

Université de Montréal

The Colonies of Andros:
Towards a Socio-Economic History of Sane,
Akanthos, Stagira, and Argilos

par

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Université de Montréal
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Ce mémoire intitulé:

The Colonies of Andros:
Towards a Socio-Economic History of Sane,
Akanthos, Stagira, and Argilos

présenté par:

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Summary

The present study on the colonies of Andros is driven by the need to increase our knowledge of the northern colonies as a whole. Northern Greece is the least well documented of the regions which were reached by the 8th and 7th c. B.C. Greek colonists. Not only does the study of the Andrian colonies augment the available documentation on the northern Greeks, it also provides an opportunity to examine one mother-city's overall colonization process.

Through the sum of ancient sources and archaeological data pertaining to the four Andrian colonies, the study attempts to lay out the socio-economic history of the colonies as a whole and as separate entities. Such aspects as: 1) The foundation dates; the colonization process; 2) the relations with the indigenous populations; and 3) the economic relations with the other Greek colonies in the region, as well as the major centers of the Greek mainland, are examined.

There is first question of the colonizing enterprises undertaken by Eretria, Chalcis, and Paros so that a general understanding of the overall colonization of the northern Aegean coast can be obtained. The resulting synthesis helps fill in the gaps in the history of the Andrian colonies caused by the lack of primary sources for the latter, whether they be literary or archaeological.

The socio-economic history of the colonies from the time of their foundation to the end of the 5th c. B.C. which is based on the analysis of the preliminary study of the Parian and Euboean colonization in the north, the ancient sources, and the archaeological remnants, taken in conjunction with what is known of the indigenous population, is the end result of the study.

Though literary sources date the foundation of the colonies to 655/54, based on the archaeological evidence available, it is established that the colonies were founded within the 3rd quarter of the 7th c. B.C. An orderly pattern of colonization seems to have prevailed in that the colonies were established successively in accordance with the previous colonization efforts by the city-states of Euboea and the pre-established sea route the geographical emplacement of Andros imposes. Therefore, Sane, situated on the isthmus of Acte, and apparently colonized with the help of the Chalcidians, was the first to be settled, then came in order, Akanthos, Stagira, Argilos, and perhaps Tragilos. It is concluded, with relative probability, That Tragilos was also an Andrian colony established in the 1st half of the 6th century. It has also been deemed highly probable that the colonies, after the initial foundation of Sane, were in part settled by land and that Thracian tribes, residing at both extremities of the Andrian periphery, undoubtedly

contributed in the actual colonization process.

The 6th and 5th centuries witnessed the gradual increase of commercial importance of the northern colonies reflected, in the 1st half of the 6th c. by the influx of Corinthian pottery, no doubt due to the foundation of Potidaea, and of Thasian pottery. The trend of growing commercial interactions is characterized in the 2nd half of the 6th c. with the marked presence of Athenian pottery and the start of coining at three of the four colonies. Spurred by the Persian and general eastern demand for silver, Stagira and Akanthos began to mint coins around 530 B.C. while Argilos, which never seemed to have direct access to silver mines, only began around 510 B.C. The fact that Sane seems to have remained coinless throughout its existence suggests that it was primarily a settlement of an agricultural nature and that Akanthos may actually have exerted a hegemony of sorts over it.

Strong bonds with the east meant that the Akanthian coin production was dominant in the area as of the end of the last Persian War until their production ceased in 380 B.C., ousting Stagira out of the picture during the course of this period. Argilos ceased production as of the middle of the 5th century which is to be attributed to a shift in Athenian interest in the region represented by the drop of the tribute to be paid to Athens by Argilos from 10.5 talents to 1 talent in 446/5, the increase from 3 talents to 30 talents in the Thasian tribute for the same year, the foundation of Amphipolis, and the Athenian presence at Berge which has been closely linked to the minting of coins at Tragilos.

As the Athenian empire began to dwindle following the Peloponnesian Wars, the history of the colonies becomes intertwined with that of the growing Macedonian power which, by the middle of the 4th century would control the entire region.

Overall, it would seem that Sane was commercially inactive throughout its existence, Stagira was able to exploit and profit from the nearby silver mines from the middle of the 6th c. until about 480 when it gradually started to lose importance to Akanthos, which remained a strong and independent city well into the 4th century, while Argilos, though probably more important than Akanthos for part of the 5th c., regrettably became insignificant, especially after the foundation of Amphipolis in 437 B.C.

Les colonies d'Andros.

Vers l'établissement de l'histoire socio-économique
de Sané, Acanthe, Stagire et Argilos

Introduction

L'histoire de la colonisation grecque des VIII^e et VII^e siècles dans le nord de la mer Égée est relativement peu connue. D'où l'intérêt d'entreprendre cette étude, qui vise à rassembler et interpréter la documentation archéologique et littéraire concernant les colonies fondées par une des principales participantes à ce mouvement, Andros. Une analyse systématique des quatre colonies, toutes situées dans la même région géographique et colonisées en même temps par cette île des Cyclades, devrait permettre d'éclairer nos connaissances sur l'histoire socio-économique des villes grecques du nord de l'Égée.

Cette étude est donc fondée sur les témoignages archéologiques et littéraires relatifs à ces colonies, soit Sané, Acanthe, Stagire et Argilos, ainsi qu'à des comparaisons avec les autres colonies grecques de la région, afin de faire ressortir les caractéristiques propres de l'évolution socio-économique des fondations d'Andros. C'est par une étude de l'ensemble du mouvement colonial dans le nord de la mer Égée que nous avons commencé, en étudiant notamment le rôle joué par les villes de Chalcis et Érétie en Eubée, qui ont largement colonisé la Chalcidique à partir du VIII^e siècle, et de Paros, responsable de la colonisation de l'île de Thasos au tournant des VIII^e - VII^e siècles. Nous avons ensuite rassemblé et traité les passages littéraires concernant les colonies d'Andros, puis analysé les vestiges archéologiques de chacune d'entre elles. L'ensemble de cette documentation, associé aux informations tirées de l'étude de la colonisation eubéenne et parienne, a permis d'aborder le corps principal du mémoire, soit une analyse visant à établir l'histoire socio-économique des colonies d'Andros.

Cette analyse a permis d'apporter des réponses à certaines questions spécifiques dont: 1) la date de fondation des colonies; 2) les relations qu'elles ont entretenues avec les populations indigènes; 3) le processus de colonisation et notamment, les raisons qui ont amenées Andros à s'aventurer dans cette région; et 4) les interactions culturelles et économiques entre ces quatre colonies ainsi qu'avec les autres colonies grecques de la région et les principales cités du continent grec.

Paros et l'Eubée

L'étude du processus d'implantation des nombreuses colonies de Chalcis et Érétie et de la fondation de Thasos par Paros a surtout contribué à mieux comprendre les raisons

pour lesquelles la colonisation de ce territoire a eu lieu et pourquoi ces îles, ainsi que celle d'Andros, ont décidé de s'embarquer dans une telle aventure. Nous avons tenté de montrer que la raison traditionnelle invoquée pour expliquer le phénomène de la colonisation, une explosion démographique, ne semble pas avoir été un facteur déterminant. Au contraire, ce serait davantage des raisons économiques, telle l'exploitation des ressources naturelles, et des raisons sociales, certaines cités cherchant à se débarrasser d'éléments contestataires de la population, qui seraient à l'origine de ce mouvement. De même, en éclairant les relations entretenues entre les cités fondatrices d'Eubée et de Paros avec leurs colonies, nous avons voulu montrer qu'il en était sans doute de même pour Andros, et que ces liens étroits se sont maintenus au moins jusqu'à ce que ses colonies se mettent à frapper monnaie au dernier quart du VI^e siècle.

De plus, il apparaît que le choix des régions colonisées, que ce soit par l'une ou l'autre des cités mentionnées, ne relevait pas de l'arbitraire et que les colons se sont installés le long de routes navales préexistantes. Il était tout à fait normal que Chalcis et Érétrie soient amenées à coloniser la Chalcidique étant donné la proximité géographique de cette région avec l'Eubée. De même, Paros, une des îles des Cyclades les plus à l'est, s'est plutôt intéressé à la région orientale du nord égéen, par ce qu'elle pouvait y accéder en longeant la côte de l'Asie Mineure. Quant à Andros, voisine de l'Eubée, elle fut amenée à suivre le même parcours que cette dernière, pour s'établir dans la seule région qui demeurait libre, de la péninsule d'Acté jusqu'au bord du fleuve Strymon.

Le VII^e siècle - La fondation

Ce processus laisse entrevoir l'existence d'un schéma de colonisation quasi prédéterminé, qui expliquerait l'ordre que nous avons établi pour la fondation des colonies d'Andros, du sud vers le nord et de l'ouest vers l'est, les Andriens s'établissant d'abord à Sané, puis Acanthe, Stagire et Argilos. Ce schéma est indirectement confirmé par Plutarque, qui raconte comment Acanthe fut établie par les Andriens suite à la fondation de Sané. De plus, ce passage indique qu'au moins une des colonies a été fondée par voie terrestre.

Une des informations les plus intéressantes que l'on peut tirer des sources littéraires concerne les tribus thraces présentes dans la région. En effet, il s'avère que deux de ces tribus, les Édoniens et les Bisaltes, occupaient des terres aux deux extrémités de la *peria* andrienne, sur la péninsule d'Acté d'une part, et autour du fleuve Strymon d'autre part. Ceci nous amène à conclure que ces tribus thraces, surtout les Bisaltes, ont indéniablement été impliqués dans le processus de colonisation d'une façon ou d'une autre, et tout porte à croire qu'ils ont aidé, ou du moins influencé, les Andriens dans le

choix des emplacements de leurs colonies. Par exemple, l'absence de colonies d'Andros sur la péninsule d'Acté, alors qu'Érétrie et Chalcis avaient largement colonisé les péninsules de Palléné et de Sithonie, s'explique par le fait que les Édoniens et les Bisaltes s'étaient repliés dans cette région et occupaient donc la majeure partie de ce territoire. Bien sûr, le choix d'emplacement ne dépendait pas uniquement des Bisaltes. Il y aurait au moins trois autres facteurs déterminant: 1) la proximité des voies navigables; 2) un environnement géographique permettant une bonne défense du site; et 3) un site habité antérieurement afin de pouvoir réutiliser les matériaux de construction. Enfin, la date de fondation de ces colonies que laissent supposer les sources littéraires, soit 655/54, ne correspond pas, pour le moment, aux témoignages archéologiques. Il serait donc plus prudent de situer ces fondations durant le III^e quart du VII^e siècle.

Les VI^e et V^e siècles

Les vestiges architecturaux des sites et la céramique mise au jour durant les fouilles indiquent que les colonies ont bénéficié d'une prospérité grandissante au cours des VI^e - V^e siècles. Si la céramique de la Grèce de l'est et celle de fabrication locale dominent à la fin du VII^e siècle, celle de Corinthe, sans doute due à la fondation de Potidée au tournant du siècle, prend de plus en plus d'importance, pour s'imposer comme la principale céramique d'importation durant la première moitié du VI^e siècle. La céramique thasienne est aussi présente, ce qui tend à montrer que les échanges avec cette île étaient importants. Comme ailleurs, à partir du milieu du VI^e siècle, c'est au tour de la céramique attique de s'imposer, dominant de loin toutes les autres importations à partir de la fin du VI^e siècle.

Les vestiges archéologiques reflètent aussi les bouleversements causés par le passage des Perses au début du V^e siècle et de la conquête de Philippe II au milieu du IV^e siècle. Dans le premier cas, des réaménagements importants sont apportés aux édifices alors qu'avec Philippe II, le site est quasiment entièrement détruit puis abandonné. Mais le plus grand apport de l'archéologie est sans doute l'information que l'on peut déduire des monnaies de chacune des colonies et de leur distribution. Si Sané ne semble pas avoir frappé monnaie, sa proximité avec Acanthe semble indiquer qu'elle était dominée par cette dernière, d'autant plus qu'Acanthe fut la plus productive des colonies d'Andros en ce qui concerne la monnaie, débutant sa production vers 530. Sa position économique dominante dans la région est confirmée par l'absence de toute production monétaire à Sané et par le fait que même Stagire, qui avait pourtant commencé à frapper des monnaies peu de temps après Acanthe, a rapidement perdu de son importance face à celle-ci. La domination d'Acanthe sur Sané est aussi confirmée indirectement par les textes qui traitent du creusement du canal de Xerxès. Acanthe s'est, en effet, vu octroyer une part importante

des travaux alors que le canal se trouvait en fait sur le territoire de Sané.

Quant à Argilos, elle ne semble pas avoir bénéficié d'un accès direct à des mines d'argent, et n'a débuté sa production que vers 510, pour cesser vers 450. La ville a sans doute été touchée par les intérêts grandissants d'Athènes pour la région et l'expansionnisme macédonien. Le milieu du Ve siècle est marqué par l'envoi de colons athéniens à Berge et une baisse significative du tribut payé par Argilos à la confédération athénienne (passant de 10,5 talents à 1 talent en 446/45). La fondation d'Amphipolis en 437 portera un coup fatal à la vie économique d'Argilos.

Conclusion

Les sources littéraires et archéologiques permettent donc de suivre l'évolution économique et sociale des colonies d'Andros tout au long de la période étudiée dans le cadre de ce mémoire. Des colonies situées le long de la côte orientale de la Chalcidique, Acanthe a sans doute été la plus prospère, Stagire ayant perdu graduellement de son importance face à celle-ci, et Sané demeurant une colonie essentiellement agraire. Quant à Argilos, elle a bénéficié du plus grand essor économique jusqu'au milieu du Ve siècle, mais tout comme pour Stagire, sa position géographique lui aura en quelque sorte été fatale.

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List of Abbreviations

ATL -- Merrit, B.D. et al., *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Vol. I, Cambridge, 1939; Vol. II, Princeton, 1949; Vol. III, Princeton, 1950; Vol. IV, Princeton, 1953.

ΑΔ -- *ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΟ ΝΔΕΛΤΙΟΝ*

ΑΕΜΘ -- *ΤΟ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΟ ΕΡΓΟ ΣΤΗ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΘΡΑΚΗ*

CAH -- Boardman, J. & Hammond, N.G.L., ed., *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. III, Part 3. *The Expansion of the Greek World, Eighth to Sixth Centuries B.C.*, Cambridge, 1982.

HM-I -- Hammond, N.G.L., *A History of Macedonia, Vol. I. Historical Geography and Prehistory*, Oxford, 1972.

HM-II -- Hammond, N.G.L. & Griffith G.T., *A History of Macedonia, Vol. II. 550-336 B.C.*, Oxford, 1979.

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The Colonies of Andros:
Towards a Socio-Economic History of
Sane, Akanthos, Stagira, and Argilos

(1.0)Introduction

The great colonization movement of the Archaic period is unequalled in any period of Greek history in greatness, only rivaled by the expansion of Greece in the Hellenistic period under Alexander the Great. But, unlike the Hellenistic empire of Alexander, the "age of colonization" is characterized as a product of the independent *polis*.¹

Greek colonies emerged in virtually every region around the Mediterranean. The Greeks planted colonies most extensively in Sicily and Southern Italy to the west, and the Propontis and Black Sea regions to the north-east. The colonial expansion of Greece towards the west was led by Chalcis and Eretria (Euboea), and by Miletus and Megara (Asia Minor) towards the north-east. Both movements began around the middle of the 8th c. B.C.² Another region which was extensively colonized was the northern coast of the Aegean. The earliest colony, Methone, lies on the west bank of the Gulf of Therme and was founded in the late 8th c. B.C. by Eretria. Much like in the west, expansion into this area was led by Chalcis and Eretria. The bulk of the colonies were founded along the Chalcidic peninsula's three prongs, Pallene, Sithonia, and Acte. Of course, one mustn't forget the insular colony of Thasos, founded by the Parians in 650 B.C.³

The dominance of these two city-states from Euboea and the highly influential colony of Thasos overshadows the role played by Andros which colonized no less than four colonies on the Thracian coast of the Aegean.⁴ Three of these colonies, Sane, Akanthos, and Stagira are dated to 655/54 B.C. by literary sources.⁵ They are located in north-east Chalcidice along the most easterly prong of the peninsula. The fourth colony, Argilos, has no literary evidence to establish a foundation date but, excavations which

¹ A.J. Graham, «The Colonial Expansion of Greece» in *CAH*, p. 83.

² *Ibid.*, p. 94-97, 119.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 162. This dating for the foundation of Thasos is according to Graham, others place this foundation a little earlier, *infra*, 2.3.1, p. 14-15.

⁴ The Thracian coastline along the Aegean Sea, as it was during the colonizing epoch, runs east from the Axios River and the west bank of the Gulf of Therme, west from the Hellespont and the Thracian Chersonese, and includes all of Chalcidice and Thasos. N.G.L. Hammond, *HM-I*, London, 1972, p. 418.

