2004 we detected a fairly large industrial site, PS 8, some 300 m to the northwest of the village of Xirolophos and ca. 500 m to the west of the Kokytos river. The site is located on the valley bottom at a place that still today remains wet and muddy during rain periods and thus in principle is unsuitable for settlements. The only other site detected in this low-lying area between Xirolophos and the Liminari hill is PS 2, which is located some 250 m to the northwest of PS 8 and which produced a similar scatter of burnt clay and lumps of slag. PS 8 measures at least 220x150 m, PS 2 only 25x20 m. In principle PS 2 and PS 8 may very well belong to the same concentration of activity, as the fields between the two find concentrations had very low visibility.

In order to get an idea of the distribution of finds at PS 8, the site was gridded into 10x10 m and 20x20 m squares, the larger ones being in areas with seemingly fewer finds. The find density (denoted as finds per 100 m^2) for the squares was counted on the basis of 5 m^2 large sample circles located at the centre of each square. The distribution map clearly indicates the locations of six possible kilns (Fig. 2). Three of the kilns had very high find densities (Kiln A, 2020 finds/100m^2; Kiln B, 1560 finds/100m^2; Kiln C, 1460 finds/100m^2).[24] These find concentrations were visible to the naked eye already from the fact that the soil was darker reddish-brown there than in the rest of the field. The three other possible kilns produced lower find densities (Kiln D, 920 finds/100m^2; Kiln E, 760 finds/100m^2; Kiln F, 400 finds/100m^2), but still stand out clearly when compared with their surroundings.

None of the older inhabitants of Xirolophos were able to remember that anything had been produced at the site, which however they used to call *Keramareion* (Κεραμάρειον), i.e. pottery or tile workshop. Neither could the site be dated with certainty, as only a handful of undiagnostic pottery sherds were collected, most of them probably Early Modern in date, although some on preliminary study seemed Late Roman. Part of the slag collected was rather heavy and seemed to contain metal. In order to learn more about what really had been produced at the site, Yannis Bassiakos and Nikolaos Zacharias from the Demokritos laboratory of archaeometry in Athens were asked to analyse the slag.

According to the chemical analyses, some of the samples contained iron oxides. Still, no indications of metal working were detected in the samples, which therefore are to be attributed to a pottery or tile workshop. The samples can be identified as vitrified linings and wasters typically created at kilns for pottery and tile production. Thermoluminescence analyses date the site to the second half of the eighteenth century,

[24] The find density calculated for the centre of PS 2 is similar to these, being 1500 finds/100m^2. PS 2 on the other hand produced smaller fragments than PS 8, a factor that influences the density figure.

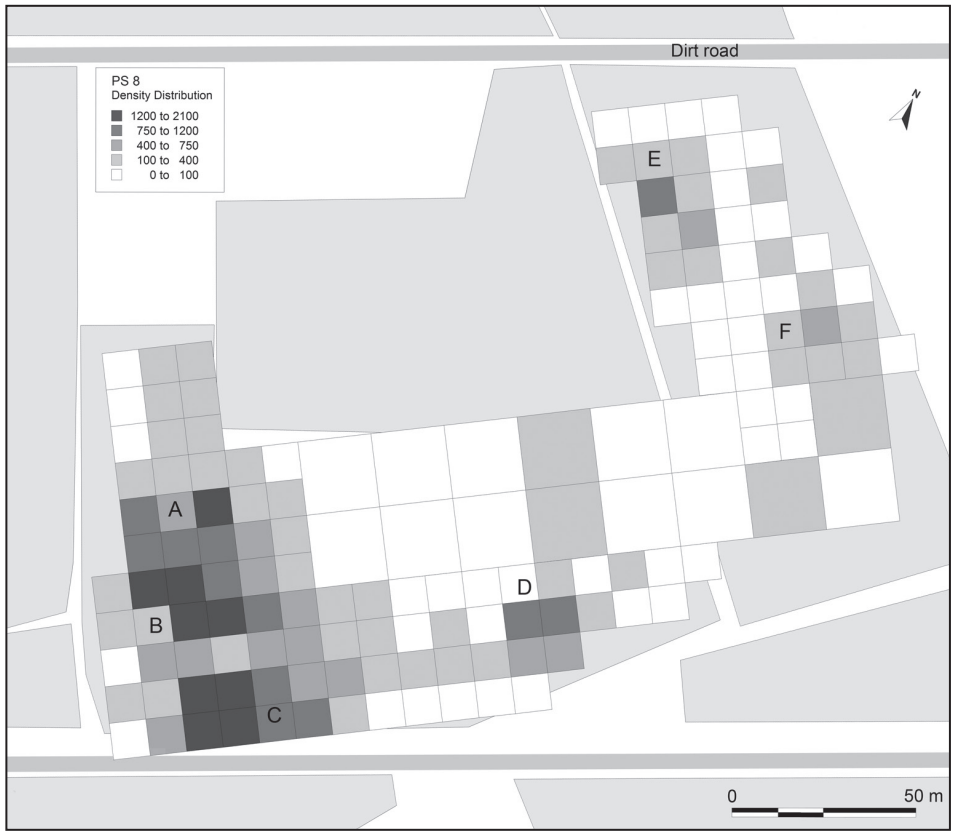

Fig. 2. Find density distribution map of PS 8, an Early Modern tile manufacture.

that is, to the Ottoman period.[25] Therefore Evangelia Balta and her team working through Ottoman sources were asked to look for any mention of such an installation. Interestingly enough, only one *kiremithane* – a place of tile and/or pottery manufacture – is mentioned in all of Thesprotia, and that one is in various yearbooks, or *salnames*, of the 1870s. This *kiremithane* was located in the *kaza* of Paramythia and can most probably be identified with our PS 8, which in that case would have stayed in use for at least a century.[26]

The second case study concerns the surroundings of the Early Christian basilica that was found and partially excavated in 2003 by the 8th Ephorate for Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities under the direction of Georgios Riginos at Paliokklisi of Zervochori.[27] During the intensive field survey we noted a cluster of small sites, most of them probably farmsteads, in the neighbourhood of the basilica. However, we also wanted to find out

[25] Three samples were taken from Kiln C and provided the following dates: 1774±28 (LUM 9/05), 1768±30 (LUM 10/05) and 1758±25 (LUM 11/05). The maximum time span given by these samples is 1733-1802. For further data see the appendix by Bassiakos and Zacharias at the end of this chapter.

[26] See appendix III in Balta, Yilmaz and Yaşar, this volume, where *kiremithane* is translated as "tile factory".

[27] *ArchDelt* 2003 in press.

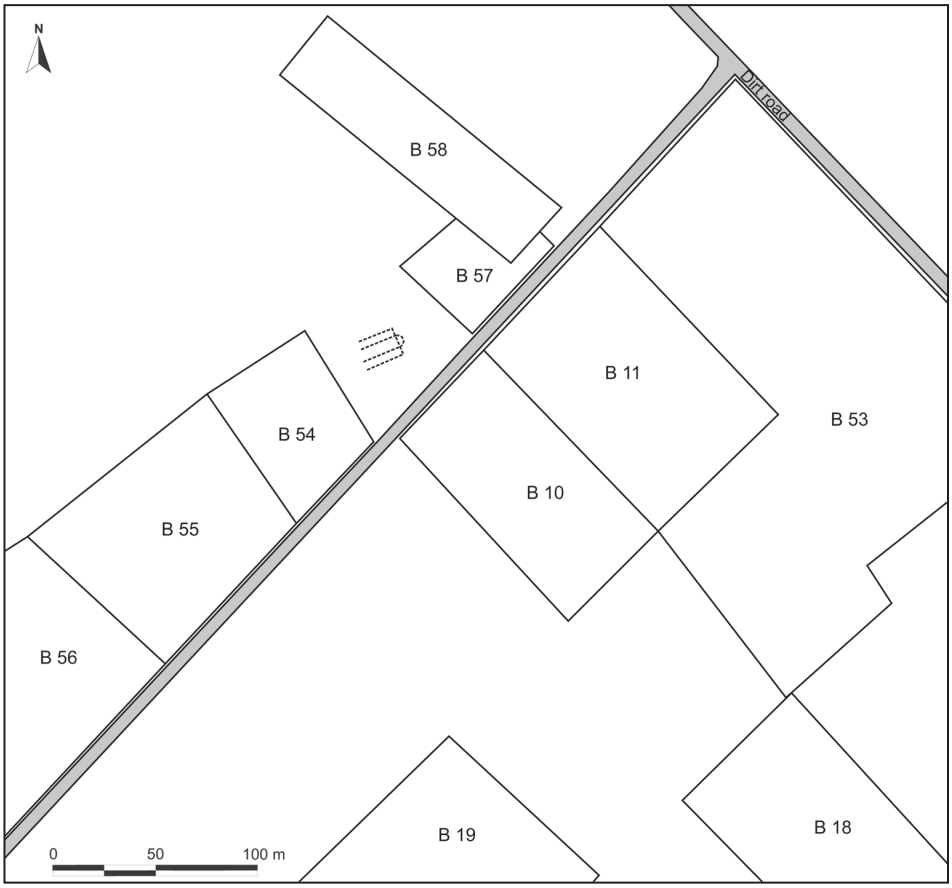

Fig. 3. General map showing the tracts walked in the vicinity of the Early Christian basilica Paliokklisi of Zervochori (PS 27).

whether there existed a hamlet or small village next to the basilica (Fig. 3). A thin scatter of finds was noted in tract B 10 stretching ca. 120 m to the southeast of the basilica, in tracts B 54 and B 55 stretching ca. 140 m to the southwest of it and in tract B 57 stretching ca. 50 m to the northeast of it. To the east of the basilica there were very few finds in tract B 11. On the other sides of the basilica, the ground was always covered by vegetation: to the north and northwest there is an olive grove, and to the south, between B 10 and B 54, where one would have expected a similar scatter of finds, there is a field overgrown by thick grass.

The finds in tracts B 10, B 54, B 55 and B 57 in general seem to date in the same way as the basilica, i.e. to the Late Roman period, and thus probably relate to it. Although no clear concentrations of finds could be noted while walking these tracts, their find density (between 1.6 and 3.8 finds/100m^2) was still clearly anomalous as compared with other neighbouring fields (B 11, B 18, B 19, B 53, B 56 and B 58 scored densities of between 0.1 and 0.5 finds/100m^2). Therefore we decided to grid B 10, the only field which was ploughed while re-visiting the site. The site was divided into 10x10 m squares and the find density was calculated as finds/100 m^2 in a 5 m^2 circle at each square's centre. This work revealed higher densities along the southwest long side of B 10, seemingly

indicating that the finds partly originate from structures in the neighbouring totally overgrown field. However, at two spots the finds spread further into B 10, thus creating two irregular concentrations (Fig. 4).

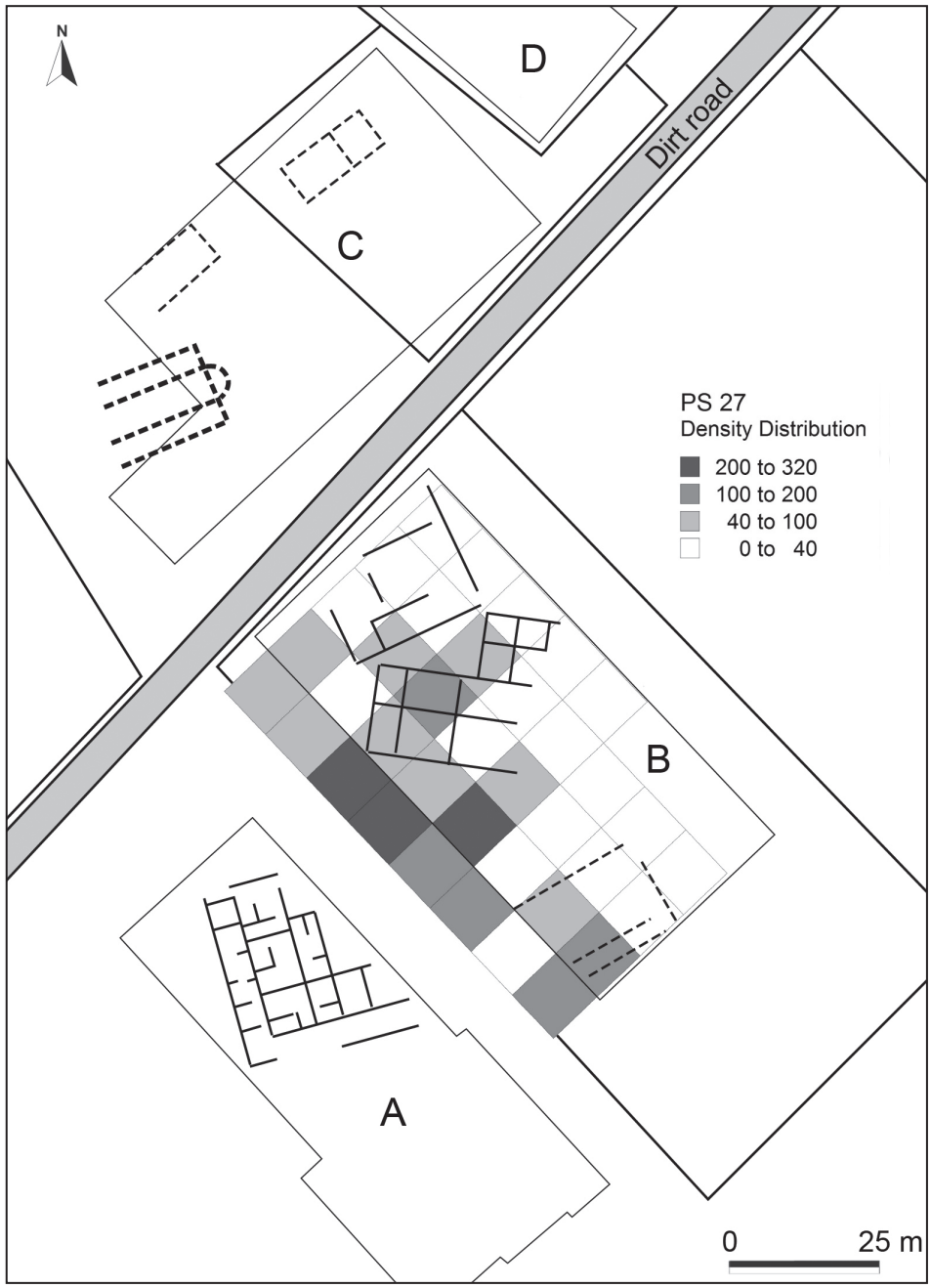

Fig. 4. The fields to the south and southeast of the basilica Paliokklisi of Zervochori (PS 27), showing the find density distribution in tract B 10 and some of the buildings, tentatively reconstructed by Tatyana Smekalova on the basis of her magnetometer survey in areas A, B and C.

In order to learn more about the find concentrations in B 10 and something about the neighbouring, overgrown field, we searched these and some other fields next to the basilica with a magnetometer. The magnetometer survey, conducted by Tatyana Smekalova, revealed two small possible houses close to the basilica itself and three further possible houses in B 10, two of which roughly correspond with the find concentrations noted while gridding that field (Fig. 5 with interpretation visible in Fig. 4). Unfortunately the field B 10 is demarcated from the overgrown field on its southwest side by a metal fence, which created disturbances for the magnetometer. Therefore we could not survey the slice of the fields that is located within 8-10 m of the metal fence. This proved to be regrettable, as the magnetometer survey revealed the clearest remains of a large house in the overgrown field, of which a part seems to continue into the area around the fence (Fig. 5 with interpretation visible in Fig. 4).[28]

The corn grown in B 10 since the re-partitioning of the fields some 10 years ago requires deep ploughing, which since then probably has destroyed the remains of the houses there rather badly. The house in the neighbouring field that has been left fallow for a longer time seems to be in a better state of conservation and would be worth further exploration. At any rate, the intensive field survey and geophysical survey reveal the importance of not only excavating the Early Christian basilicas and subsequently protecting the remains. In order to learn more about the people who built and congregated in them, we need to study also their immediate surroundings.

Contextualising the first results

The present volume does not give a full picture of a special part of Thesprotian history or the past of the Kokytos river basin, nor does it constitute the final full report of part of the Thesprotia Expedition, such as the field survey or the historical research. Still, all the chapters included have been chosen with the aim of addressing the research questions asked by the Thesprotia Expedition. Some of the chapters throw light on periods previously considered "Dark Ages" in Thesprotia, whereas others add new information on periods previously well attested in the region, or set the new findings of the Kokytos river basin or Thesprotia into a broader context. The aim of this collection of studies is to create a general basis on which to build a regional history in the forthcoming volumes of the project.

It should be seen as a great success that several of the periods considered "Dark Ages" when planning the Thesprotia Expedition have now been identified, partly through excavations done by the local Greek archaeological authorities, partly by our own work. The first Mesolithic site (PS 3) of Thesprotia is here presented by Evangelos Tourloukis and Ourania Palli. This was found already in the first year's field survey, together with a smaller Mesolithic site (PS 1). Yet another large Mesolithic site (PS 43) was found by us in 2007,[29] thus proving that the finds of 2004 are not unique for Thesprotia.

Light can now also be thrown on the Early Iron Age and the Archaic period in Thesprotia. Jeannette Forsén as well as Antonia Tzortzatou and Lila Fatsiou publish in their chapters several sites with finds spanning all of these periods, one of them, Mavromandilia

[28] For further details about the magnetometer survey, see the appendix of Smekalova, added to this chapter.
[29] The finds of PS 43 are currently being studied by Nena Galanidou.

of Prodromi, located in the Kokytos river basin itself. Irina Svana again shows in her contribution that the earliest finds of the small rural sanctuary of Kyra Panagia should be

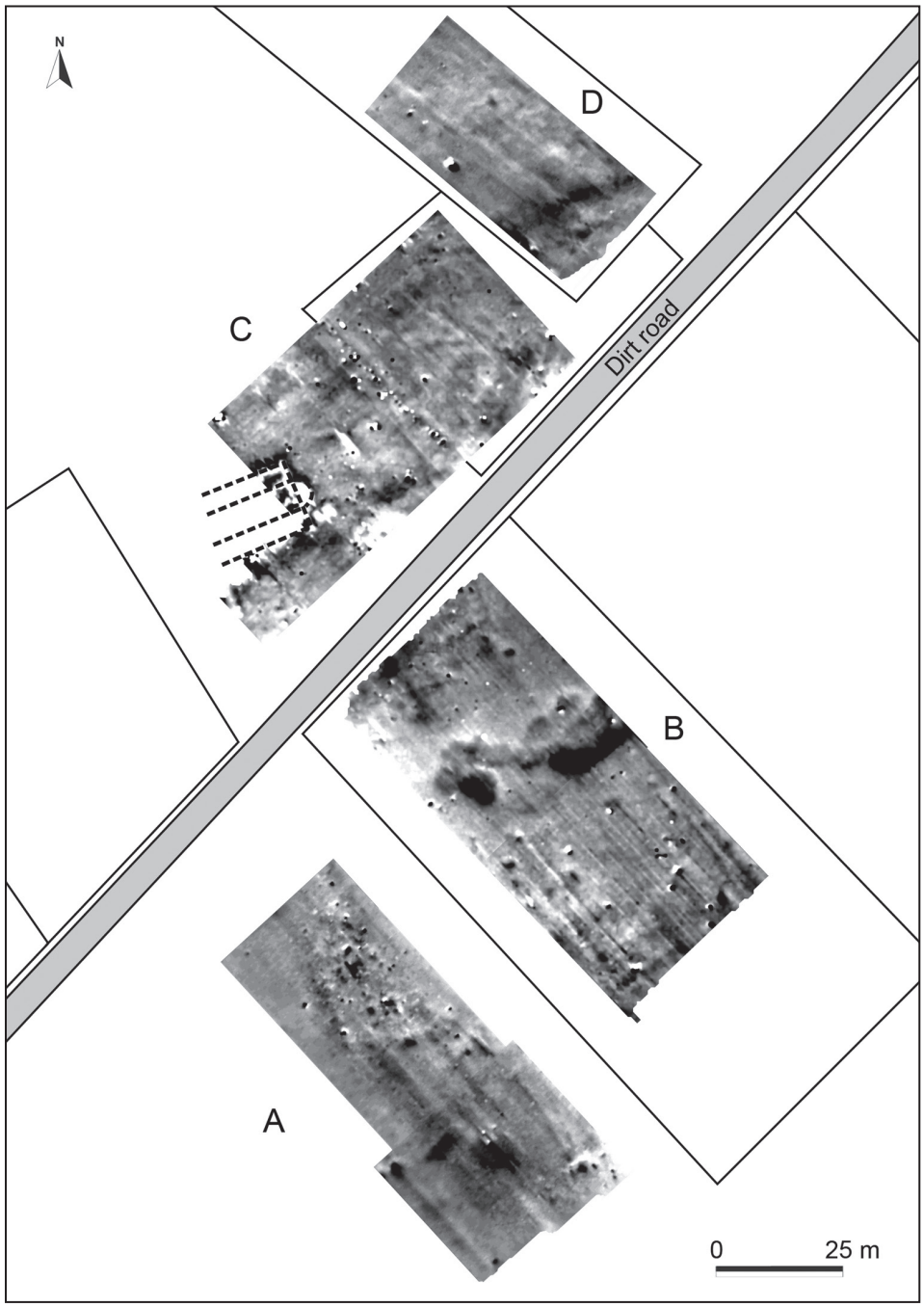

Fig. 5. Magnetometer map created by Tatyana Smekalova, showing the vicinity of the Early Christian basilica Paliokklisi of Zervochori (PS 27).

dated to the late sixth or early fifth century BC, which makes the sanctuary much older than the urbanisation process, the beginning of which in Epirus is dated to the second half of the fourth century BC.[30] Interestingly enough, the sanctuary also seems to have continued in use after the Roman destruction of Thesprotia in 167 BC.[31]

The contributions dealing with the Early Iron Age and the Archaic period emphasise how strong the influences from Corinth and the colonies along the coast were, on all of Thesprotia, from the eighth century BC onwards. These southern and western influences are documented e.g. through Thapsos ware pottery, Corinthian pottery and figurines, Corinthian and Korkyrean staters, and from the fifth century onwards also some Attic pottery. They are, however, blended at least during the Early Iron Age by other influences from inland, from the east and north, such as Boubousti ware. The general picture so far reached concerning external contacts corroborates, in a way, quite well what we know from previous work at Vitsa and Dodona further inland.[32] A kind of hybrid culture, based on mixed identities, is now slowly beginning to develop in Thesprotia.[33]

Special emphasis should be given to the fact that Tzortzatou and Fatsiou prove that two of the settlements or acropoleis of Thesprotia that were fortified in the Classical period actually have revealed some earlier finds (Mastilitsa, late seventh to early fifth century; Pyrgos Ragiou, early sixth to mid-fifth century BC). Thus it is not impossible that also some of the other sites which were fortified in the late fourth century were in use at an earlier stage, although this has so far passed unnoticed due to the poor preservation of the finds. As a matter of fact, finds from the Archaic period now seem to occur also at Elea.[34] Future research may perhaps reveal similar findings from other large Thesprotian acropoleis as well.

Geo-archaeological work conducted by Mika Lavento and Maria Lahtinen, in the neighbourhood of the Early Iron Age through Classical (or even Hellenistic?) site Mavromandilia of Prodromi, reveals in a very telling way how much the landscape has changed over only the last two or three millennia. To what degree such environmental changes also forced people to change their subsistence practices is still unclear. However, the great change in animal husbandry practices (from a cattle-dominated to an ovicaprid cum pig-dominated economy) between the Early Iron Age and the Hellenistic / Early Roman period, which Markku Niskanen presents in his chapter, clearly shows how much more we can learn from this field. Therefore the Thesprotia Expedition in 2007 to 2008 collaborated with a team directed by Henk Kars and Sjoerd Kluiving from the Free University of Amsterdam in collecting palynological data from the seasonal lakes in

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[30] See e.g. Dakaris 1987; Ceka 1990, Corvisier 1991 or Sakellariou 1997.

[31] Svana, this volume, has several figurines datable to the first century BC. According to Lambrou 2006, 263, the sanctuary may have continued in use even until the early second century AD as evidenced e.g. by *terra sigillata* pottery.

[32] For an overview of the finds from Vitsa and Dodona, see e.g. Sakellariou 1997, 63-72.

[33] For the concept of hybridity, see e.g. Antonaccio 2003. The role of colonization in shaping a Hellenic identity in the eighth and seventh centuries BC has recently been played down by several scholars. Cf. e.g. Osborne 1998. New influences are rather seen as spreading through increasing trading contacts.

[34] Cf. e.g. the two silver pins published in the new archaeological guide book of Elea (Riginos and Lazari 2008, 73). The lower one belongs to Kilian-Dirlmeier's Type B IV dating to between the mid-seventh and early sixth century BC (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, 253-256). The second pin cannot be ascribed to any of Kilian-Dirlmeier's types, as on the basis of the photo it is unclear whether it ended in a disc (broken off?) or not. I owe Imma Kilian-Dirlmeier many thanks for discussing these two pins with me and confirming that they indeed are Archaic in date.

Thesprotia. The analysis of this work is still in preparation, but will produce much new information concerning environmental changes.

The period stretching from the urbanisation process in the mid-fourth century BC until the Roman destruction of the region in 167 BC has been the focus of intense research. Still, there does not exist any agreement on how to interpret the political development in this period. Did the urbanisation process also lead to the development of *poleis* that continued to exist within the tribes and federal states,[35] or was the political power concentrated in tribal and federal capitals as has sometimes been maintained?[36] This final question is reconsidered by Peter Funke in his chapter, in which he shows that the few scattered written sources available are insufficient for supporting the latter interpretation. Comparisons with the Aetolian, Acarnanian and Achaean Confederacies rather seem to support the existence of a certain polycentrism even inside the tribes, with political meetings held on the basis of some rotation in regional sanctuaries and larger *poleis*.

The complex political organisation with *poleis* existing parallel with tribes and federal states makes it difficult to understand the settlement patterns of Thesprotia. How, for instance, are we to define a site like Agios Donatos of Zervochori, a small fortified acropolis covering an area of only 1.1 hectare? The site seems to be too small for a town.[37] Are we thus dealing with a fortified village, or perhaps only with the fortified stronghold of an aristocratic family as has been suggested for the fortification of Nekyomanteion[38]? On the basis of Mikko Suha's work, the walls of Agios Donatos can now be dated to the reign of Pyrrhus, i.e. to the first decades of the third century BC. Esko Tikkala's cautious suggestion that the frieze-epistyle blocks found at Agios Donatos could originate from a Macedonian-type, or Macedonian-influenced, barrel-vaulted chamber tomb may speak for an interpretation of Agios Donatos as the fortified stronghold of an aristocratic family. It is also possible that the monumental tomb at Marmara in some way is connected with the fortification of Agios Donatos, which is located at a distance of only ca. 2 km from Marmara and was built at roughly the same date.[39]

As the results of the intensive field survey have not been analysed in detail, we cannot yet discuss the settlement patterns during the Classical to Hellenistic periods more precisely. But several of the studies included in this volume constitute stepping stones for such a future analysis. To this category belong not only the chapters by Funke, Suha and Tikkala, but also the one by Yannis Pikoulas, which deals briefly with the ekistic network of the Kokytos river basin. According to Pikoulas, no pre-Roman cart roads similar to those known from southern and central Greece existed in Thesprotia. Thus the

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[35] Funke, Moustakis and Hochschulz 2004 in general follow this line of thought.

[36] Dakaris 1972, 35-36, 120-122 and Preka-Alexandri 1999, 167, but also in more general terms by e.g. Riginos 2004, 66 or Riginos and Lazari 2007, 25.

[37] Cf. e.g. the Southern Argolid survey project's definition of a town in archaeological terms: "Large size (5.0 ha or more), fortification walls, religious sanctuaries, cemeteries, evidence of a built-up area of habitation within the walls..." (Jameson, Runnels and van Andel 1994, 249). Cavanagh *et al*. 2002, 163, 263-264, put the lower limit of a perioikic town/village in Laconia at 3.0 ha, whereas Forsén and Forsén 2003, 260-265 prefer a lower limit of towns in Arcadia at 10.0 ha.

[38] Baatz 1999, who uses the German term "Adelssitz".

[39] For Marmara, see Riginos 1996, 173-174, who suggests a date in the second half of the third century BC. Pietilä-Castrén 2008, 42-48, now suggests a slightly higher date, in the first decades of the third century. Marmara is located ca. 2 km to the southwest of Agios Donatos and ca. 5.5 km to the south of Elea.

road network and also the economic relations of Thesprotia would differ from those of the Greek core area, and rather resemble the situation known in Macedonia and Thrace.

The Thesprotia Expedition has identified and also studied in detail one large Early Roman site, constructed on top of the remains of the Hellenistic fortifications of Agios Donatos. The site was intensively surveyed in 2005, and trial trenches have been opened up at different places in 2006 to 2008. Apart from producing new evidence for how to date the Hellenistic fortifications (see the chapter by Suha), our work has also revealed the existence of a large Roman villa, which was established during the reign of Tiberius or possibly Augustus. The villa, built on two long terraces opening towards the south, is at least 140x30 m large, with the walls constructed in *opus incertum*. Fragments of wall paintings, stamped roof tiles, and palmette antefixes as well as large amounts of Italian terra sigillata, glass and small finds (e.g. fibulae) of bronze, bone and lead are witnesses of the relative wealth of the site.[40]

As a first glimpse of the rich finds of the villa on Agios Donatos, Janne Ikäheimo publishes 12 *planta pedi*s stamps on Arretine ware, all found in a trial trench in the Hellenistic tower, which was reused as part of the villa, perhaps as some kind of storage room. Furthermore, Markku Niskanen's study of the animal bones found in the tower in 2006 gives us an idea of the rich and diverse diet of the inhabitants of the villa, which included wild game, fish and different sorts of sea shells. More detailed studies on other aspects of the villa will follow in the next volumes of the Thesprotia Expedition series.

The villa on Agios Donatos of Zervochori needs, of course, to be put into a larger context, which is difficult due to the few publications on Early Roman finds from Thesprotia. However, there must have existed a link to the *colonia* Photike, which is located just to the north of the study area of the Thesprotia Expedition. The only aspect of Photike that has been included in our project is therefore a re-study of the inscriptions found at the *colonia*. As a result of this work, Erkki Sironen publishes 10 inscriptions, some of which are previously unpublished and others for which he suggests new readings.

William Bowden gives in his chapter some idea of the more general lines of development in Roman and Late Roman Epirus, seen from the view of the British archaeological field work at Butrint. The early phases of the villa at Diaporit constitute a good, although slightly later, parallel to the villa on Agios Donatos of Zervochori, and other similar villas exist e.g. at Riza and Strongyli in the neighbourhood of Nikopolis. According to Bowden, the sharp decline in public architecture in the third century AD needs to be contrasted with the continuation of activity in the sphere of private building, exemplified at Butrint by the Triconch palace, a luxurious peristyle house of the third to fourth centuries AD. The large number of Early Christian basilicas of the fifth and sixth centuries AD he sees as a mere shift in how the well-off invested their surplus resources. Churches had quite simply replaced the opulent private residences as the means through which elites competed with each other.

There can be no doubt that the Kokytos river basin went through roughly the same development as the one described by Bowden, although so far we have no examples of rich private residences of the third and fourth centuries AD. The few Middle Roman sites in the valley are small farmsteads. Perhaps the larger private residences concentrated in

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[40] For preliminary reports of the work on the Roman villa, see the reports in *Archaeological Reports*: Forsén 2006, Forsén 2007, Forsén 2008 and *AR* 55, 2009, in print (report of 2008 season).

and close to Photike, an area which has not been studied and published in detail.[41] Large Early Christian basilicas are however numerous in the Kokytos river basin, just as all over Greece. Niki Vasilikou publishes here a new basilica recently excavated by the 8th Ephorate for Byzantine Antiquities at Krystallopigi close to Photike. Around the basilicas new settlements slowly developed, creating a totally new settlement pattern in the region, which deserves further study beyond the example of Paliokklisi of Zervochori described above.

Asterios Aidonis and Anestis Emmanouil break new ground in their chapter by publishing the first palaeodemographic data of a cemetery (98 graves) of Late Byzantine date in Epirus. Further such studies are a clear desideratum because, through a comparative study of similar complexes, we would be in a better position to understand the living circumstances of the ordinary people. The sample from Doliani reveals, rather unsurprisingly, a high infant mortality rate. More striking is the low young adult (21-35 age interval) mortality documented at Doliani as compared with sites in Croatia. This indicates a less violent environment than one perhaps would expect for Thesprotia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the period of Albanian immigration and Ottoman conquest. This seeming contradiction can only be explained through a study of several other contemporaneous cemeteries.

Thesprotia was for most of the Early Modern period, beginning in the fourteenth century, located at the very borderline between Ottoman and Venetian domains, with the Ottomans dominating the inland and the Venetians several outposts along the coast. Mika Hakkarainen gives in his chapter a general overview of the Venetian influence on the mainland, which stretched much further inland than the outposts along the coast. The interaction between the two very different cultural zones will be studied in greater detail in the coming volumes. In this volume we pay attention to the Ottoman presence in Thesprotia only during the nineteenth century. Timo Sironen publishes what may be the only remaining Ottoman sepulchral stele from Paramythia, while Evangelia Balta, Fehmi Yilmaz and Filiz Yaşar present a full picture of the economic and social history of all of Tsamouria at that time based on Ottoman administrative documents. This study will be of utmost importance as a prelude to their coming work on the Ottoman tax registers for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Concluding remarks

This volume is but the first stage on the route towards a regional history of Thesprotia. The final harbour is still far away and can only be reached after a long, adventurous and interdisciplinary voyage. Forthcoming volumes of the Thesprotia Expedition will bring us further on this odyssey. But already now, on the basis of the first three years of the project, we have been able to show that Thesprotia no longer should be regarded as the distant periphery, but rather as a dynamic frontier zone,[42] where political, ethnic, cultural and linguistic influences met and fused into new realities.

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[41] Recent rescue excavations at Maroutsi in the neighbourhood of the Photike revealed a rich Roman farmstead (possibly a villa?) with finds stretching from the reign of Nero to Valentianus I in the late fourth century AD (Riginos 2004, 71).

Appendix I

Chemical analyses and luminescence dating of slag from PS 8 at Xirolophos (Yannis Bassiakos and Nikos Zacharias)

The Group of Paleoenvironment and Ancient Metals Studies (GP-AMS) of the Laboratory of Archaeometry "Demokritos" undertook analytical and dating work on appropriate samples of ceramic and related finds, collected by the Thesprotia Expedition and kept in the archaeological storeroom of the village of Gardhiki in Thesprotia. Most of the finds (*ca.* 80% of the total) comprise artificially vitrified earthy material, while the rest consists of fragments of linings, irregular masses, ceramic tubular constructions etc., which strongly indicate that these finds are remains of past pyrotechnological activity.

The tasks set for the present authors were:

a) to undertake chemical analyses as support for a documentary interpretation of the technological activities that resulted in the above materials;

b) to study absolute dates for the materials and determine the age of those activities.

In situ measurements for determining the local natural radioactivity were made, by using a calibrated portable NaJ(Tl) scintillometer SPP-2NF. The measurements were performed at the site PS 8 (locally known as *Keramareion*) itself, next to the village Xirolophos. These measurements were needed for the estimation of the dose rate (DR), an essential parameter to be used for the calculation of the age of the finds, by means of the thermoluminescence technique. The measured values in the soil of the field at PS 8 varied between 50 and 55 counts per second, which correspond to dose rates of 4.2 to 4.9 mGy/a, a value consistent with the radioactive potential of the geological formations of the so-called "Ionian Geotectonic Unit" that prevails in the wider Paramythia area.[43]

Approximately 200 pieces corresponding to the best-preserved part of the collected slag were visually inspected in the storeroom before selecting the ones to be used for analytical and thermoluminescence dating studies. Prior to sampling work the natural radioactivity of the archaeological finds was measured with the same scintillometer as above, and no particular deviation from the stated field measurements was noted. This is an indirect indication that the raw argillaceous and other materials used to produce these finds originated from the same geological environment of the aforementioned "Ionian Geotectonic Unit", and therefore that the materials came from a local source.

Nineteen samples were collected for analytical and TL-dating studies and taken to the laboratory when the appropriate archaeological permission had been issued. They were all examined under a binocular stereoscope and a polarizing optical microscope, while 13 of them were further treated for SEM/EDX chemical analysis.

According to the extracted results, two samples were from calcareous ceramic fragments with high levels of iron oxides, in the range of 15-25%. Such a percentage

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[42] The concept of a frontier is here used in the way defined by Lattimore 1962 for inner Asia, as the zone existing on both sides of a boundary. The frontier is typically inhabited by communities of border-crossers, people who willingly adapt influences from both sides and partly make their living on being experts at transgressing from one side to the other.

[43] Stavropodis and Bassiakos 1981; I.G.S.R. (IGME), Geological map of Greece 1:50,000, Paramythia sheet, Athens 1966.

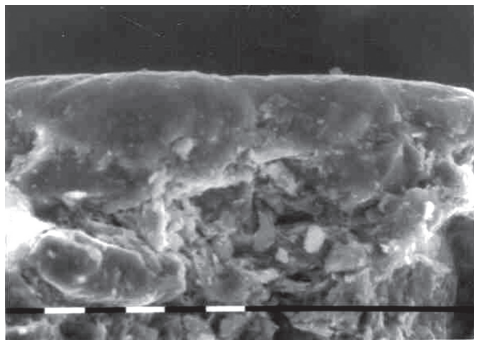

Fig. 6. Photomicrograph of sample PS-8 [(33)-(2)] under the SEM: Externally vitrified layer (exposed to the higher temperature, close to 1200°C) covers less vitrified internal masses. The subdivisions of the bar correspond to 10 micrometers each.

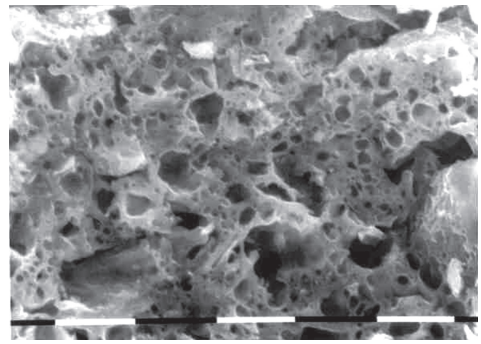

Fig. 7. Photomicrograph of sample PS-8 [(D)-(2)] under the SEM: Totally vitrified and collapsed clay mass, exposed to temperatures over 1200°C. The subdivisions of the bar correspond to 10 micrometers each.

of iron content is remarkably high (though not rare) for ceramic fragments. By contrast, in terms of pyrometallurgical activities, physico-chemically similar remains related to iron production (that is, metallurgical slags of various types) contain much more iron oxides, at least 45%.[44] The other 17 samples correspond to pyrotechnologically treated clays or earth (also containing high iron oxides), whose texture has collapsed because they were exposed to temperatures near or above 1200°C. In terms of structure, the clay minerals that once constituted the main component of the former clays have been partly or thoroughly vitrified (Fig. 6 and Fig. 7 respectively), while intense blotting is very often apparent and observed under both optical and electron microscopes. Quartz fragments and remains of former calcitic inclusions (not intentionally added to the clay mass) are frequently observed as thermally 'mobilised' diffusions, or in the form of irregular grains, in sizes between 0.01 and 2.0 millimetres. In all analysed samples the iron content stays below 30% (by oxides) while the siliceous components predominate (40 to 60%) and the rest is shared mainly between lime and aluminium oxides.

In no case did iron slags or any other microscopic or chemical evidence indicate metalworking in the examined samples. Hence, these are attributable to activities of a pottery/tile workshop, and they correspond to vitrified linings (i.e. the internal clay mantle placed in the internal surface of the kiln walls). They are rather usual finds created during the operation of furnace(s) for pottery or tile production.

According to the results of the TL-dating on three samples, undertaken in our laboratory (a separate report with more details has been submitted to the Finnish Institute) this pyrotechnological activity for ceramic production is chronologically placed in the second half of the eighteenth century, namely during the late stages of the Ottoman era in the Paramythia area.

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[44] Tylecote 1976.

Appendix II

Magnetometer Survey at Paliokklisi of Zervochori (Tatyana Smekalova)

Magnetometry is a non-destructive method for quick investigations of ancient sites.[45] The idea of carrying out a magnetometer survey next to the Early Christian basilica at Paliokklisi of Zervochori (PS 27) was inspired by the positive results, which I had obtained on a number of sites in Greece (Kalydon, Tegea, Asea, Arachamitai, Kyparissia)[46] and on other sites of different historical periods in many countries.[47]

Magnetic anomalies and archaeological remains

Magnetic fields exist around us all the time. We cannot see or feel them, but we can measure them with sensitive instruments called magnetometers. The intensity of Earth's magnetic field is three times as great in the polar region (approximately 70,000 nT) as in the equatorial region (25,000 nT). Elsewhere on the Earth, the global magnetic field parameters are between these limits.

If the earth consisted of a uniform material, the magnetic lines of force would be evenly distributed between the poles; in a small area, they would be parallel. However, since various materials in the earth have different magnetic susceptibilities due to their composition, the Earth's magnetic lines of force are distorted. The local disturbances of the global magnetic field are called magnetic anomalies.

Iron constitutes about 6% of the Earth's crust. Most of it is dispersed through soils, clays and rocks as chemical compounds which are very weakly magnetic. Man's activity in the past (especially the use of fire for heating, cooking, production and industry) has changed these compounds into more magnetic forms, creating special patterns of anomalies in the Earth's magnetic field that can be detected with sensitive instruments.

Iron oxides and hydroxides, which normally exist in clay and soil in nonmagnetic forms, transform during heating into more magnetic forms. Therefore one can observe positive anomalies over fireplaces, kilns, slag blocks, ovens etc.

The variations in magnetic susceptibility between topsoil, subsoil and rocks (the topsoil is normally more magnetic than the subsoil) affect the Earth's magnetic field locally, making it possible to detect ditches, pits and other silted-up features, which were dug a long time ago and then were backfilled or silted in with topsoil. They will produce a positive magnetic signal; conversely, less magnetic materials introduced into the topsoil, such as limestone or sandstone masonry walls, are detectable by the subtractive effect that gives a negative signal.

The magnetometer survey is especially useful for the investigation of archaeological sites with stone buildings, because of the big contrast in magnetic properties between nonmagnetic limestone and marble walls and the slightly magnetic filling of the rooms. Walls built of limestone or marble blocks that have been introduced into the topsoil

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[45] I would like to thank Björn Forsén and the other members of the Thesprotia Expedition team for their constant help and support during the field work and for organising the working and living conditions in Thesprotia.

[46] Dietz and Moschos 2003; Dietz 2003; Forsén *et al.* 2008.

[47] E.g. in Ukraine (Smekalova and Maslennikov 1993), Egypt (Smekalova 2002) and elsewhere (Smekalova, Voss and Smekalov 2003; Smekalova, Voss and Smekalov 2008). The method itself is described in greater detail in these reports.

give strong negative magnetic signals from -10 to -50 nT. The amplitude of the negative anomalies of the wall may vary depending on the magnetic properties of the cultural layers in different parts of the site.

Rooms with ovens, pits and pithoi inside, filled with earth, pieces of tile, ceramic vessels, ashes etc., are reflected on the magnetic maps as positive anomalies with an intensity of 20 to 50 nT. Pithoi give local positive anomalies with amplitudes of 50-100 nT. Streets, if they were covered by sherds of pottery or tiles or by metallurgical slag, should also give positive anomalies with amplitudes of 10 to 100 nT, depending on the amount of material on the street.

Furnaces and kilns create strong positive anomalies (40-600 nT) with smaller negative anomalies immediately to the north of the main positive signals. Such objects, constructed of clay bricks which were fired during their functioning, possess their own thermo-remanent magnetisation, whose direction corresponds to that of the ancient Earth magnetic field. Heaps and pits, filled with broken pottery, slag and ashes that normally are located close to pottery kilns and furnaces, are visible in the magnetic field as intensive positive anomalies (80-150 nT) with smaller negative additions to the north of the positive peaks. The same goes for pits, cisterns and wells filled with broken pottery, ash, burnt soil etc., although the positive anomalies in those cases are lower (50-75 nT).

Equipment and working method

The magnetometer survey was carried out with an Overhauser gradiometer (magnetometer with two sensors) produced by Gem systems (Ontario, Canada), the model GSM-19 *v*.6.0 of February 2003. The measurements were made along straight parallel lines, the space between the lines being 0.5 m. The magnetometer was operated in "walking-mode" measuring every 0.2 second and the distance between the measurements along the lines was not more than 0.1-0.2 m. The height of the sensor above the surface of the ground was about 0.3 m.

Two Gem magnetometers were used during the survey. The first one served as the main instrument, being moved on the plot and measuring the magnetic field along the lines of the coordinate system. The second magnetometer was left standing at a place further away taking measurements automatically each 5 seconds in order to control the temporary daily variations of the Earth's magnetic field. The necessary calculations were performed at the end of each day on a computer.

Interpretations

Four areas (A to D) were surveyed to the south and northwest of the basilica (Figs. 4-5) that has been partly excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service. The aim of the survey was to try to reveal whether a possible settlement existed around the basilica. On the grey-scale map the positive anomalies are marked with dark colour whereas the negative ones in their turn are marked with light colour. The contour interval is 5 nT.

In area C next to the basilica there are quite strong anomalies at the location of the excavated walls of the basilica, because they and the apse are constructed with a mixture of layers of tile and limestone. There is also a linear negative-and-positive anomaly, which is crossing the whole field to the east of the basilica. This anomaly is caused by the remains of a modern iron fence that once divided the field in two separate parts. In area C there are only two possible houses faintly visible with the walls showing up as negative anomalies in light colour.

In area D there is a rather strong long and wide positive anomaly, which crosses the southern part of the plot of the magnetometer survey in a diagonal direction. It is probably a long depression of uncertain date, possibly a ditch, which is filled with more magnetic soil. There are also quite a big iron object and, perhaps, two pits on the plot.

In Area B it is interesting to see which effect the process of ploughing has on the magnetic field when it is measured at a small height. In the northern half of the plot, located next to the road, which was surveyed before the field was ploughed, almost no narrow linear anomalies of the ploughing are visible. In the southern half of the plot, where the survey was conducted after the surface had been ploughed a first time, the magnetic field is on the other hand clearly disturbed by long anomalies of both positive and negative sign, which are caused by the earthen ridges left after the plough.

Apart from the disturbances created by ploughing there are several strong positive anomalies in area B, which probably are created by pits filled with magnetic material. There are also rather distinctive linear negative anomalies, caused by stone walls. These linear negative anomalies could be interpreted as the remains of at least three houses. The walls of the houses are built in different directions, thus indicating that they might have been constructed at different periods of time. The only building that is constructed nearly parallel to the basilica, thus indicating contemporaneity, is the house next to the basilica.

Area A turned out to be the most interesting plot. This place was chosen after a "free search" magnetic survey of the area, when some rather strong magnetic anomalies were noted at the highest point of the field. The magnetic field on this plot is quite anomalous. The long negative anomalies form the walls of a rectangular structure, of which probably only one corner is visible. The rest of the building is situated closer to the modern iron fence between the two fields, in a zone where it was impossible to carry out the survey because of disturbing strong magnetic 'noise' from the fence. In the rectangular building (a farmstead or villa?), several rooms located in rows are visible. The inner spaces of the rooms, probably filled with fragments of tiles, ceramic vessels and so on, are visible in the map as local positive anomalies.

Apart from the large rectangular building there are some wide positive anomalies further on to the south in area A, located outside the building itself. They could be caused by some depressions (pits or well), filled with more magnetic soil in a way resembling the feature visible in area D.

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The First Mesolithic Site of Thesprotia

Evangelos Tourloukis and Ourania Palli

Introduction

During the intensive surface survey which formed part of the Thesprotia Expedition, a lithic scatter, PS 3, was discovered in the Kokytos valley. The preliminary study of the lithic assemblage shows that the site can be assigned to the Mesolithic period. It is the first site of its kind to be recorded in Thesprotia.[1]

The Mesolithic[2] period in Greece, ranging from ca. 10,500 to 9,000 years BP, remains poorly investigated, with only five excavated sites[3]: the shell-midden of Sidari in Corfu, providing the first definite Mesolithic evidence[4]; Franchthi Cave in the Argolid, offering the first well-stratified sequence[5]; the caves of Theopetra in Thessaly[6] and Klisoura in the Argolid[7]; and lately, the Cave of Cyclope on the island of Youra (northern Sporades) with its fish-hooks and the fish bone assemblages.[8] Except for the inland site of Theopetra and perhaps also Klisoura, all of the aforementioned sites are situated either in coastal areas or on islands. This kind of site distribution originally led to the assumption that the Greek Mesolithic was a sea-oriented period, but, as new finds emerge, the legitimacy of an overall maritime character for the period and its corollary of a depopulated hinterland is being challenged.[9] For instance, recent surface finds from the area of Grevena, discovered at altitudes of no less than 1,600 masl, are expected to raise interesting questions.[10] All newly discovered Mesolithic sites have been identified during the course of intensive surveys. These include the two sites of the Berbati-Limnes survey area in the Argolid (FS 200, FS 201), fifteen sites at Kandia, Argolid, the sites on Alonnisos, and six sites in the Preveza region (Fig. 1).[11]

Because of the patchy and unclear geographical/environmental distribution, many aspects of Mesolithic subsistence strategies, life-styles and adaptations remain elusive. Additionally, two main questions with regard to the preceding and succeeding periods

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[1] Two further sites with similar finds, PS 1 and PS 43, were detected by the survey, but the lithic assemblages have not been studied in detail so far.

[2] Instead of "Mesolithic", the term Epipalaeolithic is preferred by a number of scholars, mostly those working in the Balkans and the Near East, as emphasizing a sort of continuity with the Palaeolithic period. Since such a continuous development from the preceding period cannot so far be demonstrated at any of the known Greek Mesolithic sites, we choose to use the term Mesolithic.

[3] For the now lost or destroyed Ulbrich and Zaimis Caves, see Galanidou 2003.

[4] Sordinas 1970.

[5] Perlès 1990.

[6] Adam 1999; Adam 2000. Kyparissi-Apostolika 2003

[7] Koumouzelis *et al.* 1996.

[8] Sampson 1998; Sampson *et al.* 2003.

[9] Galanidou and Perlès 2003; Galanidou 2003, 111; Bailey 1999, 166.

[10] Efstratiou *et al.* 2004.

[11] For Berbati-Limnes see Runnels 1996; for Kandia see Runnels *et al.* 2005; for Alonnisos see Panagopoulou *et al.* 2001; for Preveza see Runnels and van Andel 2003.

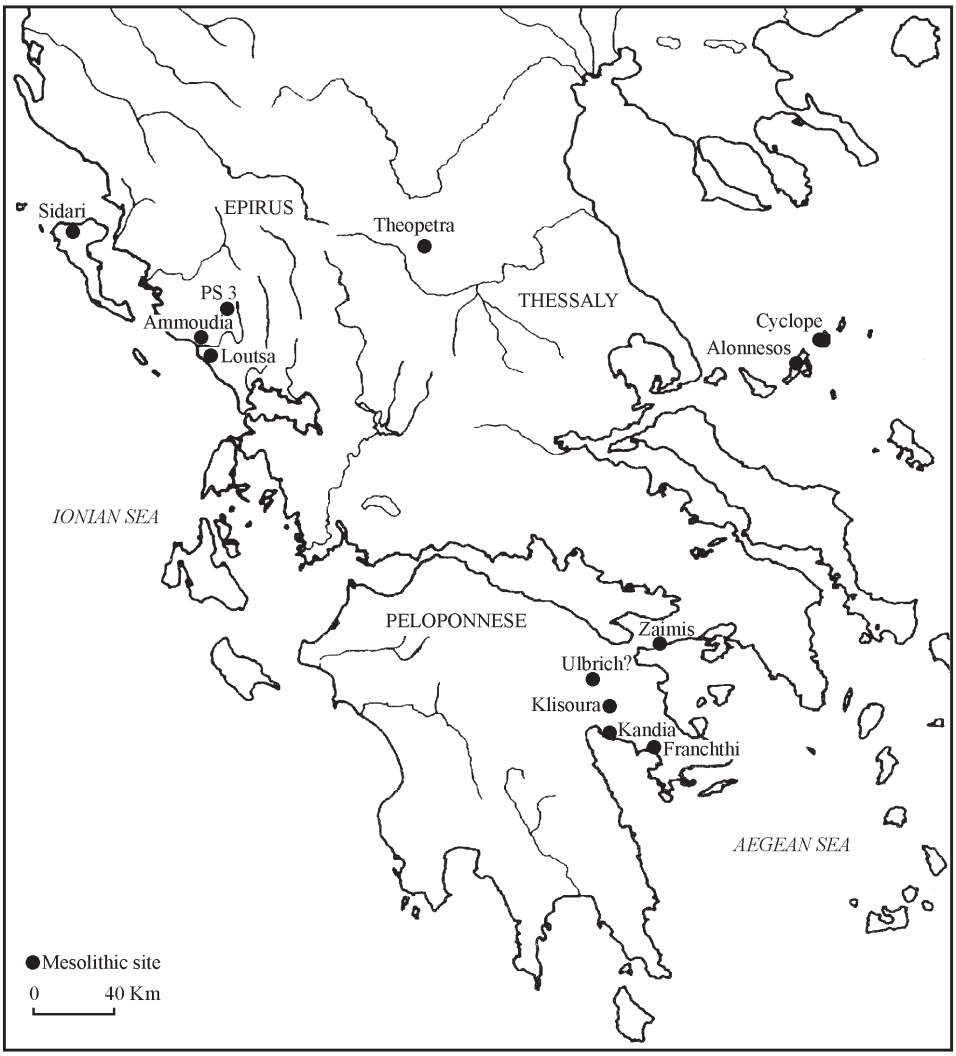

Fig. 1. The location of PS 3 in relation to other Mesolithic sites.

require further study: what is the relation of the Mesolithic with the Upper Palaeolithic, in view of the environmental transition with the onset of the Holocene, and the chronological gap between the latest Upper Palaeolithic sites and the earliest Mesolithic ones; and how is the Mesolithic connected to the advent of the Neolithic period? The latter issue, the "Neolithization of Greece", is still hotly debated, as it touches upon questions pertaining to the Mesolithic demography, the distribution of sites and the intensity of occupation, the economic activities, and the continuation (or not) of settlements throughout the Mesolithic and into the Neolithic.[12] Thus, the discovery of PS 3 in Thesprotia, one of the few inland sites, can be considered as a valuable addition to the scarce evidence of the Greek Mesolithic record and a significant contribution towards the answering of the aforementioned questions.

[12] Perlès 2001; Kotsakis 2003; Runnels 1995.

Fig. 2. The location of PS 3 seen from the east.

Site Location

The site is situated in the Kokytos valley, to the north of the village Karvounari, on the east slope of a small ridge thrusting out into what used to be a seasonally wet area called Nerotopos (Fig. 2). Another lake to the northeast and an ephemeral one to the north are located not far from the site, whereas, at a short distance to the east, the Kokytos river runs. Evidently, the site's location is directly related to either seasonal or perennial water resources, an association which has also recently been demonstrated by a site-location model for Mesolithic sites in the Kandia region, in the Argolid.[13] We can reasonably assume that human groups took advantage of this locality, in between three resource zones. The lacustrine environments of the above-mentioned lakes would have offered fresh water and, as animal watering-places, could have served as ideal hunting spots, whereas plant-gathering would be promoted by a rich wetland vegetation community. Similarly beneficial resources can be legitimately envisaged for the riverside setting around the Kokytos, whereas the forested upland areas of the Paramythia mountain chain would have provided further alternatives for hunting and gathering, and possibly raw material acquisition as well. The Kokytos riverbanks are rich in good-quality flint resources. Thus, combined with a more detailed study of the lithic assemblage, further investigations of the geomorphological setting, the topographic relief and the overall environmental conditions within the site catchment are expected to reveal valuable information on the relationship between human activities and the palaeoecological background.

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[13] Runnels *et al.* 2005.

The lithic assemblage

The assemblage makes up a total of 534 artefacts. From these, thirty-nine were treated separately and they were excluded from the metrical analysis, as they are patinated. Although patination is still not well understood, Palaeolithic research in Epirus has shown so far that it can be used as a thumb-rule in dating: less heavily patinated assemblages are usually associated with the Upper Palaeolithic, whereas non-patinated artefacts are expected to be of a post-Pleistocene age.[14] Indeed, the PS 3 patinated artefacts seem to be typologically older than the Mesolithic (Middle Palaeolithic?), and therefore are not discussed here. Such an admixture of older (or later) material is not unexpected in the case of surface collections.

Excluding the aforementioned patinated pieces, which display an overall greater degree of weathering (with blunted ridges as well), the artefacts were found in mint to sharp condition, with no evidence of rolling or surface alterations. Except for a few pieces made on chert and quartzite blanks, flint is the prevailing raw material (Fig. 3). Beige and light grey flint have the highest frequencies, almost equally comprising 70% of the assemblage; light brown flint follows with some 16%. Whereas the preliminary study revealed no significant associations between raw material types and techno- or typological groups, it is noteworthy that one of the two largest groups of raw material, namely what we call "light grey" flint, is reminiscent of what Sordinas describes as "grey translucent flint", which, in the case of Sidari, is by far the most commonly used raw material. Sordinas reports that it was not possible to determine the provenance for this type of flint in the site's nearby area, and he postulates that it might have been of non-local origin, imported from elsewhere.[15] Whatever the case may be, the PS 3 flint was most probably available in secondary sources, perhaps in the form of pebbles deriving from streambeds, as the cortex seems to suggest.

Raw Material	Number of Artefacts	%
Flint: Light grey	154	32.0
Flint: Dark grey	25	5.0
Flint: Beige	183	38.0
Flint: Light brown	77	16.0
Flint: Dark brown	17	3.5
Flint: Honey brown	2	0.4
Flint: Mauve	13	2.0
Flint: Other	6	2.6
Quartzite	9	1.8
Chert	7	1.4

Fig. 3. Raw material frequencies.

[14] Runnels *et al.* 2004, 13, 17; Runnels and van Andel 2003; see also Papagianni 2000. However, there may exist exceptions to this rule as shown by the lithic assemblage of PS 4, which is Middle to Upper Palaeolithic in date, but which shows no signs of patina.

[15] Sordinas 1969, 402. Notably, the Palaeolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age Sidarian artefacts were made of other kinds of flint, which were available in the area (Sordinas 1970, 8). For practical reasons we were not able to examine the Sidarian assemblage, and therefore we cannot confirm at the moment whether the PS 3 light grey flint is identical to or a (coarser?) variant of the grey translucent flint which was in use at Sidari.

	Cores	Flakes	Blades/Bladelets	Retouched Tools	Debris	Total
N	19	99	4	304	69	495
%	3.8	20.0	0.8	61.4	13.9	99.9

Fig. 4. Assemblage composition. Patinated artefacts (N= 39) are excluded. Retouched Tools include microliths, retouched blades, and "utilized flakes" (flakes with "use-retouch"). Debris includes specimens with less clear flake-scars (e.g. platform, bulb of percussion), debitage products, as well as possible "technical pieces" (e.g. for the rejuvenation of a core).

The most striking feature of the PS 3 assemblage composition is the high number of retouched tools (Fig. 4). Consistently with the remaining categories of chipped stone, most of the tools are made on light grey and beige flint. Except for the microliths which are discussed below, the tool inventory includes mainly "transformation tools" and is dominated by various forms of retouched flakes, most of which have a partial, lateral retouch, often alternate or alternating. Other classes include scrapers (end- and side-scrapers, transverse, etc.), notched and denticulated pieces, and perçoirs, whereas combination tools are also relatively abundant (Fig. 5). Conspicuous by their small number are blades and bladelets: out of only fifteen in total, most of them are bladelets and eleven are retouched. Hence, the vast majority of the tools have been shaped on *flake blanks*, while flakes predominate in the debitage class as well. Laminar products are nearly lacking. Furthermore, in accordance with the overall lack of abrupt retouch among the formal tools, backed pieces are absent from the assemblage.

The Mesolithic character of the assemblage is supported by the generally small scale of the artefacts, particularly those with a maximum dimension of less than 2 cm, which, when retouched, are classified here as *microliths*. About half (41%) of the unmodified flakes are microlithic in size and 1/3 of the retouched tools consist of microliths (Fig. 6). These pieces have *non-geometric* forms and they have *not* been manufactured by the

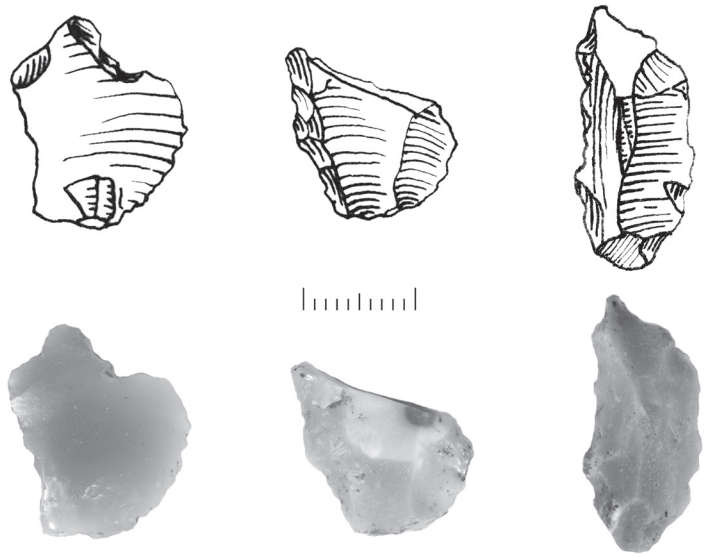

Fig. 5. Retouched Tools.

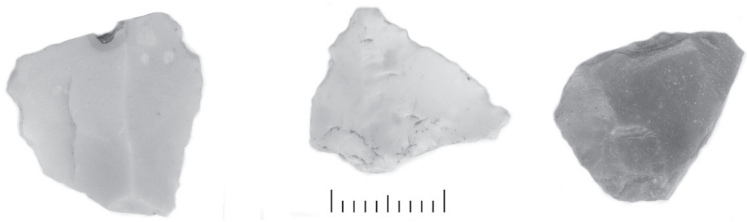

Fig. 6. Microliths.

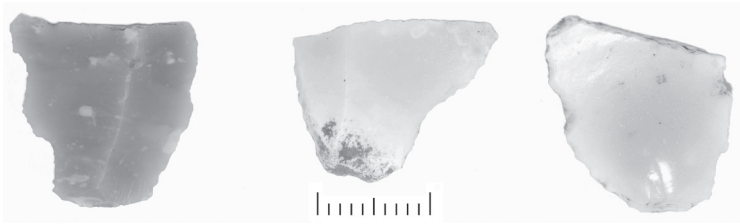

Fig. 7. Microliths on snapped pieces or on flake fragments.

microburin technique[16]; rather, they have been shaped on flake blanks and flake fragments that were first snapped and/or retouched (Fig. 7). Even when this type of artefacts appears in a somewhat geometric shape (e.g. "trapezoids"), it is still clear that they have not been manufactured on blade/bladelet blanks. Hence, from a technological point of view (including the lack of the microburin technique), the PS 3 microlithic component is definitely at variance with the formal geometric microliths (e.g. the classical forms of segments or crescents, trapezes, triangles, etc.).

Raw material	Median Values			
	Length	Width	Thickness	Scar nr.
Flint: Light grey (n=7)	34.0	31.0	19.0	5.0
Flint: Light brown (n=3)	30.0	26.0	22.0	13.0
Flint: Beige (n=3)	33.0	26.0	20.0	10.0
Flint: Dark grey (n=2)	33.0	30.0	18.5	10.0
Flint: Dark brown (n=1)	35.0	28.0	19.0	14.0
Flint: Other (n=2)	34.5	23.5	19.0	6.5
Chert (n=1)	39.0	39.0	34.0	6.0

Fig. 8. Cores (n=19): Median values for dimensions (all in mm) and scar number in relation to raw material. Two patinated cores have been excluded.

Metrical data of the cores (Fig. 8) further demonstrate the overall microlithic nature of the assemblage: with average dimensions of 34, 28 and 19 mm in length, width and thickness respectively, the PS 3 cores can be described as diminutive; in that respect they are reminiscent of the Sidarian cores. Cortical parts are retained in more than half of the cores (63%), covering from 5% to 25% of the total surface. Cortex, although only in

[16] Whereas microburins are so small that sieving is the only secure collection method for their recovery, the sampling strategies used by the survey team fairly ensure that we have not missed much, since specimens of less than one centimeter have been collected and recorded as well.

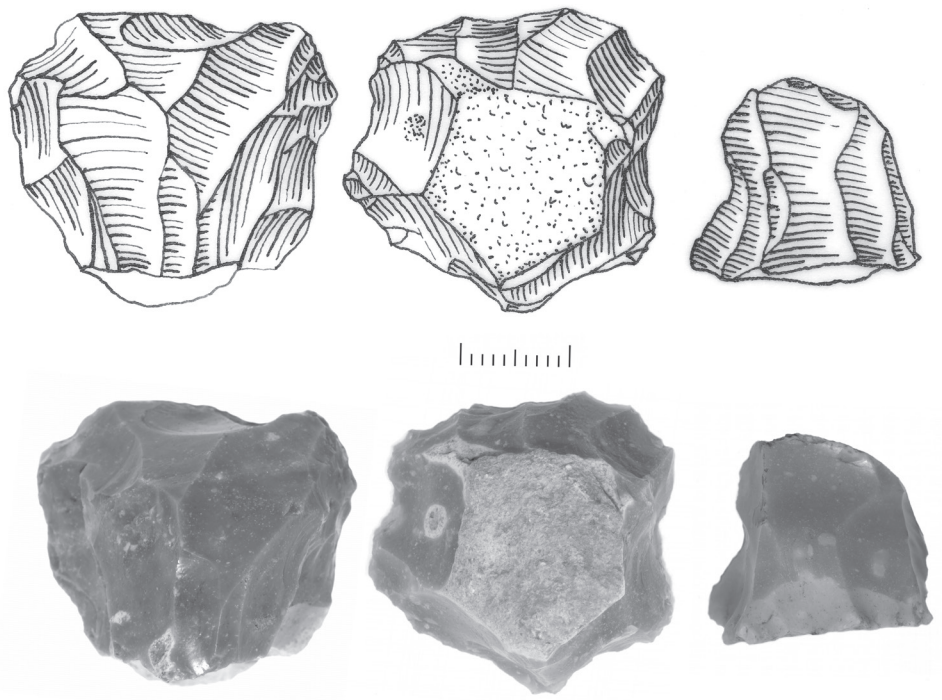

Fig. 9. Cores.

one case present in more than one spot, is a further indication of the microlithic size of the original pebbles from which the cores were knapped. Coupled with the low percentage of cortex coverage (10% on average), scar counts (mean no.: 8) clearly demonstrate that the cores were exhaustively flaked, considering also their small size (Fig. 9). All of the cores bear flake- and bladelet-scars, in multiple directions and usually averaging between 10 to 15 mm in length. Most of the pieces are of amorphous types, followed by globular and semi-globular types.

Interpretation and affinities with other Mesolithic industries

The preliminary study of the PS 3 lithic industry, along with informative conclusions derived by comparison with other known Mesolithic assemblages, allowed us to ascribe the site to the Mesolithic period. In addition to the technological and typological observations which follow below, we consider that, apart from the lack of any pottery, the following criteria constitute a strong basis for attributing the site to the Mesolithic:

1. Middle and Upper Palaeolithic diagnostic lithic tool-types, as well as Bronze Age artefacts, are lacking.[17]

[17] It has already been mentioned that an admixture with artefacts from other periods cannot be ruled out: the patinated pieces, in particular, should probably be ascribed to the Palaeolithic, whereas it is possible that an expert on the Neolithic would be able to recognize artefacts of this period among the debitage products (but certainly not among the retouched tools and/or the cores).

2. Because of the overall absence of any specimen that could be securely attributed to either the Upper Palaeolithic or the Neolithic, the microlithic character of the assemblage can only be associated with the Mesolithic period.

3. The study of the material revealed strong affinities with other Greek Mesolithic assemblages, most importantly with that of the open-air site of Sidari in Corfu.

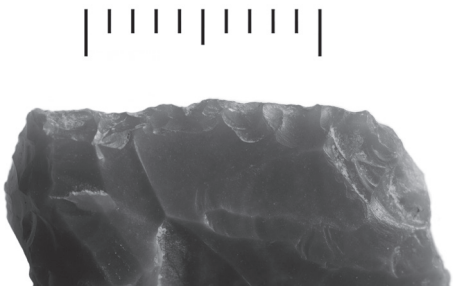

Fig. 10. Detail of retouched microlith.

The technique of shaping microliths on flakes, flake fragments or (often snapped) small-sized pieces of debitage (e.g. chips) is also present in the sites of Sidari, Ammoudia, Loutsa and Tsouknida in the Preveza district, and Kryegjata B in Albania.[18] By snapping[19] and/or retouching one or more of the edges of the blank, the result is a rather irregular microlithic piece, without a proper (and thus classifiable) geometric form, sometimes without even a pointed or sharp edge. Notably at Franchthi, the microburin technique for the production of "formal" microliths, although present in the *Upper Palaeolithic* levels, disappears in the following Lower Mesolithic layers (phase VII), where the microlithic component is radically reduced. When they reappear in the Upper Mesolithic (phase VII), microliths are abundant (though still far less than those of the Upper Palaeolithic), but most of them "are not of any typical Mesolithic variety", they do not have points or sharp edges, and even "the more classical microliths, such as trapezes, are also unusual, since they are manufactured on flakes rather than blades or bladelets, without the use of the microburin technique", as Perlès notes.[20] A similar pattern, where the microburin technique is present in the late Upper Palaeolithic layers and absent in the next, Mesolithic strata, is seen also in Klisoura[21], while there is no evidence of use of this technique in Sidari and Theopetra as well.[22]

Nevertheless, it seems that the microlithic component of PS 3 has even greater affinities with the site of Sidari: microburins, backed bladelets and geometric microliths are absent, and the blanks that are snapped and/or retouched into microliths are flakes/fragments, rather than blades.[23] Moreover, the type of retouch present in PS 3 tools is the same as that described by Sordinas for Sidari[24], and reported also for Franchthi[25], the Preveza sites[26] and Kryegjata B[27]: it is a fine, nibbling (pressure?) retouch, usually

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[18] For Sidari see Sordinas 1970; Sordinas 2003; for the Preveza sites see Runnels and van Andel 2003; for Kryegjata B see Runnels *et al.* 2004.

[19] Sordinas 1970, 10, stresses that this "snapping process" is observed as either a preparatory stage or "an end in itself" in the manufacture of microliths.

[20] Perlès 2003, 82.

[21] Kozlowski cited in Galanidou 2003; Koumouzelis *et al.* 2003.

[22] In other words, this pattern concerns all excavated Mesolithic strata. The case of the Cave of Cyclope is not discussed here, due to certain unanswered issues with regard to the discovered obsidian microburin and microliths (see discussion in Sampson *et al.* 2003).

[23] Sordinas 1970; Sordinas 2003.

[24] Sordinas 1970, 11-12.

[25] Perlès 1990, 46-79; Perlès 2001.

[26] Runnels *et al.* 1999, 126; Runnels and van Andel 2003, 119.

[27] Runnels *et al.* 2004, 18.

marginal and often alternate/alternating and discontinuous (Fig. 10). The main classes of the PS 3 tool inventory also match those reported for Sidari, the Preveza assemblages (with the exception of backed blades, which are present at Ammoudia), the Kryegjata B industry, Theopetra and, albeit to a somewhat lesser extent, Klisoura as well (chiefly the upper Mesolithic layers).[28]

To sum up, the Mesolithic assemblage of PS 3 displays remarkable similarities first of all with the Sidarian industry, with which it shares practically the same type of toolkit and retouch, whereas the technique for the production of microliths fits exactly that portrayed vividly by A. Sordinas.[29] As has already been mentioned, parallels with Sidari are found also with regard to the "absence of evidence" (i.e. of microburins, backed pieces, geometrics). The sites from the Preveza district, together with the Albanian site at Kryegjata and the cave of Theopetra, offer the next examples with which PS 3 can be compared. As regards Franchthi, the resemblances with PS 3 concern aspects of both the Lower and the Upper levels: in the case of the former (i.e. Franchthi phase VII), the relationships are found in the presence of a flake-dominated assemblage "with a retouched toolkit consisting mainly of marginally retouched flakes, notches, denticulates and end-scrapers"[30]; in the case of phase VIII, where the Franchthi basic toolkit remained unchanged, the "atypical" microliths – manufactured without the use of the microburin technique – resemble those found in PS 3.

Discussion

Greek Mesolithic industries

As reflected in the technical traditions, the overall economic dimensions of the Greek Mesolithic have been characterized as "idiosyncratic"[31]: at Franchthi, for instance, "typical Mesolithic" lithic elements, such as Sauveterre points and geometrics, appear at the final Pleistocene levels, and a similar situation may be true for Klisoura[32] and Zaimis Cave, as well as for other sites.[33] Whether we are looking at a "Mesolithization process" occurring in Greece earlier than in the rest of Europe[34] is still an issue for further investigation. Whatever the case may be, certain features of the Greek Mesolithic industries do move away from the general picture attested in the rest of Europe,[35] with the following being the most prominent examples: the absence of microliths in a number of sites and the presence of non-geometric specimens in others, together with the relevant issue regarding

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[28] Sordinas 1970, 13; Runnels and van Andel 2003, 119; Runnels *et al.* 2004, 18; Adam 1999, 267; Adam 2000, 165; Koumouzelis *et al.* 2003, 114-115.

[29] Sordinas 2003, 91-92.

[30] Perlès 2003, 82.

[31] Perlès 1999, 315; Perlès 2003, 83; Galanidou and Perlès 2003, 31.

[32] Note however that the Mesolithic layers at Klisoura Cave 1 show a continuous development from the Epigravettian tradition as it appears in Cave 7 (Koumouzelis *et al.* 2003, 118), whereas there is a temporal hiatus between phases VI and VII at Franchthi.

[33] Koumouzelis *et al.* 2003; Galanidou 2003.

[34] Perlès 2003.

[35] This observation refers chiefly to northwest, west and perhaps also Central Europe (see for instance Fisher 2006). For the Balkans and the circum-Mediterranean area see discussion below, as well as Whallon 1999, 338-341 and Merkyte 2003.

the microburin technique; and the presence of backed pieces in certain cases while they are absent in others. Such a picture makes the identification of Mesolithic sites even more complicated,[36] and justifies Sordinas' observations when he draws attention to the fact that "microliths per se cannot be used as "fossiles directeurs" for a Mesolithic culture…".[37]

Mesolithic industries in comparison

Furthermore, when it comes to surface collections, in view of the lack of faunal remains and without the documentation techniques of an excavation, typo-technological comparisons are inevitably rather disconnected from their wider contexts (such as subsistence strategies and functional parameters, territorial traditions, raw material availability), and hence with a constricted value. In that sense and given that the study of the PS 3 assemblage is still in a preliminary stage, it would be somewhat simplistic to compare here the Thesprotian evidence with that found in some sites of the Balkans, by analogy to those Greek sites with which PS 3 shares many affinities. For instance, Sidari finds parallels in Crvena Stijena (Herzegovina) and in some Italian sites[38]; in turn, industries with microliths but without the use of the microburin technique at Crvena Stijena and Odmut cave (Montenegro) find their equivalents in the Upper Mesolithic of Franchthi[39]; the caves of Odmut and Konispol (Albania) compare well with Kryegjata B in terms of their toolkits and the technique for the production of microliths.[40]

However, whatever degree of typo-technological variation we detect, there are significant similarities which seem to tie together many of the Mesolithic industries of southeastern Europe. In this view, it would be equally fruitful for the Greek Mesolithic to apprehend the emerging wider patterns, instead of emphasizing its "idiosyncratic" nature and the disjunctions from the earlier traditions (late Upper Palaeolithic). For instance, the flake character seen in a number of Greek sites fits well within the Early Holocene framework of the Eastern Balkans, where there is a tendency to replace blade industries with a flake technology.[41] Moreover, the pattern of development emerging in Albania (e.g. the Mallakastra region) and Montenegro[42] is comparable to that found in Greece.[43] Thus, as a working hypothesis, it can be suggested that new evidence may confirm the presence of a discernible Mesolithic tradition along the Ionian/Adriatic coast, reflected in the affinities of the Greek sites (Sidari, Preveza sites, PS 3) with the Albanian sites (Kryegjata B, Konispol and perhaps also Vlushë), as well as some of the sites from Montenegro (Crvena Stijena and Odmut).

Environmental strategies

Evidently, such inter-site technological variations and/or affiliations are associated with spatially and temporally specific environmental adaptations. In Greece, while there was

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[36] Cherry and Parkinson 2003, 45.

[37] Sordinas 2003, 90. Not only is there a general lack of diagnostic tool-types, but also diagnostic relative proportions of artefact types within assemblages are still to be determined (Galanidou 2003, 111).

[38] Sordinas 1969, 405.

[39] Mihailović 1999, 350-355.

[40] Runnels 2004, 22; Harrold *et al.* 1999, 369.

[41] Kozlowski 1996.

[42] For instance, compare Crvena Stijena VI and V with Franchthi phase VII.

[43] Merkyte 2003, 309.

a marked preference for the mountainous hinterland during the Late Palaeolithic, the Mesolithic groups seem to favor lowland and/or coastal areas.[44] Indeed, in most of the Balkan Mesolithic sites there is an obvious focus on bodies of water, where marine, lacustrine and riverine resources are available.[45] The location of the PS 3 site is near the Kokytos river and other aquatic resources, but this is not a reinforcing element for an aquatic-oriented Mesolithic Period in Thesprotia. In the Kokytos valley the same model is already known from Middle to Upper Palaeolithic and even Neolithic sites. Furthermore, this would be in accordance with a recognition of the increasing importance of local resources (for the procurement of both food and raw materials) among Mesolithic societies.[46] Nevertheless, further study is needed in order to understand technological choices with regard to subsistence strategies and topographic conditions in the Epirote Mesolithic setting and its adjacent areas.

Conclusions

This study demonstrates that the PS 3 lithic inventory has a strong possibility to belong typologically and technologically to the Mesolithic Period. Our conclusion is grounded in the absence of distinctive Upper Palaeolithic features, the lack of any Neolithic tool-type or pottery, and, most of all, the presence of certain characteristics that are common in other Mesolithic sites, especially those of neighboring areas, such as the site of Sidari in Corfu, Ammoudia and Loutsa in the Preveza prefecture, the Albanian site of Kryegjata B, and even Franchthi and Kleisoura in the Argolid, and Theopetra in Thessaly. An excavation of the site in the future could provide more valuable information, comparing stratigraphical data with the survey's results.

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[44] Bailey 1999.
[45] Merkyte 2003, 312; see also Runnels 1995, Runnels 2005.
[46] Merkyte 2003, 311.

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New Early Iron Age and Archaic Sites in Thesprotia

Antonia Tzortzatou and Lila Fatsiou

The Early Iron Age[1] and the Archaic period were, until recently, something of a "dark" interval in the history of Thesprotia. With the exception of a few finds of the sixth and fifth centuries BC, there were no indications of human activity in the present *nomos* (prefecture) of Thesprotia between the Late Bronze Age and the Late Classical period.[2]

For the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods, the absence of archaeological remains would seem reasonable, considering the general instability related to the movements of the Epirote tribes, as well as the rudimentary character of the habitation sites of the early nomads of Epirus, whose ruins are traced with difficulty.[3] For the Geometric and Archaic periods, however, the absence of commercial activity is surprising, given that the southern part of Epirus, southern Illyria and the Ionian islands were at this time attracting the interest of settlers from southern Greece.[4] However, this picture has recently changed due to the research of the 8th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities[5] and the Finnish Institute at Athens,[6] providing us with new insight into the period between the ninth and fifth centuries BC. This article offers an overview of the finds from five sites (Fig. 1) excavated by the Ephorate (Mavromandilia of Prodromi, Neochori, Grika, Pyrgos Ragiou and Mastilitsa).

Mavromandilia of Prodromi

During the construction of an irrigation channel 200 m from the Kokytos river, at the site Mavromandilia[7] (Fig. 1), an archaeological deposit rich in Early Iron Age pottery was

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[1] "Early Iron Age" is used here as a general term to embrace the Submycenaean, Protogeometric and Geometric periods, thus the period between 1120/1100 and 730/700 BC. The lower limit for the Geometric period is marked, in Epirus, by the foundation of the Elean colonies in the area of Kassopaia, during the late eighth and early seventh centuries BC. However, according to Dakaris, it is not possible to follow rigid chronological divisions, due to the conservatism of the material culture of the indigenous population, which remained relatively unaltered after the Late Bronze Age and until the Late Classical period (Dakaris 1971, 31-32; Dakaris 1972, 71, 76; Vlachopoulou-Oikonomou 2003, 284).

[2] It should be noted that ancient Thesprotia had different borders than those of the modern *nomos* Thesprotia. For the shifts on the confines of Thesprotia from the Late Bronze Age onwards see Dakaris 1972, 1-7.

[3] Vlachopoulou-Oikonomou 2003, 285; Dakaris 1964, 8; Dakaris 1972, 3; Gravani 2005, 554.