⁵ Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.*, 30 (Sane) and Eusebius, 402,9(Akanthos and Stagira). Eusebius is responsible for the actual dating of 655/54 B.C. He situates the foundation of Akanthos and Stagira between the 31st and 32nd Olympiads. Since both Sane and Akanthos are mentioned in Plutarch, by inference, this dating can also be attributed to Sane. Consequently, it is attributed to Argilos as well.

have taken place at the necropolis east of the archaic city and the six excavation seasons on the site itself leave little doubt that Argilos was founded at or around the same time as the other three colonies of Andros. The geographical characteristic which distinguishes Argilos from the other three Andrian colonies is its proximity to the Strymon River and Mt. Pangaeon which was renowned in antiquity for its silver and gold mines.¹

The colonies of Andros seem to be sufficiently well situated to suppose that they played an important role in the area, yet, aside from a few excavation reports and brief mentions in other books and periodicals, the colonies of Andros are not well documented.²

Aside from the practical reasons for reuniting the four colonies and their individual histories, there is also the fact that the said colonies were colonized at or around the same time and therefore, one can imagine the collective attitude of the colonizing enterprise undertaken by Andros in the middle of the 7th c. B.C. Given the geographical and chronological context in which the Andrian colonies were established, it would not be scientifically just to speak of the colonies as separate entities when it is so clearly apparent that at least their early histories are interdependent and should be treated as a whole.

There will also be question of the socio-economic history of the colonies of Andros which, so far, is practically non-existent and lays buried under a heap of archaeological data waiting to be deciphered. This thesis is driven by the need to establish a socio-economic history of the Andrian colonies as a whole and as separate entities, as well as bring under the same roof all of the documentation available.

(1.1)Importance of Study and Its Objectives

The topic of Greek colonization in the north receives at best one chapter in a book which concentrates itself mainly on expansion to the west and to the east.³ The sum of books written on either the Greek colonial movement westward or of that to the east is massive while, as mentioned, the northern Greeks attract little attention. The reasons for this are understandable yet regretful. The western Greeks passed on the knowledge they had to the Romans by way of the Etruscans which makes them a topic

¹ *HM-I*, p. 14.

² *Infra*, Sect. 7.7, p. 125-127. The majority of the documentation on the Andrian colonies is spread thin over 20 years of the *AA*.

³ For example: J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas: Their Early Colonies and Trade*, London, 1980.

of interest in regards to the continuity and the history of the world. The product of this western culture is impressive while that of the Greeks in the north is virtually unknown. The supposed Archaic Greek settlements along the Levantine coast and the contacts between Greece and the Levant have stirred up quite a debate among archaeologists and historians,¹ while the Greek settlements in Thrace have only recently brought about marginal interest. In his study, Benjamin Isaac² takes a settlement by settlement look at Greek colonies in Thrace. However, Isaac voluntarily ignores the Chalcidice peninsula arguing that it simply wasn't a part of Thrace according to 5th c. B.C. sources, even though Isaac is well aware that the Athenian Tribute Lists do include Chalcidice as being a part of Thrace.

The lack of ancient sources which deal with the area is another reason why there hasn't been much interest directed towards an understanding of the northern Greeks. The current bibliography about the northern Greeks also reflects the present geographical situation in the north. The archaeological remains of the western Greek culture, for the most part, is found within one modern country, Italy. The history and culture of the northern Greeks is spread out over Russia, Romania, Bulgaria, and Greece. Therefore, unlike for *Magna Graecia*, there is no comprehensive treatment of the northern Greeks as a whole, rather, there are many publications which deal with a certain area found within one modern country.³

Therefore, this being said, a study of Andros and its colonies would contribute greatly to the growing bibliography on the northern Greeks and would throw much needed light on four colonies which have not been covered in any great detail. Furthermore, the fact that the four colonies represent the entire sum of a single city-state's expansion in the Archaic period, enables this researcher to examine the process of colonization by a polis in its entirety and in depth without being compromised by too much or too little material.

The result will be a comprehensive study of the four northern Greek colonies which will include an understanding of the colonizing process undertaken by Andros, a socio-economic history of the colonies in the Archaic and Classical periods, the relationships maintained between the colonies themselves, between the colonies and the mother city, and between the colonies and the existing native population. Finally, this study will hopefully yield valuable information on the relationship between these

¹ See *Ibid.* and J. Perreault, «Les *emporion* grecs au Levant: mythe ou réalité?», dans *Emporion*, Paris, 1993, p. 53-89.

² B.H. Isaac, *The Greek Settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian Conquest*, Leiden, 1986.

³ For example: E. Bellin de Ballu, *L'histoire des colonies grecques du littoral nord de la mer noire*, Paris, 1965.

colonies and those of the Thasian *peraea* east of the Strymon. It is interesting to note that in the Archaic period, from the north-eastern extremity of Chalcidice to the Strymon, only the Andrians colonized, and from the Strymon to the Nestus river, only the Thasians. There was inevitably some sort of power struggle between the colonies of Thasos and those of Andros, especially Argilos, for the control of the lower Strymonic valley and the mines of Mt. Pangaeon.

In sum, the primary objectives of this thesis are: (1) To confirm or refute the foundation dates of each of the Andrian colonies; (2) to determine the reasons why colonial expansion was undertaken by Andros; (3) to determine the process through which the colonies of Andros were established; and (4) to establish a socio-economic history of the four sites from the time of their foundation to the end of the 5th c. B.C.

(1.2) Geography and Chronology

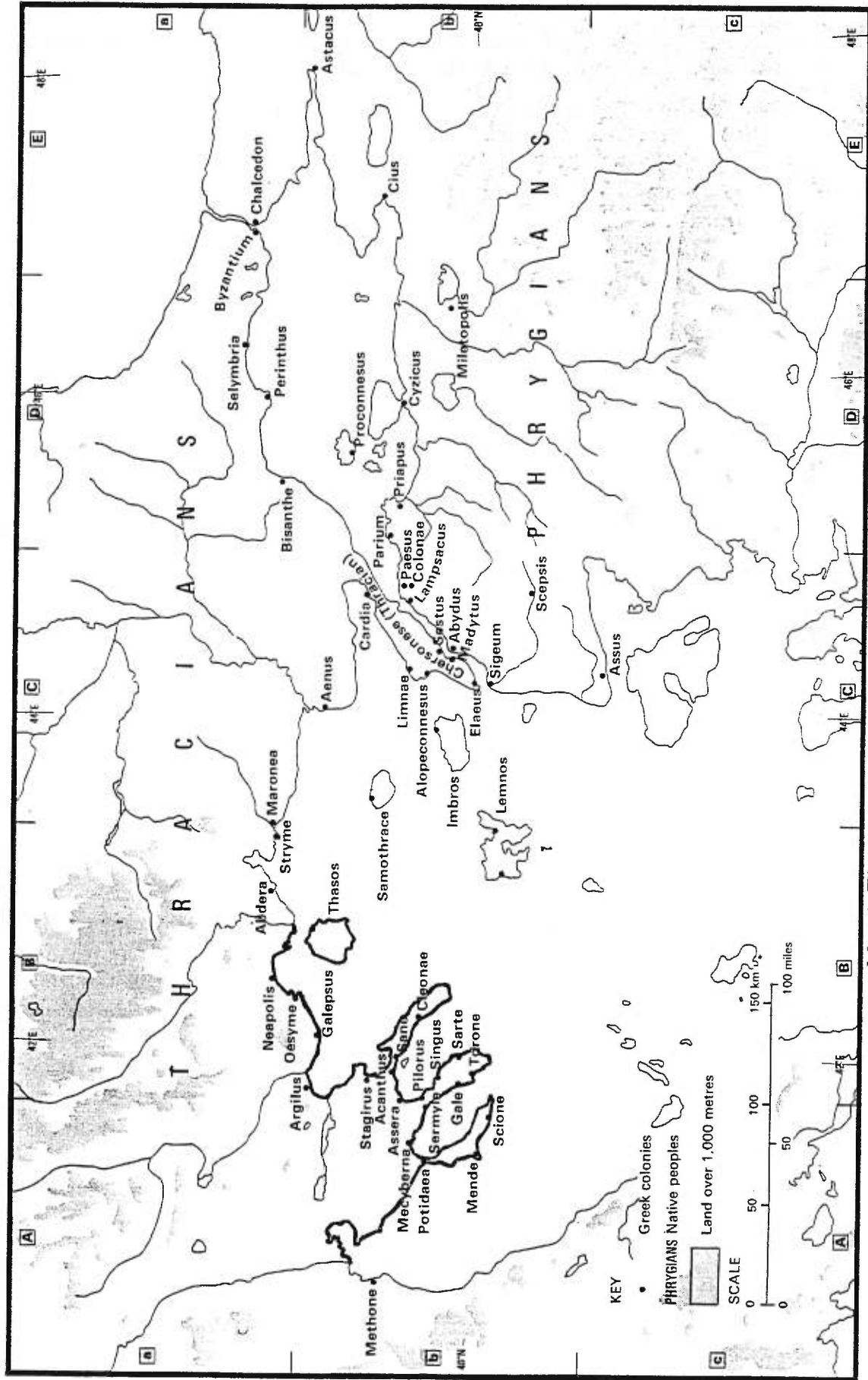
That area which will be the subject of this study undoubtedly will encompass the eastern coast of Chalcidice and the area around the Strymonic basin where the Andrian colonies are situated. However, in order to properly assess the movements of the indigenous populations, which greatly affected the events surrounding the history of the Andrian colonies, and the relationships and comparisons with the other Greek colonies in the north, the study will systematically examine Thrace as a whole from the Axios river in the west to the Nestus in the east (Map 1).

Thus, for comparative purposes, a parallel study including the whole of the Chalcidian peninsula and Thasos and its *peraea* will be followed so that contrasts and similarities can be acknowledged and taken into consideration when concluding on the various hypotheses of the principle study.

The sites west of Acte on Chalcidice, which for the most part are dated earlier than those under study, will be most important in the parts of this research which deal with pre-colonial contacts, the colonizing process, and the commercial relations with neighboring colonies. However, their remoteness with respect to the Andrian colonies entails that they will not be included in any other aspect.

A span of 400 years, from 800 to 400 B.C., is the time period that will be studied. It encompasses the whole of the Orientalizing period, Archaic period, and part of the Classical period of Greek history. More importantly, most, if not all of the colonies within the designated geographical limits were founded at or around 650 B.C.¹

¹ *Op. cit.*, A.J. Graham, *CAH*, p. 160-162. When a traditional foundation date was absent, the date of the earliest archaeological material was used.



Map 1: The north Aegean and the Propontis. (Source: *CAH*, p. 114.)
 Region under consideration highlighted in bold.

Therefore, the span of 150 years, from 800 to 650 B.C., is included within the chronological limitations to permit a study of the pre-colonial contacts the Greeks surely had with the native population. Also, it is important to note that, at that time, a vast migration movement was in full swing in Thrace due to the expansion of the Macedones, Illyrians, Scythians, and Cimmerians which began around 800 B.C.¹ The Thracian tribes which were confronted with these invading peoples either blended into the new community, all the while keeping their tribal name and heritage, or moved elsewhere. For instance, after the Macedones expanded into Pieria, some of the Pieres remained while others eventually relocated east of the Strymon.² At the time the Andrian colonies were being established, there would have been four different Thracian tribes with which they could have come into contact; the Pieres, Botticae, and Bisaltae to the west of the Strymon; the Edoni and, perhaps also, the Pieres to the east of the Strymon depending on when the latter were expelled from their homeland by the Macedones.³ The fact that the colonization of the area occurred at the same time as the migration of the different Thracian tribes makes one wonder about the impact they had on one another, whether passive or active, during the founding of the colonies.

The study carries on well into a third period of Greek history, the Classical period, until 400 B.C., in order to encompass the effects the founding of the Athenian colony of Amphipolis in 437 B.C. had on the colonies and the history of the area. The proximity of Amphipolis to Argilos leaves no doubt that the foundation of the former had a more than profound effect on the latter. It is to be determined whether or not the same is true for the remaining three Andrian colonies.

It would be futile for me to examine the history of the colonies past the Peace of Nicias of 421 B.C. for much of the events thereafter are entangled in the events surrounding the Macedonian conquest of the north culminating in 348 B.C. with the destruction by Philip II of many cities. I prefer to leave the establishment of such a history in the hands of those who specialize in Macedonian - Greek relationships prior to the former's domination.

(1.3) Sources and Methodology

There are two types of primary sources that will be used in the compilation of this thesis paper. The first type pertains to the ancient sources that mention one or more

¹ *HM-I*, p. 420-440.

² *Ibid.*, p. 417.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 203. Hammond suggests that the expulsion of the Pieres occurred around 650 BC..

of the four colonies under study and/or Andros, the mother city. The second type of primary source consists of the published excavation reports of the sites in question.

The ancient sources will yield a considerable amount of information on the colonies of Andros which permit an attempt, such as this one, to establish a socio-economic history of these colonies. Without the passages from Herodotus, Thucydides, Strabo, and Plutarch to name a few, to attempt an in depth study of the colonies would be futile since the excavation reports on the four colonies would be insufficient. For example, it would seem at this point in the research that few excavations have taken place at Sane, hence, few excavation reports. However, it seems, at first glance, that out of the four colonies, it is possible to extract out of the ancient sources more information on Sane than any other colony.

Each passage will be analyzed systematically. It is essential to decipher each passage and to establish what is certain, what is probable, and what is mere story telling or mythological. It is just as important to establish the credibility of the author before accepting as granted any information extracted from a passage. The author's credibility will depend on consistency of his work and when it was written.

The other primary source, the excavation reports, serve two basic purposes. The first consists of confirming information extracted from the literature such as a foundation date. The pottery found on each of the sites will either confirm or refute the alleged dates. Secondly, a proper analysis of the pottery found on each of the sites will help build a socio-economic history of each site. A proper statistical analysis of the said pottery will provide a realistic idea of the colonies' trading partners, their attitude towards each other and towards the mother city in terms of trade.

Architectural remains should also help give a general idea of the prosperity and the urban history of each site. Since not all the sites have been excavated in the same manner or to the same extent, it will be difficult to compare results. For example, the urban sector of Argilos has been the subject of many excavations in recent years, however, it will not be possible to draw any conclusions on the city plan of Akanthos since only the necropolis has been excavated at any length. Fortunately, topographical surveys of the general area of the ancient city should give a good idea of the overall size of the city. Furthermore, by examining the remains of the necropolis diligently, obtaining a general idea of the overall prosperity of the population should be possible.

In addition to the literature and excavation reports of Andros and its colonies, it will be imperative to consider the ancient sources and the historiography of other sites with which the colonies of Andros will be compared and contrasted. Such will be the case with Thasos and its *peraea*. The role of Thasos in the area of the lower Strymonic

valley and Mt. Pangaeon cannot be disregarded when trying to interpret the role of the Andrian colonies. The same procedure must be followed in consideration with the major sites on the Chalcidice peninsula such as Olynthos and Corinthian Potidaea.

Finally, through the same types of primary sources, it will be as imperative to obtain an understanding of the role played by Chalcis and Eretria on Euboea in the expansion of the Greek world in general and its role as the leader in the colonization of Chalcidice. Determining, whether or not the Chalcidians actually helped the Andrians when the latter set out to colonize Sane is a question that will necessitate much attention since the literature lends credence to this fact but archaeology has yet to say its word.

Other background information pertinent to this study will be obtained from such authorities as Hammond, Boardman, Graham, Bérard, and a multitude of other authors which have published articles related to either colonization in the north or the populations of Thrace and Macedonia.

(1.4) Outline of Thesis

Prior to embarking on the part of this thesis which deals directly with the Andrian colonies, it is important to obtain an understanding of the colonization of the northern Aegean coast as a whole. In light of this need, the second section of this thesis will place particular emphasis on the various aspects of the colonization enterprises undertaken by **Euboea**, by far the most active colonizer, and **Paros**, Thasos' mother city.

The core of this thesis, sections 3, 4, and 5, will deal with Andros and its colonies, Sane, Akanthos, Stagira, and Argilos. Essentially, this core includes a systematic look at the **ancient sources**, an overview of the archaeological excavations that have taken place, a rundown of the **archaeological remnants**, and lastly, an **analysis** of the said remains and finds coupled with the literary sources will establish the socio-economic history of the Andrian colonies as a whole and on an individual basis. The analysis will also include a comprehensive outline of the social and political situation in Thrace and Macedonia prior and contemporary to Andrian colonization so that the relations and interactions between the colonies and the indigenous tribes may be accounted for.

The sixth and concluding section will resume what has been accomplished and what is left to be done. There will also be a brief look at the difficulties encountered while writing this paper.

(2.0) Colonization of the Northern Aegean Coast

The principle colonizers of the northern Aegean were Euboea, Paros, and Andros. In order to get a better understanding of the role played by Andros, it is imperative to examine the colonization efforts undertaken by Paros and Euboea along the northern shore of the Aegean Sea. A better understanding of the role played by these other players in the north will, without a doubt, help the interpretation of the role played by Andros in the area and make up for the lack of primary and secondary sources available for Andros and its colonies.

(2.1) Why Colonize?

In the past, the most widely rendered explanation for the colonization of any site has been, overpopulation. The demographic explosion which culminated at the end of the Geometric period has been considered to be the single most important factor which led to the massive colonization movement of the Archaic period. However, for reasons that will be made clear a little later, this supposed population boom seems to be refuted more and more as being a principle cause of the colonization movement of the 8th and 7th c. B.C. The case is no different for Paros' colonization of Thasos and the subsequent colonial activity of Thasos on the northern shores of the Aegean.

For Danièle Berranger, the overpopulation theory is possible, but remains unproven because we don't have any relatively precise ideas of what the populations of the Archaic city-states were, including Paros.¹ Berranger suggests that the population of Paros in the Archaic period was anywhere between 6 000 and 9 000 people. This figure hardly dictates the necessity to rid the island of a considerable amount of men.² If we discard the probability of a demographic explosion as being at the root of the colonization movement, as does Berranger, then we eliminate the principle cause which forced the Greeks to colonize. We therefore can not speak of actual "causes", but rather of "reasons" for colonization. To speak of causes implies that the Parians had no choice but to colonize in order to assure their survival. It seems here more appropriate to speak of the Parians as a people who chose to colonize in order to profit from their ventures, whether it be for monetary or "social" profit.

Berranger also concludes that Paros was no poorer than any of the neighboring

¹ D. Berranger, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la prosopographie de Paros à l'époque archaïque*, Clermont - Ferrand, 1992, p. 156.

² *Ibid.*

islands.¹ How else can one explain the prosperity which Paros enjoyed during the 6th c. B.C.? As Berranger points out, there are many more obvious reasons to explain Paros' affluence in the 6th c. B.C. than in the 7th, but, there is no reasonable way to imagine that this prosperity was born out of nothingness. Therefore, we must conclude that Paros' 6th c. B.C. prosperity evolved out of an already existing, albeit modest, 7th c. B.C. state of flourishing.²

Paros' relative well-being prior to colonization can also be explained by the attested commercial activity that Paros incurred as early as the end of the 8th c. B.C.³ This activity is confirmed by Parian pottery found in Samos, Chios, Siphnos, and Thrace.⁴ This fact and the attested colonial activity of Paros, combined with the archaeological finding on Paros which show the existence of numerous ports and perhaps even a ship building yard, implies that a relatively important fleet of ships existed at an early date on Paros and that these ships were most likely Parian built.⁵

Of course, ship building necessitates wood, and Thrace had wood, lots of wood, and many other natural resources of importance. Thasos had wood, as well as gold, silver, marble, and fertile valleys which made the island an attractive "investment" for numerous reasons. First of all, Thasos provided natural resources that the Parians were accustomed to work with, such as wood for ship building, as well as marble. Secondly, the fertile valleys would serve to attract and motivate the unhappy peasant farmer on Paros to embark on the colonial expedition. Those responsible for initiating the colonizing venture no doubt needed people to fight the indigenous population of Thasos in order to take possession of the island. Those who took part either received land as reward and/or benefited from the booty. Last, but not least, Thasos offered the Parians a strategic emplacement in order to set their sights on the Thracian mainland which, of course, eventually became the so-called Thasian *peraea*.

The distribution of land among the peasant farmers taking part in a colonization expedition, whether it may of Parian or Euboean origin, would also have contributed enormously to appeasing the social tensions at home caused by the lack of land at that time. Not that there was an actual shortage of land, but most of the land, as was the case in Paros, was in the hands of the aristocrats,⁶ and this meant that none was available for the peasant farmer to exploit for himself.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 36-39.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 155.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 161.

4 *Ibid.* with reference to: H. Prinze, *Funde aus Naukratis*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 88.

5 *Op. cit.*, D. Berranger, p. 159.

6 *Ibid.*

To all these reasons for colonization we may add one more, the slave trade. Of all the peripheral populations of Greece, the Scythians and Thracians were the first to be exploited for the purpose of slave trading.¹

Just as was the case on Thasos, there is evidence of Greeks and Phoenicians living side by side on Elba.² An inscribed amphora, reused for a child's burial in the Late Geometric II period is the reference most often used to indicate that Phoenicians could bury their dead within Greek cemeteries.³ This leads us to consider once again that it may have been the Phoenicians, as they seem to have done with the Parians and Thasos, who introduced the Euboeans to the northern coast.

The extremely fertile land to be found in the immediate vicinities of Cyme and Pithecusa certainly served as one of the principal attractions of the area but, it would be foolish to assume that it represents the sole motivating factor. There are plenty of other fertile sites closer to Greece, which were subsequently colonized a little later, that could have fulfilled this purpose had it been the only criteria.⁴

It has also been greatly considered, due to the abundant evidence for metal working at Pithecusa, that the search for metals represented one of the principal motivating factors for the said colonization.⁵ This hypothesis is strongly supported by a piece of mineral iron from the Scarico Gosetti which proved to have come from Pithecusa.⁶ However, once again, it would be wrong to assume that the search for metals represented the sole motivating factor. If iron ore deposits represented such an important criteria in the selection process, the Euboeans need not have traveled so far in order to fulfill their goals, in view of the numerous iron ore deposits in the immediate vicinity of Euboea, most notably in Central Euboea and North-East Boeotia (Fig. 1),⁷ though it is possible that the Euboeans were simply not aware of these sites which would partly contribute in explaining why they ventured so far. Therefore, in the end, the initial colonization movement of the Euboeans can mostly be attributed to a combination of factors which were present at the sites they selected.

¹ Y. Garlan, *Les esclaves en grèce ancienne*, Paris, 1984, p.60.

² G. Buchner, «Testimonianze epigrafiche semitiche del viii secolo a.C. a Pithekoussai», *Parola del Passato* 33, 1978, 130-142.

³ *Op. cit.*, A.J. Graham, *CAH*, p.101.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁵ T.J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks*, Oxford, 1978, p. 3.

⁶ G. Buchner, «Pithecusa: scavi e scoperte 1966-71», *Le genti non greche della Magna Grecia. Atti del undicesimo convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia*, Naples, 1972, p. 361-74.

⁷ D.A. Wray, "Greece: Its Geology and Mineral Resources", *The Mining Magazine*, XL, 1929, p.9-17.

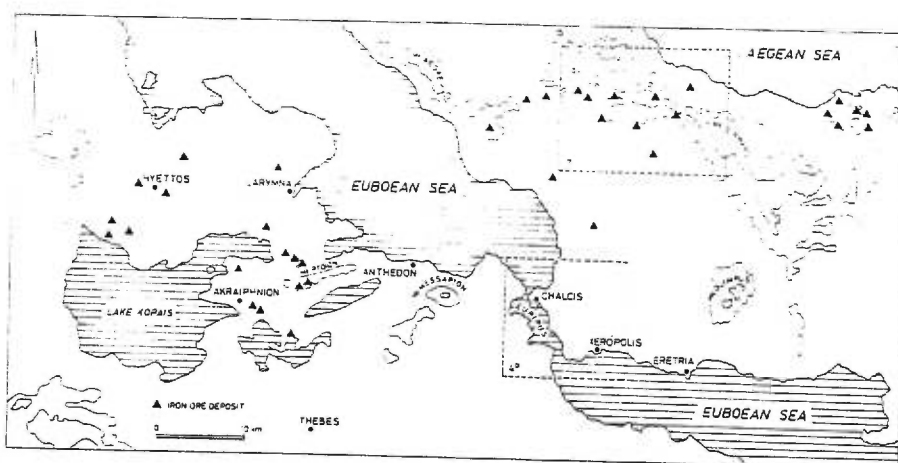


Fig. 1: Iron ore deposits of NE Boeotia and Central Euboea¹

If the Euboeans, as it was supposed for the Parians, ventured west in search of social and monetary profit, attained by ridding their homeland of an undesired population and exploiting the natural resources of the colonial environment, they may have ventured so far west due to the fact that they were not aware at the time of other sites which fulfilled the predetermined criteria. Knowledge of the sites may have come from the Phoenicians or, if the Euboeans were aware of other sites which would have been suitable for their colonization needs, they may have opted to avoid them based on potential foundation difficulties.

(2.2) Overpopulation

As mentioned earlier, the most accepted active cause of colonization for the 8th c. B.C. is overpopulation. Active in the sense that the Greeks acted in order to relieve the effects of the demographic pressure at home.² This widely accepted theory is supported by: 1) the increase in the number of settlements in the Aegean during the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.;³ 2) the steep rise in the number of wells in Athens;⁴ and 3) the increase in the number of tombs dating to Late Geometric I period.⁵

J.N. Coldstream has suggested that the rise in the number of wells reflects a

1 Source: *Op. cit.*, S.C. Bakhuizen, p. 57.
 2 *Op. cit.*, A.J. Graham, *CAH*, p. 157.
 3 I. Morris, *Burial and Ancient Society. The Rise of the Greek City-State*, Cambridge, 1987, p. 159.
 4 J.N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, London, 1977, p. 221.
 5 A.M. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece. The Age of Experiment*, London, 1980, p. 24-25.

doubling of the population in Athens during the 8th c. B.C. For his part, A.M. Snodgrass compared the number of tombs in Attica dating to the Protogeometric period to that of the Late Geometric period and came to the conclusion that there was a 4% per annum population growth rate which he deemed to be explosive. With the evidence from the Argolid reflecting that of Attica, Snodgrass deemed it fit to generalize the phenomenon. Snodgrass' theory is supported in part by J.R. Green, whose examination of the covered floor space at the Geometric settlement of Andros also yields evidence of an increase in population concurrent with those of Attica and the Argolid.¹

However, the supposed population explosion accounted for by the increase in LG burials becomes doubtful in light of the fact that not all age groups are represented for each period (i.e. child burials are relatively absent from the PG to MG periods) and considering the imperfections of the traditional chronological system which leads to the misconception supposing an increase in late 8th c. burials, and a decrease in those of the 7th century.²

C.W. Neeft suggests that traditional dating "constipates" material to the second half of the 8th c. B.C. and leaves us with very little material for the first half of the 7th c. B.C. Neeft proposes a down-dating of the Protocorinthian chronology³ which would lead to a lengthening of LG period which would, in turn, diminish the number of LG tombs attributed to the late 8th c. B.C. and increase those belonging to the early 7th c. B.C. This being said, if we consider the proposed down-dating of Corinthian material, the so-called demographic explosion becomes hardly more than a spark.

Lastly, J.P. Crielaard reminds us that the limited occupation areas of Naxos and Leontini, established shortly after Pithecusa and Cyme, also lend less and less credence to the theory that demographic pressure forced the Euboeans to colonize. Crielaard adds that the Chalcidians' colonizing procedure used in the founding of Naxos and Leontini, as well as Zankle and Rhegion, included the enlistment of additional colonists from other places.⁴

¹ J.R. Green, «Zagora-Population increase and Society in the Later Eighth Century B.C.», in J.P. Descoeudres(ed.), *Eumousia, Ceramic, and Iconographic Studies in Honour of A. Cambitoglou (MeditArch Suppl. 1)*, Sydney, 1990, p. 41-46.

² J.P. Crielaard, *Euboeans Overseas: Long Distance Contacts and Colonization as Status Activities in Early Iron Age Greece*, Phd., University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, 1996, p. 299-301. See *Op. Cit.*, I. Morris, p. 57-167. Concerning chronology see: J.McK. Camp, «A Drought in the Late Eight Century B.C.», *Hesperia*, 48, 1979, p. 397-411.

³ C.W. Neeft, *Protocorinthian Subgeometric Aryballoi*, Amsterdam, 1987, p. 380.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, J.P. Crielaard, Chapter 18.

(2.3.)Paros

The colonization efforts undertaken by Paros in the first half of the 7th c. B.C. are among the most well known and documented for the period in question due to the numerous excavations that have taken place on Paros, Thasos, and the Thasian colonies. Unfortunately, in spite of the abundance of ancient sources concerning the colonization of Thasos and the events surrounding it, the exact foundation date of Thasos is unknown. The bulk of the knowledge we have on Parian colonization comes from the ancient writings of Archilochos, the most famous of all Parians. The fragments which remain from his work must inevitably contribute to any attempt at laying out the history of Paros' colonization of Thasos.¹ It is Archilochos' father who brought the first settlers to Thasos, and Tellis, Archilochos' grandfather, who introduced the cult of Demeter to Thasos, sometime before the actual colonizing of the island took place.² Archilochos himself took part in one of the colonizing expeditions to Thasos, though it is unsure whether he was part of the first expedition or if he simply took part in one of the subsequent ventures.

(2.3.1)The Colonization of Thasos

Paros is said to have possibly colonized a total of five sites, of which three are unconfirmed as having been established by Paros. One other was established in the 4th c. B.C., and is therefore outside the period under study. The remaining colony is Thasos. This being said, Thasos, and only Thasos, will be considered in this section. Of course, one cannot examine the colonization of Thasos without also examining its *peraea*.

Having briefly laid out "why" Parian colonization took place, it follows to determine "when" and "how" the colonization of Thasos took place. Needless to say, the foundation date of Thasos is irrefutably linked to Archilochos' chronology. It has already been made clear that Archilochos took part in the colonization of Thasos, therefore, it seems logical to conclude that if we can date when he went to Thasos, we can date the foundation of the colony. Such a correlation would situate the foundation of Thasos between 660 B.C. and 650 B.C. in accordance with the solar eclipse of 648 B.C., which Archilochos witnessed while in Thasos.³ This dating seems logical and obvious enough, however, a relatively new question throws this logic off balance. Was

¹ *Op. cit.*, D. Berranger, p.153.

² *Ibid.*, p.157.

³ R. Martin, «Thasos, colonie de Paros», *ASAA*, XLV, 1983, p. 172.

Archilochos part of the first contingent to Thasos or was he among one of the subsequent voyages?

R. Martin suggests that the process of colonization took place in three distinct phases: the first involves pre-colonial contacts and the implementation of the cult of Demeter on Thasos by Archilochos' grandfather, Tellis; soon after, Telesicles, wrongly assumed by A.J. Graham as being one and the same with Tellis,¹ led the first colonial expedition to Thasos of which Archilochos was not a part of; lastly, an expansion phase, in which Archilochos took part, involved the Thasian expansion onto the northern shores of the Aegean and the establishment of Thasian *peraea*.² The archaeological evidence from the Thasian sites along the Thracian coast suggest that the Thasian expansion started in the middle of the 7th c. B.C.³ According to R. Martin, the actual foundation of Thasos by Archilochos' father was no doubt a full generation before this expansion and therefore can be dated to 690-680 B.C.⁴

The earliest Greek pottery found on Thasos, more specifically, in Aliki dates to the same period as does the abandonment of an indigenous site on the island. This site, situated near Theologos, occupied since the Neolithic period was abandoned at the beginning of the 7th c. B.C. which could correspond to the arrival of the Parians.⁵

The Heracleian sanctuary on the northern end of the island, located within the site of Thasos at its southern extremity, represents a particular point of interest for its existence is often linked to the presence of the Phoenicians on the island.⁶ The sanctuary itself may have been founded prior to the arrival of the Parians,⁷ which of course makes us wonder whether or not the Phoenicians lent the Parians a hand as it is so often suggested for other colonial establishments. Whether the Phoenicians contributed or not to the arrival of the Parians doesn't take away the fact that there was some sort of cohabitation aspect involved when Thasos was ultimately colonized by the Parians. It has even been suggested that the early 6th c. B.C. habitations found just east of the sanctuary were of indigenous origin which entails that Greeks and Thracians lived side by side on the island.⁸ This hypothesis is further supported by the fact Thracian names are found among the first Thasian epigraphic documents.⁹ This fact further

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 173; In accordance with R. Martin, see: J. Pouilloux, «Archiloque et Thasos: histoire et poésie», in *Fondation HARDT - pour l'étude de l'antiquité classique, Entretiens*, T. X, Geneva, 1964, p. 9.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Études thasiennes*, VIII, 1979.

⁶ Herodotus, II, 4; VI, 47.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, R. Martin, p. 174.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

⁹ *Ibid.*

suggests that mixed marriages were not uncommon. Even Archilochos' mother is said to be Thracian.¹ This being said, an assimilation process seems to have occurred at the onset of the colonization rather than a violent takeover of the island. If this is the case, Archilochos' accounts of violent combats between the Parian and Thracians pertain to those incidences stemming from the Thasian takeover of the mainland and the establishment of its *peraea*.²

(2.3.2) Mother-City/Colony Relations

More than a few factors attest to the fact that Paros and Thasos maintained exceptionally close ties from the latter's foundation well into the 5th c. B.C. As indicated by the establishment of the cult of Demeter by Tellis before the colonization of Thasos took place, there are many similarities to be found in the various cults of both islands. There is a clear Parian influence present in the Thasian alphabet and dialect as well as a definite relation between the onomastics of both islands. Even their calendars show similarities. At least six Thasian months are identical to those of Paros.³

However, the most striking evidence attesting to the strong mother city - colony relations, elaborated upon in greater detail a little further down, can be found in: 1) The similarities of the political structure of both islands; 2) Archilochos himself, whose voyage to Thasos serves as evidence for the close ties maintained between Paros and its colony; and 3) the Parian decision to favor Chalcis in the Andrian-Chalcis conflict concerning Akanthos.