[4] Apart from four Elean colonies founded in Kassopaia during the late eighth to early seventh century BC (Dakaris 1971), Corinth established a series of colonies along the coasts of Akarnania, Epirus, southern Illyria and the Ionian islands (Leukas and a possible trading post at Ithaca), sometimes in collaboration with Korkyra, which was also a Corinthian colony of the eighth century BC. For a brief account of the Corinthian-Korkyrean colonies see Bakhuizen 1987.

[5] Apart from the sites described in this article, see also Svana, this volume.

[6] See J. Forsén, this volume.

[7] Rescue excavation was carried out in 2005 by E. Nikolaou, under the supervision of G. Riginos. The study of the material is still in a preliminary stage. For more finds of Early Iron Age date from the wider area of Mavromandilia, see Forsén, this volume. For the geo-archaeological setting of the site, see Lavento and Lahtinen, this volume.

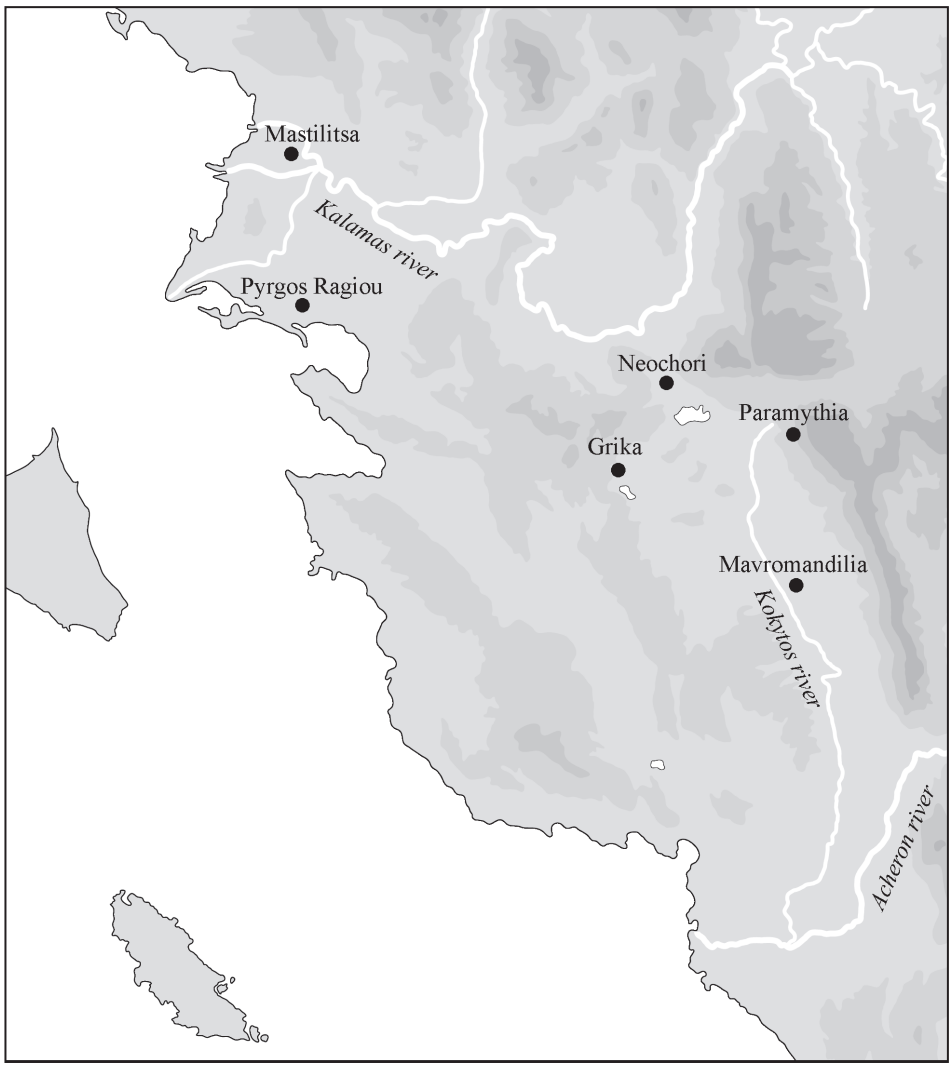

Fig. 1. Map of Thesprotia with sites of the Geometric and Archaic period.

found. The stratigraphic sequence within the excavated ditch was problematic, since both Hellenistic and Mycenaean sherds were found along with the Early Iron Age pottery, while no architectural remains have been traced. The pottery can be classified into three distinct categories: (1) handmade, undecorated coarse ware, (2) matt-painted ware and (3) imported, decorated Geometric pottery.

Most of the pottery belongs to the undecorated coarse ware. Typical of this ware are large, open vases. As for the smaller examples, a kantharos (Fig. 2a) finds close counterparts in vessels of the eighth century BC from Vitsa.[8] The coarse, undecorated

[8] With regard to size and clay composition, the vessel could be dated to the mid-eighth century BC (Vokotopoulou 1986, 234-235). For a close counterpart see Vokotopoulou 1986, 103, pl. 151β, fig. 10δ (no. 2244/T. 79).

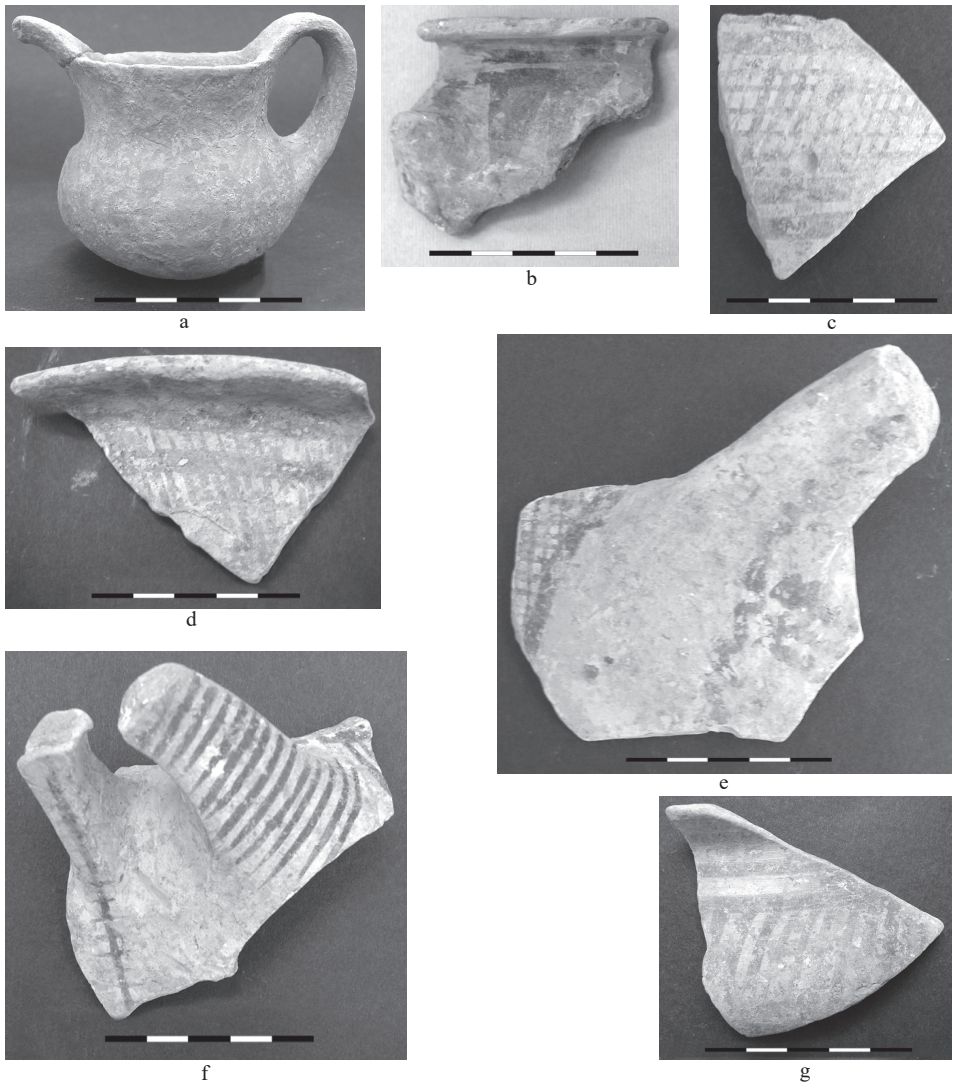

Fig. 2. Undecorated (a) and matt-painted ware (b-g) from Mavromandilia.

ware from Mavromandilia could, on the basis of the imported pottery found in the same context, be tentatively dated between the eighth and seventh centuries BC. However, the presence of a few "wish-bone" handles,[9] characteristic of the Bronze Age, but which continue into the Geometric period, in addition to a Mycenaean kylix stem, could raise the chronology to the Late Bronze Age.

[9] "Wish-bone" handles are a characteristic "northern" type of the Middle Bronze Age, with wide distribution in Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, Albania, Corfu and Leukas (Metallinou 2005, 49, n. 22). In Epirus this type of handle is no longer in use during Phase II of matt-painted ware (Vokotopoulou 1986, 266).

Fig. 3. Imported Geometric pottery from Mavromandilia.

Matt-painted ware is represented by a small, though characteristic, group of sherds. They belong to the "north-western matt-painted" or "Boubousti" ware, and present many similarities to the material from Vitsa. The majority of the sherds fall into Phase II, dated between the mid-ninth and the end of the eighth century BC[10] (Figs. 2b-e). They are handmade, mostly thick-walled and usually of orange or buff colour. The surfaces are

[10] For various examples see Vokotopoulou 1986, 222-223, 246-247, 266-272, pl. 12-15, 17 and fig. 46δ (5945/T. 80), fig. 54 (no. 5383). At Vitsa, Phase II pottery was found in graves, securely dated on the basis of the imported Geometric pottery (see Vokotopoulou 1986, 269). For the characteristics of Phase II see Vokotopoulou 1986, 258-266; Tartaron 2004, 84.

unsmoothed, with no traces of slip. Decoration, applied in matt, dark brown paint, is linear and consists, mainly, of pendant hatched or solid triangles, multiple diagonal lines, cross-hatched bands and chevrons. Two sherds (Figs. 2f-g) could possibly be classified to Phase I, between the end of the twelfth century and 900 BC. They are thin-walled and of more refined clay, and the decoration is carefully executed.[11]

In view of the above-mentioned finds, the site at Mavromandilia of Prodromi comprises a link for the diffusion of matt-painted pottery from the hinterland of Epirus towards Ephyra, considering its key position along the routes which connected the plain of Korytsa with the coastal zone of Thesprotia, via Dodoni.[12]

The imported wheelmade decorated sherds (Fig. 3) date to the Late Geometric and Subgeometric periods, although some examples could be also tentatively dated to the Middle Geometric.[13] The prevalent shapes are the skyphos and kotyle, the krater and other large open vases and the oinochoe. The decorative motifs are recurrent: continuous or intermittent meanders, vertical zig-zags or wavy lines in a metope within bands of horizontal lines, horizontal zig-zags, multiple parallel lines etc. Characteristic is the presence of skyphoi which belong to the Thapsos Group[14] (Figs. 3f and g).

The imported pottery from Mavromandilia represents evidence of extensive commercial activity between Thesprotia and southern Greece. It is mainly of Corinthian origin, although the presence of other workshops cannot be excluded, such as Attic-Euboean, Thessalian, Boeotian, Argive, and those of western Greece .[15]

Neochori and Grika

During the construction of the Egnatia highway near Neochori (Fig. 1),[16] in the area of Paramythia, a small assemblage of Corinthian vases of the sixth century BC was found (a trefoil-mouthed jug[17] [Fig. 4a], a kotyle[18] [Fig. 4b] and a small cutaway-neck jug[19] [Fig. 4c]), two of which were associated with a simple pit-burial.

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[11] For the characteristics of Phase I see Vokotopoulou 1986, 258-265.

[12] Tartaron 2004, 87, fig. 5.8.

[13] Among the earliest parallels for the sherds in Figs. 3a-b see Coldstream 1968, pl. 17j for a Middle Geometric II sherd of an open Corinthian vessel; Vokotopoulou 1986, 121, pl. 68ζ (no. 2220/T. 129), for a skyphos at the transition from the Middle Geometric II to the Late Geometric. For motifs similar to the one on the sherd in Fig. 3c, which appears on Corinthian vases from the Middle Geometric to the Late Geometric and Sub-Geometric periods, see Vallet and Villard 1964, 23 & pl. 3:7; Vokotopoulou 1982, fig. 11.

[14] For a pot with decoration similar to the one in Fig. 3f see Vokotopoulou 1986, 163, 278-279, fig. 69ε (no. 2226/T. 139), dated to the Late Geometric period (750-725 BC) on the basis of a parallel from Ithaca. For a close parallel to the sherd in Fig. 3g see Kolonia 1989, 190-191, pl. 144γ, a Corinthian miniature skyphos of the Thapsos Group, from the cemetery of Amphissa.

[15] For the motif on the sherds in Fig. 3e, which appears on Corinthian, Attic, Argive and Boeotian vases, see Kunisch 1998, Abb. 22c. For the sherd in Fig. 3d see Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 66, pl. 27α (krater sherds of the Late Geometric-Early Protoattic period from Eretria).

[16] The rescue excavation was conducted by Ch. Gania, G. Nika and G. Yfandis under the supervision of G. Riginos. For a brief overview see *ArchDelt* 56 (2001), Χρονικά (in press).

[17] For shape see Blegen *et al*. 1964, 109, pl. 33 (Deposit 46a).

[18] For shape see Clement 1969, 119, pl. 108β (IPG 68-95); Blegen *et al.* 1964, 108, pl. 20 (Group ii); Lorandou-Papantoniou 1999, 193, pl. 19, pl. III:119.

[19] For shape see Douzougli 1992a, 278-281, pl. 82ε.

a b c

Fig. 4. Corinthian vases from Neochori.

From the same area comes a female standing figurine of the first half of the sixth century BC (Fig. 5a). The figure wears an Ionic chiton and holds a flower and a fruit. Similar figurines have been found in Corfu, in the excavation of Mon Repos,[20] related to an Archaic to Early Classical sanctuary. To the same type belong three other figurines found in Thesprotia, at Pyrgos Ragiou (Fig. 5b) and Mastilitsa (Fig. 5c), respectively.

We should also mention two Korkyrean silver staters of the late sixth century BC, found near the modern village of Grika, on the site called "Stenes".[21] Together with two Corinthian staters known for some time from the area of Paramythia[22] it can be confirmed that from the sixth century BC trade was carried out not only on the basis of product exchange, but also with the valid Corinthian currency.

The above-mentioned finds from Neochori, Grika and Mavromandilia of Prodromi suggest that imported products from Ithaca, the colonies on the coast of Epirus and, after the sixth century BC, from Corfu reached the hinterland of Epirus. In that context, the importance of the natural passageway of Paramythia in the movement of goods is clearly illustrated. Moreover, the Late Archaic burial at Neochori implies the existence of a nearby settlement. The area, close to the two rivers (Kalamas and Kokytos) and the small lake Chotkova, was rich in natural resources and must have been ideal for agricultural and pastoral activities, due to the fertile soil, a variety of pasturelands and the proximity to fresh water.

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[20] For a similar figurine see Dontas 1964, 327 (MR 370), pl. 371α, where it is classified as "Lechat type", although similarities with that type are not obvious.

[21] Preka-Alexandri 1995, 446-447; Sarras 1998, 209-210, 212. The obverse side depicts a cow to the left, looking back at a calf which it suckles, the reverse depicts two stellate patterns within incuse rectangles. See Sear 1978, 175, no. 1766 (B.M.C. 7.10); Spetsieri-Choremi 1981, pl. 14:155 (variation D).

[22] Dakaris 1972, 78, 80.

Fig. 5. Archaic figurines from Neochori (a), Pyrgos Ragiou (b, d-g) and Mastilitsa (c).

Pyrgos Ragiou

In the middle of the Kalamas delta, on a low hill 500 m from the old river mouth, stands the small fort of Pyrgos Ragiou (Fig. 1). It has been suggested that it was built by the Korkyreans during the fifth century BC, forming part of the "Korkyrean Peraia", and that it was used as a stronghold to protect the Lygia Peninsula from the north.[23] Although it cannot be confirmed that the site was in use during the Archaic period, since no related architectural remains have been found, it seems that the Korkyreans were familiar with the area and had realised the strategic importance of the site.

[23] Dakaris 1972, 32-35, 77, 104-105; Hammond 1967, 82-83. Pyrgos Ragiou and Forts A and B on the Lygia Peninsula (ancient Torone?), built according to the isodomic system, are considered to belong to the earliest Thesprotian fortifications.

This could be further supported on the basis of nine female figurines found in trial trenches in the south-eastern part of the fort,[24] dated between the early sixth and mid-fifth centuries BC (Figs. 5b, d-g). They all belong to predominantly Corinthian types: standing women with chiton[25] (Fig. 5b), seated woman on a throne wearing peplos[26] (Fig. 5d) and female heads with polos[27] (Figs. 5e-g), well known from many other sites in Corfu and Epirus.

Mastilitsa

The low hill of Mastilitsa is located to the north of the new river mouth of Kalamas, in the middle of the deltaic plain (Fig. 1). Here recent excavations[28] have brought to light a building of the late seventh and sixth centuries BC and part of a Late Archaic cemetery.

The building (Fig. 6a) is located on a summit at the southern part of the hill. It is rectangular in plan (14 x 10 m) with an east to west orientation, comprising a central room (9 x 5 m), probably an open courtyard, surrounded by four narrow wings, which were roofed. Further to the east a small rectangular construction was excavated, which seems to have been used as an altar or sacrificial pyre.

The above example represents for Thesprotia, if not for Epirus as a whole, the earliest building related to religious activities.[29] The finds, however, do not provide us with sufficient information concerning the character of the cult. Among the most representative objects we should mention Corinthian vases, such as two globular aryballoi[30] (Fig. 6b) and a conical oinochoe[31](Fig. 6c), decorative metal applications (Fig. 6e), a golden

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[24] Preka-Alexandri 1988, 353-356, pl. 200δ-ε.

[25] For the type of that figurine, which is similar to those from Mastilitsa and Neochori, see Dontas 1964, 327 (MR 370), pl. 371α and *supra* n. 20.

[26] For parallels, see Blinkenberg 1931, 530-531, 533-534, pl. 100 (no. 2196), pl. 101 (nos. 2202-2203), dated around 525-400 BC; Bonias 1998, pl. 37 (no. 280, ΜΓ 419), dated around 460/450 BC.

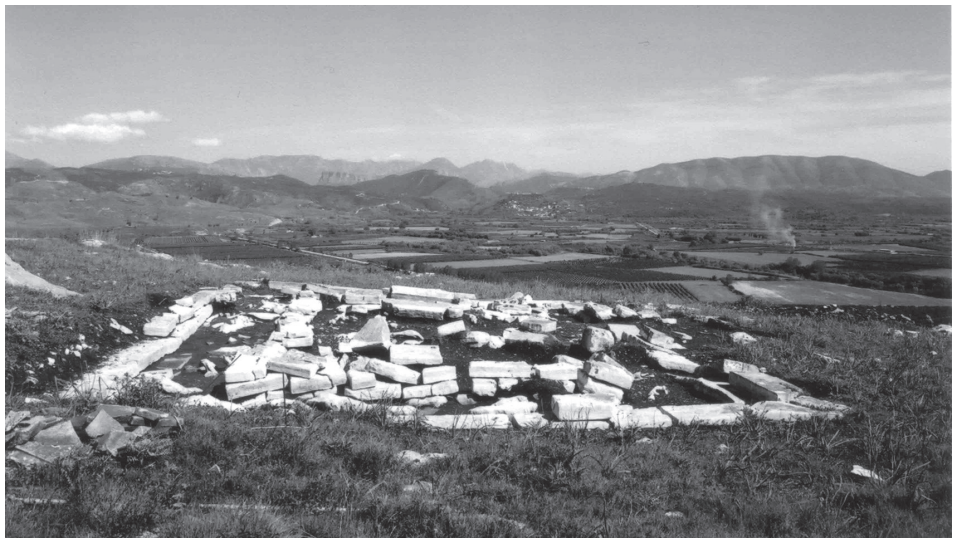
[27] For the figurine of Fig. 5e, see Bonias 1998, 76, 183, pl. 42 (no. 318, ΜΓ 174), dated around 500/490 BC; Tzouvara-Souli 1992, pl. 78 from Koudonotrypa (Arta Museum no. 294). For a parallel to the figurine of Fig. 5f, see an Attic figurine from Sounion, dated to the first half of the sixth century BC (Sotiriadis-Sedgwick 1939, 32, pl. I 6γ). For the figurine of Fig. 5g, see Higgins 1969, 161, pl. 77 (no. 593), mainly for its facial features. For the female figurines, either standing or seated on a throne, wearing polos and holding various symbols, as well as for their connection with the Corinthian cult of Aphrodite, see Tzouvara-Souli 1992, 166-169.

[28] Rescue excavation was carried out in 2000-2001 by A. Tzortzatou and A. Christophilopoulou under the supervision of G. Riginos. For a preliminary overview of the research see *ArchDelt* 55-56 (2000-2001), Χρονικά (in press); Christophilopoulou 2005, 195-196; Riginos 2005, 65-67.

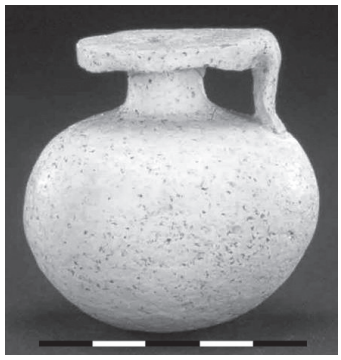
[29] The temple of Ambrakia is, e.g., dated around 500 BC or in the third quarter of the fifth century BC (Tzouvara-Souli 1992, 42-43). The two ellipsoid buildings A & B, on the site of "Ampelia" (Meropi, Pogoni), dated to the Late Bronze Age but used also during the seventh century BC (Andreou 2005), constitute a unique case with regard to their architectural plan, as well as to their location in the interior of the settlement. Moreover, their connection with religious activities remains elusive. In the Nekyomanteion of Acheron there are only indications of an Archaic sanctuary or depository (some figurines and sherds of the seventh to fifth centuries BC), but no early architectural remains (Vokotopoulou 1982, 77, n. 1; Dakaris 1972, 78, n. 231; Dakaris 1993, 27).

[30] An aryballos with similar shape was found at the excavation of Dikastikon Megaron Plot of Corfu (AE 24002, unpublished), which on the basis of a counterpart from Corinth (Amyx and Lawrence 1975, 377, pl. 50:2) has been dated to the Early Corinthian period. For a similar shape and handle (although with a wider rim), see Vallet and Villard 1964, 62, pl. 47:1, dated to the Early Corinthian period. For a possible parallel of the Middle to Late Corinthian I period, see Kaltsas 1998, 132, pl. 149α.

[31] For a similar shape, see Boardman and Hayes 1966, 33, pl. 17:237, dated to the late sixth century BC (Late Corinthian period). For a possible Early Corinthian parallel, see Weinberg 1943, 44-45, pl. 22:146-147.



a



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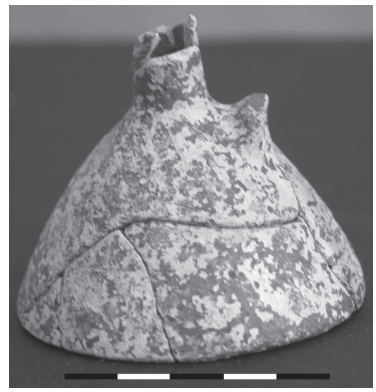

c

d

e

Fig. 6. The Archaic shrine of Mastilitsa (a) and characteristic finds (b-e).

Fig. 7. Attic pottery from the Late Archaic cemetery of Mastilitsa.

snake[32] and a relatively large number of weapons, mainly of iron (spearheads, daggers, arrowheads).[33] There were also found an antefix of a cover tile, decorated with floral palmettes in low relief[34] (Fig. 6d) and a fragment, probably a wing, from a terracotta sculpture.

The cemetery lies along the northern foot of the hill of Mastilitsa. Only part of it has been excavated,[35] comprising 21 simple cist-graves, organized in two large clusters, although individual graves were found amidst and around them. There was also one case of grave enclosure. Since most of the graves had been looted, we cannot get a full picture of the prosperity of the population. However, the few grave goods that were found, mainly vases, are undoubtedly recognized as Attic products. This reflects the intrusion of Athenian trade already from the early fifth century BC, which is a widespread phenomenon in Epirus.[36] All the vases were black-glazed and of good quality. The most

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[32] It is part of an ornament, possibly from a pin. No close counterparts have been found for this object. For a silver pin with a head in form of a snake from Vitsa, dated around 480-470 BC, see Vokotopoulou 1986, 309, fig. 116ια (no. 2482/T. 67).

[33] The large number of weapons further supports the religious character of the building of Mastilitsa, since weapons and other metal objects are usually present in shrines of the Geometric and Archaic periods. See Andreou 2005, 62, note 55; Gravani 2005, 556-557.

[34] It belongs to the triangular, slightly pentagonal, type of antefix, characteristic of the first half of the sixth century BC, while the size ratio of the spiral to the palmette might indicate an earlier date (Kaltsas 1988, 19). For the shape see Thallon-Hill and Shaw King 1929, fig. 1; for the decoration *ibid.*, figs. 2 and 7. For the central spiral motif see a sherd in "Orientalizing" style from Megara Hyblaia (Vallet and Villard 1964, 160, pl. 170:7).

[35] The brief rescue excavation was conducted in 1998 by G. Riginos, with the participation of students and graduates of Demokritos University of Thrace.

[36] Vlachopoulou-Oikonomou 2003, 23, 286; Dakaris 1971, 34-35; Pliakou 1999, 43. Similar grave goods have been found in excavations of the ancient cemeteries at Leukas (e.g. Douzougli 1994, 388-390).

interesting finds come from Graves 1 and 2: a kylix, decorated with a head of a satyr or gorgoneion in tondo[37] (Fig. 7a), a stemmed kylix[38] (Fig. 7b), a trefoil-mouthed jug with figure decoration within a metope[39] (Fig. 7c) and a lekythos with palmette decoration[40] (Fig. 7d).

The practice of inhumation in cist-graves was not widely used in Epirus and the Ionian islands during the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods. On the contrary, there is a preference for burials in stone sarcophagi and in rectangular pits occasionally dressed with stones or covered with tiles, as well as for inhumation in large pithoi.[41] The widespread use of inhumation in cist-graves in Mastilitsa may perhaps be explained by the fact that limestone was easily available at the site.[42]

The finds from the possible shrine and the cemetery, covering the period between the late seventh and early fifth centuries BC, indicate an organized community. As for the location of the Late Archaic settlement there are not yet sufficient archaeological data. We could, however, assume that the fortified settlement on the southwestern summit of the hill of Mastilitsa,[43] which was in use during the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, was inhabited also during the Late Archaic period. Furthermore, the buildings detected inside the fortified settlement present many similarities, in their architectural details, to the Late Archaic shrine.

Which was, however, the character of that community on Mastilitsa? Were the people living here indigenous, or were they colonists and, in that case, where did they originate from? The presence of a possible shrine supports the view that the inhabitants of Mastilitsa were foreign settlers, considering that there are no buildings of that type in Epirus except in the Corinthian-Korkyrean colonies. In the colonies, the temples, although located inside the fortification walls, were usually detached from the main city,[44] as in the case of Mastilitsa. Besides, the Late Archaic settlement at Mastilitsa was probably not

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[37] For a similar shape and decoration see *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, University of Reading, 1-GB 12, p. 17, pl. 10a-b, dated to the late sixth century BC.

[38] It belongs to Type C and is dated to the early fifth century BC. See Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 90, pl. 19:412.

[39] A female figure is discernible, on the move to the left, turning her head back to look at an animal, probably a horse, which she holds by the reins. For an oinochoe of similar shape, dated to the end of the sixth century BC, see *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, New Zealand, 1, pl. 18:4. For examples of the first quarter of the fifth century BC, of similar shape but with slightly different base, attributed to the Aimon's Painter, see Vokotopoulou 1986, 28, pl. 36 & fig. 75α (no. 2130/T. 67); Parlama and Stambolidis 2003, 316 (no. 319/Τφ. 449).

[40] It is a common type of Athenian lekythos, dated to the first half of the fifth century BC. Regarding its decoration it could be attributed to the workshops of the Aimon's Painter and Megaira's Painter. For similar shape and decoration see Vokotopoulou *et al.* 1985, 49-50 (no. 68); Romiopoulou and Touratsoglou 2002, 93-94 (ΠΙ1666).

[41] See e.g. for Ambrakia: Petropoulos 1987, 318; Andreou 1998, 183, n. 142; for Leukas: Kalligas 1969, 278; Douzougli 1990, 251-254; Douzougli 1992a, 278-281; Douzougli 1992b, 286-288; Douzougli 1994, 388-390; Andreou 1998, 183; for Corfu: Preka-Alexandri 1994, 33; for various sites at Ioannina Vlachopoulou-Oikonomou 2003, 21, 35-36, 93, 119, 288. Cist and shaft graves were common in the area of Kassopaia from the Late Archaic period onwards (Dakaris 1971, 176). Cist-graves of the fifth and fourth century BC, which contained exclusively Athenian vases together with local pottery, have been found in Kerasson and Michalitsi of Preveza (Dakaris 1971, 35).

[42] The hill of Mastilitsa is rich in good-quality limestone sources, whose characteristics resemble those of the marble (Vidaki and Papaioannou 1980). There are also indications of ancient quarrying sites in the area.

[43] Preka-Alexandri 1989, 316; Sarras 1998, 204-205.

[44] See e.g. Andreou 1998, 174-175, n. 89; Preka-Alexandri 1994, 26-28; Spetsieri-Choremi 1991, 7, pl. 2.

fortified during its early stage, since none of the known Corinthian or Elean colonies were enclosed with fortification walls until the fifth century BC.[45]

The strategic location of the hill matches the general criteria which seem to have dictated the selection of the sites for the establishment of all early colonies in Epirus:[46] it commands the northern straits of Corfu, has good communication with the hinterland via the river Kalamas, and is located close to rich natural resources, such as the alluvial plain and the coastal marine ecosystems.

However, the question concerning the origin of the settlers still remains open, since there is no sound historical or archaeological evidence for the identification of Mastilitsa with a Corinthian or Korkyrean colony. As a matter of fact Mastilitsa is located on the very borderline between Thesprotia and Chaonia, which represented two distinct spheres of influence, the Corinthian and the Korkyrean, respectively.[47]

Concluding remarks

On the basis of the new evidence, Thesprotia, since the eighth century BC, must have played an important role in the circulation and exchange of products and ideas along the Ionian coast and towards the hinterland of Epirus. It formed part of a wider geographical area which included Epirus, southern Albania and the Ionian islands, and where the conservative element of the indigenous population co-existed with the new cultural influences, as a result of colonization and the expansion of trade.

Further research, including intensive field surveys and excavations, will hopefully enlarge our knowledge and give answers to many of the questions concerning these centuries, which still remain poorly represented in the archaeological record of Thesprotia.

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[45] Characteristic are the examples of Apollonia (Balandier *et al*. 2005, 267), Ambrakia (Tzouvara-Souli 1992, 26-28, n. 13) and the Elean colonies (Dakaris 1971, 42, 50-52, 140-141).

[46] Andreou 1993, 91-92; Andreou 1998, 148, 150-152, n. 17; Dakaris 1971, 32, 49.

[47] Bakhuizen 1987, 190; Vlachopoulou-Oikonomou 2003, 286; Dakaris 1972, 77. Until the fifth century BC the river Kalamas marked the northern boundary between Thesprotia and Cestrine of Chaonia (Dakaris 1972, 4). We do not know where the Kalamas discharged in antiquity, but considering the several shifts in the river's course, it is possible that the river already at that time had two mouths, corresponding roughly to the modern ones (Hammond 1997, 26). In any case, the area of Mastilitsa was beyond the Thesprotian territory.

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The 'Dark Age' in the Kokytos Valley – Not So Dark After All

Jeannette Forsén

We are finally gaining a better idea of the pottery sequences for the 'Dark Age' in northwestern Greece, albeit not from Greece proper, but from well-dated layers at Sovjan in southeastern Albania.[1] To these typologies we can add the Early Iron Age (=EIA, ca. 1150-700 BC) pottery found at Vitsa (Fig. 1) in the Zagoria Mountains in northern Epirus.[2]

What makes the study of Epirote pottery extra challenging is the tendency to produce similar wares and shapes for many centuries, merely showing changes in the percentage of the production of these wares.[3] Thus, the characteristic wares with plastic decorations (Fig. 2, columns B and E), which began to appear already during the Final Neolithic period in Sovjan, lingered on throughout the entire Late Bronze Age and EIA periods. It is only in the case of the Matt-painted ware that we can say that something definitely new is being introduced in Sovjan and that it denotes the beginning of the EIA (ca. 1150 BC).[4]

Another type of EIA pottery typical of Epirus is what Wardle termed "orange-red" ware.[5] This ware has been broadly dated at Dodona and Vitsa as spanning the period from the end of the eleventh until the seventh century BC.[6] Tartaron describes it as having a distinctive blue-gray core and orange to red surface,[7] which is borne out by some of the Thesprotia Expedition survey finds.

PS 17[8], which was discovered in the spring of 2005 just below and to the northwest of Agios Donatos in the western foothills of the Paramythia mountains, produced apart from a fair amount of lithics (n=50) also some pottery. The pottery from PS 17 is unfortunately quite abraded and fragmentary. The sampled sherds are all plain except in two cases, either because they were always plain or because the original surfaces have worn off. Some of this pottery finds its best parallels among the so-called "local ware of Minyan type" of Middle Bronze Age date (Fig. 3: 5-7).[9] Another group finds its best comparanda among the local class III at Vitsa, which is an orange-red ware (Fig. 3: 1-4), in our case usually with a diagnostic bluish-green core.

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* Assistance from Barbara Greiner and Anna Patteri in illustrating the pottery is thankfully acknowledged. I would also like to thank Vesa Vahtikari for making Fig. 1 and Anna Patteri for making Figs. 4 and 7.

1 Léra *et al.* 1996, 995-1026; Allen 2002, 65, table 1.

2 Vokotopoulou 1986.

3 Léra *et al.* 1996, 1012-1018, esp. 1013, table 4.

4 At least at Sovjan and presumably also at EIA sites in Epirus.

5 Wardle 1972, 194, 204-206.

6 Wardle 1972, 206; Vokotopoulou 1986, 365.

7 Tartaron 2004, 88.

8 PS stands for 'place of special interest' and is a slight modification of the abbreviation used in the Pylos regional archaeological project; see Davis *et al.* 1997, 401, n. 27.

9 Tartaron 2004, 77-82.

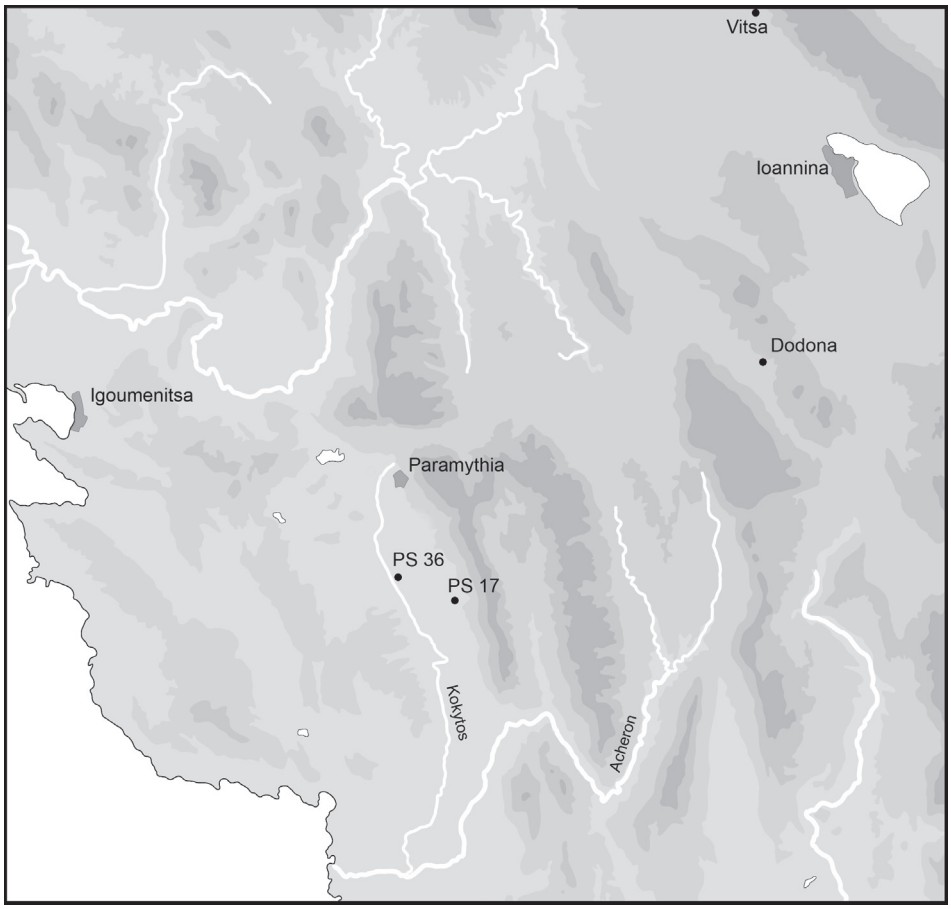

Fig. 1. Map with principal sites mentioned in the text.

Two further places of special interest, PS 31 and PS 36, were detected by the Thesprotia Expedition in the spring of 2006 at Mavromandilia, some 2 km southeast of the village Xirolophos and 200 meters east of the Kokytos river. They are located in one and the same field that borders on the Early Iron Age site excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service in 2005.[10] PS 31 and PS 36 appeared as two distinct pottery concentrations located ca. 100 m apart in the newly ploughed field with no finds between them.[11] PS 36 was even visible as a dark spot in the field (Fig. 2 in Lavento and Lahtinen, this volume).

The survey pottery found at PS 36 makes a quite homogeneous impression, mainly dating to the Early Iron Age, although some later and earlier intrusions also were found (e.g. a wishbone handle possibly of Late Bronze Age). The pottery found at PS 31 is very worn and seems mainly to date to the Archaic and Classical periods. It also includes some sherds of miniature vessels.

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[10] See Tzortzatou and Fatsiou, this volume.

[11] For more details about the geo-archaeological setting at Mavromandilia, see Lavento and Lahtinen, this volume.

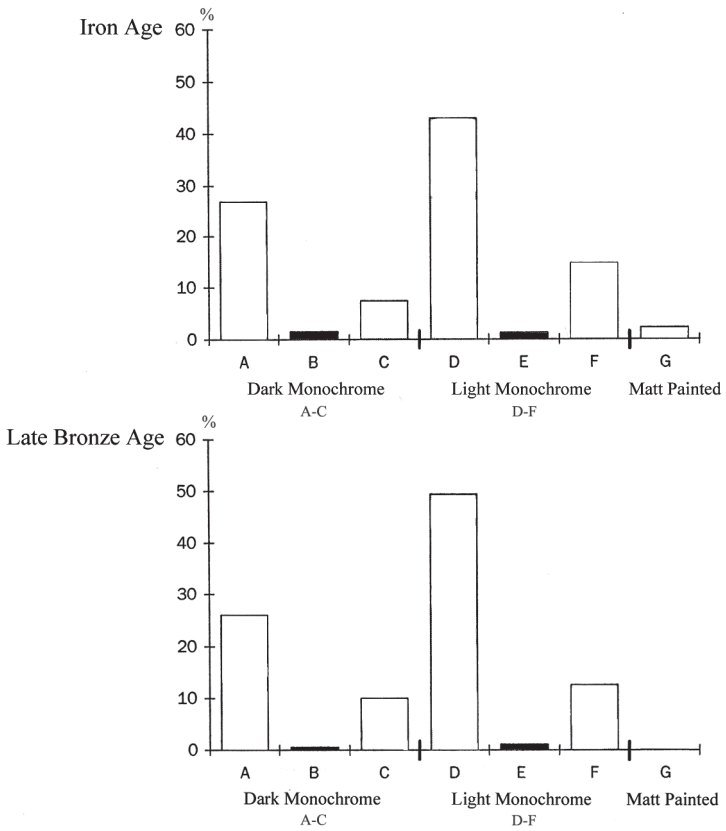

Fig. 2. Pottery wares found at Sovjan (after Léra et al. 1996, 1013, table 4).

In order to learn more about these concentrations of pottery, we conducted a trial excavation of PS 36 in the summer of 2006. The trench, which forms a T, was divided into squares A0 to A5 and B1 to B4 (Fig 4). Very early on during the excavation it became apparent that part of the cultural layer was just beneath the surface. When 25 to 30 cm of topsoil was removed in squares A3 to A4 and B1 to B2, an oval-shaped feature (ca. 4-5 x 2 m) began to appear, which was ca. 10-20 cm thick (henceforth called *feature I*). It contained large amounts of broken pottery (also restorable vessels), mainly dating to the eighth century BC (Nos. 1-12 below), animal bones,[12] some pieces of daub (Fig. 5) from a presumed wattle and daub construction, burnt mud-brick pieces and some fist-sized stones which had been secondarily fired. Apart from the large amount of human waste it was the colour of the soil, very dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2 on the Munsell chart), which made this area differ so conspicuously from the surrounding soil.

Clearly demarcated from *feature I* and at a somewhat lower level in squares A4, B1, B2 and B3, another oblong feature (ca. 5 x 1 m, 5 to 10 cm thick) resembling a ditch (Fig. 6) was exposed. It ran more or less parallel with, but underneath, *feature I* and contained large amounts of very small, water-worn and unidentifiable sherds, pebbles, and the ever-present animal bones, in addition to a unique arrowhead of iron. One C^{14} date

[12] See Niskanen, this volume.

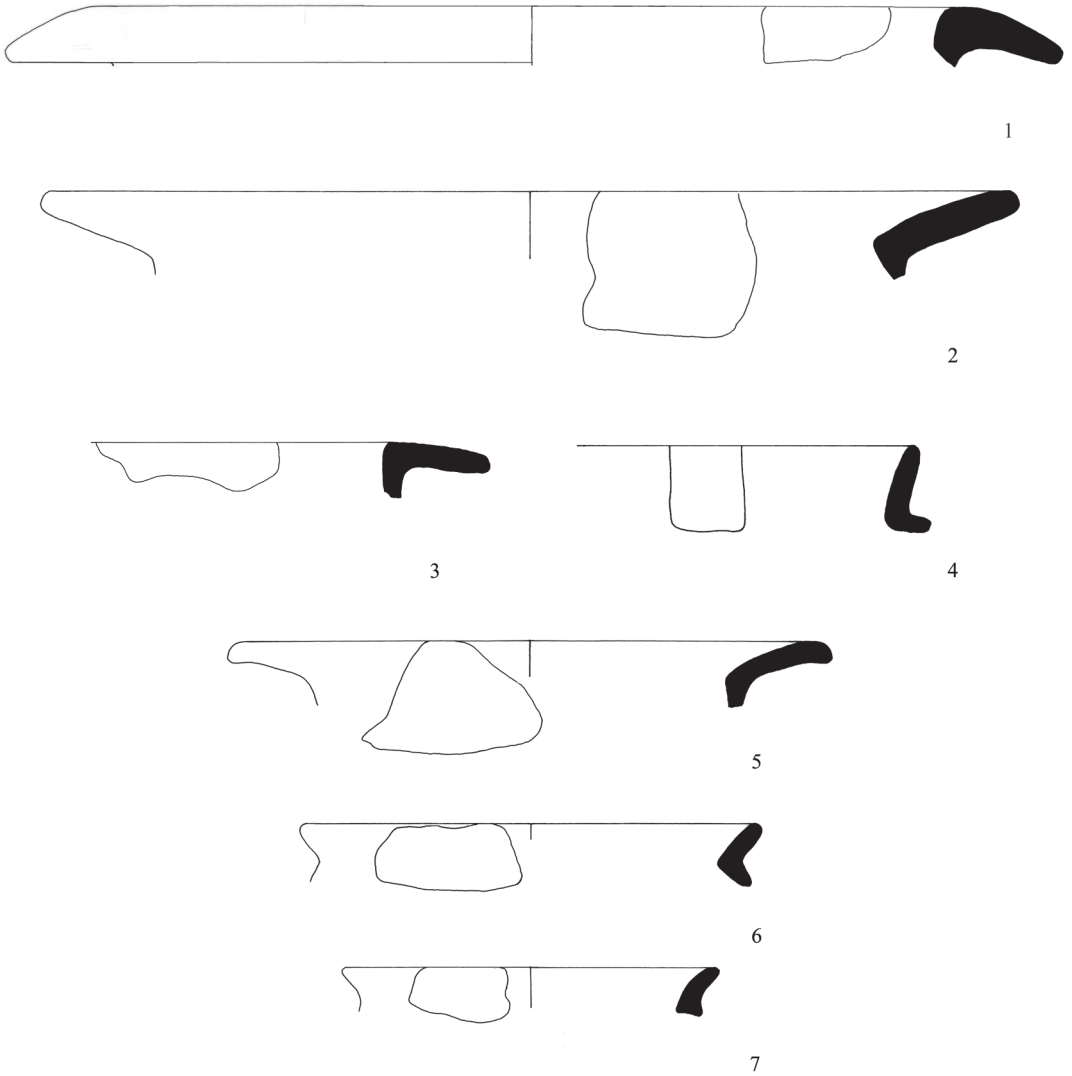

Fig. 3. Pottery from PS 17: "Orange-red" ware (1-4) and "Minyan" type ware (5-7). Scale 1:2.

was obtained from the ditch (Hela 1240: 2870±40BP or cal. 1135 [0.887] 920 BC). Thus, the ditch seems to be older in date than *feature I*.

In squares A1 to A3 another irregular oblong (ca. 3 x 1 m) dark discoloured spot, *feature II*, was excavated. *Feature II* was roughly aligned with *feature I*, although separated from it by a sterile area, devoid of any artefacts. It was smaller than *feature I* and not as thick (only 5-10 cm). In the uppermost part of *feature II* we found, apart from some EIA pottery (e.g. No. 19), also pottery of Classical and possibly Early Hellenistic date (Nos. 20-22), as well as some roof tiles, pebbles and animal bones.

At a lower level, two pits, ca. 50-60 cm in diameter and ca. 40-50 cm deep, were detected at the junction between A1 and A2 (Fig. 4). They were filled with very dark soil, mixed with ash and charcoal, but only some animal bones and pottery. C^{14} dates were

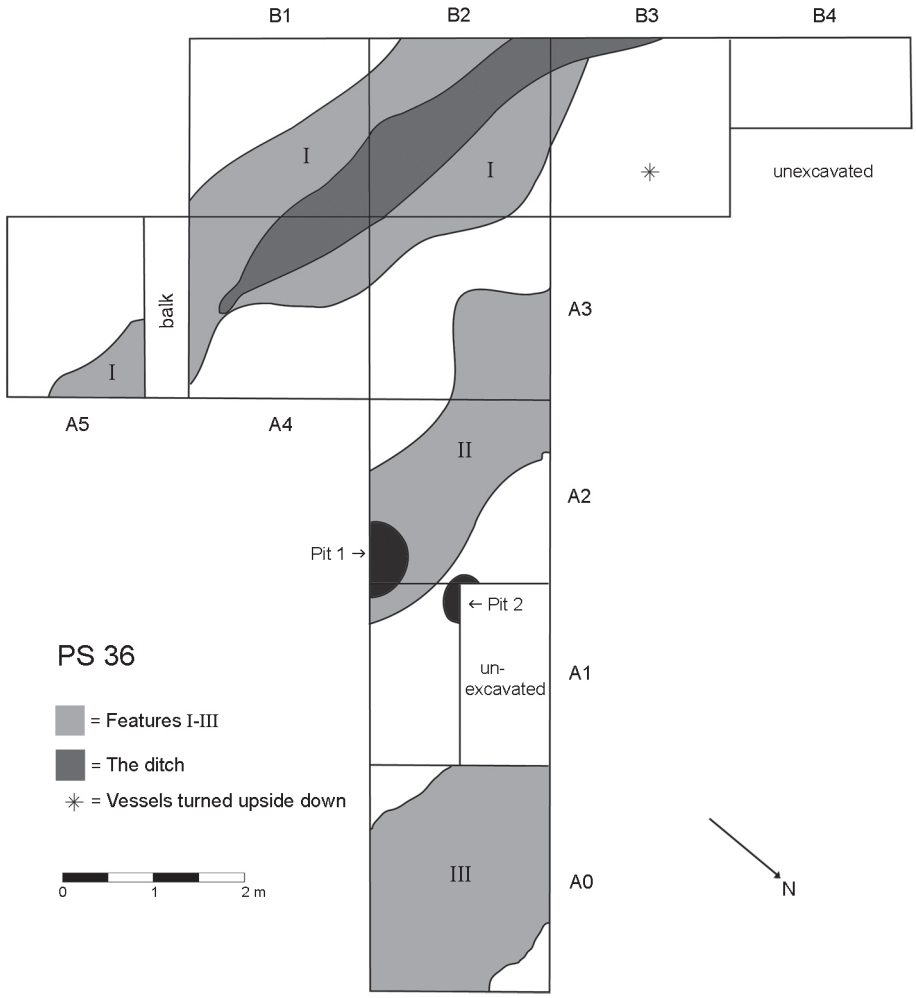

Fig. 4. General plan of the excavation in PS 36 showing the three parallel dark features, the two pits as well as the "ditch".

obtained from each pit. The first one, *pit 1* (Fig. 7), received a calibrated date of 1055 (0.954) 835 BC (Hela-1238: 2805±40BP) while the second one, *pit 2*, had a calibrated date of 820 (0.592) 730 BC (Hela-1237: 2575±40BP)[13].

Further towards the northeast, in square A0, a third dark feature, *feature III*, aligned in the same way as the previous ones was found, but this time at a depth of 80 cm below the surface (Figs. 4 and 7). This feature was ca. 15-20 cm thick and contained large amounts of broken roof tiles and chunks of sun-dried mud-bricks, as well as pebbles, animal bones and pottery. However, there was less pottery than in the other features and the sherds seem at least partly to be later in date (No. 17). Below *feature III*, at a depth of ca. 100 cm, we came upon another cultural layer (A0, Locus 6), with more homogeneous

[13] The other calibrated probabilities for Hela-1237 are: 690 (0.13) 660 BC and 650 (0.232) 545 BC.

Fig. 5. Fragments of daub. Find context: B2, Locus 3, Pail 4.

although very worn EIA pottery sherds. Due to time restrictions this layer could not be excavated.

No clear house remains such as stone walls or postholes were found in the excavation, but numerous pieces of mud-bricks and daub (Fig. 5) seem to indicate that some kind of flimsy constructions once existed here or close nearby. The oval-shaped *feature I* could possibly be what remains of the interior of such a rudimentary construction. *Pit 2*, located at a distance of some 3 m from *feature I*, as well as some of the pottery found in squares B3 and B4, such as the two vessels found inside each other and turned upside down (Nos. 13-14 below, found at "x" in Fig. 4), are roughly contemporaneous with it and may indicate activities carried out near such a hypothetical construction. The pit could have been a cooking pit or some kind of bothros.[14]

On the basis of the radiocarbon dates, *pit 1* and the ditch both belong to an earlier activity phase, about which we know less. The ditch could be interpreted as a refuse drain, where water in combination with pebbles has ground the pottery into very small fragments. The function of *pit 1* is not clear – once again it is either a cooking pit or some kind of bothros.

Even less can be said about *features II and III*, except for the fact that they mainly seem to contain pottery of later date, Classical and Hellenistic (?), as well as pieces of roof tiles (including a piece of a Corinthian cover tile[15]), which indicate a more durable construction somewhere in the neighbourhood.

The excavated pottery confirms, by and large, the impression made by the survey finds, as most of it dates to the EIA. However, among the excavated finds there is no pottery which dates to the Late Bronze Age, and surprisingly many sherds date to the Classical and possibly even the Hellenistic period. Thus, the activity at PS 36 stretches over several centuries.

The pottery is of such an unusual character that we find reason to publish 22 items in more detail in the following catalogue as a preliminary excavation report. Added to this catalogue is also the unique find of the iron arrowhead. All the catalogued artefacts (Figs. 8-11) are arranged according to find context, where the square number indicates the horizontal and the locus number the vertical context. H = hight, E = exterior, I = interior.

Feature I includes the following loci: B1, Locus 3, B2, Loci 3, 6 and 8, and A3, Locus 3 (cf. cat. Nos. 6-12).
Feature II includes A2, Locus 4 and A3, Locus 3 (no catalogued items).
Feature III includes A0, Locus 4 (cf. cat. Nos. 17-18).
B1-B3, Locus 1 and B1, Locus 1 are topsoil layers (cf. cat. Nos. 1-3).
B1, Locus 2 is a 10 cm thick artificial layer under topsoil, probably part of *Feature 1* (cf. cat. Nos. 4-5)

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[14] Unfortunately the macrofossil samples taken from the pits revealed no remains of preserved seeds or other organic material.
[15] From A1, Locus 6.

Fig. 6. The ditch seen from the east in square B2.

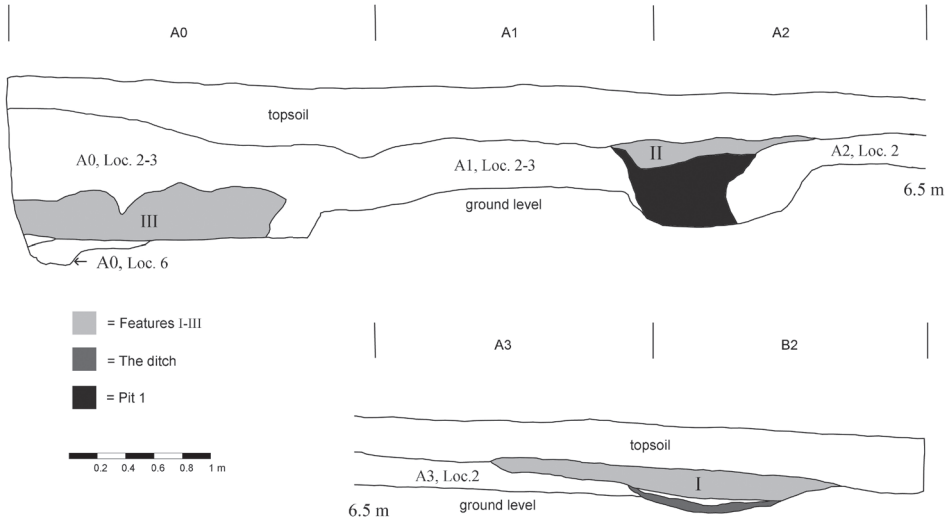

Fig. 7. Profile drawing through A0, A1, A2, A3 and B2. Visible in the profile is the large oval dark feature in squares A3 to A4 and B1 to B2 as well as the ditch running parallel with it at a deeper level. Also the dark irregular feature in squares A1, A2 and A3 and one of the pits located below it (A2, Locus 4, Pails 3-4) and the cultural layers in A0 can be seen.

B3, Locus 4 is a locus assigned the two vessels found turned upside down in a dark brown soil layer (cf. cat. Nos. 13-14).
B3, Locus 5 is a layer below B3, Locus 4 of dark grayish brown soil with less evidence of human occupation (cf. cat. No. 15).
B4, Locus 2 is a locus given to a fragmentary partly restorable kotyle found in a middle brown layer (cf. cat. No. 16).
A1, Locus 2 and A2, Locus 2 is an olive brown soil layer ca. 10 cm thick under topsoil (cf. cat. Nos. 19-22).

B2, Locus 9 is a brown soil layer with pebbles and very abraded sherds which also included the arrowhead (cf. cat. No. 23).

Catalogue

1. Small amphora with wide, everted rim. Inner diam. ca. 12.4 cm. Coarse ware, unevenly fired, reddish-yellow (7.5YR 7/6) with a light brown core (7.5YR 6/3). E and I plain.
Cf. Pfaff 1988, 30, 63, fig. 22 (C-1978-302).
Find context: B1-B3, Locus 1.
Date: Late Geometric to Early Protocorinthian (750-690 BC).

2. Bowl with wide, everted rim. Inner diam. ca. 14 cm. Medium ware, fired reddish-yellow (5YR 7/6), sub-surfaces partially exposed due to wear; they are light gray to gray (N7-N6).
Cf. Wardle 1974, 516, no. 748, fig. 137 (from Kastritsa), said to be of a "grey black fabric".
Find context: B1-B3, Locus 1.
Date: Ca. 900-700 BC.

3. Strap-handle of oinochoe. Fine ware, unevenly fired very pale brown (10YR 8/4) with a reddish yellow core (5YR 6/6). Corinthian import, painted with horizontal banding. Such banding on oinochoai handles is attested from the Protogeometric until Early Protocorinthian period.
Cf. Pfaff 1988, 45, no. 12, nn. 111-112 (with further references).
Find context: B1, Locus 1.
Date: Ca. 1000-690 BC.

4. Skyphos rim. Outer diam. ca. 18-20 cm. Fine ware, evenly fired, very pale brown (10YR 8/4). E horizontal banding above lower part painted black. I black glazed. Possibly of Thapsos class.
Cf. Neeft 1981, 14 fig. 4, 15 (skyphos, plain type).
Find context: B1, Locus 2.
Date: Late Geometric (ca. 750-720 BC).

5. Trefoil mouthed pitcher or juglet. H = 10.3 cm, Base diam. = 4.2 cm. Fine ware, evenly fired, yellow (10YR 8/6). E black glazed, I plain.
Cf. Vokotopoulou 1986, 199-201, no. 5212 (T. 157), 334, pl. 71:i, fig. 317:a (775-750 BC); Robertson 1948, 75-76, nos. 428-430 (local Ithacan, handmade, unpainted), which Coldstream calls West Greek LG II and dates to 720-680 BC (1968, 228-232, 330).
Find context: B1, Locus 2 + B1, Locus 3.
Date: 775-750 BC.

6. Divided handle, possibly of a kantharos. Medium ware, unevenly fired to reddish-yellow (5YR 7/8) with a gray core (5YR 5/1). Plain.
Cf. Wardle 1974, 215, no. 674 (from Dodona). This type of handle has been found in Late Bronze Age/EIA contexts in Albania (Prendi 1993, 25, pl. IV:7, 26) and at Thermon in Aitolia (Wardle 1972, 269). Touchais has similar handles datable to EIA, i.e. starting from 900 BC at Sovjan (pers. comm. 2007).
Find context: B1, Locus 3.
Date: Late Bronze Age to EIA.

7. Small handle-less cup. Outer. diam. 10 cm. Handmade. Medium-fine ware, evenly fired to grey (10YR 6/1). Traces of very pale brown slip (10YR 8/3) on E and I, onto which painted pattern in matt black paint has been applied (multiple zigzags). Plastic warts of different size and irregular shape applied on E. Secondarily fired, especially visible on the little warts which have partly

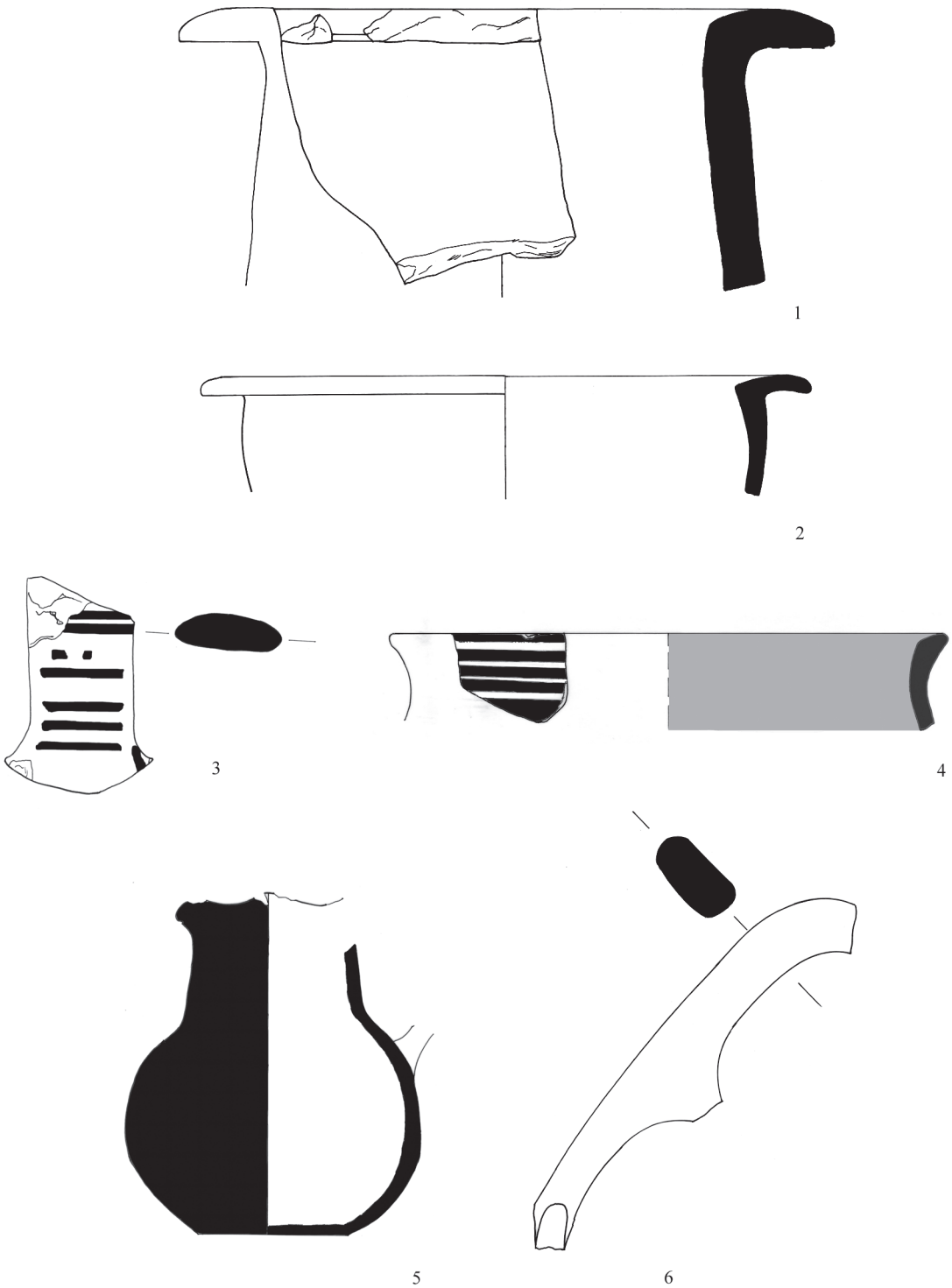

Fig. 8. Pottery from squares B1-B3 (Nos. 1-2) and B1 (Nos. 3-6). Scale 1:2.

vitrified.
Cf. Wardle 1974, no. 522 (Dodona, "grey fabric with dull, black paint") and no. 610.
Find context: B2, Locus 3 + A3, Locus 3.
Date: Ninth century BC.

8. Kantharos rim and handle. Inner diam. ca. 16 cm. Medium ware, unevenly fired light red (2.5YR 7/8) with a gray core (5YR 6/1). E and I red slipped (2.5YR 6/6).
Cf. Vokotopoulou 1986, 126-128, 334, fig. 14:e, no. 5416 (T. 174).
Find context: B2, Locus 3.
Date: Ca. 775-750 BC.

9. Krater with stirrup-handle. Outer diam. ca. 38 cm. Fine ware, evenly fired to pale yellow (2.5Y 8/4). E running spiral in panel zone made in black paint, so-called "Thapsos class". I black glazed.
Cf. Pedrizet 1908, 134, no. 2, fig. 501 also published by Friis-Johansen 1923, pl. 1:1 ('Delphi 7395'). Neeft has dubbed this a 'panel type krater' due to the decoration (1981, 84). Similar decoration found on pottery from Aetos, Ithaca, is dated by Coldstream to the Late Geometric period, i.e. 750-720 BC (1968, 98, 330, pl. 20:a: see more recently Cook 1997, 24-25). Stirrup-handles, i.e. a semicircular handle joined by a slanting band to the rim, were inherited from the Atticizing class of MG II pottery (i.e. 800-760 BC) and became popular in many regions (Coldstream 1968, 102, pl. 17f (Corinthian MG II), pl. 19h (Corinthian LG); pls. 30a, e (Argive LG II); pl. 44h (Boeotian LG); pls. 59g, 60e (East-Greek MG).
Find context: B2, Locus 6.
Date: Ca. 750-720 BC.

10. Skyphos rim. Outer diam. ca. 20 cm. Fine ware, evenly fired to very pale brown (10YR 8/4). E horizontal banding in black paint. I black painted.
Cf. Vokotopoulou 1984, 80, fig. 3:d, 82, fig. 5 (from Arta/Ambrakia). Not enough remains to tell if diagnostic Thapsos elements such as panel decoration or solid black bottom (like No. 4 above) existed; see Bosana-Kourou 1984, 267.
Find context: B2, Locus 6.
Date: Late Geometric (ca. 750-720 BC).

11. Large basin. Outer diam. ca. 30. Coarse ware, unevenly fired, red (2.5YR 6/8) on I and dusky red (2.5YR 4/2) on E and with a brown core (7.5YR 5/3). Plain.
Cf. Léra *et al.* 1996, 1014, fig. 10:13 (from Sovjan).
Find context: B2, Locus 6.
Date: Ca. 900-700 BC.

12. Large, up-swung strap-handle and rim of one-handler (?). Outer diam. ca. 16 cm. Medium ware, unevenly fired yellowish-red (5YR 5/6) with a reddish brown core (5YR 5/4). E and I slipped red (2.5YR 6/8).
Cf. Wardle 1974, no. 596 (from Dodona, "yellow-red fabric"); Prendi 1982, 215, fig. 8:12 (from Maliq?).
Find context: B2, Locus 8.
Date: Late Bronze Age to EIA.

13. Small kanthariskos. Outer diam. ca. 4.8 cm, diam. of flat base 3.1 cm. Fine ware, evenly fired red (2.5YR 5/8). E red slipped (2.5YR 5/6). Found inside the small kyathos, No. 14.
Cf. Vokotopoulou 1986, 86-89, no. 2079 (T. 36), pl. 128:b, fig. 10:e, 334; Prendi 1993, 25-26, pl. IV:4-5 from northern Epirus (Chaonia).
Find context: B3, Locus 4.
Date: 775-750 BC.

14. Small kyathos. Outer diam. 13.5 cm. Diam. of flat base, 4.5-4.7 cm. Fine ware, evenly fired reddish-yellow (7.5YR 6/6). E plain, with one mastoid knob on shoulder at maximum point of diameter. I traces of light brown slip (7.5YR 6/4).
Cf. Wardle 1972, fig. 129, no. 601, fig. 137, no. 748 (exact parallel of rim from Kastritsa, but said to be of "grey-black fabric"). The shape of our vessel resembles most a kyathos, which

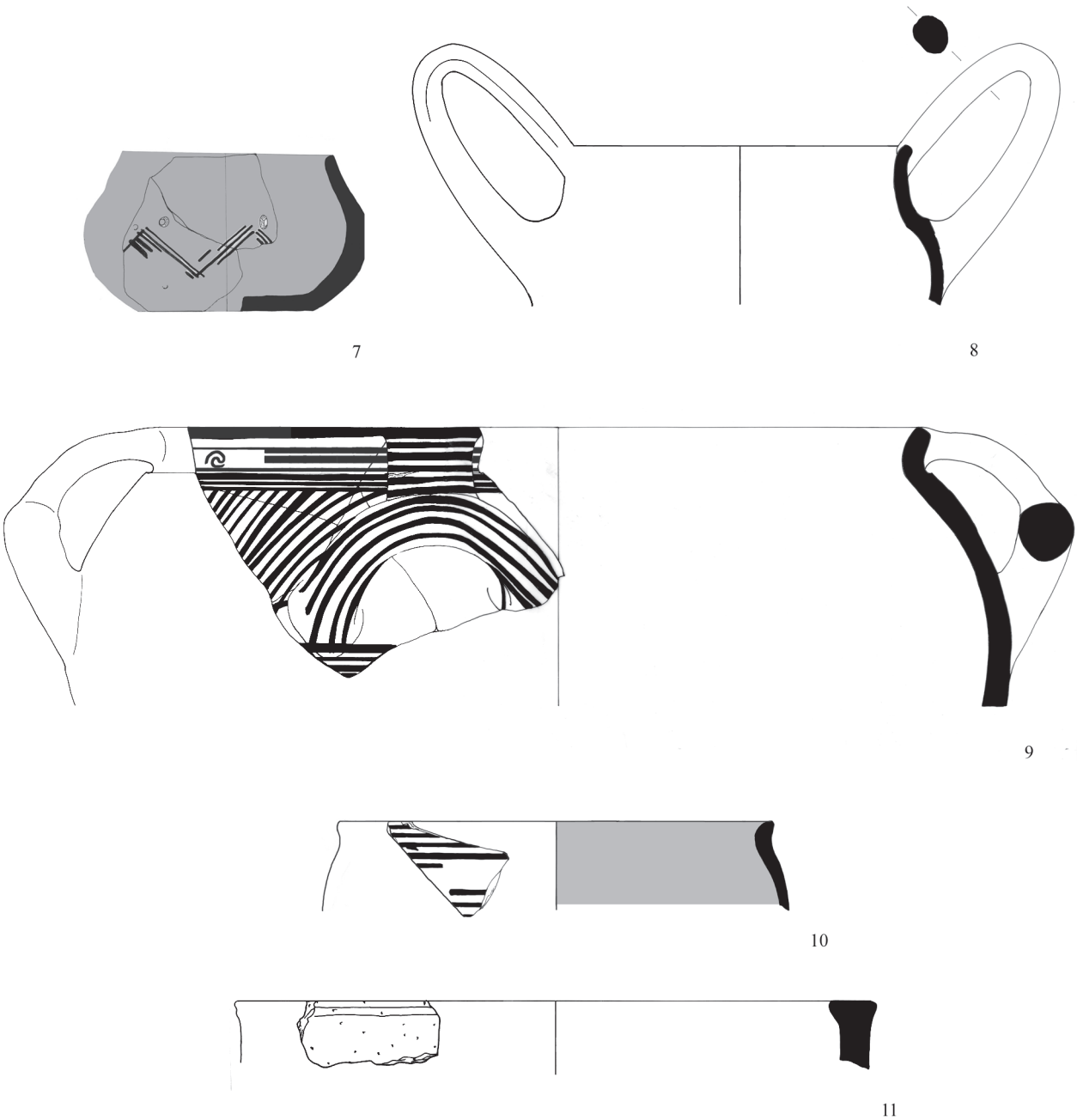

Fig. 9. Pottery from square B2 (Nos. 7-11). Scale 1:3.

Vokotopoulou places in her 3rd group which dates to 750-725 BC (1986, 246). However, her vessel is without a mastoid knob and has a black glazed exterior (1986, 72-73, 246-247, pl. 100: b, fig. 46:e, no. 5191 (T. 23). Small mastoid knobs exist already during the Late Bronze Age in western Greece (Vokotopoulou 1986, 360: Léra *et al.* 1996, 1017 fig. 14).
Find context: B3, Locus 4.
Date: 750-725 BC.

15. Up-swung strap-handle of kantharos. Outer diam. > 13 cm. Medium ware, unevenly fired, reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) with a bluish gray core (5B 6/1), so-called "orange-red ware".
Cf. Vokotopoulou 1986, 164-165, kantharos no. 5206 (T. 134), pl. 263:b, fig. 8:b, 334.
Find context: B3, Locus 5.
Date: Ca. 850-800 BC.

16. Kotyle. Outer diam. 19 cm. Fine ware, evenly fired to reddish-yellow (5YR 7/8). E and I black glazed (high lustre).
Cf. Benton 1953, 294, no. 782, fig. 10 ('kyathos') described as of pink clay, paint gone, probably undecorated and from near 700 BC. Completely black glazed kotylai at Corinth are Late Geometric, i.e., from 750-720 BC (Dehl 1984, 40-42).
Find context: B4, Locus 2.
Date: Ca. 720-700 BC.

17. Rim and lug-handle of cup or bowl. Outer diam. 14 cm. Medium ware, evenly fired to gray (N5/). Plain.
Lug-handles occur on kraters, but the range in diameter is then between 27.5 and 75 cm and the rims and surface finish are quite different among the Agora examples; see Rotroff 1997, 137-139, 304, fig. 42. However, gray wares are said by Rotroff 1997, 236, to have a long history in Italy and Sicily.
Find context: A0, Locus 4.
Date: Hellenistic?

18. Horizontal handle with knob, handle oval in section. Fine ware, evenly fired to reddish-yellow (5YR 7/8). Plain.
Cf. Douzougli 1996, 26, fig. 2:e, (from Mesogefyra), 28, fig. 3:i (from Aetopetra).
Find context: A0, Locus 4.
Date: Eleventh to eighth century BC.

19. Bowl with out-turned rim. Outer diam. 18 cm. Medium ware, unevenly fired reddish-yellow (5YR 6/6-7/6), with a light bluish-gray core (5B 7/1). E and I red slipped (2.5YR 6/8).
Cf. Léra *et al*. 1996, fig. 10:2 (from Sovjan).
Find context: A1, Locus 2.
Date: Ca. 900-700 BC.

20. Small bowl with ring-foot. Outer diam. 9 cm. Diam of foot 4 cm. Fine ware, evenly fired to reddish-yellow (7.5YR 7/6). E and I black glazed.
Cf. Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 298, no. 870, fig. 9.
Find context: A1, Locus 2.
Date: Late fifth to mid-fourth century BC (*terminus post quem* 425-400 BC).

21. Amphora handle, Corinthian, type A. Coarse ware, unevenly fired to reddish-yellow (5YR 7/6) with a gray core. E black glazed, 5-petalled palmette stamp at base of handle, volutes springing from horizontal centre dot, U-shaped elongated field.
For the palmette, see Koehler type IVc, best paralleled by Isthmia (IP 3469), and dated to the

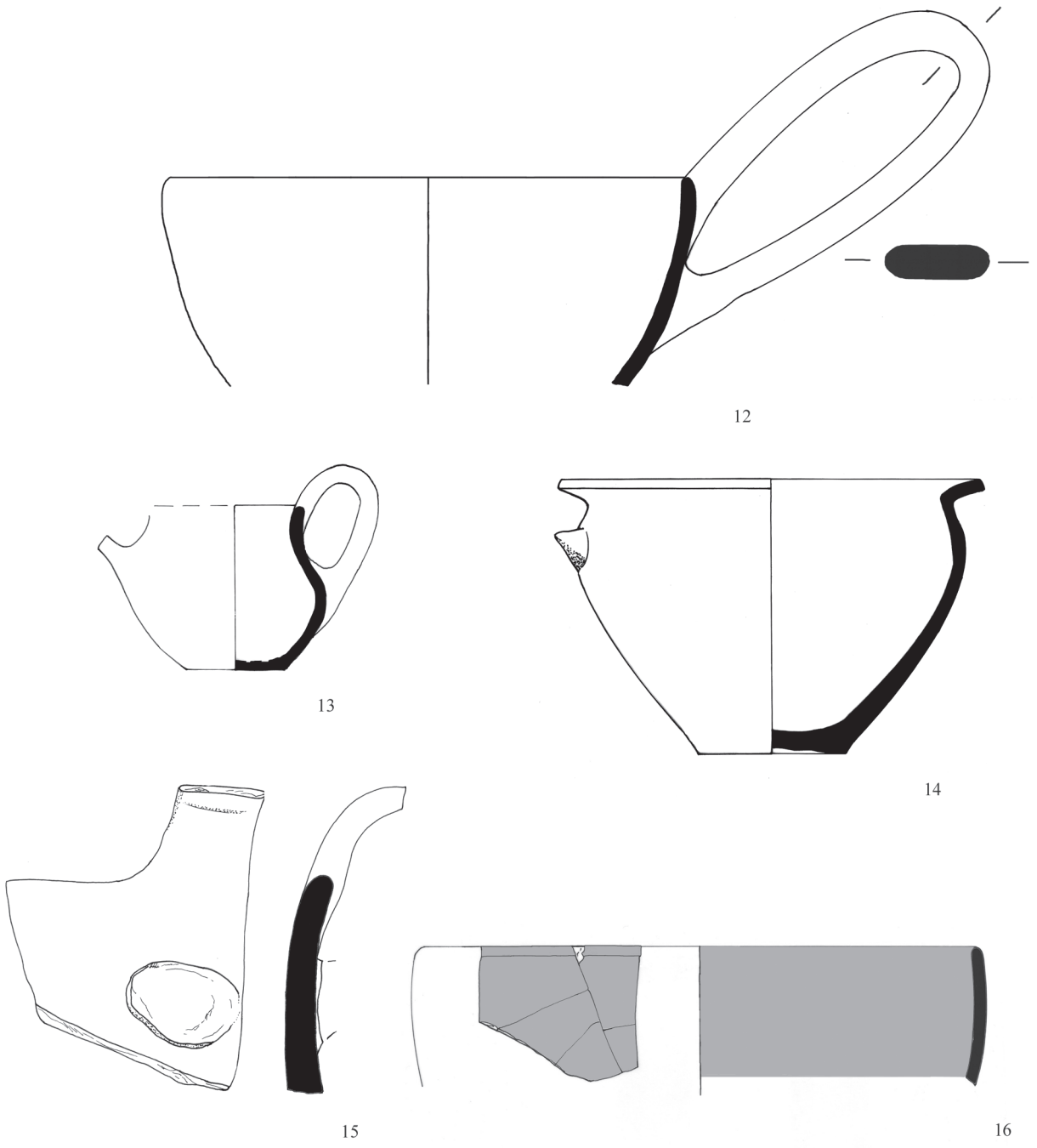

Fig. 10. Pottery from squares B2, B3 and B4 (Nos. 12-16). Scale 1:2.

mid-fifth century BC (1978, 103, no. 32, 144-145, pls. 5, 22). The round handle, where it joins the shoulder, likewise indicates a fifth century BC date (cf. Göransson 2007, 82-83).
Find context: A2, Locus 2.
Date: Mid-fifth century BC.

22. Ring-foot of small cup. Diam. 3.5 cm. Fine ware, evenly fired to reddish yellow (5YR 7/6). E and I black glazed, reserved resting surface. One incised line at junction foot and wall on exterior. Cf. Sparkes and Talcott 1970, 268, no. 471.
Find context: A2, Locus 2.
Date: Fifth to third century BC (*terminus post quem* ca. 470-450 BC).

23. Arrowhead of iron. Length 4.7 cm, Width 1.4 cm, Thickness 2-3 mm. Broken tip and tang. Cf. Kilian 1983, 139, fig. 8, 145, nn. 23-24 (with further references); Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, 146-147.
Find context: B2, Locus 9.
Date: EIA.

Overall, the most remarkable vessel of the 22 in the catalogue above is No. 9, the stirrup-handled krater of the so-called Thapsos class. Its impressive size and non-local provenience (where the actual production centre of the Thapsos ware was located is a hotly debated question[16]) point to a certain importance of this site, an importance which we still cannot quite understand. At Vitsa there are Corinthian imports from Middle Geometric II, i.e. from 800 BC into the seventh century.[17] As seen above, our krater can be more exactly dated to the third quarter of the eighth century BC.

Looking at the pottery assemblage as a whole, it can be noted that all shapes are connected to storage, serving or drinking of liquids, presumably wine. Thus, an amphora (No. 1), a krater or mixing-bowl (No. 9), different jugs such as a pitcher (No. 5), and an oinochoe (No. 3), many different drinking cups, e.g. skyphoi (Nos. 4, 10), cups (Nos. 7, 16) and kantharoi (Nos. 6, 8, 14-15) as well as a small kanthariskos (No. 13), which is almost the size of a votive vessel, were found in the excavation. Their dates vary between the eleventh and the eighth century, with an emphasis during the eighth century BC. In area A we also found a later phase with Classical and Hellenistic pottery including an amphora (No. 21), two small cups (Nos. 20, 22) and a cup or bowl with lug handle (No. 17).

The Thapsos ware krater (No. 9) as well as the Corinthian transport amphora (No. 21) places the site PS 36 along the route for the vigorous trade between Corinthia and the west, which began in the late eighth century and continued until the late third century BC. Important ports along this trade route were for instance Patras in the Peloponnese, Corcyra, besides Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea in the Sicilies.[18]

The assemblage of pottery published here should be considered together with the pottery from the rescue excavation by the Greek Archaeological Service at the site of "Mavromandilia", ca. 60 meters further northwest from PS 36, which is dealt with in another chapter in this volume.[19] When comparing these two assemblages, it seems

[16] See for instance Neeft 1981; Dehl 1982; Dehl 1984; Bosana-Kourou 1983; Pfaff 1999, 58-59, nn. 7-8 and the excellent overview by Morgan 1999, 272-277.
[17] Coldstream 1977, 186
[18] See Koehler 1978, 378-379.
[19] See Tzortzatou and Fatsiou, this volume.