1) The magistrates and other political institutions of Paros can be found on Thasos in some similar state or form. One group of magistrates called, *theoroi*, is almost solely unique to Paros and Thasos.⁴ The *theoroi*, consisted of a group of high-ranking annual officers, responsible for law and order, including the confiscation of properties.⁵ The most striking evidence to be found supporting this theory of close relations, comes in an example resembling isopolity. Akeratos' career in politics included an archonship in Paros as well as on Thasos.⁶ Perhaps not simultaneously, but the mere fact that he held such a position in both places within a reasonable time span is representative of the close ties between Thasos and Paros.⁷

¹ *Op. cit.*, Y. Garlan, p. 60

² *Op. cit.*, R. Martin, p. 175.

³ *Op. cit.*, D. Berranger, p. 307.

⁴ F. Salviat, «Thasiaca», *BCH*, Suppl. V, p. 107-127.

⁵ L.H. Jeffrey, *Archaic Greece: The City-States, c. 700 - 500B.C.*, London, 1976, p. 182.

⁶ *I.G.*, XII, 8, suppl. 412.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, D. Berranger, p. 309-310.

2) We saw earlier that the colonizing voyage that Archilochos took part in, consisting of a thousand men,¹ was not the first and was most likely a whole generation after the initial foundation of Thasos. We also saw that it coincided with the beginnings of the Thasian *peraea*, which leads us to suppose that this particular excursion was the result of a distress call or a simple request from the Thasians who probably needed help in controlling the indigenous populations of Thrace. It is also stipulated that it is not impossible that the Parians took part in the colonization of Eion which was colonized in the Classical period.² This being said, it seems evident that Paros also took part in conquering of the northern shores of the Aegean by Thasos, perhaps in order to serve their own interest for, as we know, Thrace was rich in the principal natural resources of interest at the time.

3) Lastly, concerning the incidence from which a conflict arose between Chalcis and Andros for which Paros, as well as Samos and Erythraea were called to judge upon, Plutarch, who recounts the story suggests that the animosity between Paros and Andros arose from the fact that Paros was the only one of the three to favor Chalcis.³ However, it would seem just as logical to assume that the animosity existed beforehand and that Paros chose the side of Chalcis, a friend and ally, in order to guard their interests and prevent Andros, a rival, from settling in a region essential to the prosperity of Thasos, and Paros.⁴

All this being said, it seems evident that Paros was an active player in Thasos' implementation and consolidation of its *peraea*. Like a spider weaving its web, Paros founded Thasos, which served as the nucleus and pillar for the Paros/Thasos expansion on to the northern shores of the Aegean. It does not seem that the original expedition intended for Paros to establish additional colonies in Thrace for more than a generation separates the foundation of Thasos and the first colony on the coast. No doubt, once established on Thasos, in view of the exploitable natural resources in Thrace, their intentions altered considerably. However, the hostile Thracians prevented the new citizens of Thasos from showing any immediate initiative. Once Thasos was well enough established and had sufficient resources to take on the indigenous tribes of Thasos, the battles for the territory which was to become the Thasian *peraea* was, without a doubt, long and arduous. The fact that Paros had to send a thousand men to help deal with the situation probably supports this theory and suggests, though impossible to prove, that the battles continued even after the colonies were implemented.

¹ *I.G.*, XII, 5, 445, A, IV, line 22.

² D. Lazaridis, *AE*, 1976, p. 164-181.

³ Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.*, 30.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, D. Berranger, p. 306.

The prosperity of Paros, exemplified by the fact that it paid the largest tribute to Athens as a member of the Delian League until it was surpassed by Thasos itself in 446 B.C., can only be accounted for if we take for granted that it benefited either directly or indirectly from the resources of the Thasos and its *peraea*.¹

At the same time as Paros, by way of Thasos, was implementing its control between the Strymon and the Naxos rivers, the Euboean cities of Chalcis and Eretria were moving rapidly through the Chalcidic peninsula, establishing colonies mostly along the shorelines of the peninsula's three prongs. However, the colonizing enterprise undertaken by each of these two city-states had a slightly different character than that of Paros.

(2.4)Euboea

The character of Euboean colonization differs greatly from that of Paros in its grandeur and method. First and foremost, one cannot speak of Euboean colonization as such since both the city-states of Chalcis and Eretria seem to have carried out independent ventures. Secondly, unlike the Parians who concentrated their efforts in Thrace, the Chalcidians and Eretrians dispersed their colonies over most of the Greek world. That is to say that they implemented colonies in the eastern and western Mediterranean regions as well as on the northern shores of the Aegean. Last, but not least, Euboean colonization began one or two generations prior to the most ancient date attributed to the beginnings of Parian colonization.

(2.4.1)The Lelantine War and Colonization

The first colony established by the Euboeans, according to archaeological finds, was Pithecusa, on the island of Elba, off the Campanian coast of Italy, in 750-725 B.C.² Cyme is said to have been settled from Pithecusa,³ which, if true, suggests that Pithecusa and Cyme were not originally intended to merely be *emporions*, but rather true settlements.⁴

Pithecusa and Cyme have long been acknowledged as having been founded by both Eretria and Chalcis. This theory is at best hard to believe for a number of reasons. The most important being that these two city-states were at one time or another at arms

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 305-306.

² *Op. cit.*, A.J. Graham, *CAH*, p. 97-103.

³ Livy, VIII, 22, 5-6.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, A.J. Graham, *CAH*, p. 97-103.

against one another in the infamous Lelantine War.¹ The exact time period in which this war took place has long been speculated upon, and the truth is that no one knows exactly when it took place. It is relatively certain that it did not take place after 650 B.C. for the social situation simply could not have called the need for a war over a fertile plain. Chalcis and Eretria were in full expansion at this point and time, and the knowledge and means to find land elsewhere in the Greek world was readily available, had it have been imperative to do so.

Whether or not the war took place prior to the foundation of Pithecusa or after matters not when one considers that a war of such magnitude, one which dragged into it all of the Greek world,² would certainly not have warranted an alliance between the two city-states.

Secondly, if by chance an alliance had been formed in order to achieve common goals such as profit or relieving social strife at home, why weren't any of the colonies following the establishment of Cyme in 725 B.C. a result of joint ventures.

Last but not least, the ancient source which attributes the founding of Pithecusa and Cyme to both Chalcidians and Eretrians is Strabo.³ All others refer only to Chalcis, therefore we can assume here, as Bakhuizen so mildly put it, that the theory proclaiming cooperation between the two city-states rests entirely on this Strabonian "short-circuit".⁴

However, the possibility of a joint venture remains, but the settling of these two western colonies would have to have been prior to the actual Lelantine War. This dating for the war, sometime after the establishment of the first Euboean colonies in Italy, would explain a lot including the period of inactivity following the end of the 8th c. B.C. For one, colonial activity seems to have stopped temporarily at this time;⁵ and secondly, the import of Aegean pottery to Cyprus and the Levant witnessed a sharp decline.⁶ Also, it seems, as Jean Bérard points out, that colonists from Thrace participated in the conflict.⁷ Also, if we establish a date for the war, which shortly follows the establishment of Pithecusa and Cyme, it may help us to understand why the Eretrian colonists, which eventually were to colonize Methone in the Thrace along the Gulf of Therme, were turned back upon their return to Euboea after having been expelled from

¹ Herodotus, V, 99; Thucydides, I, 15.

² C.G. Star, *The Economic and Social Growth of Early Greece: 800-500 B.C.*, New York, 1977, p.24.

³ Strabo, V, 4, 9.

⁴ S.C. Bakhuizen, *Chalcis in Euboea, Iron and Chalcidians Abroad*, Leiden, 1976, p. 19-22.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, A.J. Graham, *CAH*, p. 160-162.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, J.P. Creilaard, p. 186-187.

⁷ J. Bérard, *L'expansion et la colonisation grecques*, Paris, 1960, p. 66.

Coreyra.¹ Upon arriving at Euboea, the Eretrian colonists could either have been forced to retreat by Chalcis or simply chose to fled upon learning of the conflict.

Therefore, the actual colonization of the Chalcidic peninsula by the Euboeans undoubtedly took place in a second phase of Euboean colonization, after the Lelantine War, which perhaps immediately preceded it. If this second phase of colonization by the Euboeans was necessary in order to remedy the social strife which either was at the root of the Lelantine War or part of its legacy, it would explain why the Euboeans colonized so many sites as of the middle of the 7th c. B.C. and in such a short time. It would also explain why the Chalcidic peninsula was literally divided among the two city-states in the Archaic period.

Aside from Methone which was established as early as 733 B.C., the Eretrians colonized a number of sites on Pallene, the most westerly prong of the Chalcidic peninsula. These sites include Mende, Sane, and Scione; the latter has long thought to have been settled by the Achaeans following the Trojan War but, was most probably resettled during the massive colonization movement of the 7th c. B.C.² Chalcis colonized the middle prong of the peninsula establishing Meczyberna, Sermyle, Gale, Torone, Sarte, Singos, Pilorus, and Assera.³ According to Thucydides, Chalcis also colonized a number of sites on Acte, but these sites were established as late as the Classical period and he also recognizes that the non-Greek population remained strong.⁴

The link to be made between Andros and the Lelantine War is inevitable if one considers the proximity of the island to Euboea, its supposed subjection to Eretria,⁵ and the fact that the Geometric site of Zagora, at the northern extremity of Andros was destroyed/abandoned at the same time as Lefkandi on Euboea, that is, at the end of the 8th c. B.C.⁶

(2.4.2)Lefkandi: "Old" Eretria or "Old" Chalcis?

Lefkandi must be included in any study of Euboean colonization for it is often considered as being one and the same with Eretria.⁷ The abandonment of the site is also

¹ Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.*, 11.

² *Op. cit.*, J. Bérard, p.66-68.

³ *Op. cit.* A.J. Graham, *CAH*, p. 115.

⁴ Thucydides, IV, 109.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, J. Bérard, p. 94.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, C.G. Starr, p. 31.

⁷ L. Kahil, «Érétrie à l'époque géométrique», *ASAA*, XLIII,1981; P. Auberson, et al., «Chalcis-Lefkandi-Érétrie au VIIIe siècle» dans *Contribution à l'étude de la société et de la colonisation eubéenne*,

closely related in time to the second phase of Euboean colonization and the Lelantine War. The steadily decreasing importance of Lefkandi in the 8th c. B.C. linked to the growing prosperity of Eretria, especially as of the middle of this same century, suggests that a migration from Lefkandi to Eretria took place eventually leaving Lefkandi completely abandoned.¹ Was this migration a result of the Lelantine War or had Eretria become so prosperous that it had become ridiculous to stay in Lefkandi? Both are likely. Then again, why wouldn't the citizens of Lefkandi have migrated to Chalcis on the other side of the plain?

The distance between Chalcis and Lefkandi is 7kms less than between Eretria and Lefkandi. S.C. Bakhuizen suggests that during the course of the 8th century, the "new" Eretrians may have become a threat to Lefkandi, forcing its inhabitants to abandon the town and move to Chalcis.² Bakhuizen supports this stipulation by arguing that even though a natural barrier (Mt. Olympus) existed between the Lelantine Plain and the Eretrian Plain, the coastal strip which lay between Lefkandi and Eretria provided the inhabitants of the island with a relatively easy east-west passage.³ The likelihood of a move from Lefkandi to Chalcis is further encouraged by the fact that Chalcis possessed a natural harbor which certainly would have been accommodating in view of the growing naval activity to and from Euboea.⁴

A closer look at the topography of the island reveals that a war between Eretria and Chalcis would inevitably include Lefkandi for it is situated between the two on the eastern extremity of the plain (Map 2). In fact, looking at the topography of the island, a war over the Lelantine Plain seems more likely to have been an affair between Chalcis and Lefkandi rather than Eretria which is situated 15kms east of the plain and 22kms from Chalcis itself on the other side of the plain.⁵ However, even in light of this skepticism, the fact remains that the war was fought between Chalcis and Eretria, for even if Eretria is located quite a distance away from the Lelantine Plain, if the much smaller Eretrian Plain, situated within the Eretrian territory, began to yield less than favorable results, Eretria's attempt to take control of the Lelantine Plain is no longer surprising.

Naples, 1975.

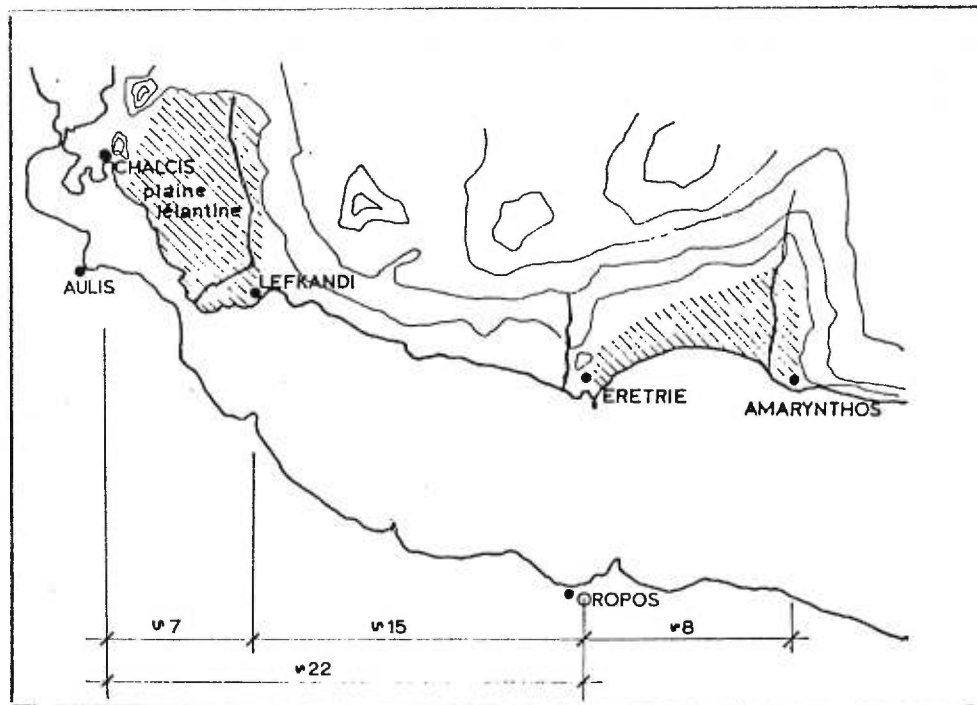
¹ *Op. cit.*, L. Kahil, p.165-173.

² *Op. cit.*, S.C. Bakhuizen, p. 9.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 8-9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 75-76.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, P. Auberson, p. 13-14.



Map 2: Plan of Chalcis, Eretria, and Lefkandi region¹

(2.4.3) Chalcidian Supremacy?

Having established the probability that Pithecusa and Cyme were not the result of a joint venture between the Chalcidians and Eretrians,² it leads us to wonder whether these two city-states acted as equals in the Euboean colonization movement or that one exerted a supremacy over the other. Many authors even refer to the Lelantine War as being representative of the conflicting colonial-commercial interests of the two city-states.³

If we deny the Eretrians an active part in the founding of Pithecusa and Cyme, the only Eretrian colonies that can be identified with any certainty are those situated in western Chalcidice.⁴ If this is considered to be conclusive then, Eretria would fall in the same class of *polis* as Andros. Assuming, as Bakhuizen suggests, that none of the Eretrian colonies in western Chalcidice belong to the 8th century,⁵ the colonial histories

¹ Source: *Ibid.*, p. 15

² *Infra*, Sect. 2.4.1, p. 18-20.

³ See: A.R. Burn, *JHS*, XLIX, 1929, p.31-35; M.Cary, *CAH* III, 1982, p. 621-622; and J.Boardman, *BSA*, LII, 1957, p. 27.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, S.C. Bakhuizen, p.24.

⁵ *Ibid.*

of Andros and Eretria practically become one and the same.

As mentioned earlier, the 8th century represents for Eretria a time in which the relatively new city-state flourished, perhaps to the demise of Lefkandi. It seems illogical to coincide this prosperous expansion with an Eretrian colonization movement. Could a Greek city-state of the 8th c. B.C. have enough human and material resources to accommodate both expansions, at home and abroad? To my knowledge, this double-prosperity is not possible and is not represented by any other Greek city-state of the 8th century. Therefore, the only real colonizer from Euboea in the 8th c. B.C. is Chalcis. It is uncertain whether this supremacy continued into the 7th century, more specifically, through the time period when the Chalcidic peninsula was massively colonized by the Chalcidians, Eretrians, and Andrians.

However, Eretria, the "rowing town", is one which according to Strabo held some kind of rule over Andros and other Cycladic islands.¹ Therefore, as much as Eretria's role is diminished by its seemingly inactive role in the colonization movement of the 8th c. B.C., Strabo forces us to consider strongly that Eretria was a dominant figure closer to home. This theory is supported by archaeological evidence from the Geometric site of Zagora on Andros which has yielded large quantities of Eretrian pottery belonging to the Geometric period.² These finds have even lead J.P. Descoeudres to theorize that Zagora was an Eretrian colony.³

Though it is mere exaggeration to state that Zagora was an Eretrian colony based solely on the close resemblance of the material finds, it is not too futile to accept, based on these same finds, that Eretria did in fact play an important role in the trade industry of the Cycladic realm. In other words, they got around.

(2.5)Paros/Euboea: Concluding Remarks

In the end, the nature of Euboean and Parian colonizing ventures may differ to a certain extent on matters such as the relations entertained with the indigenous populations or between the colonies and the mother cities but, collectively, they can be taken to be representative of the colonization of the northern Aegean coast in the 7th c. B.C.

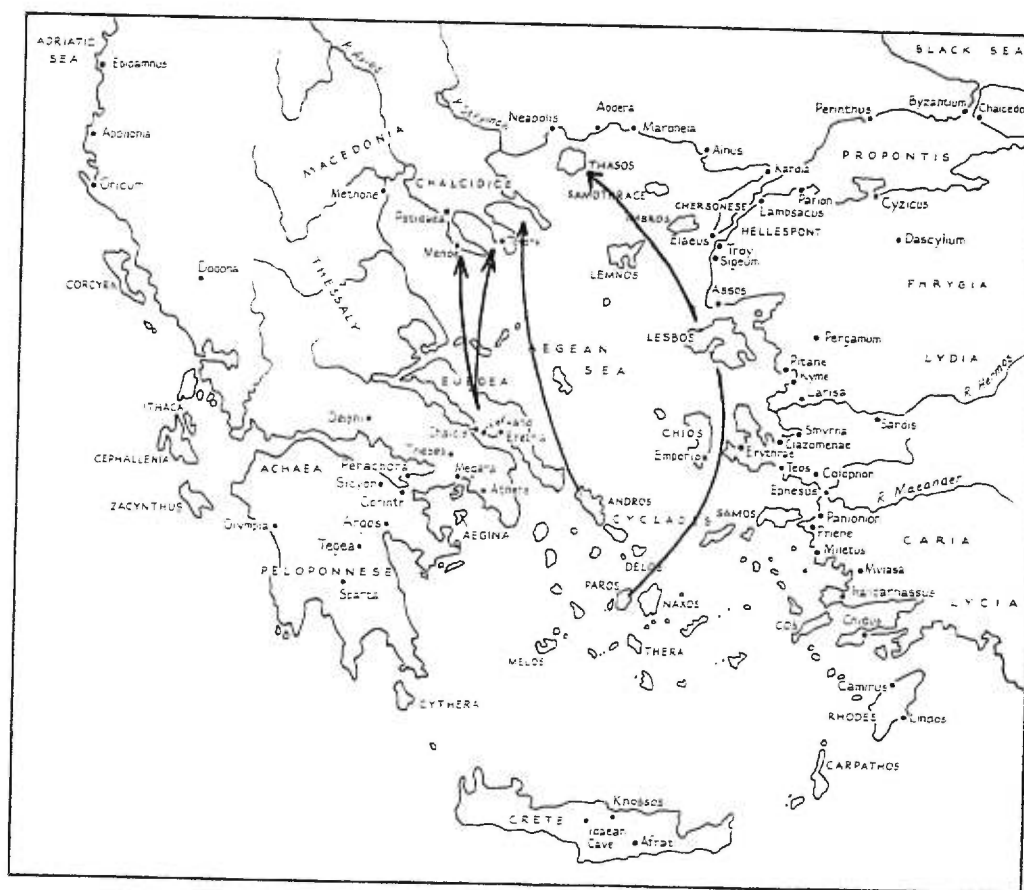
The fact that Chalcis, Eretria, and Paros undertook their expeditions prior to any Andrian initiative is explicatory of the pattern of the overall distribution of the Greek

¹ Strabo, X, 1, 10.

² A. Cambitoglou, *Zagora I. Excavation Season 1967; Study Season 1968-9*, Sydney, 1971.

³ J.P. Descoeudres, «Zagora auf der Insel Andros - Eine Eretrische Kolonie?», *AK*, XVI, 1973, p.87-88.

colonies in the north. The geographical emplacement of both islands predetermined to some extent the actual region that were to be settled. Situated along the eastern coast of the Greek mainland, it is natural for the city-states of Euboea to have sailed north along this coast to colonize Chalcidice (Map 3), in a subsequent manner, from west to east. For its part, Paros, one of the easternmost islands of the Cyclades, was undoubtedly accustomed to traveling north along the coast of Asia Minor as demonstrated by the Parian fragments found on Samos and Chios. Pre-colonial trade and travel by these two islands serving to establish distinct sea routes, it is no longer surprising to see that the distribution of colonies became as such with Paros colonizing Thasos and sites east of the Strymon, while Chalcis and Eretria colonized from the Thermaic Gulf eastwards.



Map 3: Geographically imposed colonization routes

The geographical situation of Andros, in close proximity to Euboea, suggests that Andros' would colonize following the Euboean pattern. Perhaps, under Chalcidian influence, as may be interpreted from Plutarch, or simply because there was a lack of Chalcidian colonists, the Andrians ventured north and subsequently established Sane, Akanthos, Stagira, and Argilos.¹ Had the geographical emplacement of Andros resembled more that of Paros, or had Paros, rather than Chalcis, lent a guiding hand to Andros in their colonizing enterprise, the geographical emplacement of the Andrian colonies would have been quite different, resembling those of the Thasian colonies which were undoubtedly established in a subsequent manner from east to west. The location of the Andrian colonies remaining the same, the colonies of a Parian influenced Andros would, at the very least, have been established in the reverse order, Argilos being first, then Stagira, Akanthos, and Sane.

¹ *Infra*, 5.1.2, p. 74-76.

(3.0) Ancient Sources

In order to properly approach the study of the colonies of Andros, it is imperative to examine all primary written sources that either implicate directly or indirectly Andros and/or its colonies. The purpose is to retain only those sources that have relevance and help establish a socio-economic history of the Andrian colonies. The sources that were not retained either dealt with one of the sites in question in a manner that was irrelevant to the purpose of this study or dealt with a period which lay outside its chronological limitations.¹ For its part, the passage dealing with Akanthos which has survived from the fragmentary work of *auctor ad Nicomedem regem*, commonly known as Pseudo-Skymnos, is of such poor quality that it becomes too uncertain to be useful to this study.² Eusebius, from whom the actual foundation date of 655/54 B.C. for Akanthos and Stagira is obtained, has been left out on account of his chronological remoteness from the actual events.³ A complete list of all sources implicating Andros and/or its colonies, relevant or not, is laid out in the bibliography.

(3.1) Herodotus

Book VIII, 111.

But the Greeks, now that they were no longer minded to pursue the foreigners' ships farther or sail to the Hellespont and break the way of passage, beleaguering Andros that they might take it. For the men of that place, the first islanders of whom Themistocles demanded money, would not give it; but when Themistocles gave them to understand that the Athenians had come with two great serviceable gods to aid them, even Persuasion and Necessity, and that therefore the Andrians must assuredly give money, they answered and said, "It is then but reasonable that Athens is great and prosperous, being blest with serviceable gods; as for us Andrians, we are but blest with a plentiful lack of land, and we have two unserviceable gods who never quit our island but are ever fain to dwell there, even Poverty and Impotence; being possessed of these gods, we of Andros will give no money; for the power of Athens can never be stronger than our inability."

¹ e.g. Livy, XXXI, 15, 45 concerns the refusal of the Andrians to join the Rhodians in alliance (c.200 B.C.) and Ovid, *met*, XIII offers a mythological rendition of Andros' origins. See also Aeschylus, *Pers.*, 885f; Diodorus, V, 79; XVI, 52; Olympiodorus, 31; Pausanias, X, 13,3; VI, 26,2; Pliny, II, 231; IV, 38; XXXI, 16; Plutarch, *Alex.*, 7; Xenophon, *Hell.*, I, 4, 21, 22; and Stephanos Byzantios on Andros, Sane, Stageiros, and Argilos.

² Concerning quality of text, see: A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers*, Amsterdam, 1986, p. 20.

³ Eusebius wrote his *Chronicle* in the early part of the 4th c. A.D. It has not survived in its original language or format. The most reliable version of Eusebius' work is to be found in the Armenian version of the *Chronicle* of St. Jerome who incorporated the Latin translation of Eusebius' work into his own text.

For more information see: A.A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition*, London, 1979, p. 29-31 & 73-75.

Referring to the retreat of Xerxes and the rest of the Persians, this passage is one of the more important passages retained from Herodotus. The mention of the two unserviceable gods may show that Andros is poor in land (i.e. Poverty) and that the little land that the island does possess does not yield the desired results (i.e. Impotence). The fact that these two gods never leave the island and "are ever fain to dwell there", could indicate a lack of hope on the part of the Andrians which can be attributed to being long accustomed to the situation. That is to say that the lack of good land was probably not a recent phenomenon and that perhaps it even dates back to the time of colonization, no less than 150 years or so before this event. However, it may very well be that the Andrians' poor account of their capacity to pay can be attributed to a cunning effort on their part to avoid paying Athens.

The passage also hints at the discord which reigned between Athens and Andros for the latter did not see Athens as the savior of their misery and they did not seem to perceive the Persians as a threat. Furthermore, the Persians having retreated, you would think that the Andrians would have played it safe and given money to Themistocles but, it is perhaps as they said, "the power of Athens can never be stronger than our inability".

Book VIII, 112.

...Thereby he collected great sums from the Carystians and Parians; for these were informed that Andros was besieged for taking the Persian part,...

This passage referring to the passage of Themistocles to other islands confirms Andros' allegiance to the Persians rather than the Athenians and confirms the seriousness of Themistocles' threats towards the Andrians. If the Andrians perceived these threats correctly and still chose not to give Athens any money, it may be taken to indicate the true lack of wealth on the island.

Book VII, 22.

At the mountain's landward end, it is in the form of a peninsula, and there is an isthmus of about 12 furlongs' with; here is a place of level ground or little hills, from the sea by Akanthos to the sea which is over against Torone. On this isthmus, which is at the end of Athos, there stands a Greek town, Sane; there are others too seaward of Sane and landward of Athos, which it was now the Persians' intent to make into island and not mainland towns; to wit, Dion, Olophyxis, Acrothoum, Thyssus, Cleonae.

This passage situates the canal¹ dug by Xerxes just south of Sane since Sane is

¹ Though the existence of this canal is subject to much debate, having personally witnessed what seems to be traces of the said canal while visiting the region, and taking into account the very short distance between the eastern western coasts of Acte at this particular point, it is compelling to conclude that this canal actually did exist.

not included among the cities that would become island towns. Though the plausibility of this canal is certain, it is not sure how long it lasted. If its use continued, we might expect either Sane and/or Akanthos to have had some kind of control over it.

More importantly, this passage situates Akanthos on the Strymonic Gulf and gives some indication of the relative importance of Sane and Akanthos to one another. When situating the isthmus, Herodotus chose Akanthos as a reference point in the same vain as Torone when it is clear from the passage that Sane is much closer to the location of the canal than Akanthos. In fact, according to Herodotus, Sane sits on the isthmus. Given its relative distance from the isthmus, the use of Akanthos as a reference indicates its importance in contrast to Sane.

Book VII, 23.

They drew a straight line near the town of Sane; and when the channel had been digged to some depth, some stood at the bottom of it and dug, others took the stuff as it was digged out and delivered it to yet others that stood higher on stages, and they again to others as they received it, till they came to those that were highest; these carried it out and cast it away. With all save only the Phoenicians the steep sides of the canal brake and fell, doubling the labor thereby;...

Confirming the emplacement of the canal near Sane, this extract also attests unfavorably to the strength and endurance of Xerxes' canal. Therefore, in response to the commentary brought forth in the previous passage, it seems that the canal was not in use for any extended period of time. Therefore, had either the Akanthians or Sanaeans actually have benefited from the canal's existence as a favored trade route to avoid contouring the peninsula, these benefits would have run out as the canal became less and less navigable.

Book VII, 112.

For marched under their very walls, keeping on his right the great and high Pangaeian range, wherein the Pierians and Odamanti and the Satrae in especial have mines of gold and silver.

This passage confirms the richness of the Pangaeian range in the 5th c. B.C. whose mines were owned and/or exploited by the various Thracian tribes. The situation was probably not different 150 years earlier or at least until the Thasians and/or the Athenians were able to take control of the mines, which is attested for by Thucydides at the time of Brasidas' capture of Amphipolis.¹

¹ Thucydides, IV, 105.

Book VII, 113.

Marching past the Paconians, Doberes, and Paoplae, who dwell beyond and northward of the Pangaeon mountains, he went ever westwards, till he came to the river Strymon and the city of Eion.

This passage was retained in order to demonstrate the numerous Thracian tribes which dwelt near Mt. Pangaeon and the Strymon which make it less and less likely that the Argilians had access to the mines in this region.

Book VII, 115.

Journeying from the Strymon, the army passed by Argilos, a Greek town standing on a stretch of sea-coast further westwards; the territory of which town and that which lies inland of it are called Bisaltia. Thence, keeping on his left hand the gulf of Poseideion, Xerxes traversed the plain of Sylcus (as they call it), passing by the Greek town of Stagira, and came to Akanthos; he took along with him all these tribes, and those that dwelt about the Pangaeon range, in like manner as those others whom I have already, the men of the coast serving in his fleet and the inland men in his land army. All this road, whereby king Xerxes led his army, the Thracians neither break up nor sow anything on it, but they hold it in great reverence to this day.

It is apparent that both Greeks and Thracians alike joined in Xerxes' army and fleet. From this passage we can deduce that both the coast and the inland contained mixed populations of Thracians and Greeks for Herodotus does not specify which served in his army and which served in his navy.¹ The only distinction made is that "the men of the coast serving in his fleet and the inland men in his land army." What is certain is that Greeks and Thracians, at the very least, lived in close proximity of one another which may indicate that an "understanding" existed between the two cultures. More than this, the relative ease with which Xerxes obtained both the favor of the Greeks and Thracians leads to consider that there may also have been a sort of assimilation of cultures to the extent of causing a communality of goals.²

This passage also situates Argilos within the Thracian territory of Bisaltia. In itself, this statement suggests a harmonious coexistence between the Bisaltae and the Argilians, for had the foundation of Argilos been a violent affair, would the territory settled still have been considered Bisaltia 150 years after the establishment of the Andrian colony? It may simply be however, that at a particular time prior to the passage of Xerxes, the Bisaltae were able to expand their territory up until the coast where Argilos lies.³

¹ It is either that the towns contained mixed populations or that there existed Greek towns on the inland, Thracian towns on the coast, and vice versa.

² i.e. that the northern colonies favored Persia over Athens

³ Thucydides, V, 6 in his descriptions surrounding the capture of Amphipolis by Brasidas refers to Kerdylion as being situated in Argilian territory which implies that the Bisaltae had by the time of the

By describing the emplacement of Argilos as "standing on a stretch of sea-coast" suggests that Argilos did not creep far inland and therefore can also be taken to mean that Argilos was indeed "stretched out", perhaps to include Kerdylion within its limits.

Book VII, 116.

When Xerxes came to Akanthos, he declared the Akanthians his guests and friends, and gave them a Median dress, praising them for the zeal wherewith he saw them furthering his campaign, and for what he heard of the digging of the canal.

Akanthos, it is clear, played an important role in the digging of the canal which once again suggests its superior importance over Sane. Geographically speaking, it would have been more logical to give Sane the contract considering it sits on the isthmus. Further proof of this is when Artachaees, the Persian "overseer of the digging", was sick he was brought to Akanthos, not to Sane.¹ The Akanthians held Artachaees a hero which, once again, shows the alliance Akanthos maintained with Xerxes, in spite of the fact that the Akanthians were Xerxes' guests and not the other way around.

Book VII, 118.

But the Greeks who received Xerxes' army and entertained the king himself were brought to the depth of misery; insomuch that they were driven from house and home; witness the case of the Thasians who received and feasted Xerxes' army on behalf of their towns on the mainland; Antipatros son of Orgeos, as notable a man as any of his townsmen, chosen by them for this task, rendered them an account of four hundred silver talents expended on the dinner.

The fact that Thasos entertained Xerxes on behalf of its *peraea* demonstrates the strong relationship between Thasos and its coastal colonies. The four hundred silver talents it cost to entertain Xerxes is a considerable amount which, depending on whether or not they could afford it, indicates the relative wealth of each town.

The following passage, *Book VII, 119*, shows what the Greeks offered Xerxes. Part of this passage, "and they made gold and silver cups and bowls and all manner of service for the table", brings forth the apparent availability of gold and silver. If the Greeks did not actually extract the gold and silver from the mines, it is obvious that they had the craftsmen necessary to create the finished product for use at home and probably for export.

Peloponnesian War lost their hold of the area where lies Argilos and its immediate vicinity.

¹ Herodotus, VII, 117.

Book VII, 122.

Now when the fleet had left Xerxes and sailed through the canal made in Athos (which canal reached to the gulf wherein stand the towns of Assa, Pílorus, Singus, and Sarte), thence taking on board troops from these cities also,¹ it stood out to sea for the Thermaic Gulf, and rounding Ampelos, the headland of Torone, it passed the Greek towns of Torone, Galepsos, Sermyle, Mécyberna, and Olynthos, from all which it received ships and men.