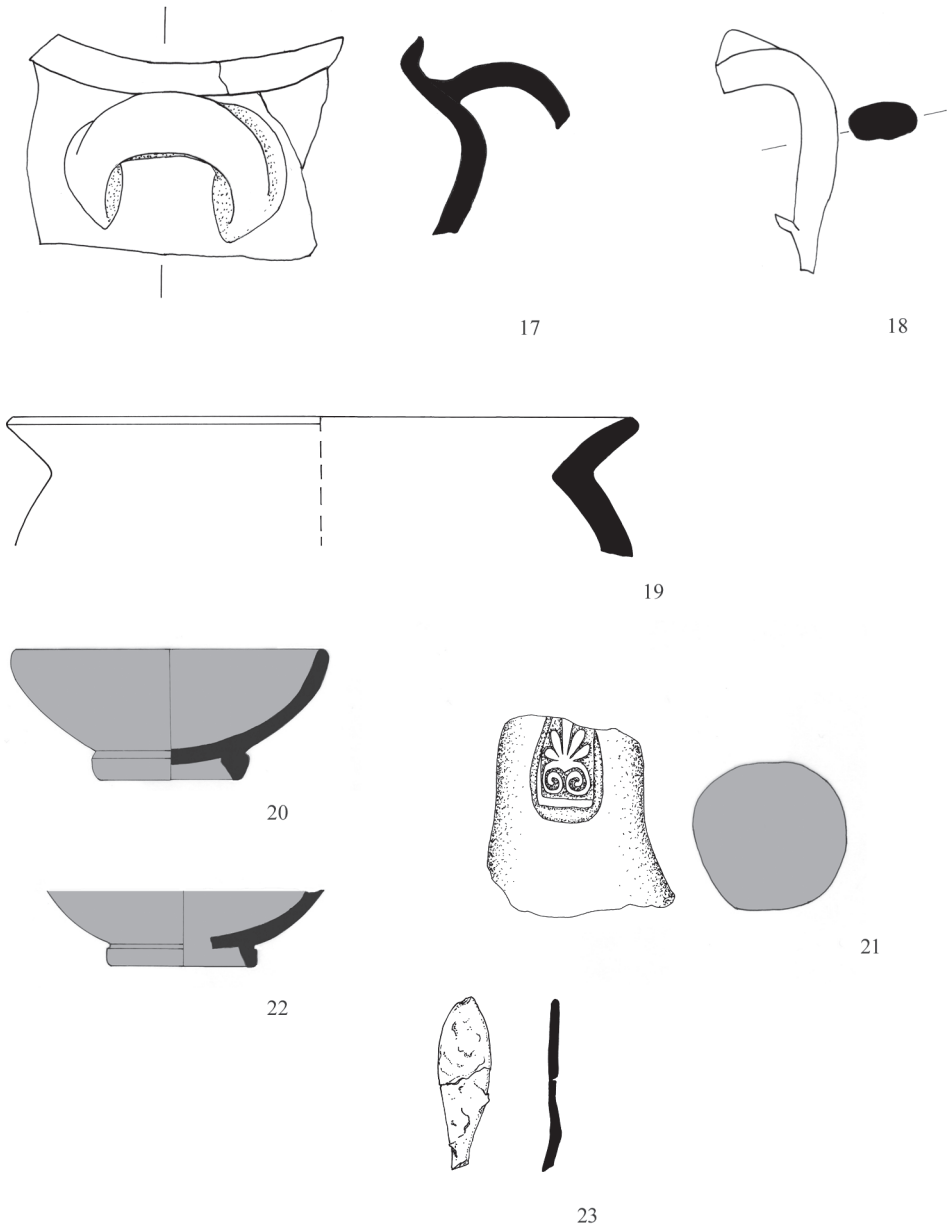

Fig. 11. Pottery from squares A0, A1 and A2 (Nos. 17-22) as well as the arrowhead from square B2 (No. 23). Scale 1:2.

that the material discovered by the Ephorate differs mainly in that there is more definite Late Bronze Age pottery and that there also is a fair amount of matt-painted so-called "Boubousti" ware, which seems to be totally lacking at PS 36.[20] However, this might be

[20] I owe Antonia Tzortzatou and Lila Fatsiou many thanks for showing some of their finds to me in 2006.

due to worse preservation conditions for our pottery material, as the same shapes seem to be present although the surfaces are completely worn off.

It is possible to interpret the different assemblages of material as a broadening of the chronological span and a difference in function between the different loci, i.e. PS 31 with their miniature vessels could have had a different function and be of a later (Archaic to Classical) date, compared to PS 36 which might be the setting for some flimsy huts dating to ca. 900-700 and a house of Classical (?) date, both belonging to the more permanent (?) site partly excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service. The geo-archaeological work in the area indicates that PS 36 is part of a much larger site, and that the Ephorate carried out their rescue excavation in 2005 in another part of it. A better overall picture of this intriguing site can only be obtained through a more thorough study of the entire corpus of pottery and continued excavations.

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Geo-archaeological Investigations at Mavromandilia of Prodromi

Mika Lavento and Maria Lahtinen

Since the early 1990s, geo-archaeological investigations have been adopted as a basic part of archaeological projects carried out in the Mediterranean. Geo-archaeological or other kinds of natural scientific methods have for instance been used when searching for new sites in surveys. Such methods can be applied for modelling the environment of the past, to tell why sites of a certain period are situated where they are, and to date sites and even individual finds.[1]

Only very few sites are normally completely excavated. Still, archaeologists want to know how large sites are, what kind of find concentrations they include, or to get a better understanding of the different phases of sedimentation that have taken place after the sites were deserted. It is important to know if all activity at the site is synchronous, or if there exist individual phases of settlement which have nothing to do with each other, as well as what kinds of cultural layers remain unexcavated and thus are available for research in the future.[2]

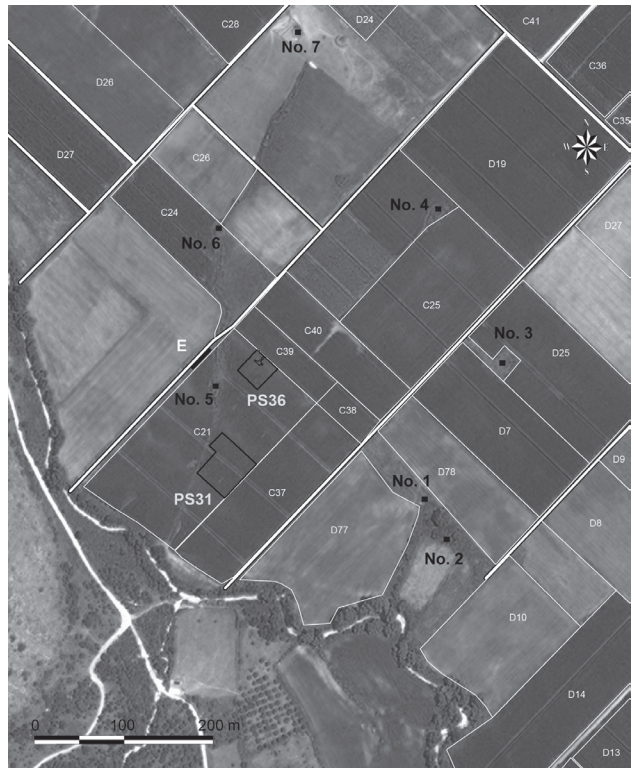

Fig. 1. Satellite photo of Mavromandilia, showing the location of PS 36 in relation to PS 31 and the spot excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service (E). Marked are also the fields walked as tracts by the Thesprotia Expedition as well as the location of springs (nos. 1-7).

The objective of this chapter is to give a description of the geo-archaeological setting of the mainly Early Iron Age site, or sites, located at Mavromandilia of Prodromi, ca. 250 m east of the Kokytos river (Figs. 1-2 and 4). This location was the object of a rescue excavation conducted

[1] See e.g. Bintliff 1977, 1992; Cherry *et al.* 1991; Alcock *et al.* 1994.
[2] See e.g. Wiseman and Zachos 2003; Jansen *et al.* 2005; Rapp and Hill 1998; Bescoby 2007.

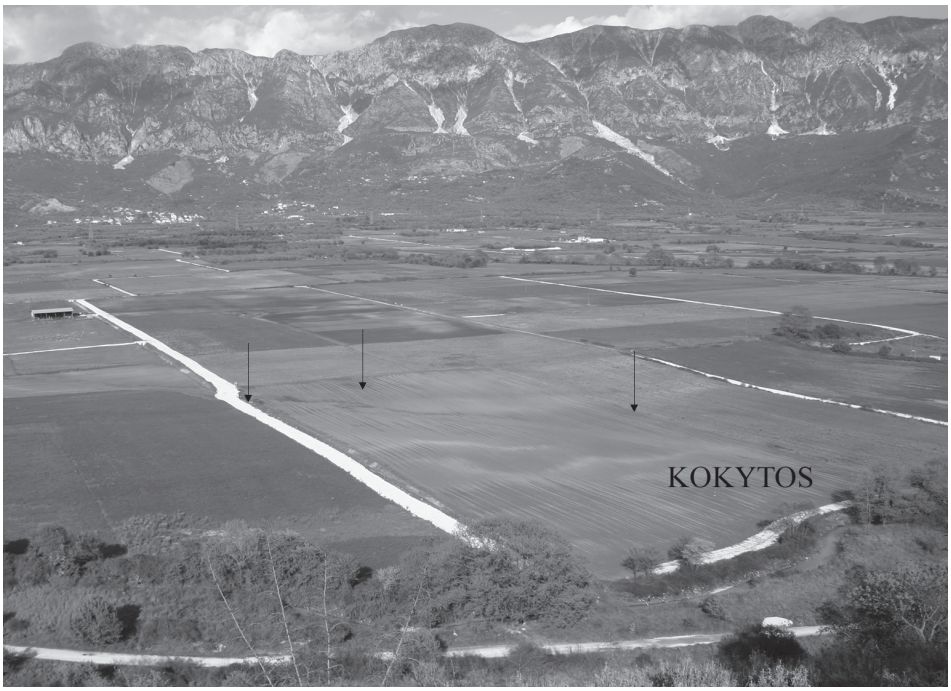

Fig. 2. Photo of Mavromandilia from the west side of the Kokytos river. The arrows show the approximative locations of the spot excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service, PS 36 and PS 31 (from left to right).

by the Greek Archaeological Service in 2005,[3] followed by intensive surface survey and trial excavation conducted by the Thesprotia Expedition in 2006, focusing on two new find concentrations, PS 31 and PS 36.[4] Parallel with the trial excavation of PS 36 geo-archaeological research was carried out in the area in 2006 and 2007 by taking soil samples for analysis with a hand auger (Fig. 3).[5]

This chapter aims at answering the following questions:

1. Are we dealing with one large site or several smaller sites? How large an area is covered by the site(s)? Can the geo-archaeological investigation add any new information concerning the function of the site(s)?

2. What is possible to say about the stratigraphy of the site(s)? Are there several different cultural layers belonging to different phases?

3. What sedimentation conditions prevailed at the site(s) before it was used and after it was abandoned? Why is the cultural layer in some places relatively thick?

4. What is the relationship of the site(s) to the Kokytos river? Has the river bed stayed relatively stable throughout the past, or should we assume that it was situated somewhere else during the period of use of the site(s)?

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[3] See Tzortzatou and Fatsiou, this volume.

[4] See J. Forsén, this volume.

[5] We would like to thank all team members who took part in the drilling work as well as B. Forsén, J. Forsén and J. van Leuven for constructive criticism and help while writing this chapter. All illustrations are made by E.Tikkala, Fig. 4 on the basis of a general map drawn by J. Okkonen and T. Okkonen and Figs. 7-8 on the basis of drawings made by us.

General geological setting and hydrological conditions

Fig. 3. The geo-archaeological team drilling with the hand auger at Mavromandilia.

The find concentrations PS 31 and PS 36 as well as the spot excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service are all located in two fields sloping gently towards the west and the Kokytos river (Figs. 1-2 and 4). A series of hills rise steeply on the opposite side of the river, giving space for only some single fields between the meandering river and the hills. Probably the river bed at some point, several thousands of years ago, was located further to the east, towards the middle of the valley, and then later moved to its present place. The reason for this movement is unclear and can only be elucidated through more detailed geological information and geophysical observations of the sedimentation conditions in the area. At any rate the location of the Early Iron Age site(s) at Mavromandilia indicates that the Kokytos river at least for the last 3,000 years has stayed more or less at its present place.

The meandering of the Kokytos river is an essential question to ponder. The satellite photograph from 2005 reveals close to Mavromandilia at least part of an earlier river bed, which today is blocked (Fig. 1). It is probable that changes in the meandering of the river took place also during the Early Iron Age, although the effect of such changes on the site(s) is unclear. Since the Second World War, active cultivation and effective utilisation of water resources have drastically changed the water conditions of the area. Draining of the fields and overuse of water have caused several seasonal lakes in the region to disappear. Thus, today also the Kokytos river nearly dries out in the summers although this clearly was not the case in the past.

Another hydrologically interesting feature of the Mavromandilia area is the group of small springs that exist in its neighbourhood. At two of them (Fig. 1, nos. 4 and 7), located to the northeast of PS 36, the water rises up through the surface, developing small

seasonal ponds in the spring, from where the water runs towards the southwest and the Kokytos river. These springs produce a trickle of water also today during dry summers. The water from spring no. 4 is today led towards the Kokytos river in a ditch ca. 50 m to the south of PS 36, the location of the old water course being unclear (Fig. 4).

Most water has apparently run from the northernmost spring, from where at some stage it has formed a small stream leading to the Kokytos river (Fig. 4). This stream passes between PS 36 and the place excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service. The stream has recently been covered by soil in order to create new and larger fields, but on

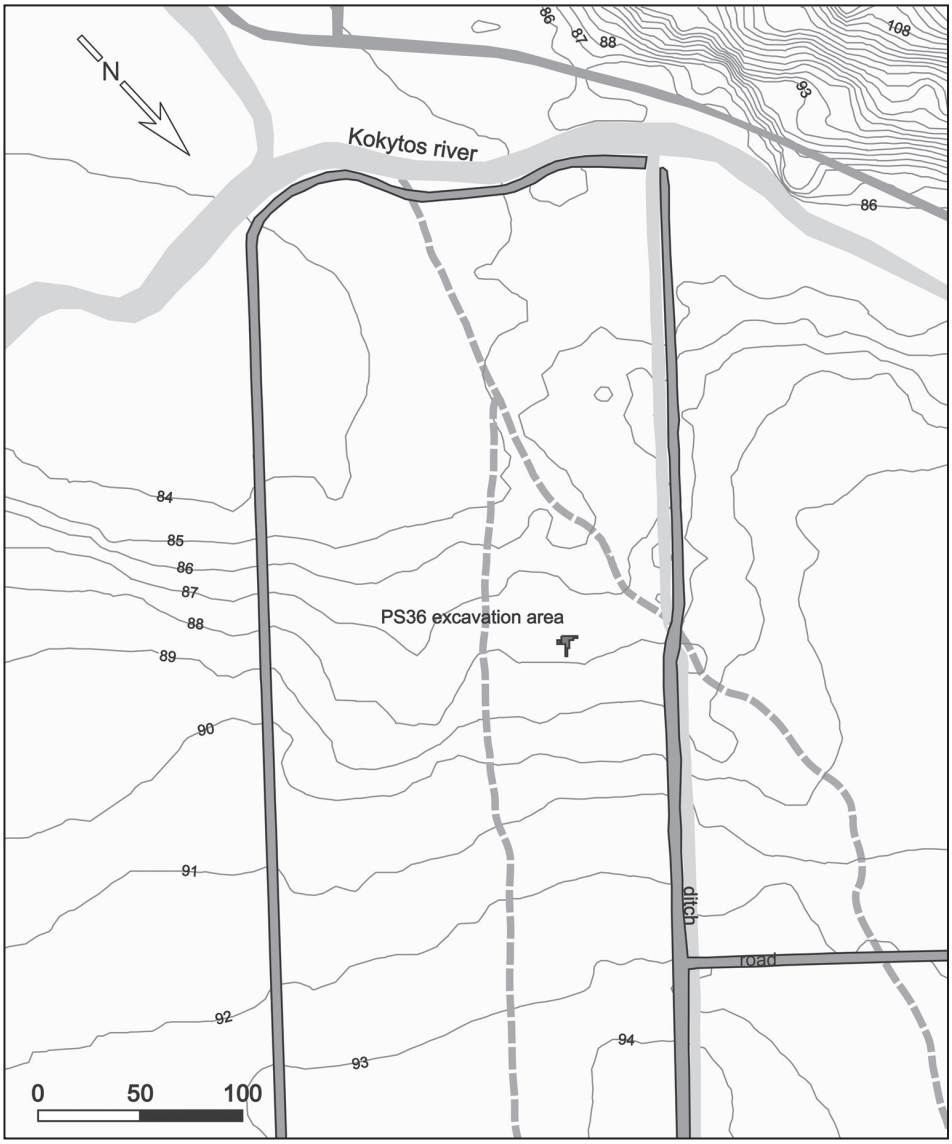

Fig. 4. Topographical map of Mavromandilia showing the PS 36 excavation area in relation to the two assumed water streams leading to the Kokytos river.

the basis of our drillings it may at one stage have been up to 2-3 m deep. Water still runs below the topsoil along the previous stream channel, e.g. emerging from the northern side of the deep ditch that some years ago was dug along the new dirt road running from the northeast to the southwest, thereby cutting through the old stream. The subsurface water channel was also visible in augering hole no. 13, where running water was found at a depth of ca. 3.2 m below the contemporary topsoil.

Springs, such as nos. 4 and 7 in Fig. 1, may through time be covered by natural sedimentation or human activities and can also find new outlets. Thus the farmers have covered another similar natural spring in the neighbourhood (no. 3) and channelled the water onwards to two new artificial springs (nos. 1 and 2). A close study of the satellite photograph from 2005 reveals two further possible springs (nos. 5 and 6) visible as shallow depressions. They are located along the small stream running from the spring no. 7 to the Kokytos river, thus indicating that the stream may have received water at several places along its course. One of these possible dried-out springs (no. 5) is located between PS 36 and the spot excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service.

The soil at Mavromandilia consists mostly of loam and silty clay favourable for cultivation. The plough zone reaches a depth of 35-40 cm. It is easy to penetrate with the auger whereas the sediment below it sometimes includes gravel and stones. It is conspicuous that these deeper sediment layers are coarser, including limestone particles and gravel, as well as cultural layers which at least partly are in their original position. The genesis of these layers is probably connected with conditions where running water has brought and accumulated coarse particles together with thinner layers of finer soil.

The depth of the fine topsoil varies considerably at Mavromandilia. The cultural layers revealed in the excavation of PS 36 and at PS 31 were located just below the plough zone, whereas the layers excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service were recovered as deep as 1.5 m below surface. This post-Iron Age sedimentation is partly due to natural causes with the small stream bringing fine-grained soil downhill, but partly also caused by the farmers filling in the stream in order to create larger fields better suiting modern cultivation. Mavromandilia is thus a perfect location for a settlement, with access to plenty of water in the springs and the Kokytos river as well as to soils favourable for cultivation.

Nature and size of the settlement

In order to clarify the size of the site(s) at Mavromandilia as well as the thickness of the cultural layers, a total of 89 augering holes were made with a hand-driven auger with a cone of 5 cm in diameter, in addition to a section (no. 61) that was cleaned in the ditch (Figs. 5a-b). Most of the augering holes were made in an area of 30 x 30 m, next to the excavation trench of PS 36, where the distance between the holes was only 5 m. Soil samples were taken at different depths in the holes in order to analyse, among other things, the phosphorus content. Anomalous phosphorus content in the soil indicates human occupation and thus is one parameter for defining what is a dwelling site or a cultural layer.[6]

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[6] For the methodology see e.g. Lavento 2003; Lavento *et al.* 2008.

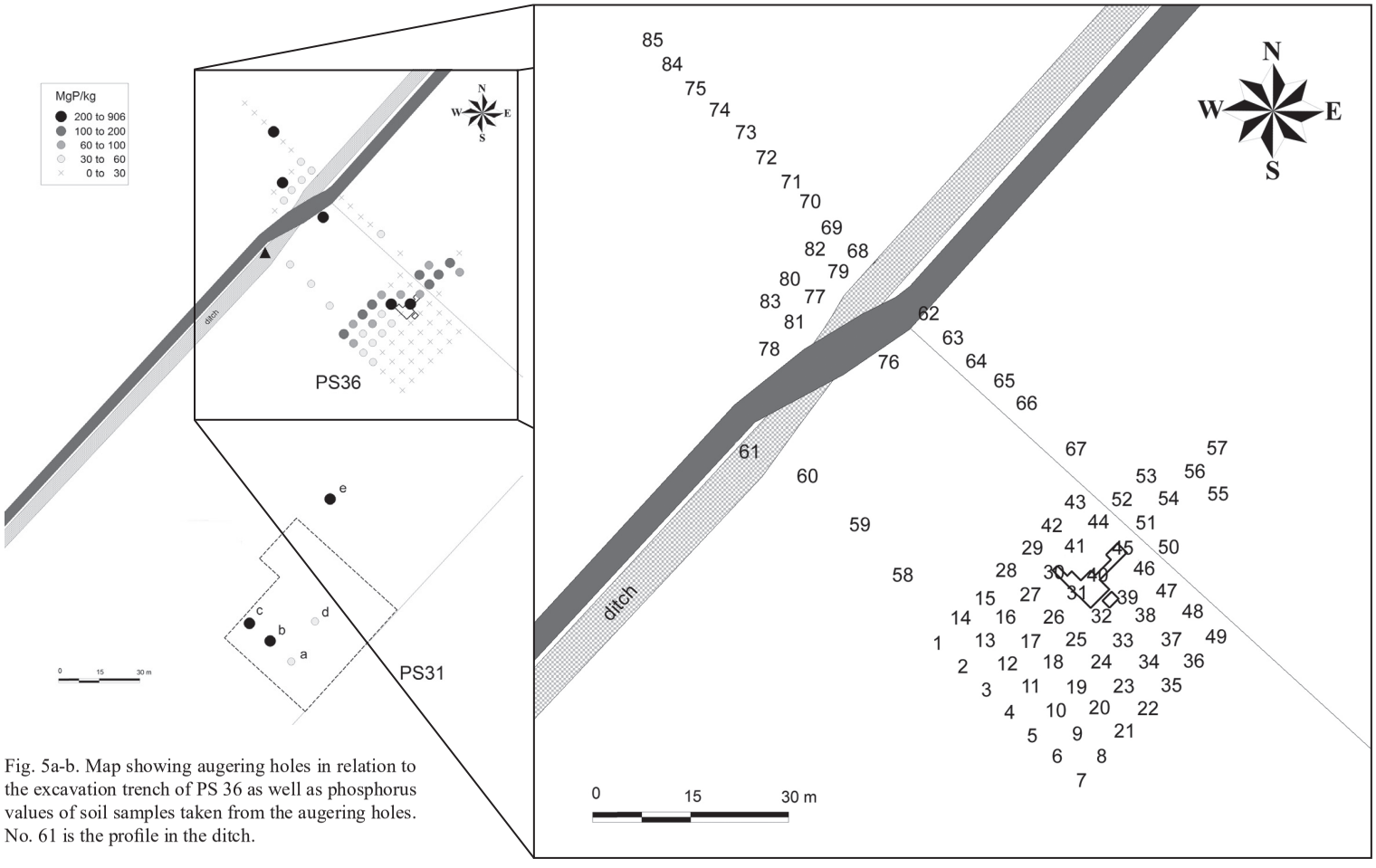

Fig. 5a-b. Map showing augering holes in relation to the excavation trench of PS 36 as well as phosphorus values of soil samples taken from the augering holes. No. 61 is the profile in the ditch.

In many cases, already the topsoil included remains of tiles, ceramics and sometimes even bones. Still, the cultural layer which was untouched by contemporary cultivation was normally situated at a depth of ca. 25-110 cm below surface, and in some cases even deeper. In most of the augering holes around the excavation trench of PS 36 the cultural layer was located at a depth of 40-60 cm below surface, whereas on the northwest side of the ditch it was located deeper, in most cases around 90-130 cm below the surface (Fig. 6). In general the cultural remains occur in a layer mixed with coarse sand or gravel. This is hardly surprising as the coarse, mixed gravel and sand constitutes a more solid ground for any buildings than loam without gravel. Soil mixed with coarse sand or gravel also absorbs rainwater better than clay and loam and thus dries up faster.

In the augering holes located to the south and southeast of the excavation trench of PS 36 the cultural layer is less clear or disappears altogether. The same holds for the two augering holes furthest towards the northwest (nos. 84-85). Traces of cultural layers, even though less clear ones, were on the other hand noted in all augering holes located between PS 36 and the ditch. The thickest cultural layers, at the same time richest in artefacts, were located to the southwest and northeast of the excavation trench in PS 36 as well as in the holes cored to the northwest of the ditch (Fig. 6).

The phosphorus content of the soil was analysed at the depth of the cultural layer and, in cases where no clear cultural layer was visible, usually at a depth of 40-60 cm below the surface. The phosphorus values are in general relatively low, the mean value of the samples being 73 mgP/kg if the samples from PS 31 are not taken into account. Altogether the differences between the values are considerable, the lowest value being 0 mgP/kg and the highest 906 mgP/kg (Fig. 6). Furthermore, the anomalous values seem to correlate with the existence of a clear cultural layer in the augering holes, thus strengthening the picture of three concentrations of activity: one around the excavation trench of PS 36, another at PS 31, and a third next to the spot excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service (Figs. 5a-b).

Although the augering holes normally did not reach deeper than 60 cm, some of the holes were drilled as deep as possible in order to enable us to reconstruct the sedimentation history of the site(s) and to test whether several habitation phases existed or not. Geo-archaeological work conducted at other sites has proved that several phases of resettlement may occur, i.e., local processes of sedimentation have at different stages buried earlier settlement phases, thus creating superimposed cultural layers separated from each other by sterile layers.[7]

In the great majority of augering holes, only one single cultural layer was observed. However, hole no. 13 reached a depth of 3.2 m below surface (Fig. 7). Remains of a cultural layer were visible already immediately below the topsoil. After a sterile dark soil layer at ca. 60-100 cm depth followed what looked like two further cultural layers at a depth of 100-170 and 220-250 cm below the surface, separated from each other by sterile layers of clay and gravel. These two deeper cultural layers contained charcoal and fragments of tiles or ceramics. The phosphorus contents of soil samples taken at a depth of 43-48 cm (57 mgP/kg) and 235-240 cm (47 mgP/kg) below the surface are also slightly anomalous and most likely caused by anthropogenic activity. On the other hand, the soil sample taken at a depth of 110-115 cm below the surface has a low phosphorus content.

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[7] See e.g. Forsén and Forsén 2003; Zangger 1993; van Andel and Zangger 1990.

No.	Cultural layer noticed at the following depth(s)	Depth at which soil sample was taken	Phosphorous value (mgP/kg)
1	20-45	40-48	138
2	30-45	40-47	73
3	20-47	42-47	39
4	35-50	42-47	47
5	30-45	42-47	23
6	no c.l.	42-47	20
7	no c.l.	42-47	20
8	no c.l.	43-48	25
9	25-50	43-48	22
10	15-40	40-46	26
11	35-50	43-48	20
12	20-58	42-47	38
13	100-170	43-48	57
	220-250	100-115	16
		200-205	20
		235-240	47
		305-310	27
14	35-60	45-50	84
15	40-65	43-48	169
16	25-35	44-49	94
17	25-45	46-48	47
18	40-50	43-47	15
19	no c.l.	55-60	25
20	no c.l.	53-58	21
21	no c.l.	53-58	19
22	no c.l.	55-60	16
23	no c.l.	53-58	20
24	25-47	55-60	15
25	33-50	55-60	23
26	27-47	43-47	58
27	35-45	43-47	52
28	40-110	54-59	114
29	40-70	55-60	67
30	30-60	43-48	354
31	35-60	55-60	21
32	10-55	55-60	23
33	no c.l.	53-58	1
34	35-40	55-60	2
35	no c.l.	53-60	2
36	no c.l.	53-58	2
37	no c.l.	54-59	12
38	30-38	56-60	17
39	25-50	55-60	19
40	40-77	45-55	449
41	20-70	43-48	85
42	no c.l.	53-60	23
43	-	no sample	0
44	30-75	41-47	16
45	67-97	82-87	72
46	30-100	55-60	10
47	20-35	55-60	12
48	no c.l.	55-60	9
49	no c.l.	50-55	7
50	no c.l.	55-60	1
51	28-77	55-60	158
52	38-70	53-60	101
53	36-99	54-58	91
54	no c.l.	53-58	117
55	52-82	54-60	70
56	30-72	54-58	170
57	30-56	52-56	8
58	35-125	60-65	33
59	15-101	60-64	55
60	55-71	61-71	34
62	35-45	60-67	16
63	25-35	45-50	20
64	35-40	35-40	24
65	30-45	50-55	29
66	20-55	44-48	41
67	25-55	50-55	5
68	50-70	73-79	51
69	50-80	50-55	33
		195-200	10
70	25-180	52-57	10
71	120-140	50-55	10
		127-130	14
72	78-94	78-83	233
73	45-80	65-70	11
	130-170	155-160	10
74	40-150	84-90	20
75	65-95	64-70	0
76	10-70	48-59	298
77	45-110	55-60	57
	115-195	105-110	34
78	90-120	105-110	18
79	30-150	105-110	59
80	90-120	100-105	217
81	100-129	120-124	54
82	10-20	95-100	0
83	50-130	88-93	2
84	no c.l.	40-46	0
85	55-65	64-67	2
a	no c.l.	54-64	51
b	1-50	50-60	906
c	1-50	48-56	870
d	42-80	60-65	31
e	no c.l.	50-60	480

Fig. 6. Depth of cultural layers and phosphorus values observed in the augering holes.

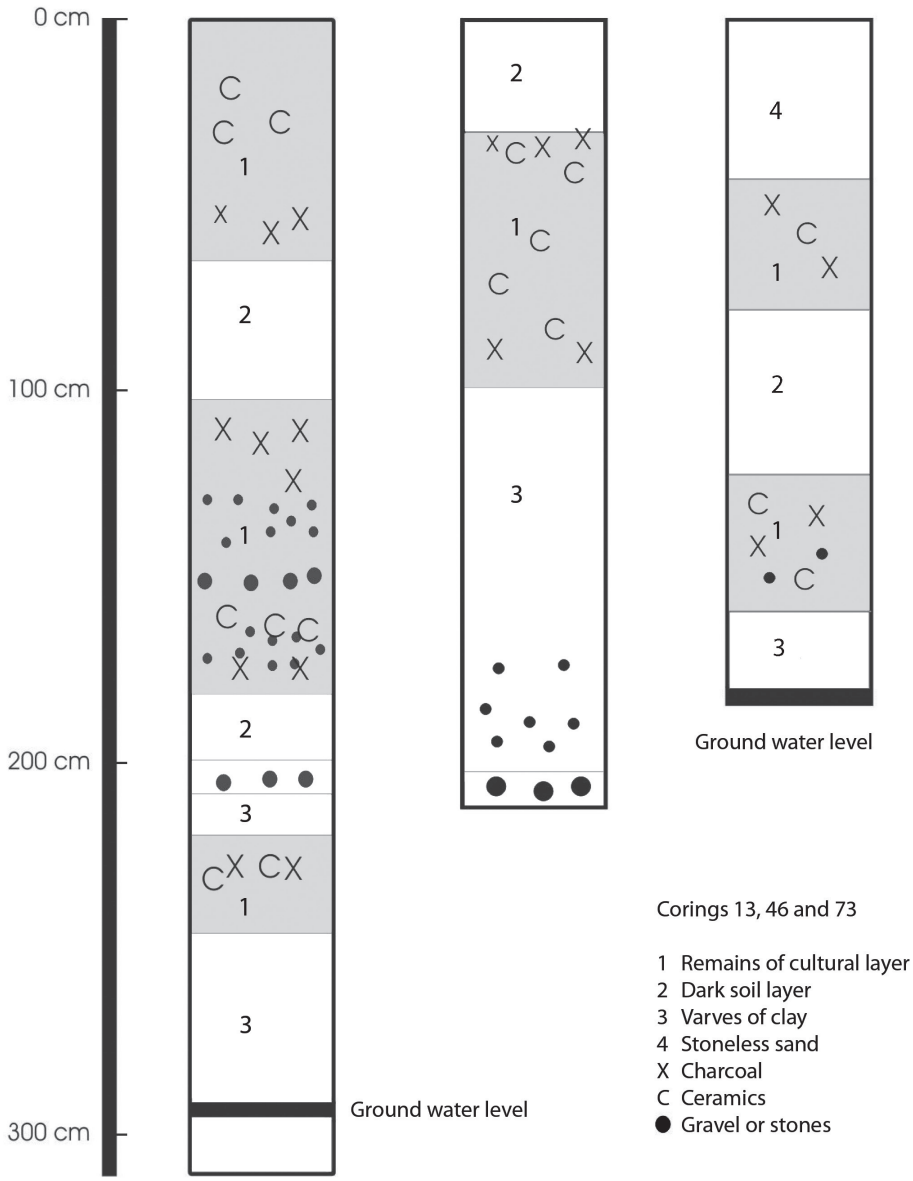

Fig. 7. Drawing of the profiles in augering holes no. 13, 46 and 73.

This may be due to the fact that it was taken in the uppermost part of the second cultural layer (100-170 cm below surface). At any rate, more drillings would have been needed in order to confirm with certainty the existence and horizontal spread of the deeper cultural layers in augering hole no. 13.

Another deep augering hole was no. 46 which was drilled to a depth of 211 cm below the surface (Fig. 7). Here only one possible cultural layer was noted, between 30 and 100 cm below the surface. Coarser sand layers were reached at the depth of ca.

180 cm. The drilling stopped at the depth of 211 cm because of a large stone. The phosphorus value taken at a depth of 55-60 cm below the surface was very low, perhaps indicating that this augering hole was located outside the main area of anthropogenic activity.

Particularly interesting information was received from a scarp which was cleaned in the ditch along the dirt road next to the spot excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service. The profile in the scarp is 120 cm wide and reaches a depth of 180 cm (Fig. 8). Four clearly different soil layers were observed in the profile. The uppermost layer (1) represents the sterile sand which has partly been formed during the building of the road. Below it followed a nearly sterile silt layer mixed with gravel (2). Very few finds were noted in these two uppermost layers.

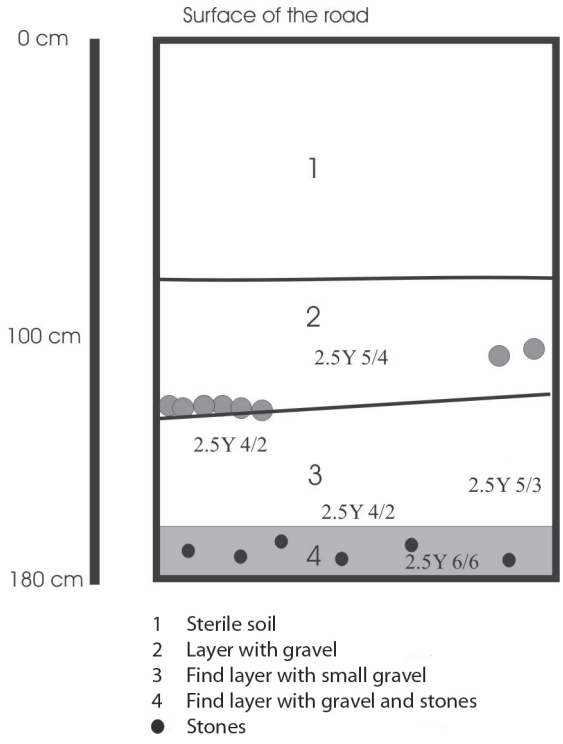

Fig. 8. Drawing of the profile in the ditch.

In the cleaned profile, the cultural layer was not reached until a depth of 120-125 cm and continued at least until a depth of 180 cm below the surface, where the groundwater level was reached. It can be subdivided into two separate layers (3 and 4) differing from each other in colour, layer 3 being darker than layer 4. Both layers were very rich in finds, mainly pottery, but also contained large amounts of tile fragments as well as large particles of charcoal. The phosphorus content of the soil in both layers is clearly anomalous (180 mgP/kg in layer 3 and 112 mgP/kg in layer 4). Although the range of dates obtained by C-14 samples is rather wide, the samples still indicate that layer 4 (Hela-1242: 2495±40 BP or cal. 790 (0.913) 500 BC) most likely is older than layer 3 (Hela-1241: 2465±40 BP or cal. 675 (0.698) 410 BC). Layers 3 and 4 also included relatively fine gravel and round stones, which refer to running water. The development of these layers may thus partly be related to the small stream which leads to the Kokytos river and which passes between this spot and the excavation area of PS 36. The existence of the stream must have exposed the cultural layers to frequent sheetwash and re-deposition, and may have depleted the phosphorus content.

Among the drillings made on the northwest side of the ditch, the augering hole no. 73 finally also contained two separate and distinct cultural layers, both containing charcoal particles and pottery (Fig. 7). The upper one was found at a depth of 45-80 cm below the surface. The lower and perhaps more interesting cultural layer was located at a depth of 130-170 cm below the surface. It was almost as rich in finds as layers 3 and 4 in the ditch profile. Another common feature was that the groundwater level was reached

at a depth of 180 cm. Shortly after this, the drilling was stopped by a hard layer of gravel. Although especially the lower cultural layer in hole no. 73 was rich in finds, none of the soil samples taken from this hole showed any phosphorus anomaly, thus exemplifying the occasional inaccuracy of the method.

On the basis of the geo-archaeological work we get a better idea of the size of the three find concentrations at Mavromandilia. The first one, located roughly where the excavation trenches of PS 36 were opened, is at most ca. 40 x 20 m in size. The size of the second concentration at PS 31 is more difficult to estimate, but it seems to be at least ca. 30 x 30 m, and possibly as large as 40 x 60 m. The third concentration is located at the spot where the Greek Archaeological Service excavated, continuing on both sides of the ditch, especially towards the northwest. The size of it is probably not larger than 40 x 40 m.

The find concentrations at PS 36[8] and in the Greek excavations of the ditch[9] most likely represent different parts of a synchronously settled site. Thus, the pottery found in these concentrations is roughly contemporaneous in date. The people at this site probably lived on both sides of the small stream and above the small possible spring located at the bottom of the stream (Fig. 1, no. 5). However, we cannot altogether exclude the possibility that also PS 36 and the find concentration next to the ditch represent separate dwelling sites that – despite the similar-looking finds – were settled at different stages, perhaps by different groups of people or different generations.

The relationship between the find concentration(s) at PS 36 and the ditch on the one hand, and at PS 31 on the other hand, is more problematic and can only be clarified through more drillings in the area between PS 31 and PS 36 or through excavations at PS 31. However, something that speaks for PS 31 being a separate site is the fact that the few badly preserved surface finds from PS 31 seem to be Archaic to Classical in date,[10] thus in general slightly later than the main horizon of activity at PS 36 and in the Greek excavations of the ditch. Secondly, no phosphorus anomaly was located in the south to southeast parts of the surroundings of PS 36 (augering holes nos. 5-10, 19-24, see Figs. 5a-b and 6), which face towards PS 31.

Sedimentation history

The excavation and coring results have attested that the richest remains of the cultural layer at Mavromandilia are covered by silt or in some cases even by layers of gravel. In many cases, the thickest find concentrations were located between 50 and 100 cm below surface and below it, in some cases even at a depth of ca. 150 cm. The reason for this lies in the local sedimentation history, which has been influenced by both natural and human processes.

What were the processes causing the sedimentation of the thick topsoil? The origin of the accumulated material is to be found on the eroding mountain slopes. The sun, rain and wind make the rock weather into smaller particles, which form alluvial fans at the

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[8] See J. Forsén in this volume.
[9] See Tzortzatou and Fatsiou in this volume.
[10] See J. Forsén in this volume.

foot of the mountain slopes. Strong winds may have moved soil, thus layering it all over the valley through time. On the other hand, ravines and smaller streams have also played a role in the erosion and re-deposition of the material from the alluvial fans. Such a process requires the influence of running water, and therefore does not take place simultaneously everywhere in the valley, but rather concentrates on particular areas along the water courses. In a long time perspective, alluvial sedimentation may spread over large areas, because river beds continuously meander and change their actual courses. However, in a shorter historical perspective of only some thousands of years, the river beds have probably stayed relatively stable, only changing their places in restricted areas.[11]

In the case of Mavromandilia it seems that the small stream located between the spot excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service and PS 36 existed already in the Early Iron Age, and that the existence of running water made the place attractive for human occupation. The deposition of sterile soil on top of the settlement remains has thus taken place during a time period of some 2,500-3,000 years. The sedimentation may have been caused by the stream while it meandered and changed course through time. Another factor influencing the sedimentation is the fact that the neighbourhood of Mavromandilia in general slopes down towards the Kokytos river, making finer particles move in that direction over time.

Since the desertion of the place, the channel of running water has slowly been covered by alluvial sedimentation. However, one should not forget the influence of human processes. Thus part of the especially thick sterile layers covering the cultural layers along the ditch probably was created by farmers when they created larger fields suitable for modern machines in the 1990s. Thereby ditches, ravines and small cavities were filled with soil in order to smooth out the surface of the new large fields.[12]

Human sedimentation processes did, of course, also take place at an earlier stage in history. Thus, the thick and rich cultural layers in the ditch could theoretically be explained as some kind of dump created by the original settlers. However, it seems more likely that the layers have been re-deposited here and bound together by running water. Although the layers during this process may have become mixed with each other, the C-14 dates taken from the profile in the ditch still indicate some kind of stratigraphy with younger material deposited above older layers. This fact, combined with the rich amount of finds, clearly indicates that the site has been intensively settled for a long time, producing consecutive accumulation layers on top of each other.

The geo-archaeological work occasionally indicated the existence of two different superimposed cultural layers, separated from each other by layers of sterile silt or gravel with a thickness of 15 to 85 cm. This indicates the possible existence of an even more complicated stratigraphy and sedimentation history with several (at least two) different phases of settlement, in between which the site would not have been occupied. Unfortunately the deeper cultural layers could not be dated, and thus we lack information about how much older they are than the main occupational horizon at the site. Only further drilling or extended excavations may shed light on these possible early sedimentation phases.

The sedimentation history at Mavromandilia can thus be described as a combination of the natural effects of running water and soil moving down-slope towards the Kokytos

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[11] Niemi 1990; James *et al.* 1994.
[12] See Zangger *et al.* 1997.

river on the one hand, and human effects on the other hand, such as the existing settlement causing the accumulation of archaeological material and recent farmers bulldozing the fields. The differing combination of these effects has, in some parts of the site, resulted in finds of different date getting mixed, whereas in other places it has resulted in accumulated layers of material.[13]

Conclusions

Through the geo-archaeological work we now have a somewhat better picture of the character and size of the interesting, mainly Early Iron Age settlement cluster at Mavromandilia, as well as of the local sedimentation processes. Although the questions posed at the beginning of the chapter have partly been answered, many questions connected with the location and its natural surroundings still remain open and can only be clarified through further geo-archaeological work not only at Mavromandilia, but also elsewhere in the Kokytos valley. There is a clear need for more research on the connection between archaeological sites and their environment in northwestern Greece. We hope that this chapter has shed some light on the possibilities entailed in this kind of research.

It should be added that an important aspect of the connection in question is not geo-archaeological but economic and social, since the relation of these sites to the local rivers has implications for how the early inhabitants exploited, and were influenced by, the environment. In this case the nearby river may have played any of several roles: a food source, a communication medium, a defensive barrier, even a cause of problems such as flooding and disease. These should be kept in mind during further excavation for relevant finds, which is obviously assisted by the investigation of factors like sedimentation. One must therefore not overlook the potential opportunity presented here of reconstructing an ancient riparian culture in an inland area where it might be unexpected.

[13] See Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988.

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The Rural Sanctuary at Kyra Panagia

Irini Svana

The Kokytos river valley lies in the inland of Thesprotia, between the mountains of Paramythia and the hills of Margariti. Towards the south the Kokytos river flows into the plain of Phanari, which is intersected by the Acheron river. During antiquity this area was the territory of the Thesprotian Eleans. The town of Elea, the political and economic center of the Eleans, is situated on a flat summit dominating the valley, to the south of Paramythia, next to the village Chrysavgi (Veliani). It was founded in the fourth century BC and most likely abandoned after the Roman destruction of Epirus in 167 BC.[1] The main center of religious reference for the Eleans was the *Nekyomanteion* located at the junction of the Kokytos and Acheron rivers.[2]

Recently important new archaeological findings have been brought to light in the Kokytos river valley.[3] Roughly 10 years ago a small rural sanctuary was found and excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service.[4] It lies next to the foot of the Liminari hill in the western part of the valley, 200 m southeast of Agia Paraskevi of Kyra Panagia. To the east of the small rectangular temple an altar was found.[5] Many votive offerings (fragments of figurines, pots, coins, jewellery) were found in the small sanctuary. The figurines are the most frequently occurring type of votive offering. On the basis of iconography they can be classified into the following categories.

Fig. 1.

Standing women

This group includes fragments of figurines depicting draped women. The completely preserved examples have a low base on which the figurine rests (e.g. ΘΕ 5675). Figurines preserving the head are surmounted by a sort of a ‘polos’ or a ‘diadem’ (ΘΕ 5761, ΘΕ 5766 [Fig. 1]). Almost all figures of this type carry an object that might be an offering to

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[1] Dakaris 1972, 37-39, 97-99, 119-120, 139.

[2] Dakaris 1996, 6.

[3] See Riginos 1996, 171-180, with further references. See also the reports of the 8th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in *ArchDelt* during the last decade as well as this volume in general

[4] The excavation was carried out by the 8th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities periodically from 1997 to 1999, at first under the supervision of Mrs. K. Preka and since August 1997 of Mr. G. Riginos. For preliminary reports, see Preka 1997, 610 and Riginos 1998, 538-540. In this article only finds that were made between September 1997 and July 1999 are discussed. I would like to express gratitude to Mr. Riginos for inviting me to work with him on this subject. The archaeologists and conservators, who worked in the storerooms on Corfu and in Thesprotia preserving and registrating the objects, also contributed substantially to my work. I thank them all and in particular Ms. L. Fatsiou, Ms. O. Palli and Mr. A. Thanos.

[5] Riginos 1998, 538-540, with the ground plan of the revealed building on p. 540.

the deity or an indication of taking part in a ritual activity (ΘE 5761, ΘE 5766, ΘE 5675). Some of the earliest figurines – dated to the early fifth century BC – belong to this group (ΘE 5766, ΘE 5675).

Hydrophoroi

This group includes fragments of small hydriae, obviously belonging to female figurines carrying a water pitcher on the shoulder or on the head.[6] Only one example maintains a part of the arm joining the pot to the shoulder of the figure (ΘE 5767). The hydrophoroi probably symbolize a sort of ritual related to the carriage of water as long as it was considered that the water had purifying virtues.[7] Such figures are frequently found during the Classical through Early Hellenistic period.[8]

Woman leaning on a statue

Among figurines depicting full-figures there is one piece (ΘE 5713) of a standing draped woman in a relaxed pose, leaning on a statue representing the goddess Athena (Fig. 2). Figurines like this one that rest on a pillar, a herm, a small column or on models of various objects constitute a common type in the Hellenistic coroplastic tradition.[9]

Fig. 2.

Female busts

Fragments representing busts of female figures occur frequently among the offerings of the temple.[10] Besides busts completely or partially preserved, some concave heads unworked at the back have been presumably attached to busts (ΘE 5801). Most of the figurines ascribed to this type depict figures draped over the upper arms without showing the lower part of the arms (ΘE 5714 [Fig. 4a], ΘE 5432 [Fig. 3]). There is also an example of a bust with no indication of clothing (ΘE 5790 [Fig. 4b]). Regarding the treatment of the hair there is a

[6] See e.g. Lilibaki-Akamati 1996, 50-51, pl. 15, 16, 17.
[7] Lilibaki-Akamati 1996, 53.
[8] Lilibaki-Akamati 1996, 51.
[9] See e.g. Besques 1986, no. D 3540 (third cent. BC), no. E 308 (first cent. BC).
[10] Compare also with the findings from the so-called *sanctuary of Aphrodite* in Dyrrachio (Muller *et al.* 2004).

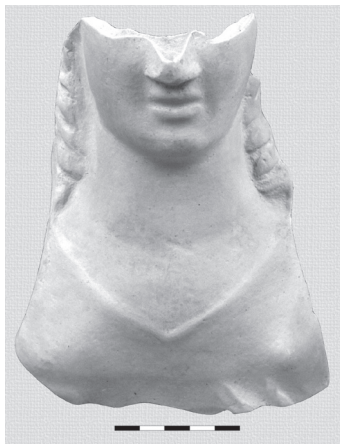

Fig. 3.

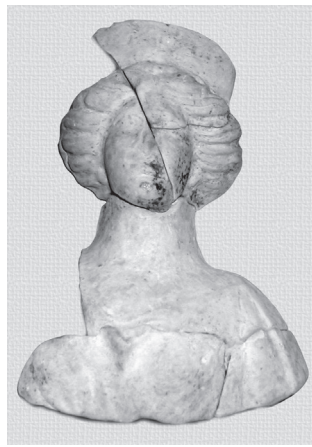

Fig. 4a.

Fig. 4b.

Fig. 5.

great variety of coiffures according to the dating of the figures. The examples of the preserved busts coming from the sanctuary of Kyra Panagia are dated from the fourth to the first century BC.

Seated women

Fewer and fragmentary are the examples of seated women, always representing draped figures seated on a throne. They hold an object either against the chest or they lay it on their knees (ΘE 5814 [Fig. 5], ΘE 5792). One of the seated women dates to the early fifth century BC (ΘE 5814), whereas the rest date to the Classical period.

Banqueter

The unique fragment of a figurine representing a male bearded figure must be particularly mentioned (ΘE 5764, Fig. 6). This specific type is associated with figurines known as banqueters and can be dated to the late sixth through early fifth century BC. It has been suggested that they depict the participants of a ritual meal.[11]

Besides the examples already mentioned which can be ascribed to particular types of figurines since they are well-preserved, numerous heads or fragments detached from the faces of the figurines were found in the

Fig. 6.

[11] See Besques 1954, pl. XLIII, B431 (late sixth cent. BC); pl. XLVI, no. 503 (mid-sixth cent. BC); pl. XCVI, no. 454 (early fifth cent. BC).

Fig. 7.

sanctuary. Some of them are veiled while others have a sophisticated coiffure. Most of them are inspired by the 'Tanagra Style' (Fig. 7) and date to the Hellenistic period.[12] This coroplastic tradition is also reflected on a fragment of a figurine depicting an aged figure having the head veiled (ΘE 5755).

Finally a brief reference should be made to three female heads with polos, which can be dated to the Late Archaic period (ΘE 5753 [Fig. 8], ΘE 5815, ΘE 5794). The fragment of a small plaque with the depiction of a female head (ΘE 5758) constitutes in its turn a unique find.

Most of the figurines seem to be produced by local workshops. However, the true prototypes for these specific objects should be sought among the most significant centers of coroplastic production of the ancient world such as Corinth, probably Corfu and the cities of Sicily as well. An influence coming from Macedonia cannot be excluded.

According to the numerous findings, the sanctuary of Kyra Panagia must have been in function since the early fifth or possibly even late sixth century BC. Three female heads, some of the standing women, a seated woman (ΘE 5814) and the banqueter belong to the earliest findings of the sanctuary, dating to the Late Archaic period. The Hellenistic period is represented by the majority of the busts and also by the heads of figurines in 'Tanagra style', some of which date as late as to the first century BC (ΘE 5790, ΘE 5793, ΘE 5800).[13] Also coins from the sanctuary indicate activity during the Late Classical and Hellenistic age. They are partly issued in Epirus (Elea, the Epirote Alliance), and partly brought from elsewhere in the Greek world.[14] The majority of the miniature vases of different shapes (*skyphoi, kotyle, pitchers)* found in the sanctuary date to the Hellenistic period.[15]

Fig. 8.

The deity worshipped in the small sanctuary cannot be identified with certainty. However, it is well known that the Eleans had a very special relation to the cult of Persephone, daughter of goddess Demeter, who was worshipped at the *Nekyomanteion* and whose image is represented on Elean coins.[16] Possibly also the worship at our sanctuary, which is located in the middle

[12] About the use of the term *Tanagra* and the relevant coroplastic tradition see Lazaridis 1960, 20.

[13] According to Lambrou 2006, 263, some other figurines from the sanctuary, not included in this study, may date as late as to the early second century AD.

[14] AK 2139: Coin of Elea (second half of the fourth cent. BC), AK 2130: Coin of the Epirote Alliance (after 300 BC). Two silver coins have also been recorded, one from Corinth (fourth to third cent. BC) and the other Macedonian, minted by Alexander the Great (Preka 1997, 610; Riginos 1998, 539).

[15] Compare e.g. Drougou 1991, 110 with illustrations on p. 114 (early third cent. BC); 122 and 126, with illustrations on p. 128 (early third to second cent. BC) / Edwards 1975, 32, pls. 2 and 44, nos. 52 and 55 (late fourth cent. BC).

[16] Tzouvara-Souli 1979, 99-110 (particularly 104); Dakaris 1972, 117-118.

Fig. 9.

of lush fields, was associated with the fertility of the soil and the breeding of animals. Some of the figurines from our sanctuary, such as the ones wearing either a *polos* or another sort of 'diadem', could perhaps be associated with Persephone. Such attributes are usually believed to have given a divine nature to a figure, at least during early antiquity.[17] The hydrophoroi could also be associated with the worship of Demeter and Kore.[18] Finally, a miniature vessel with the graffito ΠΕ (Fig. 9) may be connected with the cult of Persephone. However, it must be noted that neither bones nor figurines depicting animals which are related to the cult of the two deities and the rituals performed in their honor were found in the excavation.

Female busts that have been found in sanctuaries have also sometimes been related to divine figures, and then mostly to Aphrodite.[19] Aphrodite was worshipped throughout Epirus as the daughter of Zeus and Dione, and she was related to the cult of nature.[20] Yet there is not much real evidence suggesting a cult of Aphrodite in the sanctuary of Kyra Panagia. Still, we should not forget that several deities could be worshipped parallel with each other in Greek sanctuaries. Many deities, especially those who protected the growth and the harvesting of plants, could be worshipped at the same place.[21]

Female figurines offered in a sanctuary need not depict a deity – they may as well represent the dedicators themselves. The figurines can for instance be seen as substitutes for the women taking part in the cult. In this way, the dedicators either put themselves under the protection of the goddess or emphasized that they had participated in a certain ceremony or ritual.[22] This may also be the case with a large part of the figurines found in the rural sanctuary of Kyra Panagia (including the banqueter).

The small sanctuary could have constituted a meeting point for the rural populations living and exploiting the Kokytos river valley.[23] The sanctuary may have been located next to an ancient road linking the Thesprotian inland with the coast and the Corinthian colonies settled there. Rural buildings dating from the late third century BC onward have also been excavated in the immediate neighborhood of the sanctuary.[24] The existence of the sanctuary may have been the motive for the founding of this settlement.

The rural sanctuary in Kyra Panagia provides important information about the history and the religious life of the Thesprotians, especially because it seems to have existed long before the town of Elea is considered to have been founded in connection with the general Epirote urbanization process of the fourth century BC. It also seems to have stayed in use after the Roman destruction of Epirus in 167 BC.

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[17] Lilibaki-Akamati 1996, 53; Bonias 1998, 73, about the concept of *polos* during the Archaic period.
[18] Lilibaki-Akamati 1996, 53.
[19] Bonias 1998, 86-87; Lilibaki-Akamati 2000, 52.
[20] Lilibaki-Akamati 2000, 213.
[21] Lilibaki-Akamati 1996, 53-55.
[22] Muller *et al.* 2004, 620.
[23] Dakaris 1972, 139-140, mentions e.g. a small acropolis (only 0.1 ha) at Agios Arsenios of Sevasto and graves to the north of the modern village of Sevasto. These sites are located at a distance of 1.5-2 km from the rural sanctuary of Kyra Panagia.
[24] Svana 2004, 209-212.

Catalogue of terracotta figurines

Registr. no.	Figurine type	Date	References
ΘE 5432	Female bust	Early fourth cent. BC	Higgins 1954, 394, pl. 203, no.1493
ΘE 5674	Standing woman, lower part		
ΘE 5675	Standing woman	Early fifth cent. BC	Stillwell 1952, 87, pl. 16
ΘE 5713	Woman leaning on statue	Third to first cent. BC	Besques 1986, pl. 36c, nos. D3540 and E308; Higgins 1967, 115, pl. 53D (second cent. BC)
ΘE 5714	Female bust	Late fourth cent. BC	Besques 1986, 122-123 and 167, pl. 119, nos. D4001-D4009; Muller et al. 2004, 612-613, figs. 7-8
ΘE 5738	Female bust	Early first cent. BC	Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, 336-337, pl. 122, nos. 912-914
ΘE 5753	Female head with polos	Early fifth cent. BC	Bonias 1998, 164, pl.35, no. 262; Stillwell 1952, 95, pl. 17, no. XI,3
ΘE 5754	*Tanagra* style figurine	Early first cent. BC	Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, 336-337, pl. 122, nos. 912-914
ΘE 5755	*Tanagra* style figurine	Early first cent. BC	Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, 545-546, pl. 206, no. 1580
ΘE 5756	Hydrophoros	Fifth to third cent. BC	Lilibaki-Akamati 1996, 50-51, pl. 15ε-16
ΘE 5758	Plaque fragment	Fourth cent. BC	Besques 1986, 122, no. D4002, pl. 119a
ΘE 5759	Hydrophoros	Fifth to third cent. BC	Lilibaki-Akamati 1996, 50-51, pl. 15ε-16
ΘE 5760	Hydrophoros	Fifth to third cent. BC	Lilibaki-Akamati 1996, 50-51, pl. 15ε-16
ΘE 5761	Standing woman	Late fifth to early fourth cent. BC	Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, 33, pl. 10, nos. 53 and 44, pl. 15, nos. 72, 74, 75
ΘE 5764	Banqueter	Late sixth to early fifth cent. BC	Besques 1954, pl. XLIII B431, pl. XLVI, no. 503, pl. XCVI, no. 454
ΘE 5766	Standing woman	Early fifth cent. BC	Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, 47, pl. 16, no. 78
ΘE 5767	Hydrophoros	Fifth to third cent. BC	Lilibaki-Akamati 1996, 50-51, pl. 15ε-16
ΘE 5778	Hydrophoros	Fifth to third cent. BC	Lilibaki-Akamati 1996, 50-51, pl. 15ε-16
ΘE 5790	Female bust	First cent. BC	Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, 336, pl. 122, no. 912
ΘE 5792	Seated woman	Second half of the fourth cent. BC	Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, 55, pl. 18, no. 94
ΘE 5793	Female bust	First cent. BC	Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, 336, pl. 122, nos. 912, 914
ΘE 5794	Female head with polos	Early fifth cent. BC	Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, 47, pl. 16, no. 78
ΘE 5800	Female bust	First cent. BC	Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, 336, pl. 122, no. 912

ΘE 5801	Female bust	Late fourth cent. BC	Besques 1986, 122 and 167, pl. 119a, no. D4002
ΘE 5814	Seated woman	Early fifth cent. BC	Bonias 1998, 167, pl. 37, no. 280; Merker 2000, 42-44, 90, pl. 8, no. c74
ΘE 5815	Female head with polos	Early fifth cent. BC	Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, 47, pl. 16, no. 78
ΘE 5906	Hydrophoros	Fifth to third cent. BC	Lilibaki-Akamati 1996, 50-51, pl. 15ε-16
ΘE 5907	Hydrophoros	Fifth to third cent. BC	Lilibaki-Akamati 1996, 50-51, pl. 15ε-16

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Concilio Epirotarum habitato – Überlegungen zum Problem von Polyzentrismus und Zentralorten im antiken Epirus

Peter Funke

„La géographie politique de l'Épire, au cours du IVe siècle, est en constante mutation."[1] In diesem Satz hat Pierre Cabanes knapp und sehr treffend den politischen Wandlungsprozess zusammengefasst, der sich im 4. Jh. v. Chr. in weiten Teilen Nordwest- und Mittelgriechenlands und im Übrigen auch in anderen Randzonen der damaligen griechischen Poliswelt vollzogen hat. Die Anfänge dieses Prozesses dürften wohl bis weit in das 5. Jh. v. Chr. zurückgereicht haben. Vor allem die machtpolitischen Auseinandersetzungen in der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jhs. v. Chr., in die neben Aitolien und Akarnanien auch Epirus immer stärker hineingezogen wurde, hatten allem Anschein nach mit dazu beigetragen, dass es in diesen Regionen zu einem beschleunigten politischen Wandel kam, der von tiefgreifenden, durch die Entstehung städtischer Zentren gekennzeichneten Veränderungen im Siedlungsbild begleitet wurde. Beide Vorgänge – die Veränderung der politischen Strukturen wie auch der Urbanisierungsprozess – verliefen zwar weitgehend zeitlich parallel, waren aber nicht unbedingt ursächlich und untrennbar miteinander verbunden. Es kam keineswegs zwangsläufig zu einer flächendeckenden Umwandlung ehemals stammesmäßig geordneter, staatlicher Gebilde in eine Welt eigenständiger, urban geprägter Poleis.[2] Insbesondere für Epirus ist zu konstatieren, dass sich politischer und urbanistischer Strukturwandel durchaus in unterschiedliche Richtungen entwickelten. Diese Feststellung, die im Folgenden näher ausgeführt werden soll, ist von entscheidender Relevanz für die hier im Vordergrund stehende Frage, ob es in Epirus und speziell in Thesprotien zur Entstehung städtischer Zentren kam, die auch *in politicis* die Funktion eines Vorortes oder gar einer Hauptstadt erfüllten. Um hier einer Antwort näher zu kommen, sollen in zwei Schritten zunächst die politischen Wandlungsmomente und sodann die urbanistischen Entwicklungstendenzen beschrieben werden, um abschließend in einer vergleichenden Betrachtung beider Problemkomplexe einige Überlegungen zur genannten Fragestellung anzustellen.

Ein Einblick in die politischen Strukturen in Epirus in klassischer Zeit wird bekanntlich durch die überaus karge Quellenlage erheblich erschwert. Aus den wenigen Hinweisen in den zeitgenössischen literarischen und historiographischen Berichten und der sehr geringen Zahl aussagekräftiger epigraphischer Zeugnisse lässt sich nur ein sehr schematisches Bild gewinnen.[3] Von besonderer Bedeutung ist hier eine knappe, vereinzelt dastehende Notiz im Werk des Thukydides, die durch ihre bemerkenswert

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[1] Cabanes 1981, 31.

[2] Zu einer Analyse vergleichbarer Vorgänge in Aitolien vgl. Funke 1987; Funke 1991; Funke 1997.

[3] Zur historischen Entwicklung in Epirus in archaischer und klassischer Zeit sind immer noch grundlegend die entsprechenden Ausführungen bei Franke 1955; Hammond 1967; Cabanes 1976; s. jetzt auch S. Funke 2000 und zusammenfassend Funke, Moustakis und Hochschulz 2004, 338-339; vgl. darüber hinaus zu den neueren Forschungen die einschlägigen Artikel (mit weiterer Literatur) bei Cabanes 1987; Cabanes 1993; Cabanes 1999; Cabanes und Lamboley 2004.

präzisen Angaben zu den politischen Strukturen in Epirus in den Anfangsjahren des Peloponnesischen Krieges große Detailkenntnisse zu erkennen gibt. Im Rahmen seines Berichtes über den spartanischen Feldzug gegen Akarnanien im Jahre 429 v. Chr. listet Thukydides die einzelnen Heereskontingente genau auf, darunter auch die Aufgebote der „Barbaren“: „1.000 Chaonen, ohne König (*abasíleutoi*), geführt von einem jährlich wechselnden Leitungsgremium (*epetésios prostateía*), das mit Photys und Nikanor, Angehörigen aus dem herrschenden Geschlecht, besetzt war; mit den Chaonen zogen auch die Thesproter, ebenfalls königslos (*abasíleutoi*). Die Molosser und Atintanen führte Sabylinthos als Vormund des Königs Tharyps, der noch ein Kind war; die Paranaier (führte) ihr König Oroidos. 1.000 Oresten, über die Antiochos als König herrschte, marschierten mit im Heer der Paranaier, da Antichos sie dem Oroidos anvertraut hatte. … “[4]

Diese Schilderung des Thukydides vermittelt einen Eindruck von der Vielfalt der institutionellen Ausgestaltung der Binnenstrukturen in der vorwiegend stammesmäßig geordneten Staatenwelt Nordgriechenlands. In der Forschung ist diese Vielfalt immer auch als ein Indikator für einen bereits in der klassischen Zeit einsetzenden politischen Wandlungsprozess angesehen worden – und man kann dieser Einschätzung grundsätzlich durchaus zustimmen. Allerdings stellt sich die Frage, ob der Hinweis des Thukydides auf die „königlosen“ Chaonier und Thesproter unbedingt dahin gehend zu interpretieren ist, dass es bei diesen Stämmen zu einer Ablösung früherer monarchischer Herrschaftsformen durch die Einsetzung von jährlich neu zu bestimmenden Oberbeamten gekommen war, wie es etwa N.G.L. Hammond deutet, wenn er schreibt: „The monarchy was in abeyance in Chaonia; in its place two members of the royal clan held the office of *prostates* for one year, and they both held the command in war. … The Thesprotians too were no longer subject to a monarchy.“[5]

Eine solche Sichtweise, die für die Chaonen und Thesproter die Existenz eines Königtums zur notwendigen Voraussetzung für die Einführung einer Jahresmagistratur macht, bleibt möglicherweise doch allzu sehr einer eher idealtypischen staatstheoretischen Perspektive aristotelischer Prägung verhaftet und berücksichtigt zu wenig die realen politischen Verhältnisse in dieser Region. Die Stammesverbände der Chaonen und Thesproter waren von vielschichtigen Strukturen geprägt und in zahlreiche Teilstämme untergliedert, die wiederum in weitere ethnische Untereinheiten aufgeteilt waren. Die politische Interaktion zwischen diesen verschiedenen Ebenen entzieht sich – vor allem für die vorhellenistische Zeit – aufgrund der unzureichenden Quellenlage weitgehend unserer Kenntnis.

Es besteht jedenfalls kein zwingender Grund, für die Chaonen und Thesproter ursprünglich ein an der Spitze des jeweiligen Gesamtverbandes stehendes Königtum zu postulieren. Zumindest lehrt ein Blick auf die Stammesgesellschaften in den

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[4] Thuk. 2.80.5-6.

[5] Hammond 1967, 501; vgl. etwa auch Cabanes 1980, 337: „… mais si Thucydide le signale, c’est apparemment parce que cette disparition du roi des Chaones et du roi des Thesprôtes est récente; une phrase est, d’ailleurs, très révélatrice de la situation tout à fait transitoire des institutions chez les Chaones: Thucydide explique, en effet, que les Chaones sont dirigés par deux *prostates* … , choisis dans le *genos* royal. Il semble véritablement que la royauté vienne juste d’être abolie chez les Chaones et que ce peuple ait adopté un régime intermédiaire où le pouvoir suprême est confiè à deux magistrats annuels, mais, pour ne pas rompre complètement avec le passé récent, ceux-ci sont pris au sein de la famille princière.“ Auch Siewert 2005 spricht davon, dass die Thesproter und Chaonen im 5. Jh. v. Chr. „das Königtum schon abgeschafft (hatten)“ (35) und dass es bei den Molossern zur „Entmachtung eines urtümlichen Stammeskönigtums“ (36) gekommen sei.

Nachbarregionen wie beispielsweise Aitolien und Akarnanien, dass einem ausgeprägten landsmannschaftlichen Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl keineswegs immer auch eine entsprechende institutionelle Ausgestaltung in Form einer zentralisierten Herrschaft entsprochen haben musste. Das – in den zeitgenössischen Quellen zumindest ein wenig besser dokumentierte – außenpolitische Handeln der Aitoler im 5. und 4. Jh. v. Chr. zeigt beispielhaft, wie ein Stammesverband nach außen hin geschlossen auftreten konnte, ohne jedoch die Eigenständigkeit der Teilstämme zugunsten einer monarchischen Führungsspitze aufzugeben. Der aitolische Stammesverband verfügte zwar allem Anschein nach zur damaligen Zeit bereits über feste, die einzelnen Teilstämme übergreifende Organisationsformen, um kontinuierlich eine verantwortliche Politik im Namen des gesamten Stammes betreiben zu können; diese „efficient central government of some sort“[6] war aber eben nicht monokratisch ausgerichtet, sondern beruhte auf dem Konsens aller Teilstämme, für die auf der Ebene des Stammesverbandes die Partizipation an den politischen Entscheidungen ebenso gewährleistet bleiben musste wie die Repräsentanz in den Führungsämtern.[7]

An den gleichen Erfordernissen haben wohl auch die Thesproter, Chaonen und Molosser die Formierung zentraler Institutionen auf der Ebene ihres jeweiligen Stammesverbandes ausgerichtet. Die den Prinzipien von Annuität und Kollegialität unterworfene *prostateía* der Chaonen[8] weist zumindest in die gleiche Richtung wie die feste, bundesstaatlichen Prinzipien durchaus vergleichbare Einbindung des molossischen Königtums in die Kontrolle der zugehörigen Teilstämme.[9] Die chaonische *prostateía* ist daher nicht unbedingt als eine rezente Erscheinungsform zu betrachten, die sich erst als Folge einer politischen Emanzipation der Teilstämme aus einer früheren umfassenden monarchischen Herrschaftsorganisation heraus entwickelt hat.[10] Es ist vielmehr ebenso denkbar, dass sowohl die chaonische *prostateía* wie auch die spezifische Form des molossischen Königtums unterschiedlich ausgeformte Resultate einer gleichen Entwicklung waren. An deren Anfängen stand dann aber eben nicht ein alle Teilstämme übergreifendes Königtum, sondern eine akephale Stammesgesellschaft, die durchaus über ein gemeinsames Identitätsbewusstsein verfügte, deren Teileinheiten jedoch zugleich ein hohes Maß an Eigenständigkeit für sich beanspruchten und die *in politicis* erst sukzessive – wohl nicht zuletzt in Reaktion auf einen zunehmenden Druck von außen – auch institutionell enger zusammenfanden. Auch wenn sich diese Neuformierungen im Detail kaum noch nachvollziehen lassen, kann ein solches Deutungsmuster durchaus eine große

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[6] Larsen 1968, 79.

[7] Vgl. hierzu ausführlich (mit den entsprechenden Quellenbelegen und weiterer Literatur) Funke 1997, 145-163.

[8] Den Angaben bei Thuk. 2.80.5 ist nicht zu entnehmen, ob auch die ebenfalls „königlosen“ Thesproter unter der Führung von *prostátai* standen. Der Hinweis, dass die Thesproter „zusammen mit den Chaonen auszogen“ (*synestrateúonto*) (Thuk. 2.80.5), könnte darauf hindeuten, dass sich die Thesproter während des damaligen Feldzuges dem Kommando der Chaonen unterstellt hatten; vgl. Hammond 1967, 501.

[9] Bezeichnend ist der bei Plut. *Pyrrhos* 5.5 überlieferte, mit ähnlichen spartanischen Regeln zu vergleichende Eideswechsel zwischen der molossischen Volksversammlung und den molossischen Königen. Zum Charakter und zur historischen Entwicklung des molossischen Königtums vgl. Larsen 1968, 273-281; Giovannini 1971, 67-70; 94-99; Cabanes 1976, 155-195; Beck 1997, 135-145; S. Funke 2000.

[10] Aus der Notiz bei Thuk. 2.80.5, dass die beiden chaonischen *prostátai* „*ek tou archikoû génous*“ stammten, lässt sich nicht zwingend ableiten, dass es sich hierbei um Mitglieder eines „royal clan“ (Hammond 1967, 501), eines „*genos* royal“ (Cabanes 1976, 337) gehandelt hat.

Plausibilität für sich beanspruchen, zumal es die Dynamik besser verständlich macht, die offenbar schon in klassischer Zeit in Gang gesetzt wurde und die dann schließlich auch das politische Zusammengehen in einem epirotischen Bundesstaat – zunächst noch unter einer molossischen Dominanz – ermöglichte.[11]

Diese strukturellen Veränderungen waren aber – wie bereits eingangs vermerkt – keineswegs bloß auf Epirus begrenzt, sondern vollzogen sich zeitgleich in fast allen Regionen außerhalb der klassischen griechischen Poliswelt. Es ging um die Entwicklung neuer Wege des zwischenstaatlichen Miteinanders und die Erprobung neuer stammes- und polisübergreifender Regierungsformen. John K. Davies hat dies treffend mit den Worten beschrieben: „It was they – whether Epirus or neighbouring Aetolia and Macedon, or the Anatolian hinterland to the east – which were the crucible of Greek political creativity in the fourth and third centuries BC, rather than the established and stable poleis, which found it so difficult to merge their sovereignties in any way which was at once militarily effective and politically acceptable.“[12] Vor allem Mittel- und Nordwestgriechenland, aber auch Teile der Peloponnes waren zu einem Experimentierfeld für die Gestaltung ganz unterschiedlicher föderalstaatlicher Gebilde geworden, deren Wirkkraft sich schließlich in der gesamten übrigen griechischen Staatenwelt entfalten konnte, bis die römische Eroberung dieser zukunftsträchtigen Entwicklung ein vorzeitiges Ende bereitete.

Die historischen Vorgänge sind vielfach beschrieben worden und bedürfen daher hier keiner abermaligen detaillierten Behandlung.[13] Was als Ergebnis zu konstatieren bleibt, dass ist die Entstehung einer Vielzahl von Bundesstaaten, deren institutionelle Organisationsstrukturen jeweils sehr unterschiedlich ausgestaltet und häufig auch Wechseln und Veränderungen unterworfen waren. Im Kern aber ging es stets um die gleiche Problematik: Vorwiegend wohl machtpolitische, manchmal vielleicht aber auch ökonomische Faktoren erzwangen ein stärkeres Zusammengehen einzelner Staaten, und zwar vor allem auch, um den je eigenen Handlungsspielraum zu wahren oder sogar noch zu erweitern. Daher galt es, einen institutionellen Rahmen zu finden, der eine gemeinsame politische Entscheidungsfindung ermöglichte, bei der die je eigenen Interessen zwar angemessen berücksichtigt, zugleich aber auch mit denen der anderen Staaten in Einklang gebracht werden konnten. Derartige gemeinsame Institutionen waren vor allem den griechischen Stammesstaaten keineswegs gänzlich fremd, konnten hier doch die frühen amphiktyonischen Zusammenschlüsse als Vorbild dienen.[14] Vor allem aber dürfte das Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl innerhalb der einzelnen Stammesverbände den notwendigen Interessensausgleich zwischen den oft sehr eigenständigen Teilstämmen erleichtert haben – zumindest so lange, wie auf einen wie auch immer begründeten ethnischen Zusammenhalt als gemeinsame Klammer für einen bundesstaatlichen Zusammenschluss zurückgegriffen werden konnte.[15]

Jedenfalls kam es in den Stammesstaaten allenthalben zu einer stärkeren Politisierung, die deren Binnengefüge entscheidend veränderte. Bei aller Divergenz im

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[11] Zur historischen Entwicklung vgl. die in den Anm. 3 und 9 genannte Literatur.

[12] Davies 2000, 258.

[13] Vgl. (mit weiterführender Literatur) Larsen 1968; Giovannini 1971; Beck 1997; Siewert 2005; Doukellis 2005; Funke 2007a; Funke 2007b.

[14] Grundlegend zu den griechischen Amphiktyonien immer noch Busolt und Swoboda 1926, 1280-1310; vgl. auch Tausend 1992, 19-63; Siewert 2005, 19-24 und Giovannini 2007, 357-359; 369-373 mit der neueren Literatur; speziell zur pyläisch-delphischen Amphiktyonie s. Lefèvre 1998; Sánchez 2001.

Einzelnen war diesen Veränderungen aber eine Tendenz zur Auflösung der überkommenen Stammesstrukturen und zur Ausbildung neuer politischer Entscheidungsebenen und Kraftzentren gemeinsam. Eine solche Entwicklung dürfte für viele griechische Stammesstaaten zu postulieren sein, auch wenn sie sich nur für einige von ihnen – und dann auch nur in Umrissen – in den Quellen nachweisen lässt und ansonsten erst vom Ergebnis her zu erschließen ist. Grundlegend für den Wandel waren die veränderten Formen der politischen Interaktion. Bestimmend war nicht mehr das Zusammenspiel zwischen den einzelnen Teilstämmen und ihren Untergliederungen, sondern die Ausrichtung auf eine auf der Bundesebene erstarkte Zentralgewalt, zu der die Untereinheiten des Stammesverbandes als Gliedstaaten mit einer ebenfalls gestärkten eigenständigen politischen Kompetenz das Gegengewicht bildeten. Dabei wurde die grundsätzliche Gleichrangigkeit der unterschiedlich großen Gliedstaaten durch die Anwendung von Proportionalitäts- und Rotationsregeln bei der Besetzung der Bundesinstitutionen austariert, um eine angemessene Vertretung der Interessen aller Gliedstaaten zu gewährleisten. In der Regel ergab sich daraus eine strikt zweigliederige Aufteilung in eine Bundes- und eine Gliedstaatenebene, durch die alle komplexeren Stammesstrukturen zumindest *in politicis* letztlich obsolet geworden waren. Unter politisch-funktionalem Aspekt lassen sich die Gliedstaaten in ihrer Organisationsform – und zwar ganz unabhängig von ihrer Siedlungsweise und ihrem urbanistischen Zuschnitt – daher durchaus als Poleis begreifen, die sich von den „normalen" Poleis nur durch ihre Einbindung in eine bundesstaatliche Sympolitie unterschieden.[16]

Von dieser hier nur sehr knapp skizzierten Entwicklung, die für die peloponnesischen und die meisten mittelgriechischen Bundesstaaten charakteristisch gewesen ist, finden sich in Epirus signifikante Abweichungen. Auch dort vollzog sich – nicht zuletzt ausgelöst durch eine forcierte Ausweitung des molossischen Einflussbereiches – ein grundlegender Wandel hin zur Entstehung eines föderalstaatlich geprägten, stammesübergreifenden Staatswesens, das schließlich sogar den ursprünglich rein geographisch aufgefassten Namen „Epirus" zur Kennzeichnung der eigenen politischen Identität verwandte.[17] Allerdings kam es nicht wie in den meisten anderen griechischen Bundesstaaten zur Ausbildung einer rein bipolaren Aufteilung in die zwei Ebenen Zentralgewalt und

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[15] Darüber hinaus sicherten dann auch spezifische Formen eines Bundesbürgerrechts den rechtlichen Zusammenhalt innerhalb eines Bundesstaates; zum griechischen Bundesbürgerrecht vgl. zusammenfassend (mit der weiteren Literatur) Beck 1997, 174-179; Funke 2007b, 195-197. Ob und wie dieses so genannte „doppelte Bürgerrecht", das den Erwerb des Bundesbürgerrechts immer mit dem Erwerb des Bürgerrechts eines Gliedstaates verknüpfte, in Anbetracht der vielschichtigen Stammesstrukturen in Epirus (s.u.) in Anwendung kam, ist aufgrund der dürftigen Quellenlage nicht abschließend zu klären.

[16] Vgl. hierzu Funke 1997, bes. 163-168 und die dort (173-176) beigefügte Diskussion mit M.H. Hansen über die Anwendbarkeit der so genannten *lex Hafniensis de civitate*; dazu zuletzt Hansen 2007, 13-72. – In manchen Bundesstaaten wurden auf einer mittleren Ebene zwischen der Bundesgewalt und den einzelnen Gliedstaaten Bezirke eingerichtet, die offenbar dazu dienten, größeren, in den Bund aufgenommenen Stammesverbänden ein gewisses Maß ein eigener Identität zu belassen. Unbeschadet solcher Regelungen wurden aber die Teileinheiten auch dieser Stammesverbände als eigenständige Gliedstaaten in den Bundesstaat integriert, so dass ihre grundsätzliche Stellung als Poleis nicht in Frage gestellt war; anders Giovannini 1971; Giovannini 2007, bes. 365-368; vgl. dazu aber Funke 1997, 158-159 mit Anm. 53 und 54; s. auch Corsten 1999, 133-159, dessen Deutung der aitolischen Bezirke als gleich große, „ohne Rücksicht auf ethnische Zugehörigkeit" (158) aufgeteilte Verwaltungsbezirke allerdings sehr problematisch bleibt.

[17] Zu den historischen Vorgängen vgl. die in den Anm. 3 und 9 genannte Literatur (mit weiteren bibliographischen Hinweisen).

Gliedstaaten; vielmehr erwies sich in Epirus das Beharrungsvermögen der vielschichtigen Stammesstrukturen als so stark, dass sie auch unter den neuen föderalstaatlichen Rahmenbedingungen ein konstitutives Element blieben. Die staatliche Entwicklung im spätklassischen und hellenistischen Epirus ist daher in der Forschung immer wieder als „Sonderfall“[18] bezeichnet worden, den J.A.O. Larsen als einen „curious state, which combined monarchy, federalism, and tribal organization“[19] bezeichnet hat. Es wäre allerdings angebrachter, statt von einem Sonderfall von einer Variante bundesstaatlicher Organisation zu sprechen, da sich angesichts des experimentellen Charakters, der auch den übrigen Bundesstaaten zueigen war, kaum ein wirklicher Regelfall konstruieren lässt.

Pierre Cabanes hat in zahlreichen, vor allem auf die inschriftliche Überlieferung gestützten Untersuchungen die überaus vielschichtigen und wenigstens drei bis vier Ebenen tief gestaffelten Strukturen der epirotischen Stammesverbände analysiert, die er mit einer „pyramide de groupes ethniques, du plus petit jusqu’au plus large“[20] verglichen hat. Er hat zeigen können, dass die Stammesgliederungen weitaus kleinteiliger und differenzierter waren als diejenigen der meisten anderen griechischen Stammesstaaten und dass auch noch dem untersten „troisième niveau de communautés“[21] politische Funktionen zugekommen waren. Es gab „une vie politique et administrative active au niveau local. La documentation connue actuellement ne permet pas de connaître plus de deux niveaux de magistrats, mais le grand nombre d’ethniques connus laisse penser qu’en réalité chaque communauté, de la plus petite à plus large, a organisé sa vie locale“[22]. Pierre Cabanes hat darüber hinaus anhand der epigraphischen Zeugnisse nachgewiesen, dass diese „structures caractérisées par la multiplicité des ethniques superposés“ erstaunlicherweise auch noch in hellenistischer Zeit überdauert hatten: „c’est dire l’etonnante pyramide de groupes ethniques qui se maintient peu avant la conquête romaine comme cadre de la vie socio-politique des Épirotes.“[23]

Der politische Handlungsrahmen innerhalb des epirotischen Bundes war daher überaus komplex und seine Vielschichtigkeit dürfte langwierige und umständliche Entscheidungsprozesse zur Folge gehabt haben. Wie diese Entscheidungsprozesse – vor allem auf den unteren lokalen Ebenen – im Detail abgelaufen sind, entzieht sich allerdings unserer Kenntnis.[24] Es ist in sehr vielen Fällen nicht einmal möglich, die in großer Zahl überlieferten Ethnika[25] zu lokalisieren oder auch nur einer der Ebenen der epirotischen Stammesstrukturen zuzuordnen. Selbst die politischen Abhängigkeiten zwischen den drei großen epirotischen Stammesverbänden der Thesproter, Chaonen

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[18] Giovannini 1971, 67; Beck 1997, 135.
[19] Larsen 1968, 273.
[20] Cabanes 1985, 344; eine Gesamtübersicht der einschlägigen Arbeiten Cabanes’ bietet die Bibliographie bei Berranger-Auserve 2007; vgl. bes. Cabanes 1976, 357-383.
[21] Cabanes 1983, 100.
[22] Cabanes 1985, 349.
[23] Cabanes 1985, 344-345.
[24] Cabanes 1997, 104: „C’est le rôle des communautés locales qui reste le plus difficile à préciser, faute de documents écrits au niveau des villages ou des petits ethnè.“ Cabanes 1985, 349 hat in diesem Zusammenhang einen Vergleich mit der politischen Stellung der attischen Demen gezogen; allerdings kann dies nur eine Vermutung bleiben.
[25] Eine Übersicht bietet Cabanes 1976, 134-141; vgl. auch Funke, Moustakis und Hochschulz 2004.

und Molosser lassen sich nicht immer klar bestimmen. Die abgestufte Verwendung der Ethnika zur Kennzeichnung der persönlichen Herkunft[26] lässt jedoch keinen Zweifel daran, dass auch nach dem politischen Zusammenschluss auf epirotischer Ebene alle drei Gruppierungen ihre eigene Stammesidentität ebenso bewahren konnten, wie die ihnen zugehörigen Teil- und Unterstämme auch ihrer jeweiligen Identität nicht verlustig gingen. Hieraus resultierte ein sehr kompliziertes Beziehungsgeflecht innerhalb der epirotischen Bundesorganisation, das die Ausgestaltung des Verhältnisses zwischen der Zentralgewalt und den Mitgliedern des Bundes wohl noch entschieden diffiziler als in anderen Bundesstaaten hatte werden lassen. Das Festhalten der einzelnen Bundesmitglieder an ihren überkommenen Stammesstrukturen erlaubt jedenfalls Rückschlüsse auf gewisse Vorbehalte gegenüber allzu starken Zentralisierung- und Konzentrationsbestrebungen.

Dies gilt es im Blick zu behalten, wenn man die eingangs gestellte Frage nach möglichen Zentrenbildungen auf der Bundes- wie auch der Gliedstaatenebene zu beantworten sucht. Die Begründung von Bundesstaaten war immer unabdingbar mit der Frage nach einem künftigen Zentrum verbunden. Damit war das stets prekäre Verhältnisse zwischen dem Bund und seinen Gliedstaaten unmittelbar berührt; musste doch vermieden werden, dass einem einzelnen Bundesmitglied mit der Übernahme der Hauptstadtfunktion eine Vormachtstellung zufiel. Bei der Gründung des Arkadischen Bundes im Jahre 371 v. Chr. war man dem Problem dadurch begegnet, dass man mit Megalopolis eine ganz neue Bundeshauptstadt aus dem Boden stampfte.[27] Ein solcher Schritt blieb allerdings eine einmalige Ausnahme. In der Regel wurden Plätze ausgewählt, die von den Teilhabern am Bund auch schon vorher als Orte gemeinsamer Begegnung genutzt worden waren – vor allem etwa zur Feier von Kulten oder zum Abhalten von Märkten. Man suchte damit an vorhandene Traditionen anzuknüpfen und übertrug die Vorortfunktionen – wie schon in archaischer Zeit bei der Konstituierung von Amphiktyonien – auf alte Kultstätten, deren gemeinschaftsstiftende Funktion etwa als zentrale Heiligtümer von Stammesverbänden sich bereits bewährt hatte[28] und die dem Zugriff eines einzelnen Bundesmitglieds weitgehend entzogen waren. Es waren diese Orte, deren herausragende kultische Bedeutung von allen akzeptiert wurde und denen damit zugleich auch eine gewisse „neutrale" Stellung im zwischenstaatlichen Miteinander zukam. Daher diente beispielsweise den Aitolern das Apollonheiligtum in Thermos, den Achaiern das Heiligtum des Zeus Hamarios bei Aigion und den Akarnanen der Apollontempel bei Aktion als kultisches und zugleich auch politisches Zentrum ihres Bundes.[29]

Auch in Epirus war man in vergleichbarer Weise verfahren. So war wohl schon von altersher das Zeusheiligtum in Passaron das gemeinsame Stammesheiligtum der Molosser, das sie auch dann noch entsprechend nutzten, als sie schon lange die Kontrolle auch über das Zeusheiligtum in Dodona – wohl von den Thesprotern – übernommen hatten.[30] Das Heiligtum in Dodona aber bot aufgrund seines herausragenden überregionalen Ansehens geradezu ideale Voraussetzungen, um zu einem Identifikationsort für den neuen, ganz Epirus umfassenden symmachialen Bund zu werden, der sich unter molossischer Führung

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[26] Vgl. hierzu Funke, Moustakis und Hochschulz 2004.
[27] Vgl. Moggi 1976, 293-325 (= Nr. 45); Nielsen 2002, 414-455.
[28] Vgl. dazu die entsprechenden Darlegungen bei Morgan 2003.
[29] Vgl. u.a. zu Thermos: Polyb. 5.8.5-6; 28.4.1; Strab. 10.3.2; zu Aigion: Polyb. 4.7.1; Liv. 35.48.1; Strab. 8.7.3-5; zu Aktion: *IG* IX 12 2, 583.
[30] Zu Passaron vgl. Moustakis 2006, 164-169.

im Verlaufe des 4. Jh. v. Chr. herausbildete. Während also Passaron allem Anschein nach der zentrale Bezugspunkt für den molossischen Stammesverband blieb, setzten die molossischen Könige Alles daran, Dodona zum Zentrum des neuen epirotischen Bundes auszubauen.[31] Für die Thesproter bildete – spätestens nach dem Verlust der Kontrolle über Dodona – das wahrscheinlich im Mündungsgebiet des Acheron nahe des antiken Ephyra zu lokalisierende Nekyomanteion eine zentrale Kultstätte ihres Stammesverbandes.[32]

Nikola Moustakis hat in diesem Zusammenhang auf die um die Mitte des 4. Jh.s v. Chr. von der nahe gelegenen Stadt Elea geprägten Münzen hingewiesen, die mit der Darstellung des Brustbildes der Persephone und des dreiköpfigen Kerberos einen eindeutigen Bezug zum Nekyomanteion herstellte, der dann auch wenig später in der Münzprägung der Thesproter unter Verwendung der gleichen Motive übernommen wurde.[33] Nikola Moustakis hat hieraus den bedenkenswerten Schluss gezogen, dass diese Bezugnahme der Thesproter auf das Nekyomanteion darin begründet gewesen sein könnte, „dass sie am Ende des 5. / zu Beginn des 4. Jh. das Heiligtum von Dodona an die Molosser verloren und somit mit dem Totenorakel quasi einen Ersatz dafür zu schaffen suchten."[34] Sicher beweisen lässt sich diese Annahme zwar nicht, aber vor dem Hintergrund der vorangestellten Überlegungen erscheint sie doch in einem hohen Maß plausibel und überzeugend.[35] Allerdings sind keine Aussagen darüber möglich, ob diesem Heiligtum auf der Ebene des thesprotischen Stammesverbandes auch zentrale politische Funktionen zugefallen waren. Solche Funktionen zieht Nikola Moustakis „zumindest in eingeschränktem Maße … für kurze Zeit im 4. Jh." in Erwägung und vermutet, dass diese dann später den seit dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. allenthalben in Epirus im Entstehen begriffenen urbanen Zentren zugefallen seien.[36] Es ist allerdings nur schwer zu entscheiden, inwieweit eine solche Lösung trägt, da es zu bedenken gilt, dass – wie oben dargelegt – die überkommenen epirotischen Stammesstrukturen auch in hellenistischer Zeit überdauert hatten. Es bleibt also zu fragen, welches politische Eigengewicht diese neuen städtischen Siedlungen in Thesprotien zu entwickeln imstande waren.

Damit kommt ein Phänomen ins Spiel, das bei den bisherigen Überlegungen noch außer Betracht gelassen wurde. Gemeint ist die Entstehung urbaner, in der Regel befestigter Siedlungsplätze in fast allen Teilen von Epirus. Die ältere Forschung ging vielfach noch davon aus, dass dieser Verstädterungsprozess erst in das 3. und 2. Jh. v. Chr. zu datieren sei, und stützte sich dabei vor allem auf die Angaben bei Ps.-Skylax (30-32), denen zufolge die Menschen in Epirus und auch in vielen anderen Bereichen Nordwestgriechenlands im 4. Jh. v. Chr. noch durchgehend in dörflichen Siedlungen (*katá kômas*) gelebt hätten.[37] Die archäologischen Forschungen der letzten Jahrzehnte haben aber zweifelsfrei gezeigt, dass die Urbanisierungsentwicklung weitaus früher – wohl schon im ausgehenden 5. und verstärkt dann im 4. Jh. v. Chr. – einsetzte, so dass im 3. Jh. v. Chr. Epirus bereits von einem Netz städtischer Siedlungszentren ganz

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[31] Vgl. dazu ausführlich Moustakis 2006 und Dieterle 2007.
[32] Zur Lokalisierung des Nekyomanteions vgl. Moustakis 2006,158-160; anders zuletzt dagegen Dakaris 1993.
[33] Franke 1961, 40-51
[34] Moustakis 2006, 161.
[35] Zur Frage eines vergleichbaren kultischen Zentrum bei den Chaonen vgl. Moustakis 2006, 170-171.
[36] Moustakis 2006, 162.
[37] Vgl. zu dieser Datierungsdebatte Funke 1987; Funke 1991.

unterschiedlicher Größe überzogen war.[38] Wie dicht dieses Netz gewesen war, wird auch daran deutlich, dass Aemilius Paulus 168 v. Chr. im Rahmen einer Strafaktion gegen Epirus 70 Städte zerstören und 150.000 Einwohner versklaven ließ.[39]

Die Urbanisierung in Epirus war Teil einer zeitgleichen, geographisch entschieden weiter ausgreifenden Veränderung des Siedlungsbildes, die sich auch in allen Nachbarregionen und darüber hinaus in anderen Randzonen der klassischen Poliswelt beobachten lässt. Dabei kam es vielfach, allerdings nicht durchgängig zu einer auffälligen zeitlichen Koinzidenz zwischen einer Veränderung der Siedlungsstrukturen und einem politisch-institutionellen Wandel. So verlief in Aitolien wie auch in vielen anderen ehemaligen Stammesstaaten die Entstehung städtisch geprägter Siedlungen zeitlich parallel zur Ausbildung einer föderalstaatlichen Binnenstruktur, die wiederum – wie oben dargelegt – mit der Auflösung der komplexen Gliederung des Stammesverbandes zugunsten einer klaren Zweiteilung in Zentralgewalt und Gliedstaaten einher ging. Ursachen und Folgewirkungen sind hier allerdings kaum zu unterscheiden. Es deutet sogar vieles darauf hin, dass es sich bei dem in vielen Fällen beobachteten Erstarren der einzelnen Untereinheiten innerhalb der Stammesverbände – bei gleichzeitiger Ausbildung einer neuen Zentralgewalt – um eine Entwicklung handelte, die einen primär politischen Vorgang darstellte, der mit dem Urbanisierungsprozess zwar in einen zeitlichen aber nicht auch in einem kausalen Zusammenhang stand. Das soll nicht heißen, dass es nicht gewisse Wechselwirkungen gegeben hat; aber es bestand eben kein zwingender Zusammenhang. Für eine solche Annahme spricht der Umstand, dass etwa im Aitolischen, Akarnanischen und auch Achaiischen Bund Gliedstaaten von ausgeprägt städtischem Zuschnitt oder mit zumindest größeren urbanen Zentren und auch weiterhin nicht urbanisierte Gliedstaaten einer Ebene politisch gleichberechtigt nebeneinander existierten, ohne dass es weiterer stammesstaatlicher Binnenstrukturen bedurfte.[40] Ebenso zeigt auch die Entwicklung in Epirus, dass urbane und politische Wandlungsprozesse nur sehr bedingt in einem Zusammenhang standen, da den Veränderungen in der Siedlungsweise ganz offensichtlich keine grundlegenden Veränderungen der vielschichtigen – oben bereits näher charakterisierten – Stammesgliederungen entsprachen. Schon N.G.L. Hammond hat daher zu Recht festgestellt: „The development of urban centres and urban amenities did not weaken the tribal system in Epirus.“[41]

Was folgt nun aber aus den vorangegangenen Überlegungen für die Frage nach der Existenz von Zentralorten in den einzelnen Stammesregionen der Thesproter, Chaonen und Molosser bzw. auf der Ebene des Epirotischen Bundes? Es hat in der Forschung nicht an Versuchen gefehlt, die große Vielzahl der archäologisch nachgewiesenen

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[38] Neben und unabhängig von diesen neuen Siedlungszentren existierten aber auch zahllose ländliche Streusiedlungen; vgl. dazu etwa Svana 2004; im übrigen s. zu den archäologischen Befunden u.a. Dakaris 1972; Dakaris 1987; Ceka 1990; Corvisier 1991; Riginos 2004; s. darüber hinaus die entsprechenden Beiträge zu den archäologischen Forschungen in Cabanes 1987; Cabanes 1993; Cabanes 1999; Cabanes und Lamboley 2004. Zu den Größendimensionen vgl. auch Hammond 1967, 657-671, dessen Datierungen allerdings tendenziell noch zu niedrig ausfallen.

[39] Strab. [Polyb.] 7.7.3; Liv. 45.34.1-6; Plut. *Aemilius Paulus* 29.1-5.

[40] Dieses Nebeneinander kommt in dem Beschluss des Akarnanischen Bundes zur Übernahme des Apollonheiligtums bei Aktion in der Formel *póleis kai éthne* (IG IX 12 2, 583, Z. 40) zur Bezeichnung der Gesamtheit der Gliedstaaten zum Ausdruck; vgl. Habicht 1957.

[41] Hammond 1967, 672.

urbanen Sieldungsagglomerationen mit den komplexen epirotischen Stammesstrukturen in Übereinstimmung zu bringen und in einer hierarchisch abgestuften Ordnung zu positionieren. So hat Yann Pepin für Thesprotien ein Beziehungssystem zwischen den als „capitale du koinon des Thesprôtes" bezeichneten Gitana und mehreren, jeweils „capitale microrégionale" genannten Orten zu rekonstruieren versucht.[42] Ein solches zweistufiges System simplifiziert allerdings die vielschichtige Staffelung der Stammesstrukturen und suggeriert eine Zentralität, die sich in dieser Form im Quellenmaterial nicht nachweisen lässt. Es bleibt bei diesem Modell unberücksichtigt, dass angesichts der großen Zahl davon auszugehen ist, dass es auf allen Ebenen des Stammesverbandes bis hin zur kleinsten lokalen Einheit – wenn auch nicht überall – zur Entstehung urbaner Zentren gekommen war. Diese lassen sich aber noch weitaus schwerer als die zahlreich überlieferten Ethnika mit den Stammesstrukturen zur Deckung bringen, deren Verästelungen ebenfalls noch gar nicht in allen Einzelheiten geklärt sind. Die Größe der einzelnen Plätze und deren räumliche Distanz zueinander sind allein genommen keine hinreichenden Anhaltspunkte, um zu einer überzeugenden Systematik zu gelangen und der Gefahr von vorschnellen Zirkelschlüssen zu entgehen.

Stellt also der Versuch, die urbanen Siedlungsplätze in Thesprotien wie auch im übrigen Epirus in ein klares Ordnungsschema zu bringen ein (derzeit noch) kaum lösbares Problem dar, so bleibt dennoch die Frage, ob infolge des Urbanisierungsprozesses nicht wenigstens auf der Ebene des Gesamtverbandes der Thesproter – und ebenso der Chaonen und Molosser – einem der städtischen Zentren eine Hauptstadtfunktion zugefallen war. Für Thesprotien hat man diese Rolle immer wieder dem beim heutigen Goumani lokalisierten antiken Gitana[43] zugeschrieben, das seit seiner Gründung im 4. Jh. v. Chr. – möglicherweise in der Nachfolge Eleas – als Vorort und politisches Zentrum der Thesproter fungiert habe.[44] Für diese These werden vor allem drei Gründe ins Feld geführt, auf die im folgenden näher eingegangen werden soll. Dabei wird sich zeigen, dass auch in dieser Frage eine eindeutige Antwort nicht zu finden ist. Die Quellen erweisen sich erneut als sperrig und wenig aussagekräftig; und ein vergleichender Blick auf die Verhältnisse in den Nachbarregionen legt eine zurückhaltende Bewertung nahe.

1. Die in der Tat bemerkenswerte Größe der Stadt,[45] die häufig als Argument für die Rolle Gitanas als Vorort der Thesproter genannt wird, spricht eigentlich eher gegen eine solche Position. Gerade das Festhalten der epirotischen Stämme an ihren alten Stammesstrukturen dürfte mit einer nicht geringen Skepsis gegenüber allen Tendenzen verbunden gewesen sein, die auf das Übergewicht eines einzelnen Mitglieds innerhalb des jeweiligen Verbandes hinauszulaufen drohten. Das stets prekäre Verhältnis zwischen dem größeren Ganzen eines Verbandes und den einzelnen Mitgliedern gründete auf Gleichgewicht und Balance. Selbst bei den Aitolern und Akarnanen ist es den großen Städten nie gelungen, eine generelle Vorrangstellung zu erreichen. Das Heiligtum in Thermos blieb Zentrum des Aitolischen Bundes, auch wenn sich die politische Führungsschicht weitgehend aus den großen Poleis wie Trichonion, Kallion, Pleuron, Kalydon und Naupaktos rekrutierten; und in Arkananien bildeten schließlich Leukas und

[42] Pepin 1999, 358.
[43] Zur Lokalisierung vgl. Funke, Moustakis und Hochschulz 2004, 345.
[44] Vgl. hierzu Dakaris 1972, 35-36; 120-122; Preka-Alexandri 1999, 167; Riginos 2004, 66.
[45] Vgl. dazu Hammond 1967, 657-671.

das nahegelegene Heiligtum bei Aktion das Zentrum des Bundes, obgleich oder auch gerade weil etwa Thyrreion immer wieder eine politische Vorreiterrolle spielte.[46] Die Größe Gitanas allein kann also nicht als ausreichendes Argument für eine mögliche Funktion als Vorort der Thesproter betrachtet werden.

2. Als weiteres Argument ist auf eine aus der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jh.s v. Chr. stammende Freilassungsurkunde aus Gitana[47] hingewiesen worden, die nach einem *prostátes* der Thesproter datiert ist. Da aber davon auszugehen ist, dass die Eponymität dieses *prostátes* nicht allein für das Gebiet eines thesprotischen Vorortes sondern für das gesamte Stammesgebiet Geltung hatte, kann auch dieses Argument nicht verfangen.[48]

3. Als gewichtigster Grund für eine Vorrangstellung Gitanas bei den Thespotern dient aber der Bericht des Livius über die Verhandlungen einer römischen Gesandtschaft 172 v. Chr. in dieser Stadt. Livius erwähnt in diesem Zusammenhang, dass damals in Gitana eine Bundesversammlung des Epirotischen Bundes (*concilio Epirotarum habitato*) abgehalten worden sei.[49] Aus dieser Notiz des Livius ist sogar gefolgert worden, dass „Gitani was the political centre of the Thesprotian League from 335 B.C. to the second century, and that of the Epirote League at least from the 2nd century B.C.“[50] Da aber über die Versammlungsorte des thesprotischen Stammesverbandes nichts und des Epirotischen Bundes äußerst wenig bekannt ist, bleibt eine solche Einschätzung der politischen Stellung Gitanas doch sehr hypothetisch. Weiterführend kann hier ein vergleichender Blick auf die entschieden besser dokumentierten Regelungen für die Zusammenkünfte der Bundesversammlungen des Aitolischen und des Achaiischen Koinon sein. Bei den Aitolern fanden die reguläre Herbstversammlungen des Bundes (*Thermiká*) stets in Thermos, beim zentralen Bundesheiligtum, statt, während der Ort der Frühjahrsversammlungen (*Panaitoliká*) zwischen den bedeutenderen aitolischen Städten rotierend wechselte. Eine solche Rotationsregel hatte sich dann auch im Achaiischen Bund durchgesetzt. In Krisen- und Kriegszeiten konnten außeordenltiche Bundesverssmamlungen ebenfalls an wechselnden Orten stattfinden.[51]

N.G.L. Hammond setzt vergleichbare Regelungen auch für den Epirotischen Bund voraus und vermutet daher, dass die epirotische Bundesversammlung „met by rotation at Dodona (or occasionally Passaron), Phoenice, and Gitana.“[52] Eine solche Annahme ist grundsätzlich kaum zu widerlegen, da ohnehin insgesamt nur drei epirotische

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[46] Leukas als Hauptstadt des Akarnanischen Bundes: Liv. 33.17.1; zur politischen Stellung Thyrreions im Akarnanischen Bund vgl. die entsprechenden Ausführungen bei Funke, Gehrke und Kolonas 1993.

[47] *SEG* XXVI 717.

[48] Auch der vor einigen Jahren in Gitana bei archäologischen Grabungen zutage geförderte Siegelfund (s. Preka-Alexandri 1996; vgl. auch *SEG* XLVI 678), der auf ein umfangreiches Archiv schließen lässt, ist ebenfalls als ein Indiz für die Rolle dieser Stadt als Hauptstadt der Thesproter gewertet worden. Hier kann aber schon ein Hinweis auf den durchaus vergleichbaren Siegelfund aus dem aitolischen Kallion (vgl. Pantos 1985) genügen, um zu zeigen, dass sich dieses Argument nicht als tragfähig erweist. Kallion war zweifellos eine sehr bedeutende Stadt des Aitolischen Bundes, aber bekanntlich weder auf der Ebene eines Teilstammes, noch gar auf der Bundesebene ein zentraler Vorort, sondern nur ein – wenn auch bedeutender – Gliedstaat neben vielen anderen. Zur Bedeutung des Archivs von Kallion vgl. Funke 1997, 171 in Auseinandersetzung mit Pantos 1985.

[49] Liv. 42.38.1: *Marcius et Atilius ad Gitana, Epiri oppidum, decem <milia a> mari cum escenderent, concilio Epirotarum habito cum magno omnium adsensu auditi sunt*.

[50] Preka-Alexandri 1999, 167, die in diesem Zusammenhang zusätzlich noch auf Polyb. 27.16.4-6 verweist.

[51] Die übrigen Bundesorgane tagten in der Regel in Thermos bzw. in Aigion; vgl. Busolt und Swoboda 1926, 1507; 1532-33; Larsen 1968, 214-215; 217.

[52] Hammond 1967, 651.

Bundesversammlungen quellenmäßig belegt sind. Zwei in Phoenike und eine in Gitana.[53] Es ist aber kaum zu entscheiden, ob nicht in den genannten Fällen die Wahl des Versammlungsortes – wie des öfteren auch in anderen Bundesstaaten – durch die jeweilige außenpolitische Situation bedingt war, regulär aber die Bundesversammlungen wie die übrigen Bundesorgane in Dodona zusammentraten. Aber selbst wenn es eine regelmäßige Rotation gegeben haben sollte, kann aus dem Umstand, dass nur Phoinike und Gitana als Versammlungsorte belegt sind, nicht zwingend geschlossen werden, dass neben Dodona/Passaron nicht auch andere Orte in eine solche Rotation mit einbezogen waren; und ebenso wenig lässt sich hieraus zwangsläufig für Gitana eine Hauptstadtfunktion innerhalb Thesprotiens oder gar des gesamten epirotischen Bundes ableiten.

Es bleibt zu konstatieren, dass die Frage nach zentralen Vororten die auch *in politicis* eine institutionell abgesicherte führende Rolle einnahmen, für die epirotischen Stammesgebiete in Anbetracht der mangelhaften Quellenlage nicht eindeutig zu beantworten ist. Die Gefahr von Zirkelschlüssen ist groß; und auch Plausibilitätsargumente, die sich durch den kontrastierenden Vergleich mit den Verhältnissen in den Nachbarregionen gewinnen lassen, können nur eine begrenzte Geltung beanspruchen. Eine volle Kongruenz zwischen der großen Vielfalt der Stammesstrukturen und der kaum weniger großen Vielfalt der urbanen Strukturen ist nicht herzustellen. Vieles spricht dafür, bei der Frage nach der Vorortfunktion doch den zentralen Heiligtümern eine Präferenz einzuräumen. Dabei steht außer Zweifel, dass manches urbane Zentrum auch politisch an Bedeutung zugenommen haben dürfte. Aber gerade deshalb bleibt es eben fraglich, ob diesen Orten dann auch eine Vorortfunktion übertragen und damit ihrem zunehmenden politischen Gewicht auch institutionell Rechnung getragen wurde.

Abstract

In the fourth and third centuries BC a political change took place in nearly all the geographically peripheral zones of the Greek *polis* world. States with tribal structures developed into states with federal structures. The political changes were accompanied by transformations in settlement structures: urban centres developed. These were two concurrent parallel processes, but they were not necessarily related as regards their causes. Particularly in Epirus structural change developed in different directions, depending on whether it was aimed at politics or at urbanism. While a very dense network of urban centres was established, tribal structures persisted even after the Epirotic federation had been founded. By clinging to traditional tribal structures a certain polycentrism was abetted, so that various urban centres did not attain the function of a capital also in politics. The old tribal sanctuaries probably continued to serve as political centres. This assumption is based on a comparison with the Aetolian, Acarnanian or Achaean Confederacies, whose internal political structures had changed even much more than those in Epirus.

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[53] Phoenike: Liv. 29.12.8-15 (205 v. Chr.); Polyb. 16.27.4 (200 v. Chr.); Gitana: Liv. 42.38.1 (172 v. Chr.).

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Αναζητώντας αμαξιτούς οδούς στη Θεσπρωτία

Γ. Α. Πίκουλας

Εισαγωγή

Είναι γνωστή στην επιστημονική κοινότητα η «προϊστορία» μου με τη μελέτη του αρχαίου οδικού δικτύου, και μάλιστα των αμαξιτών, ή αμαξηλάτων οδών, που διέσχιζαν τον ελλαδικό χώρο — και όχι μόνον— καθόλη την αρχαιότητα. Για τη δημιουργία, χρονολόγηση, τεχνογνωσία, καταγραφές κά. συναφή περί της αρχαίας οδοποιίας παραπέμπω, συνακόλουθα, στα κατά καιρούς δημοσιεύματά μου.[1] Η σχέση μου, λοιπόν, με τις αρχαίες οδούς, αλλά κυρίως η πολύχρονη γνωριμία με τον φίλτατο Björn Forsén, αφού θεωρούμεθα αμφότεροι θεράποντες της Αρκαδίας, απετέλεσαν την αιτία, ώστε να ανέβουμε στη Θεσπρωτία, όπου οι φίλοι Jeannette και Björn Forsén πραγματώνουν τα τελευταία χρόνια επιφανειακή έρευνα. Σχεδιάσθηκε, επομένως, ένα ολιγοήμερο περπάτημα στη Θεσπρωτία με αυτοψίες στις καίριες θέσεις της, αρχαιολογικές και γεωγραφικές, και κύριο ζητούμενο την ανίχνευση αρματροχιών. Οφείλω να σημειώσω, όμως, ότι, επειδή το «φαινόμενο» αμαξιτός οδός κυριαρχεί στη νότια Ελλάδα, ενώ, αντιθέτως, υπάρχουν δυσχέρειες στην τεκμηρίωσή του στον βορειοελλαδικό χώρο, διατηρούσαμε, εξ αρχής, ισχυρές επιφυλάξεις για θετικό αποτέλεσμα. Από την άλλη υπήρχαν αισιόδοξες ενδείξεις, όπως η παρουσία ασβεστόλιθου στην περιοχή, αλλά και κάποιες πληροφορίες των γηγενών...

Το αμαξήλατο οδικό δίκτυο έχει τεκμηριωμένη παρουσία, ως πρωταρχικό μέσο χερσαίας μεταφοράς φορτίων, στην Πελοπόννησο, Αττική, υπόλοιπη Στερεά Ελλάδα και Κυκλάδες. Προσφάτως, στον χάρτη προστέθηκε και η Θεσσαλία με αρκετά, όσο και χαρακτηριστικά δείγματα αμαξιτών οδών. Βάσιμες ενδείξεις υπάρχουν και για την Κρήτη, αλλά δεν έχει διεξαχθεί εκεί ανάλογη έρευνα για επιβεβαίωση. Αντιθέτως, ο βορειοελλαδικός χώρος, δηλαδή η Ήπειρος, η Μακεδονία και η Θράκη, δεν έχει να επιδείξει προρρωμαϊκές αμαξιτούς οδούς, παρότι υπάρχουν σημαίνουσες ενδείξεις: Λ.χ., η αρχαία γραμματεία παρέχει φειδωλές, έστω, αναφορές, ενώ έχουν επισημανθεί αρματροχιές σε ορισμένες αποικίες, όπως σε αυτές της Χαλκιδικής, ή στην πόλη της Αμβρακίας, για να έρθουμε στην Ήπειρο.

Έχοντας πραγματώσει, λοιπόν, πολύχρονα ερευνητικά προγράμματα στον βορειοελλαδικό χώρο αποβλέποντας στο συγκεκριμένο ζητούμενο, καταλήγουμε ότι η αδυναμία επισημάνσεως αμαξιτών οδών, οφείλεται πρωτίστως στη φύση του εδάφους: το είδος, δηλαδή, του εδάφους δεν ευνόησε τη διατήρηση καταλοίπων αρχαίων διανοίξεων και οδών (εκβραχισμοί, κοίτες, αναλήμματα, αρματροχιές), αφού κυριαρχούν παντού ο φλύσχης, τα αργιλοχώματα και ο σαθρός ασβεστόλιθος, με συχνές, μάλιστα, όσο και εντονότατες διαβρώσεις του αναγλύφου. Χαράξαμε, συνακόλουθα, στον χάρτη τις διαδρομές κατ' ανάγκη με βάση τα δεδομένα του νεώτερου οδικού δικτύου, πρωτίστως

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[1] Βλ. Πίκουλας 1995, Πίκουλας 1997, Πίκουλας 1998, Πίκουλας 1999, Πίκουλας 2001, Πίκουλας 2002, Πίκουλας 2003α, Πίκουλας 2003β, Πίκουλας 2004, Pikoulas 2007α, Πίκουλας 2007β και Πίκουλας υπό έκδοση.

αυτού της Τουρκοκρατίας (κοίτες, λιθόστρωτα, χάνια, γεφύρια) και με βοηθητικό γνώμονα το οικιστικό πλέγμα και το δίκτυο άμυνας της αρχαιότητας.

Με τα παραπάνω ως υπόβαθρο και «εξοπλισμό» επιχειρήσαμε την άνοδο στη Θεσπρωτία. Η ολιγοήμερη έρευνα[2] είχε ως επίκεντρο ειδικότερα τη χώρα της Ελέας, την κοιλάδα δηλαδή του Κωκυτού,[3] από την Παραμυθιά έως τον Αχέροντα/Μαυροπόταμο· επιπλέον, επεκτάθηκε και σε άλλα μέρη, όπως τα Σουλιοτοχώρια, ή τα πέριξ της Ντόλιανης και των Γιτάνων.[4]

Τα δεδομένα

1. Κάστρο Βέλιανης (σήμερα Χρυσαυγή)

Ο εντυπωσιακός αρχαιολογικός χώρος του Κάστρου της Βέλιανης με τα στιβαρά αρχαία τείχη ταυτίζεται ασφαλώς με την πόλη της Ελέας.[5] Πληροφορίες των γηγενών ανέφεραν κατάλοιπα αρχαίας οδού στην Κάτω Πόρτα, δηλαδή στη δυτική πύλη.[6] Παρότι στη θέση κυριαρχεί καλής ποιότητας ασβεστόλιθος δεν εντοπίσαμε αρματροχιές, ή άλλα κατάλοιπα που να υποδεικνύουν ότι έφθανε εδώ αμαξήλατη οδός. Ο βράχος στην άνοδο μάλλον υποδεικνύει διαμόρφωση για υποζύγια, παρότι το πλάτος της πύλης θα επέτρεπε τη διέλευση οχήματος. Εντός, πάντως, των τειχών είναι εμφανής η αρχαία διάνοιξη, που από την πύλη, ακολουθώντας την παρυφή του κρημνίσματος, ανεβαίνει ομαλά προς το εσωτερικό της πόλης. Η διάνοιξη έχει πλάτος ±3μ. και διατηρούνται τα ισχυρά κράσπεδα στην ανατολική πλευρά της.

Αντιθέτως, δεν παρατηρήσαμε τίποτε εκτός της επιβλητικής ανατολικής πύλης. Ο χώρος, μάλιστα, έχει αλλοιωθεί από τις εργασίες για τον ασφαλτόδρομο και το γήπεδο σταθμεύσεως.

2. Πλάκα Βέλιανης/Χρυσαυγής

Στην ομώνυμη θέση, η οποία βρίσκεται περίπου 2χλμ. από το χωριό καθοδόν για το Κάστρο, σώζεται τμήμα από το νεώτερο καλντερίμι (Εικ. 1) που οδηγούσε σε αυτό. Ο ασφαλτόδρομος το κατέστρεψε στο μεγαλύτερο μέρος του. Στην Πλάκα σώθηκε σε μήκος ±10μ. Έχει πλάτος 2.60–2.70μ., καλοχτισμένα κράσπεδα και είναι αδιαμφισβήτητα τυπική κατασκευή των χρόνων της Τουρκοκρατίας.[7]

3. Κορίλας (ΓΥΣ: Βουνά της Παραμυθιάς)

Κορίλας ονομάζεται η επιμήκης ασβεστολιθική οροσειρά —απότομες κλιτύες, έντονες χαραδρώσεις και με «χτένια» κατά μήκος της κορυφογραμμής— που διαχωρίζει με

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[2] Αυτοψία 9-12.7.2005. Συμμετείχαν οι συνεργάτες Β.Π. Ελευθερίου και Γ.Ι. Τερζής.

[3] Παλαιότερα γνωστός ως Βουβό (το), πρβλ. Leake 1835 I 232, Leake 1835 IV 53 και χάρτη ΓΥΣ, 1:50.000, φύλλο Παραμυθιά, Σεπτ. 1986.

[4] Σημειώνω ότι η σχετική θεώρηση του Δάκαρη 1972 (σσ. 185-187, § 549-554) είναι γραμμένη με τα τότε δεδομένα.

[5] Βλ. Δάκαρης 1972, 37-39 (§ 100-107), 97-99 (§ 284-289). Αντίθετα ο Hammond 1981, 677. Για τη θέση βλ. Hammond 1981, 71-72, plan 7. Πρβλ. Θουκ. Ι 46, 4 και HCT I 179-181.

[6] Επηρεασμένοι πιθανόν από τα του Δάκαρη 1972, 187 (§ 554) και σχέδιο 42, όπου ως αρχαίος δρόμος αποδίδεται το νεώτερο μονοπάτι – καλντερίμι (βλ. παρακάτω, θέση Πλάκα, αρ. 2).

[7] Είναι αυτό που χαρακτηρίζει ως αρχαίο δρόμο ο Δάκαρης 1972, 187 (§ 554).

προσανατολισμό σχεδόν βορρά – νότο[8] την κοιλάδα του Κωκυτού, την αρχαία Ελεάτιδα, από τα Σουλιοτοχώρια. Η μορφολογία της οροσειράς αποκλείει κάθε σκέψη για αμαξήλατη επικοινωνία, διαχρονικώς. Η μεγάλη ακμή των χωριών του Σουλίου, ιδίως κατά τον 18ο με αρχές του 19ου αιώνα, είχε ως αποτέλεσμα να διασχίζει τον Κορίλα ένα πυκνό δίκτυο μονοπατιών, εξ ου και τα διάφορα κατά τόπους οχυρά ελέγχου τους.[9] Το κυριότερο πέρασμα ήταν αυτό στον αυχένα Σταυρός, από την Κορίστιανη/Φροσύνη στην Παραμυθιά, σε πλήρη χρήση μέχρι και το 1965.[10] Την κύρια επικοινωνία των Σουλιωτών με τον «έξω κόσμο» εξασφάλιζε η περιώνυμη Σκάλα της Τζαβέλαινας, ένα πραγματικό μνημείο της νεώτερης οδοποιίας, από τη Σαμονίβα και την αριστερή/νότια κρημνώδη πλευρά του Αχέροντα με έξοδο στη Γλυκή.[11]

Εικ. 1. Το καλντερίμι στην Πλάκα Βέλιανης.

4. Κοιλάδα του Κωκυτού/Βωβού

Οι ενδείξεις υποδεικνύουν ότι μία οδός των ρωμαϊκών χρόνων πρέπει να διέσχιζε κατά μήκος της την κοιλάδα του Κωκυτού, όταν το ενδιαφέρον είχε εστιασθεί πλέον στα πεδινά. Αδρομερώς η διαδρομή της χαράσσεται από τον ερειπιώνα της ρωμαϊκής αποικίας της Φωτικής[12] μέχρι τη Γλυκή. Το επιτύμβιο μνημείο στα Μάρμαρα Ζερβοχωρίου[13] αποτελεί ισχυρή ένδειξη για την παραπάνω υπόθεση.

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[8] Από τα 1657μ. πάνω από την Παραμυθιά στα 813μ. πάνω από τη Γλυκή.

[9] Βλ. Σμύρης 2004, 57-69, 113-123, όπου και η παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία.

[10] Απαιτούσε 2 ώρες ανάβαση και 1.5 κατάβαση. Ο δρόμος από τη Γλυκύ προς το Σούλι διανοίχθηκε τη δεκαετία ’60-’70.

[11] Πρβλ. *Guide* 8-12, 16-20. Για τη Γλυκή βλ. Δάκαρης 1972, 136-137 (§ 395), 200-201 (§ 593).

[12] Σχεδόν 4χλμ. ΔΒΔ από την Παραμυθιά. Ο ερειπιώνας καλύπτει την περιοχή Λιμπόνι, αχανής και πνιγμένος σήμερα στη βλάστηση (Παναγία Λαμποβήθρα, Μύλοι, Παλιοκλήσι κά.), παρά τις προσπάθειες της 8ης ΕΒΑ. Βλ. Hammond 1981, 74-75. Δάκαρης 1972, 197 (§ 580), 201-202 (§ 597-598), 208 (§ 623).

[13] Δάκαρης 1972, 176-177 (§ 519): οικία, ξενώνας. Riginos 1999, 173-174: επιτύμβιο μνημείο.

Σημειώνουμε, τέλος, ότι δεν εντοπίσαμε αρχαίες διανοίξεις, ή άλλα κατάλοιπα οδών στα πέριξ του οχυρού του Αγίου Δονάτου[14], στο Κάστρο της Παραμυθιάς[15], στη Ντόλιανη[16], στον Πύργο Ραγίου[17], ή στα Γίτανα[18]. Κατά πάσα πιθανότητα, λοιπόν, η Θεσπρωτία ακολούθησε τον κανόνα του υπόλοιπου βορειοελλαδικού χώρου στα του αρχαίου αμαξήλατου οδικού δικτύου.

Abstract

This chapter summarises the results of a search for pre-Roman cart-roads, which are indicated by preserved wheel-ruts, in Thesprotia and specifically in the area of Elea, i.e. the Kokytos river valley, as well as in other places such as the Souliot villages and around Doliani and Gitani. The study proves that pre-Roman cart-roads were not used in Thesprotia, which is fully in line with their total absence elsewhere in Northern Greece, i.e. in Epirus, Macedonia and Thrace.

[14] Δάκαρης 1972, 138-139 (§ 401).
[15] Βλ. Hammond 1981, 72-73. Δάκαρης 1972, 140-141 (§ 407-409).
[16] Βλ. Hammond 1981, 86-87. Πιθανότερη η ταύτιση με τη Φανοτή, Δάκαρης 1972, 39-41 (§ 108-114), 112 (§ 324).
[17] Βλ. Hammond 1981, 82-83. Δάκαρης 1972, 104 (§ 303-304).
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The Fortification Walls of Agios Donatos

Mikko Suha

The fortress of Agios Donatos of Zervochori occupies a low ridge on the western foothills of Paramythias mountain range, approximately 1.8 kilometers south of the modern village of Zervochori and some two kilometers east of the modern main road form Glyki to Paramythia. The ridge upon which the fortress stands is an oblong flysch outcrop running from north-northeast to south-southwest, with steep cliffs at its northern side. The ridge is connected to the Paramythias range by a saddle at its eastern end.

The ruins consist of fragments of curtain walls, remains of a tower and two gates. Fortification walls cover the eastern edge and the southern slope, the sheer cliffs to the north do not need any additional walling. The fortress measures some 215 meters in length by some 20 to 70 meters in width, yielding a total fortified area of some 1.1 hectares (Fig. 1).

Starting from the northeastern corner, on the edge of the cliff and saddle, one first comes across the remains of the northeastern gate after which the wall runs in a convex course for approximately 10 meters, reaching the northern wall of the tower. To the south of the tower the wall resumes its convex course for an additional 25 meters until it changes to a saw-tooth trace running west-southwest. After two saw-tooth jogs, the latter of which is pierced by the southeastern gate, the wall runs west-southwestwards for 120 meters. Then there is a very slight bend westwards for about 20 meters, after which the course changes again to its normal direction for the last 30 meters, finally meeting the northern cliffs.

Curtains

Curtain walls are the actual walls of fortresses, i.e. stretches of walls between the towers. They consist of the actual thick fortification wall topped by a wall-walk or *parodos*, and thin battlements or *parapet* protecting the parodos. The battlements were one block or 0.5 to 0.75 m thick, allowing two patrolling men to pass each other unhindered. Early parapets were *crenellated*, a system where higher merlons alternated with embrasures. However, as the catapults became increasingly common during the latter part of the fourth century, new methods of protection for the defenders were needed. Instead of a series of crenellations, an *epalxis,* a continuous screenwall a couple of meters high protected the entire parodos. The screenwall was pierced by arrow-slits and shuttered windows at regular intervals.[1]

Today the curtain walls at Agios Donatos are badly destroyed, with only short sections standing up to a maximum height of three meters in places. The thickness of the curtains varies between 1.9 and 3.2-3.4 meters, with thin walls at the eastern end all the way to the southeastern gate and thicker walls built at the western end. The wall is built of similar blocks throughout, directly on the uneven bedrock without any separate footing course.

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[1] Lawrence 1979, 343-345; Winter 1971, 127-135, 139-140.

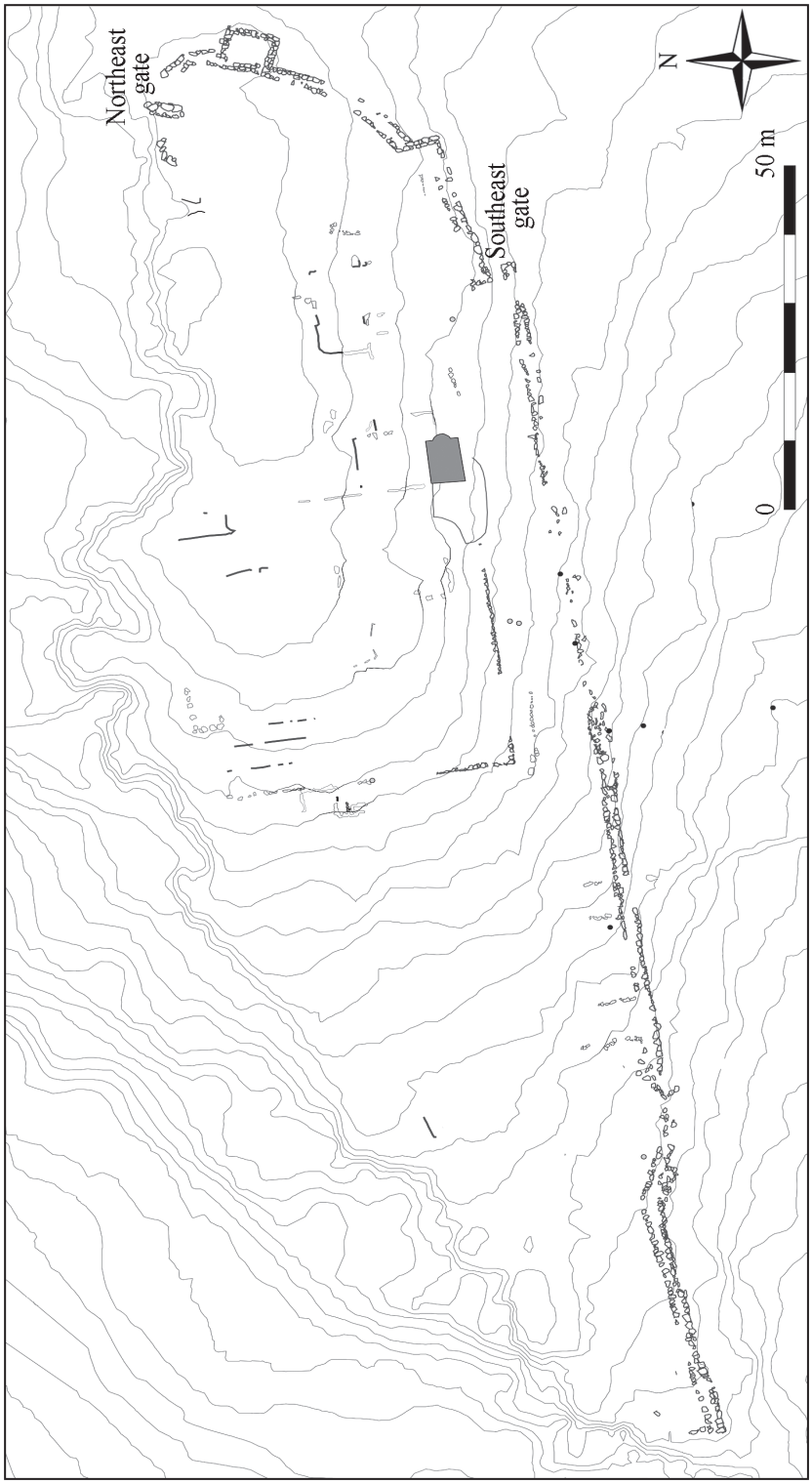

Fig. 1. The fortress of Agios Donatos (map by J., T. and A. Okkonen).

Fig. 2. A possible compartment wall across the southern curtain of Agios Donatos (left) and a well preserved one in Kassope (right).

The wall is built of two faces of polygonal flysch blocks, with a core of compacted rubble and soil. The blocks are medium sized, ranging in average from 1.3 by 0.7 to 0.45 by 0.56 m, with thickness ranging between 0.4 and 0.7 meters. Close to the tower the masonry consists of strongly "falling" joint lines. Elsewhere the masonry is more regular polygonal with undulating joint lines while in the corners the blocks assume almost rectangular shapes. The facing treatment of the blocks is quarry-face. At the corners the blocks are strongly bulging, whereas in the middle of the curtains the bulge is not as clear.

When building the walls most of the blocks were laid as *stretchers*, lengthwise to the wall. Crosswise *headers* running into the fill were employed to stabilize the walls, unsystematically at first, but starting from the fourth century more frequently and systematically. In advanced walls the headers form *internal crosswalls* within the wall. They divided the fill into separate compartments and limited the collapse in the event of a breakthrough. Hellenistic walls often have the entire fill of the curtains compartmented by a series of crosswalls at regular distances, mostly approximately three meters.[2]

In Agios Donatos the curtain walls could have had compartment walls dividing the fill into sectors although it would seem that they were not built at regular intervals. Due to the destroyed state of the wall it is difficult to ascertain however. There is a stretch of walling close to the landslide at the western end where such a crosswall might be visible. The blocks run from the inside face of the wall to the other, they are not visible on the outside face. Such a structure is visible in the nearby city wall of Kassope, although there the compartment walls are placed at regular distances (Fig. 2). Some 50 kilometers northwest, in southern Albania there is the fortress of Çuka e Aitoit, which highly resembles Agios Donatos. At Çuka e Aitoit the wall in the northwestern corner of the enceinte has at least three similar compartment walls visible.[3] In Agios Donatos it is also possible that the feature is just a pile of collapsed blocks left in a strange position.

All the preserved corners of the walls are *drafted*, resulting in sharp, well defined straight angles. The width of drafting varies between 6 to 8 cm in all corners. Also in the

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[2] Karlsson 1992, 68-69.
[3] Bogdani 2006, 51, fig. 7.

first jog of the indented trace, near the southeastern gate there is a groove 13 cm wide and 6 cm deep, cut into the masonry. It is a badly preserved drafted groove. An almost similar, although better preserved groove is found in the eastern wall of Dhimokastro, next to the large tower in the northeast corner. Another kind of groove can be found in Butrint close to the Scaean Gate, where it first maintains a constant width and depth of 10 cm near the ground but then fades when moving upwards.[4] In Elea there are a number of well cut grooves visible in the northern wall, in places where the wall bends slightly but also in the middle of straight sectors.

It has been suggested that the grooves were used to hold drain pipes, necessary for keeping the core of the wall dry. If the core got soaked the volume of the fill would have increased, causing the wall to bulge dangerously outwards. And as Epirus is located in northern Greece the frost could also have been a real threat, causing the soaked fill to swell even more.[5] Another possibility is that the drafting was cut for plumb lines, to help builders to maintain verticality of the wall during construction. Drafting the corners has also an aesthetic side to it, as it helps to define the edges and makes the whole construction seem more civilized. Whatever the cause of making the drafting, it was used particularly often in Epirus.[6]

The wall has two right-angle turns of direction reminiscent of *indented trace* in the south-eastern sector. An indented trace consists of alternating long stretches of wall, *faces*, and at right angles to faces, shorter *flanks* projecting outwards. This results in a serrated line with flanks and faces alterating sometimes for considerable lengths, as in Gortys in Arcadia. It could be used as an enfilading device in protection of curtains, instead of more expensive towers.[7]

In Agios Donatos the first jog has a flank measuring 3.8 m, while the second projects out some 4.4 meters. The first face measures 40 m in length, while after the second jog the wall assumes a ruler-drawn course for approximately 120 m. Indented trace is found in Illyrian and Epirote fortifications. In southern Illyria zigzag-wall lines could occasionally be used from the seventh century onwards. The city wall of Phoenice has indented trace with no towers in its southern expansion, dated to the early fourth century.[8] Closer to Agios Donatos, in Çuka e Aitoit the enceinte is protected by a series of jogs without any towers.[9] Still closer, in Thesprotia the southern wall of Gitane is protected by a wall consisting solely of indented trace also without towers. In the acropolis of Dodona, the southeastern wall south of the gate has a couple of sawtooth jogs.

A ground level chamber is built inside the first corner of the sawtooth wall. The walls are narrow, built of two faces without filling. The entire thickness of the wall in the corner is only one meter, while the nearby curtains are almost double that, 1.93 meters. The structure resembles a tower, although it does not project from the curtains. Due to the destroyed state of the fort the size of the chamber is unknown, but it seems to be smaller than the chamber in the tower.

No clues as to the height of the curtains or construction of battlements has been preserved. One would think that the wall need not have been more than a couple of meters

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[4] Lawrence 1979, 242.
[5] Hammond 1967, 715.
[6] Lawrence 1979, 243.
[7] Scranton 1941, 150, 153.
[8] Ceka 1990, 219-220.
[9] Bogdani 2006, 48.

high on the uphill side, while due to the direction of the slope the height of the outside wall would easily have reached some six meters. It is impossible to say with certainty whether the parodos was protected by a crenellated parapet or a continuous screenwall. Given the relatively late date of construction of the fortress the latter would seem more likely than the pre-catapult era crenellated parapet.

Tower

A large tower with a ground floor chamber is found in the eastern end of the enceinte. The tower projects 4.3 m from the outer face of the wall, and the total projection from the inner face of the curtain is 6.2 meters while the width of the tower is 7.3 meters. Within, the tower chamber measures 5.6 by 4.1 meters, yielding a total floor area of approximately 23 m^2. A door, 0.95 m wide, is built at the southwestern corner. At its present condition the tower has been all but destroyed. A trial trench opened next to the doorway of the tower in 2006 revealed that the walls stand up to a height of four courses or some 1.80 meters. The walls of the tower are built of two faces of average sized polygonal limestone blocks ranging in size from 0.6 by 0.4 to 0.76 by 0.55 m in width and height respectively, while the average thickness of the blocks varies between 0.37 and 0.43 m. The blocks in the corners are nearly rectangular in shape, while the blocks in the middle of the walls are more polygonal with undulating joint lines. The surface treatment of the blocks is quarry-face, i.e. they were left at a rough state after extraction. There is only a narrow space between the facing blocks, which probably never held any filling. The total thickness of the walls varies between 1.02 to 1.07 meters all over the tower. The tower is not "riding" on the curtain wall, i.e. it is not added to the pre-existing curtain wall as the thickness of the walls is uniform throughout the tower, including the inner wall which is considerably thinner than the adjacent curtains with an approximate thickness of 1.93 meters.

To add stability to the walls, a few large blocks have been laid headers, binding the two faces. As the walls of the towers as a rule were thinner than the curtain walls, headers were used more frequently.[10] In the eastern wall of the tower there are at least two headers still *in situ*, and the southern wall has at least two headers visible in different courses.

Parallels for this kind of building method can be found in Nekyomanteion and in Butrint. In Nekyomanteion's eastern courtyard there is a stone socle of a mudbrick wall approximately 0.75 m wide, consisting of two faces of polygonal blocks with a narrow space in between. Another parallel in the method of building a tower can be seen in the gate-tower of Butrint. Although this tower differs in masonry style, the blocks being longish trapezoidal and in the design, with a semicircular front, the walls do have similarities. The walls of the tower in Butrint are also only one meter thick, with no central filling. Headers are placed at regular intervals, and the tower has a hollow ground storey.[11]

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[10] Lawrence 1979, 237.

[11] Hammond 1967, 585. He thought this kind of construction method, two blocks thick with no central fill, to be unusual to such an extent that he mentioned it: "*Another peculiarity was that the walls of the tower were only two blocks thick, that is with no rubble core. This peculiarity is also found in Lekel (Antigoneia), at Dodona in the retaining wall of the theatre...and...at Labovë".* He dates the Butrintian tower to the reign of Pyrrhus (297-272 BC).

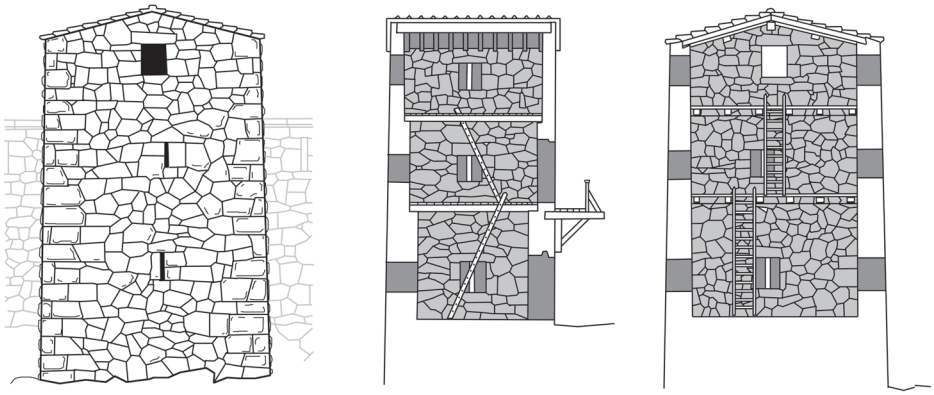

Fig. 3. Tower no. 5 in Kydna (after Adam 1982, 153-154).
The tower of Agios Donatos could also have looked like this.

A tower of this size could have been three-storeyed and covered with a gabled tile roof. A good hypothetical parallel can be found in Kydna, Lycia. J. P. Adam has studied the fortress of Kydna, the tower no. 5 of which is almost an exact match to the one in Agios Donatos, in regards to the size and execution with polygonal masonry in the middle of the tower walls while blocks of nearly rectangular shape were used in the corners. Also, the corners were drafted inboth towers (Fig. 3).

The tower of Kydna measures 7.5 m in width by 4.3 m in projection, with the wall thickness ranging from 0.95 to 1.0 meters throughout the tower, including the back wall. Thus the Kydna tower is not riding on the curtain wall, just like the tower in Agios Donatos. Even the proportions of the chamber within (5.6 x 3.54/3.66 versus 5.6 x 4.1 m) are nearly identical. There are two doors in the lowermost chamber at Kydna, while the upper chambers were accessed from the wall-walk level. Adam reconstructed three floors to the tower, a ground floor chamber topped by two additional storeys. In the lower floors there are three arrow slits per floor, in the middle of each of the walls. At the top floor he reconstructed a large window in the middle of the wide wall, as well one slit on each of the shorter walls.[12]

In Agios Donatos it seems that at least the southern wall of the ground floor chamber had no arrow slits. The trial trench opened along the wall uncovered it down to a depth of 1.8 meters, but nothing reminiscent of a slit was found. Possibly the lowest chamber was used purely as a storage room, and the defense was conducted from the upper floors.

A small tower like this could only have held the smallest calibre arrow-shooting catapults or *oxybeleis.* A chamber of this size could accommodate a maximum of two oxybeleis up to 3.5-span calibre, firing bolts ca. 81 cm long. However, that would have resulted in a very cramped interior as such a weapon required a space of some 3.20 by 2.22 m in length and width respectively. If the machines were smaller, of one-cubit (46 cm bolts) or 1.5-span calibre (35 cm bolts), the chamber could possibly have accommodated up to three pieces. Being of the smallest calibre available, these machines required only 2.11 by 1.50 and 1.78 by 1.32 m in length and width respectively.[13]

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[12] Adam 1982, 150-155, 165.
[13] Winter 1997, 250-251.

The investigation of Goritsa in Magnesia yielded almost similar results. There an average tower chamber had a floor area of ca. 17 m², and it was proposed that it could have housed four one-cubit catapults or two weapons up to 3-span calibres. However, the size of the weapons in this estimate was smaller from Winter's; a one-cubit cataput required only a space of 1.54 by 0.87 m while a three-span engine required 2.32 by 1.31 m. In any case, no special underpinnings would have been necessary for any of these modest weapons as they were light: A one cubit engine would have weighed ca.10 kg, while a three-span engine weighed around 32 kg. The recoil of discharge of such catapults was also virtually nonexistent, so the floors required no additional strengthening.[14]

No clue as to the internal communication between the floors of the tower was found when excavated. It would seem most obvious that the floors were connected into each other at most by means of wooden ladders and trapdoors. It is also possible that the upper chambers were only accessed from the wall-walk, with no interconnection between the ground floor and the upper chambers.

Gates

A typical gateway consisted of stone walls, a stone lintel or corbel vault above the opening and a stone threshold on the ground. Depending on the width of the opening the wooden gates were either one- or two-leaved. If the gate was large, one leaf could have had a small wicket to allow restricted passage when gates were shut. Actual hinges were never used but the gate leaves swung on bronze-plated wooden pivots which turned in large sockets cut into the threshold block and lintel. The threshold could be either monolithic or it could consist of two separate slabs with cuttings for the timber uprights as well as the pivot sockets. The gate leaves always opened inward, and they were locked with a heavy crossbar. The crossbar slid into specially cut squarish holes in the side walls.[15]

At Agios Donatos there are remains of two gates, one opening northwards near the northeast corner and the other opening in east-northeasterly direction in the southeast sector. The northeast gate has been almost completely destroyed, with only the left wall of the gate corridor standing. It is built of large polygonal blocks up to 1.66 x 0.9 x 0.9 m. in size, the largest ones used in the whole enceinte. Due to the poor state of preservation no structural details of the actual gate or its locking mechansim are visible.

The southeast gate is better preserved. It is 1.9 m wide with a corridor 2.4 m long, opening across the second sawtooth jog of the enceinte. The southern curtain wall, which forms also the south wall of the corridor, is 1.9 m thick. A large block still in situ defines the southern wall of the gate corridor. The northeastern corner of this block has a drafted margin approximately six centimeters wide, while the corridor side of the block is smooth throughout. There is a parallel for this kind of corner block at Nekyomanteion, some 20 kilometers south of Agios Donatos. At the central tower of Nekyomanteion a complicated gateway has been added to protect the entrance. The outermost of the gateway's two doorways has a similar block on the southern wall placed at approximately knee height.

No threshold was found at Agios Donatos during the excavation. The bedrock in the gate had been left untrimmed with approximately half a meter difference in height between the northern and southern sides of the gate corridor. There was a cutting in the

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[14] Bakhuizen 1992, 142-143, 159.
[15] Lawrence 1979, 248; Winter 1971, 255, 258-259.

bedrock, ca. 50 cm wide by 10-20 cm deep, next to the northern wall of the corridor approximately half a meter inward from the northeastern corner, most likely cut to receive the threshold block or slabs.

No clear road surface or paving was discovered in the gateway. The only indication of the road surface was seen in the bedrock closest to the northern wall. The two highest protruding ridges of the bedrock seemed to have been trimmed flat on their upper surfaces at a level of 227.16 to 227.20 masl. They could indicate the ancient road level; the bottom of the cutting was at 226.90 m, thus allowing the use of a 30 cm thick threshold block or footing slab. Both threshold arrangements could have been possible in Agios Donatos, but at present it is impossible to say which. No signs of the locking mechanism or other structural details were found either. Most likely the gates in Agios Donatos were two-leaved, with both of the leaves approximately one meter wide.

The placement of the southeastern gateway is logical, with some forty meter stretch of curtain on its left hand side. Thus the enemy approaching the gate could have been subjected to the defenders' point-blank range fire on his unshielded right hand side. A similar gate arrangement with approximately similar dimensions can be seen in the southeastern gate of Dhimokastro (Fig. 4). Of the four gates in Çuka e Aitoit, the southwestern gate (no. 2) has a similar design, although the gate corridor tapers from the inside out to half its width.[16]

Fig. 4. The southeast gate of Agios Donatos (left) and the southeast gate of Dhimokastro (right).

Other structures on the site

Approximately half way up the southern slope there is a massive terrace wall, built of polygonal masonry reminiscent of fortification walls. It follows the orientation of the fortress, starting near the first jog of the sawtooth wall and then extending westwards in a straight line through the chapel site. Then it makes a 90 degree turn towards north-northwest and runs across the width of the fort. The terrace consists of polygonal wall on the southern side, built of similar blocks as the fortifications themselves, although less carefully with loose joints. Earlier reports concerning Agios Donatos refer to a cross-wall or *diateichisma* dividing the fortress.[17] No diateichisma was found in 2005, and it seems that Hammond and Dakaris thought of this best preserved terrace wall as being such.

[16] Bogdani 2006, 49-50.
[17] Dakaris 1972, 138-9; Hammond 1967, 71.

Chronology

To date the walls one has to look for parallels, preferably within as close range as possible. Masonry styles and certain features in the plan of the fortress can help in dating. The first observable feature is the masonry style. The walls of Agios Donatos are built of polygonal blocks, i.e. the blocks have more than four sides meeting at an acute angle.[18]

Polygonal masonry was in vogue from the fifth century to the Hellenistic period due to its inherent strength and rugged but aesthetic appearance but a closer dating on the basis of masonry alone is hopeless. Hammond suggested in 1967 that in Epirus ashlar walls are earlier than polygonal, most of which can be dated to late fourth and third centuries BC.[19]

The wall typology by the Danish Kephallénia survey yields some possible parallels to the walls of Agios Donatos. Of the 27 wall types distinguished by the survey under Klavs Randsborg, three are interesting. *Type 8* consists of relatively well-built polygonal walls with slightly curved blocks. An interesting feature associated with this type is its usage in both the *terrace walls* and *fortifications* of the town of Poros. Similar walls are also found in the unfinished city walls of Krane. Randsborg dates this type to around 300 or the first quarter of the third century. *Type 9* is quite similar, but the blocks are slightly more quadrangular. Such walls are found in the eastern enceinte of the town of Poros and in the outer circuit of Nekyomanteion. Randsborg suggests a date in the second quarter of third century for this type. Finally, *Type 11* consists of well-built walls made up of medium sized blocks with fairly smooth or only slightly bulging surface. Such walls are common in western Greece, parallels can be found in Same, Krane and Palaeokastro/ Pronnoi in Kephallénia as well as in Epirus: Rogon, Gitane, city wall of Kassope and the Nekyomanteion's central complex have been built using this style. Randsborg suggests the dating of this style as between 350-275, or even down to 200 BC.[20]

Types 8 and 11 correspond closely to the masonry in Agios Donatos, while the Type 9 can be used with reservations.[21] Use of Type 8 masonry in the terracing as well as in parts of fortifications in the fortified town of Poros yield an interesting parallel. The eastern plateau of Poros has several terraces built of a variant of Type 8 masonry, using smaller blocks. The terraces form part of a planned city, built either parallel or at straight angles to each other. The fortifications surrounding the area have standard type 8 masonry used in the western half.[22] The mention of terraces is interesting, as in Agios Donatos there is a well built polygonal terrace wall with a straight angle turn on the southern hillside. There is a clear resemblance between the masonry of the terrace wall and the curtain wall. The masonry at the eastern end of Agios Donatos is identical to the one at Poros (Fig. 5).

There is also a similarity between the masonry at the western end of Agios Donatos and the city wall of Leukas (Fig. 6). Randsborg claims that the wall at Leukas

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[18] Scranton 1941, 16-17.
[19] Hammond 1967, 711-716.
[20] Randsborg 2002, 216-227.
[21] Type 9 is described as being more quadrangular than the Type 8, and thus would fit the description of the blocks used in the corners of Agios Donatos. There is no good pictures on the type, however.
[22] Randsborg 2002, 216.

Fig. 5. Clear similarities of masonry styles. On the left, Poros, Kephallénia (Randsborg 2002, 218). On the right, the eastern end of curtain in Agios Donatos.

Fig. 6. Similarities in masonry style. On the left, Type 8/Type 11 at Leukas (Randsborg 2002, 220). On the right, western end of the southern curtain in Agios Donatos.

Fig. 7. More similarities in masonry styles. On the left, "Enceinte Wall 9a" of Type 11 at Same (Randsborg 2002, 223). On the right, the curtain next to the southeast gate of Agios Donatos.

has similarities with Type 11. This type is also found in Agios Donatos (Fig. 7), especially close to the southeast gate.[23]

Similarities in construction are also found in Nekyomanteion, the best published site within a close range. The first phase consisting of the central tower and half of the gate-complex was built in the end of fourth or early third century. The second phase saw

[23] Randsborg 2002, 221.

the enlargement of the gate-complex towards southeast, in the early third century. The third phase consisted of adding storage rooms to the east and north of the central tower soon therafter, i.e. before the mid-third century. All these phases have similarities with the walls in Agios Donatos, in the form of building narrow walls with headers at intervals and clear drafting of corners, also drafting the façade side of doorway blocks but leaving the corridor side without one. The last two phases consist of the western enlargements in the area where the modern entrance to the site is. These are dated to the late third century, and there are clear differences in execution of the walls. I saw no headers in the large polygonal walls, and there is no drafting in sight.[24]

Some features in the plan of the fort can also help in dating. The *indented trace* found in Agios Donatos was favored by the Macedonians as a cost-effective and quick method to build. Winter considered the dating of indented trace, coming to a conclusion that jogs without additional towers are only found in contexts dating between 375 and 250. Complicated versions of such seem to have been used during even shorter period, from 335 to 260. From the late third century onward the indented trace lost ground to strong multistoreyed towers.[25] In Epirus the use of indented trace seems to be a late fourth century phenomenon. The southern expansion to the city-circuit of Phoenice, dated to the early fourth century, consists solely of indented trace. A slightly more advanced version can be found in the acropolis of Dodona. There one can find both strong towers as well as a short stretch of indented trace, all dated to the latter half of the fourth century.[26] Çuka e Aitoit is a fortress of approximately the same dimensions as Agios Donatos, located in southern Albania. There the flanking devices of the curtains consist solely of jogs with ten jogs around the 1160 meter circuit. This fortress is also dated to the late fourth or early third centuries B.C.[27] Another feature which supports the dating hypothesis of Agios Donatos is the *tower.* The similar tower in Kydna was dated to the early third century by Adam.[28] Finally, a typically Epirote feature is the *drafting* of straight-angle corners. Hammond noted the frequent use of drafting in Epirote fortifications, and was inclined to think that it was characteristic of the last stages of Pyrrhus' reign, i.e. the 280s or 270s BC.[29]

Dating the walls of Agios Donatos to the first half of the third century, that is, the reign of Pyrrhus or his immediate successors would make sense. During his time the fortress building activity was at its peak, and the administrative centres of major tribal centres were among the first to receive attention. Such centres were located in Passaron, Paramythia, Gitane, Butrint and Phoenice.[30] When things started to go wrong for the Epirotes in the late third century, another peak in building activity followed. The Illyrian surprise capture of Phoenice in 230 and the ensued looting of the countryside as well as the Aetolian plundering of Epirus in 219 and 217 resulted in revitalized efforts to fortify more sites. According to Hammond the period between 240 and 167 was the most populous time of Epirus and it is likely that the last additions to the city-circuits were built at

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[24] Baatz 1999, 151-152.
[25] Martin 1947, 136-145; Winter 1971, 424.
[26] Ceka 1988, 219-220. See map in Dakaris 1993, 34-35.
[27] Bogdani 2006, 46-47, 57.
[28] Adam 1982, 150-155.
[29] Hammond 1967, 584.
[30] Hammond 1967, 586.

this time, using especially large or even massive polygonal masonry. Before and also overlapping with the large or massive polygonal style of ca. 230-167, is the medium sized polygonal style of ca. 280-230.[31]

In the excavation of 2006 most of the found material seemed to date from the Roman period, but some finds were clearly earlier. Of special interest were the two oldest finds recorded, since they date roughly to the same time period as has been suggested for the fortification walls. Firstly there is a Corcyraean coin with an amphora and letters K..Ω on the obverse side, while on the reverse side there is a bunch of grapes and the letters Σ…Ω (Fig. 8). This coin is dated to 399-300 BC.[32]

Fig. 8. Corcyraean coin found in the tower of Agios Donatos.

Secondly, there is a nozzle fragment of a wheel-made lamp. A good parallel can be found in the lamp typology of Howland, classifying the lamps from the Athenian Agora. His Type 30b bears a close resemblance to the lamp from Agios Donatos, with especially number 419 of the type being almost an exact match (Fig. 9). The main difference between the lamps is the glazing. The Athenian lamps are glazed whereas the lamp from Agios Donatos is not. The type is dated between 325 and 275 BC.[33]

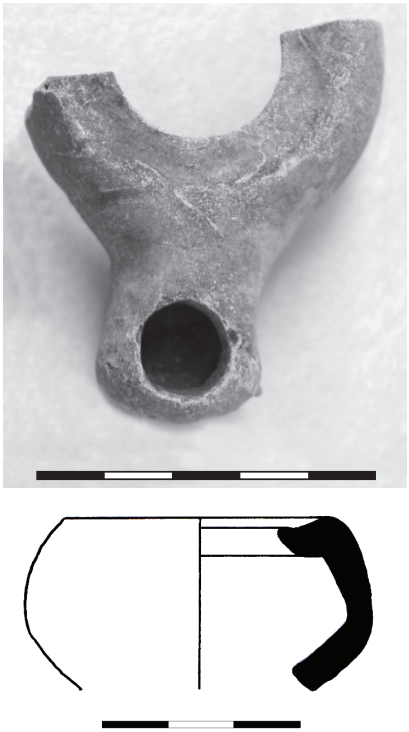

Fig. 9. Lamp from the tower of Agios Donatos.

Conclusions

In order to conclude I would suggest that the walls of Agios Donatos, drawing on comparanda on Nekyomanteion, other sites in Epirus and the typology on Kephallénian walls, are most likely to be dated to the period of the last decades of the fourth century down to ca. 250 BC.

The fortress was built by fencing off a 1.1 hectare area on an oblong ridge by means of building the circuit wall from one part of a cliff to another, while the steepest cliffs to the north needed no fortifications. At the eastern end where the approach to the site is easy, the builders placed the two gates of the fort. To protect this most vulnerable sector of the enceinte and the two main entrances, a tower and two sawtooth jogs, one with a ground level chamber, were built at the eastern edge. Sharply weathered bedrock

[31] Hammond 1967, 668.
[32] BMC Thessaly, 123-124, nos. 156-160, pl. XXI, 11; Grose 1926, 279, nos. 5228-5229.
[33] Howland 1958, 97-98, pl. 41, with corrected chronology in Rotroff 1997, 500-501.

hindered ascent attempts at the western edge where the walls are thickest, but with no additional safety measures.

The features in design of the fortress, such as the indented trace, drafted corners and the execution of the tower point to the same period as suggested by the masonry styles. The finds also support the conclusion, as both the lamp fragment and the Corcyraean coin are dated to the late fourth and the early third century. Most likely the walls were built during the reign of king Pyrrhus in the early third century, when the fortress building activity in Epirus experienced its first peak.

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The Frieze-Epistyle Blocks of Agios Donatos

Esko Tikkala

The intensive survey of the hill of Agios Donatos at Zervochori in 2005[1] produced a total of 75 architectural blocks originating from a monumental structure or structures other than the fortification on the hill. The majority of these blocks are built into the wall of the seventeenth-century chapel, also named after the local saint Agios Donatos, although some further blocks, such as two column fragments and two arch blocks, were found lower down the slope (Fig. 1). These blocks are whitish, fine-grained limestone whereas the polygonal fortification blocks with their darker colour and coarse-grained constitution are made of flysch rather than limestone.[2] The blocks built into the chapel are mainly ashlar blocks and their fragments,[3] and almost all of them are without any mouldings; while some blocks have the face with anathyrosis visible. However, among the chapel blocks there are also three architecturally interesting frieze-epistyle blocks.[4] The aim of this paper is to describe these blocks and to discuss and to make some suggestions as to their origin.

Description of the blocks

The first of the three surviving frieze-epistyle blocks is built into the western wall of the chapel, to the south of its entrance. It has been placed upside down, just above the stone and concrete foundations composing the lowest part of the wall in the southwestern corner. Like the other two frieze-epistyle blocks, it is nowadays rather heavily covered with plaster. The block consists of two combined parts: the frieze and the epistyle (Figs. 2-4). The frieze has a typical order: triglyphs (3) alternate with metopes (3). The epistyle is crowned by a taenia and guttae. Originally there were at least three sets of the conventional number of six guttae. Today, however, of the left set there remains only one gutta. Furthermore, there is no regula between the taenia and the guttae. The right

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[1] The work was carried out as part of the Thesprotia Expedition. The paper in its early form was presented at the Thesprotian Colloquium in May 2006 in Athens. I would like to thank the director of the project, Björn Forsén, as well as Jari Pakkanen, Richard Anderson, Georgios Riginos and Yanis Pikoulas for their invaluable comments, advice and criticism. The language was revised by Jonathan Tomlinson. All remaining errors are my own. Unless otherwise stated, all illustrations are by the author.

[2] According to macroscopic and x-ray diffraction analyses performed by Martti Lehtinen at the Geological Museum, University of Helsinki, the whitish blocks differing in quality and colour from those of the fortification walls are more likely to be considered limestone than marble.

[3] The lengths of the suggested orthostate/stylobate/krepidoma blocks vary between 100 and 130 cm, the heights between 20 and 22 cm, and the widths between 60 and 100 cm. The length of the suggested wall blocks vary between 60 and 80 cm, the height between 20 and 22 cm and the width between 38 and 44 cm.

[4] In addition to the three frieze-epistyle blocks, a further block in the southeastern corner of the chapel has a circular cutting (4.4 cm deep and 5.5 cm in diameter). The cutting could have been made for a drill or for some kind of pivot but it could also be a later addition. The fragmentary block beneath it has a horizontal band/fascia (4.1 cm high, projecting 1.4 cm). This very fragmentary block with the band/fascia could be a part of the geison course, or it was part of a decorative moulding in the wall.

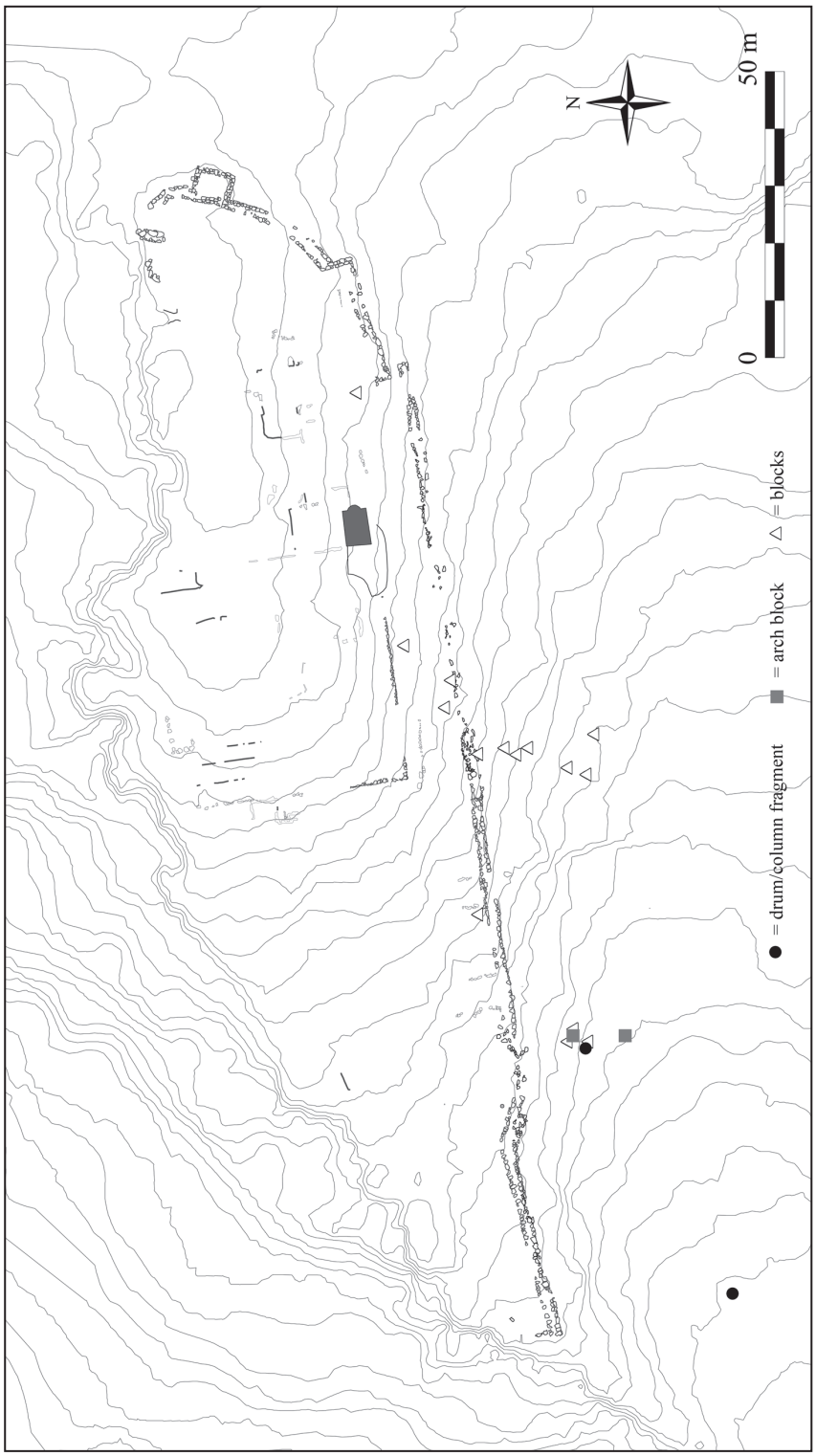
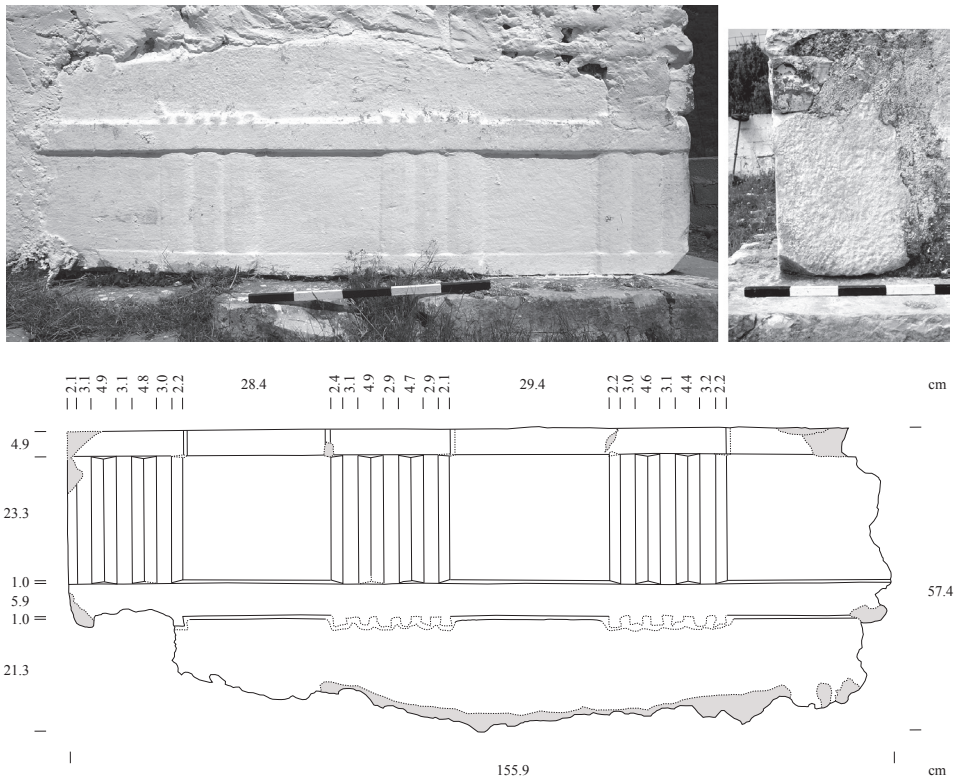


Fig. 1. General map showing the locations of architectural blocks other than fortification blocks on the hill of Agios Donatos (map by J., T. amd A. Okkonen).