Of all the towns that Xerxes passed through, the latter are the first noted as having given men and ships. Since there is no mention of Xerxes receiving ships from the four Andrian colonies or any of the Thasian colonies, we can assume that they had none to give. This is not to say that Argilos, Stagira, Akanthos, and Sane had no ships but rather that their ships were not of stature to be taken into battle or to carry a large number of men.

The fact that all those colonies which didn't offer Xerxes any ships are all situated on Acte, the eastern most prong of the Chalcidic peninsula, or east of it, lends more credence to the belief that the voyage around Mt. Athos was very perilous in antiquity. This would mean that all transport of northern goods intended for the south was taken care of by those towns, cities, and/or entrepreneurs that could afford ships strong enough to endure the journey. Of course, it may simply be that certain cities acted as trading centers where merchandise was brought to and from by land.

Book VII, 123.

The fleet held a straight course from the headland of Ampelus to the Canastraeon headland, where Pallene runs farthest out to sea, and received ships and men from the towns of what is now Pallene but was formerly called Phlegra, to wit, Potidaea, Aphytis, Neapolis, Aege, Therambus, Scione, Mende, and Sane.

This passage clearly mentions the presence of another Greek city bearing the name of Sane which, by supplying ships, is clearly of greater importance than Andrian Sane. The presence of this second Sane is of particular importance when it will come to interpreting the *ATL* data concerning Sane.²

(3.2)Plutarch*Quaest. Graec.*, 30.

What is the "Beach of Araenus" in Thrace?

When the Andrians and Chalcidians sailed to Thrace to settle there, they jointly seized the city of Sane, which was betrayed to them; but when they learned that the

¹ The afore mentioned cities are Assa, Singos, Pílorus, and Sarte.

² *Infra*, Sect. 5.3.3, p. 107-109.

barbarians had abandoned Akanthos, they sent out two scouts. When these were approaching the city, they perceived that the enemy had all fled; so the Chalcidian ran forward to take possession of the city for Chalcis, but the Andrian, since he could not cover the distance so rapidly as his rival, hurled his spear, and when it was firmly implanted in the city gates, he called out in a loud voice that by his spear the city had been taken into prior possession for the children of the Andrians. As a result of this a dispute arose, and, without going to war, they agreed to make use of the Erythraeans, Samians, and Parians as arbitrators concerning the whole matter. But when the Erythraeans and the Samians gave their vote in favor of the Andrians, and the Parians in favor of the Chalcidians, the Andrians, in the neighborhood of this place, made a solemn vow against the Parians that they would never give a woman in marriage to the Parians nor take one from them. And for this reason they called the place the Beach of Araenus, although it had formerly been named the Serpent's Beach.

Unequaled in value by any other passage, Plutarch's tale aims to answer the question: "What is the Beach of Araenus in Thrace?"¹ Though difficult to believe in its entirety, this passage yields an enormous amount of information concerning the colonization of the Andrian colonies of Sane and Akanthos, and the Andrian colonies as a whole. It seems that Sane was colonized by both Chalcis and Andros and that the latter managed to colonize Akanthos on its own once its Thracian inhabitants had vacated the site. Also, it seems according to Plutarch's tale that this phase in the expansion of Andros was accomplished by land. These deductions lead to certain hypotheses concerning the four colonies of Andros:

(1) Once Sane had been settled, Akanthos, probably Stagira, and perhaps Argilos were wholly or in part colonized through land. The probability of this being true for Argilos is more doubtful due to the fact that it lies over 20km away from Stagira, the closest colony of the three that lie in the north-east of the Chalcidice peninsula. Stagira is just over 10km north of Akanthos which is even less a distance away from Sane. The proximity of these three sites to one another make it a viable option to colonize through land rather than by sea.

(2) Sane and Akanthos were settled by Thracian tribes prior to the arrival of the Andrian colonists. As well, based on the writings of Plutarch, it is likely that the native inhabitants fled their settlements even before the Andrians had set their sites on them. Likely for Sane and Akanthos, it can be assumed that Stagira and Argilos were also formerly Thracian settlements.

The location of Argilos (4km west of the Strymon), further supports the passive settling of the site. Since a more plausible site for the new colony would have been on the east, or even, the west bank of the Strymon, one can assume that the hostility the colonists would have encountered, had they attempted to settle along the river, was too

¹ Plutarch or his source obviously thought that the Beach of Aranus meant "Beach of Vowing".

great and therefore chose to settle further west. Herodotus has many passages relating to the Thracian tribe on the east bank of the Strymon, the Edoni, who resisted against several attempts by Greek colonists to take over their land.¹

(3) In another passage, this time by Strabo, the Eretrians are described as ruling over several islands in the Cyclades including Andros.² Hence, it would seem that Andros was not entirely independent and probably needed help in order to colonize. The chances that Sane was not settled by both the Chalcidians and Andrians are slim. Given that this expedition was a first for the Andrians and that the Chalcidians had already plenty of experience in colonizing the northern coast of the Aegean, it is likely that the Chalcidians were the leaders of the expedition.

(4) And lastly, in relation to this passage by Plutarch, it would seem probable that the expedition undertaken by the colonists from Chalcis and Andros was not one that aimed to colonize a single site. Rather, the area had most likely been "scouted" prior to departure and the intention from the start was to colonize several sites in order to accommodate the needs of the Andrians and Chalcidians.

(3.3)Strabo

Book VII, 33.

Akanthos, a city on the Singitic Gulf, is on the coast near the canal of Xerxes. Athos has five cities, Dium, Cleonae, Thyssus, Olophyxis, Acrothoi; and Acrothoi is near the crest of Athos. Mt. Athos is breast-shaped, has a very sharp crest, and is very high, since those who live on the crest see the sun rise three hours before it rises on the seaboard. And the distance by sea around the peninsula from the city Akanthos as far as Stagira, the city of Aristotle, is four hundred Stadia.
...There is also another set of cities about the Strymonic Gulf, as, for instance, Myrcinus, Argilos, Drabescus, and Datum.

Strabo, in accordance to Herodotus and other writers which preceded him, also attests to the existence of a canal which traversed the isthmus of Mt. Athos. However, in *Book VII, 35*, he brings forth proof that this canal, was probably not navigable. There is no question here of the actual distance between Akanthos and Stagira, but, by measuring the distance between the two cities "around the peninsula", Strabo is situating Akanthos on the western coast of Acte. We know very well, that Akanthos is just a few kilometers north of Sane, on the eastern shore of Acte. Is it possible though that by Strabo's time, the territory, formerly known as Sane was encompassed into Akanthos'

¹ Herodotus, V, 11; 23-24; 124; 126; VI, 45-46. Herodotus speaks of the resistance of the Edonians against Histieus (512 B.C.) and Aristagoras (492 B.C.).
Thucydides, I, 100. Thucydides identifies the site in question (Ennea Hodoi) with Amphipolis.

² Strabo, X, 1, 10.

realm, and that this said territory covered the entire isthmus from shore to shore. Ultimately, the validity of this statement is irrelevant to the purpose of this study, however, it is interesting to entertain the possibility that the territory of Akanthos near the isthmus did stretch from shore to shore and hence would have had access to two ports. It is also interesting to note that Strabo does not mention Sane as an actual settlement, lending more credence to the theory brought forth earlier that its relative importance to Akanthos was almost negligible which in turn further supports the notion that Sane was encompassed into Akanthian territory.

Book X, 1,10.

As for the power the Eretrians once had, this is evidenced by the pillar which they once set up in the temple of Artemis Amarynthia. It was inscribed thereon that they made their festal processions with three thousand heavy-armed soldiers, six hundred horsemen, and sixty chariots. And they ruled over the peoples of Andros, Teos, Ceos, and other islands.

Of the pillar which serves as proof of Eretrian power, Strabo speaks in the past tense. All indicates that the pillar did not exist in Strabo's time nor did he see it. He seems at this point to be writing from hearsay and not from viable testimonies or actual written sources. It remains that even hearsay can serve to at least broaden one's mind to the possibility of an Eretrian supremacy over the northern Cyclades. Perhaps the Eretrians did not rule over the said islands including Andros, but it is strongly possible that they did hold some kind of supremacy in terms of capabilities and status.

(3.4)Thucydides

Book IV, 84.

Immediately afterwards during the same summer and a short time before the vintage season, Brasidas took some Chalcidians in addition to his own force and made an expedition against Akanthos, the colony of the Andrians. But on the question of admitting him the Akanthians were divided among themselves, on the one side being those who, in concert with the Chalcidians, asked him to intervene, and on the other side the popular party. However, when Brasidas urged them to admit him unattended and then, after hearing what he had to say, to deliberate on the matter, the populace consented, for they had fears concerning the grapes, which had not yet been gathered.

For the Akanthians to be divided among themselves, it must have been that some were indeed satisfied with the present state of things. Therefore, the Akanthians must have been accustomed to some degree of prosperity whether it be attributed to a dominance of Athens or not.

It does not seem that the populace resented the extent of Athenian domination in the area. The fact that they finally admitted Brasidas within the city for fear that they might lose their grapes shows that part of their well-being depended on the production of wine which was probably exported and well known to the point that Thucydides makes reference to it.

Book IV, 85.

"For it is not merely that you yourselves oppose me, but that all to whom I may apply will be less inclined to join me, raising the objection that you to whom I first came, representing as you do an important city and reputed to be men of sense, did not receive me."

As mentioned earlier, Thucydides reporting on speeches can not be taken for granted for they, though they do reflect attitudes might be made up in order to demonstrate something in particular. In this case, the portion of Brasidas' speech retained, either shows, in concert with the comments of the previous passage, that Akanthos was indeed a reputed and important city or that Brasidas was cunning and ingenious when it came to convincing the populace to join him in his fight against the Athenians. Of course, both are possible. Even if Thucydides aimed to only show Brasidas' public speaking ability, there is no reason for the statement to be false.

Book IV, 88.

But the Akanthians, after much had been said on both sides of the question, took a secret vote, and, on account of Brasidas' impassioned words and their fears about the harvest, the majority decided to revolt from the Athenians; then having bound him with the oaths which the authorities of the Lacedaemonians swore when they sent him out, namely that those whom he might win over should be autonomous allies, they finally received the army. And not long afterwards, Stagira, a colony of the Andrians, joined in the revolt.

Partly convinced by Brasidas, partly through fear of losing their harvest, the Akanthians chose to follow Brasidas. This made Brasidas task of convincing the Stagirians a whole lot easier which is made apparent by the little attention that Thucydides gives the event. Of course, that the Stagirians offered no resistance to the Spartan general might be taken to indicate that the Stagirians were, in consort with the Chalcidians, predisposed to Brasidas.

Book IV, 102.

During the same winter, Brasidas, with his allies in Thrace, made an expedition against Amphipolis, the Athenian colony on the river Strymon. This place, where the city now stands, Aristagoras the Milesian had tried to colonize before, when fleeing from the Persian king, but he had been beaten back by the Edonians. Thirty-two years afterwards the Athenians also made another attempt, sending out ten thousand settlers of

their own citizens and any others who wished to go; but they were destroyed by the Thracians at Drabescus. Again, twenty-nine years later, the Athenians, sending out Hagnon son of Nicias as leader of the colony, drove out the Edonians and settled the place, which was previously called Ennea-Hodoi or Nine-Ways.

The many attempts undertaken by the Greeks to colonize the site that was to become Amphipolis, demonstrates: 1) The importance of the site as a choice location in the eyes of both Greeks and Thracians to facilitate commerce and, most importantly, the acquisition of natural resources; 2) the tenacity and strength of the Thracians in the immediate vicinity of Ennea-Hodoi, especially the Edonians, who most likely repelled more than just two colonizing attempts before falling to the hands of the Athenians in 436 B.C.; and 3) why the Andrians established Argilos 4km west of the Strymon rather than on either side of its banks.

Book IV, 103.

For there were in this place some settlers from Argilos, an Andrian colony; these and some others were his accomplices in this intrigue, some instigated by Perdiccas, others by the Chalcidians. But the chief plotters were the Argilians, who dwelt near by, were always suspected by the Athenians, and were secret enemies of the place; now that opportunity offered and Brasidas had come, they had some time before negotiated with their countrymen who resided in Amphipolis with a view to the surrender of the place.

Referring to the overtaking of Amphipolis by Brasidas and the betrayal of the Argilians, it is evident that the Argilians never accepted the foundation of Amphipolis and the Athenian presence there for it most likely imposed a less important role upon Argilos. Brasidas did not need to convince the Argilians to revolt against the Athenians; plans to betray Amphipolis were undertaken even before his arrival at Argilos.

Book IV, 105.

Meanwhile, Brasidas, fearing the arrival of the ships from Thasos, and hearing that Thucydides possessed the right of working the gold-mines in that part of Thrace and in consequence had influence among the first men of the mainland,...

If Thucydides, an Athenian, possessed the right to exploit the gold-mines of this region, consequently, we must assume that this right was obtained sometime before these events took place. If we refer to Herodotus' testimony of Xerxes' passage through this region, we are informed of the many Thracian tribes inhabiting near and exploiting the mines of Mt. Pangaeon.¹ Hence, we may assume that the Thracians possessed the before-mentioned right, however, it is entirely possible that the exploitation of the

¹ Herodotus, VII, 112, 113.

mines, though performed by nearby Thracian tribes, was administered by nearby Greek colonies such as Argilos. And if the mines were not administered by Argilians, it is also possible that they simply acted as a go-between who would buy what the Thracians extracted or manufactured at a minimal cost, to then resell the brute or refined product for profit. So, even if the Argilians were no more than trading agents between Thracians and Greeks, the foundation of Amphipolis and/or the control of the Pangaeian mines by the Athenians certainly removed this aspect of their economy.

We can, in the same scheme of things, assume that other sectors of the Argilian economy were drastically affected by the founding of Amphipolis and that it was severe enough to want to betray Amphipolis to Brasidas in the hope that Argilos or, at the very least, Argilians would regain some power and importance in the north.

Book IV, 106.

On hearing this the majority became irresolute, especially as few of the citizens were Athenians, the greater number being a mixed multitude, and a considerable number of those who had been captured outside had relatives inside the city.

Upon hearing Brasidas' promise of full equality which released them from peril,¹ the mixed population of Amphipolis accepted Brasidas with open arms. Therefore, we can deduct from these promises which were "contrary to their expectation" that the population of Amphipolis consisted of Athenians and non-Athenians, the latter being at a disadvantage in the face of the former. Brasidas, offered hope to regain the social status once available before Amphipolis was colonized.

Book IV, 108.

The Athenians were greatly alarmed by the capture of Amphipolis. The chief reason was that the city was useful to them for the importation of timber for ship-building and for the revenue it produced,...

Aside from the mining of gold and silver, Amphipolis, it seems, also exercised some kind of control over the extraction of timber, not only for their own needs and those of the Athenians, but also for export. For the loss of easy access to wood to be the primary reason why the capture of Amphipolis alarmed the Athenians, the amount of wood in the region and the revenues it brought must have been of some importance. Of course, prior to this Athenian control of the region and its natural resources, Argilos must have benefited to some degree from the exploitation of the said resources.

The other Andrian colonies, especially Akanthos, all located on the Chalcidian

¹ Thucydides, IV, 105; 106.

peninsula, were probably less affected by the foundation of Amphipolis. This is demonstrated by the hesitance the Akanthians displayed in light of Brasidas' arrival and the words of praise he expressed towards them.¹

Book IV, 109.

The same winter the Megarians took and razed to the ground their long walls which the Athenians had held; and Brasidas, after the capture of Amphipolis, made an expedition with his allies against a district called Acte. It is a promontory projecting from the King's canal on the inner side of the isthmus, and its terminus at the Aegean Sea is the lofty Mt. Athos. Of the cities it contains, one is Sane, an Andrian colony close to the canal, facing the sea which is towards Euboea; the others are Thyssus, Cleonae, Acrothoi, Olophyxis and Dion, which are inhabited by mixed barbarian tribes speaking two languages. There is in it also a small Chalcidic element; but the greatest part is Pelasgic - belonging to those Etruscans that once inhabited Lemnos and Athens - Bisaltic, Crestonic, and Edonian; and they live in small towns. Most of these yielded to Brasidas, but Sane and Dion held out against him; so he waited there with his army and laid waste their territory.

It is peculiar that Sane, probably the least prosperous of the Andrian colonies, refused to yield to Brasidas as did the other Andrian colonies including neighboring Akanthos. It is perhaps this notion that Sane was not as prosperous as the other Andrian colonies that made it act differently. The relative unimportance of Sane suggests that it was mainly an agricultural colony, more so than any other Andrian colony. Therefore, any changes that may have taken place due to the infiltration of the Athenians in the north, would have a smaller impact on Sane and therefore, their discontent would be minimal and yielding to Brasidas unnecessary.

As the before-mentioned Herodotus and Strabo, Thucydides also attests the existence of Xerxes' canal making its existence less and less doubtful. Aside from the Crestonae, the Thracian tribes said to inhabit the peninsula, also inhabit the area around the Strymon basin, implying that they were to be found at both extremities of the periphery settled by the Andrians which makes one wonder what role they may have played in the actual Andrian colonization process.

Book V, 6.