Figs. 2-4. The first frieze-epistyle block built upside down into the western wall of the chapel.

end of the block is broken off, but on the basis of the metope widths, the original overall width was very likely close to the preserved one – supposing that the block ended at this rightmost metope.

The overall preserved length of the block is 155.9 cm, its height 57.4 cm and its width[5] 31.0 cm. The exact original height of the epistyle/architrave cannot be measured; its preserved height, however, is 28.2 cm. The taenia is 5.9 cm high (ca. 7.9 cm with its sloping top and bottom[6]), projecting 1.4 cm. Six guttae, originally in three sets, projecting 1.5 cm (space between guttae 0.7 cm) are at ca. 3.9 cm intervals measured from centre to centre. Today the guttae are mostly badly damaged, weathered and also heavily plastered. Since the present condition of the guttae is very poor, it is difficult to establish anything of their original form or section. The preserved fragmentary diameters vary from ca. 1.1 to 1.4 cm, and the heights from ca. 1.6 to 2.2 cm. The only preserved gutta from the left set, and the guttae of the two other preserved frieze-epistyle blocks, however, suggest that the guttae of this block possibly flare slightly outwards as they descend from the taenia. Furthermore, the section of the guttae was originally perhaps isosceles trapezoid rather than the conventional conical.

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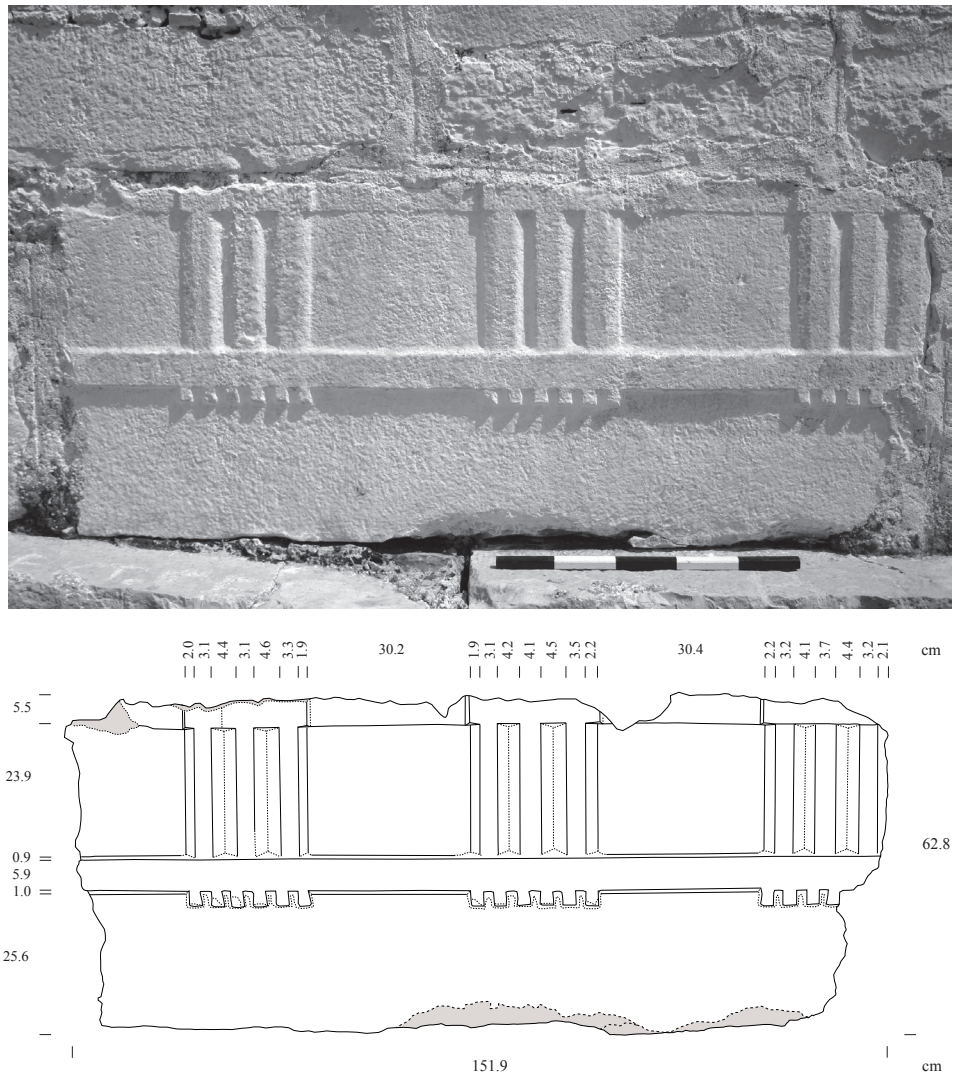
[5] The other end of the block is visible in the southern wall.

[6] Because of the later reuse and weathering, the edges of the blocks are quite worn. Therefore all measurements presented must be understood within error margins of at least 0.1-0.2 cm, e.g. the height of the taenia's sloping sides falls within a range of 0.7-1.0 cm.



Figs. 5-6. The second frieze-epistyle block built into the southern wall of the chapel.

The height of the frieze is 29.2 cm. The width of the metopes varies slightly: 28.4 cm (left), 29.4 cm (centre) and ca. 29.2 cm (right, preserved), whereas the height is 24.3 cm. The fascias crowning the metopes are 4.9 to 5.0 cm high and project ca. 0.2 cm. The widths of the triglyphs are 23.2 (left), 23.0 (centre) and 22.7 cm (right) and their height is 24.4 cm. The glyphs are 4.7 to 4.9 cm wide (the rightmost triglyph is slightly smaller: 4.4 and 4.6 cm) and are separated by femora 2.9 to 3.2 cm wide. The slots of the glyphs have straight corners. The whole glyphs recede 0.4 to 0.6 cm. Half-glyphs at either sides are at the same angles as the whole glyphs in the centre, and their lower edges project 0.3 cm from the metopes. The widths of the half glyphs are between 2.1 and 2.4 cm. The widths of the crowns over the triglyphs correspond quite closely to the widths of the triglyphs and project 1.2 cm from the fascias over the metopes.

The second frieze-epistyle block (Figs. 5-6) is built into the southern wall, close to the southwestern corner and, like the two other similar blocks, it has been placed on the foundations of the chapel. This block has the same features (including the lack of regulae) and nearly the same dimensions as the first frieze-epistyle block. However, the composition of the triglyphs (3) and the metopes (3) is reversed: triglyph follows metope. Thus, these two at least, were not placed next to each other if they came from the same structure – supposing that this block also ended with the metope on the left.

The preserved length of the block is 151.9 cm and its height is 62.8 cm. The preserved height of the architrave is 32.5 cm, and this is probably quite close its original height. The taenia is 5.9 cm high (ca. 7.8 cm with its sloping sides) and projects 1.0 cm. Three sets of the conventional number of six guttae, projecting 0.9 to 1.2 cm and with a spacing of 0.9 cm, are at ca. 4.2 cm intervals from centre to centre. The preserved diameters of the guttae vary from ca. 2.0 to 2.2 cm, and their heights from ca. 2.2 to 2.4 cm. Four guttae of the set to the right are preserved, and although all the guttae are in general in quite fragmentary condition, they are better preserved than the guttae of the frieze-epistyle block in the western wall. Again, the preserved remains suggest that the section of the guttae differed from the conventional conical: sloping edges refer to the section being rectangular, or more likely isosceles trapezoid. The guttae probably also flared slightly outwards as they descended from the taenia.[7]

The preserved height of the frieze is 30.3 cm. The width of the metopes varies slightly: 22.5 (left, max), 30.2 (centre) and 30.4 cm (right). Their height also varies: 24.8 (left.), 24.8 (centre) and 24.3 cm (right).[8] The preserved fascia crowning the metopes is ca. 5.5 cm high[9] and projects ca. 0.2 cm. The widths of the triglyphs are 22.4 (left), 23.5 (centre) and 22.9 (right) cm, whereas their height is 24.8 cm (24.3 cm the rightmost). The glyphs are 4.1 to 4.6 cm wide and are separated by femora 3.1 to 4.1 cm wide. The whole glyphs recede 0.8 cm. The half-glyphs at either side are 1.9 to 2.2 cm wide and were probably originally cut at the same angles as the whole glyphs in the centre. Their lower edges project 0.3 cm from the metopes. In their present state, the whole glyphs are quite rounded and their edges are at a steeper angle than the half-glyphs' edges. In addition, at present only the upper slots of the glyphs have straight corners. The widths of the crowns over the triglyphs correspond quite closely with the widths of the triglyphs and project 0.7 cm from the metope fascia.

The third documented frieze-epistyle block (Figs. 7-8) is a small fragmentarily-preserved left end of a block which followed the same composition as the first frieze-epistyle block built into the south wall of the chapel. This fragment is also located in the south wall, ca. 1 m from the southeastern corner, and east of the second frieze-epistyle block. Like the other blocks described above, it has also been placed on the foundations of the chapel. The preserved epistyle/architrave consists of parts of the architrave, taenia and a set of guttae (6). As with the two other frieze-epistyle blocks, there is no regula between taenia and guttae. Of the frieze a part of a metope and a triglyph remains.

The overall preserved length of the fragment is 36.0 cm, and its height is 61.4 cm. The preserved height of the epistyle/architrave is 32.0 cm. The taenia is 5.9 cm high

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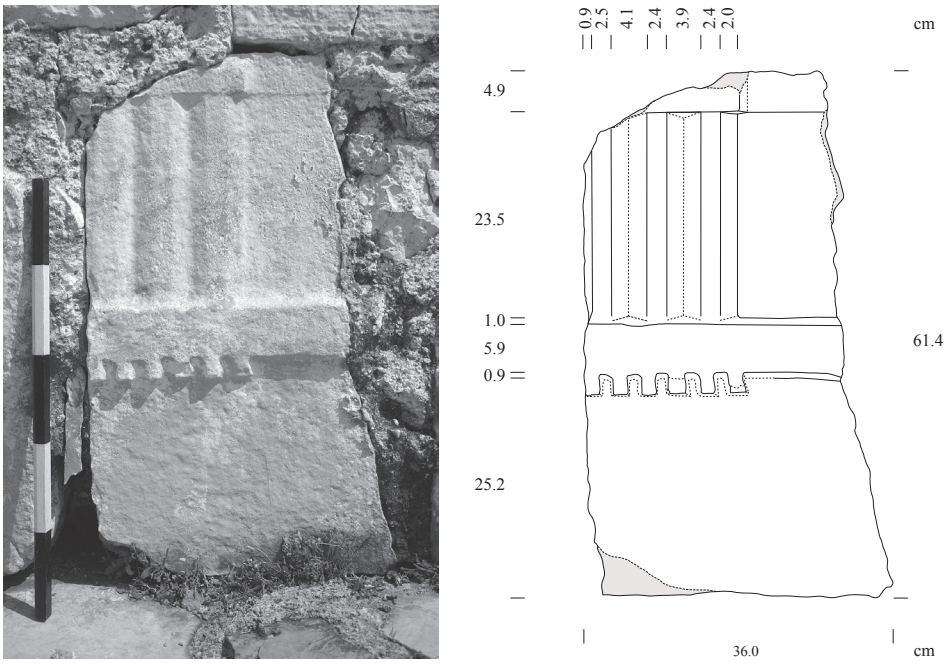
[7] The present condition of the guttae prevents accurate measurement.

[8] The metope is slightly oblique so that the height in its left corner is 24.7 cm and in its right corner 24.3 cm.

[9] The present state of the fascia and the plastering do not allow precise measurement of the height: the given 5.5 cm is more an estimate than an actual precise measurement.



Figs. 7-8. The third frieze-epistyle block fragment in the southern wall of the chapel.

(ca. 7.9 cm with its sloping sides), projecting 1.1 to 1.3 cm. The six guttae project 1.0 to 1.3 cm (space between guttae 0.7 cm) and they are at 3.0 to 3.5 cm intervals from centre to centre. The preserved diameters of the guttae vary from ca. 1.2 to 1.4 cm and their heights from ca. 2.0 to 2.4 cm. As with the previous blocks, the preserved form and section suggest that the guttae possibly flared slightly outwards as they descended from the taenia, and that the section of the guttae was perhaps originally isosceles trapezoid rather than the conventional conical.

The preserved height of the frieze is 29.4 cm. The preserved width of the metope is 12 cm, and its height is 24.5 cm. The preserved fascia crowning the metope is 4.9 cm high and projects ca. 0.2 cm. The width of the triglyph is 18.2 cm, and its height is 24.5 cm. The glyphs are 4.1 and 3.9 cm wide and are separated by femora 2.4 to 2.5 cm wide. The whole glyphs recede 0.6 cm. The half-glyphs at either side were probably originally at angles similar to the whole glyphs in the centre. The lower edge of the preserved half-glyph projects 0.3 cm from the metope, and its width is 2.0 cm. In its present state the whole glyphs and their slots are quite rounded, and their edges at a steeper angle than the edges of the half-glyphs. In addition, as in the previous block, only the upper slots of the glyphs have straight corners. The width of the crown over the triglyph corresponds quite closely to the width of the triglyph and projects 1.1 cm from the metope fascia.

The question of origin

Despite some discrepancies in dimensions, it is quite probable that the three frieze-epistyle blocks belonged to the same structure. The discrepancies could simply be due to weathering, or to later reuse, or to a combination of the two. The differences of few

millimetres are also well within the tolerance of Greek building practice.[10] Furthermore, some similarities, such as the form of the guttae and the lack of regulae together with the constant height of the different elements, indicate that the blocks belonged to the same structure. Giving an exact date for this structure, however, is extremely difficult on the basis only of the preserved blocks and their stylistic features, without a known context: thus the date range is very wide; the building could as easily date to the Archaic period as to the Roman period.

But what was this structure and where was it located? Local people believe that these frieze-epistyle blocks together with the other blocks built into the wall originate from a temple; one local shepherd was even certain that the temple was attributed to Apollo. There are also scholars who would like to see the blocks as originating from a temple or shrine located close to the chapel.[11] The temple theory is quite logical when one considers their current location on the hill and the fact that frieze-blocks and column fragments can certainly be considered the most easily recognisable remains of a Greek temple. Such a temple would, on the basis of the size of the frieze-epistyle blocks, have been rather small, and could, for example, have stood on the very site of the present chapel, on the terrace above the chapel, or on the summit of the hill. On the summit there is a flattened area of ca. 20 x 20 m, where some cuttings in the rock for a building are still partly visible. This would have been the most prominent location and the temple would have been visible here from far away.

Alternatively, these blocks may also belong to a so-called "wandering temple", built somewhere else, and later, possibly in Roman times, transferred to the hill when perhaps there was a need for material for other buildings or repairs to the defensive wall.[12] On the other hand, as in Thesprotia in general, there are very few known temples in the Kokytos valley.[13] Furthermore, the fact that the blocks were found on a hill, ca. 150 m above the valley bottom, makes it more likely that the structure to which they originally belonged was located on the hill or in its close vicinity.

However, some of the features of the frieze-epistyle blocks do not seem to fit a temple so well. Considering that temples followed the conventional architectural rules quite strictly, the lack of regula in the epistyle is strange. Why would the temple builders have left out such a conventional part? Furthermore, the proportions used in the frieze-epistyle blocks do not seem to fit "canonical" temples. The height of the taenia is huge compared to other dimensions of the epistyle or the frieze. This kind of ratio of taenia to architrave would be exceptional for a Greek temple. For example, the taenia's height (ca. 5.9 cm, with bevelled edges ca. 7.9 cm) is close to that of the taenia of the Classical temple of Apollo at Bassae (6.6 cm), although the taenia at Bassae belongs to a monumental temple whereas our blocks are definitely from a much smaller structure, as the general dimensions of the blocks indicate: In Bassae the height of the architrave is ca. 83.7 cm, and of the frieze ca. 83.5 cm,[14] whereas in our case the architrave has a maximum height

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[10] Of the used accuracy see e.g. Coulton 1975, 94-97; Pakkanen 1994, 143-156.

[11] See e.g. Riginos 2006, 133.

[12] The settlement on the hill in the Roman period is for instance evidenced by the rich *terra sigillata* pottery documented; see Ikäheimo, this volume. On the "Roman wandering temples", see e.g. Camp 2001, 191.

[13] The only known and identified small shrine is located in the other side of the valley, ca. 6.2 km northwest of Agios Donatos of Zervochori (Svana 2003, 210-211).

[14] Cooper 1996, 234-240.

of ca. 32.5 cm, and that of the frieze is 30.2 cm (block 2). Furthermore, at Bassae the ratio of taenia to architrave height is 1:13[15] whereas in our case it is 2:11 (1:4 if the sloping sides are included)[16].

The unusual ratio of taenia to architrave height in the blocks from Agios Donatos could perhaps be explained as a local oddity of Thesprotia, which is a fairly isolated northern area, located far away from Attica and the Peloponnese, and in which monumental temples and even small temples and sanctuaries are very rare. Perhaps the temples in Thesprotia did not follow the architectural conventions so strictly as other areas of Greece? The unusual proportions may also fit a much later temple, built possibly even in Roman times. If we assume a late date of our blocks, this could also explain the lack of regulae and the odd proportions: the need to follow old rules/canons was not so clear in later times.

However, we should not exclude the possibility that the blocks on Agios Donatos originate from a structure other than a temple, such as a less strictly conventional structure like a small stoa or peristyle building. All the other blocks in the wall of the chapel, and also the two "column" fragments[17] found lower down on the slope of the hill, would fit well with such buildings, which could have been located at any of the sites already suggested for the possible temple.

Finally, the frieze-epistyle blocks could also originate from a monumental grave monument. In contrast to monumental temples, the tradition of building monumental graves or grave monuments was well known in Thesprotia, as is exemplified, for instance, by the monumental Hellenistic heroon at Marmara which is situated not far away from this hill.[18] Furthermore, the features of the frieze-epistyle blocks (the high taenia and the lack of regula) which do not fit a temple well would not be problematic in a grave monument because they did not necessary follow so strictly the "canons" of monumental architecture as their various forms and stylistic features quite clearly point out.[19]

However, it is very difficult to say from what kind of a grave monument they would originate, since the exact location of the monument itself is unknown. But, if we assume that all the limestone blocks built into the chapel of Agios Donatos and found on the lower slopes of the hill belong to one and the same structure, then the most suitable candidate for this structure would be a barrel vaulted chamber tomb with temple-type faŋade. These kinds of graves are known especially from Macedonia, and are therefore called Macedonian-type or Macedonian-inspired graves.[20] The main distinctive feature of the Macedonian tomb is the façade, which imitates that of a temple. Therefore, the "column

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[15] 6.6/83.7 = 0.079 ≈ 1/13.

[16] 5.9/32.5= 0.182 ≈ 2/11; 7.9/32.5 = 0.243 ≈ 1/4.

[17] The better preserved one is definitely a column drum, but is in so bad condition that it is impossible to measure its diameter accurately: the bottom diameter was probably somewhere between 50 and 60 cm. The other one (since 2005 already fragmented to two pieces) can be a part of a drum, pilaster or even monolith column.

[18] Riginos 1999, 173-174.

[19] For a discussion of the various types of monumental graves, see e.g. Fedak 1990, esp. 15-28. On the Macedonian monumental tombs, their chronology and stylistic features, see Miller 1971; Miller 1993, 2-4; No direct parallel for these frieze-epistyle blocks is known, even though combined blocks are used in the monumental graves.

[20] See e.g. Kossel 1980; Fedak 1990. The majority of the Macedonian-type or -inspired tombs are constructed of local stuccoed limestone, but there is also one tomb made entirely of marble in Stavropolis; see Makaronas 1956, 133-140.

drums" found on the southern slope as well as the wall, and the stylobate/orthostate blocks in the chapel's wall would fit such a grave monument. Another distinctive feature of such a tomb is the barrel vaulted chamber, which in quite a number of the preserved Macedonian graves is ca. 3 m wide. Intriguingly, the two arch/vault blocks found on the slope below the Agios Donatos chapel do, in fact, imply an arch or a vault with a diameter of 2.5 to 3 m (Fig. 9), i.e. the arch to which they belonged was quite closely comparable with the vaulted chambers of the many known Macedonian-type tombs.[21]

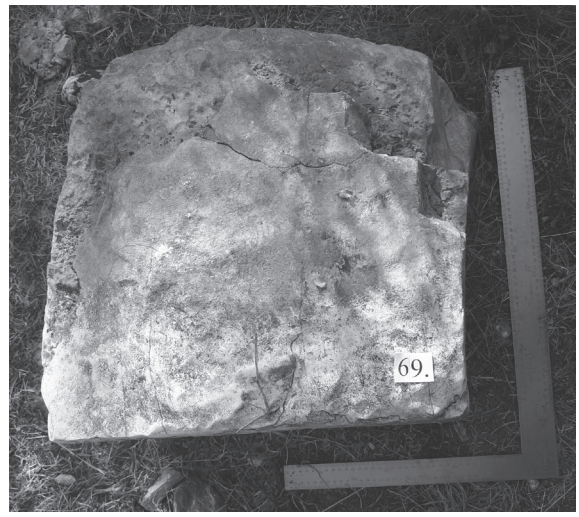

Fig. 9. Arch block belonging to a vault with a diameter of 2.5-3.0 m. Found on the southern slope of Agios Donatos in 2005.

The main arguments which can be proposed against the suggestion that the blocks on Agios Donatos of Zervochori belonged to a Macedonian-type or Macedonian-inspired barrel vaulted tomb is that no other such tombs have previously been found in Thesprotia, and that the best known examples of such tombs are in Macedonia. However, numerous examples of barrel vaulted tombs have been found over a wide area, stretching from Asia Minor to Italy and from Albania to the Peloponnese.[22] The nearest barrel vaulted tomb has, for instance, been found at Kassope,[23] only some 30 km to the south of Agios Donatos, and in certain parts of neighbouring Illyria (Albania) a vaulted construction for tombs is proposed to have been almost as widespread as in Macedonia.[24] Finally, a Macedonian-type barrel vaulted chamber tomb at Agios Donatos would agree well with the fact that Thesprotia and the general surroundings of Agios Donatos had strong connections to Macedonia, as is attested, for instance, by the armour found in the famous Prodromi grave.[25]

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[21] For the width of the chamber of the Macedonian type tombs, see Demakopoulos 2003, 349-382 (esp. table 1 on p. 362). The surfaces of the two arch/vault blocks are quite badly weathered and depending where the measures have been taken, the dimensions vary. However, the better preserved one belongs to an arch/vault with a width between 2.5 and 3.0 m. If these blocks originate from the same arch, as their general dimensions seems to imply, the arch was not placed over the known entrances of the fortress on the hill since both of the gates are 2 m or slightly less wide. Arched gates are known in this area for example from Doliani and Nekyomanteion. Of the Agios Donatos fortress and its gates, see Suha in this volume.

[22] Steingräber 2000, 41-42, maps 1-2, 89-96, maps 5-7.

[23] Hoepfner and Schwandner 1986, 103-106.

[24] Fedak 1990, 109-113.

[25] Choremis 1980, 3-20.

Conclusion

The three frieze-epistyle blocks built into the chapel of Agios Donatos of Zervochori most likely belong to one and the same structure, which is difficult to date: it could as easily date to the Archaic as to the Roman period. The blocks could theoretically belong to a temple, although they may better fit a small stoa, peristyle building, or grave monument. If we assume that all the limestone blocks found at Agios Donatos (including even the arch/vault blocks) belong to one and the same structure, then the most suitable candidate would be a Macedonian-type, or Macedonian-influenced, barrel vaulted chamber tomb. Such a suggestion would fit well with the well-known tradition of building monumental graves in this area as well as with the strong Macedonian influences attested in Thesprotia in general.

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A Shift in Animal Species Used for Food from the Early Iron Age to the Roman Period

Markku Niskanen

Introduction

Studies of animal bones and pollen samples have played an increasingly important role in archaeological research during the last few decades. These analyses are essential for environmental reconstructions, as well as for reconstructing subsistence systems and economies of people behind the archaeological remains.[1] In this article, osteological finds recovered in trial excavations conducted during the summer of 2006 by the Thesprotia Expedition in the Kokytos valley are analysed to gain information on temporal changes in subsistence system and economy between the Late Iron Age and the Hellenistic / Roman period. Bones analysed are from two sites – PS 36 and PS 25, focusing on the relative abundance of animal species from these two sites. Differences in relative frequencies generally reflect shifts in food economy and may even allow the reconstruction of the way of life (e.g., nomadic pastoral, transhumance, settled agriculturalism, etc.).

PS 36 is dated from 1100 until 400/350 BC, but most of the finds belong to the ninth and eighth centuries BC, and thus to the Early Iron Age. This site is located at Mavromandilia on the valley bottom close to the Kokytos river. It is thought that the subsistence economy of the Early Iron Age people of this region was a form of transhumance, in which animals were herded in the mountains in the summer and in the lowland plains in the winter.[2] Local Epirotic and Albanian wares, as well as Corinthian imports, are represented among pottery recovered from this site.[3]

PS 25 is a small fortified hill settlement, located on the lower slopes of the Paramythia mountain range. Its walls date to the late fourth or early third century BC, the Early Hellenistic period.[4] However, it was also used after the Roman conquest of Thesprotia in 167 BC and especially in the first century AD as indicated e.g. by rich finds of *terra sigillata* pottery.[5] It is impossible to say for certain which bones date to the Hellenistic period and which bones to the Early Roman period. However, because most finds from the layers excavated in Trench A (the tower) were of Early Roman date,[6] I have assumed that bones from Trench A are predominantly from the Early Roman period. Most of the finds from Trench B (small gate) were in a layer of eroded soil originating from the settlement above and containing a mixture of Hellenistic and Early Roman finds. Thus at least a part of the bones recovered from Trench B are presumably Hellenistic in date.[7]

[1] Davis 1987, 61-74.
[2] See e.g. Sakellariou 1997, 38-42, 54-58.
[3] For PS 36 and its finds see J. Forsén, this volume.
[4] For the walls see Suha, this volume.
[5] For the *terra sigillata* see Ikäheimo, this volume. For PS 25 in general see Forsén and Tikkala 2006.
[6] This goes for the parts of Trench A that were excavated in 2006. In 2007 the work in Trench A continued, whereby a purely Early Hellenistic layer was found below the Early Roman floor level. However, osteological finds from 2007 are not included for discussion in this article.
[7] B. Forsén, personal communication.

	Including teeth		Excluding teeth	
Site	PS 36	PS 25	PS 36	PS 25
Bos	60 (70.6%)	22 (20.8%)	44 (77.2%)	21 (25.6%)
Ovis	20 (23.5%)	66 (62.3%)	10 (17.5%)	48 (58.5%)
Sus	2 (2.4%)	10 (9.4%)	1 (1.8%)	5 (6.1%)
Equus	2 (2.4%)	--	1 (1.8%)	--
Cervus	--	2 (1.9%)	--	2 (2.4%)
Birds	1 (1.2%)	5 (4.7%)	1 (1.8%)	5 (6.1%)
Fishes	--	1 (0.9%)	--	1 (1.2%)
Total	85 (100%)	106 (100%)	57 (100%)	82 (100%)

Fig 1. The absolute and relative proportions of species or species groups used for food from PS 36 and PS 25. Relative proportions are in parentheses after absolute numbers.

Species and their relative abundance

There are considerable differences, as regards absolute numbers and relative proportions of animal species used for food, between PS 36 and PS 25. Depending on whether teeth are included or excluded, cattle bones represent 70.6-77.2% and ovicaprid bones 17.5-23.5% of all species used for food at PS 36. These proportions are almost reversed at PS 25, where cattle bones represent 20.8-25.6% and ovicaprid bones 58.5-62.3% of all species (Fig. 1).

Within PS 25, there are some differences in relative abundance of cattle, ovicaprids and pigs, depending on whether bones are recovered from Trench A (presumably the Roman period) or from Trench B (presumably mixture of the Hellenistic and Roman finds). Although ovicaprid bones outnumber cattle and pig bones in both sub-samples, cattle were relatively better represented among bones recovered from Trench B (cattle N = 11; ovicaprid N = 17; pigs N = 2) than from Trench A (cattle N = 11; ovicaprid N = 49; pigs N = 8).

The considerable differences in relative abundance of cattle and ovicaprid bones between PS 36 and PS 25 are hardly results of sampling, because sample sizes of positively identified bones are adequate for both sites. Hence this shift in the cattle / ovicaprid proportion probably reflects a change in the local subsistence economy between the Early Iron Age and the Hellenistic / Roman period. Whether the observed difference within PS 25 is real or a result of random sampling is less clear due to smaller sample size.

There are also differences in species diversity between these two sites, PS 25 exhibiting more diversity than PS 36. PS 25 provided a considerably higher percentage of pig bones than PS 36 (6.1-9.4% vs. 1.8-2.4%). PS 36 did not provide any osteological evidence of the utilization of fish, but there is a vertebra of a rather large fish (vertebral length 12 mm) from Trench A of PS 25. Small quantities of shells were also recovered in both trenches of PS 25.[8] It should be kept in mind, however, that bird bones and fish bones are very likely to be underrepresented at both sites due to their lower rate of preservation in comparison to mammalian bones.

[8] So far the shells have only been preliminarily inspected by David S. Reese. Most common according to him (pers. comm. October 2007) are examples of *Cerastoderma glaucum* (cockle), different *murex* species (both *trunculus* and *brandaris*) as well as *Helix* sp. (land snail).

Fig. 2. A metacarpal of a cow split in half from PS 36.

PS 25 provided evidence of a domestic dog (*Canis familiaris*). There was one maxillary fragment that included a canine and an incisor of a rather small dog. This specimen was found in Trench B. The only animal that was present at PS 36 but not at PS 25 was horse (a metacarpal and a tooth).

At both sites, there is no evidence that bone assemblages are biased toward certain body parts. Instead, cranial fragments and teeth, as well as parts of all major regions of the postcranial anatomy, are present for both *Bos* and *Ovis / Capra*. This rather complete anatomical coverage indicates that animals were butchered close enough to where bones are found.

Completely fused and unfused epiphyses indicate that animal bones represent both mature and young animals. However, the nature of this bone material makes it very difficult to provide accurate estimations of average ages at which cattle and ovicaprids were killed.

Butchering marks

There are butchering marks on many bones. Many of the bone shafts are split, presumably for bone marrow extraction (Fig. 2). There are also cut marks at proximal and distal ends, probably resulting from cutting tendons during the process of meat extraction (Fig. 3).

At least in the case of cattle, animals were apparently almost invariably slaughtered when adult. This was the case also in Kastanas, Macedonia, during prehistoric and early historic times.[9]

Fig. 3. A distal humerus of a small cow from PS 36. The shaft as well as the distal epiphysis has been cut during butchering.

Cattle

It is possible to estimate body size of animals from their skeletal dimensions. Genus *Bos* is characterized by a high level of sexual dimorphism. Bulls are generally much heavier than cows of the same population. There is little overlap between bulls and cows in breadth dimensions

[9] Becker 1986, 294.

	Bone	M-L breadth (mm)	Percentage difference (males)	Percentage difference (females)
PS 36	Distal metacarpal	56	-10.69	+1.54
	Proximal metacarpal	48	-21.18	+5.96
	Metacarpal (distal end measured)	53.5	-14.67	-2.90
	Metacarpal midshaft	25.5	-26.62	-11.92
	Metatarsal midshaft	28.5	-3.72	+8.57
P2 25	Metacarpal midshaft	31.5	-9.35	+8.81
	Distal metacarpal	63	+0.48	+14.23

Fig. 4. Breadth dimensions of cattle metapodia from PS 36 and PS 25. Percentage differences are computed with the following equation: [(observed dimension-mean) / mean)] x 100. Mean values are sex-specific mean values of feral cattle from Amsterdam Island. Negative values indicate that the dimension in question is below the mean, whereas positive values indicate that it is above the mean of the Amsterdam Island cattle.

of postcranial bones, but considerable overlap in bone lengths. Metapodial (metacarpal and metatarsal) breadths are the most useful skeletal dimensions for sexing purposes of all ungulates, due to their pronounced sexual dimorphism and high preservation rate in archaeological material.[10] I will next examine the skeletal size of the Kokytos valley cattle for sex determination and body size estimation purposes. I have used Amsterdam Island feral cattle as a reference population due to their general similarities in body size to prehistoric and Medieval European cattle.[11]

Articular and shaft breadth dimensions of four measurable metapodials from PS 36 are very similar to those of cows representing Amsterdam Island feral cattle, which in turn are a little smaller than the Neolithic period and Roman period cattle, but bigger than the Medieval period cattle. If these four specimens represent cows, the fifth specimen (a metatarsal midshaft) could represent a bull. One of the measurable metapodials from PS 25 represents intermediate size between bulls and cows from Amsterdam Island, but the other one is as big as the average metapodial of an Amsterdam Island bull (Fig. 4).

Due to the small sample size of measurable metapodia, it is impossible to say whether body size of cattle changed between the Early Iron Age and the Hellenistic / Roman period in the Kokytos valley. The safest assumption based on these measurable metapodials is that the Kokytos valley cattle were similar in size to the Amsterdam Island feral cattle. Feral bulls from this island average 130 cm tall at withers and weigh on average 390 kg, whereas cows average 117 cm tall at withers and weigh on average 290 kg.[12] This conclusion is supported by the observation that maximum lengths of two measurable astragali from PS 36 fall within the size range of Iron Age cattle.[13]

PS 36 provided one complete bone (a left metacarpal), the length of which (180 mm) can be used to estimate the withers height. Because slenderness of this metacarpal indicates a cow rather than a bull, I multiplied its length by 6.03, the ratio of metacarpal length to withers height provided by Matolcsi[14] for cows, and derived a withers height estimation of 108.54 cm. Based on its metacarpal length and reconstructed withers

[10] Davis 1987, 44-45.
[11] Berteaux and Guintard 1995.
[12] Berteaux and Micol 1992; Petit 1970.
[13] Davis 1987, Fig. 6.10.
[14] Matolcsi 1970.

height, this specimen was thus about the same size as the Bronze Age, Iron Age and Medieval period European cattle, although somewhat smaller than the Roman period cattle and considerably smaller than recent European cattle.[15] The closest temporal and geographic comparison can be made with cattle from Kastanas, in Macedonia. Matolcsi's ratio provides average withers heights of 116.3 cm, 110.0 cm and 111.1 cm for the Bronze Age (2400-1730 BC), the Late Bronze Age (1600-1250 BC) and the Iron Age (800-200 BC) cattle from Kastanas, respectively.[16] The application of this same ratio to the Hungarian Iron Age cattle provides the withers height range of 102 and 120 cm, whereas the maximum withers height of the Roman period cattle in Hungary was ca. 143 cm.[17]

Ovicaprids

It is impossible to provide accurate estimations of relative proportions of sheep (*Ovis aries*) and goat (*Capra hircus*) due to great difficulties in distinguishing between these two species from partly preserved bones.[18] Not a single positively identified sheep or goat bone was among ovicaprid bones recovered from PS 36. There were two bones positively identified as sheep (*Ovis aries*) bones and two positively identified as goat (*Capra hircus*) bones from PS 25. Both positively identified sheep bones are astragali. Positively identified goat bones include an astragalus and a glenoid fossa of scapula. Sheep generally outnumber goats in most regions where both species are present. In the case of Kastanas, Macedonia, sheep outnumbered goats four-to-one from the Early Bronze Age until ca. 200 BC.[19]

Pigs

Genus *Sus* was represented at both sites although with different frequencies. PS 25 has provided absolutely and relatively more pig bones than PS 36. Deciduous and permanent teeth indicate that both young and mature pigs, as well as wild and domestic pigs, are represented at PS 25.

PS 36 provided a very small third lower molar of a pig. Its length (17.5 mm) is very small even for a prehistoric domestic pig. In comparison, the lower third molar lengths of recent wild boars from the Balkans are 41 mm (31-45 mm) for males and 37 mm (25-42 mm) for females,[20] whereas those of domestic pigs from the eastern Mediterranean are 25-35 mm.[21] PS 25 provided a large third molar of a pig. Its large size (length 41.5 mm) indicates much more likely a wild boar than a domestic pig (maximum length 35 mm). The presence of domestic pigs at PS 25 is demonstrated by the very small size of boar tusks (at most 50 mm).

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[15] Davis 1987, Fig. 8.7.
[16] Becker 1986, Tab. 8.
[17] Bökönyi 1984, 28.
[18] Boessneck 1969.
[19] Becker 1986, 294-295.
[20] Herre 1986, Tab. 5.
[21] Davis 1987, Fig. 6.13a.

Horse

PS 36 provided two specimens of genus *Equus*: one left metacarpal and one tooth. The maximum length of the metacarpal is 214 mm (Fig. 5). This length indicates either a horse or a mule, because only a few domestic donkeys have metacarpals that are longer than 190 mm[22] and their mean is only 172 mm. This metacarpal is quite similar in length to metacarpals of Przevalsky's horse, "Celtic" pony and mule, whose mean metacarpal lengths are 220 mm, 213 mm and 214 mm, respectively.[23] The Roman period horses from Tác-Gorsium, Hungary, averaged somewhat bigger. Their mean metacarpal length is 227.9 mm, as computed from data provided by Bökönyi. Only four of a total of 62 metacarpals recovered from this Roman town had a metacarpal length less than 214 mm.[24]

It is impossible to be absolutely certain whether this metacarpal is from a horse or a mule, because it is quite difficult to separate horses and mules from each other based on the metacarpal size and proportions.[25] However, I consider this specimen much more likely a horse than a mule because early Greek horses were generally quite small[26] and thus unable to produce mules as large as modern mules when crossed with donkeys. Also, there is no osteological evidence of mules in southeastern Europe before about the eighth century BC.[27] Since this specimen even may predate the eighth century, we can safely conclude that it almost certainly is a horse.

I estimated the withers height of this horse from the metacarpal length (214 mm) by using the withers height-metacarpal length ratios of domestic ass, mule and different breeds of horses computed from data provided by Willoughby.[28] If proportioned like an Arabian horse, a Przevalsky's horse and a domestic ass, this horse would have had

Fig. 5. A left metacarpal of a horse from PS 36.

[22] Davis 1987, Fig. 1.12.
[23] Willoughby 1974, Tab. 31.
[24] Bökönyi 1984, Tab. 15(e).
[25] Bökönyi 1984, 64.
[26] Karageorghis 1967, 154-180.
[27] Bökönyi 1984, 64.
[28] Willoughby 1974, Tab. 31.

a withers height of 124-125 cm. If proportioned like a "Celtic" pony or a mule, its withers height would have been 131-132 cm. If we allow 5 cm for inter-individual differences around the mean values, this horse stood anywhere between 119 and 137 cm at withers. It would have been very similar in size to most late prehistoric and early historical period horses of the Circum-Mediterranean region, although smaller than the specially bred and well-fed Roman cavalry horses, which stood 138-154 cm at withers.[29]

Sex determination of horse from skeletal dimensions is far less inaccurate than that of cattle, due to the very low level of sexual dimorphism in all species of *Equus* and because the absolute and relative dimensions of bones vary considerably between different horse breeds. The sex of this specimen is thus unknown.

The single horse tooth was from the same location (PS 36, A4, Loc. 3, P. 6) as the above-discussed horse metacarpal. The small size of the tooth indicates a small horse as does the metacarpal size. However, it is not possible to say whether these horse remains are from the same animal.

Deer

Fig. 6. A phalange of a red deer from PS 25.

PS 36 has not provided diagnostic bones of genus *Cervus* or other wild game animals. Trench A of PS 25 provided two specimens representing genus *Cervus*: antler fragments and a second phalanx (Fig. 6). The overall size of the antler fragments, as well as the size and morphology of the phalanx, indicate a mature red deer (*Cervus elaphus*) stag. For instance, the maximum diameter and circumference of base are 40 mm and 127 mm, respectively. The phalanx size (maximum length 44.5 mm; distal medio-lateral breadth 18.5 mm) indicates more likely a stag than a hind.

Red deer bones have also been recovered from other sites in northwestern Greece. For example, 81.3% of the wild game animal bones recovered at Kassope are from this species.[30]

The fallow deer (*Dama dama*) was the prevailing wild ungulate in Kastanas, Macedonia, during the Bronze Age and the Iron Age.[31] It is possible that one astragalus from PS 25 is from a very small fallow deer.

Birds

PS 36 provided one bird bone, whereas PS 25 provided five (Fig. 1). All of these bones were fragments of long bones. Species were identified, but the size of these fragments indicates that these bird bones are from duck- and chicken-sized birds. Since bird bones are more fragile than mammal bones, it is likely that bird bones are probably underrepresented in this bone assemblage.

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[29] Hyland 1990, 68.
[30] Boessneck 1986, Tabelle c.
[31] Becker 1986, 295.

Fish

There is one fish vertebra from PS 25. It size indicates the large trout size category. Fish probably had a more prominent role in the food economy than this single fish vertebra indicates. Fish bones are simply less likely to be preserved in the archaeological record than bones of larger mammals. For example, fish represent only 0.1% of the bone assemblage in Kastanas, Macedonia, although this Bronze and Iron Age site was close to a marine bay with quite large freshwater areas and lagoons.[32]

Discussion and conclusions

The shift in relative abundance of cattle and ovicaprid bones is considerable between these two sites, located relatively close to each other but differentiated in age by at least some 400 years.[33] Relative frequencies of cattle and ovicaprid bones were essentially reversed between the Early Iron Age and the Hellenistic / Roman period. This shift very likely indicates a considerable shift in subsistence practices and even in the economic system. Similar temporal shifts in relative proportions of different domestic mammal species have been recorded also from elsewhere in northern Greece. For example, in Macedonia near the modern village of Kastanas, cattle were the main supply of meat during the Early and Middle Bronze Age; sheep/goat and pigs were about equally important during the Late Bronze Age, but cattle regained their position as the most important meat-providing domestic mammal during the Iron Age.[34]

Why these shifts occurred in the Kokytos valley and elsewhere in northern Greece is unclear. At least in the Kokytos valley, there is no evidence of natural environmental (e.g. climatic) changes that would have demanded a shift in animal husbandry practices and species preferences. However, it is possible that the human population growth after the Early Iron Age has something to do with this shift.

Preliminary archaeological research indicates that the Early Iron Age in Thesprotia was a period of relatively few archaeological finds in comparison to later periods. It is thus possible that the "Dark Age" human population was rather small and that the local environment was not overburdened by herds of domestic animals. There may have thus been adequate grazing for cattle, explaining the relatively high frequency of cattle bones among the Early Iron Age animal bone finds. Also, this region receives quite a lot of rain, which in turn makes it more suitable for cattle than most regions of Greece. This situation may have changed with the increasing human population and increased grazing by domestic animals over the following centuries. Poorer quality of grazing lands due to centuries of overgrazing may have made the local environment less suitable for cattle, resulting in the observed shift to a broader spectrum of species utilization. This broad-spectrum utilization is indicated by a more than three-fold increase in the frequency of pig bones, as well as by the growing importance of sea food and game.

Large quantities of bones recovered from the city of Kassope, dated to ca. 360-30 BC, provide a similar example of this broad-spectrum utilization. Kassope, which is

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[32] Becker 1986, 294.
[33] Assuming that most finds from PS 36 predate ca. 700 BC and most finds from PS 25 antedate ca. 300 BC.
[34] Becker 1986, 293-295.

located only ca. 30 km to the south of the sites in the Kokytos valley, provided bones of both domestic and wild mammal species, as well as several species of birds, fish and shellfish. Interestingly enough, there is also a change in the frequencies of different species represented over the four centuries, which reminds one a bit of the situation in the Kokytos valley. Thus, in Kassope the frequency of pig as well as of wild game, and especially red deer, rises throughout time whereas the frequency of cattle drops from the third until the first century BC.[35]

The observed change in subsistence economy may also have occurred independently of environmental changes, as a result of social and political changes. Political and social developments during Classical and Hellenistic times, and especially during the Roman Period, may have simply affected the subsistence economy through changes in the human settlement pattern.

Further recoveries of bones from PS 36 and PS 25 will probably increase sample sizes of bones representing different species. These larger sample sizes of archaeological bones will allow more accurate reconstructions of temporal changes in subsistence economy in Thesprotia.

[35] Boessneck 1986, 136-140, esp. fig. 137.

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Stamped *Terra Sigillata* from Agios Donatos

Janne P. Ikäheimo

Introduction

This article offers a preliminary insight into a group of pottery finds made by *The Thesprotia Expedition* during the 2005-2007 survey and excavation of the hill fortress of Agios Donatos at Zervochori, located in Thesprotia, northwest Greece.[1] The specific aim is to introduce a group of eleven *planta pedis* (i.e. plantar) stamps in *terra sigillata.*[2] The use of pottery stamps in the production of *terra sigillata* began in Italy. The earliest examples are dated to c. 40-30 BC, and they were frequently equipped with no fewer than five small quadrangular stamps containing the producer's initials. Around 15-10 BC these radially placed stamps were replaced by large rectangular stamps pressed to the centre of the vessel interior.[3] The use of *planta pedis* stamps was closely connected with the workshops located in Arretium (present day Arezzo), Central Italy, where this stamp form was first introduced around AD 15-30. Although some of these workshops had branches in southern France (e.g., in Lyon), where practically identical vessel forms were produced,[4] the use of *planta pedis* stamps was, for unknown reasons, confined to Italy.[5]

The study of *terra sigillata* stamps was begun in the late nineteenth century by German scholars, the most notable of whom were Hans Dragendorff and "the father of Roman *instrumentum domesticum* studies" Heinrich Dressel.[6] The reason for such an early interest is quite obvious; pottery stamps were, and still are, considered as constantly accumulating literary source material on handicrafts in the Roman world. An illustrative example of the rapid accumulation of stamp data is the second edition of Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum,[7] a 600-page corpus equipped with practical CD-ROM containing information on 33,087 *sigillata* stamps.

Although the identification and cataloguing of pottery stamps has greatly profited from the modern information age, ideas regarding their interpretation are still manifold.

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[1] The exploration of the hill fortress of Agios Donatos will continue in 2008 and more pottery finds are expected, hence this interim report. For the most recent description of the Agios Donatos hill fortress, see Forsén and Tikkala 2006 as well as Suha, this volume. The author hereby acknowledges his debt to the Academy of Finland, whose support has enabled the preparation of this article. For an earlier version of this article (in Finnish), see Ikäheimo 2006. All illustrations are by the author.

[2] For a brief history of *terra sigillata* pottery, see e.g. Peacock 1982, 114-128; Hayes 1997, 41-64; Tyers 1999, 105-116.

[3] For a brief introduction to the typology of stamp forms, see Fülle 1997, 118.

[4] For this reason the term *italic sigillata* is widely used in publications focusing on Roman pottery. It defines red-slipped fineware production of Italy and southern France, which can usually be distinguished from one another only through chemical analysis.

[5] *Conspectus*, 147-148. *Planta pedis* stamps were also occasionally used in the eastern Mediterranean, but for the most part these stamps are anepigraphic and the few text-bearing stamps are predominantly in Greek, see Hayes 1997, 52-57.

[6] Dragendorff 1895; Dressel 1899.

[7] Henceforth *CVArr*^{2}.

As it is quite fruitless to dwell on this argument in this context, it might be reasonable to briefly point out that stamps may have been vehicles to control the quantity of production within a single workshop, to identify proper products after centralised/communal firing, or even a way to promote the products.[8]

Against this background, the rest of this contribution has been structured as follows. First, the eleven *planta pedis* stamps found at Agios Donatos are described and, due to the fragmentary condition of most examples, also deciphered. Thereafter, their significance is evaluated in a wider perspective, first by considering the stamps as evidence on the Agios Donatos hill fortress itself. In this context, additional data regarding the forms and decorations of *terra sigillata* discovered by the survey and excavation of the site will be introduced. Finally, these finds are related to the known distribution of this pottery in northwest Greece and adjacent Roman provinces, and a working hypothesis regarding their significance is formulated to be tested with further studies.

Materials

The following paragraphs describe the eleven *planta pedis* stamps[9] from Agios Donatos in a concise manner:

1. Complete, substantially well-preserved stamp on a base fragment from a cup (Fig. 1a). In addition, the bottom of the base preserves an intact MR graffito (in Latin?). Clearly legible stamp: the text reads as CN•ATEI with the letter C reversed and forming a ligature with the letter N. Although this text is well-attested in *CVArr²* with 223 stamp forms and 953 entries,[10] none of them bears a reversed letter C. In spite of this oddity, the stamp can be deciphered as Gnaeus Ateius,[11] a large-scale *terra sigillata* producer whose workshop in Pisa (c. 5 BC-AD 40+) was supposedly the only one of his many establishments to use *planta pedis* stamps.

2. Complete, substantially well-preserved stamp on a base fragment from a plate or platter (Fig. 1b). Clearly legible stamp: the text reads as AVILL with an AV ligature. In addition, the bottom of the base shows traces of a fragmentary and illegible graffito. The number of known Avillius stamp forms is nearly 60, and the early date of production, 20 BC-AD 40, is based on the relatively high occurrence of rectangular stamp forms in the output of his workshop.[12]

3. Complete, substantially well-preserved stamp on a base fragment from a plate or platter (Fig. 1c). The text reads as AVILLI with an AV ligature. In addition, the bottom of the base preserves an intact ΚΠΑ graffito. This stamp very likely belongs to the output of the same Avillius discussed in the previous entry.[13]

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[8] E.g. Fülle 1997, 114-119; cf. *CVArr²*, 10-14.

[9] While all complete stamps, some of which are badly worn, have been included in the analysis, two well-preserved but minute stamp fragments have been excluded from it.

[10] See *CVArr²*, 127-133.

[11] For comparanda, see *CVArr²*, 128-130, nos. 46-47.

[12] *CVArr²*, 152-153, nos. 371.1-58. The name Avillius also occurs in 19 stamps together with the name of another person, commonly interpreted as his slave, see *CVArr²*, 153-156, nos. 372-390.

[13] *CVArr²*, 152-153, nos. 371.38-45.

4. Complete stamp on a base fragment from a small cup or bowl (Fig. 1d). Clearly legible stamp: the first letter, L, is separated from an AV ligature by a dot, hence L•AV. This text is attested in only two stamp forms,[14] and it most likely refers to a producer named Lucius Avillius, as various stamp forms bearing a text L•AVIL(L) are plentiful. While these Avillius stamps have been seen as contemporaneous with Camurius stamps, i.e. AD 30-70,[15] L•AV stamps have been dated roughly to the post-Augustan (AD 15-) period.[16]

5. Partially preserved stamp on a half base of a cup or small bowl (Fig. 1e). In addition, the bottom of the base preserves an intact ΠA graffito. The stamp fragment contains only the toe of the foot, the letter L and the vertical arm of the preceding letter, which is almost certainly the letter I.[17] One may also notice that the toe is not separated from the text with a vertical line, which is an endemic feature in *planta pedis* stamps. These criteria can be used to reduce the number of potential producers to four, of which the workshop of Lucius Avillius, introduced above, is the most likely candidate due strong similarities in lettering and letter spacing.[18]

6. Partially preserved stamp on a base fragment from a plate or platter (Fig. 1f). The first two letters, C and A, are clearly discernible, and the latter forms a ligature with a partially preserved letter M. On its right side, one may further recognise the left diagonal arm of the letter V. This combination of letters and its variants – CAMR, CAMRI, CAMVRI, etc. – are attested in c. 80 stamp forms, of which around 90 % belong to the *planta pedis* type.[19] While it is agreed that the text should be read as "Camurius", it has been interpreted in a variety of ways. The text may refer to a *gentilicium* Camurius, but in some *Camurius*-stamps the letters C and A are separated by a dot (e.g., C•AMVR). On this ground, the name of the workshop owner could also be C. Amurius (Gaius Amurius).[20] Confusion has been further augmented by C•MVR or C•MVRIUS -stamps,[21] which seem to refer to a person named Gaius Murius. However, all these workshop owners were based in Arretium and their output is dated to AD 30-70.[22]

7. Complete, substantially well-preserved stamp on a base fragment from a cup (Fig. 1g). Unfortunately, the die used in stamping was either worn or pressed carelessly against the vessel surface, as only the first letter, an L, can be identified with substantial confidence. However, based on comparanda, the stamp seems to contain the text L•TITI. In this case, it would belong to the output of a workshop owned by Lucius Titius, who was active between 15 BC and AD 30. This identification is not certain, however, because

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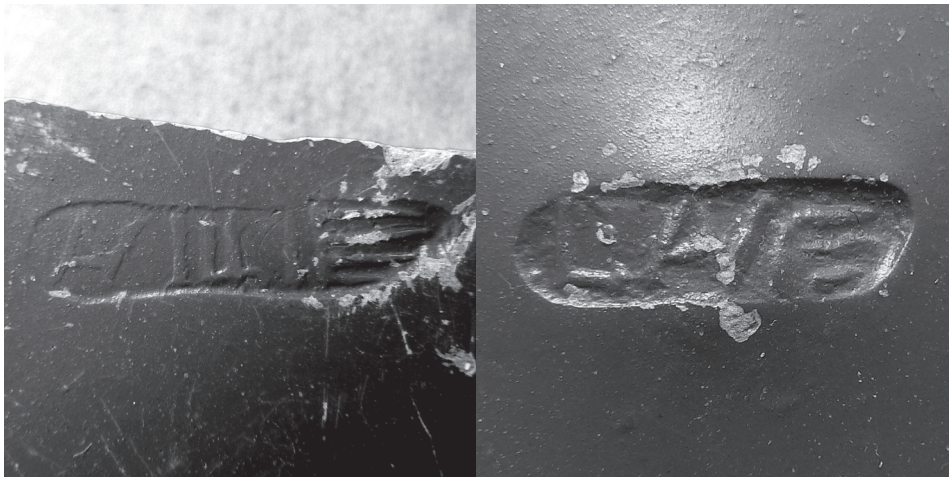
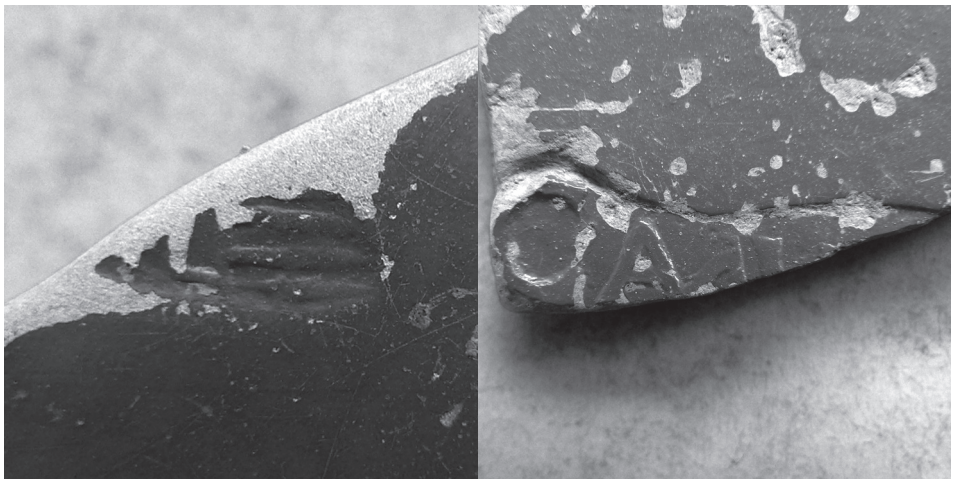
[14] *CVArr²*, 150, nos. 360.1-2.
[15] *CVArr²*, 158, nos. 403.1-18.
[16] *CVArr²*, 150.
[17] In principle, this fragmentary letter could also be H or M, but queries performed with various combinations of HL and ML in *CVArr²* CD-ROM database did not produce any results.
[18] See *CVArr²*, 158, nos. 403.13-14, cf. L. ALBIVS APRILIS, 87, no. 71.1; GELLIVS, 234, no. 878.55; ZOILVS, 512, nos. 2544.76, 78.
[19] *CVArr²*, 173-175, nos. 514.1-81.
[20] E.g. Warren 1987-1988, 91, 92, fig. 20. This interpretation has been challenged due to a supposedly random occurrence of dots in *Camurius* stamps. Besides dots separating two characters, these stamps occasionally show dots encircling them. At least in the latter case, their sole purpose seems to be decorative, see *CVArr²*, 173.
[21] *CVArr²*, 173, 287, nos. 1198.1-8, nos. 1200.1-7.
[22] *CVArr²*, 173. Chemical analyses have confirmed the location of this workshop in Arretium, see Mascione *et al*. 1995, 233-234.

a b



c d



e f

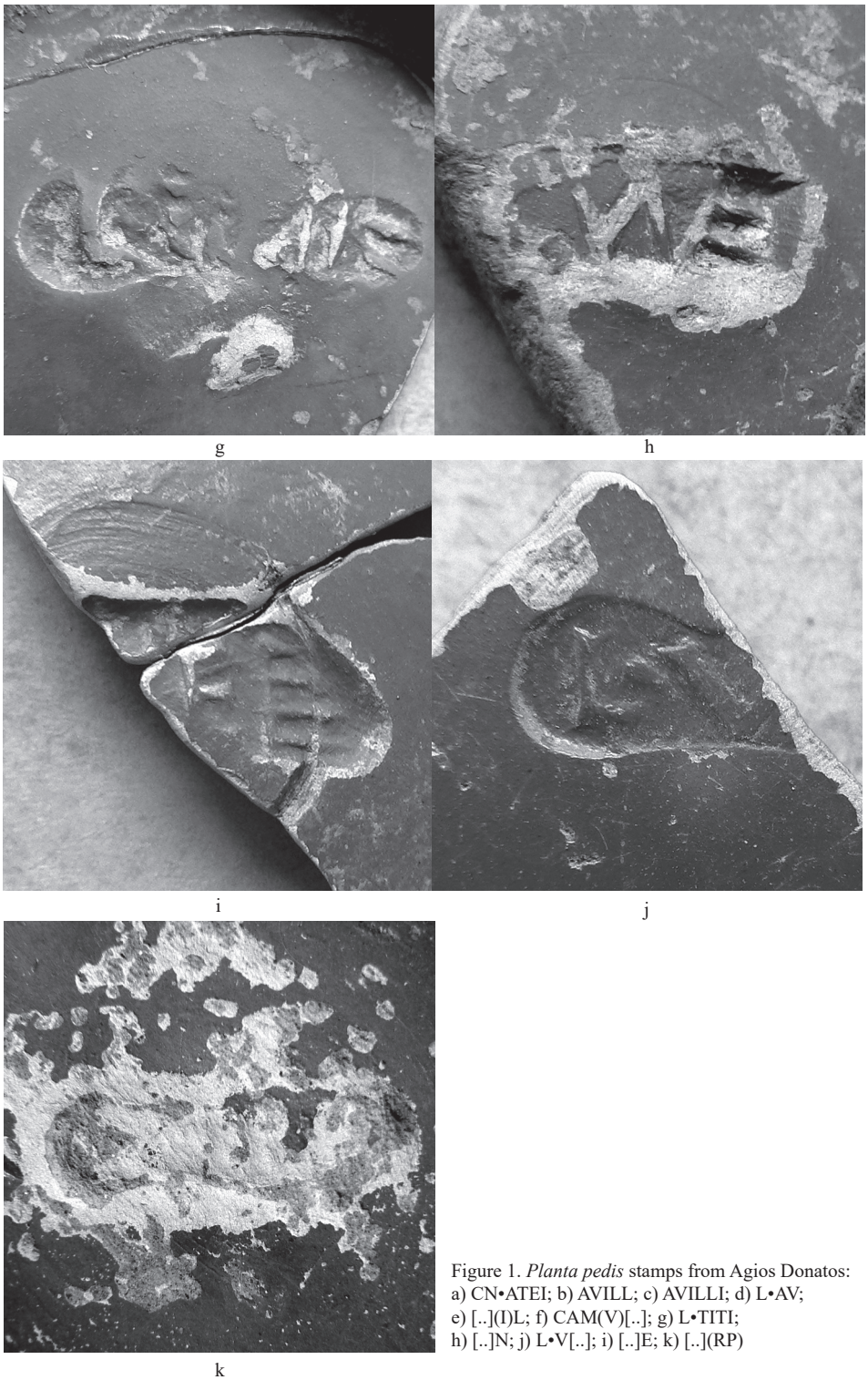


Figure 1. *Planta pedis* stamps from Agios Donatos:
a) CN•ATEI; b) AVILL; c) AVILLI; d) L•AV;
e) [..](I)L; f) CAM(V)[..]; g) L•TITI;
h) [..]N; j) L•V[..]; i) [..]E; k) [..](RP)

most *planta pedis* stamps of the workshop in question are either in the form L•TI or L•TIT. In addition, the shape of the plantar stamp does not match with the known form repertoire of Lucius Titius' workshop.[23]

8. Partially preserved stamp on a base fragment for which the vessel form remains to be determined. The only identifiable letter is a reversed N (Fig. 1h).[24] Therefore, the example under examination belongs to the group of retrograde stamps, which – as witnessed by some fifty known stamp forms – are not exceptional in *terra sigillata*. Two possible interpretations can be put forward. The stamp form may be *planta pedis sinistrorsum* with toes to the left and the letter N being the last character of the stamp. Alternatively, the stamp may be more typical *planta pedis dextrorsum* with toes to the right and the letter N being the first character of the stamp. As the latter option can be excluded due to the absence of parallels, only two reversed stamps with the letter N as the last character qualify as comparanda due to strong similarity in character forms and spacing: C. CAENIUS and MENO( ).[25] As these stamps have been assigned a convergent date (AD 15-) and provenance (Central Italy), it is unnecessary and impractical to continue here further with the analysis.

9. Partially preserved stamp on a base fragment from a cup or small bowl (Fig. 1i). In addition, the bottom of the base preserves an illegible graffito. Although the only identifiable letter in the stamp is an E, this information can be combined with the stamp form[26] to exclude all but three producers: CN. ATEIUS, C. M( ) E( ), and A. TERENTIUS.[27] While Ateius had relocated his workshop from Arezzo to in Pisa by the time the use of *planta pedis* stamps had begun, A. Terentius was one of the producers active in the Po valley, and the location of the workshop using C. M( ) E( ) stamps is not known. Therefore, this unprovenanced stamp can be dated only roughly to AD 15-50.

10. Partially preserved stamp on a base fragment from a plate or platter (Fig. 1j). Clearly legible stamp showing a dot separating the letter L from a partial letter V, hence L•V[..]. As the right arm of the letter V has not been preserved, it is impossible to determine whether the text continues with a VM ligature. This feature could have been used for more precise stamp identification, since at least eight producers used the combination L•V[..] on their *planta pedis*-stamps (Fig. 2).[28]

11. Complete, heavily worn stamp on a base fragment from a cup (Fig. 1k). Although the last two letters may be R and P, the stamp is practically illegible and this prevents its further identification. In addition, the bottom of the base preserves an intact IΘ graffito.

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[23] *CVArr²*, 444-446, nos. 2203.1-44 (*planta pedis* 2203.25-36). The name Titius also occurs in 34 stamps together with another personal name, commonly interpreted as his slave, see *CVArr²*, 446-451, nos. 2204-2238.

[24] On the left hand side of the letter N one might also notice traces of another character, possibly a letter C, but it should equally be a mirror image. See also note 26.

[25] See *CVArr²*, 168, no. 480.8 (C. CAENIVS); 283, no. 1164.4 (MENO[ ]). One, although a somewhat far-fetched possibility is that this example is a previously unknown C.N-stamp. In this case, the shape of the stamp would be identical to *CVArr²*, 294, no. 1222.5, excluding the reflected letter N.

[26] *CVArr²*, 534, frame no. 606.

[27] See *CVArr²*, 128-130, no. 276.65 (CN. ATEIUS); 265, nos. 1064.2-3 (C. M[ ] E[ ]); 421, no. 2066.18 (A. TERENTIVS)

[28] See *CVArr²*, 459, nos. 2278.1-4 (L. V[ ] FI[ ]); 464, nos. 2311.1-3 (L. VALERIUS); 471, no. 2357.1 (L.VET[TIUS?]); 484, nos. 2425.1-2 (L.VIC[ ]); 491-492, nos. 2452.19-35 (L.VMBRICIVS); 494-495, nos. 2470.1-11 (L.VMBRICIVUS H[ ]); 499, nos. 2494.1-4 (L.VMBRICIVUS SEX[TIO?]); 499, nos. 2495, nos. 2495.1-3 (L.VOL).

Stamp	Producer(s)	Provenance	Date	Stamps
CN•ATEI	Gnaeus Ateius	Pisa	AD 15-40	271
AVILL	Avill(ius)	?	AD 15-40	168
AVILLI	Avilli(us)	-	AD 15-40	168
L•AV	L(ucius) Av(illius)	?	AD 15+	2
[..](I)L	Lucius Avillius	?	AD 15+	168
CAM(V)[..]	Camu(rius)	Arretium	AD 30-70	368
L•TITI	L(ucius) Titi(us)	Arretium	AD 15-30	153
[..]E	Gnaeus Ateius	Pisa	AD 15-40	271
	C. M( ) E( )	?	AD 15+	4
	Aulus Terentius	Po valley	AD 15/30-50	194
[..]N	Gaius Caenius	Arretium	AD 15+	13
	Meno( )	Central Italy		7
L•V[..]	L. V( ) FI( )	?	AD 30+	16
	Lucius Valerius	?	AD 15+	3
	Lucius Vet(tius?)	?	AD 15+	2
	L. Vic( )	Po valley	AD 50+	2
	Lucius Umbricius	Arezzo	AD 15-50+	94
	Lucius Umbricius H( )	Torrita di Siena	AD 50+	45
	Lucius Umbricius Sex ( )	?	AD 15+	10
	Lucius Vol ( )	?	AD 15+	6
[..](RP)	?	?	?	?

Fig. 2. Summary of *planta pedis* stamps found at the hill fortress of Agios Donatos. All dates have been adjusted by setting the terminus post quem to AD 15, which is the introduction date for *planta pedis* stamps. Absolute number of stamps known according to *CVArr*[2].

Discussion

When the stamp finds of Agios Donatos are examined together (Fig. 2), they all seem share the same date – first century AD – and provenance, Central Italy. This notion is supported by the preliminary examination of the vessel forms and decorations. To date, all of some thirty finds identified on the basis of vessel form or decoration belong to (Central) Italian production, and the majority can be dated to the first half of the first century AD. As regards forms, the two common shapes attested in the assemblage are plates (or platters) and cups (see Fig. 3),[29] which were often exported together as a service; this is also hinted by their fairly even distribution in the assemblage.

The assemblage also includes several fragments of vases decorated with appliqués, the use of which became more common during the Tiberian era; previously, plastic decorations in *terra sigillata* had been limited to hand-formed double spirals.[30] Workshops using applied decorations were often repeating a certain array of motifs, but combined them differently. One combination related to the workshop of Lucius Avillius consists of

[29] *Conspectus* forms: 6.2.1, 17.2.1, 18.3.1, 19.2.1, 20.4.1, 20.4.3 (or 21.5.1), 20.4.4 (or 21.3.1), 20.5.2, 22.1.3, 26.1.2 (or 26.2.1), 33 and 37.1.
[30] *Conspectus*, 149.

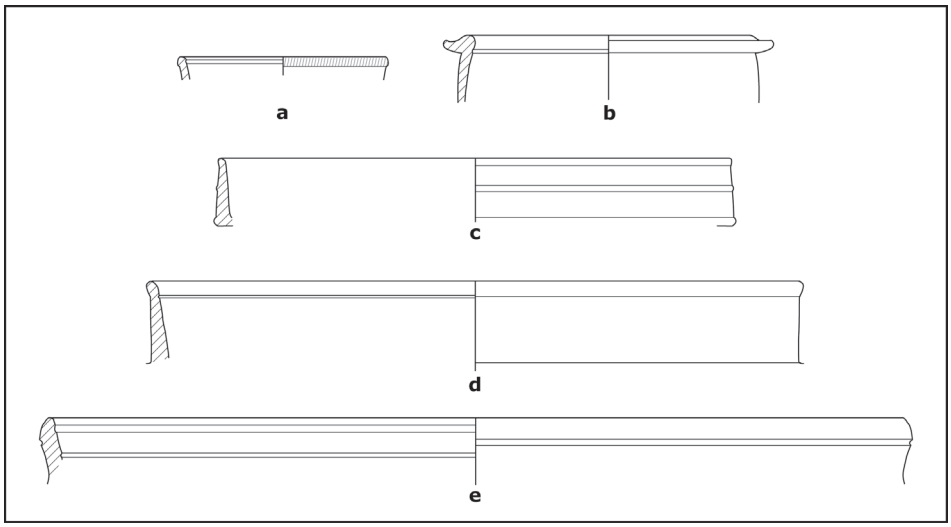

Figure 3. A selection of terra sigillata rim forms from Agios Donatos: a-b) cups, c-e) platters or plates. Scale 1:2.

a dolphin, Cupid, and Eros with a bow.[31] All these three motifs have been found in the excavations at Agios Donatos (Fig. 4), and underscore the presence of this workshop's products in its *sigillata* assemblage.

As the archaeological exploration of Agios Donatos will be continued in the near future, it is perhaps somewhat premature to discuss the presence of Roman red-slipped wares other than Central Italian *sigillata*. However, thus far, the pottery assemblage of Agios Donatos does not include any readily identifiable examples of North Italian *sigillata*, which, based on various archaeological contexts, was intensively produced in the Po river valley from the late first century AD onwards.[32] Moreover, African red-slipped ware, which was the subject of intensive exportation from the Flavian period onwards, and which, according to Hayes,[33] dominates tableware assemblages in the Adriatic Sea as of the late second century, is represented in the assemblage only by a few sporadic sherds.

Finally, it is useful to review in brief the distribution of stamps attested at Agios Donatos.[34] Based on the number of known examples, stamps of active middle-sized producers,[35] such as Camurius, L. Avillius, Avillius and L. Titius, are relatively abundant in the eastern Mediterranean, for example in Corinth, Alexandria and Athens. On the other hand, when the finds of Agios Donatos are compared with the distribution of Italic *terra sigillata* stamps in the Ionian and Adriatic Sea, the first observation emerging relates to the scantiness of finds in this area. The most concrete proof of this is that, unlike

[31] Schindler Kaudelka *et al*. 2001, 115, Abb. 75.
[32] On *terra sigillata* production in the Po-valley, see e.g. Mazzeo Saracino 1985; Rosetti Tella 1996.
[33] Hayes 1990, 113.
[34] The information is based on various *CVArr*[2] CD-ROM database queries.
[35] At least *Gnaeus Ateius* (over 1,000 stamps) and *Lucius Rasinius Pisanus* (circa 500 stamps) can be defined as large-scale producers.

a b c

Figure 4. Some clay appliqués used by the workshop of Lucius Avillius found at Agios Donatos: a) dolphin (tail), b) Cupid playing aulos and c) Eros and a bow (fragment).

other Roman provinces, Epirus has been excluded as a search term from the *CVArr*[2] CD-ROM.

Previously, stamped *sigillata* of Arretian origin found within the area of Epirus has been published only from Cassope,[36] which is located some 40 kilometres south-southeast of Agios Donatos. Other occurrences worth mentioning are five stamps which were found in Corfu. For the sake of comparison, at the turn of the millennium the total number of *terra sigillata* stamps known from the province of Macedonia was only 14, while the province of Achaia had yielded no fewer than 1,028 examples.[37] Approximately 70% of the Achaian stamps also originate in Arretium, a feature underlining the close contacts of this area with the heartland of the Empire. The closest point of reference north from Thesprotia is Salona (Split), where a little over half of the 16 recognised stamps originate in the production centres of the Po river valley. In the province of Dalmatia, the proportion of stamps belonging to the workshops of Po river valley is as high as 70%, although this figure is based on only 71 stamps.

Based on this somewhat superficial comparison, it seems that the area of Thesprotia, at least in the light of the find assemblage from the hill fortress of Agios Donatos, seems to have had more intense contacts to the south (and west) than to the north or east. This suggestion regarding the contacts of this area with the rest of the Roman world is bound to be changed or become more focused by future research at Agios Donatos and elsewhere in Epirus, but until then it may constitute a decent working hypothesis. To sum up, it is evident that these eleven *terra sigillata* stamps found at Agios Donatos will not set the world of Roman pottery studies on fire, and while the dot in the future distribution maps of Italic *terra sigillata* may be the smallest of the kind, it will be there.

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[36] Gravani 1986, 132, Abb. 133.6.

[37] The high total is to a certain extent explained by the existence of densely populated centres, especially Athens (186 stamps) or Corinth (689 stamps), in this area.

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Thesprotia in the Context of Roman and Late Antique Epirus

William Bowden

Roman Epirus

Archaeological research into Roman Epirus began with the wide ranging topographic surveys of travellers such as Hammond and the much more detailed surveys carried out by Sotiris Dakaris in Greece and Dhimosten Budina in Albania (all of which tend to focus their attentions on earlier periods).[1] This information has recently been enhanced by the multi-period intensive field surveys carried out in the hinterland of Nikopolis by Boston University in collaboration with the local Greek Ephorates, as well as that carried out in the hinterland of Butrint and the new Thesprotia project which is the subject of this volume.[2] Further detailed information has been provided by the rescue and research excavations carried out by the Ephoreias themselves, by the Albanian Institute of Archaeology, and by foreign missions particularly the University of Bologna's Phoinike project, the University of Ioannina/German Archaeological Institute's work at Kassope and the Anglo-Albanian project at Butrint.

These different sources provide intriguing and sometimes contradictory views of Epirus and Thesprotia in the Roman and late antique periods. Traditionally there has been a tendency to interpret excavation results within the context of a historical narrative determined by limited and problematic textual sources. This is particularly notable in the case of two key events in the history of Roman intervention within the region, namely Aemilius Paullus's destruction of the region's towns in 167 BC and the Nikopolitan synoecism shortly after 31 BC. Both of these episodes have become canonical in explanations of archaeologically detectable change in the late Hellenistic-early Roman period in Epirus.[3] While it is clear that there were very significant changes in types and patterns of settlement between the Hellenistic and Roman periods (notably the apparent desertion of many of the fortified hill-top settlements that characterised Hellenistic Epirus), it does not necessarily follow that these changes are directly associated with these two events. Although these events may well have been significant, we should at least admit the possibility that other forces may have been involved.

Aemilius Paullus's activities in the aftermath of the third Macedonian war reportedly involved the sacking of 70 *oppida* and the taking of 150,000 people as slaves.[4] According to Strabo, in his day Epirus, which had previously been "well populated, though mountainous", had become "a wilderness, with here and there a decaying village".[5] While rural decline and depopulation is a constantly recurring *topos* for Roman writers, it is

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[1] Hammond 1967, Dakaris 1971; Dakaris 1972; Budina 1971; Budina 1975; Other recent work is usefully summarised in Karatzeni 2001 and Lambrou 2006. All illustrations, unless otherwise stated, are by the author.
[2] The Roman phases of the Nikopolis survey are summarised in Wiseman 2001 and Stein 2001. For the Butrint survey see Pluciennik 2004.
[3] Dakaris 1971, 67.
[4] Polyb. 30.16; Liv. 14.34; Plut. *Aem*. 29.
[5] Strabo 7.327.

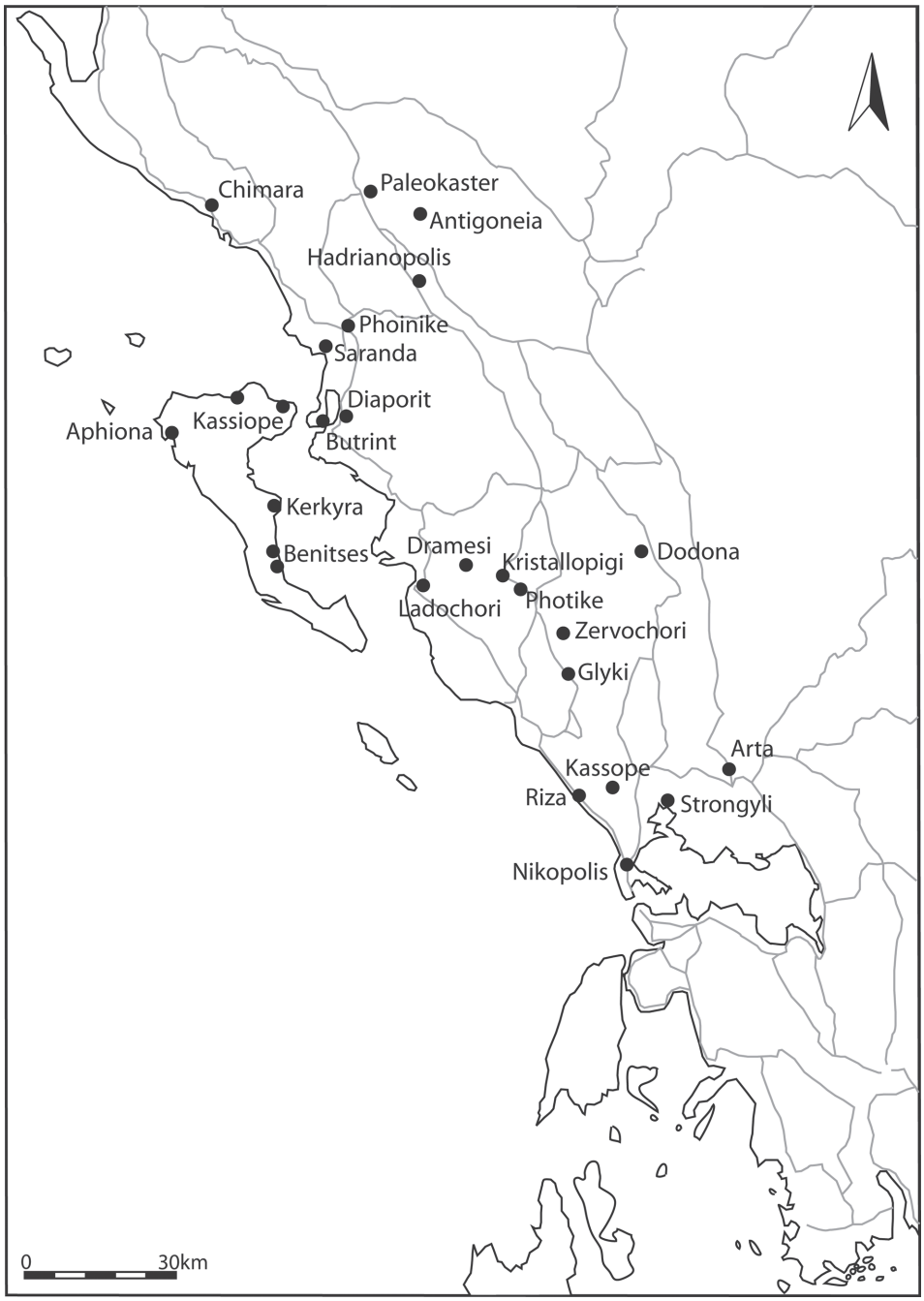

Fig. 1. Map of Epirus, showing sites mentioned in the text.

clear that land-holding patterns and the distribution of wealth changed quite significantly between the third and first centuries BC. This is apparent, for example, from the evidence of the manumission inscriptions from the theatre at Butrint, which show a marked increase

in the number of individual manumitters in the later part of this period, in contrast to the earlier inscriptions in which individual slaves were freed by all the members of one or more families acting collectively.[6]

The rise in individual manumitters suggests that wealth became more concentrated in the hands of individuals than previously. It is likely that this change from collective to individual ownership may have extended to land-holding, and this may have been a factor in the process which saw the senatorial aristocracy of Rome establish major land holdings and estates within Epirus, the first area outside the Italian peninsula where this occurred to a significant level. These were the "Epirote men" noted by Cicero and Varro, of which the most famous was Titus Pomponius Atticus, Cicero's correspondent and archivist, who owned an estate in the territory of Butrint.[7]

Under the Julio-Claudians further major changes occur in Roman Epirus (Fig. 1). Colonies were established by Caesar at Butrint, a colony that was later refounded by Augustus, and possibly Photike near Paramythia (discussed in greater detail below) for which Rizakis has proposed a Caesarian foundation date.[8] The most famous Julio-Claudian foundation is of course, Nikopolis, the victory city founded in the aftermath of Augustus's victory at Actium, which seems to have had dual status as a colony and as a *civitas libera*.[9] These colonial foundations may have had a fundamental effect on the urban and rural landscapes of Epirus, although as with other historically or epigraphically attested events we should be cautious about making direct associations with archaeological detectable phenomena.

At Butrint, the epigraphic and sculptural record indicates that the sanctuary of Asklepios was reshaped into the political heart of the city, focused around members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty who became patrons of the colony. It is likely, though by no means proven, that the town's aqueduct and forum date to this period. Subsequently during the latter part of the first century AD, the city expanded beyond the peninsula that it had occupied since its foundation, and an area of suburban villas covering more than 8 hectares developed to the south (Fig. 2). The development of these villas is paralleled by the villa at Diaporit on the shores of the Butrint lake, which was substantially enlarged between AD 40-80 (see below). It is worth noting that this expansion in residential development is not contemporary with the foundation of the colony (as was originally hypothesised).[10] A late first-century increase in site numbers was also noted by field survey in the hinterland of Patras, where new building had also traditionally been linked with the foundation of the colony.[11]

The changes wrought by the foundation of Nikopolis of course were profound, involving a process of synoecism in which the inhabitants, deities and sculptural decoration from numerous nearby settlements were more or less forcibly co-opted into the new settlement which also included colonists. This episode, known primarily from Strabo and Pausanias, is often cited as the cause of archaeologically detectable change

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[6] Cabanes 1997, 126.
[7] Cic. *Att.* 1.5, 2.6; Varro *Rust*. 2.1.1-2, 2.2.1.
[8] Rizakis 1990, 271-272.
[9] Purcell 1987.
[10] The extra-mural area at Butrint, identified through geophysical survey, was originally thought to be a planned suburb relating to the Augustan colony (Bowden, Hodges and Lako 2002). Extensive excavation has now refuted this hypothesis. On the colony at Butrint see the papers in Hodges and Hansen 2007.
[11] Petropoulos and Rizakis 1994, 192.

Fig. 2. Reconstruction drawing of Roman Butrint, showing suburb on south side of Vivari Channel (Studio Inklink).

within the region, for example at Kassope and Ambrakia (Arta), although excavations at the latter have shown that activity in the town continued into the fourth century AD.[12]

In Thesprotia itself we know far less. We have very little understanding of Photike, which remains unexcavated with knowledge of the town and its inhabitants restricted to epigraphic sources. At least 37 inscriptions relating to the town are known.[13] Apart from a few chance finds almost nothing is known of the topography of Photike, although most scholars agree on its approximate location in the area of Liboni slightly north-west of Paramythia. S.S. Clarke noted that "here clearly stood a Roman and Byzantine town" and Hammond also noted scatters of pottery and building remains, although little is visible now.[14] This area is also associated with the *ad Dianam* mentioned on the Peutinger Table on the basis of the discovery of an inscription dedicated to Diana together with a small statue of the goddess, perhaps suggesting the presence of a sanctuary.[15]

The colonial foundations at Nikopolis and Butrint also involved fundamental reorganisations of the landscape. This process of centuriation saw large areas of agricultural land divided into regular plots of land for the colonists. Traces of centuriation have also been detected around Arta giving some evidence as to the extent of this landscape reorganisation, while similar programmes of land organisation have been suggested in the surroundings of Hadrianopolis and Phoinike.[16] It is highly likely that the landscape around Photike would have also have undergone a programme of centuriation and it will be interesting to see if the new survey work can shed any light on this.

The extent of these colonial foundations and their effect on the surrounding landscape may be partly the reason behind the fact that the survey results from Epirus appear to be slightly different from those from elsewhere in Greece. The general

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[12] For Kassope, see Schwander 2001 and Gravani 2001. Recent work at Arta is summarised by Karatzeni 2001, 167-168.

[13] Samsaris 1994. For other evidence relating to Photike, see Triantaphillopoulos 1984.

[14] S.S. Clarke, Diary for Monday April 30th 1923 (Archives of the British School at Athens); Hammond 1967, 73-74.

[15] Hammond 1967, 693. Hammond argues against the *ad Dianam* identification.

[16] See Bowden 2007a with references.

picture from surveys in Greece suggests a densely populated classical countryside was replaced by a more sparsely populated landscape in the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, before an apparent explosion in site numbers during the late Roman period.[17] However, in Epirus the early Roman landscape seems to be quite densely populated. This was indicated by the results of the Nikopolis survey, which suggested similar levels of occupation in both the early and the late Roman periods.[18] It could be suggested that the foundation of Nikopolis had a significant effect on the levels of population in the surrounding territory, and we may surmise that the colonial foundations at Butrint and Photike had the same effect. However, in the absence of detailed chronologies for these rural sites this remains to be demonstrated. At the villa of Diaporit near Butrint (discussed below), the sequence produced by excavation was radically different to that derived from the surface assemblage, suggesting that survey results in isolation should be used with considerable caution.[19]

We can at least say that the landscape of Thesprotia in the first and second centuries AD is likely to have been fundamentally different from that of the early Hellenistic period. The hinterlands of towns such as Butrint and Photike and Nikopolis probably contained a variety of different types of sites in the early Roman period. Although we know little of the small and medium sized farmsteads, we do know of a number of very substantial villas, the most extensively excavated of which is that at Diaporit noted above (Fig. 3).[20] This was a major complex, situated on the edge of a lake within sight of the town of Butrint. It was occupied from as early as the third century BC, although its most grandiose period started between AD 40-80 and continued until the start of the third century, after which it was seemingly abandoned. It was built on a system of terracing and had a good natural supply of water. It was augmented with a substantial bath-house featuring a hexagonal room. These features (terracing, water supply, major bath-house with polygonal room) are repeated at villa sites throughout the region. The well-known bath-hose at Riza is certainly attached to such a complex, as was the bath-house at Strongyli on the Ambrakian Gulf, and the bath-houses at Benitses and Acharavi on Corfu. It is like that the extensive remains at Ladochori near Igoumenitsa also belong to such a complex.[21]

All the villa sites noted above are in coastal locations, and can probably be classified as *villae maritimae* with the principal function of luxury residence rather than productive centre. Certainly, the excavations at Diaporit produced no evidence of productive activities. It would be important to investigate what types of sites existed around an inland town such as Photike. It is certainly likely that rich suburban villas existed in the region of the town, and it has been suggested that the remarkable if disparate collection of bronzes, found at Liboni near Paramythia, some of which are now in the British Museum, come from a private shrine associated with such a villa.[22]

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[17] For an overview, see Alcock 1993, 48. For more recent comment on the situation in Epirus, see Bowden and Përzhita 2004, 414-415.
[18] Wiseman 2001, 57.
[19] See below and Bowden and Përzhita 2004.
[20] Bowden, Hodges and Lako 2002; Bowden and Përzhita 2004.
[21] Bowden and Përzhita 2004, 424 with references.
[22] Swaddling 1979.

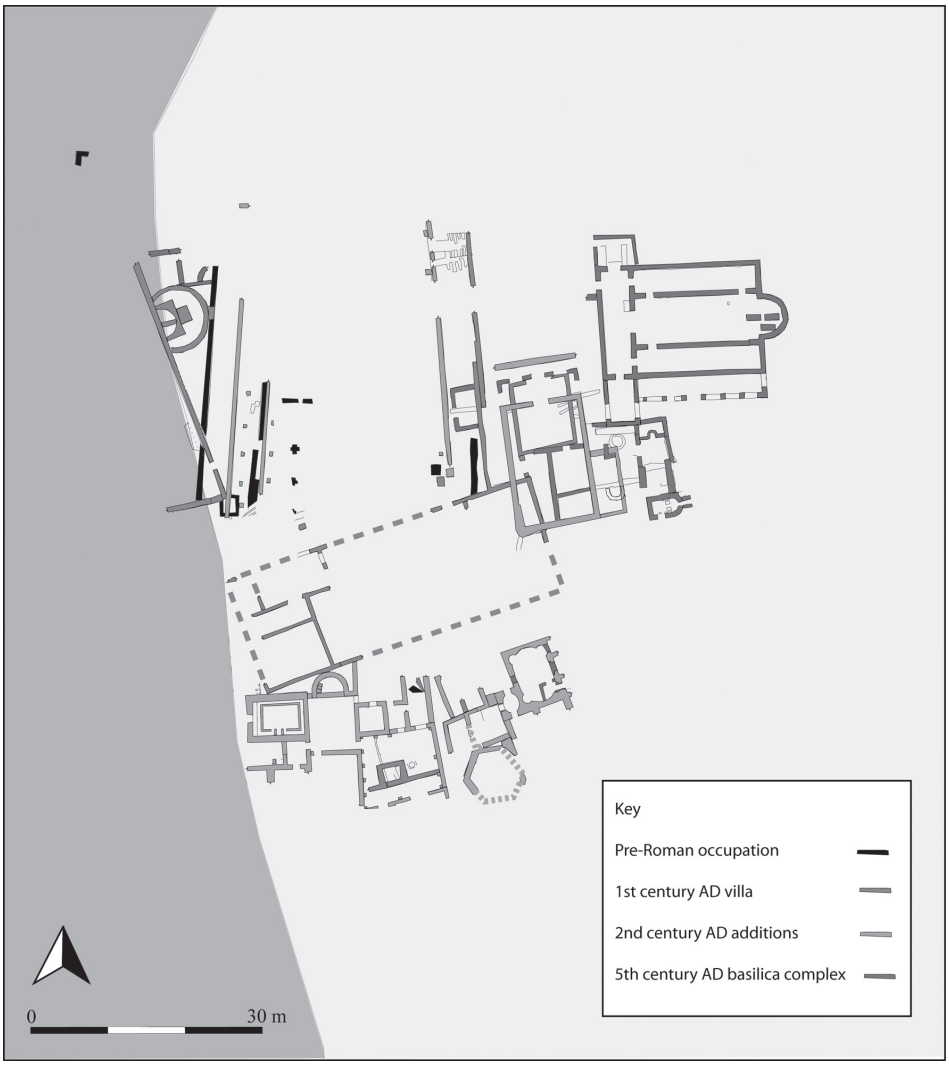

Fig. 3. The Roman villa and early Christian site at Diaporit. All structural phases are shown.

Late antique change in Epirus

Although many models of late antique transformation see change, or to use a loaded word, "decline" from the fourth century, the evidence from Butrint at least suggests that there was a major shift during the third century, which saw the abandonment of much of the new suburb of the town that had developed during the latter part of the first century AD.[23] It is also possible that public areas in the heart of the city, including the forum, lost their monumental appearance around this time.[24]

[23] Crowson and Gilkes 2007.

[24] This change, originally suggested in Bowden 2003a, 40, has now been indicated by excavations in the forum area (Hernandez pers comm.), although further work is required to clarify the sequence.

The villa at Diaporit near Butrint was also seemingly abandoned as a luxury residence at the start of the third century. The great apsidal room of the bath house was turned into a kitchen, with an oven inserted into the corner. Meanwhile a mosaic room on the upper terrace was turned into a pottery workshop with a series of associated wooden structures. These activities can all be dated to the first half of the third century after which the site was abandoned until the fifth century.[25]

We have little in the way of closely dated archaeological sequences for the third and fourth century from elsewhere in Epirus. Nonetheless, the evidence from Butrint for a third century contraction of occupation is overwhelming, and it is unlikely that this is an isolated occurrence. Extra-mural cemeteries at Phoinike and Nikopolis, show little sign of activity after the fourth century, suggesting that there were fewer people to be buried or that burial was occurring elsewhere, perhaps within the towns themselves.[26]

The major centres certainly show little evidence for public building in this period. Perhaps our most interesting source is the panegyric delivered by Claudius Mamertinus eulogising the Emperor Julian in the 360s for his works to restore the cities of Epirus, particularly Nikopolis. Mamertinus notes that:

> The city of Nicopolis, which the divine Augustus had built like a trophy as a monument to the victory of Actium, had fallen almost totally into lamentable ruins: the houses of the nobles were torn apart, marketplaces were without roofs, everything was full of dirt and dust since the aqueducts had long since been destroyed. The unseemly cessation of business during that sorrowful time had allowed the public games customarily observed at every lustrum to lapse.[27]

It is tempting to view this text as an accurate reflection of Nikopolis as at first sight it appears to be compatible with what happened in many late Roman cities, reflecting a decline in public architecture and a decline in civic life. Equally it appears to be compatible with the evidence found at Butrint. However, imperial action towards the restoration of cities was also a traditional literary *topos*, with imperial help towards the cities forming a convenient rhetorical device through which a writer could praise an emperor. Consequently we should not assume that this text reflects significant restorative action either at Nikopolis or anywhere else, or indeed that restoration was required to the extent described by Mamertinus.[28]

The major building activity in the fourth century seems to be very much in the sphere of private building. This is certainly the case at Butrint, where excavations of a large area of the city adjacent to the channel side revealed traces of a peristyle house, now known as the Triconch Palace, which became progressively larger during the fourth century (Fig. 4). In its final phase, which dates to between about 400 and 420 it was expanded onto the adjacent building plot, with a massively enlarged peristyle courtyard and the creation of a substantial three-apsed *triclinium*. This final phase however was never finished, and the whole complex was abandoned as a luxury building between about 425 and 440.[29]

This type of grandiose luxury residence is typical of the late empire, when private residences effectively replaced public buildings as the focus of elite display. Private

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[25] Bowden and Përzhita 2004.
[26] Lepore 2005, 150-151 (Phoinike); Chrysostomou 1984 (Nikopolis).
[27] *Pan. Lat.* 3.9.2. transl. Nixon and Rodgers 1994, 408.
[28] See Bowden 2006; Bowden 2007b.
[29] Hodges, Bowden and Lako 2002. Final publication of the Triconch Palace excavations is now in preparation.

Fig. 4. The triconch palace at Butrint during excavations. The triconch triclinium is located on the far side of the complex.

residences began to take precedence as the environment in which the aristocracy could display status to one another and their clients. The use of apsidal spaces is taken directly from imperial architecture, with the apse forming a dramatic space from which the owner could greet his guests and clients.

There are few other examples of this sort of architecture from Epirus, although the so called nymphaeum excavated at Nikopolis by Orlandos may also form a *triclinium* or reception hall of a similar building, while the so-called Bishop's Palace at the same site may represent the same sort of social phenomenon.[30] This is a particular problem in Epirus, in that our examples of domestic architecture are so limited that it is almost impossible to make judgements regarding changing forms of residential architecture in the province except by inference drawn with comparison from other areas.

The lack of excavated domestic buildings in Epirus (and in Greece as a whole) is partly due to the fact that archaeologists working on the late Roman period within the region have tended to devote their efforts to the excavation of early Christian churches. The early Christian basilica is the ubiquitous type fossil of late antiquity in Epirus, where more than 50 early Christian churches have been noted through one means or another. The resulting typologies of building plans, mosaics and architectural sculpture are easily accommodated within the passive art-historical methodologies that characterise classical archaeology in Greece. However, the treatment of these buildings in isolation has led to a

[30] Bowden 2003a, 46-53.

number of questionable assumptions regarding early Christian churches.[31]

First, in tandem with urban fortifications like those of Nikopolis, they are seen as indications of renewed civic prosperity. In fact there is no explicit connection between church building and civic prosperity. Churches are simply a reflection of what people were spending surplus resources on during a relatively short period between the mid-fifth and mid-sixth centuries. While during the third and fourth centuries (judging at least from other areas) resources had been spent on private architecture, by the mid-fifth century this had stopped and church building rather than opulent private residences became the means through which elites competed with one another. As with the public building inscriptions of the first and second centuries, donors recorded their benefactions to churches, with inscriptions sometimes commemorating multiple donors. Examples from Epirus include the Church of the Forty Martyrs from Saranda, the small triconch church at Antigoneia and the newly discovered Vrina Plain church at Butrint, dedicated by "those whose names are known to God".[32]

As well as there being no connection between prosperity and church building, there is no direct connection between the spread of Christianity and increased church building. Churches were not being built to cater for increased congregations (although they may have encouraged them) but were instead being built as public demonstrations of elite status. Christianity had long been one of the ways in which the wealthy had demonstrated identity and status, but prior to the middle of the fifth century they had done it in the context of private residences, as with other aspects of elite identity. In Epirus, this can be seen in the splendid stone windows from the Triconch Palace in Butrint dating to around 400-420, in which *chi rho* monograms are displayed in the lunettes.[33]

Dating churches is difficult and almost all churches in Epirus have been dated through stylistic criteria, through comparison of mosaics, sculpture and building plans. There are only three exceptions to this that I am aware of. One is the church built above the remains of the villa at Diaporit (Fig. 5), dated by pottery and coins from above and below the narthex to the second half of the fifth century – probably around 490. A second is the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Saranda, dated to the second half of the fifth century by Phocaean Red Slip ware and Tunisian amphorae used to form some of the letters of a tile inscription recording the name of one of the donors.[34] The third is that recently discovered on the Vrina Plain at Butrint, where coins of Leo I (457-474) and Libius Severus (461-465) from a make-up level beneath the mosaic provided a *terminus post quem*.[35] Nonetheless even applying stylistic criteria, it is very difficult to demonstrate that any churches date to before 450 and after 550.

Thesprotia in fact has a relatively limited number of churches, but there are a number of important buildings relatively close to the Thesprotia project's survey area. The proposed early Christian church at Glyki is particularly interesting, as this is a building that demonstrates the problems of church archaeology and the need to examine church dates very carefully. The putative church at Glyki underlies a ruined later Byzantine

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[31] See Bowden 2001; Bowden 2003a, 21-33.
[32] Mitchell 2004 (Church of the Forty Martyrs); Mitchell 2006 (Antigoneia); Greenslade *et al.* 2006 (Vrina Plain).
[33] Bowden, Hodges and Lako 2002, 207.
[34] Bowden and Përzhita 2004, 425 (Diaporit); Mitchell 2004, 159-162.
[35] Greenslade *et al.* 2006, 403.

Fig. 5. The late fifth-century church and associated complex at Diaporit.
On the south side of the church (in the immediate foreground) were a bath-house,
a tower (of which one fallen wall can be seen) and a small chapel.

church dedicated to Agios Donatos. In the fourth century Donatos was bishop of the thus far undiscovered town of Euroia which was also described by Prokopios of Caesarea.[36] Pallas has optimistically suggested that Glyki was the site of the church that Donatos was supposed to have built during the reign of Theodosius I, and that Glyki was thus the site of Euroia.[37] This remains extremely debatable but the identification of Euroia with Glyki now threatens to become canonical, with the very doubtful existence of this fourth century church used as evidence to discount other possible sites for Euroia that are perhaps more compatible with Prokopios's description of the site. This illustrates the hazards of the application of church dates to larger archaeological problems.

Four further churches lie in the vicinity of Paramythia. To the northwest of the town is the substantial ruin known appropriately as Palioklissi (Fig. 6), while a further church has recently been discovered at Kristallopigi. To the south of the town is the triconch church at Veliani, while a further early Christian church with a baptistery has recently been discovered at Zervochori around 10 km to the south. The discovery of further architectural elements in the ruined Byzantine church of Panagia Labovethras could suggest a further Early Christian basilica. Other possible traces of early Christian buildings were noted at the ruined middle Byzantine church of Ag. Photeines and at Dramesi to the northwest of Paramythia. This marked concentration of churches which are otherwise relatively rare in Thesprotia indicates the continued importance of the Paramythia region and the Kokytos valley as a line of communication.[38] Indeed Photike

[36] Procop. *Aed*. 4.1.39-42. For Donatos and other bishops of Euroia, see Soustal 1981, 158.
[37] Pallas 1977, 139-140.

Fig. 6. The church at Palioklissi slightly to the north-west of Paramthyia.

was one of the ten cities of Epirus Vetus mentioned by Hierokles, while Bishop Diadochos of Photike is recorded as opposing the monophysites at Chalcedon in 451. The names of two further bishops, Ilarios and Florentios, are also recorded in the sixth century.[39]

It seems that the period of major church construction was over by around 550. There may have been a number of reasons for the cessation of church construction including changing fashion, but it is also clear that other changes were occurring. The ceramic assemblage from the Triconch Palace at Butrint shows a significant decline in the presence of Tunisian products after *c*. 550, which Paul Reynolds has suggested may indicate that Butrint did not participate in the western Byzantine supply networks that developed following the reconquest of North Africa.[40] At the same time the nearby site at Diaporit was apparently abandoned perhaps only 60 years after the construction of the church.[41]

It is likely that Epirus became increasingly insecure during the second half of the sixth century. Even taking into account the problematic nature of the sources regarding barbarian raids into the province, there were marked changes as earlier hilltop sites were reoccupied and refortified. Numerous small islands off the Epirote coast also show signs of occupation in this period (Fig. 7).[42] In Thesprotia there is a particularly interesting

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[38] Tsigaridis 1969; Pallas 1977, 141 (Palioklissi); Vasilikou this volume (Kristallopigi); Pallas 1971, 236-237; Triantaphillopoulos 1984, 582 (Veliani); *ArchDelt* 2003 in press (Zervochori); Triantaphillopoulos 1984, 580; Papadopoulou 1988, 322-323 (Panagia Labovethras and Ag. Photeines); Vokotopoulos 1972, 473-474 (Dramesi).

[39] Soustal 1981, 236.

[40] Reynolds 2004, 240-242.

[41] Bowden and Përzhita 2004, 430-431.

example of this with Prokopios' account of Justinian's relocation of the town of Photike to a fortress of Agios Donatos (usually associated with the rocky crag above Paramythia itself). Together with Phoinike, Photike is accorded one of the longest descriptions of any of the forts of Old and New Epirus mentioned in the text. Prokopios describes the two towns as follows:

> These two towns, namely Photike and Phoinike, stood on low lying ground and were surrounded by stagnant water which collected there. Consequently the Emperor Justinian, reasoning that it was impossible for walls to be built about them on walls of solid construction, left them just as they were, but close to them he built forts on rising ground which is exceedingly steep.[43]

At first sight this description appears plausible. The site of Photike at Liboni is low-lying and marshy (as are parts of Roman Phoinike). However, as I have argued elsewhere, triumph in the face of difficult natural terrain is a traditional *topos* of panegyric (as is fortification construction as a whole) and is used throughout the text of the *Buildings*. In this instance, as elsewhere in the text, it is being used as a device to praise Justinian and should not be taken as an accurate description of the topography of Photike. Nor does it provide conclusive evidence for a Justinianic date for the fortress of Agios Donatos. Indeed Book IV of the *Buildings* cannot be taken as evidence of a sustained imperial plan for the defence of Epirus. Instead, the *Buildings* must be read as a work of panegyric, like the earlier writing of Mamertinus in relation to Nikopolis. It was intended to praise the emperor through the recognised rhetorical *topos* of fortification building, rather than provide a detailed or accurate description of actual imperial activity.[44]

Whoever was actually responsible for building the hilltop and island fortresses of Thesprotia and Epirus, their occupation appears short-lived. Indeed after the mid-seventh century there is little unambiguous archaeological evidence for occupation of the province until the late ninth century. The one exception to this appears to be the early medieval cemetery at Aphiona on Corfu, which apparently represents the revival of furnished burial in the area, similar to that noted in the so-called 'Komani' cemeteries of central and northern Albania.

Some indication of the situation in Thesprotia by the early seventh century is given by the dispute of 603/4 recorded in the correspondence of Gregory the Great. This records how John, the Bishop of Euroia, had fled to Kerkyra with his clerics and the relics of Agios Donatos, and established an independent seat for himself at Kassiope, much to the disgruntlement of Bishop Alkison of Kerkyra who was also the (possibly reluctant) host to a further 3 Epirote bishops. The *Miracles of St Demetrias* records further apparently devastating incursions in 614-616, noting also the names of some of the tribes involved. One of these tribes, the Baiounetai, is thought to have established itself in the region known as Vagenetia, which extended approximately from Chimara in the north to Margariti (slightly north of Parga) in the south. Certainly the widespread occurrence of Slav place-names in the area points to a significant presence in the area, although the significance and chronology of these toponyms has occasionally been disputed.[45]

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[42] Bowden 2003a, 173-190.
[43] Procop. *Aed.* 4.1.37-39.
[44] Bowden 2006.
[45] The historical and archaeological evidence for the Slav incursions into Epirus is summarised in Bowden 2003a, 25, 197-198.

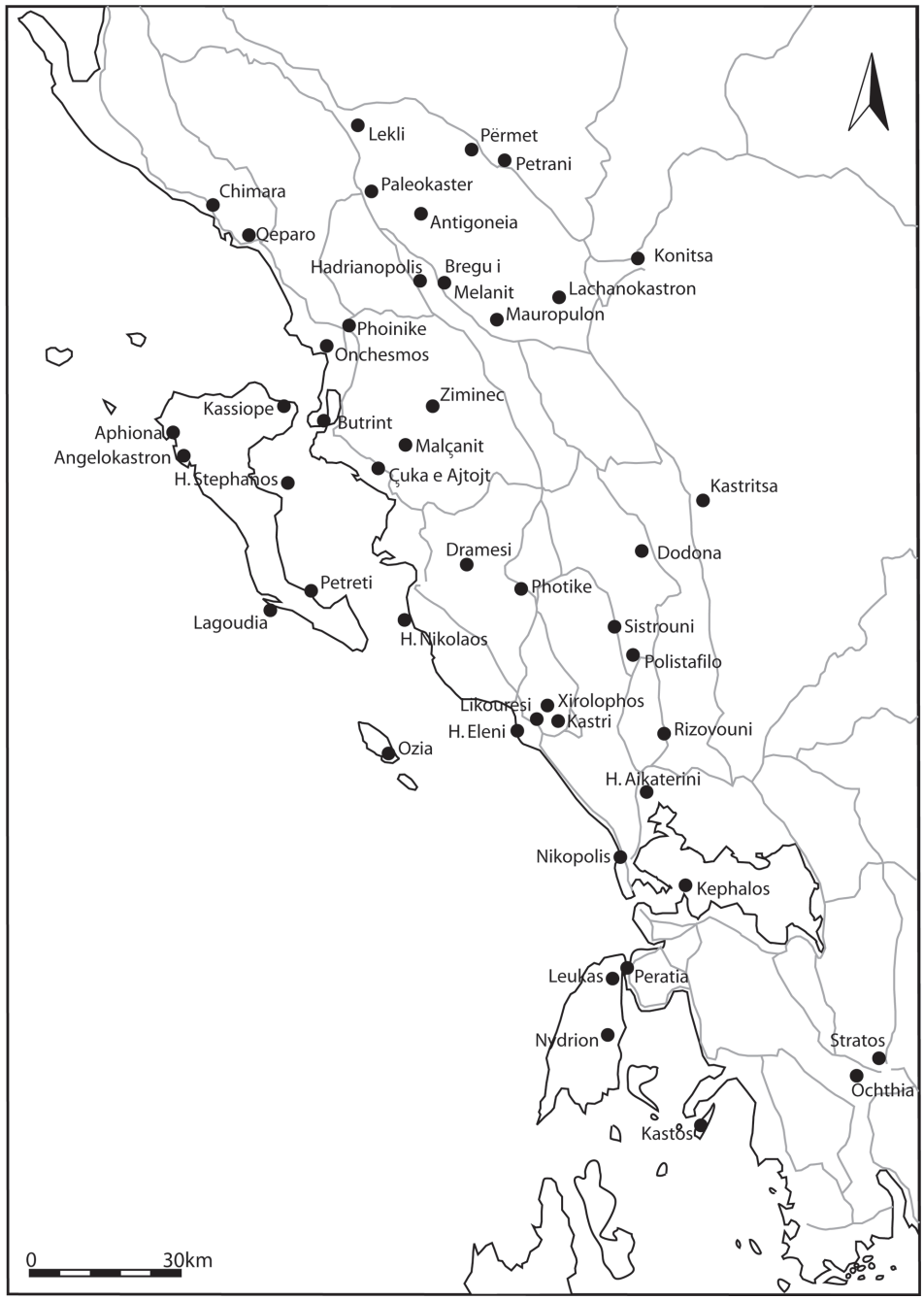

Fig. 7. Hilltop sites and islands in Epirus occupied in late antiquity.

Interpretations of this period are heavily influenced by the nationalist ideologies which underpin archaeology in both Greece and Albania. In both countries a historical narrative has been developed in which the native population (either Greek or Arber/

Illyrian) survived in remote hilltops or behind the walls of cities like Nikopolis, living separately from the Slavic settlers.[46] However, this view of a bipolar society divided on ethnic lines is dependent either on ancient literary sources that depend on the construction of a non-Roman barbarian other, or modern ideological values based around post-nineteenth century concepts of nations and ethnicity. Instead we should perhaps imagine a much more fluid society based around constantly shifting allegiances and with groups coalescing in a tribal fashion around individuals. It cannot be coincidence that the settlement patterns of the late sixth and early seventh century, in which occupation was concentrated anew on inhospitable hilltops and promontories, appear to resemble those of the tribal societies of the early Hellenistic period and before. Ethnic identity – a sense of being Roman or Avar, Epirote or Sclavene – was just one element of the equation, to be used when the occasion demanded but ignored when it was not required. This idea of ethnicity as a fluid and flexible construct, appears to be a more useful way of understanding post Roman Epirote society.

Conclusion: filling in the gaps

How can we fill in the holes in our knowledge of Roman and late Roman Thesprotia? It is partly a question of how we find our evidence and partly one of how we use it. There is a clear need for projects where clear research agendas are established. It is important to understand how the establishment of the colony at Photike affected the nature of land-use and occupation within the region. Equally, it is important to gain greater knowledge of the colony at Photike comparable with that at Butrint and the *colonia/ civitas libera* Nikopolis and use this knowledge to shed further light on the ideology of the Julio Claudian involvement in the region. A wider question relating to Photike and to Thesprotia in general concerns the nature of communications and how the distance of the region from the dominant sea-born routes of communication affected its fortunes. How, for example, does the material culture of the Kokytos valley compare with contemporary coastal areas? Was the region participating in the same Mediterranean networks as can be discerned at Butrint, and how did this involvement change over time?

Can field survey answer these questions? In recent publications I have expressed doubt as whether field survey can present us with sufficiently refined detail to really answer questions relating to historically defined periods in a country such as Greece, where in so many areas we have major lacunae in our understanding of material culture.[47] For the Roman and late Roman periods we remain too dependent on fine wares for understanding site chronologies. At the excavations at Diaporit, it was notable that for some periods, fine wares were almost entirely absent, and it was only knowledge of coarseware sequences constructed through large scale excavation at a variety of sites that really allowed us to construct detailed archaeological sequences. It was also noticeable at Diaporit that the picture derived from the surface assemblage was significantly different to that derived from subsequent excavation. Field survey did not identify the Hellenistic phases of the site and crucially it did not identify the lacuna in occupation between the mid-third and

[46] Bowden 2003b.
[47] Bowden and Përzhita 2004.

late fifth centuries. The field survey data led us to postulate continuous occupation at the site in direct contrast to the discontinuity that we eventually found, with all that this implies for the history of the settlement.

The same caveat applies to the post-Roman Dark Age, which has until now entirely eluded survey archaeologists despite occasional claims to the contrary. As well as the lack of identifiable ceramics we face the problems of massive post-Roman erosion and deposition that has buried sites in valley bottoms (where for example many Slav settlements are most likely to be situated). Perhaps a more fundamental problem relates to the unwillingness on the part of many archaeologists working in Greece to fully engage with this problematic period and develop methodologies which will advance our understanding of it.

Nonetheless, with the preparation of detailed ceramic type sequences at Nikopolis by the staff of the local Greek Ephorates under the guidance of John Hayes and with Paul Reynolds' publication of the Butrint ceramics, significant progress is being made towards understanding these previously neglected periods in Epirus. The work of the Finnish Institute in Thesprotia also represents a major step towards a greater understanding of this region. The Thesprotia Expedition will both answer existing research questions and set new ones, advancing the agenda for archaeology in this region. In particular, it is projects like the Thesprotia Expedition that will enable our understanding of the region to move beyond the confines of a narrative history defined by fragmentary ancient texts and modern national ideologies.[*]

[*] I am very grateful to Björn Forsén and the Finnish Institute at Athens for the opportunity to present my thoughts on this topic to the Annual Meeting of the School in 2005 and further refine them for this volume. I am also grateful to David Hernandez for information regarding the recent excavations of the forum at Butrint.

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Some Notes on Inscriptions of Roman Date from Thesprotia

Erkki Sironen

Published inscriptions of Roman date from Thesprotia are relatively few, most of them sepulchral monuments cut in Latin that have been found in the neighbourhood of the Roman colony Photike just to the north of modern Paramythia.[1] The number of inscriptions relevant to this particular area and period has not changed dramatically in the past few years. I will therefore mostly concentrate here on proposing new readings based on autopsy for inscriptions that have already been published.[2]

1) Dedication to the Emperor Maximinus Daia

Present location: 32nd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Fragma Kalama, no. ΘΕ 6941.

This statue base was found at Agios Athanasios, on the bank of the brook Liveri, close to the church of Panagia Lambovithra, and thus originates from Photike. The inscription, while still partly under water, was published first by V. Papadopoulou.[3] Heil (who had not seen the stone) amended some readings in an article published soon afterwards.[4]

Measurements of the base: height 0.99, width 0.67, thickness 0.67 m. Letter height 0.03-0.053 (taller in lines 1-4), interlineation 0.003-0.032 m (greater in lines 1-4).

Fortissimo et piis-
simo Caesari d(omino) n(ostro)
Gal(erio) Val(erio) [[Maximino]]
P(io) F(elici) Inv(icto)
Coranius Titianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus)
praes(es) prov(inciae) vet(eris) Epiri
num(ini) eorum dicatissi-
mus.

---

[1] Cf. especially the collection of 38 various epigraphical documents (including *instrumentum domesticum*) in Samsaris 1994, 113-140 (cf. *SEG* XLIV 470). Furthermore, on the proportion of Latin vs. Greek inscriptions, cf. Hatzopoulos 1980, 97-105. For a more general view of Roman colonies in Western Greece, see Rizakis 1996, 255-324, especially p. 271, footnotes 54-56.

[2] I cordially thank Björn Forsén for providing me with the chance to travel to and around Thesprotia, and to make a separate trip to Ioannina in 2005 and 2006 respectively, and for all the additional help I have received from him during the past years. I also thank the Greek Archaeological Service (8th and 12th Ephorates of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and 8th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities) and their staff for giving me permission to search for the inscriptions and to study the ones found. My photos were initially edited (especially fragments joined) by Akhilleus Sironen. Finally, I would like to acknowledge Elizabeth Meyer (University of Virginia) for making numerous amendments and substantial suggestions to a draft of this paper, thus saving me from many mistakes.

[3] Papadopoulou 1988, 323, fig. 186 g. A clearer photograph has been published in Preka 1997, fig. 228 a.

[4] Heil 1995, 159-162, whence *AE* 1993, 1406 and *AE* 1995, 1394.

Critical apparatus: There are barely visible marks of interpunctuation in line 3 (after the abbreviated name GAL), and in line 6 (on both sides of the word VET). Line 3 *CAEVAL* ..... Papadopoulou, *Gal(erio) Val(erio) [Maximiano]* Heil. Line 4 *p(io) f(elici) inv[icto Augusto]* Heil. Line 5 *CORONIV STITIANUS* Papadopoulou, *Coronius Titianus* Heil. Line 7 *NUMEORUM* Papadopoulou, *num(ini) eorum* Heil.

> Coranius Titianus, *vir perfectissimus* and *praeses* of the province of Old Epirus (dedicates this) to the most brave and pious Caesar, our master Galerius Valerius [[Maximinus]], to the pious, lucky and unvanquished (Augustus), being most loyal to their divinity.

The reign of the Emperor Galerius Valerius Maximinus is dated between AD 309 and 313.[5] Despite the fact that Maximianus was called Maximinus until 305 when he became Augustus,[6] I regard the Emperor Maximinus Daia as the more probable recipient of this dedication, especially because he was in charge of the eastern part of the empire. Peculiarly enough, the word *Augustus* has not been cut in the end of line 4, but the large space has been left uninscribed. The emperor's name, following *damnatio memoriae*, has been incompletely deleted in line 3. The name of the dedicant *praeses* is Coranius Titianus, previously unknown to us. Finally, the plural *eorum* in line 7 has been thought to indicate that further dedications were also made for the remaining Tetrarchs, but the form could as well be an error: the letter-spaces are uneven and the disposition of the whole is haphazard – apparently the letter cutter was Greek or not very professional. The monument, however, is the latest certainly datable Roman inscription from this area. As for the language choice, Latin was revived especially for many Tetrarchic dedications in Greece proper.[7]

2) Milestone (?) under a *procurator Augusti*

Present location: Philoproodos Omilos Paramythias, no inventory number.

The stone was found in the village Karyoti, ca. 3-4 km to the south of Photike. The inscription has been published by Samsaris and Mouselimis.[8]

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[5] If he were not yet *Augustus*, the period would be between AD 305 and 309.
[6] Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum* 18, 13. See also *PLRE* I, s.v. Maximianus 9.
[7] Sironen 1997, 53, with footnotes 15, 17, and 20.
[8] Samsaris 1994, 134, no. 23 as well as Mouselimis 1994, 56.

Preserved measurements of the slab (broken above and at left and right): height 0.425, width 0.43, thickness 0.185 m. Letter height 0.03-0.04, interlineation 0.01-0.015 m.

The transcriptions available so far for this fragmentary Latin inscription turn out to be inadequate. Even after looking at the stone, however, I can only propose a reading in which several problems of interpretation remain.

[---]II vi iusserun[t -----]
[---] m(ilia) p(assuum) III
[---) VIAN ope STIRP[---]
[---]NAPOVI proc(uratoris) Aug(usti) [---].

Critical apparatus: There are barely visible marks of interpunctuation in line 2 (on both sides of the letter P). Line 1 *VINSSKVN* Samsaris, Mouselimis. Line 2 *ΛΛΡ III Γ* Samsaris, Mouselimis. Line 3 *IFAN ORESTIR* Samsaris, Mouselimis (Samsaris supposing *Orestin[us?]*). Line 4 *ΙΛΕΟΥ POCAVC* Samsaris, Mouselimis (Samsaris supposing *[p]roc[uratoris?] Aug(usti)*?).

--- ordered by force --- three Roman miles --- with the help of --- procurator of *Augustus* ---.

Although *m(ilia) p(assuum)* usually stands at the end of a milestone, my new readings hopefully give a clue to a further understanding of the inscription. The end of line 3 could include a form of the Latin noun *stirps*. The inscription is probably later in date than the second century AD.

3) Milestone (?) under the Emperor Maximinus Thrax

Present location: 12th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Ioannina, no. 403 (ΛΙΘ DUB 32).

The stone was found during 1931 in the district Paliouria on the east side of the Kokytos river below Veliani. It is since 1939 preserved in Ioannina and was first published by Hammond in 1967. It is also included by Samsaris and Mouselimis (who gives Chalasma, church of Panagia as provenance for the inscription).[9]

Limestone slab with inscription cut in Greek with good craftsmanship. Preserved measurements of the slab (broken below): height 0.41, width 0.605 (original), thickness 0.16 m. Letter height 0.036-0.045, interlineation 0.005-0.013 m.

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[9] Hammond 1967, 736, no. 15; Samsaris 1994, 130-131, no. 18; Mouselimis 1994, 32. Cf. also *SEG* XXIV 443 and *AE* 1980, 849.

τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτο-
[κρ]άτορος Καίσαρος Γ(αίου)
[Ἰουλίο]υ Οὐήρου Μαξ[ιμίνου]
[Σεβασ]τ[ο]ῦ κ[αὶ]
[τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ]
[Γ(αίου) Ἰουλ(ίου) Οὐήρου]
[Μαξίμου Καίσαρος]
----------.

Critical apparatus: Line 2 [κρα]τορος Hammond, [κρά]τορος Samsaris. Line 3 [αιου] Σουηρου Μαξ Hammond, [Ἰουλίο]υ Οὐήρου Μαξ[ιμίνου?] Samsaris. Line 4 τ υ Hammond, [Σεβασ]τ[ο]ῦ Samsaris. Line 5 [καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ] Samsaris.

Of our master the Emperor Caesar Gaius [Iulius] Verus Max[iminus *Augustus*] and [of his son Gaius Iulius Verus Maximus Caesar] ---.

Although we cannot ascertain that the inscription is a milestone, I read more in lines 2 and 4 than previous editors; note that the first surviving letter in line 3 has now been lost. The date is between AD 235 and 238.

4) Epitaph Set up by Trophimus

Present location: Philoproodos Omilos Paramythias, no inventory number.

The inscription was found in 1963 while constructing a public road through the cemetery of Photike. It was originally published by Dakaris, with later amendments by Daux and Šašel Kos. It is also published by Samsaris and Mouselimis.[10]

Fragmentary inscription. Preserved measurements of two main fragments (broken at left): height 1.39 (original), width 0.70, thickness 0.15 m (original). Letter height 0.068-0.115 (smaller below), interlineation 0.024-0.037 m. A further matching small fragment was found by myself in 2005; on the basis of letter height (0.10 and 0.095 m respectively) it seems to belong to lines 2 (NA) and 3 (ILL).

[----------] Memmi
[----------]NA[....]onis et
[----------] Ill[aria]e Nicomedeae.
[f(ilia) (?)----------]A
[---- vix(it ?) a]nn(os) XXXX.
[----------] Trophimus
[uxori (?)------be]ne meritae
[v(ivus) f(ecit)] et sibi.

[10] Dakaris 1964, 312; Daux 1967, 688 with plate 4; *AE* 1967, 445; Šašel Kos 1979, 72, no. 166; more recently Samsaris 1994, 123-124, no. 8 and Mouselimis 1994, 55.

Critical apparatus: There are marks of interpunctuation in line 2 (before the word ET), line 3 (before the letter N), line 5 (on both sides of the number XXXX), and line 8 (after the word ET). Line 1 *[...]memmi* Samsaris. Line 3 *ENCMEDEA* Šašel Kos, *ENC Medea* Samsaris, *Illariae Nicomedeae* (i.e. Nicomediae) suggested to me by E. Meyer. Line 5 *NN XXXX* Šašel Kos. Line 6 e.g. *Euphronymus, Hieronymus* Šašel Kos, *ROIIIMVS* Samsaris. Line 8 *[v.f. e]t sibi* Šašel Kos, Samsaris.

[---a, the daughter (?) of --- Memmius ---na ---o and Illaria Nicomedia. She lived for 40 years. --- Trophimus [made (the grave), while he was still alive, for his] deserving [wife (?)], and for himself.

The epitaph apparently mentions two persons in the genitive case, a male in lines 1-2, and a female in line 3. The monument was erected by Trophimus (line 6), a name previously unrecognized because of the ligature of the letters P and H; ligatures are also used in line 3 (NI, CO, ME and AE), perhaps because of the limited space in this line. Trophimus set up the monument possibly for his wife (line 7), probably at first mentioning her parents (lines 1-3), and thereafter set it up for himself. As no cognomen NAO is plausible, E. Meyer suggested that the matching small fragment in lines 2 and 3 should be placed four letter spaces further to the left as above. The inscription probably dates to the first or second century AD.

5) Epitaph of Sosipatra

Present location: 12th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Ioannina, no. 3 (ΣΥΝΤΕΠΕΚΘ/ΡΩΜ 19).

Found in 1953 built into the wall of a water cistern, presumably in the neighbourhood of Photike. The inscription was originally published by Mouselimis in 1955, but later also included in Mouselimis' and Samsaris' overviews of Photike.[11]

The inscription, which is glued together from two fragments, is short but interesting. Measurements of the stele: height 0.60, width 0.36, thickness 0.05 m. Letter height 0.034-0.055, interlineation 0.004-0.015 m.

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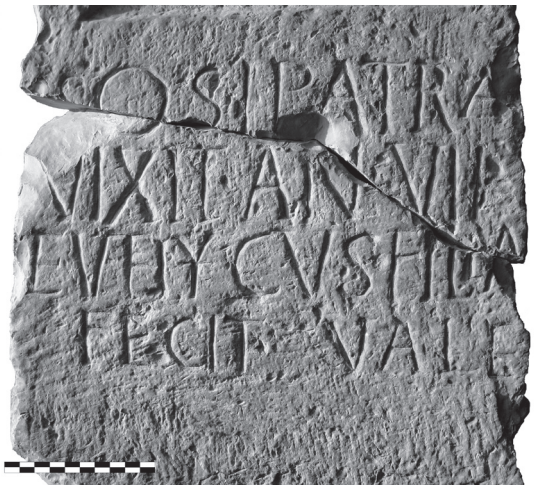
[11] Mouselimis 1953, 701 (*non vidi*), whence Anonymous 1955, 267, anew by Samsaris 1994, 127, no. 12 and by Mouselimis 1994, 29-30.

Sosipatra
vixit an(nos) VII.
Euthycus filia<e>
fecit. Vale.



Critical apparatus: There are marks of interpunctuation in line 2 (on both sides of the word AN), line 3 (after the word EVTHYCVS), and line 4 (after the word FECIT). Line 3 *Euthycus filia* Samsaris, *EVTH YCV SFILIA* Mouselimis.

Sosipatra lived for 7 years. Eutychus set up (the grave) for (his) daughter. Farewell!

Both the daughter Sosipatra and the father Euthycus (probably misspelt for Eutychus: the letters T and H in ligature are followed by a Greek *upsilon* with a horizontal bar midway) had a Greek name. At the end of line 3 the noun *filia* should be in the dative case, but obviously the amateur cutter ran out of room. The whole sepulchral formula is similar to that found in other Greek epitaphs from second century AD Greece.[12] The special Greek-style *upsilon* in the centre of the inscription also indicates a date in the second or third century AD.

6) Sepulchral Inscription Ending in a Fine

Present location: 12th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Ioannina, no. 8875 (ΛΙΘ DUB 31).

Found in 1953 in a water cistern, presumably in the neighbourhood of Photike. It was first published by Mouselimis in 1994, and later also included by Samsaris.[13]

This fragmentary inscription originally consisted of 12 joining fragments, of which only two survive today. Preserved measurements of the stele (broken above): height 0.38, width 0.462 (original), thickness 0.045-0.05 m. Letter height 0.02-0.035 (f = 0.045), interlineation 0.012-0.017 m.

My reading is based upon an autopsy of the two surviving fragments, which cover the five lowermost lines, in connection with Mouselimis' original photograph of all fragments. Letters subsequently lost are underlined.

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[12] E.g. in Sparta, cf. *IG* V 1, nos. 748, 753, 757, 758, 761, 762, 765, 766, 767, 769, 771, 772, 775, 778, 779, 781, 783, 784, 785, 788, 789, 790, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 801, 802, 803, 804, 813, 815a, 816, 817, and 818.

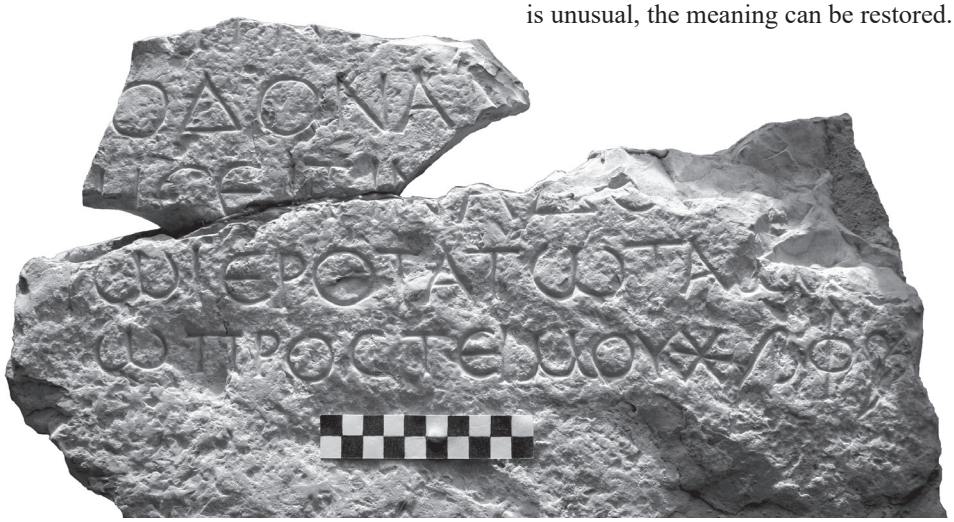
[13] Mouselimis 1994, 31 gives a partly inaccurate majuscule transcription next to a small photograph of the inscription, which is only referred to by Samsaris 1994, 121-122, no. 5.

ΚΟ[------]
Ι[------]
αὐτῷ [------]
αὐτοῦ Α[------]
τὸν τρο[------]
ἐπὶ πρ[-----τ]
ῆς κυρί[ας------]
ου Αἰλ(ίου) Κουάρτ[ου. εἰ]
δέ τις ἕτερος [εἰς]
τα⟨ύτ⟩ην, ἑτέραν ἔ-
ξοδον ἀνοίξας,
ϑήσει τινά, δώσ[ει]
τῷ ἱεροτάτῳ ταμε[ί-]
ῳ προστείμου *′ΒΦ′. *leaf*

Critical apparatus: Letters underlined have been lost, but read from the photo published by Mouselimis in 1994. Lines 1–9 ΚΟ / Ι / ΑΥΤΩ ... / ΑΥΤΟΥΑ ... / ΡΟΝΤΡΟ ... / ΕΠΙΤΡΦ... Τ... / Η CΚΥΡΙΑC Ι / Ο ΥΑΙΛΚΟΥΑΡΤ... / ΔΕΤΙCΕΤΕ, ΟΜΟ Mouselimis. Line 9–10 [εἰς] / *ταύτην*, suggested to me by E. Meyer. Line 10 ΤΑΤΙΝΗΙ ΕΤΕΡΑΝΕ Mouselimis, ΤΑΛΙΗΝ photo, traces of letters ΛΙΗΝ on stone. Line 11 ΞΟΔΟΝ ΑΝΟΙΞΑC... Mouselimis. Line 12 ΘΗΣΕΙΤΙΝΔΩ... Mouselimis. Line 13 Τ ΩΙΕΡΟΤΑΤΩΤΑΜ Mouselimis. Line 14 Ω Π Ρ ΟCΤΕΙΜΟΥ + ΛΒΦ Mouselimis.

--- of --- us Aelius Quart[us. If] somebody else puts someone [into] this (grave), after having opened another exit, he shall give 2,500 denarii fines to the most sacred treasury.

The fine of 2,500 *denarii* was used by Samsaris as a clue to the dating of this inscription into the early imperial period, although he thought the fine was 500. On the basis of the lunate letter forms this inscription could date to the second or third century AD. I restore a new name (Aelius Quartus) in line 7. Although the formula in lines 8-10 is unusual, the meaning can be restored.



7) Bilingual Grave Altar for Tychicus Ending in a Fine

Present location: 32nd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Igoumenitsa, no. ΘE 6940.

Found at Photike in a pile of stones on the banks of the Kokytos river. First published by Preka in 2003, with amendments in *SEG* LI 763.[14]

Measurements of the grave altar with *cymatia*: height 0.94, width 0.44, thickness 0.45 m. Letter height 0.018-0.033, interlineation up to 0.036 m.

D(iis) M(anibus)
Tychico vern(ae) disp(ensatori?)
sui fecerunt et suis.
εἴ τις ἕτερος ἐν ταύτῃ
[τ]ῇ σορῷ θήσει τινά,
δώσει τῷ ταμείῳ
*′ΒΦ′.

Critical apparatus: There are marks of interpunctuation in line 2 (on both sides of the word VERN).

To the spirits of the dead. The relatives put up (the grave) for the steward (?) slave Tychicus and for themselves. If somebody else puts someone into this grave, he shall give 2,500 denarii to the treasury.

The round lettering of the Greek parts (lines 4-7) is similar and the fine identical to the previous one, so the inscription could be as late as the second or third century AD.

8) Epitaph of Soteri[chus]

Present location: 32nd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in Igoumenitsa, no. ΘE 6941.

No information concerning provenance, but probably originating from the necropolis of Photike. Previously unpublished.

Monumental Latin grave stele, even larger than the Trophimus monument discussed above. Consists of two joining fragments. Preserved measurements of the stele: height 1.405, width 0.87, thickness 0.16 m. Letter height 0.055-0.12 (taller in lines 1-2), interlineation 0.042-0.065 m (actually 0.103 between lines 1 and 2, and separated by a horizontal line).

[14] Preka 1997, 628, fig. 228 b, according to whom the text refers to Tiberius. A. Chaniotis' preliminary edition in *SEG* LI 763 is made on the basis of Preka's photograph.

D(iis) [M(anibus)]
Soteri[chus vixit (?]
anni[s ..?]
T(itus) Flavius [---]
Au(la) Pege Pap[iana ---?]
Doroth[eae f(ilia?)]
cont(ubernales?) [---].

Critical apparatus: Letters underlined belong to the upper right fragment. There are marks of interpunctuation in line 4 (after the letter T) and line 5 (on both sides of the word PEGE), possibly also in line 7 (after the word CONT).

To the spirits [of the dead]. Soteri[chus lived (?) ---] years. Titus Flavius [---], Aula Pege Pap[iana ---(?), daughter(?) of] Doroth[ea]. Fellow slaves (?)---.

The formula is unknown, because the entire inscription seems to provide us with only names, some of them suggesting Greek origins. The first two letters in line 5 are beyond the left margin, apparently added afterwards. The inscription probably dates to the first or second century AD.

9) Fragment of Epitaph

Present location: Philoproodos Omilos Paramythias, no inventory number.

No information concerning provenance, but probably originating from the necropolis of Photike. Previously unpublished.

Fragmentary sepulchral stele, broken below and at right, with an *aëtoma* and a *clipeus*. Preserved measurements of the stele: height 0.415, width 0.24 (originally ca. 0.48, based on measuring the *clipeus*), thickness 0.105-0.13 m (original). Letter height 0.065-0.07, interlineation 0.07 m.

Εὐτ[----]
Ε[----]
----.

The funerary character of this monument can be deduced only on the basis of the monument itself. The letters are likely to be Greek. Because so few letters remain, the date must be left indeterminate, probably first to third century AD.

10) Epitaph of Rhodope

Finally I take up one example of the difficulties we face in interpreting lost inscriptions, because in such cases the readings are often based on unfortunately inexact drawings made by earlier generations. This applies especially to Latin inscriptions, often misunderstood by local Greeks copying them.

In 1939 Hammond received from K. Metsiones a drawing of a stone plaque found at Liboni near Paramythia.[15] Hammond proceeded to publish the inscription on the basis of Metsiones' drawing as:

RHODOPEVI·X.
ANNXVI· ORINVS
AVGLPIREPTAE FEC

However, Hammond was unaware that the text had been published in Greece by Mouselimis already in 1953,[16] on the basis of which it was included again by Samsaris in the 1990s as follows:[17]

Rhodope vix(it)
ann(os) XVI Orinus
Aug(usti) libertae fec(it).

with a transcription by Mouselimis, even more corrupt than the original:

RHODOPEVI X
ANNXVIORINVS
AVGLHREPTAE FEC.

Samsaris and Mouselimis again were unaware of the fact that the text had been corrected already in 1980, without an autopsy, into this more correct form:[18]

Rhodope vix(it)
ann(os) XVI, [Vict]orinus
Aug(usti) l(ibertus) <d>ireptae fec(it).

Rhodope lived for 16 years; Victorinus, freedman of Augustus, made (the monument) for the (female) one taken away (by death).

---

[15] Hammond 1967, 743-744, no. 48. The measurements of the stone plaque were given as 0.70 x 0.55 m, with a full description of the decoration.
[16] Mouselimis 1953, 701 (*non vidi*).
[17] Samsaris 1994, 122-123, no. 7 and Mouselimis 1994, 29.
[18] *AE* 1980, 848.

The discussion of these ten inscriptions shows the value of an examination of the stones themselves, and makes me hope that in the future more old inscriptions from Thesprotia will be located and the stones themselves carefully studied. This is how we not only get a more trustworthy text, but also clues to the dating, and even from fragments we can identify the type of inscription.

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Παλαιοχριστιανική βασιλική στην Κρυσταλλοπηγή Παραμυθιάς

Νίκη Βασιλικού

Η Κρυσταλλοπηγή (πρώην Σέλλιανη) βρίσκεται στο Νομό Θεσπρωτίας, 4 χιλιόμετρα περίπου βορειοδυτικά της Παραμυθιάς ανατολικά της μικρής λίμνης Χότκοβας και αριστερά της επαρχιακής οδού Νεράϊδας – Παραμυθιάς.

Η περιοχή είναι γνωστή στην αρχαιολογική έρευνα, αφού σε λιγότερο από ένα χιλιόμετρο νοτιοανατολικά βρίσκεται η θέση «Λιμπόνι», όπου έχουν εντοπιστεί τα ερείπια της γνωστής από τις πηγές ρωμαϊκής και παλαιοχριστιανικής Φωτικής.[1] Η παλαιοχριστιανική πόλη, που διαδέχθηκε ρωμαϊκή αποικία, διοικητικά ανήκε στην επαρχία της Παλαιάς Ηπείρου και υπήρξε έδρα επισκοπής από τον 5ο αιώνα μ.Χ. έως και τον 9ο αιώνα. Αρχικά υπαγόταν στην Μητρόπολη της Νικοπόλεως και αργότερα στην Μητρόπολη της Ναυπάκτου. Από τον 10ο αιώνα μετονομάζεται σε επισκοπή Φωτικής «ήτοι Βελλάς».[2]

Μολονότι ο χώρος της Φωτικής δεν έχει ερευνηθεί συστηματικά, έχουν εντοπιστεί ερείπια διαφόρων κτηρίων και ναών που χρονολογούνται από την παλαιοχριστιανική έως και την μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο[3], καθώς και νεκροταφεία ρωμαϊκών και βυζαντινών χρόνων. Όμως για μια ατείχιστη πόλη,[4] όπως ήταν η Φωτική, τα μεμονωμένα και πολλές φορές τυχαία αρχαιολογικά ευρήματα δεν παρέχουν επαρκή στοιχεία για τον πολεοδομικό ιστό της πόλης και για την έκτασή της.

Στο νοτιότερο άκρο του οικισμού της Κρυσταλλοπηγής βρίσκεται ο νεώτερος ναός των Αγίων Θεοδώρων, που λειτουργεί ως κοιμητηριακός. Σύμφωνα με τον Σπύρο Μουσελίμη,[5] σωζόταν η αψίδα του ιερού που ανήκε σε παλαιότερο ναό, ο οποίος συμπεριλαμβανόταν στους ναούς της Φωτικής.[6]

Νοτιοδυτικά του οικισμού της Κρυσταλλοπηγής, στο λόφο «Ράχη Βελλή», αριστερά της επαρχιακής οδού Νεράϊδας – Παραμυθιάς, εντοπίστηκαν ενδείξεις (πλίνθοι, κέραμοι κ.λ.π.) για ύπαρξη αρχαιοτήτων και διενεργήθηκε σωστική ανασκαφική έρευνα.[7]

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[1] Για την Φωτική γενικά βλ: Γερογιάννης 1924˙ Μουσελίμης 1953˙ Σαρικάκης 1966, 203-205˙ Δάκαρης 1972, 197-198, 201-202˙ Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1973-74, 624˙ Hatzopoulos 1980˙ Μουσελίμης 1980, 163˙ Χρυσός 1981, 54-55˙ Soustal 1981, 236-237˙ Σαμσάρης 1988˙ Μουσελίμης 1994˙ Χρυσός 1997, 155˙ Χαλκιά 1997, 166-167˙ Βλαχοπούλου-Οικονόμου 2003, 158.

[2] Κονιδάρης 1954, 489, 511˙ Κονιδάρης 1956, 163.

[3] Για τα μνημεία βλ. Τσιγαρίδας 1969, 44-46˙ Μουσελίμης 1980, 256-260˙ Μουσελίμης 1994, 40-52˙ Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1984, 580-581˙ Παπαδοπούλου 1988, 322-323.

[4] Ο Προκόπιος, *Περί Κτισμάτων IV.I.37-39,* αναφέρει ότι επειδή η πόλη βρισκόταν σε πεδινή και επισφαλή περιοχή ο αυτοκράτορας Ιουστινιανός, για την ασφάλεια των κατοίκων της, κατασκεύασε φρούριο σε ασφαλέστερη θέση. Ορισμένοι μελετητές ταυτίζουν το φρούριο αυτό με το φρούριο του Αγίου Δονάτου στη Παραμυθιά (βλ. Χαλκιά 1997, 166-167).

[5] Μουσελίμης 1980, 259˙ Μουσελίμης 1994, 47.

[6] Στο κατώτερο τμήμα της αψίδας διακρίνονταν μέχρι πρόσφατα πλίνθοι και κέραμοι που αποτελούν ένδειξη για ύπαρξη παλαιότερου κτίσματος.

[7] Η έρευνα κρίθηκε απαραίτητη στο πλαίσιο διαμόρφωσης οικοπέδων για την επέκταση του οικισμού και διενεργήθηκε με την επίβλεψη της 8ης ΕΒΑ και με την ευθύνη της υπογράφουσας. Η δαπάνη καλύφθηκε από τον Δήμο Παραμυθιάς. Θα ήθελα να ευχαριστήσω την κ. Φραγκίσκα Κεφαλλωνίτου, την τότε Διευθύντρια της

Εικ. 1. Άποψη των οικοδομικών λειψάνων, από δυτικά.

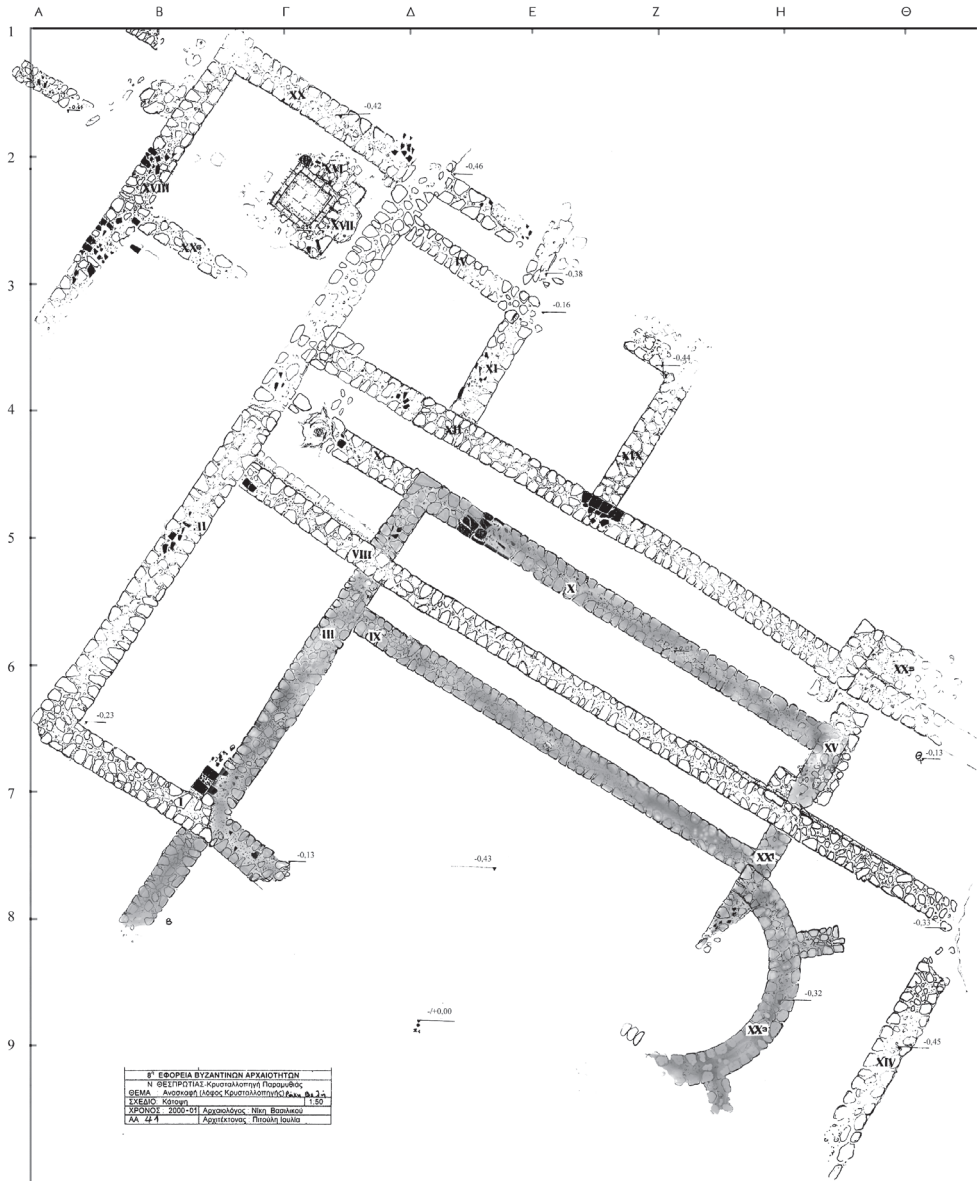
Από την έρευνα αποκαλύφθηκαν οικοδομικά λείψανα σε επίπεδο θεμελίων, που ανήκουν σε δύο τουλάχιστον οικοδομικές φάσεις, καθώς και ακτέριστες κεραμοσκεπείς ταφές (Εικ.1).

Οι τοιχοποιίες Ι, ΙΙΙ, Χ, ΙΧ, ΧV, ΧΧ1, και ΧΧ3 ανήκουν πιθανώς στην ίδια οικοδομική φάση και αποτελούν τμήμα των θεμελίων ναού, με προσανατολισμό Α-Δ (Εικ. 2). Ο ναός ήταν τρίκλιτη βασιλική, της οποίας δεν σώζεται το νότιο τμήμα. Το βόρειο κλίτος έχει εσωτερικό μήκος 10,80 μ. και πλάτος 2,70 μ. Το κεντρικό κλίτος μαζί με την αψίδα έχει συνολικό μήκος 13 μ. και πλάτος 5,30 μ. Τα σωζόμενα οικοδομικά λείψανα έχουν ύψος ±20 εκατοστά και είναι κατασκευασμένα με αργολιθοδομή και συνδετικό ασβεστοκονίαμα, στην οποία παρεμβάλλονται άτακτα τοποθετημένοι πλίνθοι και τμήματα κεράμων.

Η αψίδα είναι ημικυκλική, με άνοιγμα που καλύπτει το πλάτος του μεσαίου κλίτους, και ενισχύεται εξωτερικά με δύο αντηρίδες συμμετρικά τοποθετημένες. Ο βόρειος τοίχος της βασιλικής (Ι) συνεχίζεται προς τα δυτικά και σχεδόν εφάπτεται[8] με τα θεμέλια τοιχοποιίας (ΙΙ) που βρίσκεται δυτικότερα και έχει προσανατολισμό Β-Ν. Ο χώρος που οριοθετείται από τις τοιχοποιίες Ι, ΙΙ και ΙΙΙ είναι πολύ πιθανόν να αποτελούσε τμήμα νάρθηκα.

8ης ΕΒΑ, που μου ανέθεσε την επίβλεψη της έρευνας, καθώς και τους κ.κ: Νίκα Γλυκερία και Λυτάρη Φανή (αρχαιολόγους), Ιουλία Πιτούλη (αρχιτέκτονα-μηχανικό), Χρήστο Τσίπη (φύλακα αρχαιοτήτων), Παππά Χρήστο, Τσιρώνη Δονάτο, Φιλίππου Χαράλαμπο, Νικολάου Κώστα, Φωτίου Αλέξανδρο, Λιάκου Στέλλα, Πασιά Νίκο, Φωτίου Αλεξία , Δρίμτζια Χριστίνα και Γιάκη Ελεάνα (εργατοτεχνίτες), συνεργάτες της ανασκαφικής έρευνας.

[8] Η ύπαρξη ρίζας και κορμού δένδρου στο σημείο αυτό έχει καταστρέψει τμήμα της τοιχοποιίας.



Εικ. 2. Κάτοψη των οικοδομικών λειψάνων.

Οι υπόλοιπες τοιχοποιίες (II, XX, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XX6, IV, XI, XIX, XII, XX5, XIV και VIII) αποτελούν προγενέστερη οικοδομική φάση και πιθανώς ανήκουν σε μεγαλύτερο οικοδόμημα, η χρήση και οι ακριβείς διαστάσεις του οποίου δεν μπορούν προς το παρόν να προσδιοριστούν.[9]

[9] Η ανασκαφική έρευνα δεν συνεχίστηκε ανατολικά λόγω έλλειψης χρηματοδότησης και νότια λόγω της υψομετρικής διαφοράς με τα αποκαλυφθέντα λείψανα και την κατωφέρεια του εδάφους.

Από τον χώρο της ανασκαφής είχαν απομακρυνθεί παλαιότερα με μηχανήματα οι επιχώσεις με αποτέλεσμα να αφαιρεθεί και το στρώμα καταστροφής των αρχαίων κτισμάτων. Έτσι δεν βρέθηκαν στοιχεία για τον τρόπο χωρισμού των κλιτών της βασιλικής και επικοινωνίας μεταξύ τους. Τμήματα αρράβδωτων κιόνων που βρέθηκαν στο χώρο αποτελούν απλή ένδειξη για ύπαρξη κιονοστοιχίας στο ναό.

Η κάτοψη του ναού και το πάχος των τοίχων (0,65-0,70 μ.) οδηγούν στο συμπέρασμα ότι πρόκειται για μία τρίκλιτη ξυλόστεγη βασιλική, τύπος που κυριαρχεί στον ελλαδικό χώρο κατά την παλαιοχριστιανική περίοδο.[10]

Ιδιαίτερο χαρακτηριστικό της βασιλικής αποτελούν οι ενισχυτικές αντηρίδες εξωτερικά της αψίδας. Το αρχιτεκτονικό αυτό στοιχείο συναντάται σε τέσσερις από τις έξι εντοπισμένες μέχρι σήμερα παλαιοχριστιανικές βασιλικές της Νικόπολης. Η παρουσία του σε ναούς της βορειοδυτικής Ελλάδας αποτελεί επίδραση της εκκλησιαστικής αρχιτεκτονικής του διοικητικού και εκκλησιαστικού κέντρου της Παλαιάς Ηπείρου.[11] Στην ευρύτερη περιοχή αντηρίδες έχουν οι βασιλικές της νησίδας Κεφάλου στον Αμβρακικό,[12] Αγίου Γεωργίου Δολιανών Ιωαννίνων,[13] καθώς και αρκετές παλαιοχριστιανικές βασιλικές της Αιτωλοακαρνανίας (Ναυπάκτου, Κάτω Βασιλικής, Φοινικιάς Μεσολογγίου, Κάστρου Παραβόλας, κ.α.).[14] Το στοιχείο των αντηρίδων φέρουν και δύο παλαιοχριστιανικές βασιλικές που βρίσκονται σε μικρή απόσταση από την βασιλική της Κρυσταλλοπηγής: το Παλιοκκλήσι ή Αγία Παρασκευή στη Φωτική[15] και η βασιλική της Βέλλιανης, γνωστή ως τρίκογχο της Παραμυθιάς.[16]

Βορειοδυτικά της βασιλικής και βορειοανατολικά του χώρου που πιθανότατα ταυτίζεται με νάρθηκα, σε επαφή με τοιχοποιία (XII) που πιθανόν ανήκει στο παλαιότερο οικοδόμημα αποκαλύφθηκαν τρεις ορθογώνιοι χώροι. Από αυτούς ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει ο δυτικός, διαστάσεων 3,75Χ4,50 μ., στο ανατολικό τμήμα του οποίου αποκαλύφθηκε μικρή κατασκευή. Το ανώτερο τμήμα της είναι κατασκευασμένο με αργολιθοδομή και συνδετικό ασβεστοκονίαμα, στην οποία παρεμβάλλονται πλίνθοι. Το κεντρικό τμήμα των εξωτερικών πλευρών της, στις οποίες διακρίνονται ίχνη βαθμίδων, εξέχει του πλάτους της τοιχοποιίας και διαμορφώνεται το σχήμα του σταυρού στην κάτοψη. Οι κεραίες του σταυρού κατά πάσα πιθανότητα είχαν ημικυλινδρική απόληξη, η οποία διακρίνεται με δυσκολία. Η κατασκευή εσωτερικά διαμορφώνεται σε τετράγωνο, πλευράς 90 εκατοστών, κατασκευασμένο με πλίνθους και μικρούς λίθους. Στις παρειές του βρέθηκαν ίχνη επιχρίσματος και το δάπεδό του είναι επιστρωμένο με πήλινες πλάκες.

Η μορφή της κατασκευής παραπέμπει στις κολυμβήθρες των παλαιοχριστιανικών βαπτιστηρίων και ο χώρος στον οποίο βρίσκεται θα μπορούσε να ερμηνευθεί ως ο εσώτερος οίκος του (φωτιστήριο).[17] Η θέση του βαπτιστηρίου βόρεια του νάρθηκα

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[10] Ορλάνδος 1952.

[11] Pallas 1977, 134-137˙ Πάλλας 1987, 225-239. Αντηρίδες φέρουν οι βασιλικές: Α΄, Β΄ ή του Αλκίσωνος (το αργότερο στα μέσα του 5ου αιώνα), Γ΄ (το νω ρίτερο στα τέλη του 6ου αιώνα) και Δ΄ (γ΄ τέταρτο του 6ου αιώνα).

[12] Μπάρλα 1968, εικ. 1˙ Μπάρλα 1970, εικ. 1.

[13] Καραμπερίδη 2004.

[14] Κατσαρός 1981, 435, 440, 445, 450, 453, σχέδ. 1,2,4,5,6˙ Παλιούρας 1985, 48-52, 57.

[15] Τσιγαρίδας 1969, 44-45˙ Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1984, 580-581.

[16] Ευαγγελίδης 1930, 62-65˙ Pallas 1971, 290-291˙ Τριανταφυλλόπουλος 1973-1974, 624˙ Soustal 1981, 237.

[17] Για τα παλαιοχριστιανικά βαπτιστήρια γενικά βλ. Khatchatrian 1962˙ Βολανάκης 1976.

της βασιλικής δεν είναι σπάνια.[18] Η κολυμβήθρα συνήθως βρίσκεται στο κέντρο του φωτιστηρίου, σε κάποιες όμως περιπτώσεις βρίσκεται είτε μέσα σε ημικυκλικές κόγχες είτε προσκολλημένη στον ανατολικό τοίχο.[19] Η κολυμβήθρα της Κρυσταλλοπηγής είναι πολύ πιθανόν να ήταν εξωτερικά σταυρόσχημη, με τις κεραίες του σταυρού να απολήγουν σε ημικυλινδρικές κόγχες (τριφυλλόσχημη;),[20] αντίστοιχη κολυμβήθρας στη θέση «Τρεις Εκκλησίες» στη Μήλο.[21] Η αποκάλυψη του βαπτιστηρίου αποτελεί σημαντικό στοιχείο για την μνημειακή τοπογραφία της Ηπείρου,[22] αφού στη περιοχή έως σήμερα είναι γνωστά μόνο δυο παραδείγματα, το πρώτο στο Κέφαλο Αμβρακικού[23] και το δεύτερο στο κάμπο Ζερβοχωρίου, νότια της Παραμυθιάς, στη θέση «παλιοκκλήσι».[24]

Τα κινητά ευρήματα της ανασκαφής στην Κρυσταλλοπηγή, σε σχέση με το μέγεθος και τη σημασία των οικοδομικών λειψάνων ήταν λιγοστά.[25] Βρέθηκαν θραύσματα από σώματα, βάσεις, λαβές και λαιμούς γυάλινων αγγείων, διάφορα μεταλλικά αντικείμενα, τα περισσότερα από τα οποία είναι καρφιά, τμήματα πήλινου λυχναριού, όστρακα αβαφούς κεραμικής από διάφορους τύπους αγγείων, 74 «φακόσχημα» χάλκινα νομίσματα, τμήμα ακόσμητου επικράνου αμφικιονίσκου, ακέραιο ακόσμητο επίκρανο αμφικιονίσκου, τμήμα αρράβδωτου κιονίσκου, τμήμα αρράβδωτου κίονα, διάφορα μαρμάρινα θραύσματα και ανθρώπινα οστά. Από αυτά θα αναφερθούν ακολούθως ενδεικτικά τα καλύτερα σωζόμενα.[26]

Εικ. 3. Πήλινο λυχνάρι.

Πήλινο λυχνάρι

Το λυχνάρι (Εικ. 3), που ανήκει στο λεγόμενο βορειοαφρικανικό τύπο,[27] έχει κυκλικό σώμα,

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[18] Πάλλας 1970, 102-111, εικ. 2˙ Λαζαρίδης 1972, 14, εικ. 1˙ Βολανάκης 1976, 79, 91, 95˙ Πάλλας 1961, εικ. 1, 2.

[19] Βλ. Βολανάκης 1976, 151.

[20] Για την κατασκευή και την μορφή της κολυμβήθρας βλ. Βολανάκης 1976, 51-53.

[21] Γερούση, 1999, 20, εικ. 19.

[22] Η απουσία βαπτιστηρίου στη Νικόπολη έχει απασχολήσει την έρευνα βλ. Πάλλας 1987, 229-239.

[23] Μπάρλα 1970, εικ. 1.

[24] Ευχαριστώ για την πληροφορία τον συνάδελφο κ. Γεώργιο Ρήγινο, σημερινό Διευθυντή της ΛΓ΄ Εφορείας Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων, που διενήργησε την σωστική ανασκαφική έρευνα στη θέση αυτή.

[25] Αυτό οφείλεται κυρίως στη διατάραξη της στρωματογραφίας λόγω της απομάκρυνσης της επίχωσης με μηχανικό τρόπο όπως προαναφέρθηκε.

[26] Τα ευρήματα, εκτός από τα τμήματα του λυχναριού που συγκολλήθηκαν στο εργαστήριο συντήρησης της 8ης ΕΒΑ, είναι ασυντήρητα και παρουσιάζονται όπως αποκαλύφθηκαν κατά τη διάρκεια της ανασκαφικής έρευνας.

[27] Για τον τύπο βλ.. ενδεικτικά: Broneer 1930, 118-119˙ Hayes 1972, 310-315˙ Williams 1981, 76-86˙ Garnett 1975, 195-199˙ Oikonomou 1988, 486-487.

που ενώνεται με τη μύξα με ένα κανάλι, και ρομφόσχημη λαβή. Ο δίσκος διακοσμείται με τέσσερις ομόκεντρους κύκλους σε σχήμα σταυρού. Τέσσερις κύκλοι κοσμούν και το κανάλι. Το πλαίσιο φέρει δύο σειρές κύκλων. Παρουσιάζει ομοιότητες, τόσο στο σχήμα όσο και στη διακόσμηση, με αντίστοιχα λυχνάρια που έχουν βρεθεί στο Άργος και χρονολογούνται στο 5ο και 6ο αι. μ.Χ.[28]

Δύο συνανήκοντα αποτμήματα θωρακίου

Το θωράκιο (Εικ. 4.) είναι λίθινο και αποτελείται από δύο τμήματα, συνολικών διαστάσεων μήκους 0,98 μ, πλάτους 0,89 μ. και πάχους 0,13 μ. Το κέντρο του διακοσμείται με ισοσκελή σταυρό, με πεπλατυσμένες τις απολήξεις των κεραιών, εγγεγραμμένο σε διπλό κύκλο, ο οποίος περικλείεται σε τετράγωνο πλαίσιο. Τα διαστήματα μεταξύ των κεραιών του σταυρού είναι διάτρητα. Το ίδιο θέμα πιθανόν κοσμούσε και το υπόλοιπο τμήμα του θωρακίου αφού στη πίσω όψη της διακρίνεται τμήμα της πλευράς του τετραγώνου και του κύκλου. Στη βάση του καθώς και στη πίσω όψη διακρίνονται σημεία στήριξης. Πιθανότατα πρόκειται για διπλό θωράκιο.[29] Το θέμα του σταυρού που εγγράφεται σε κύκλο απαντάται πολύ συχνά σε θωράκια και άλλα αρχιτεκτονικά μέλη κατά την παλαιοχριστιανική περίοδο, με ακμή κατά τον 5ο αι. μ.Χ.[30] Θωράκια με το θέμα του σταυρού που εγγράφεται σε κύκλο, με διάτρητα τα διαστήματα μεταξύ των κεραιών του, έχουν βρεθεί σε βασιλικές στη Δήλο[31] και στην Ολυμπία.[32]

Εικ. 4. Δύο συνανήκοντα αποτμήματα λίθινου θωρακίου.