Now when Cleon had sailed round from Torone to Amphipolis, as mentioned above, taking Eion a his base he made an unsuccessful attack on Stagira, an Andrian colony, but did take by storm Galepsos, a colony of the Thasians. Then sending envoys to Perdiccas, with a request to join him with an army in accordance with the terms of the alliance, and other envoys to Thrace to Polles, king of the Odomantians, to bring as many Thracian mercenaries as possible, he himself kept quiet at Eion. But Brasidas, on hearing of these things, took post over against him at Kerdylion. This place is in the territory of the Argilians, on high ground across the river not far from Amphipolis, and commands a view in all directions, so that Cleon could not move his army without being

¹ Thucydides, IV, 84; 85.

observed; for Brasidas expected that Cleon in contempt of the small numbers of the Lacedaemonians would go up against Amphipolis, with his present army.

There is no doubt that the site of Kerdylion rests in Argilian territory. This assessment raises a number of questions about the said site. Was Kerdylion settled by Argilians? The likelihood of this eventuality is strong given the proximity of Kerdylion to Argilos, however, as mentioned earlier, Argilos was described as occupying a "stretch" of sea coast at the time of the Persian Wars which may have included Kerdylion in its entirety. The fact that Thucydides does not refer to Kerdylion as a Greek colony, settlement, or town, supports the notion that Kerdylion was part of Argilian territory.

The passage also attests to the implication of Macedonia, under Perdikkas, and the Thracians in the affairs of the Greek world. It is possible that the fear of the encroaching Macedonians, whose territory had expanded to the Strymonian realm played a part in the Chalcidian alliance with the Lacedaemonians. The Greek colonies in the north were in a sense caught between an expanding Macedonian "empire" and Athenian imperialism.

That Stagira resisted to Cleon's attack exemplifies the strength of the natural defenses of the Stagirian peninsula but, it also makes one wonder why Cleon did not prefer to attack an "important city", that of Akanthos. It is possible that Cleon may have recognized Akanthos' hesitance to align itself with Brasidas and/or Stagira's predisposition to revolt from Athens.

Book V, 18.

5. "The Lacedaemonians and their allies shall restore Amphipolis to the Athenians. But in the case of cities delivered by the Lacedaemonians to the Athenians, their inhabitants shall be allowed to go away wherever they wish, having their own possessions; and these cities, so long as they pay the tribute fixed in the time of Aristides, shall be independent. And it shall not be lawful for the Athenians and their allies, after the ratification of the treaty, to bear arms against the cities to their hurt, so long as they pay the tribute. These cities are Argilos, Stagira, Akanthos, Stolos, Olynthos, Spartolos."...

6. "The Mecerbaeans and Sanaeans and Singians shall dwell in their own towns on the same terms as the Olynthians and Akanthians.

A return to the tribute levels established upon the creation of the Delian League in 478 B.C. and a regained independence demonstrates the favorable conditions of the peace treaty for the Argilians, Akanthians, and Stagirians and that the tribute levels were an important part of the general feeling of discontent in the area.

That Sane is mentioned with Mecerba and Singus as cities that shall be

considered in the same vein as Akanthos and Olynthos suggests that they were not considered in this way prior to the peace treaty and that Olynthos and Akanthos had held some kind of hegemony over them.

(3.5) Ancient Sources - Preliminary Conclusion

From the remarks and comments given for each of the retained passages, some are derived directly from the written words of either Herodotus, Plutarch, Strabo, or Thucydides, others are inferred. In the first case, archaeological or literary proof to support the different hypotheses is not always necessary and almost never imperative. In the case of inferred hypotheses, additional material, whether it be archaeological or literary, is essential in order to be able to consider them as possible and/or probable.

From Herodotus, we get an impression of the general misery the Andrians endured due to the lack of good land on the island. Their unserviceable gods which prevented them from giving money to Themistocles may also have motivated the Andrians to colonize 150 years earlier though much more support is essential in order to concretely establish lack of land as a probable cause of colonization.

In describing certain events surrounding the construction of Xerxes' canal (whose existence is also attested by Strabo and Thucydides), Herodotus establishes Sane to be an unimportant town in comparison to Akanthos situated just a few kilometers north where Xerxes "declared the Akanthians his guests and friends". In describing Xerxes' march through the regions of Mt. Pangaeon and Bisaltia, we get a good idea of the harmonious coexistence between the Argilians and the Bisaltae and between the numerous Thracian tribes who owned and exploited the gold and silver mines of Mt. Pangaeon.

Strabo, who is the most unreliable of the four authors retained, does tell us of the supremacy of Eretria and the dominant role it played over the northern Cyclades, which, given the unreliability of Strabo, can only be considered as being possible.

Thucydides lends literary support to the notion of Sane's inferiority to Akanthos. Sane also differs from the other Andrian colonies in that it is the only Andrian colony to have refused to associate itself to the liberation movement of the Lacedaemonians. From Thucydides we also learn of the relative ease with which Brasidas was able to claim the other three Andrian colonies, especially Stagira and Argilos, as allies. Thucydides brings forth the great importance attached to Amphipolis by the Athenians for the acquisition of raw materials and reminds us that he himself exerted control over the mines of Mt. Pangaeon.

Unlike Herodotus and Thucydides whose writings leave little room for doubt, the one passage retained from Plutarch leaves us with nothing but stipulations due to the story-telling nature of Plutarch. However, the passage leaves a certain number of hypotheses which may be considered likely. The notion of a joint venture between Chalcis and Andros, the colonization by land of Akanthos and possibly Stagira, and the fleeing of Thracian settlers before the arrival of the colonists, are all hypotheses extracted from Plutarch's answer to: "What is the 'Beach of Araenus' in Thrace?" The proximity of the colonies to one another suggests that colonization by land is possible. But, if this is the only circumstance available to prove such a process, it will have to be considered to be one that is possible but not necessarily probable.

The credibility of such hypotheses may not rest solely on their own merits and therefore additional support is necessary. It is imperative to find archaeological support for both the direct and indirect hypotheses brought forth in this section, whether the hypotheses were a result of quotes from the irreproachable Thucydides, or from the highly unbelievable Strabo.

(4.0)The Archaeological Remnants of Sane, Akanthos, Stagira, and Argilos

Having established certain theories, based on the writings of ancient authors, for the Andrian colonies of Sane, Akanthos, Stagira, and Argilos, it is necessary to try and find archaeological support for these hypotheses. The task is not a menial one for a number of reasons including the fact it is next to impossible to find any archaeological remains and/or material that could be used as proof to back up some of the said hypotheses. For instance, trying to find archaeological material that would support the theory that Akanthos, and maybe Stagira, were colonized by land from Sane is futile. Therefore, such a hypothesis will have to be relegated to a simple possibility, established and supported by literary sources only.

Nonetheless, reviewing the archaeological finds for each of the four colonies will undoubtedly permit the establishment of concrete conclusions as the finds will either support previous hypotheses or establish new ones.

(4.1)Sane

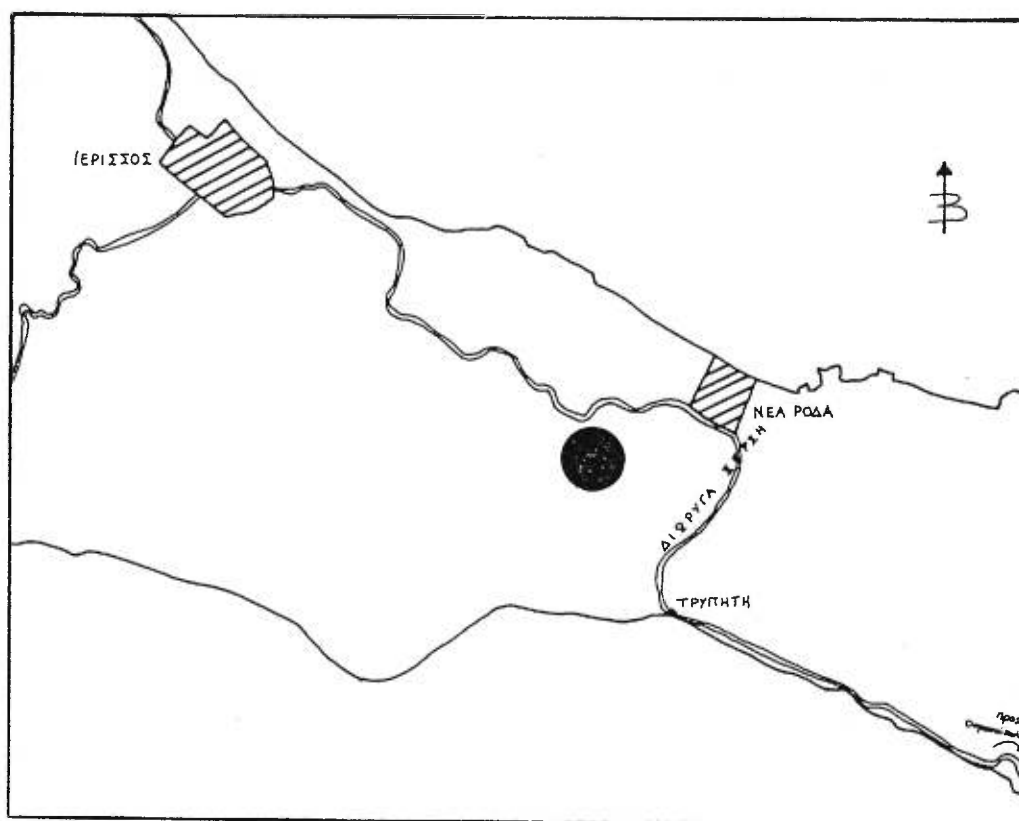
On the eastern side of the Athos peninsula (Acte), close to its narrowest point where Xerxes' canal is said to have been opened, lies the village of Nea Roda, the modern-day reference point used to locate the ancient settlement of Sane which lay in the nearby vicinity. Though the literary sources have yielded interesting characteristics concerning Sane, the archaeological sources are not equal to the task. Sane is by far the least documented of the four Andrian colonies. Excavations undergone by I. Papangelos in the farming area, SW of the modern settlement of Nea Roda (Map 4), yielded decorative tile pieces and other architectural remnants dating to the latter part of the Archaic period.¹ The finds hinted towards the existence of an important building or temple in the area.²

Thus, in September of 1990, under the direction of I. Vokotopoulou and E.B. Tsigarida, was undertaken a short excavation in order to find the building in question. A total of 14 trial trenches were dug which exposed two buildings and wall parts of another.³ Material finds which characterized the trenches were mostly tile fragments and small objects like nails. There was very little pottery of which undecorated vessels

¹ I. Παπαγγελος, Περί της Ουρανοπολεως. Περιοδ.«Μήκος και Πλάτος» 1,1989, ρ.40–42.

² I. Βοκοτοπούλου – Ε.–ΜΠ. Τσιγαριδα, «Ανασκαφική Έρευνα Στα Νεα Ροδα Χαλκιδικης», *AEMQ* 4, 1990, Thessaloniki, 1993, p. 455.

³ *Ibid.* The trial trenches were layed out over an area covering 2.5 stremmata.



Map 4: Agricultural Area SW of Nea Roda (Source: *AEMO*, 4, 1990, p. 456.)

provided the most part.¹ The efforts were concentrated over a one-room structure in antis (6,70 x 10,40m) with an E-W orientation whose W-wall was made out of limestone plinths and N-wall of one large block of granite (Fig. 2). It is supposed by Vokotopoulou and Tsigarida that since granite is not a common stone of the area, it was most likely imported, possibly from Akanthos.² It is also supposed that this oikos is part of a larger worship area or sanctuary.³

The destruction layer along the S-wall yielded Corinthian tiles of two types: a) Separate and joined ante fixes, and b) eave-tiles with palmette-shaped coverings. This tiling tradition of Corinth dates to the last quarter of the 6th c. B.C.⁴ The face of the eave-tiles is decorated with a guilloch pattern in three colors (red, white, and dark brown). Also found on the destruction layer was a marble head of a bearded man dating to the end of the 4th to the beginning of the 3rd c. B.C. and which may depict Asklepios.⁵ In between the tiles were found fragments of LA terra-cotta figurines.

- 1 *Ibid.*
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 456.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 460.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 457.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 458.

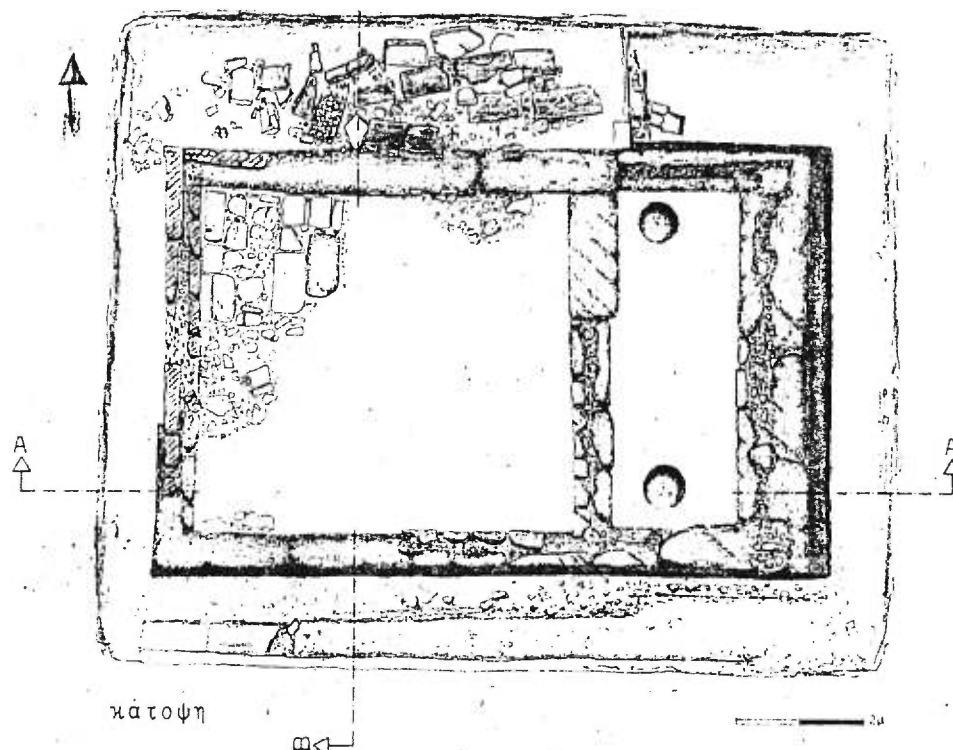


Fig. 2: Archaic oikos in antis (Source: *AEMQ*6, 1992, p. 469.)

A pit containing, among other objects, small shells, bones, and phialai, and pyrai with burnt bones and vessels were uncovered underneath the layer of tiles. The pottery found in the pyre is again dated to the end of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd c. B.C. which also represents the *terminus post quem* of this oikos¹ which based on the stratigraphy, stood until the end of the Classical period.² This destruction and/or reconstruction of the building at this time is linked by those responsible for the excavation to the activities of Alexander and/or the founding of Ouranopolis.³

Excavations in June of 1989, undertaken by Christos Gazolis on the site of Trypiti on the western shores of the peninsula (Map 4), yielded the remains of a Roman

¹ I. Βοκοπούλου – Ε.ΜΠ. Τσιγαριδα, «Ανασκαφική Έρευνα Στα Νέα Ροδα Χαλκιδικής», *AEMQ*6, 1992, Thessaloniki, 1996, p. 467.
The few finds dealing with worship activities and the lack of residential pottery has led them to believe that the remains are that of an oikos of the end of the 6th c. B.C.

² *AEMQ*, 4, p. 459.

³ *AEMQ*, 6, p. 470.

pottery kiln¹ which lends credence to the general belief² that Sane is situated at the western extremity of Xerxes' canal. The proximity of this latter site to the farming area excavated evidently suggests that the "sanctuary" be associated to Sane as concluded by Vokotopoulou and Tsigarida.³ In contrast, not knowing specifically where Sane is situated and considering the many coins of Akanthos and Ouranopolis found during the excavation of the oikos, there is a possibility that the sanctuary be a worship area shared by two or three settlements. At the very least, the coins shed some light on the relation between Sane and its neighbors, including Akanthos.

However, if we consider the fact that on the hilltop of Paleopyrgos, whose slope encompasses the oikos and the supposed sanctuary, and on neighboring hilltops, there are visible foundation remains of buildings, walls, and Hellenistic sherds, we are tempted to consider the possibility that Sane was not situated on the western banks of the peninsula, but slightly further inland.⁴ Unless of course, these remains are to be associated with neighboring Akanthos.

(4.2) Akanthos

The surface excavations undertaken by the before mentioned Dr. Pantermalis and D. Pikopoulou, extended onto what is presumed to be Akanthian territory,⁵ somewhere between Ierissos and Nea Roda. This small scale excavation was the beginning of a series of excavations conducted practically every year since 1969.

Akanthos is by far the most documented of the four colonies. In 1973, excavations began under the direction of K. Rhomiopoulou.⁶ They were conducted every summer until 1986, first under Rhomiopoulou, and later under E. Trakosopoulou. Following a brief interruption, work on the site has, in recent years, begun once again.