Απότμημα θωρακίου

Πρόκειται για μικρό θραύσμα θωρακίου (Εικ. 5), διαστάσεων μήκ. 0,20 μ., ύψ. 0,25 μ. και πάχ. 0,07 μ., διακοσμημένο με δύο επάλληλες ταινίες. Η πρώτη ταινία φέρει ανάγλυφο ελικοειδή βλαστό ενώ η επόμενη κυμάτιο και αστράγαλο. Η διάταξη των ταινιών και

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[28] Bovon 1966, pl. 16˙ Oikonomou 1988, fig.4.
[29] Ορλάνδος 1954, 509-535.
[30] βλ. ενδεικτικά. Ξυγγόπουλος 1915˙ Barruol 1964˙ Σκλάβου-Μαυροειδή 1999, αριθ. 22, 26, 36, 38, 58, 98, 103.
[31] Orlandos 1936, 81, fig. 12.
[32] Curtius and Adler 1892, pl. LXX.

η διακόσμησή τους παραπέμπουν στα πλαίσια θωρακίων με διάτρητη διακόσμηση από τη Ραβέννα[33] και τη Νικόπολη[34] που χρονολογούνται στον 6ο αι. μ.Χ. Ειδικότερα η διακόσμηση και η τεχνική του παρουσιάζει ομοιότητες με τμήμα πλαισίου από τη βασιλική Δ΄ της Νικόπολης που χρονολογείται στο β΄ μισό 6ου αι. μ.Χ.[35] Επίσης στο χώρο της ανασκαφικής έρευνας βρέθηκαν μαρμάρινα θραύσματα με φύλλα άκανθας και εφαπτόμενες ταινίες, που πιθανόν ανήκουν στη διάτρητη διακόσμηση του θωρακίου (Εικ. 6). Μολονότι τα στοιχεία είναι ελάχιστα και δεν επιτρέπουν την αποκατάσταση της διακόσμησης συνηγορούν στην υπόθεση ότι πρόκειται για διάτρητο θωράκιο με διάκοσμο ανάλογο ορισμένων θωρακίων του San Vitale και του San Apollinare Nuovo στη Ραβέννα,[36] του δεύτερου μισού του 6ου αι. μ.Χ.

Εικ. 5. Απότμημα πλαισίου μαρμάρινου διάτρητου θωρακίου.

Εικ. 6. Μαρμάρινα θραύσματα από τη διακόσμηση του διάτρητου θωρακίου.

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[33] Colasanti 1923, figs. 66, 68˙ Angiolini Martinelli 1968, πίν. 117 a-e, 124, 125, 131.
[34] Κωνστάντιος και Χαλκιά 1987, 317-325.
[35] Κωνστάντιος και Χαλκιά 1987, εικ. 2˙ Ορλάνδος 1961, 101, πίν. 59α.
[36] Angiolini Martinelli 1968, αριθ. 124, 125, 131.

Από τα ανασκαφικά δεδομένα της έρευνας προκύπτει ότι στη θέση της βασιλικής προυπήρχε κτήριο μεγαλυτέρων διαστάσεων, που όπως προαναφέρθηκε η χρήση και οι ακριβείς διαστάσεις του δεν μπορούν να προσδιοριστούν με ακρίβεια. Όμως ο προσανατολισμός του κτηρίου και η διάταξη των χώρων που αποκαλύφθηκαν οδηγούν στην υπόθεση ότι πιθανότατα πρόκειται για μία μεγαλύτερη βασιλική, το κεντρικό τμήμα της οποίας, σε μεταγενέστερη φάση, κατέλαβε μία μικρότερη.

Για τη χρονολόγηση των οικοδομικών λειψάνων που αποκαλύφθηκαν στην Κρυσταλλοπηγή, λόγω της αποσπασματικής διατήρησής τους, των ελάχιστων κινητών ευρημάτων[37] και της διατάραξης των στρωμάτων, στην παρούσα φάση θα μπορούσε να γίνει κατά προσέγγιση με βάση την αρχιτεκτονική και τα ευρήματα που εξετάστηκαν. Κατά πάσα πιθανότητα πρόκειται για λείψανα που ανάγονται στη παλαιοχριστιανική περίοδο (4ος – 6ος αι. μ.Χ.). Είναι πολύ πιθανόν η βασιλική να κτίστηκε στο β' μισό του 6ου αιώνα και να διαδέχθηκε το μεγαλύτερο προγενέστερο κτήριο (βασιλική;) μετά την καταστροφή ή την εγκατάλειψή του. Στην υπόθεση αυτή συνηγορούν τόσο τα κινητά ευρήματα, κυρίως γλυπτά, όσο και το γεγονός ότι από τις αρχές και έως τα μέσα του 6ου αιώνα η περιοχή δέχθηκε βαρβαρικές επιδρομές, που είχαν ως αποτέλεσμα τις λεηλασίες, τις καταστροφές και τη συρρίκνωση του πληθυσμού.[38]

Η σχέση της βασιλικής της Κρυσταλλοπηγής με την πόλη της Φωτικής ή με κάποιο προάστιό της προς το παρόν είναι πρόωρη αφού τα στοιχεία είναι ανεπαρκή. Ωστόσο θα είχε ενδιαφέρον να προχωρήσει η έρευνα προς την κατεύθυνση αυτή, ώστε να βρεθούν στοιχεία που να τεκμηριώνουν ή να απορρίπτουν την σχέση αυτή.

Abstract

Part of a three-aisled basilica with a semicircular apse that is supported externally by buttresses was discovered on the ridge Rachi Velli, southwest of Krystallopigi, four kilometres northwest of Paramythia. The basilica covers part of the central area of a larger earlier building, possibly a basilica. All structural remains survive to foundation level. The most important portable finds were: a clay oil lamp, two fragments belonging to the same double closure panel and part of the frame of a closure panel with punched decoration. The structural remains date to the Late Roman period (fourth to sixth century AD). The basilica was probably built in the second half of the sixth century AD, succeeding the larger earlier building (a basilica?), which had been destroyed or abandoned. The basilica is located at a distance of ca. one kilometre from the important Roman town Photike and may have belonged to a suburb of the town.

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[37] Μολονότι βρέθηκαν αρκετά νομίσματα η κατάσταση διατήρησής τους και η έλλειψη συντήρησης δεν βοηθούν στη ταύτιση και χρονολόγησή τους.

[38] Χρυσός 1981, 63-70.

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The People of Doliani: An Approach to the Paleodemography of the Late Byzantine Cemetery

Asterios Aidonis and Anestis Emmanouil

Introduction

The archaeological site of Doliani is located 12 km east of Igoumenitsa. The site has been linked with the ancient city of Phanote[1], one of the organized, middle-size settlements of the Hellenistic period in Thesprotia, and lies on a hill in the north bank of the Kalamas river (Fig. 1). The Hellenistic city has a fairly strong fortification that surrounds the hill in the north, while the south side is secured by the course of the river and the steep terrain. The Late Byzantine settlement mainly occupies the ancient acropolis, although building remains also have been detected on the northeast slope of the hill, between the inner and outer ancient fortification walls (Fig. 2). The archaeological research so far has brought to light at least nine houses, built around a circular threshing floor, which could be used as a meeting-square too. A network of paths leads to the houses, which were made of dry stone masonry and usually had two floors, an indoor toilet, and a yard with auxiliary rooms.

On the west tower of the north main gate of the ancient fortification are the remains of the church, which is believed to have been constructed in the Middle Byzantine period and to have stayed in use up to Late Byzantine times. A numerous assemblage of graves has been found all around the church ruins, mainly cist graves or simple pit graves, covered with crude limestone plates (Fig. 3). Only a few infant burials covered by a tile were found. The walls of the cist graves were also made of crude limestones that were placed vertically either along the entire length of the grave or only to the upper part of the body. Usually two rocks were placed bilaterally of the skull and a crude ceramic piece was put on the chest. In some cases the skull of the deceased was covered with a tile, while a tile was put just below the skull as a headrest. The deceased was inhumed in an extended position, facing east, with his upper limbs folded to the chest. No grave goods were put in the grave, except in a very few cases – four Frankish coins, wrapped in a piece of cloth, were found in one grave, and some bronze jewellery in a couple of others. Most of the graves were single burials, although tombs with two or more individuals were not exceptional. Overall, the burials follow a very distinctive style with minimal alterations and there does not seem to be any evidence of social diversification, even though a biosocial analysis has not been attempted yet.[2]

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[1] Dakaris 1972, 131-132.

[2] We wish to express our acknowledgements to G. Riginos for making available the study of the skeletal material, but mainly for his contribution to the interdisciplinary approach of archaeological research in Thesprotia. Special thanks to V. Lambrou and D. Drosou for their effectual, harmonious and pleasant collaboration during and after the excavation. We also thank E. Koulouri for her drawings and the excavation crew for the meticulous job, as well as M. Passiakos for providing the archival information and G. Pallis for translating the Turkish document. Finally we express our sincere gratitude to the Stavros Niarchos Foundation for its kind donation to the 32nd E.P.K.A., which was of premium importance for establishing, organizing and equipping the Laboratory of Osteoarchaeology.

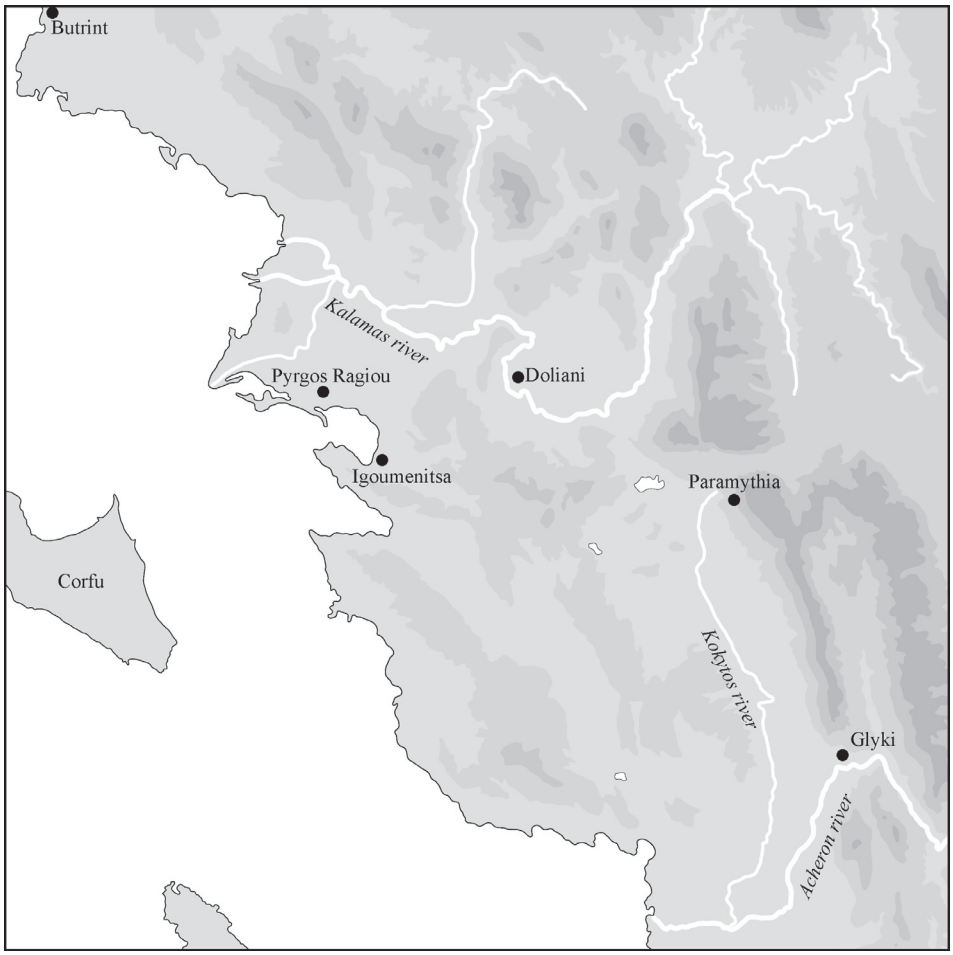

Fig. 1. The Location of Doliani inThesprotia.

Historical and chronological framework

From the thirteenth to the fifteenth century Epirus was a field of continuous conflicts. After the fall of Constantinople in 1204, the leaders of the Despotate of Epirus tried to keep their independence and/or establish their authority, either by fighting against, or making transitory alliances with, the Venetians and/or Byzantines. By the end of the thirteenth and during the fourteenth century, Byzantines, Venetians, Franks and Serbs fought for control of Epirus, while at the same time Albanian immigrants took up residence in the region. This chaotic period continued with the Ottoman conquest that took place in the fifteenth century.[3] The wider region of Epirus gradually became part of the Ottoman Empire and included in its system of public administration. By the start of the sixteenth century, the Ottomans consolidated their power in the region between

[3] Nicol 1991, 279-304.

Fig. 2. The acropolis of Doliani and the Late Byzantine cemetery (enlarged area).

the Kalamas and Acheron rivers, and thus in the whole previous Byzantine province of *Vagenetia*.[4] However, the Ottoman-Venetian wars (1463-1669) for control of the region continued to produce violent disturbances and political convulsions in the area. All in all, consecutive battle events, political instability and population movements have made up the sociopolitical and historical framework of Late Byzantine to post-Byzantine Doliani.

The prevalent relative dating methods, based on the typology of the findings, commonly produce some dubiousness when trying to determine an exact chronological frame in which the use of the cemetery can be defined. At Doliani, archaeological evidence so far supports the continuous use of the ancient acropolis as a settlement, from the Middle Byzantine to the post-Byzantine period.[5] Building remains of the Middle Byzantine period, such as the small church and two pottery kilns in the area of the north gate, amplify that scenario. At this time the settlement's cemetery was northerly, at the foot of a neighboring hill, where a few graves of this period were excavated in 2000.[6] During the Late Byzantine period the cemetery was relocated to the area around the church. The Venetian coins discovered in one of the graves support that aspect. Some repairs of the inner fortification walls are dated to the end of the Byzantine era, while additions were made during the period that followed the Ottoman conquest. The tower on the top of the hill could belong to either the Late Byzantine period or the Ottoman period that followed. Finally, the building with the arch openings that is located at the southeast fortification tower could possibly have been a Muslim mosque.

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[4] Psimouli 2005, 73.
[5] Lambrou 2006, 226-227.
[6] Riginos in *ArchDelt* 55B (2000), in press.

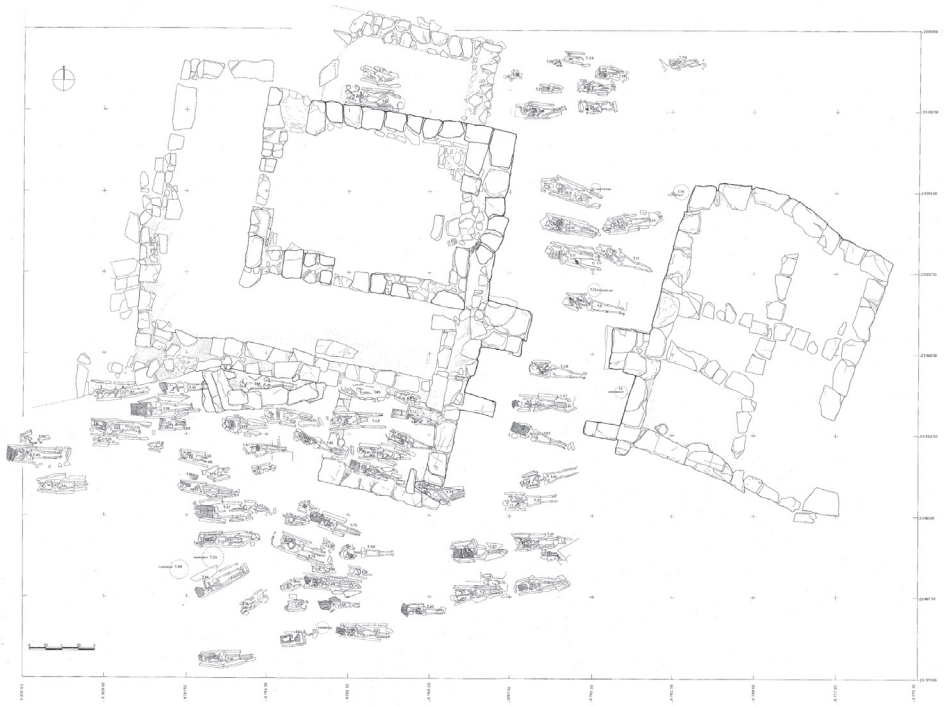

Fig. 3. Ground plan of the Late Byzantine cemetery.

The settlement is referred to as *Dolianoi* in a document which was compiled in January 1361[7] (or later[8]) by the Serb leader of Epirus, Symeon Uroš Palaiologos, who recognized Ioannis Tsapha Orsini as eligible property holder of a huge part of Epirus. The existence of the settlement at least in the first years of the Ottoman occupation as *Dulyani* is also confirmed by an Ottoman defter, which was compiled in 1431, after the Ottoman conquest of *Vagenetia*.[9] According to this unique document the settlement consisted of eight families or taxation units (*hane*) and a widow (*bive*), a total of nine taxpayer households. This means that the population of the settlement at this time was between 45 and 63 if we assume that a family consisted of five to seven members. Overall, the use of the cemetery seems to begin in the Late Byzantine period (fourteenth century) and to continue at least into the first years of the Ottoman occupation (fifteenth century), although no clear timeframes can be defined due to the lack of absolute dating.

Biases and potentials in paleodemographic studies

Paleodemographic reconstruction of a skeletal population depends to a large extent on the accuracy of sex determination and age estimation. While the techniques of assessing

[7] Aravantinos 1856, 311-315.
[8] Nicol 1991, 203-204.
[9] Inalcik 1954.

sex in adult skeletons have a high degree of accuracy (if the skeleton is in a satisfactory state of preservation), age estimation is much more problematic.[10] For subadults, aging methods are mainly based on tooth formation and eruption, processes that seem to be under tighter genetic control[11] as well as the fusion of growth centers of bones. Some variation must be expected on the basis of biological distance or affinity between the reference and target population, nutritional plane, health status and sexual dimorphism in dental development[12] and bone growth[13], but these processes occur within a comparatively short age range and can be assumed as accurate.[14]

For adults the picture is not so clear. The variety of macroscopic techniques developed so far were based on different skeletal age indicators (pubic symphysis, cranial suture closure, dental attrition, auricular surface or multifactorial methods) with different accuracy levels.[15] All these methods aim to estimate biological age by examining the degenerative-morphological changes that occur in a skeleton and their relation with true chronological age. Aging is influenced by intra- and inter-population variation, environment, heritability, nutrition, socioeconomic variables and disease, factors that are insufficiently understood or even unknown in cases of archaeological material. Moreover, methodological drawbacks such as the difficulty of aging older adults within an acceptable range of accuracy, or the tendency to classify individuals in the middle age groups, usually produce an underrepresentation of individuals over 60 and a mortality pattern that is not seen in ethnographic-historical demographic data or in model life tables.[16]

Sample representativeness is also an element of uncertainty when dealing with excavated osteological assemblages.[17] There is always some doubt whether or not the skeletons available for study constitute a representative and random sample of the once living actual population. Sample biases largely derive from preservational conditions of bones. Burial environment and mainly soil pH affect the preservation of bones, especially those of newborns and children due to their weak resistance to taphonomic conditions. Cultural and social factors such as funerary and ritual customs may also be a determinant of the sample representativeness. Furthermore, excavation methodology and strategy (e.g. inobservant recovery of bones, emphasis on grave goods rather than skeletons, as well as preferential excavation of a portion of a cemetery), could bias the sample. All the above-mentioned factors may introduce age, sex and social partiality and put a wrong interpretation on the actual structure and size of a skeletal population.

The potentials as well as the limitations of paleodemography have been discussed by several scholars.[18] In this argument, not only sample and aging methodological biases but also the theoretical approach and the analysis are central issues of discussion. For instance, the worldwide adopted "55 year old limit" for old adults reduces the mean age

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[10] Larsen 2002, 141.
[11] White 2000, 342.
[12] Hillson 1996, 125.
[13] White 2000, 349.
[14] Jakes 1992, 218.
[15] Jakes 1992, 190-191.
[16] Bocquet-Appel and Masset 1982, 321-333; Chamberlain 2006, 90.
[17] Waldron 1994, 10-27.
[18] Angel 1969, 427-438; Lovejoy *et al.* 1977, 291-293; Hassan 1981; Bocquet-Appel and Masset 1982, 321-333; Buikstra and Konigsberg 1985, 316-333; Jakes 1992, 189-224; Chamberlain 2006, 81-131.

at death, while the mode of distribution of indeterminate adults in calculations also affects life expectancy.[19] The assumptions of stationary or stable conditions produce different results when trying to interpret the demographic trends of a skeletal population. Both could match up to different periods of the existence of a community, whereas it is hard to distinguish them. Traditional aging methods and the following analysis of the data need to be treated carefully, especially as far as the accuracy of age estimation of adults older than 35 years is concerned. It is now widely accepted that paleodemographic analysis is affected by taphonomic factors and systematic biases. But it is also accepted that there is a plethora of information that derives from skeletal material, and paleodemography can provide answers on the demographic trends of ancient communities if we acknowledge those restrictions.

Materials and methods

The set of 98 graves under study that have been excavated in Doliani since 2005 constitute a large part of the Late Byzantine cemetery that surrounds the church in the area of the north ancient gate. Sixty-one of them are primary burials with a single skeleton (62.24%), while twenty were found containing two (20.41%) and eight containing three individuals (8.16%). In nine graves, four to seven were found to be the Minimum Number of Individuals (9.18%). A total of 170 skeletons were recovered. The preservation, as well as the representation of bones, varies from poorly preserved bones to skeletons in an excellent state of preservation. The major part of the skeletal material is in good condition.

Age Estimation and Sex Determination

Sex determination was based on the sex-related morphological features of pelvis and skull. Eleven traits of the pelvis and fourteen of the skull proposed by European Anthropologists[20] as well as Phenice's method[21] were used to sex the skeletons. If no skull or pelvis was available for study or the study was impossible due to the bad preservation of the above elements, or even if the study produced a neutral result, the individual was characterized as undetermined. No attempt was made to determine the sex of subadult individuals. For subadult skeletons, age-at-death estimation was based on teeth formation and eruption[22], epiphyseal fusion[23] and diaphyseal length[24]. For adult skeletons, age at death was estimated on the basis of European Anthropologists Recommendations.[25] No X-rays have been available yet in order to study the spongiosa structure of humerus and femur proximal epiphysis, and thus only pubic symphysis and endocranial suture closure were examined. Where no combination of the above-proposed methods could be applied, pubic symphyseal morphology[26], auricular surface morphology[27] and ectocranial suture

[19] Jakes 1992, 214.
[20] Ferembach *et al.* 1980, 517-549.
[21] Phenice 1969, 298-301.
[22] Ubelaker 1989.
[23] Brothwell 1972, 58-63; Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994, 41-43; Scheuer and Black 2000.
[24] Scheuer and Black 2000.
[25] Ferembach *et al.* 1980, 517-549.

closure[28] scoring systems were used, depending on the anatomical regions which were better preserved.

Seven broad age classes were defined for the primary stages of classification: (1) *neonate:* birth to 1 year old, (2) *infant:* 2-6 years old, (3) *child:* 6-12 years old, (4) *adolescent:* 12-20 years old, (5) *young adult:* 20-35 years old, (6) *middle adult:* 35-50 years old, (7) *old adult:* 50+ years old. In cases where age estimation in adults was based on the combination of pubic symphysis and endocranial suture closure, the age derived according to the tables of Sjovold[29] and the individuals were put in 10-year age intervals. When the classification of a skeleton in an age group was impossible, an adult or subadult age estimation was assigned.

Demographic Methodology

In order to proceed with the demographic study of the Doliani population, the following assumptions must be made. As mentioned above, the excavated skeletons came from a large portion of the entire cemetery. Even though the recovery of the skeletal material was meticulous, the excavation has not been completed yet and this fact could lead to an *a priori* bias of the sample. To pursue the analysis we have to assume that the sample is random and representative of the population. We first estimate the Juvenile/Adult ratio $(J/A = D_{5\text{-}14}/D_{20+})$ proposed by Boquet-Masset.[30] This index is the ratio of children 5 to 15 years old to adults over 20 years, and has the advantage of being uninfluenced both by infant underrepresentation and by inaccuracy of adult age estimation. We then estimate the Sex ratio (Males/Females) to investigate the representativeness of the sexes, first in all adult individuals and then at different age classes (Young-Middle-Old-Senile Adults).

For the construction of the life table, individuals were distributed in 5-year age intervals, following the method proposed by Acsadi and Nemeskeri.[31] An individual aged within 10 years (e.g. 40-50) was distributed by adding half to each of the two adjacent age classes (e.g. 0.5 into 40-44 class and 0.5 into 45-49 class). In cases of broader age estimation, smaller fractions were added to the relevant age classes. As an upper limit to the life table we choose the age of 80+ as the oldest individual of the mortuary sample was estimated to be 70-80 years old. Such an advanced age limit is somewhat unusual for skeletal populations, but following the above-mentioned methodology and considering the methodological drawback of the upper limit of 50 or 60 years, we arrived at the decision to assume it reasonable. Stationary demographic conditions were presupposed in order to estimate mortality parameters such as life expectancy (e_x), probability of death (q_x) and survivorship (l_x). Stationary demographic conditions mean that during the period of use of the cemetery (at least two centuries) the growth rate of the population was equal to zero and no migration or immigration occurred. Even though these conditions are rather unrealistic for a long period of time, it seems reasonable to assume that during the use of the cemetery, the different growth rates that the population experienced, positive and negative, finally will have an outcome very close to zero.

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[26] Brooks and Suchey 1990, 227-238.
[27] Lovejoy *et al.* 1985, 15-28.
[28] Meindl and Lovejoy 1985, 57-66.
[29] Ferembach *et al.* 1980, 539-549, Appendix.
[30] Boquet and Masset 1977, 65-90.
[31] Acsadi and Nemeskeri 1970.

Age Class (years)	Subadult N	%	Female N	%	Male N	%	Undetermined N	%	Total N	%
b-1	40	51%							40	23.5%
2-5	26	33%							26	15.3%
6-10	5	6%							5	2.9%
11-15	3	4%							3	1.8%
16-20	4	5%							4	2.4%
21-35			5	16%	5	11%			10	5.9%
36-50			10	31%	13	30%	4	25%	27	15.9%
50+			12	38%	23	52%	2	13%	37	21.8%
Adults			5	16%	3	7%	10	63%	18	10.6%
Total	78	100%	32	100%	44	100%	16	100%	170	100%

Fig. 4. Composition by age and sex of Doliani skeletal sample.

Results and discussion

The composition by age and sex of the Doliani skeletal sample is summarized in Fig. 4. Of the total number of 170 skeletons, 78 (45.88%) were subadults and 92 (54.12%) adults. The representation of neonates and infants in the subadult sample is quite satisfactory, as the 0-5 age category counts 66 individuals, which is 84% of the subadult group or 38.8% of the total skeletal sample. The adult sample (20 years or older) consists of 32 females (34.78%), 44 males (47.83%), and 16 of undetermined sex (17.39%). A sex ratio of 137.5 males to 100 females was found (or 58% males and 42% females), which is far more than the expected 100-105:100.[32] When sex ratio was calculated for each age group respectively, was found 92:100 for young adults (48% males and 52% females), 149:100 for middle adults (60% males and 40% females) 90:100 for old adults (47% males and 53% females), while in the ages over 65, males have a noticeable preponderance over females with a ratio of 345:100 (78% males and 22% females).

The life table estimations (Fig. 5) reveal a life expectancy at birth (e_0) of 28.57 years. But if a newborn could survive to pass its fifth year, then it could be expected to live for 40 years more. The probability of dying (q_x) indicates a high mortality of infants, yet decreases after the fifth year of life and then gradually becomes higher after the 35th year. In adult age classes, mortality shows a slight increase in the 21-25 class and then there is a peak between 35-45 and another one between 50-60 years, giving a wavy form to the mortality curve (Fig. 6). This is probably an artificial result of aging methods based on morphological criteria.[33] The division of adult skeletons in broad age classes provides a mortality profile (Fig. 7) that follows a U-shaped age distribution, where most of the deaths occur at both extremes of the age range. The crude death rate was calculated to be 3.5%.

Subadult mortality is 23.53% in the first year of life, decreases to 15.3% between 2-5 years and then drops rapidly to 2.94% in the age class 6-10. The total frequency of individuals under 20 is 45.88%. For the estimation of the J/A ratio we calculate the index both with and without individuals below 5, because as far as the Doliani population is

[32] Alesan *et al.* 1999, 290; Angel 1969, 432.
[33] Chamberlain 2006, 90; Jakes 1992, 190-196.

Age Class x	Number of Deaths D_x	Percentage of Deaths d_x	Percentage of Survivors l_x	Probability of Death q_x	Person-yrs in age class L_x	Expectancy of Life e_x
b-1	40.00	23.53	100.00	0.24	88.23	28.57
2-5	26.00	15.30	76.47	0.20	275.27	36.21
6-10	5.00	2.94	61.17	0.05	298.50	40.77
11-15	3.00	1.76	58.23	0.03	286.73	37.70
16-20	4.00	2.35	56.46	0.04	276.43	33.80
21-25	7.00	4.12	54.11	0.08	260.26	30.16
26-30	4.00	2.35	49.99	0.05	244.08	27.44
31-35	4.50	2.65	47.64	0.06	231.59	23.67
36-40	10.94	6.44	44.99	0.14	208.88	19.92
41-45	10.94	6.44	38.56	0.17	176.70	17.83
46-50	7.11	4.18	32.12	0.13	150.16	15.90
51-55	10.31	6.06	27.94	0.22	124.56	12.90
56-60	10.81	6.36	21.88	0.29	93.50	10.78
61-65	6.66	3.92	15.52	0.25	67.82	9.17
65-70	8.16	4.80	11.61	0.41	46.03	6.43
71-75	7.66	4.50	6.81	0.66	22.78	4.19
76-80	3.92	2.30	2.30	1.00	5.76	2.50
Total	170					

Fig. 5. Life table calculations for Doliani skeletal sample (r=0).

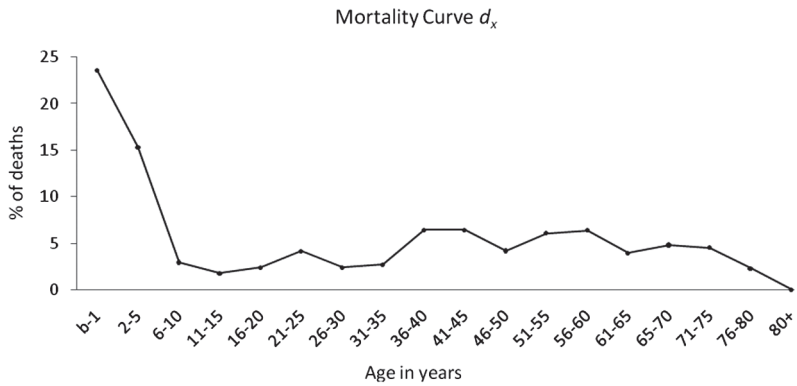

Fig. 6. The mortality curve of the Doliani skeletal sample.

concerned, it is difficult to ascertain underrepresentation of infants. A J/A ratio $(D_{5\text{-}14}/D_{20+})$ of 8 juveniles to 92 adults (J/A=0.087) was found. When the age group of 0-5 was added $(D_{0\text{-}14}/D_{20+})$ the ratio increased to 0.804. This is dramatically high for modern times, but not surprising in prehistoric[34] and in preindustrial populations.

Compared with Croatian skeletal populations of the same period (calculations based on data from Croatian composite series, from the tenth to thirteenth century, N=175[35]

[34] Angel 1969, 428.
[35] Slaus *et al.* 2002, 598-605, Table 3.

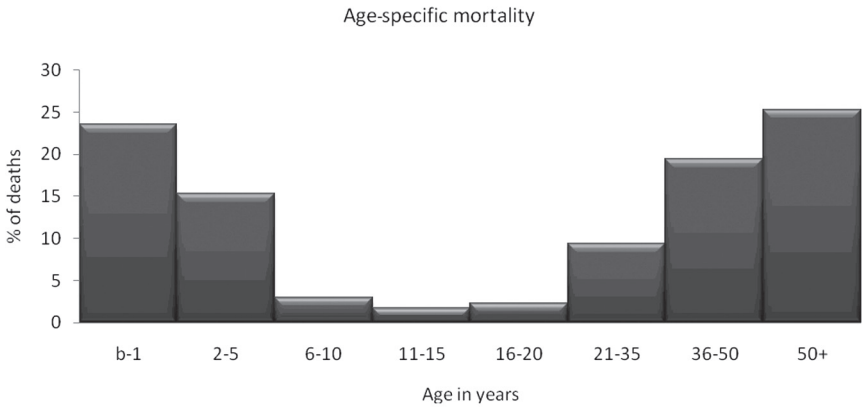

Fig. 7. Age-specific mortality of the Doliani skeletal sample.

and the Nova Raca sample from the fourteenth to eighteenth century, N=104[36]), the Doliani sample shows a lower juvenility index (Doliani $D_{5\text{-}14}/D_{20+}$ = 0.087, Late Medieval Croatian $D_{5\text{-}14}/D_{20+}$ = 0.282 and Nova Raca $D_{5\text{-}14}/D_{20+}$ = 0.286). Given the high mortality in Doliani's 0-5 children, there are grounds to presume that this difference emerges mainly from the high infant mortality rates and the low probability of dying after the fifth year of life, rather than from sampling biases – which, however, cannot be totally excluded since the excavation of the entire cemetery has not been completed so far. We avoided comparing the $(D_{0\text{-}14}/D_{20+})$ index because, as regards the Croatian samples, the authors report infants' underrepresentation. The 0-5 class mortality in the historical data from the early nineteenth century's Nova Raca parish Book of the Dead counts 32% of all deaths or 68% of the subadult group.[37] Furthermore, between 1517 and 1519 in England, 36% of children under six could be expected to die in non-plague years.[38] These figures, even though relatively smaller, are comparable with infant mortality rates of Doliani.

The impacts of high neonate and infant mortality could influence the demographic structure of the community. Newborn and infant survival is affected by endogenous and/or exogenous hazards such as gestation and birth defects, disease, socioeconomic effects and nutrition. The loss of newborns also affects the health status of the adult population and primarily the females, because it may lead to shorter birth intervals. This in turn increases the risk of perinatal complications and influences adversely the health of mothers and fetuses. This aggravation of the health status of women leads to higher mortality rates during the reproductive period, and is also related to the lower mean age at death of females in preindustrial periods. High infant mortality is also evidence of high fertility, although the latter is a complex demographic parameter that is determined by biological and social conditions. Moreover, our knowledge about fertility is somehow indistinct as it arises indirectly by looking into mortality.

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[36] Slaus 2000, 193-209, Table 1.
[37] Slaus 2000.
[38] Graunt 1662, cited in Lewis 2002; Lewis 2002, 11.

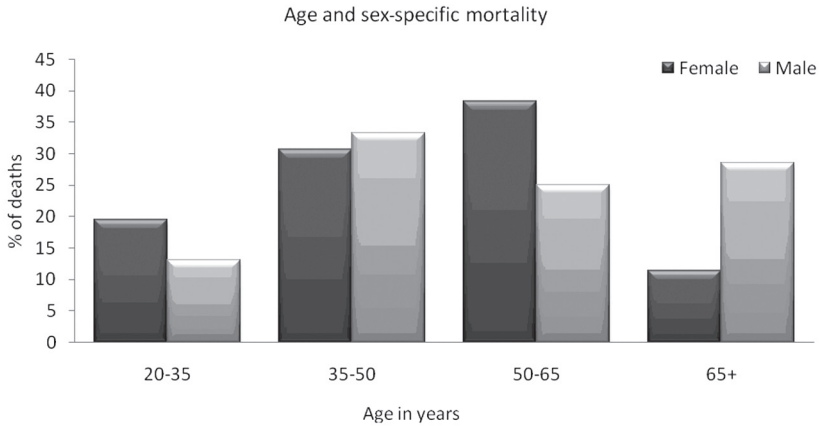

Fig. 8. Age and sex-specific mortality in the Doliani skeletal sample.

The distribution of female and male skeletons in 15-year age intervals (Fig. 8) produced a meaningful inventory of age and sex-specific mortality. While males of the 21-35 age interval are 13% of the total male group, females of the same age experienced higher risk of death since 19.5% died within this interval, half of them in the 21-25 cohort. The higher proportion of females fits in some measure with the known data from archaeological populations. Increasing mortality during the reproductive period reflects the higher risk that women experienced due to adverse effects of gestation, childbirth and lactation. It also corresponds with the high number of neonate deaths that was observed in Doliani. In the next age interval 36-50, mortality increases for both sexes to 30.7% for females and 33.35% for males, with the latter showing an increase of 20%. Females and males of older age categories show a dissimilar pattern of mortality. From 51 to 65 years, 38.35% of females and 25% of males died, while after 65 years of life, women count 11.4% whereas men 28.6%. The preponderance of males in the oldest age group corresponds with the higher probability of reaching advanced ages and the higher mean age at death that are recorded from prehistoric to historic times.[39]

Compared with the Croatian samples, the distribution of mortality is quite distinct (Fig. 9). While in Doliani the young adult mortality for combined sexes is 9.12% of the total sample, Croatian composite series show 38.9% (58.2% of females and 53.5% of males) and the Nova Raca sample shows 40.4% (69.7% of females and 54.3% of males). In the next middle adult group, mortality increases to 17.06% of all individuals in Doliani, whereas Croatian composite series decreases to 19.4% of total (20.9% of females and 34.9 of males) and Nova Raca to 16.4% of total (15.2% of females and 34.3% of males). Over the age of 50, Doliani increases to 27.94%, while Croatian composite series amount to 8.6% of the total group (16.1% of females and 8.3% of males) and Nova Raca 3.8% (6% of females and 5.8 of males). The distribution of deaths in Doliani increases proportionally from young to old adults, whereas Croatian samples reflect a mirror image, where most of the deaths are sown in the young adult group and gradually decrease to the

[39] Angel 1969, 430.

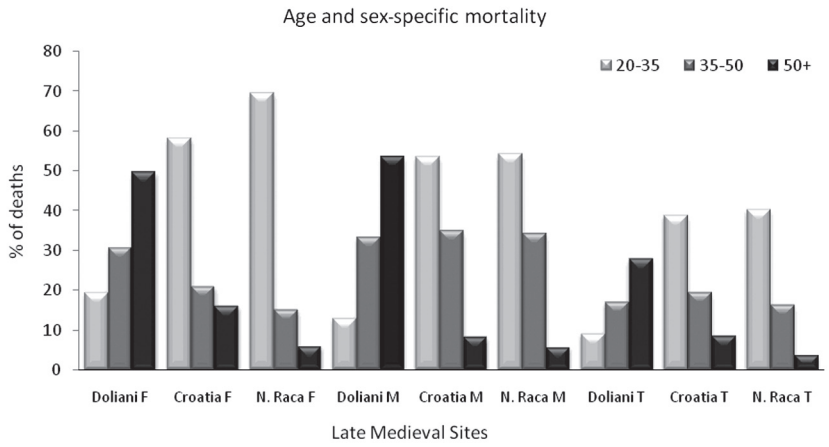

Fig. 9. A comparison of age and sex-specific mortality in adults from Doliani and Croatian sites (F: Female, M: Male, T: Total group).

lower percentage in old adults. Inter-population variation could be acceptable, but also other factors such as sample and methodological biases as well as specific environmental, biological and social conditions need to be investigated.

Conclusions

The study of the skeletal sample of Doliani provides valuable information for the structure of the community during the Late Byzantine period. Even though the excavation of the site has not been completed up to now, the data obtained so far are evidential mainly as regards infant mortality. The inhabitants of Doliani experienced high neonate and infant mortality rates which could be a determinant for the entire population. Maternal age, nutrition status and diet during and after pregnancy, birth intervals and health condition are critical for the survival or death of a fetus. Socioeconomic factors could also affect the mortality rates of infants. Breast-fed babies are more resistive to pathogens, as passive immunity is obtained through the nutrients of breast milk. On the contrary, early weaning, improper supplemental nutrition, poor hygienic conditions and quality of childcare eliminate the child's physical defense against infection and increase the risk of death during infancy.

The high infant mortality that was observed in Doliani also influences the health status of the population by having adverse effects on the health of mothers. The different mortality pattern that was observed between young adult men and women, with almost 20% of the latter dying in this age group, as well as the lower mean age at death and the lower probability of women to reach advanced ages, corresponds with the known data from archaeological skeletal material. However, the above results should be treated carefully, as underregistration of women could not be excluded. According to Angel[40]

[40] Angel 1969, 430.

childbirth and childbearing played a significant role in sex differences in longevity, but other factors should also be included in order to interpret sex- and age-specific mortality. Differentiation in stress levels and different living conditions that men and women experienced could also affect longevity, more probably with a combination of all the above-mentioned factors. The ongoing research in this direction could illuminate these aspects of life in Late Byzantine Thesprotia. Overall, the archaeological site of Doliani provides an opportunity to researchers of different scientific fields, to cooperate in order to examine in depth the various aspects of life of a settlement whose building remains, cemetery and written historical records are detected and obtainable for study.

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Venetian Presence in Thesprotia

Mika Hakkarainen

> Venise faible dans ses moyens militaires, régnait sur le continent par les divisions et la corruption. Dans sa sage politique, elle eût soin de conserver les principales échelles de la terre ferme, afin de ne pas être a la merci des volontés d'un Pacha puissant. … Entretenir l'indépendance du Chamouri et de la Ciéra, était encore l´objet constant de la Republique Vénetienne, et empêcher le voisinage d´un homme puissant fut constamment la mesure de sa politique dans le Divan de Constantinople.

With these words the French consul in Ioannina, F.C.H.L. Pouqueville, in a report of 1807[1] explained the past Venetian policy vis-à-vis the Ottomans, who had been controlling most of Epirus and Thesprotia for nearly as long as Venice had been in charge of Corfu and the other Ionian islands. Pouqueville's report illustrates very well the general character of the Venetian presence in Thesprotia. Although limited in form to some scattered outposts on the Epirotic coast, the Republic's presence, especially because of Corfu, was strong enough to affect the political and commercial life of the whole region (Fig. 1) in various ways from the late Middle Ages till the end of the Republic in 1797.

In broad outlines Thesprotia can be divided into three different zones as regards the Venetian presence. First there were the Venetian outposts along the coast. Between them and the Ottoman dominion lay the unmarked border-zone that constantly was fought for. But Venetian influence stretched even further inland, into those parts of Thesprotia that belonged to the Ottoman Empire. I will here give some examples of how the Venetian presence was felt in these three zones through the centuries until the French advent on the scene put an end to this longstanding socio-political equilibrium. The purpose is thereby to give a general overview of the Venetian presence in Thesprotia during those centuries, which will serve as a framework for more detailed studies connected with the Thesprotia Expedition.

The bridgeheads on the coast

In order to secure the trade route to the Levant, vital for Venice's economy, and to control the access to the Adriatic Sea and furthermore to the Gulf of Venice, the Republic strove for acquisition of strategic posts along the route.[2] The most important of them was the Isle of Corfu – "porta del Golfo" – which was taken over in 1386.[3] Soon it was found necessary to take over some outposts on the littoral facing Corfu in advance of the Ottoman expansion towards Epirus, in order to secure the maintenance of Corfu and the other Ionian Islands as well as the control of the shipping in the Channel of Corfu.[4]

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[1] Apogiatis-Pelé 1993, 64.
[2] Thiriet 1959, 355-363.
[3] Thiriet 1959, 395.
[4] Thiriet 1959, 353-439.

Fig. 1. Corfu and the cost of Thesprotia (after Camotio 1571).

After years of contest, Butrint was finally taken in 1386[5], Strovili[6] and Sagiada (Bastia) in 1413[7], Parga in 1401[8] and the Phanari district (the Acheron river delta) in 1410[9]. In the

[5] *AAV* 1, 30.
[6] Sathas V 245.
[7] Thiriet *Sénat* 850, 975, 1029, 1505, 1737. The Venetian authority in Sagiada remains to be clarified; it seems that the bay and fishery belonged to the Republic, but the village to the Porte: see Ploumidis 2002, 9-15.
[8] Sathas II 29, 46 (no. 240 and 258).
[9] First reference in 1410 (*AAV* 6, 60).

Venetian administrative organization all these outposts were part of the *Regimen Corfu*, "sub jurisdictione civitatis Corphou". According to the treaty between the Republic and the Corfiotes, which was made already in 1386, all the offices of the outposts were secured by the Corfiote nobility.[10]

The Ottoman forces took Ioannina in 1430, then Arta in 1449, and finally pushed into Thesprotia in 1452 seizing the Venetian outposts on the coast, which however were soon reconquered by the Venetians.[11] The Ottomans managed several times during the frequent Veneto-Ottoman wars in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to evict the Venetians from their bridgeheads. Thus Butrint, Strovili and Parga were taken several times[12], for example Strovili in 1463, 1473 and 1506. Parga was also occupied and burned down several times and even Corfu was besieged three times, in 1537, 1571 and 1716. Nonetheless, in the peace treaties the status quo was always restored[13] and the Venetians succeeded in keeping Butrint, Sagiada, Parga and Phanari.

A short glance at the geomorphology of Epirus reveals the importance of these positions and their meaning for the Epirotic economy. A series of mountain ridges stretching north to south extends the region parallel to the littoral. The ancient road network followed the north to south corridors, but access to the coast from the mainland was difficult. Small bays like that of Parga often break the steep coastline, but only a few of them were convenient for ports. The routes from the inland of Thesprotia to the coast and the best ports on the littoral were thus in Venetian hands.

Butrint was important not only for its strategic position at the northern entrance to the Channel of Corfu; its financial value due to the fisheries on the lake of Butrint was also considerable. Sagiada was the main port for the trade between Corfu and the Epirotic mainland. The Venetians constructed there a *lazaretto*, a control-post for the shipping to Corfu.[14] But Sagiada's fishery, acquired in 1570, remained a longstanding bone of contention between the Porte and the Republic.[15] Parga, "gli orecchi ed il cuore della vicina isola di Corfu", as Francesco Grimani put it in his *relazione*, a small community of about 5,000 inhabitants, was the Republic's military outpost. Phanari's importance for Corfu lay in its woods, where the Venetians got timber for shipbuilding,[16] and the port was also important for the grain supply of Corfu.[17]

The Venetian position in Epirus was further strengthened as late as 1718 through the peace treaty of Passarowitz, which ended a war otherwise disastrous for the Republic. Von Schulenburg's military activity after the siege of Corfu in 1716 brought Preveza and Vonitza to Venice, which meant control of the Ambracian gulf and its trade – or as the French consul in Zante, André Grasset de Saint-Sauveur, put it, "the control of the whole Epirotic commerce".[18]

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[10] "sub jurisdictione civitatis Corphou castellania et commestabileria Buthrentou, capitaneria Saiate, castellaneria et capitaneria Barge, castellaneria Fanari". See Sathas III, 31-33 (no. 571) or Thiriet *Sénat* 730, 1505. On the Venetian administrative system see Thiriet 1959, 182-197.

[11] Marmora 1672, 323-328.

[12] Grasset de Saint-Sauveur 1800, 286-285.

[13] *ASV* Libri commemoriali della Republica di Venezia. Regesti VIII.

[14] Ploumidis 1993, 491-493.

[15] Ploumidis 2002, 9-13.

[16] The fort of Vilichi, through which the area was controlled, seems to have lost its significance in the late fifteenth century or was destroyed in the Veneto-Ottoman wars.

[17] Thiriet *Sénat*, 505, 2523.

The Venetian outposts on the Epirotic coast were significant transit posts for the trade between the Ionian islands held by the Republic and the Ottoman mainland of Epirus. The relation between them was in a way almost symbiotic. Corfu and the other islands were dependent on grain supply from the mainland, because their own grain harvest did not suffice for more than six months per year.[19] On the other hand, the mainland needed for instance Corfiot salt and tried to get rid of this dependence by constructing salt lakes at Sagiada. However, the Venetians, well aware of the risk of this competition, destroyed the salina at least once.[20]

One of the peculiarities of the Venetian trading hegemony was that the Republic throughout the centuries succeeded in keeping Ottoman shipping out of the Channel of Corfu. Even the peace treaty between Venice and the Sublime Porte in Passarowitz restated the prohibition of entrance to the Channel for ships under Ottoman flag. Shipping in the Channel was in the hands of the Venetian subjects in Corfu and Parga, a fact which caused irritation among and frequent conflicts with Ottoman local authorities and inhabitants. The Serenissima's finger rested indeed heavily on the pulse of Ottoman Epirus.

Modus vivendi in the border zone

The first and apparently the last attempt to demarcate the Venetian possessions on the coast was done in connection with the peace treaty of 1480. Unfortunately, there is only one short reference without any details concerning the demarcation in Butrint and Parga, when Zuam Dario and Sinan Pasha settled the boundaries in Morea, Epirus and Albania.[21] The frequent border skirmishes, recorded by the Venetian authorities, reveal one of the peculiarities of Veneto-Ottoman relations in Epirus, that is, the absence of an accepted demarcation between the area of Parga and the confining kaza of Margariti, or between Venetian and Ottoman territories. This strange situation would continue from 1480 until the end of the Venetian dominion.

The Venetian presence on the coast had actually been recognized by the Ottomans already in the first peace treaty between Venice and the Sublime Porte, signed in 1419[22] and later reconfirmed in all peace treaties and capitulations. However, on the local level the Republic's relations with the Ottoman administration and population in Epirus remained often charged, and led to frequent challenges to Venetian authority. The reasons were clear; Venice had the commercial monopoly in her hands and the question of the demarcation between Venetian and Ottoman territory had been left unclear.

The main centre of the conflicts was Parga. It was a military outpost, the strongest and most visual bridgehead, the Republic's eye and ear in Thesprotia.[23] The Ottoman part of Thesprotia which surrounded Parga belonged administratively to the Sancak of

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[18] Grasset de Saint-Sauveur 1800, 269.

[19] Sathas III 32; V 224-225; VI 218. Even a short cut-off of the grain supply caused famine in the islands, as happened in 1558, which explains the reluctance of the Venetian authorities to engage in any kind of conflicts.

[20] Marmora 1672, 323.

[21] Stefano Magno, in Sathas V, 219-220. On the border commission, see Gilliland Wright 2006.

[22] Thomas II, 318-319.

[23] Parga: "elle servait…les intérêts de sa politique, que fut au moyen des ses postes en terre-ferme, des formes le noyau d'une confédération d'anarchies particulières, aussi convenables à ses vues qu'à sa faiblesse" (Pouqueville 1820, 455).

Delvino, which was divided into several districts or *kazas*. Two of them, Paramythia and Mazaraki, are significant in relation to Parga. Especially the second one figures often in the Venetian sources. The fort of Margariti in the plain of Phanari (sic!) was built in 1549 by Bayazid Ἀzgu oglou (Scuroglii), sancak bey of Delvino[24], and developed soon into an Ottoman stronghold against the Venetian possession on the coast. In spite of successful efforts to destroy it during the fourth Veneto-Ottoman war in 1571, the Venetians finally did not succeed in preventing Margariti from developing into the counterpart of Parga. The different and constant confrontations and border conflicts between these two strongholds and their inhabitants are a continuous agenda in Venetian weekly reports, *dispacci*, of the bailo of Corfu and later Provveditore da Terra e da Mar to the Senate, in which all the events in their jurisdiction are recorded.

The Venetian government in Corfu interfered almost constantly by taking contact with the sancak bey of Delvino, but never by military means, because avoidance of armed conflict with the Turks was a strict rule of the Serenissima, though a show of force was often resorted to. Armed counter-incursions were left to the Pargiotes, who were almost too eager to take revenge. Besides the economic reasons for these conflicts, the ideological ones were developing considerably, together with the gradual Islamization. The inhabitants of the Ottoman border areas regarded themselves as *gazi*, frontier warriors. The term *gaza* hints to raids over frontiers.[25] The earliest record of Islamization in Thesprotia mentioned in Venetian sources can be found in the year 1558: in the report of the Bailo of Corfu, a fief holder called Ahmed in the village of Agia, close to Parga, had organized the whole village of Agia, most of them Christians, to conduct raids against Parga. This Ahmed had formerly been a Christian. The governor of Parga had turned to the 'voivode' of the kaza of Mazaraki and asked that Ahmed be punished for his activities.[26]

As for Islamization in Thesprotia, the process remains to be studied. Anton Minkov has recently shown that the poll tax, the *cizye*, which has been seen as one of the main reasons for Islamization, cannot be considered its real incentive, at least not in the first century of Ottoman rule. Economic considerations often motivated the conversion, but, as Minkov further points out, it poses problems – and other factors, such as social and psychological ones, must also be considered.[27] The organization of Ottoman rule did bring with it only minimal conversion during the fifteenth century, affecting mainly the military elite. In Epirus the conversion seems to have affected mainly the population of Albanian origin.

In the 1640s the Venetian bailo in Constantinople managed to obtain from the Porte a firman which ordered the local governors to make a pause in the constant raids from the Ottoman side against Parga, of course without any results.[28] A written memorial of these constant border skirmishes can be found in the archive of Parga, now part of the Corfu archive.[29] It is a long register of all the conflicts, cattle stealing, quarrels concerning fishing and tree-felling for shipbuilding, kidnappings of Pargiotes etc., caused by the Ottoman

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[24] Sathas VIII, 313; Chasiotis 1970, 91, f. 1; 152, f. 2.
[25] Pedani 2002, 13-15.
[26] *ASV* Bailo di Corfu, dispacci b. 1 (3.7. 1558). The same report reveals that the kaza of Mazaraki was under the sancak of Avlona. The sancak of Delvino seems to have been organized at some point between 1558 and 1663.
[27] Minkov 2004, 92-101.
[28] Aravantinos 1856 II, 198.
[29] Papageorgiou 1982, 93-132.

subjects from Mazaraki, Margariti and Paramythia. The tension often developed into full-scale raids, as in 1745 and 1784. The first registration dates from the year 1699 and the last one was written in 1795; all the losses are recorded and the value of them in money mentioned. Noteworthy in these border conflicts is that they were not always between the Muslim Ottoman subjects and Christian Pargiotes, but very often also between Christian populations from the neighbouring Ottoman villages such as Agia Kiriaki ("*τούρκους και ρομέους*") and the Pargiotes.

The main aim of these raids was to damage the sources of income, olive trees, tobacco cultivation and wine cultivation, not to mention to cause human losses in the form of dead people and slaves.[30] A common habit among the Turkish border inhabitants was to take slaves who were supposed to be ransomed (*ἔπιασαν τοὺς κάτωθι σκλάβους καὶ ἐξαγοράστηκαν μὲ περισὸ σολδὶ*). The year 1745 was especially severe for the Pargiotes. On April 15 during a service in the church of Panagia in Paleo Parga, the Turks made a raid, killed three persons and enslaved 36 persons and robbed them. All the persons had to be ransomed as well as their property. The Pargas governatore Antonio Gonemi registered all the persons by their name and all the lost property.[31]

The last major conflict between Parga and Margariti, overshadowing the last decade of the Venetian rule, started in 1784. Hassan Tsapari, bey of Margariti, took advantage of the Holy Week, and began to erect towers close to the village of Agia Kiriaki on the side of the border which was seen to belong to Parga. The Pargiote attempt to destroy the towers failed and they began to build their own in front of the ones of Hasan Tsapari and to make incursions on the Turkish side. According to the Venetian reports Tsapari tried to prevent any commercial activity between Parga and Margariti as well, so as to get possession of the Phanari district. This caused a long and violent skirmish, which demanded the intervention of the Venetian authorities.[32] The situation calmed down when the Provveditore Francisco Falier showed force by sending a galley to support the Pargiotes[33] and finally a peace treaty was signed in June 1791 between the Pargiotes and the Tsaparis family.[34]

The long-disputed fishery in Phanari was ceded to the Tsaparis of Margariti in this connection, probably as a strategic move by the Venetians in order to keep the agas of Margariti on their side against the rising influence of Ali Pasha.[35] The Tsapari family, which controlled the region of Margariti from the eighteenth century onwards, was in a central position regarding Venetian policy towards Ali Pasha. Hasan Tsapari had allied with Ali Pasha in his campaign against the Souli. In order to break the alliance, the Venetians resorted to their traditional ways – supporting the archenemy of Parga. One of these ways was the ceding of the fishery in Phanari to the Tsaparis. They also supplied the Tsaparis with munitions and ships, which caused concern in Constantinople.[36]

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[30] During the period which the register covers, Parga's losses were more than 80 persons (Papageorgiou 1982, 95).
[31] Papageorgiou 1982, 96.
[32] *ASV* Provveditore da Terra e da Mar, b. 878-879 (1784).
[33] Benetos Kalogera's, gouvernatore e capitano of Parga, report *ASV* Provveditore da Terra e da Mar 1048. Report from the councillors of Parga to the Provveditore, *NLG* ms. 1645. ff. 31-32. Memmo 1794, 21-22.
[34] *NLG* ms. 1646, ff. 34v-35r.
[35] J. Dupré mentions in his report that Phanari was ceded by the Venetians to Hassan Tsaparis, in Apogiatis-Pelé 1993.
[36] See Balta, this volume.

Phanari, a large alluvial plain formed by the river Acheron, which was earlier controlled by a fortress in Vilichi, the port in the Middle Ages, seems to have lost its importance by the end of the eighteenth century.[37] The Phanari district and its natural resources, woods, fishery, and the port had long been a thorn in the flesh of beys of Margariti and Paramythia. In 1612 Husein Tzelepi of Paramythia constructed a fortified post in Korone from where it was easy to control the forests, from which the Venetians got timber for their vessels, violating the Venetian jurisdiction.[38] In 1643 he imposed a duty on all ships docking at the port.[39] Vicenzo Grimani, bailo of Corfu, in his final report to the Senate of Venice tells how the bey of Paramythia had invaded the Phanari fishery on the eve of the fourth Veneto-Ottoman war in 1644 and confiscated all the ships in the port.[40]

The main reasons for these raids, however, were economic. In the peace treaties and capitulations the Venetian position, having factual dominance and control of the Epirotic trade, was always recognized by the Porte. On the local level, the compliance of capitulations was another matter. The border conflicts arose mainly out of the disputes over the rights of using the fisheries and the woods as well as over the control of trade. The local population did not respect the Venetian authority in spite of repeated negotiations to solve the problems, and the non-existence of marked borders also caused constant skirmishes. From time to time conflicts were settled in Constantinople, as in 1728 concerning the fisheries in Butrint and Riniasa.[41] The peace of Passarowitz in 1718 brought with it a constant series of new conflicts in the area of Preveza and Vonitza.[42]

Divide et corrumpere: the way of monitoring the inland

The Tsaparis case reveals much of Venice's policy in Epirus. The interaction with Ottoman authorities was crucial for her policy. To avoid open conflicts and confrontations which would endanger supply of the Ionian islands became the main guideline of her policy. At the same time, all efforts except military ones were made to hinder any activity in the region which could endanger her commercial interest. The fact that Corfu was dependent on the mainland for its grain supply was crucial for the policy. Any turmoil in the relation of Venice and the Porte as well as in the region had direct effects on the supply, causing famine.[43] Its constant 'behind the scenes' policy comes out in the reports to the Senate and the Inquisitori dello Stato, as well as in their orders and advice to authorities in Corfu, and can be illustrated by several examples of different nature.

From the seventeenth century onwards, centrifugal forces in the Ottoman political organization[44] were apparent also in Epirus. The gradual weakening of the Sublime Porte's grip on the provinces from the seventeenth century onwards was not left unnoticed by the

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[37] On Vilichi see Soustal 1981, 275-276.
[38] *ASV* Bailo di Corfu, b.1 (16.4. 1612).
[39] *ASV* Bailo di Corfu, b.1 (25.4. 1643).
[40] *ASV* Collegio, Relazione di Pietro Navagiero 1644.
[41] *ASV* Bailo di Corfu, b. 256 (13.3-11.4. 1728).
[42] *ASV* Bailo di Corfu, b. 254.
[43] Sathas V 224 (July 1489).
[44] Lewis 1958, 111-127.

Venetians. The reports of the Corfiote authorities give a clear picture of the process and constitute important sources for the history of Thesprotia. The administrative distribution in different provinces, sancak, Delvino and Ioannina, as well as the local subdivisions in kazas, enabled the Republic to wage the distinctive policy to secure its position in the region without military means, as Pouqueville later stated: "Toute l'attention du gouvernant se bornoit à entretenier une paix continuelle avec les divers pachas dont il pouvoit craindre l'ambition pour ses faibles possessions sur le continent, et l'intereption pour les îles, des vivres que l'en tiroit de l'Albanie".[45]

The internal development of the whole of Epirus towards decentralization and finally anarchy was exploited and enhanced if possible by the Venetian authorities in the Ionian islands. Local chiefs had begun to make their own policy without the authorization of the Sublime Porte. The main aim of the Venetian policy was to advance the political disorder in Epirus by stirring the ambitions of the local Ottoman hierarchy and so to further weaken the position of the pasha in Ioannina, the formal head of the Ottoman administration in Epirus.

Venetian reports, based on information gathered by their agents and sympathizers, speak of increasing unrest and anarchy in the Ottoman *terra ferma*. The authorities in Corfu report to the Senate in Venice on violent actions against the mussacalis sent by the Porte in Constantinople. These inspectors, *mussacali* in Venetian documents, often caused unrest among the local Ottoman chiefs and population. In 1625 a *mussacali* arrived in Paramythia, causing the inhabitants to escape to the mountains and finally forcing the bey of Paramythia, Peri Mehmet Passopulo, to expel him violently.[46] In 1631 the Porte gave orders that Margariti should be destroyed and all the inhabitants over seven years old killed. The mission was given to the *kapudan pasha*, whose appearance with an Ottoman fleet on the Epirote coast made the Pargiotes warn Margariti and the population could escape.[47] During the long Veneto-Ottoman Cretan war, Ottoman forces unsuccessfully besieged Parga from September till Christmas 1657. Later the commander of the Ottoman forces in Constantinople accused the local pashas of Ioannina and Delvino of unwillingness to support his troops. The reluctance of the locals went so far that Osman Karapiperi, pasha of Delvino, suggested peace negotiation in February 1658, which took place on July 23. War-weariness and heavy taxation were mentioned as reasons.[48]

One of the significant ways the Venetians intervened in everyday life in Thesprotia was through funding and arming local *klephtes* and *armatoli*, especially Christians, in order to raise confusion. They often found refuge in Parga.[49] The Souliotes, a Christian Albanian tribe living in the mountains southeast of Paramythia, not far away from the Venetian Phanari district, were often included in these conflicts.[50]

The first Souliote war against the Ottoman authorities in Ioannina broke out in 1732. It was actually instigated by the Venetians, who even managed to persuade the beys of Margariti to join the revolt, which lasted four years and finally caused the destruction

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[45] Pouqueville in Apogiatis-Pelé 1993, 93.
[46] *ASV* Bailo di Corfu, b. 29.
[47] *ASV* Bailo di Corfu, b. 29.
[48] *ASV* Bailo di Corfu, b. 29.
[49] In 1749 Ottoman authorities required the extradition of Greek *klephtes* who had fled to Parga: Siorokas 1981, 158-159.
[50] In general about the Souliotes see Psimouli 2006.

of Margariti by the troops from Ioannina. The Souliotes were besieged without results.[51]

In March 1772 the Venetian agents in *Terra Ferma* informed the authorities in the islands that Suleiman aga of Margariti had summoned the local Albanian agas in order to attack Souli. Only Pronios aga of Paramythia had refused the invitation, because he had promised the Souliotes and Christians in Paramythia that he would not wage war against Souli. The further plan was to attack Preveza with the excuse of calling for the extradition of Ottoman subjects who had escaped in Preveza, and especially of those who had participated in the war on the Russian side against the Porte. The report did not come as a surprise. The Venetian authorities in Corfu as well as in Venice were aware of the plans already a year in advance, and were also immediately informed when the Souliotes managed to beat the Ottomans and capture the leaders, among others Suleiman aga of Margariti, who were released against heavy ransom.[52]

For the Venetians the second Souliote war was alarming, because the Margariotes were no longer on the side of Souli. This was repeated fifteen years later in 1789 when the Tsaparis family allied with Ali Pasha against the Souliotes, allies of the Republic.[53] In the fourth Souliote war, Venice no longer existed to supply the Souliotes with ammunition etc. from Preveza and St. Maura, with disastrous effects for the Souliotes.

Besides supporting their allies and corrupting the Ottoman officials in Epirus, the Venetians strove to hinder all the political activity which could endanger its own interests. In December 1604 a Spanish frigate brought Dionysios, the Metropolitan of Larissa, himself a native of Paramythia, to Zakynthos, from where he continued to Phanari on the coast and to the village of Choika, at that time under Venetian jurisdiction.[54] There he gathered locals in order to incite them to uprising and an attack against Preveza by promising Spanish support. However, the Venetian authorities succeeded in preventing the uprising and the Spanish frigate was banished from the Ionian Sea.[55] Dionysios showed up in Venetian records again in the fall of 1611. But this time the Venetians failed to prevent his plans in Epirus and were forced just to follow the course of events.

In September 1611 an uprising against Ottoman rule in Paramythia instigated and led by Dionysios broke out. He and his followers even attacked Ottoman authorities in Ioannina, but the uprising ended soon in failure; his supporters were slain and Dionysios skinned alive. A detailed report of the events was provided by Ioannis Petritzes in Sagiada; letters from the King of Spain had been found among Dionysios' belongings, the head and skin were sent to Constantinople, and the pasha of Ioannina had entered Paramythia in order to punish the participants.[56] In October the provveditore sent the dragoman Ioannis Simos to Paramythia and Delvino to get more information. The Spanish machinations became clear, and it emerged that the pasha had decapitated 300 persons and sent the heads to Constantinople.[57] The bailo Simon Contarini reported from Constantinople that

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[51] Aravantinos 1856 I, 244-245.

[52] *ASV* Provveditore da Terra e da Mar, f. 118.

[53] Eton 1798, 399. Eton reveals that it was La Salle who instigated the war of 1789.

[54] Choika is located at the very gate to Souli, and thus the Venetian territory at least at this date extended fairly far inland from Phanari.

[55] *ASV* Bailo di Corfu, b. 7 (30.12. 1604).

[56] It seems that the reprisals taken by the Ottoman authorities in Thesprotia after the uprising caused emigration to the Venetian territories; on the island of Paxos place-names and folk tradition have it that f.e. inhabitants of the village of Veliani moved on the island after the revolt. See also Aravantinos 1856 II, 124.

[57] *ASV* Bailo di Corfu, b. 7 (1611).

87 heads were exhibited as well as the skin of Dionysios. However, the show did not convince the Grand Vizir who wondered why they were not sent alive. The result was that Osman Pasha, the sancak bey of Ioannina, fell into disgrace and was ordered to be arrested. But he had foreseen this and escaped via Parga, first to Paxos and from there to Leukada, "with a great amount of money". The money, though, was confiscated by the Pargiotes.[58]

The appearance of Cosmas of Aitolia in Epirus in the late eighteenth century raised as much irritation and concern in Corfu. On 27 May 1777, much to the surprise of Benedetto Pieri, *capitano e governatore* di Parga, a Greek monk with a large armed entourage showed up in Parga, stirring up religious enthusiasm among the inhabitants of the town, who were Venetian subjects. After considerable efforts, Pieri managed to make Cosmas leave the town. Pieri's report is the first Venetian document on Cosmas of Aitolia's activity in Epirus.[59] Cosmas' rapid movement and increasing popularity among the Greek Orthodox population on the coast and on the islands held by the Republic caused confusion and alarm among the authorities. The Provveditor General da Mar Giacomo Nani's report to *Inquisitori di stato* radiates embarrassment due to the fact that he had not managed to prevent Cosmas' arrival in Corfu. Cosmas' antisemitic sermons before a large public raised fear of pogroms against Corfu's Jewish population. Nani decided to act promptly: Cosmas was removed from Corfu in the still of the night to Agia Saranda on the coast. Cosmas' popularity even among the Muslims and local Ottoman authorities raised suspicion; thus, for instance, he was invited to Margariti by Suleiman aga Tsappari.

Cosmas' movements in Thesprotia during the following two years were monitored closely by the Venetians through Demetrio Mamouda as their agent in the entourage of Cosmas. In spite of the fact that no evidence whatever was revealed against the *calogero*, which would have shown that he was planning something against the Venetian interests, the Provveditor Nani recommended to the Inquisitori that Cosmas should be 'levar dal mondo'. It happened soon. Cosmas was murdered in late August 1779 outside the village of Kolikontsi. According to his pupil and memorialist Sapheiros Christodoulides, the assassins were in the service of Kurt Pasha but behind the murder lay Jewish instigation. Whether the Venetians were simply late or could camouflage their involvement remains to be elucidated.

The reason for the Venetians to be worried about Cosmas and his activity can be assumed to be clear: his popularity among the Christian population, in the Venetian territory as well as in the Ottoman, and even among the Muslims. He was under the protection of local beys and agas, which certainly did not reduce the suspicion.[60] The

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[58] *ASV* Collegio, Relazioni, b. 85. *ASV* Bailo of Constantinopel, dispacci 29.11. 1611, b. 72. (1612).

[59] "Un grosso numero di persone armate provenienti dallo Stato Ottomano Greci con un calogero in centro posto sopra un mulo, che orava, e benediva, comparve il di oggi in questa parte. I fanatici si trasportarono, reputandolo come un nume tutelare della religione, mentre spiacevansi i di lui prodigi e miracoli" report by the capitano di Parga to Provveditor General da Mar on Corfu 27.5. 1777 (*ASV* Inquisitori di Stato, b. 405). There are a lot of reports by Venetian officials to each other and Inquisitori di Stato in Venice (*ASV* Inquisitori di Stato. Dispacci dal Provveditor General da Mar, 1776–1780, b. 405).

[60] Cosmas collected huge sums of money from Christians and Muslims in order to build churches and schools, which was clear evidence of his veiled plans. There is Venetian evidence of Cosmas' connections with the Austrians; he was distributing a leaflet in Greek which promised privileges for immigrating into the Austrian territories. See *ASV* Inquisitori di Stato, b. 405 (10.03, 16.03 and 21.03. 1779).

last Russo-Turkish war and the presence of the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean in the 1770s was in fresh memory. The emissaries of Catherine II in Greece had been active already before the arrival of the fleet of Orlov inciting rebellion in the midst of the Christian population with good results. The Republic and its neutrality in the war were viewed suspiciously by the Porte, especially because of Venice's inability to hinder its Greek subjects from joining the Russian campaign. Russian presence in Greece and its waters caused enthusiasm among the Greeks, and Venetian authorities had trouble in trying to maintain order in the Ionian islands.[61] From then until the end of Venetian rule, the presence of Russian emissaries in Epirus was a constant concern.[62]

The French threat

A further concern for the Venetian authorities in Corfu was the threat to its trading monopoly in Epirus caused by the French from the end of the seventeenth century onwards. In 1673 the embassy of the Marquis Charles de Nointel (in Constantinople, 1671-1679) restored the friendship between the Sublime Porte and France and renewed the commercial capitulations, which led to a clear increase of French commerce in the Levant. The French showed up soon in the Ionian Sea, and already in 1678 the provveditore of Zante found himself compelled to confiscate French vessels carrying corn. According to the Venetian point of view, the corn from the mainland was excluded from merchants because it was needed for the supply of the Ionian islands. The Republic tried to enforce a 6% custom on all merchants on the Epirotic coast, which was not accepted by France.[63]

The French trade in Epirus was for some time organized through the consulate in Sagiada, founded in 1695, and its consul P. Garnier, who gathered information on the Epirote resources, especially corn and timber, for the French government.[64] In order to avoid the Venetians' jurisdiction and their control and customs, the consulate was transferred to Arta in 1702. The French were interested especially in the exploitation of forestry resources, and when the consulate had been moved the timber trade was organized in an even more systematic way: "Toutes les relations de commerce de la France avec l'Albanie se bornirent à une coupe de bois de construction pour l'arsenal de Toulon."[65] However, the peace of Passarowitz in 1718, in which the Ottoman Empire conceded Preveza and Vonitza to the Republic, further strengthened the Venetian monopoly of the Epirote trade; the access to the Ambracian Gulf was now also controlled by the Venetians.[66]

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[61] For the Venetian archival material on the Russian campaign in the Mediterranean, see Manfroni 1912-1913. Orlov's emissary in Epirus Luitzis Sotiris arrrived in Epirus to raise the population in 1770. Some 800 Epirotes followed Sotiris and joined the Russian fleet: Protopsaltis 1959, 117.

[62] *ASV* Inquisitori di Stato, b. 397 (21.4. 1773); b. 409 (24.12. 1796).

[63] Mason 1897.

[64] Mason 1897, 441.

[65] Grasset de Saint-Sauveur 1800, 278.

[66] "Préveza et Vonitza dans le Golfe d'Arta rendait cette République maitresse du commerce de l'Albanie inférieure. C'était de là qu'elle tirait le plus productifs que ces îles mêmes, à cause des importations, et des exportations... Prévesa et Vonitza, possessions si essentielles pour les approvisionements de Corfu, continuaient de fournir de vivres à Ste Maure, Ithaque et Cephalonie, depuis que les Vénetiens avaient été dépossédés du Duché de Chiarenza dans la Morée." Pouqueville in Apogiatis-Pelé 1993, 64-69. Paladini 1993-1994, 190.

The French endeavoured to bypass the custom of Corfu, which irritated the Venetians who thereby lost as much as 10,000 piastres per year. Their aim was to prevent the French from using their emporia without paying customs. The Republic countered the French trading expansion with piracy against French vessels, and the French consul André Grasset de Saint-Sauveur openly reproached Venetian officials for supporting the piracy of their subjects.[67] The French were regarded with suspicion by the Venetians not only because of their commercial motives.[68] The 'tumult' in Paris, which later came to be known as the French Revolution, also caused alarm. Provveditore Angelo Memmo, at the beginning of the year 1792, received strict orders from the Inquisitori di Stato to take measures against "figure francesi o di altra nazione che con artificiosi mezzi o per la via di occulti emissary e delle stampe tetasseo di diffondere quelle velenose massime da cui traggono origine i sovvertimenti della Franca."[69] Their worry was not groundless; the strategic position of Corfu as naval base and the timber supply of Epirus were part of Napoleon's plans.

The activity of the French merchant and emissary Jean Baptiste La Salle, who openly co-operated with Ali Pasha, raised special concern. In their rivalry with Venice, French emissaries soon found Ali Pasha to be their natural ally in Epirus.[70] La Salle and his partner Pierre Jerôme Dupré had started their activity in the surroundings of the Ambracian Gulf in order to find timber for shipbuilding in Toulon already in 1786.[71] In the 1790s he organized shipbuilding in cooperation with Ali Pasha in Vathi. Finally his journey to Constantinople, to get the French Ambassador to turn Ali Pasha against the Republic, was too much for the Venetians and they decided to have him "levar dal mondo", as the Venetian slogan put it, because La Salle was "fastidio al pubblica riguardo". Thus he was assassinated in Preveza in August 1792.[72]

The end of the Venetian dominion

The main concern of the Venetian authorities in Corfu at the end of the eighteenth century was the rise of the especially ambitious Ali Pasha of Tepelen, on whose plans the Venetians seemed to have been very well informed, the process being closely followed.[73]

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[67] Giannakopoulos 2003, 27.

[68] Venetian policy against the French trade was a constant grievance of the French consuls in the region: Grasset de Saint-Sauveur 1800, 302-303; Siorokas 1981, 177-193.

[69] Barra 2002, 35.

[70] "Ce avec ce Pacha que nous devrons établir notre principales relations; sa puissance, qui est fort étendue, et sa reputation, peuvent nous être fort utiles" Memoire sur les îles françaises de la Mer Adriatique, presenté au Directoire Exécutif par le Citoyen Corpigny, sidevant Commissaire dans le Département de Corcyre. In ANP, Série F.1e, Pays annexes ou dépandants 1792-1814, Iles Ioniennes, b. 205, published by Barra 2002, 55-68.

[71] P. J. Dupré 68ff. in Giannakopoulos 1986/87.

[72] On La Salle, see Grasset de Saint-Sauveur 1800, 280-286 and Barra 2002, 28-31. According to W. Eton (1798, 382), La Salle was also a French agent and "not only to provide timber in Epirus for the French navy, but also for revolutionizing that country". La Serenissima had resorted to similar drastic measures even earlier. In 1733 capitan Lamaris Triboukis, attached to the French, was assassinated because of his activity for the French commerce in the region: Aravantinos 1856 I, 244.

[73] On the rise of Ali Pasha see Skiotis 1971, 219-244. The Venetian intelligence was still active as late as 1795 and 1796, gathering information on Ali Pasha and his French contacts. See *ASV* Inquisitori di Stato, b. 408, b. 409; Preto 1999, 501; *ASV* Provveditore da Terra e da Mar, b. 56 (30.06. 1795).

Ali personified old Venetian fears of a powerful Ottoman authority in the region. Against this threat they had been acting for hundreds of years. Paradoxically, however, according to their traditional policy, in the beginning the Venetians supported Ali in order to get reciprocal support from him.[74] Thus the Serenissima was supported by Ali in the four-year-long 'Butrint affair', which began when Sancak bey of Delvino, Mustafa Pasha Kokka, seized some Venetian possessions close to Butrint. The affair was even taken up by the Venetian bailo in Constantinople directly with the Sublime Porte.[75]

However, the resources needed for the traditional Venetian measures, "les divisions et la corruption", gradually became insufficient. The last provveditore in Corfu, Carlo Aurelio Widmann, was even forced to spend his own funds to bribe Ottoman local authorities and to arm the *armatoli*.[76] Widmann's mission, to defend the Venetian possessions against the pressure of Ali Pasha, was never fulfilled. In May 1797 French troops entered Venice. Soon after that, on 27 June, they occupied Corfu, putting an end to four hundred years of Venetian dominion of the island and the Epirote coast. This also meant the end of the socio-political balance in Epirus maintained by the Republic, because the French authority in Corfu – and later the British as well – allied with Ali Pasha, thereby contributing to his political ambitions and revolutionizing the political situation.[77] Thus Ali Pasha took over Preveza in 1798 and defeated the Souliots in 1801. Finally Butrint fell to him soon after the collapse of the Venetian *Regimen Corphu* and Parga in 1819. All of Thesprotia and Epirus was thenceforth in Ottoman hands.

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[74] *ASV* Provveditore da Terra e da Mar, b. 1042 (24.3. 1783). In return for his measures against Mustafa Pasha Kokka of Delvino, the Venetian bailo in Constantinople spoke for Ali's commission to pasha of Two Tails, i.e. governor of the province. *ASV* Provveditore da Terra e da, Mar b. 1042 (3.5. 1783).

[75] *ASV* Collegio, Relazioni, b. 7 dispacco di Andrea Memmo 26.2.1782.

[76] *ASV* Inquisitori di Stato, b. 409 (13.8 1796). Paladini 1993-1994, 186ff.; 191ff. Still in 1789 the Corfiote Alvise Mammurà got three zeccini per month in order to create useful relationships in the Terra Ferma Turca: Preto 1999, 500.

[77] The far-sighted and experienced French consul André Grasset de Saint-Sauveur (1800, 276-277) stated already beforehand: "si Ali réussissoit dans ses tentatives, il en résulteroit une révolution bien interessante dans cette province". On the French dominance see Barra 2002, 34-82.

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An Ottoman Sepulchral Stele from Paramythia

Timo Sironen

In August 2005 I was contacted by the Thesprotia Expedition: a sepulchral *stele* of the Ottoman period, written in Arabic script, had been found and photographed (Fig. 1) in the small local collection of antiquities in Paramythia (*Philoproodos Omilos Paramythias*) and I was asked to give an interpretation of it, after having transcribed it.[1]

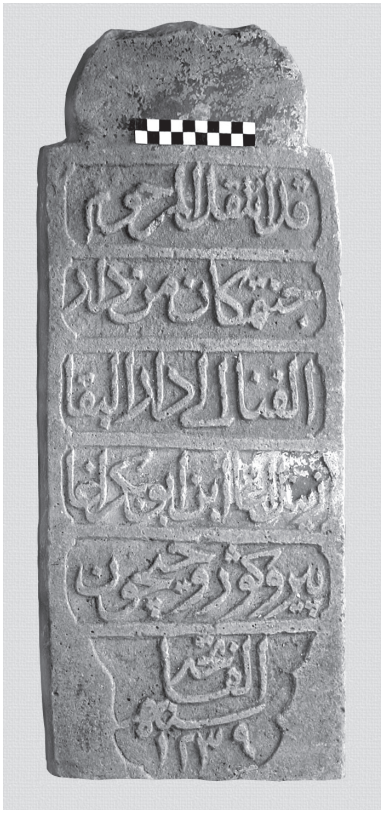

Fig.1.

Even though there once must have existed large numbers of Ottoman sepulchral stelai in what is modern Greece, few remain today. Ottoman sepulchral stelai have never received a similar scholarly interest as Greek, Latin or even Italic inscriptions, and only few Ottoman sepulchral stelai have been published so far.[2] Further work on surviving Ottoman sepulchral stelai from Rethymnon on Crete as well as from Rhodes, Macedonia and Thessaly is in progress, and thus it may hopefully not take too long until more Ottoman sepulchral stelai from Greece are published in detail.[3]

At a first glimpse I thought that my challenge was to interpret a seven-line document in Ottoman Turkish, usually bustling with loanwords from Persian. However, I was surprised on seeing that, apart from a couple of Turkish titles and personal names, it was almost entirely Arabic. This is not, I think, quite uncommon of a sepulchral inscription of any upper-class citizen of the Ottoman Empire in the beginning of the nineteenth

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[1] Not being an Ottomanist myself I gratefully acknowledge all the help and good advice that I have received while deciphering this inscription. Especially I want to thank Antonis Anastasopoulos, Evangelia Balta, Björn Forsén, Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila and Georgios C. Liakopoulos. Needless to say I am myself fully responsible for any remaining mistakes.

[2] Dimitriadis 1983 (Thessaloniki), Chidiroglou 1985 (Crete), Strohmeier 1992 (Aegean Islands), Balducci 1932 (Rhodes), Kiel 1990 and Kiel 1996 (Chalkis, Macedonia and Thrace), Petronotis 1999 (Tripolis) and Kiel 2006 (Pharsala).

[3] The finds from Rethymnon have been studied by a research team of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies/ FO.R.T.H. led by Antonis Anastasopoulos, the ones from Rhodos by John Barnes, the ones from Central Macedonia and the Peloponnese by Georgios C. Liakopoulos and the ones from Thessaly (esp. Almyros) by Dimitris Loupis. The last decades have witnessed a general upsurge of interest in Ottoman remains in Greece. Recently it has even become *en vogue* in Athens to use Ottoman sepulchral stelai as ornamental objects in order to decorate small private courtyard gardens. Therefore such stelai are even smuggled from Albania in order to be sold in Athens.

century, not even in Paramythia, the seat of the kaza[4] of Aydonat belonging to the vilayet of Yanya (Ioannina).[5]

The sepulchral stele itself is described in the inventory list of the collection of antiquities in Paramythia under the find number 19 as follows: "an almost totally conserved Ottoman sepulchral *stele* in marble, with the uppermost part missing, but with the lower part, including the text of seven lines, preserved. The provenance is Paramythia, from the collection of Spyros Mouselimis in 1944, donated by himself to the *Philoproodos Omilos Paramythias* in August 1963. The stele measures 63 cm in height, 25 cm in breadth and 4 cm in thickness. The condition of conservation is good." I would like to add that the workmanship is fine.

The text is dated to *hijra/anno Hegirae* 1239, that is, to 1823-1824 of the Christian era, exactly to the most passionate years of Greek independence fighting, though particularly fierce further to the south of Epirus. My reading of the text, with **Arabic** in **bold** and *Ottoman Turkish* in *italics*, is the following:

Qad - intaqala l-marhûm
jannat-makân min dâr
al-fanâ ilâ dâr al-baqâ
Zaynal *Aghâ* **Ibn Abû Bakr** *Aghâ*
l. 5 *Pîrûnîû<z> rûhîjûn*
al-Fâtiha.
sana 1239

It is reasonable to give also a reading in the Ottoman Turkish way of spelling/transcription, because it is the real context of the stele. It is a question of taste, however, to name the language of the inscription, which is, in my opinion, partly in Arabic and partly in Ottoman Turkish (mostly the line 5). The words, especially the prepositions and the verb form, are lexically, and even more grammatically, pure Arabic, with the exception of lines 4 and 5:

kad intaḳale el-merhūm
cennetmekān min dāri'
l-fenā <'> ilā dāri'l-bekā <'>
Zeynel Āġā ibn-i Ebū Bekir Āġā
l. 5 *Piroño rūḥıyçün*
el-fātiḥa
sene 1239

In an English translation, with **Arabic** in **bold** and *Ottoman Turkish* in *italics*, this makes:

> **The deceased, who is destined to dwell in Paradise, has moved from the house of transience to the house of eternity.** *The Fatiha for the soul of Zeynel Agha son of Ebu Bekir Piroño*. **Year 1239** (= AD 1823-1824)

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[4] Kaza = '*Gerichtsbezirk*' in German (an equivalent in English would be 'court district'): Matuz 1994, 93.
[5] Further about the kaza of Aydonat in the nineteenth century, see Balta, this volume.

The first three lines of the inscription are purely in Arabic. The word **al-marhûm**, signifying the deceased,[6] is still used widely in the first lines of Arabic sepulchral inscriptions,[7] whereas the word **jannat-makân**, *cennetmekân* in Ottoman Turkish, is an Arabic compound noun.

The fourth line introduces a Turkish title, *Aga*, meaning originally 'leader', 'ruler', 'governor'[8] and used as an honorary title of a local official in the Ottoman Empire. In fact, in the monograph of Vasilis Krapsitis on the history of Paramythia we have eight *aga*s mentioned, all connected with the feudal family of Pronios in the first decades of the nineteenth century,[9] but none of them can be identified exactly with the names that can be read on our *stele*.

In the fourth line we also have a sequence of four letters **ZTD<x>** of which the last, as it is broken, cannot be read and the word (or name) cannot be deciphered: **Zayd** would seem too short and **Zaynaddîn** too long, but Zeynel[10] would fit in perfectly. I found it documented not only in Arabic,[11] but also in Turkish, in an Ottoman Turkish context in Yanya, only five years later than our stele.[12] **Abû Bakr**, Ebu Bekr in the Ottoman Turkish way of spelling, happens to be identical with the name of the Prophet Muhammad's father-in-law and successor as the first caliph, and it is quite difficult to explain in this particular context, if we do not want to take it as a metaphor, as if it were a reference by a devoted Muslim to the concept of being an integral part of the global Muslim community, posterity in straight descent from the first caliph. In our case, however, this *Ebu Bekr Aga (Pronios)* is the biological father of the deceased *Zeynel Aga Pronios*.

The fifth line, in Ottoman Turkish, is by far the most difficult to read. The reading proposed by Antonis Anastasopoulos,[13] *Pironioz*[14] *rûhîyçün*, is brilliant and convincing, with the hypothesis of the Ottoman Turkish "*sagir kef*" for the letter *nûn*, even though I would emend the reading of the family name slightly: *Pîrônîô<z> rûhîyçün.* The stonecutter has been quite scrupulous in adding all the diacritical marks, such as the double and triple dots above and below the words. But on the other hand, he has forgotten

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[6] Wehr 1976, 332.

[7] Cf. e.g. the parallel from Morocco, dating to 20 years ago, published by Allahwerdi and Hallenberg 1992, 73.

[8] Cf. Matuz 1994. 81, 333.

[9] Krapsitis 1991, 69-70, who also gives some references concerning the etymology of the name Pronios. The suggestion by Manthos Stateras that it would originate from the toponym *Pornios* is peculiar, apparently based on an *interpretatio Graeca*, and also indirectly refused by Mihalis Zisis. The name is, as documented below, purely Albanian.

[10] I owe Antonis Anastasopoulos many thanks for this suggestion.

[11] Salahuddin 1999, 228: *Zayn-ul 'Ábidîn*, 'ornament of the worshippers (of Allah)'.

[12] See www.ihvan-forum.com/showthread.php?t=7365, an Yanyan *imam* in 1244 A.H., called *Zeynel Abidin*.

[13] Anastasopoulos, pers. comm. October 2007.

[14] Anastasopoulos is right in stating that Turks do not pronounce two consecutive consonants in the beginning of a word, so the "i" which is inserted between "P" and "r" could be their way of spelling the family name. I would suggest that someone enumerated the letters of this particular name to the stonecutter and had a document in Greek, so he started with "*pî*" and "*rhô*" and thus might have created confusion; furthermore, *Prónios* is pronounced with a bit longer *o*, as it has the accent. Liakopoulos, in his letter of April 11 th 2009, gives valid arguments for "the transcription of the family name as *Piroño*, instead of *Pironio* or *Pîrônîô*: in any case the Ottoman form would have been *Piroñyo*, without marking the long vowels, as this is not an Arabic or Persian word; however, since there is clearly no sign of a *ye* between the *kef-i nuni* and the *vav* of the last syllable, I have the feeling that *Piroño* constitutes the best possible transcription."

the final *zayn* in the Albanian family name, not only being unfamiliar with a transcription of it, but also because of the similar form of the following letter, *râ'*.

The name Pronios is purely Albanian, although in a Greek "costume". According to Stuart Mann's *Historical Albanian-English Dictionary*, *pronar*/*pronjar* means 'landowner', and 'landlord', *pronë* is 'property', especially 'landed property', 'farm', *pronj-si* is 'landownership' and *pronj-os* is a verb with an unknown meaning, but certainly connected with the preceding word.[15] According to a more recent dictionary, *pronar* is 'proprietor', 'owner', *pronë* 'property', *pronësi* 'ownership', *pronëso* 'to gain possession of' and *pronjëz*, a diminutive, a 'small piece of property'.[16] Thus, if we wished to translate the family name *Pronios*, it would be something like "Mr. Farm-Possession-Gainer", or "Mr. Provisioner" perfectly feudal in its context. The Proniates were rich feudal lords in Paramythia already in the Byzantine period.[17] Krapsitis gives a description of the estate of a Proniatis, *Metelis Pronios*, possibly of the younger generation, living in 1834, only 10 years after the burial of our *Zeynel Aga Pronios*.[18] Theoretically this *Metelis Pronios* could thus have been a son of *Zeynel Aga*.

The sixth and seventh lines are put in the same space and they would bring the reader or by-passer to the present, demanding the reciting of the first sura of the **Qur'an**, the **Sura** of the Opening, **Al-Fâtiha**, to the memory of the deceased. The last word and the numbers are for indicating the year of the passing away, nowadays normally in modernized and Arabic numbers which run *dextrorsum*.

When the relatives of Zeynel Aga Pronios**,** son of Ebu Bekr Aga, back in 1823-1824 erected the sepulchral stele, which has survived until our days, they did it in a predominantly Muslim and Albanian city. Although the kaza of Aydonat as a whole had an absolute majority of Greek population of the Christian religion – in 1872-1873 there were e.g. 8,000 Christians and 3,900 Muslims, with 22 mosques, 212 churches and 8 monasteries in the district – this was not the case for the city of Paramythia. We have no numerical data for the early nineteenth century, but in 1890 the city had 2,006 inhabitants, of whom 1,134 were Muslim. Aravantinos in 1856 describes the city as having a mixed population, with the majority being Albanians (180 Muslim households as compared to 98 Christian ones). Just in the city itself, there were eight mosques.[19] No traces of the Muslim/Albanian past remain today except for our sepulchral stele of Zeynel Aga Pronios, son of Ebu Bekr Aga Pronios.

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[15] Mann, 1984, 404.

[16] Newmark 1998, 696. Liakopoulos, in his letter of April 11 th 2009, would like to add, even though admitting that my etymology of Πρόνιος is correct (a well attested Albanian surname, *Proṇjo*), that "the name derives from the Greek *pronoia* (πρόνοια: providence, care, foresight) > *pronoiarios* (προνοιάριος: beneficiary); *pronoia* was the Byzantine system of 'provision', according to which land property and/or this land's tax farming was ceded to state dignitairies in return of their military service."

[17] Krapsitis 1991, 70. According to Balta, this volume, there was a strong Albanian presence starting from the late fourteenth century in the *sancak* of Chamlik (Tsamouria). She adds that the powerful Proniatis family in Paramythia were managers of taxes and became *çiftlik* holders, accruing wealth. In her concluding remarks, she mentions once again the Albanian character of the ruling feudal class.

[18] Krapsitis 1991, 70-71. For other later members of the Pronios' family in Paramythia, see Biris 1960, 361-363.

[19] For these data see Balta, this volume.

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Dedicated to the memory of
my dearest Pedya Ileri (Dino)
and my soul brother Suphi İleri (Dino)
with gratitude for the wonderful summers
we managed to share in Doğan Apartman
(E.B.)

Tsamouria – Nineteenth Century Ottoman Thesprotia

Evangelia Balta, Fehmi Yilmaz and Filiz Yaşar

Introduction

The history of the late Ottoman *sancak* of Chamlik (Tsamouria), roughly corresponding to the modern prefecture of Thesprotia, is exceptionally interesting because of the ethnic and religious composition of the population of its three *kaza*s – Aydonat (Agios Donatos, Paramythia), Filyat (Philiates) and Margaliç (Margariti) – in which there was a strong Albanian presence starting from the late fourteenth century.[1] We are participating in the Thesprotia Expedition firstly because we want to investigate the ethnic-religious character of the settlement pattern in Thesprotia during the centuries just after the Ottoman conquest, and secondly because we want to ascertain whether and to what extent the Ottoman sources record evidence of Islamization during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In other words, the purpose of our participation is to approach in historiographical terms the thorny issue of the Chams, the Muslim Albanian-speaking inhabitants of southwest Epirus.[2]

Presented in this chapter are the results of research in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century sources from the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives in Istanbul. The study emerged from the need to clarify the settlement pattern of the *kaza*s of Aydonat, Filyat and Margaliç, on the solid ground of the nineteenth century, before embarking on the study of the Ottoman tax registers of the previous centuries. On account of the fiscal character of the material for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, reconstructing the settlement pattern is more difficult, more complicated and, furthermore, less secure if there is no cross-checking of the documentation from registers of different type.

Indicative of this situation is the *vilayet* of Vayonetya, as the geographical area under study was named, immediately after the Ottoman conquest. The *vilayet-i Vayonetya* was the administrative successor to the Byzantine province of Vagenitia, which according to M. Lascaris extended northwards as far as Cheimarra and southwards as far as the Glykis river (Acheron), encompassing Delvino within its boundaries, but not

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[1] The main author of this chapter is Evangelia Balta (National Hellenic Research Foundation). Fehmi Yilmaz (Marmara University, Istanbul) helped in collecting the sources in the Prime Ministry Archives in Istanbul, and Filiz Yaşar (postgraduate student at Hacettepe University) in her turn took part in the final stages of processing the material.

[2] Michalopoulos 1986; Krapsitis 1991; Krapsitis 1992; Hart 1999; Kretsi 2002, 171-195; Manta 2004; Kretsi 2005, 57-71; Margaritis 2005, 132-220.

Argyrokastro.[3] Nevertheless, the *vilayet-i Vayonetya*, as Aikaterini and Spyros Asdrachas have demonstrated by comparison of the toponyms in the 1361 chrysobull and the 1431 timar register, covered a smaller area than the homonymous Byzantine province. There were very few overlaps, since after the Ottoman conquest the region of Sopoto to the north constituted an administrative district of its own. Furthermore the *vilayet-i Vayonetya* did not include Tsarkovista to the east, while to the south it reached only to Mazaraki in the region of Margariti.[4]

The example of the *vilayet* of Vayonetya shows clearly that the Ottoman administrative provinces may refer in name to those existing before the conquest, but differ in their territorial definition and administrative composition. Bearing this in mind, we opted to begin our research from the nineteenth century, a period in which the Ottoman State itself had undertaken to record the state of affairs in its *vilayet*s. The nineteenth-century experience will be of help for us when following the changes in the region during the preceding centuries, when population movements created settlements whose names changed many times, each time corresponding to the name of the settlers' kindred.

Tsamouria

The *kaza*s of Aydonat, Filyat and Margaliç belonged from the mid-nineteenth century onwards to the *vilayet* of Yanya (Ioannina).[5] As indicated by the censuses included in the *salname*s, the Official Yearbooks published by the Ottoman State for the *vilayet* of Yanya, the boundaries of the three *kaza*s coincided in large part with the boundaries of the present prefecture of Thesprotia. This region was called Tsamouria, which name derives from its inhabitants, the Chams, an Albanian tribe. Tsamouria is encountered as a geographical term in an Ottoman document of 1820.[6] In the same period, the early nineteenth century, foreign travellers such as Colonel W.M. Leake and the Consul General of Great Britain, William Meyer,[7] as well as contemporary Epirot men of letters such as Ch. Perraivos and A. Psalidas, call the Albanian-speaking population of the region Chams, Tsamides, or Tsamouriotes, and the geographical space in which they dwell Tsamouria.[8] Since the mid-nineteenth century the Ottomans were planning to unify the three *kaza*s into an administrative district of its own, a *sancak* called Çamlık (Tsamouria), but this was not fulfilled until 1910.

Already in the early nineteenth century, H. Skene gathered exceptionally interesting information on the Albanian tribes – the Gekides-Mirdites, Toskides, Liapides and Tsamides (Chams) – that he presented in his 1848 lecture delivered in the Ethnological Society, London.[9] Recently G. Arsh has discussed the complexity of relations in this frontier region in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century through the internal clashes of Ottoman paşas of neighbouring *sancak*s in order to consolidate their might,

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[3] Lascaris 1942.
[4] Inalcık 1954; Asdracha and Asdrachas 1992, 239-246.
[5] Kokolakis 2003, 187-192.
[6] *HAT* 397/20922 (11.R.1235/27.01/1820).
[7] Prevelakis and Kalliataki-Mertikopoulou 1996, 303.
[8] Psimouli 2006, 107.
[9] Skene 1848-1856, 159-181.

besides the claims and conflicts of Venetians, French, Russians and Britons with the Ottoman State. He describes the complicated game of coalitions, of the affiliation of the various clans by manipulating the rivalries existing between the local feudal families. A typical tactic of the Venetians, French and Russians, in order to put pressure on the Ali Paşa Tepedelenli, was to incite the Dalianides of Konispoli, the Tsaparides of Margariti, the Pronioi of Paramythia or the Souliotes to wage war against him, in most cases providing them with arms. On the other hand, Ali Paşa Tepedelenli used the military machine of the Cham *ağa*s in his attacks against the Souliotes, and also benefited from the peasants' discontent by capturing, one after the other, the strongholds of the Tsamouria aristocracy and appropriating their lands.[10]

Vasso Psimouli, in her doctoral dissertation on Souli, examines the relations between the highland martial community of Souliotes and the Cham *ağa*s and Ottoman officials. The brigandage of the Souliot clans in the plains of Paramythia and Phanari took income from the Cham beys and *ağa*s, who profited from life-term tax farms (*malikane*) and their land-holdings, threatening their domination and might, as well as correspondingly that of the Ottoman authorities.[11] However, treaties of friendship and non-aggression also existed between the Christian Souliotes and the Albanian clans; for example, Photos Tzavelas was a blood-brother of the most powerful bey of Paramythia, Isliam Pronios, just as Suleyman Tziaparis, bey of Margariti, was a friend of the brigand Lapas from Litochoro, Olympos.[12] The Souliotes' tactic differed little from that of the likewise Albanian-speaking Muslim Chams towards the surrounding population. For as Vasso Psimouli has shown, the Souliotes were not the leaders of a liberationist struggle on behalf of their fellow Christians in their region, because those villages that suffered the armed action of the Souliotes became neither autonomous nor free, as the mythopoeic historiography regarding Souli would lead us to believe.[13]

M. Kokolakis in a recent book studied the administrative structure of the three *kaza*s of Tsamouria, publishing a list of all settlements based on the 1895 *salname*. Furthermore he collated the population data for these *kaza*s as recorded by the Ottoman authorities of the *vilayet* of Yanya.[14]

Our contribution to the existing strong bibliographical base briefly presented here lies in the deposition of evidence that emerged from research in unpublished Ottoman archival material and in published Ottoman sources. The archival material we collected for the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries was the basis for compiling the list of the *kaimakam*s (head official of a district as a *kaza*) and *naib*s (substitute judge) of the three *kaza*s, which is published as Appendix II accompanying this chapter, as the majority of documents found in the archive concerned appointments and transfers of civil servants, procedures set in motion by the reforms of the Ottoman Empire.[15] Striking is the scant documentation for the period of domination of Ali Paşa Tepedelenli in the region, extremely important from the point of view of the events enacted. Those documents we located refer to the final phase of Ali's operations against Souli.[16]

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[10] Arsh 1994; Arsh 2007, 198-200.
[11] Psimouli 2006, 95-111, 305-311.
[12] Vasdravellis 1950, 10.
[13] Psimouli 1996.
[14] Kokolakis 2003, 268-271, 310-312; Kokolakis 1989 and Kokolakis 1993.
[15] Theocharidis 1983.

In Appendix I are gathered demographic data from the register of the Bishop of Paramythia (1827 and 1834),[17] the statistical tables of P. Aravantinos (1856) and the *salname* for the year 1895,[18] whereas information about public buildings and population given in the *salname* of 1872/73 is collected in Appendix III. In the tables are recorded the settlements with their populations, and evidence is cited from Greek sources of the period on their ethnic and religious identity. Noted next to the name of the settlement is the land-ownership regime. The settlements are classified correspondingly as privately owned *çiftlik* villages, inalienable free villages (*karye*) and *muacele*s. The last are a special category of villages in which the Ottoman State allocated land-holdings – of which it never relinquished ownership – as concessions to individuals, in order to cultivate them. The concessionaire paid an annual rent, over and above which he was also obliged to pay a tithe of the produce. These villages, which occur mainly in Thessaly, Epirus and Macedonia, and which are also called *imlâk*s or *imlâk* villages, resulted from confiscations of immovable properties by dynasts such as Ali Paşa of Yanya, as N.I. Eleftheriadis notes,[19] referring precisely to the case examined here.

The process of forming the *çiftlik*s, which outnumber the free villages in the *kaza*s of Aydonat, Filyat and Margaliç, became generalized in the mid-eighteenth century. In the plain of Paramythia, Phanari and in the Tsamochoria, the Cham beys and *ağa*s – through the method of renting public incomes for life, the display of strength, the use of force and the provision of protection – became, as time passed, possessors of the reayas' lands. Very often, the land properties of villages were turned into *çiftlik*s after contracting high-interest loans, and the direct producers were reduced from inhabitants and possessors of their lands to lessees of farms or agricultural labourers. With the expansion of the *çiftlik*s the rural population not only shouldered new economic burdens, but also, as Aravantinos writes, "in Tsamouria the *ağa*s or patrons treated those under their protection as if they were serfs".[20] Families of local feudal lords and dignitaries of the Sublime Porte laid claims to sovereignty of the lands. Tahir Paşa was forced to give half his lands in Louros and Lamari to Ali Tepedelenli Paşa, and to sell the rest to him, as a result of which the total land-holding brought Ali Paşa an annual income of 100,000 grossi.[21] The stable demand for agricultural produce was a serious incentive for acquiring new *çiftlik*s. The methods by which Ali Paşa usurped the land-holdings of others were described already in the nineteenth century.[22]

In the present study we examine from Ottoman sources the area of Thesprotia in the nineteenth century, up until the Balkan Wars, when it was annexed to the Greek State. We shall follow the picture that emerges from the archival material preserved in the imperial capital, about this frontier region of the Ottoman Empire and its population. From the first years after the conquest its population was used to defend the Porte's interests vis-à-vis foreigners, but was also used by foreigners as a lever to pressurize the Porte and the local nobles, by subverting it into revolutionary movements against these. F. Pouqueville gives

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[16] E.g. see *HAT* 82/3414 (18.S.1219/29.05.1804); *HAT* 82/3414/A (17.M.1219/28.04.1804); *HAT* 82/3414B (29.Z.1219/31.03.1805).
[17] Betis 1986-87.
[18] Kokolakis 2003a.
[19] Eleftheriadis 1915, 74-75.
[20] Arsh 1994, 137.
[21] Psimouli 2006, 274, note 233.
[22] *Demokopia*, 64-65. Also Dimitropoulos 2007, 61-72.

Fig. 1. Map of Souli, including all of the kaza of Aydonat and part of the kaza of Margaliç (after Aravantinos 1895).

a most vivid assessment of the political game of Venice in the region:

> "Ainsi, depuis Buthrotum jusqu'à Prevesa, la république de Saint-Marc couvrait ses possessions de terre-ferme par les anarchies de la Chimère, de Conispoli et de Philiatès, qui tenaient en bride le pacha de Delvino. Au moyen des beys de Margariti et de Paramithia, elle arrêtait les entreprises des visirs de Janina; et pour contenir les beys mohamétans, elle faisait agir à son gré les peuplades chrétiennes de Souli et de l'Acrocéraune, de sorte qu'elle avait une prépondérance masquée, et pourtant décisive, dans les affaires de l'Albanie".[23]

The *kaza* of Aydonat

The *kaza* of Aydonat consists mainly of the Kokytos valley (Fig. 1), which used to be characterized by several seasonal lakes and marshy areas. In Roman times the main settlement of this area was the colonia Photike, located at Liboni close to Paramythia. According to Prokopios (*De Aed*. IV.I.37-38), Photike stood on low-lying ground and was

[23] Pouqueville 1826-27, 125-126.

surrounded by stagnant water. Therefore Justinian decided that it was impossible to build walls around the town and instead chose to build a fortress by name Agios Donatos close by on higher ground.[24] This fortress, named after the Bishop of Euroia, St. Donatos,[25] is usually associated with the rocky crag above modern Paramythia, which in Ottoman times was known as the castle of Aydonat. In the years of Ottoman rule the castle of Aydonat secured together with another five burgs – Belesi, Lefterochori, Paliochori, Zaravoutsi and Kakosouli – the military defence and protection of the nearby populations of arable farmers and stock-raisers from incursions. Souli was subject to the *kaza* of Paramythia until its dissolution. According to the *salname* of 1308 (1892-1893), with the exception of Belesi, all the other *castra* were built in the time of Ali Paşa Tepedelenli, implying the building of forts and towers on the naturally fortified hills of Kougio and Bira, which were manned by Liapides and Muslims from Kurveleshi.[26] It is also noted in this *salname* that antiquities and a sarcophagus with decorated exterior surfaces had been found in Liboni.[27]

In the archival material from the early centuries, as for example in the reign of Sultan Murad III (1546-1595), the *kaza* of Aydonat is referred to as belonging to the *vilayet* of Yanya.[28] From the seventeenth century, according to head-tax registers as well as on the basis of the testimony of Evliya Çelebi, and until the early nineteenth century, it is recorded as a *nahiye* of the *sancak* of Delvino,[29] whereas from the mid-nineteenth century until the 1910s the *kaza* of Aydonat was again subject to the *vilayet* of Yanya.[30]

In the mid-nineteenth century, the issue of unification of the *kaza*s of Aydonat, Margaliç and Filyat into a *kaymakamlık* (prefecture) to be named Çamlıca, Çamlık (Tsamouria), was mooted. The name, as declared in the *salname* for 1308 (1892-1893), was chosen on account of the Albanian Chams, who constituted the majority of the population.[31] The idea of unifying the three *kaza*s should undoubtedly be linked with the revolutionary movement in Epirus in 1854. There had been similar insurrections in Thessaly and Macedonia, during the Crimean War, expressing the Orthodox populations' support for Russia. The creation of an administrative district in which the Muslim Albanians were the majority population element would divert the Orthodox Christian Rums from similar uprisings in the future. However, the unification of the *kaza*s was abandoned for various reasons. Firstly, the Ottoman Empire, wounded and financially exhausted by the Crimean War, was in no position to provide funding for the founding of new administrative centres, which in this particular case demanded at least 500,000 grossi.[32] Furthermore, there were vigorous reactions from the Cham *ağa*s of Preveza,

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[24] For Photike's relocation to Agios Donatos see Chrysos 1997, 155, 167; Soustal 1981, 236-237. For Prokopios' description see also Bowden in this volume.
[25] Oikonomou 1983.
[26] Moschopoulos 1960, 116.
[27] *Yanya Salnamesi* 1308, 130.
[28] *MAD* no. 1351.
[29] *MAD* nos. 6851, 15207, 16152; *İE.AS.* 1582/16 (24.R.1079/01.10.1668), *İE.AS.* 1786/19 (27. S.1080/27.07.1669), *İE.AS.* 1268/13 (12.L.1089/27.11.1678), *İE.AS.* 3018/33 (26.Z.1112/03.06.1701), *İE.AS.* 3019/33 (14.B.1115/23.11.1703), *İE.AS.* 16577/280 (29.Z.1227/03.01.1813). Evliya Çelebi 2003, 293.
[30] *A.MKT.UM.* 302/65 (05.Ca.1274/23.12.1857). Kokolakis 2003, 187.
[31] *Yanya Salnamesi* 1308, 225-228. Cf. also *A.MKT.UM.* 307/29 (28.C.1274/13.02.1858).
[32] *A.MKT.UM.* 188/22 (13.B.1271/01.04.1855); *DH.EUM.3.Şb* 3/15 (24.M.1333/13.12.1913); *A.MKT.MVL.* 100/100 (28.M.1275/07.09.1858).

who of old, through the system of leasing, controlled lands and taxes of Margariti, Phanari and Paramythia. Hence, they persuaded the central administration that the relations of production would be disrupted and endangered, that a serious threat would be posed to the region's trading activities, and that there would be significant losses of income from the exports shipped out of the harbour of Preveza. Thus, by the end of the 1850s the idea of creating the *sancak* of Çamlık was abandoned. It returned, however, some fifty years later, shortly before the outbreak of the Balkan Wars. In 1908 the three *kaza*s united to form the *sancak* of Çamlık, whose capital was Igoumenitsa, where a government house and mosques were built, and which was renamed Reşadiye in 1911.[33] M. Kokolakis maintains that the unification of Tsamouria into a common *sancak* in 1910 can be attributed to the need to combat Greek influence in the said provinces.[34]

The *kaza* of Aydonat had eight mosques and *mescid*s (small mosques), one of which had been built in the reign of Bayezid II (1481-1512). They are mentioned also by Evliya Çelebi, from whose narratives E.H. Ayverdi compiled the list of Muslim monuments in the region.[35] In the 62 settlements of the *kaza*, which are recorded in the *salname*s, there were 15 mosques and eight monasteries, as well as churches in all the Christian villages. In the hills around the town were the cemetery and three mausoleums with tombs (*türbe*), places of pilgrimage for many visitors. Rice was the region's most important crop, along with other agricultural produce such as cereals, legumes, flax, garlic, onions and vegetables. In the years just before the Greek War of Independence, a considerable number of inhabitants were involved with rice-growing in the regions of Louros and Paramythia, where olive oil was also produced in abundance. Seventeenth-century registers attest that olive oil from Aydonat was sent to the kitchen of the Imperial Palace, as were Albanian cheese, olives and rice.[36] Consequently, Evliya Çelebi's comment that Aydonat olives were superior in quality to those of Koroni, the Syro-Palestinian littoral and Karaburnu, so that the sultan's men came each year to harvest them, may be associated with the supplying of the Palace. The *salname* of 1308 (1892-1893) notes that there were no forests on the surrounding mountains. The vegetation consisted of holm oaks and scrub, and the existence of two meadows is recorded. In addition to agriculture and animal husbandry, the inhabitants were employed as blacksmiths, carpet-weavers and tile-makers; tiles were among the region's exports. On the basis of data in the *salname* of 1306 (1890-1891), of the total amount of tax, 990,171 grossi, the tax on livestock (sheep and goats) represented the greatest percentage (30%), eloquent testimony of the important role of stock-raising in the *kaza*'s economy.

Appendix III presents data relating to the many different shops in the town of Aydonat (Fig. 2), which was also the seat of the *kaymakamlık* with a directorate of economic services, a cadastral service and various law-courts (*Şer-i Mahkeme*, *Mahkeme Bidayet Dairesi*). The Mufti, the four-member Municipal Council (*Belediye*) and the Administrative Council (*Meclis-i İdare*), likewise with four members, three of them Muslim, administered the town. Aydonat also housed the Episcopal See of Paramythia. The *salname* of 1872-1873 records the name of the bishop, Anthimos, who was none

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[33] *İ.DH.* 1480/1328/Ra-16 (12. Ra.1328/24.03.1910); *DH.İD.* 128/4 (13.L.1329/06.10.1911); *MV.* 130/27 (15. B.1327/02.08.1909).
[34] Kokolakis 2003, 94.
[35] Evliya Çelebi 2003, 293. Ayverdi 1982, 297, nos. 3024-3044.
[36] *İ.MVL.* 483/21910 (11.L.1279/31.03.1863) and *MAD* no. 18320.

Fig. 2. View of the town of Paramythia with one of its mosques in the background (F. Boissonas 1913, after Thesprotia 2004, 84).

other than the subsequent Patriarch Anthimos VII. The bishopric of Paramythia, which also included the short-lived bishopric of Giromeri, was promoted to a metropolis in June 1895, during the patriarchy of Anthimos VII, who hailed from Plisivitsa, Philiates.[37] In 1893 unknown miscreants set fire to the residence of Bishop Parthenios and the authorities ordered an investigation to find the arsonists.[38] Since 1890 the services of Aydonat included a telegraph office, a post office, a police station, a customs house and a branch of the tobacco monopoly (Regie),[39] while from 1910 a branch of the Agricultural Bank (*Ziraat Bankası*) and a Municipal Surgery were operating there.[40]

The town had four elementary schools (*mekteb-i sibyan*) – one belonging to the Christian community – and one high school (*mekteb-i rüşdiye*). The *salname* of 1288 (1872-1873) mentions 160 pupils in the town of Aydonat, 100 of whom were Muslims.[41] In the following years other schools were founded and a four-member committee (*maarif komisyonu*) was set up to monitor them.[42] The expenses of building and operating the schools were covered by contributions of the inhabitants. Primary schools were also built in several villages, such as Karabunar (Karvounari). In 1907 the school was housed in a

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[37] Oikonomou 1964, 43-51; Germanos 1937, 80-81.
[38] *Y.A.HUS.* 271/13 (18.Ş.1310/07.03.1893); *DH.MKT.* 41/6 (02.Za.1310/18.05.1893).
[39] *Yanya Salnamesi* 1288, 36; *Yanya Salnamesi* 1292, 47-48; *Yanya Salnamesi* 1293, 48; *Yanya Salnamesi* 1306, 81-82; *Yanya Salnamesi* 1308, 128-129; *Yanya Salnamesi* 1319, 114-116.
[40] *DH.MUİ.* 85/51(04.Ca.1328/14.05.1910); *DH.MUİ.* 7/-1/33 (23.Ş.1327/09.09.1909).
[41] *Yanya Salnamesi* 1288, 106.
[42] *A.MKT.NZD.* 335/59 (04.C.1277/18.12.1860).

timber construction, since the former building had been destroyed in the 1895 earthquake.[43] Many documents refer to the damage this earthquake caused to houses and shops in the districts of Margariti and Paramythia. The Ottoman State had distributed army tents and provided money to erect temporary shelters to house the population.[44] There had been a previous equally destructive earthquake in 1851.[45]

According to data in the *salname* for 1288 (1872-1873), there were 2,570 houses in the district of Aydonat and the population was 11,900 persons – 3,900 of them Muslims (33%) and 8,000 Christians (67%). In 1890 the population of the town of Aydonat was recorded as 2,006 persons, over half of them Muslims (1,134). In 1895 the *salname* records 2,633 houses distributed in the 62 settlements of the *kaza*, with a total population of 14,648, but makes no reference to their ethnic composition. In this period the settlements were classified according to the tenancy regime as 50 *çiftlik*s and 12 free villages. Half a century earlier, according to P. Aravantinos, five free villages, 52 *çiftlik*s and eight *muacele*s were recorded. If this distribution is combined (see Appendix I) with the data he cites also in his *Chronicle* (1856), concerning the language and the religious identity of the inhabitants of the villages, then the percentage of *çiftlik*s (92%), as M. Kokolakis rightly observes, shows that the *çiftlik*-building process first hit areas inhabited by Christians.[46] Extremely interesting is the information collected by Vasso Psymouli on the process of creating powerful families, which from managers of taxes, such as the Proniatis family in Paramythia, became *çiftlik* holders, accruing wealth as well as political and military might.[47]

Greek sources mention that in 1902 the population of the district of Paramythia was 15,000 persons (9,000 Christians and 6,000 Muslims).[48] In 1905, according to the directives of the Ottoman government, the Orthodox Christians (*Rum*) should be distinguished by four ethnic categories: Orthodox Greeks, Orthodox Bulgarians, Orthodox Bosnians, Orthodox Albanians. With this distinction the Sublime Porte detached the Albanian-speaking Orthodox Christians of Epirus from the general category of Rum Orthodox.[49] The ethnic make-up of the population of Paramythia, on the basis of contemporary Greek assessments, was:[50]

Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians	8,500	
Albanian-speaking and simultaneously Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians	1,500	
		10,000
Greek-speaking Muslims	1,000	
Albanian-speaking and simultaneously Greek-speaking Muslims	4,000	
		15,000

[43] *Y.MTV.* 303/6 (02.N.1325/09.10.1907); *İ.AZN.* 71/1325/Ra-21 (29.Ra.1325/12.05.1907).
[44] *İ.HUS.* 37/1312/Za-74 (22.Za.1312/17.05.1895); *Y.A.HUS.* 328/34 (23.Za.1312/18.05.1895); *Y.MTV.* 120/121(30.Za.1312/25.05.1895); *Y.PRK.DH.* 9/15 (27.B.1313/12.01.1896).
[45] Nikolaidou 1979, 103.
[46] Kokolakis 2003, 70-71.
[47] Psimouli 2006, 97-104.
[48] Christovassilis 1902, 11-12.
[49] Giarali-Papadopoulou 1978, 120-121.
[50] Christovassilis 1905, 29-31.

The *kaza* of Filyat

The *kaza* of Filyat (Philiates) borders with the *kaza* of Yanya and Pogoni to the east and is lapped by the Adriatic Sea to the west (Fig. 3). To its south are the *kaza*s of Margaliç and Aydonat, and to the north is the *kaza* of Argyrokastro. The region was conquered by Sultan Murad II and entered in the *vilayet* of Vayonetya in 1431. In the first centuries of Ottoman rule it was a *nahiye* of the *sancak* of Delvino, with the name Parakalamos,[51] at least until the eve of the Greek Revolution.[52] From the mid-nineteenth century it is inscribed as a *kaza* of the *vilayet* of Argyrokastro[53] and in 1872 it passed to the *vilayet* of Yanya,[54] where it was to remain until its inclusion in the *sancak* of Reşadiye (*sancak* of Chamlik) in 1910. In nineteenth-century documents the *kaza* of Philiates appears to include a smaller administrative district, the *nahiye* of Sayada.[55] Sayada was an outport from which produce of the area was circulated. Evliya Çelebi extols its importance for the transit trade of the Yanya area, as well as for cities such as Salonica, Serres, Yenişehir (Larisa) and Trikala, and mentions the presence there of a Venetian consul.[56] France had maintained a consulate in Sayada since 1695, to serve the needs of its trading relations with the region, before transferring it to Arta.[57]

Of the 66 settlements recorded in the *salname* of 1308 (1892-1893), 39 are *çiftlik* villages and 25 free villages. The *kaza* had rich yields of agricultural and stock-raising products. However, the principal source of its income was animal husbandry. The population was involved with viticulture and olive cultivation, alongside growing cereals and tending citrus trees. The soil was fertile, due to alluvial silt deposits from the Kalamas and Salisis rivers and their tributaries. There were 35 mills operating along their banks in the late nineteenth century. The region exported acorns and vegetal dyes, processed wool, manufactured carpets, woollen socks, capes, and so on. Goods were imported from Istanbul, Korfu and Trieste. The woods were full of game and in the late nineteenth century hunters came there from Britain, France and other countries, as is mentioned in the *salname* for 1308 (1892-1893) and Ottoman documents.[58] The salina at Sayada produced 800,000 okas of salt annually,[59] which were exported mainly to Britain, which installed an agent in Sayada from the mid-nineteenth century in order to negotiate and arrange commercial transactions.[60] In the *kaza* of Philiates too, the largest tax income came from stock-raising. The second source of income was payments in lieu of military service (*bedel-i askeri*). Thus, perhaps economic reasons, beyond political ones, lay behind the fact that the Orthodox Rums of Philiates and Margariti were not accepted in the ranks, not even as auxiliaries;[61] instead of conscription they paid the

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[51] *MAD* no. 10198.
[52] The documentation refers to the revolutionary activity of the metropolitan of Philiates and his deacon; see *HAT* 921/40069 (11.Ş.1236/14.05.1821).
[53] *A.MKT.UM.* 292/2 (24.M.1274/13.09.1857). See also Kokolakis 2003, 154.
[54] *İ.MMS.* 54/2401 (30.S.1293/26.03.1876).
[55] *DH.İD.* 144/1/39 (17.L.1330/29.09.1912).
[56] Evliya Çelebi 2003, 295.
[57] Arsh 1994, 137.
[58] *DH.MKT.* 1485/58 (01.C.1305/13.02.1888); *DH.MKT.* 1487/26 (07.C.1305/19.02.1888). See also *Yanya Salnamesi* 1308, 136-137.
[59] *Yanya Salnamesi* 1308, 136-137.
[60] *HR.MKT.* 44/36 (27.Ca.1268/19.03.1852).

Fig. 3. Military map of the Ottoman Empire 1870 showing Tsamouria streching from the Acheron river in the south to the Kalamas river in the north.

counter-value of their military service. In documents we have located, they protest at being disbarred from the army. The Young Turks movement in 1908 permitted the use of the Albanian language and the opening of Albanian schools, and also encouraged the founding of Albanian clubs.[62]

In the archival material we processed from the nineteenth century, strife in the relations between *çiftlik* holders and farmers in the *kaza* is attested in 1866.[63] There are

[61] *MV.* 9/12 (06.B.1303/11.04.1886); *MV.* 9/33 (13.B.1303/18.04.1886).

[62] *DH.MUİ.* 116/18 (19.B.1328/26.07.1910); *İ.MBH.* 9/1330/N-002 (02.N.1330/15.08.1912). For the activity of these clubs see Nikolaidou 1984.

[63] *İ.MVL.* 562/25238 (07.C.1283/16.10.1866); *A.MKT.MHM.* 371/69 (23.Ş.1283/30.12.1866); *A.MKT.MHM.* 371/77 (23.Ş.1283/30.12.1866).

multiple references to Albanian rapacity against Christian and Muslim villages, and there are records of the Ottoman authorities' efforts to confiscate the weapons in the brigands' hands, in order to prevent violence. Already at the beginning of the nineteenth century J. Cam Hobhouse had ascertained that the Christian and Muslim Albanians were armed. Other travellers, such as H. Holland and F. Pouqueville, note the entrenched hatred and intransigent hostilities prevailing between clans in the same village or between two neighbouring villages.[64] On the pretext of protecting themselves against brigand attacks, the villagers used weapons to resolve their ethnic and religious differences.[65] On the eve of the Balkan Wars, the Greek State, in its demarche to the authorities of Philiates, requested the confiscation of the weapons in the hands of the town's Muslim inhabitants, in order to pre-empt the possibility of their joining forces with brigand bands of their compatriots from Margariti and using them against the Orthodox element.[66] There is no shortage of references in the documents to differences between Muslim and Christian villages, such as that at the beginning of the twentieth century in the village of Konjka, which was inhabited by Muslim Albanians, and of Plisivitza, inhabited by Orthodox Rums.[67]

In the town of Philiates, seat of the *kaimakam*, there were the same services and authorities as referred to above for Aydonat. According to the *salname* of 1288 (1872-1873) there were 100 shops, two mosques and 250 houses, and the population was 1,240 persons. By 1306 (1890-1891) the population had increased to 1,576 persons, the overwhelming majority of them Muslims (there were only 434 Christians). The town had a primary school and a secondary school, as well as two Muslim seminaries (*medrese*), which were maintained by a *vakıf*.[68] Schools also existed in Salisi, Liopsi, Lykou, Achouria and Konispoli.

In 1902 the population of the province of Philiates was 25,000 persons – 15,000 Greek Christians and 10,000 Muslims. In 1905 they are defined numerically respectively as Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians and Albanian Muslims, speaking Greek and Albanian.[69] By this time the villages of Verva, Yaniari, Karoki, Konispoli, Markati, Inati, Disati, Salesi and Tousa *çiftlik*, from the *kaza* of Filyat, were subject to Albania.[70]

Kaza of Margaliç

The *kaza* of Margaliç, which in the nineteenth century belonged to the *sancak* of Preveza,[71] bordered to the east with the districts of Preveza and Aydonat, north with the *kaza* of Filyat, west and south being lapped by the Ionian Sea, and included two *nahiye*s, of Parga and of Phanari.[72] The *kaza* of Margaliç was created from the *nahiye* of Mazarak, which in its turn belonged to the *sancak* of Delvino.[73] In the *salname* of 1308 (1892-1893) the

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[64] Psimouli 2006, 181.
[65] For example see *A.MKT.UM.* 188/22 (13.B.1271/01.04.1855); *DH.MKT.* 540/88 (08.R.1320/14.07.1902).
[66] *DH.EUM.*3.Şb 3/15 (24.M.1333/13.12.1913).
[67] *DH.MUİ.* 27/-1/31 (13.L.1327/28.10.1909).
[68] *Y.A.RES.* 100/30 (20.M.1317/30.05.1899); *Y.A.RES.* 77/54 (22.C.1313/09.12.1895).
[69] Christovassilis 1902, 11-12 and Christovassilis 1905, 29-31.
[70] Kokolakis 2003, 248-249.
[71] Ortaylı 1998, 137-138.
[72] *DH.TMİK.S.* 74/24 (15.C.1326/14.07.1908).
[73] *İE.AS.* 16/1609 (06.L.1081/16.02.1671).

population of the district of Margariti is noted as Albanian, originating from the Cham clan. The same source also yields the information that there were in Margariti ruins of an ancient castle, as well as another two castles which had been built by Sultan Bayezid II and Ali Paşa Tepedelenli. Castles existed also in the villages of Koroni, Glyki, Koutzi (pres. Polyneri), Grava (pres. Vounospilia) and lastly at Kastri, capital of the *nahiye* of Phanari, to control the area. The oldest mosques in Margariti were built by Bayezid II,[74] and the newest by the *vali* of Yanya, Mustafa Nuri Paşa, and the *ağa*s of Margariti, Ali Tsapari and Huseyin Çelebi. There was also a *medrese*, founded by Piri Paşa,[15] and there were 24 fountains. E.H. Ayverdi compiled a list of Muslim monuments in the *kaza*.[76]

As mentioned already, the region of Margariti was controlled by the Tsaparis family. Venetian sources record the brigandage of members of this family, the *ağa*s Suleyman and his son Hasan, and their raids against Souli and Preveza. Details are also given of their alliance with the Turkish-Albanian *ağa* Pronio of Paramythia, in 1772, in order to exterminate the Souliots, whose attacks on villages under the jurisdiction of the *ağa*s of Paramythia, Margariti and Yanya deprived them of incomes.[77] The Venetians, staunch allies of Christian Souli, backed it with money and munitions, in this way securing on the landward side the two other Christian ports in their possession, Preveza and Parga. In 1789 the Tsaparaioi allied with Ali Paşa Tepedelenli and *ağa*s of Paramythia, and attacked Souli, starting a war that lasted until 1792.[78] In 1794 the Ottoman State, afraid of this aggressive activity of the Margariti *ağa*s, asked the *Provedditore Generale* of Venice not to supply the Tsaparaioi with munitions and ships because they were attacking provinces of the Ottoman Empire.[79]

This powerful family of Margariti had an eye not only on the plain but also on the harbour of Parga, for the exclusive conduct of the region's trade.[80] The consular agent of the French at Arta, Jerôme Dupré, remarked in the late eighteenth century that secondary *çiftlik* holders of Margariti were dependent on Hasan *Ağa*, which shows the family's omnipotence in the region.[81] They were the main allies and supporters of Ali in the blockade of Souli in 1802, and in the dissolution of the four villages in 1804. Nonetheless, three years later Ali forced the Proniates and Tsaparaioi *ağa*s to abandon their properties and seek refuge in the Ionian Islands, and from there to join Mehmed Ali Paşa of Egypt, at whose side they stayed until the fall of the paşa of Yanya.[82] The Tsaparaioi kept their power as tax collectors and *çiftlik* holders in the region until the beginning of the twentieth century. A document of 1909 refers to their seizure and appropriation of the *çiftlik* of Goritsa.[83]

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[74] *MAD* no. 13588.
[75] Kokolakis 2003, 400.
[76] Ayverdi 1982, 299, nos. 3104-3123.
[77] Mertzios 1940, 12-17; Mouselimis 1960; Papageorgiou 1980, 94-95; Psimouli 2006, 322-324; Vetsios 2007.
[78] Arsh 1994, 167.
[79] *HAT* 97/3897/D (05.L.1208/06.05.1794); *HAT* 97/3897 (29.Z.1208/28.07.1794); *HAT* 97/3897/E (03. Za.1208/02.06.1794).
[80] Psimouli 2006, 93-94.
[81] Giannakopoulou 1986-87, 50, 61.
[82] Psimouli 2006, 446.
[83] *Y.PRK.AZJ.* 54/75 (27.R.1327/18.05.1909); *DH.MUİ.* 22/-1/48 (27.N.1327/12.10.1909).

In the southern and more lowland part of the *kaza* of Magarliç the powerful Dino family of Preveza also had land-holdings, *çiftlik*s and *muacele*. The tower of the Dino family in the village of Liopsi existed until the Second World War. In Ottoman documents of the period they are referred to as *Arnavutluk Çamlık hanedan*[84] and this family sired Abidin Dino Paşa (1843-1906), *vali* of the Archipelago,[85] Ali Dino (1891-1938), parliamentary deputy of Preveza in the Progressive Party of Papanastasiou and cartoonist in the press of the day, and his brother Abidin Dino, the painter. Mazar and Nuri Dino, who in the interwar years struggled for the inclusion of Tsamouria in Albania, also belonged to the same feudal family.[86]

According to the population data for the year 1870-1871, 80% of the *kaza*'s inhabitants were Muslims, and this percentage was maintained throughout the rest of the nineteenth and into the first decade of the twentieth century. In 1895, 5,224 households (23,955 persons) were counted. Appendix I shows that Margariti, Arpitza, Parga and Mazaraki were the most populous settlements. In the mid-nineteenth century, according to the information of P. Aravantinos, of a total of 43 settlements, 11 were *çiftlik*s and 32 were free villages (*karye*). The latter, as can be observed, were either purely Muslim or had a majority Muslim population. Documents of the second half of the nineteenth century echo the violence perpetrated against the Christian element[87] and the need for additional measures to impose order in the *kaza* of Margaliç, in which brigand bands were roaming. In order to confront the danger these posed, the Muslim inhabitants had to be supplied with weapons.[88] In all the censuses the Muslim population of Margariti appears as exceeding the Christian population by a wide margin. In Ch. Frangoudis's report drafted for the periodical *L'Orient Chretien* in 1866, he notes 1,316 Turkish and 810 Christian families.[89] In 1905, according to the estimates of Ch. Christovassilis, of the 9,000 Christian inhabitants only 4,500 were Greek-speaking, while the number of Albanian-speaking Muslims reached 15,000. In 1895, in a memorandum of the Greek Consul General to the "Committee for reinforcing Education and Church", he mentions that there were only 15 Christian households in the capital of the *kaza*, Margariti, and these were not in a position to pay for the upkeep of a priest.[90] In the statistical table of P. Aravantinos too, Margariti is presented as inhabited by 100 Muslim families and only 19 Christian ones.[91]

The primary source of income was olive-oil production. Cereals were grown in the *çiftlik*s and good-quality dairy products were produced. The region exported wool, kilims, carpets, woollen socks, capes and 800,000 okas of acorns. The products were transported by pack animals as well as by boats along the network of riverine routes. Exports were shipped through the harbours of Goumenitsa, Plataria, Mourto and Arpitsa. Margariti,

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[84] *DH.SAİD.d* 152/85 (29.Z.1278/27.06.1862); *A.MKT.UM.* 96/84 (27.C.1268/18.04.1852); *A.MKT.UM.* 67/81 (05.L.1267/03.08.1851); *A.DVN.* 82/22 (10.M.1269/24.10.1852); *A.DVN.* 82/23 (10.M.1269/24.10.1852); *A.MKT.UM.* 134/69 (01.Ş.1269/10.05.1853).
[85] Kuneralp 1999, 54.
[86] Manta 2004, 164-165.
[87] *A.MKT.UM.* 400/84 (25.Ş.1276/19.03.1860).
[88] *DH.MUİ.* 50/-1/53 (03.M.1328/15.01.1910); *Y.PRK.MYD.* 18/100 (25.Za.1314/27.04.1897); *DH.MKT.* 357/40 (06.L.1312/02.04.1895).
[89] Kokolakis 2003, 462.
[90] *AYE* 1895/fol. Epirus-Albania. "Committee to reinforce Greek Church and Education".
[91] Psimouli 2006, 82.

seat of a *kaimakam*, had a town hall and various services that the modernizing reforms imposed in all the empire's provinces. There were Muslim primary schools, a secondary school (*Rüşdiye mektebi*) and a high school (*mekteb-i ibtida*), which were supervised by a four-man committee (*maarif komisyonu*).[92] Schools also existed in the villages of Ligorati (pres. Katavothra), Arpitsa (pres. Perdika), Grikochori, Mazaraki, Varfani (pres. Parapotamos), Koutsi (pres. Polyneri) and in Parga. According to the testimony of Christovassilis,[93] in 1902 there were 19,500 Albanians living in the province of Margariti and 4,500 Greeks. As far as religion is concerned, there were 15,000 Muslims and 9,000 Christians (4,500 Greeks and 4,500 Albanians). Again according to his estimates, in 1905 the 24,000 inhabitants of the *kaza* were distributed as follows:[94]

Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians	4,500	
Greek-speaking and Albanian-speaking Orthodox Christians	4,500	
		9,000
Albanian-speaking and simultaneously Greek-speaking Muslims	6,000	
		15,000

Concluding remarks

Tsamouria is a good field of observation for following the role of the Albanian tribes in the borderlands of the Ottoman Empire, their services to and their network of relations with the Sublime Porte. Gergana Georgieva's observation that the boundaries of administrative regions in Arvanitia were defined on the basis of the land-holdings of the Albanian beys and the local nobles, "who ruled the region as legitimate governors, *mutasarrıf*s, even in earlier periods", applies also to Tsamouria. These realms were indeed hereditary and old Albanian families became local ruling dynasties.[95] This whole feudal microcosm was in a continuous state of enmity and upheaval. *Ağa*s, *bey*s, and Ottoman officials vied with one another and fought incessantly between themselves. 'Might is right' held sway and war was the sole means of solving all differences. The much-suffering Christian and Muslim inhabitant, enduring the victor's wrath, remained without house and fields, was turned by the owner into a tenant or was obliged to abandon the home of his forefathers, as in the case of the Souliotes. The Albanian character of the ruling feudal class, in conjunction with the frontier character of the region and the heterogeneity of the population (Greeks, Albanians, Slavs, Vlachs), continually generated acute social oppositions and ethno-religious rivalries. These rivalries were reinforced by the constant uncertainty about the political future of the region, until the time of the Balkan Wars when Tsamouria was annexed to the Greek State. Thereby the region's history entered another phase, the events in which compose the picture of the unsuccessful process of incorporating the Muslim Chams into Greek society, with the well-known dramatic climax in the Greek-Italian War and the Nazi Occupation of Greece.

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92 *A.MKT.MVL.* 112/99 (02.C.1276/28.12.1859); *İ.DH.* 486/32844 (26.Ş.1278/26.02.1862); *MV.* 21/2 (20. N.1304/12.06.1887); *İ.MMS.* 91/3854 (14.L.1304/06.07.1887).
93 Christovassilis 1902, 11-12.
94 Christovassilis 1905, 29-31.
95 Georgieva 2007, 13.

Appendix I – Demographic data for the *kaza*s of Aydonat, Filyat and Margaliç

Symbols used in the tables
[ ] : the present name.
( ) : the number of Muslim households.
A/G: mixed population, Albanian and Greek. Symbols used in Aravantinos's table. The fact that A is first presumably implies that the majority of the population were Albanians.
G/A: Greek and Albanian population. In the case of these villages, the Greek element is in the majority.
G: Greek population.
(ç): *çiftlik* village.
(k): free village.
(m): *muacele*.
Unless otherwise stated all figures refer to the number of households.

Kaza of Aydonat (Paramythia)

Name of village		1827	1834	1856			1895
Aydonat	[Paramythia]			98	(180)	A/G	469
Belesi (ç)		7	9	8		A/G	
Borovari (ç)	[Kyra-Panagia]	14	18	22		A/G	15
Choika (ç)		34	42	18		A/G	20
Dovla (k)		8	8	5		G	7
Dragani (k)	[Ampelia]	46	50	38		A/G	93
Dragumi[96] (k)	[Zervochori]	34	34	30	(50)	A/G	110
Glavitza (ç)	[Avlotopos]	10	13	14		G	29
Granitza (ç)				13		G	33
Gratziani (ç)	[Katamachi]			9		G	20
Grika (ç)		23	25	20	(10)	A/G	40
Kaitsa (k)				5		G	20
Kaminia (ç)					(30)	A/G	
Kardiki (k)	[Gardiki]				(150)	A/G	156
Karvunari (k)					(150)	A/G	188
Karyoti (ç)		12	15	9		A/G	12
Kerasovo (ç)	[Kerasia]			6		G	10
Kolyostati (ç)				6		G	
Kopra (ç)	[Anthochori]			9		G	13
Koristiani (ç)	[Frosyni]	16	24	19		G	32
Kukulioi (ç)		13	17	15		G	30
Laliza (ç)				19		G	20
Lambinitza (ç)	[Elataria] 13	20	17			G	60
Lefterochori (ç)		30	48	36		G	60
Ligianoi (ç)		10	9	5		A/G	
Logat (k)	[Agora]						6
Lozana (ç)				7		G	7
Lubikista (ç)	[Zotiko]			25		G	50
Lyviahovo (ç)				11		G	40
Maja (ç)	[Polydoro]						45

[96] The Orthodox church in the village was renovated in 1911 at the expense of the St. Demetrios monastery, which used for this purpose the money gained from selling an orchard; see *İ.AZN.* 102/1329/R-14 (24. R.1329/24.04.1911).

Minina (k)	[Neraida] 8	9	8		(30)	A/G	30
Nikolitzi (k)				20	(30)	A/G	48
Nikolitzi + Psaka		22	22				
Niochori (k)		14	20	10	(18)	A/G	30
Ozdina (ç)	[Pente Ekklisies]	20	25	20		A/G	25
Paliokoutzaki (ç)				6		A/G	
Pangrati (ç)		35	40	22		A/G	25
Petousi (ç)				22		G	25
Petrovitsa (k)		14	18	13	(25)	A/G	50
Plakoti (ç)		28	28	22		A/G	40
Popovo (ç)	[Ag. Kyriaki]	70	84	42		G	105
Pradali (ç)	[Pardalitsa]			16		G	25
Psaka (ç)				23		G	30
Radovizdi (ç)				16		G	10
Saloniki (ç)		12	18	11		G	35
Seliani (ç)	[Ag. Mavra]	50	48	26		G	60
Senikou (ç)				13		G	25
Sevasto (ç)		14	14	14		G	20
Sfakari (ç)				5		G	
Skandalo (ç)		8	12	8		A/G	6
Skupitsa (k)	[Ag. Georgios]						7
Stanovo (ç)	[Mandrotopos]			8		A/G	7
Stregonetzi (ç)	[Dichouni]			5		G	7
Toblesa (k)				7		G	7
Toshkesaki (ç)	[Mikrochori]						5
Tsangari (ç)		14	22	21		G	35
Tsifliki	[Rachouli]	10	9	11		A/G	15
Tsourilla (ç)	[Kallithea]	40	37	30		A/G	90
Valanidia (ç)				8		G	25
Varbombi (ç)	[Fteri]	7	10	7		G	6
Vathylakkos (m)				8		A/G	
Veliani (ç)	[Chrysavgi]	9	10	10		A/G	15
Vlachor (ç)	[Polydroso]	13	13	15		G	30
Voinikou (ç)	[Prodromi]	42	48	40		A/G	60
Vreniko (ç)	[Vereniki]	16	24	14		G	35
Vrysopoula (ç)		6	5	6		A/G	7
Vursina[97] (ç)				22		G	26
Zalango Bala (ç)		9	11	7		G	15
Zalongo Zir (ç)		12	16	9		G	10
Zaravutsı[98] (ç)	[Ag. Nikolaos]	20	26	8		G	25
Zelessos (ç)	[Xirolophos]			28		A/G	30
Monasteries of Pangos and Dogon[99]							2
Monastery of Prodromos[100]							
Monastery of Panagia[101]							
Total		763	903	1.045	(673)		2633

[97] The *çiftlik* is mentioned in documents of 1882: see *İ.DH.* 865/69247 (29.Z.1299/11.11.1882) and 1903 *DH.TMİK.S* 46/18 (15.Ra.1321/11.06.1903).

[98] Evliya Çelebi records it as a Christian village: see Evliya Çelebi 2003, 293.

[99] These are respectively the Pagania and the Dichouni monastery; see Oikonomou 1964, 97-98, 92-93.

[100] This is the monastery near the village of Veliani (mod. Chrysavgi); see Oikonomou 1964, 94-97.

[101] Oikonomou 1964, 91-92; Pasali 1996-1997, 369-394.

Kaza of Filyat

Name of village		1827	1834	1856			1895
Ahurya Bâlâ[102] (ç)	[Ag. Pantes]	60	60	60		G	113
Ahurya Zîr (ç)	[Ag. Nikolaos]						47
Arachova (ç)	[Rizo]			40		G	45
Babouri[103] (ç)	[Vavouri]	70	80	90		G	184
Babur Ahurya (ç)							48
Brania (ç)	[Marina]			11		G	17
Dishad (k)							36
Doliani (k)	[Geroplatanos]				(15)	G/A	66
Faneromene (ç)				40		G	37
Fatiri (ç)	[Kerasochori]	20	26	20		G/A	46
Filiat				30	(200)	G/A	317
Finiki (ç)		40	46	50		G	67
Giromeri (k)				85		G	146
Glousta (ç)	[Kefalochori]	76	80	80		G	116
Gola (ç)		16	17	16		G	29
Gourtza (ç)	[Kato Palaiokklisi]						
Gourtza (k)	[Ano Palaiokklisi]				(28)	G/A	47
Imari (ç)				34		G/A	
Kalbak[104] (k)	[Elia]						110
Karoki (ç)		19	26				46
Karyani (ç)	[Achladya]	8	9	10		G	13
Kastanya (ç)	[Melia]						31
Keramitsa (ç)				70		G	32
Kokinesta (k)	[Kokkinia]	26	28	35		G	52
Kokkinon Lithari (ç)				25		G	52
Konispolis[105] (k)					(250)	G/A	282
Kontzka (k)	[Kotsika]				(100)	G/A	166
Koutzi (ç)	[Vrysoula]			15		G	32
Leptokaria (ç)				7		G	23
Lia (ç)		100	108	120		G	164
Limbovon (ç)	[Kryonerio]			55		G/A	55
Liopsi[106] (ç)	[Neo Asprokklisi]				(150)	G/A	89
Lista[107] (ç)		34	40	40		G	70
Lykou[108] (ç)	[Charavgi]	47	50	41		G	70
Malouni (ç)		36	50	50		G	59
Mantzare (k)	[Kyparissos]	6	6	8	(6)	G/A	22

[102] A document of 1909 attests to the existence of a Greek school in the village: see *İ.AZN.* 84/1327/Ra-10 (15. Ra.1327/06.04.1909).
[103] Natsis 1991.
[104] *DH.MKT.* 534/63 (27.Ra.1320/03.07.1902).
[105] *DH.İD.* 144/1/39 (17.L.1330/29.09.1912). In this village, which Ayverdi reads as Kostol, he mentions the existence of the Hasan *Ağa* mosque, a *medrese* and schools; see Ayverdi 1982, 297, nos. 3046-3039.
[106] Evliya Çelebi records it already from the seventeeth century as a Muslim village: see Evliya Çelebi 2003, 295.
[107] In 1913 permission was granted to build a church; see *İ.AZN.* 111/1331/C-21 (17.C.1331/24.05.1913).
[108] In 1896 a school was built in the Lykos çiflik, for its Christian inhabitants; see *İ.AZN.* 18/1313/Ş-16 (19. Ş.1313/03.02.1896).

Markates (k)					(150)	G/A	117
Mengouli		8	4				
Mouzaka (k)					(38)	G/A	25
Ninates (k)					(60)	G/A	93
Palaba (ç)		10	11	7		G/A	17
Palaiochori (ç)		20	30	25		G	35
Pigadoulia (ç)		10	14	6	(30)	G/A	31
Pitsar (ç)							
Pitsar (k) [Aetos]						89	
Pitzous (k)		13	13	8	(102)	G/A	
Plesivitsa[109] (ç)	[Plaisio]			250		G	344
Povla (ç)	[Ambelonas]	20	20	18		G	37
Ravene (ç)		46	54	47		G	64
Rodostiva (ç)		8	9	11		G	15
Salisi (k)					(80)	G/A	150
Sayada (k)				60		G/A	141
Sboka (ç)	[Sbokia]					3	
Sefere (k)	[Skefari - Myloi]				(90)	G/A	73
Sideri (k)		60	64	64		G	66
Skliavi (ç)							3
Skliavi (k)	[Ag. Arsenios]				(60)	G/A	38
Skoupitza (k)	[Kestrini]			70		G/A	33
Smertou[110] (k)					(10)	G/A	39
Souloupia (k)					(31)	G/A	38
Spatari (k)	[Trikoryfo]				(30)	G/A	65
Tsifliki Mane		12	15	14		G/A	
Tusha (ç)		17	17				20
Tzamanta[111] (ç)		140	150	128		G	227
Tzaraklimane[112] (ç)	[Kallithea]	29	28	38		G	52
Verva (k)					(50)	G/A	64
Vilia (k)	[Donatos]	12	18	11		G	13
Virsela (k)	[Vrysella]						78
Xehoro Dem (k)	[Ano Xechoro]						39
Xehoro Memko (k)	[Xechoro]						39
Xehoro Zeineli (k)	[Kato Xechoro]			46		G/A	54
Yaniari (k)					(60)	G/A	105
Yeromer Panaya Manastırı[113]							35[114]
Total		963	1073	1835	(1540)		4936

[109] Pegas 2006.
[110] *DH.MKT.* 305/64 (11.Ca.1312/ 09.11.1894).
[111] In 1908 permission was granted to build a church; see *İ.AZN.* 81/1326/N-09 (28.N.1326/24.10.1908).
[112] *İ.DH.* 881/70236 (01.Ca.1300/10.03.1883).
[113] Oikonomou 1964, 74-83.
[114] This is a number of monks.

Kaza of Margaliç

Name of village		1827	1834	1856			1895
Arpitza[115] (k)	[Perdika]	18	22	12	(150)	A/G	386
Artsa (ç)	[Narkissos]	14	12	6		G/A	26
Arvenitsa (k)	[Argyrotopos]	8	9	11	(30)	A/G	86
Aya (k)		95	120	107		G/A	186
Aya Triada				3		G/A	
Bedlish (k)	[Bedeleni]						13
Berbil (ç)	[Andoni]	5	4	16		G/A	13
Beshere (ç)	[Gefyri]		8			G/A	15
Dapankule (ç)	[Kolestasi]	8	38	18		G/A	19
Dirames (k)					(50)	A/G	68
Dirimitsa (k)							21
Gliki (ç)		10	8	11		G/A	41
Glopotzari (k)	[Makrochora]				(30)	A/G	33
Goritsa[116]	[Stavrochori]	16	31	40		G/A	53
Grava (k)	[Vounospilia]	22	32	27	(40)	A/G	53
Grikochori (k)		44	46	50	(120)	A/G	244
Kanalak[117] (k)		16	14	29		G/A	79
Kartereza (k)	[Karteri]	16	19	20		A/G	27
Kastri (ç)	[Phanari]	140	140	140		A/G	33
Kastri Dağı (k)	[Igoumenitsa]	16	20	28		G/A	189
Klisura (ç)		11	7	7		G/A	11
Kodra (k)							17
Konostates (ç)	[Kolestasi]	8		4		A/G	
Koritiani (k)		18		12	(20)	A/G	23
Koron (ç)		5	11	12		G/A	33
Koronopulo (ç)		13	9	26		G/A	28
Kosovitsa (k)	[Ag. Marina]	18	20	22	(20)	A/G	35
Kourtesi (k)	[Mesovouni]				(40)	A/G	130
Koutzi (k)	[Polyneri]				(86)	A/G	78
Lediza (k)	[Ladochori]	10	12	15		A/G	14
Likuris (ç)	[Mesopotamo]	7	17	17		G/A	13
Livadari (k)				8		A/G	31
Lougarat (k)	[Katavothra]				(40)	A/G	163
Manya (ç)				4		G/A	9
Margariti		15	15	19	(100)	A/G	546
Mavroudi (k)		17	20	25	(4)	A/G	27
Mazaraki[118] (k)					(250)	A/G	318
Milikokia (k)					(6)	A/G	19
Mesovouni (ç)		6	8	10		A/G	
Morfati (k)	[Morphi]	8	10	7		A/G	23
Mouri (k)	[Pigi]			6		A/G	5

[115] *A.MKT.UM.* 385/90 (23.Ca.1276/19.12.1859).
[116] In 1909 the Tsaparaioi family appropriated the *çiftlik*; see *İ.AZN.* 24/1314/L-06 (26.L.1314/30.03.1897).
[117] *İ.DH.* 870/69532 (02.M.1300/13.11.1882).
[118] *İ.AZN.* 87/1327/B-09 (16.B.1327/03.08.1909).

Muzakat (ç)	[Mouzakeika]	11	24	18		G/A	29
Nemitsa (ç)	[Vouvopotamos]	6	5	8		G/A	36
Nesta (ç)	[Faskomilia]						108
Nihor (ç)	[Neochorio]			12		G/A	15
Nounesati (k)							62
Parga		60	110	150	(140)	G	377
Pestani (k)	[Kryovrysi]	28	28	28		A/G	43
Platarya[119] (k)		18	17	20	(40)	A/G	34
Potamya (ç)		16	12	19		G/A	26
Punda Monastery[120]							4
Rapeza (k)	[Anthousa]			25		G/A	101
Rayu Monastery[121]							
Retsat (k)	[Tropaiouchos]						7
Rizyani (k)	[Ag. Georgios]				(50)	A/G	60
Salitza (k)	[Lakka]				(80)	A/G	128
Sekpeton				6	(6)	A/G	
Senitsa (k)	[Eleftherio]	28	40	40		A/G	55
Sharat (k)	[Myloi]						47
Shendila (k)	[Ag. Kyriaki]	8	9	6		A/G	10
Shenmeriza (k)					(20)	A/G	24
Skorpiona (k)	[Ammoudia]				(30)	A/G	36
Smokovina (k)	[Sykochori]						33
Souvliasi (k)	[Ag. Vlasis]	70	80	90	(80)	A/G	194
Spathari (k)		22	24	20		A/G	23
Splanca (ç)	[Ammoudia]	6	11	10		G/A	34
Tsifliki					(6)	A/G	
Tsiflik Hadji Kasim (k)	[Ragio]	15	20	15	(4)	A/G	17
Tsikurat (ç)	[Tsekouri]	24		7		G/A	7
Tsoukniza (ç)	[Tsouknida]	6	10	7		G/A	25
Turkopaliko (ç)	[Kypseli]	18	28	26		G/A	43
Valanidoracho (ç)		8	24	16		G/A	32
Varfani (ç)	[Parapotamos]			5	(130)	A/G	141
Viratla (ç)	[Vratilia]						15
Volia[122] (ç)	[Syvota]				(40)	A/G	257
Vrachona (ç)					(30)	A/G	86
Vrastovon (ç)	[Paliokastro]				(40)	A/G	50
Vrysi (ç)					(20)	A/G	19
Yunus (ç)	[Acherousia]	6	13	15		G/A	17
Zaravina							15
Vlachs							[55]
Gypsies			[20]				
Total		929	1099+20	1263	(1702)		5303+55

[119] Evangelou 2003; Evangelou 2004.
[120] Oikonomou 1964, 93-94.
[121] Oikonomou 1964, 84-87.
[122] *İ.DH.* 866/69273 (29.Z.1299/11.11.1882).

Appendix II – *Kaimakam*s and *naib*s of Aydonat, Filyat and Margaliç

Kaimakams of Aydonat

1867	Hüseyin *Ağa*	*A.MKT.MHM.* 425/94
1868	Muin Efendi	*A.MKT.MHM*. 425/94
1872-73	Tevfik Efendi	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1288, 36
1876-78	İskender Bey	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1292, 48; *Yanya Salnamesi* 1293, 48
1883-86	Mehmed Fazlı Efendi	*İ.DH.* 70252/881; *DH.MKT.* 1471/107
1888	Müslihiddin Bey	*DH.MKT.* 1471/107; *İ.DH.* 1064/83434; *Y.PRK.AZJ.* 12/84; *DH.MKT.*1482/90; *DH.MKT.* 1562/20
1889	Süleyman Fehmi Efendi	*İ.DH.* 1191/93223
1890	Ali Nihat Efendi	*İ.DH.* 1191/93223
1890-01	Müslihiddin Bey	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1306, 81-82
1892	Rüstem Efendi	*İ.DH.* 1307/1311/S-41; *Yanya Salnamesi* 1308, 128
1893	Halil Efendi	*İ.DH.* 1309/1311/Ca-32; *İ.DH.* 1309/1311/L-20; *İ.DH.* 1307/1311/S-41
1893	Mehmed Şerif Efendi	*İ.DH.* 1309/1311/Ca-32; *İ.DH.* 1312/1311/Za-27; *DH.MKT.* 115/31
1894	Süleyman Fikri Efendi	*DH.MKT.* 232/36; *İ.DH.* 1312/1311/Za-27; *DH.MKT.* 284/4; *DH.MKT.* 319/58; *DH.MKT.* 348/40; *İ.DH.* 1323/1312/Z-44
1894	Mehmed Rüstem Efendi	*DH.MKT.* 298/11; *DH.MKT.* 314/8
1895	Malik Efendi	*İ.DH.* 1323/1312/Z-44; *İ.DH.* 1361/1316/N-11
1899-1904	İshak Tevfik Efendi	*İ.DH.* 1362/1316/L-18; *İ.TAL.* 249/1319/M-006; *Yanya Salnamesi* 1319, 114
1905	Vehbi Efendi	*İ.DH.* 1447/1324/B-09
1906	Nusret Efendi	*İ.DH.* 1447/1324/B-09; *İ.DH.* 1460/1325/N-32
1907	İbrahim Rüşdü Efendi	*İ.DH.* 1460/1325/N-32
1913	Şefik Efendi	*İ.DH.* 1509/1331/Za-12

Naibs of Aydonat

1852	Mehmed Rüşdü Efendi	*A.MKT.NZD.* 54/8
1860	Üveys Naili Efendi	*A.MKT.DV.* 202/60
1866	Abdullah Efendi	*A.MKT.MHM.* 357/89
1872-73	Süleyman Hilmi Efendi	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1288, 36
1876-77	Feyzi Efendi	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1292, 48
1877-78	Hüseyin Hüsnü Efendi	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1293, 48
1890-91	Mehmed Raşid Efendi	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1306, 81-82
1892-93	Ali Mürteza Efendi	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1308, 128

Kaimakams of Filyat

1872-73	İsmail Bey	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1288, 63
1876-87	Halit Efendi	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1292, 47
1877-78	Sadık Bey	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1293, 51
1879	Abdullah Paşa	*Y.PRK.UM.* 1/74
1880	Servet Bey	*İ.DH.* 807/65233

1890-91	Mehmed Galib Bey	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1306, 82-83
1892-93	Mehmed Nuri Efendi	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1308, 133
1899	Nuri Efendi	*İ.DH.* 1369/1317/C-40; Kokolakis 2003, 503
1903-04	Abdurrahman Fenni Efendi	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1319, 82-83
1906	İbrahim Rüşdü Efendi	*İ.DH.* 1460/1325/N-32
1907	Nusret Efendi	*İ.DH.* 1472/1326/2a-66; *İ.DH.* 1460/132M-32
1908	Hüseyin Efendi	*DH.İD*. 124/1/5; *İ.DH.* 1472/1326/2a-66
1910	Ziya Bey	*İ.DH.* 1487/1329/R-08
1911	Enver Efendi	*İ.DH.* 1489/1329/N-04
1912	Ali Kemal	*DH.İD*. 81/2/31; *İ.DH.* 1494/1330/B-30

Naibs of Filyat

1872-73	Ragib Efendi	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1288, 63
1876-78	Abdülhilmi Efendi	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1292, 47; *Yanya Salnamesi* 1293, 51
1890-91	Adem Fuzi Efendi	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1306, 82-83
1892-93	Nimetullah Efendi	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1308, 117
1899	Mehmed Fehmi Efendi	Kokolakis 2003, 503

Kaimakams of Margaliç

1867	Hüsnü Efendi	*A.MKT.MHM.* 371/47
1872-73	Mahmud Bey	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1288, 68
1876-77	Nusret Bey	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1292, 73
1877-78	Salih Hayri Efendi	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1293, 69
1883	Salih Hayri Efendi	*İ.DH.* 879/70156
1884	Abdülkerim Bey	*Y.A.RES.* 28/6
1888	Yahya Bey	*DH.MKT.* 1549/79; *DH.MKT.* 1563/68
1890	Riza Bey	*Y.PRK.DH.* 4/64; Y.PRK.UM. 24/74
1890-91	Salih Hayri Efendi	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1306, 113-116; *DH.MKT.* 1554/115; *DH.MKT.* 1563/100; *İ.DH.* 1148/89514
1891-92	Rauf Bey	*İ.DH.* 1257/98738; *DH.MKT.* 16/39; *Yanya Salnamesi* 1308, 222-223
1892-94	Muharrem Bey	*İ.DH.* 1282/100894; *DH.MKT.* 170/47; *Y.PRK.AZJ.* 28/2; *DH.MKT.* 218/53; *İ.TAL.* 55/1311/Z-101
1894-95	Bahaeddin Bey	*DH.MKT.* 273/7; *İ.DH.* 1328/1313/Ca-42; *Yanya Salnamesi* 1311, 171-175
1895-98	Fehmi Bey	*İ.DH.* 1328/1313/Ca-42; *İ.DH.* 1352/1315/N-15
1898-99	Ali Riza Efendi	*İ.DH.* 1352/1315/N-15; *İ.DH.* 1369/1317/C-40; *Y.A.HUS.* 408/66; Kokolakis 2003, 506
1900	Nuri Efendi	*İ.TAL.* 217/1318/Ra-041
1903-04	Hacı Salıh Efendi	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1319, 178
1907	Hami Efendi	*İ.DH.* 1459/1325/Ş-41
1907-09	Nuri Bey	*İ.DH.* 1459/1325/Ş-41; *DH.MUI.* 2/-2/69
1909-10	Rauf Bey	*İ.DH.* 1482/1328/B-10
1910-11	Zeki Bey	*İ.DH.* 1482/1328/B-10
1912	Sabri Efendi	*İ.DH.* 1494/1330/N-19; *İ.DH.* 1499/1331/Ş-20

Naibs of Margaliç

1872-73	Kasım Efendi	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1288, 68
1876-77	Mehmed Edib Efendi	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1292, 73
1877-78	Abdülcelil Efendi	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1293, 69
1890-91	Mehmed Fazlı Efendi	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1306, 113-116
1892-93	Mehmed Fehmi Efendi	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1308, 222-223
1895-96	Naim Efendi	*Yanya Salnamesi* 1311, 171-175
1899	Mehmed Emin	Kokolakis 2003, 506

Appendix III – Public buildings and population in the *kaza*s of Aydonat, Filyat and Margaliç according to the *salname* 1872/73

	Aydonat	Filyat	Margaliç
Town, Villages and Tsiftliks	64	63	55
Churches/ Havra/ Monasteries	212	60	12
Mosques and mesdjids	22	34	43
Muslim religious buildings (Takiyye/Türbe)	4		
Houses	2570	4800	2628
Shops and storehouses	121	100	100
Mills	3[123]	35	11
Tanners	3	2	
Tile factory	1		
Bakeries	5	9	3
Inns	6	3	
Cafe, Cazino, Taverns	10	10	5
Government Office	1	1	1
Primary schools	4	57	1
Soup kitchen	1	2	1
Bridges	13	9	9
Fountains	93	30	24
Christians	8000	12947	20260
Muslims	3900	9251	4750

[123] The mills belonged to the sultan; cf. *İ.DH.* 939/74385 (05.Ra.1302/23.12.1884), *İ.DH.* 969/76581 (23. S.1303/30.11.1885).

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    - Mektubî Kalemi (*DH.MKT.*)
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    - Mektubî Kalemi (*HR.MKT.*)
4. Hatt-ı Hümayûn Tasnifi (*HAT*)
5. İbnülemin Tasnifi
    - Askeriye (*İE. AS.*)
6. İrade Tasnifi
    - İrade, Adliye ve Mezahip (*İ.AZN.*)
    - İrade, Dahiliye (*İ.DH.*)
    - İrade, Hususî (*İ. HUS.*)
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    - İrade, Meclis-i Mahsus (*İ.MMS.*)
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