Since no systematic research has been done concerning the ancient city, all but

¹ E. Τρακοσοπουλου, *ΑΔΤ*. 44(1989), Μ. Β-2, Χρ., ρ. 328.

² *ΑΕΜΘ*, 4, p. 460. The idea that Sane is situated in this area was brought forth by finds of prehistoric pottery sherds in the area. A small surface survey undertaken in the area of Trypiti by Dr. D. Pantermalis and archaeologist D. Pikopoulou in 1969, yielded parts of classical and prehistoric remains brought to light, before the construction of the road to Trypiti, due to flowing waters. See: *ΑΔΤ*. 24 (1969), Μ. Β-2, Χρ., ρ. 309-310.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *ΑΔΤ*. 24(1969), Μ. Β-2, Χρ., ρ. 309-310. Excavation and surface surveys conducted are presumed to be in Akanthian territory for it is the heading of the article, however, the author, when mentioning the survey near Trypiti and the area of the canal, does not even mention Sane, which leads me to conclude that its existence was ignored by the excavators and that possibly none of the surveys were in Akanthian territory.

⁶ K. Rhomiopoulou, «Amphores de la nécropole d'Acanthe» in *Recherches sur les Amphores Grecque. Actes du colloques international, BICS*, Suppl. XIII, 1986, p. 479-483.

one of the 15 articles found in the *AA* deal with the necropolis.¹ One reason why efforts have been concentrated around the necropolis is that the tombs are situated within the modern village of Ierissos where modern developments and construction would certainly cause damage to the yet unexamined remains.

The ancient city of Akanthos lies on three hills 600m SE of Ierissos,² on the site of the old village, of Ierissos,³ which was destroyed by an earthquake in 1932.⁴ The only remnants pertaining to the ancient city are small sections of the acropolis' fortification wall built in the isodomic style belonging to the Archaic period,⁵ and remains of a rectangular Hellenistic building found on the eastern hill, measuring 4,82 x 4,51m with a white marble floor and a well in the middle dating to an earlier period⁶. On the northern hill, an ancient tower is said to be preserved though its dating is unsure.⁷ Two more sections of the city's fortification wall were uncovered on the southern hill.⁸ One section runs E-W and was uncovered over a distance of 40m. Its width varies between 1.90 and 2.05m. The second section of the wall lies 150m south of the first and runs SW-NE over a distance of 38m, with a width of 1.90m. Unfortunately, the excavators, for the most part, only cleaned off the surface of the wall. The small sections which they did unearth to a depth of two or three stone-layers indicates that the wall was constructed with a local limestone in the pseudo-isodomic style⁹ belonging to the Hellenistic period.¹⁰ The interior of the wall is full of unworked stones and pebbles. Also, the breakwater of the ancient harbor is said to be visible and lies underneath the modern one.¹¹

Aside from the annual reports in the *AA* there are so far only three other articles concerning the site.¹² One of which provides a small glimpse into Akanthian wine production. K. Rhomiopoulou examined a sizable quantity of amphorae found in the Akanthian cemetery (150), 10% of which were stamped. Though most of the stamped

¹ E. Trakosopoulou, *AD*, T.39(1984), M. B-2, Xp., p. 222-223.

² *Ibid.*, p. 223.

³ *AA*T. 38(1983), p. 278.

⁴ *AA*T. 26(1971), p. 394.

⁵ *AA*T.24(1969), M. B-2, Xp. p.309; T. 39(1984), p. 223.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, E. Trakosopoulou, p.223.

⁷ *AA*T. 26(1971), p. 394.

⁸ *AA*T. 39(1984), p. 223.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ R.L. Scranton, *Greek Walls*, Cambridge, 1941, p. 134. Scranton does indicate that certain examples of the pseudo-isodomic style are dated back to the Archaic period.

¹¹ *AA*T. 26(1971), p. 394. According to E. Giouri, the ancient harbour lies underneath the site of Hotel Athos. Whether or not this hotel still exists, I haven't a clue.

¹² *Op. cit.*, K. Rhomiopoulou, p. 479-483.

A. Παρλαμα, "Καύσεις στο κλασικό της Ἀκάνθου", *AAA*, T.11(1978) 1, p. 5-28.

J. Desneux, "Les tetradrachmes d'Acanthe", *Rev. Belge*, 95(1949).

amphorae pertain to the 4th c. B.C., the conclusions that she brings forth may be attributable to earlier centuries as well. For instance, she attributes the overwhelming amount of Akanthian stamps to the abundant production of Akanthian wine.¹ The numerous stamps associated to Amphipolis also suggests that it was an important trading partner. This supposition allows us to wonder about the distribution of Akanthian wine in the area around the Strymon prior to the foundation of Amphipolis.

In the same report, it is noted that tombs of the late 4th c. B.C. often contained coins of the nearby city of Ouranopolis. Those tombs that contained such coins, rarely contained Akanthian coins and those containing Akanthian coins rarely contained Ouranopolitan coins.² Depending on the number of graves pertaining to the latter part of the 4th c. B.C. containing such coins, the fact that they were rarely found together indicates either that the necropolis became a shared cemetery or that Akanthos lost importance in light of its newly established neighbor. Though the abundance of coins prevailing from Ouranopolis is substantial, the silver coins found are seemingly all Akanthian.³ Generally speaking, the Akanthian silver coins date from as early as 500 B.C. until the end of this same century. Its bronze coins generally belong to the 4th c. B.C.⁴ Bronze coins from Ouranopolis generally date to the 3rd c. B.C.⁵

The site of the ancient cemetery is located approximately 1km north from the ancient city, 230m from the coast and parallel to it.⁶ Though the finds from Akanthos are abundant, the fact that they were for the most part found within the confines of the necropolis renders difficult the task of establishing concrete socio-economic conclusions about the site in accordance with what has been supposed through the literary sources, especially since the finds are not well tabulated in the reports. The reports tend to give only the simple and general facts of what each excavation season yielded. For instance, the number of total graves excavated in a given season is forwarded in every report without exception, but only in one are the types of graves quantified to give a general outlook on Akanthian burial methods (Fig. 3).⁷

The amphora burials being exclusively reserved for child burials, the open graves far outnumber the other types of adult burials. Though the exact distribution of these grave types is not reported in any other article, it is made clear that this phenomenon is maintained. Other characteristically consistent patterns are maintained from year to

1 *Op. cit.*, K. Rhomiopoulou, p. 482.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *AA*T. 38(1983), p. 278; T. 26(1971), p. 394.

4 *AA*T. 38(1983), p. 278.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *AA*T. 26(1971), p. 394.

7 *AA*T. 37(1982), p. 284.

<i>no. of burials(x/196)</i>	<i>Grave Type</i>	<i>% of total #</i>
69	open graves	35%
42	egxhytrismoi(amphorae)	22%
30	tile-covered	15%
15	pithoi	7.50%
13	clay graves	6.50%
12	built(wood)	6%
9	cremations	4.50%
4	larnakes	2%
2	vessels with burnt bones	1%

Fig. 3: Table of grave type distribution (Source: *AJ*T. 37(1982),p.284.)

year, such as: 1) The orientation of the burials from SE-NW, parallel with the sea (Fig. 4); 2) burials in successive layers in no particular chronological order;¹ 3) many child burials, usually bearing gifts; 4) coins, when found, were often placed inside mouth of deceased;² and 5) the richer adult burials pertain to the 5th and 4th c. B.C.³

Also, though all the periods are represented, from the late 7th c. B.C. until Roman Imperial times, the dating most often attributed is that of the 5th to the 3rd c. B.C. inclusively.⁴ Of the finds belonging to the Archaic period, the most interesting are a Subgeometric skyphos of Cycladic influence which was found along side two Attic black-figured band kylixes. The fact that the three were found within the same burial helps prove that this particular type of skyphos was produced at least until the 3rd quarter of 6th c. B.C.⁵

However, aside from this useful tidbit of information, the only descriptive aspects rendered in the excavation summaries published in the *AJ* focus on the few unorthodox burial customs brought to light. There is very little information about pottery distribution and the number of burials belonging to each period. The lack of the

¹ *AJ*T. 26(1971), p. 393; T.43(1988), p. 394.

² *Ibid.*, p. 394.

³ *AJ*T. 37(1982), p. 284.

⁴ Articles which make allusion to this dating include: *AJ*T. 44(1989), 41(1986), 40(1985), 36(1981), 34(1979), 32(1977), 31(1976), 30(1975). Those articles which refer to an archaic dating as well as those of the 5th and 4th centuries are: *AJ*T. 44(1989), 39(1984), 38(1983), 37(1982).

⁵ *AJ*T. 26(1971), p. 394.

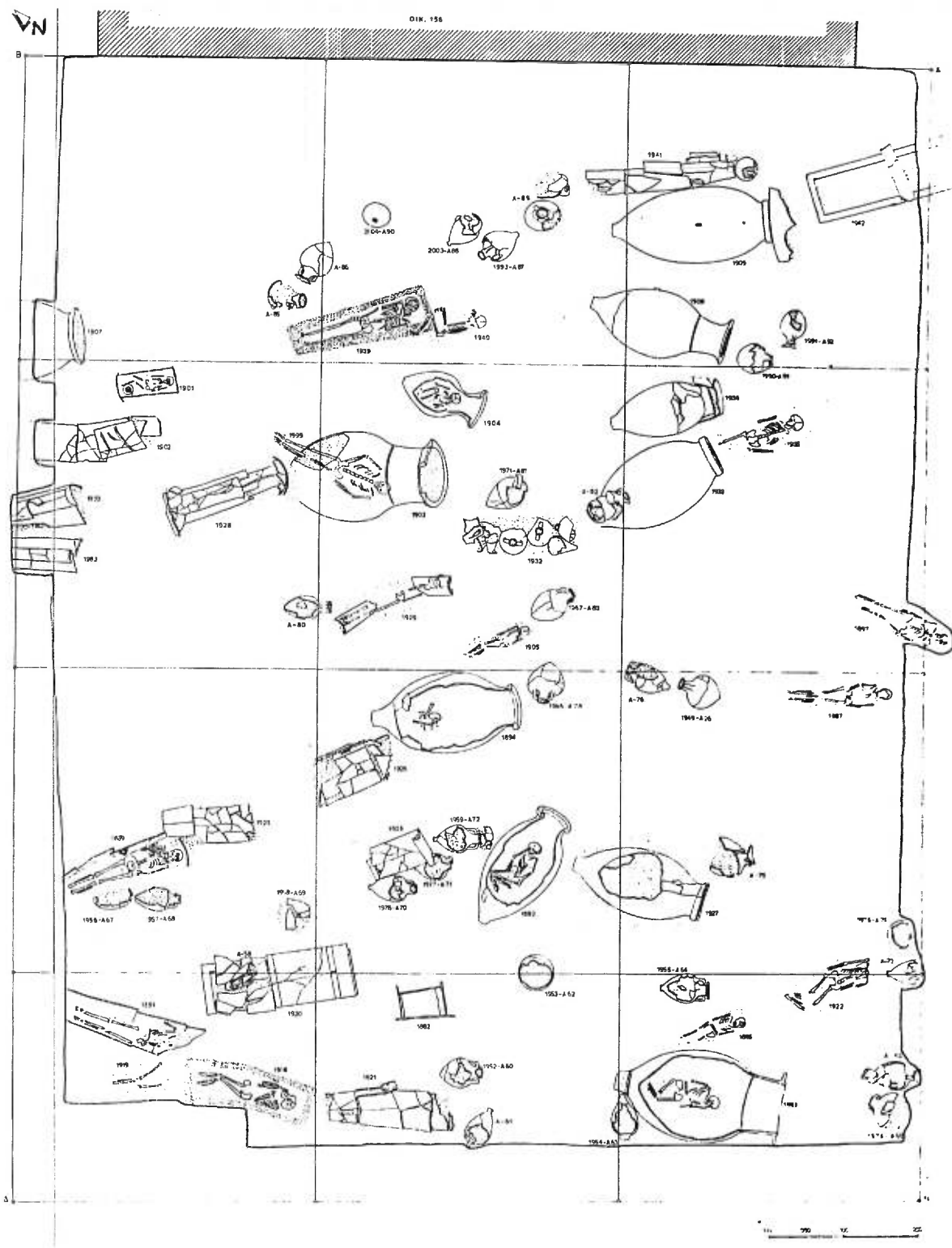


Fig. 4: Plan of Akantian cemetery showing SE-NW orientation (Source: *AAT*.36,p.303.)

latter makes it impossible to establish any demographic profile for Akanthos. What is perhaps indicative of the relatively few archaic burials unearthed is the disorder in the different layers of the cemetery. That is to say that the oldest graves were not always the deepest and that they were found side by side with more recent burials. This lack of pattern coupled with other indications leads archaeologist E. Tsigarida to bring forth the idea that the older graves were destroyed in order to reuse the space.¹ This theory would help explain the lack of graves dating to the Archaic period.

With regards to the hypotheses brought forth in the previous section, the information extracted from Akanthos, as laid out in the articles of the *AJ* is of little help in confirming the before mentioned theories on the colonization and history of Akanthos. On the contrary, it is the lack of information yielded by the Akanthian cemetery, but pertaining to Sane, which helps support the theory that the importance of Sane in the region was less than minimal. An abundance of bronze coins from Ouranopolis having been found in almost each of the excavation seasons, one would expect at least a minimal contribution of finds, including coins, to prevail from Sane which lies closer to Akanthos than does Ouranopolis which is situated south of the isthmus. As for the theory suggesting that Akanthos was colonized by land after the establishment of Sane, one may only suppose it to be true based on the passage retained from Plutarch which attests to such a process.²

(4.3) Stagira

In the same year that a surface survey was conducted in the area between Ierissos and Nea Roda (1969), a surface survey and small-scale excavation were undertaken in the area of the modern village of Olympiada. A half-worked kouros found by chance in the sea, the remains of walls, terraces, graves, buildings, as well as a circular tower which sits a hilltop between the two small bays suggest that the site of the "Liotopi" peninsula is where sits Stagira.³ Finally, in September of 1989, the archaeological excavations of the birth-place of Aristotle began under the direction of K. Sismanidis. Sismanidis quickly established from the surface indications that Stagira occupied at least two of the hills of the Liotopi peninsula, the northern hill along the coast and a larger one to the south separated from the former by a low pass. It is the opinion of Sismanidis

¹ *AJ* T. 43(1988), p. 364. See also: *AJ* T. 30(1975), p.250.

² Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.*, 30.

³ *AJ* T. 24(1969), p. 309.

that the initial settlement was located on the coastal northern hill.¹

Unfortunately for the purpose of this study, the excavations were, for the most part, centered around the elaborate network of Classical and Hellenistic fortification walls. Needless to say, the archaeological reports also deal principally with these structures.² However, some other structures were found as well.

On the NW slope of the S-hill, the remains of a 5th c. B.C. stone-built structure were found. The material finds which consisted of fragments of large and unpainted vessels, large parts of pithoi, stone tools, and many smelting fragments, indicate that this structure served as a storage and workshop area.³

In the same year that this structure was uncovered, the first section of the city's fortification wall was found on the eastern slope of the northern hill. Sections of two separate and distinct walls were surveyed, one dating to the Classical period, the other to the Hellenistic.⁴ The Classical wall (Fig. 5) was uncovered over a distance of 16m. The course of the wall is straight and seems to have remained straight over its entire length based on the other spots where the wall is visible or was partially uncovered.⁵ The wall was incorporated into the carved rock of the hill, the outer face consisting of large blocks of stone and the inner face being made up of small unworked stones and earth. It is preserved to a height of 1m and a thickness of 1.5m, though Sismanidis suggests that higher up, the wall must have been thicker.⁶

The Hellenistic wall (Fig. 5), sits over 3.5m higher than the Classical wall due to the natural inclination of the hill. Rather than being straight as its Classical counterpart, the Hellenistic wall turns at right angles three times following an E-W direction. These breakings add more strength to the wall which undoubtedly served as a retainer wall as well as a fortification wall.⁷ It is 1.7m thick and is preserved to a maximum height of 1.8m. A large part of its exterior face is built in the isodomic style while the interior is simpler and contains smaller stones and filling. It was uncovered over a total distance of 75m.⁸ A 1.8m wide entrance was also found near its western extremity.

¹ Κ. Σισμανιδης, «Ερευνες στην 'Αρχαία Κασσανδρεια και στα 'Αρχαία Στάγειρα», *AEMQ* 4, 1990, p. 375.

² *Ibid.*, p. 371–383.

----- «Ανασκαφες στην 'Αρχαία Σκιωνη και στα 'Αρχαία Στάγειρα κατα το 1991 », *AEMQ* 5(1991), 1994, p. 319–333.

----- «Ανασκαφη 'Αρχαίων Σταγειρων 1992», *AEMQ* 6(1992), 1995, p. 451–465.

----- «Αρχαία Στάγειρα 1993», *AEMQ* 7(1993), 1997, p. 429–443.

³ *AEMQ* 4(1990), p. 376.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 376–377.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 377.

⁸ *AEMQ* 5(1991), p. 321; *AEMQ* 6(1992), p. 457.

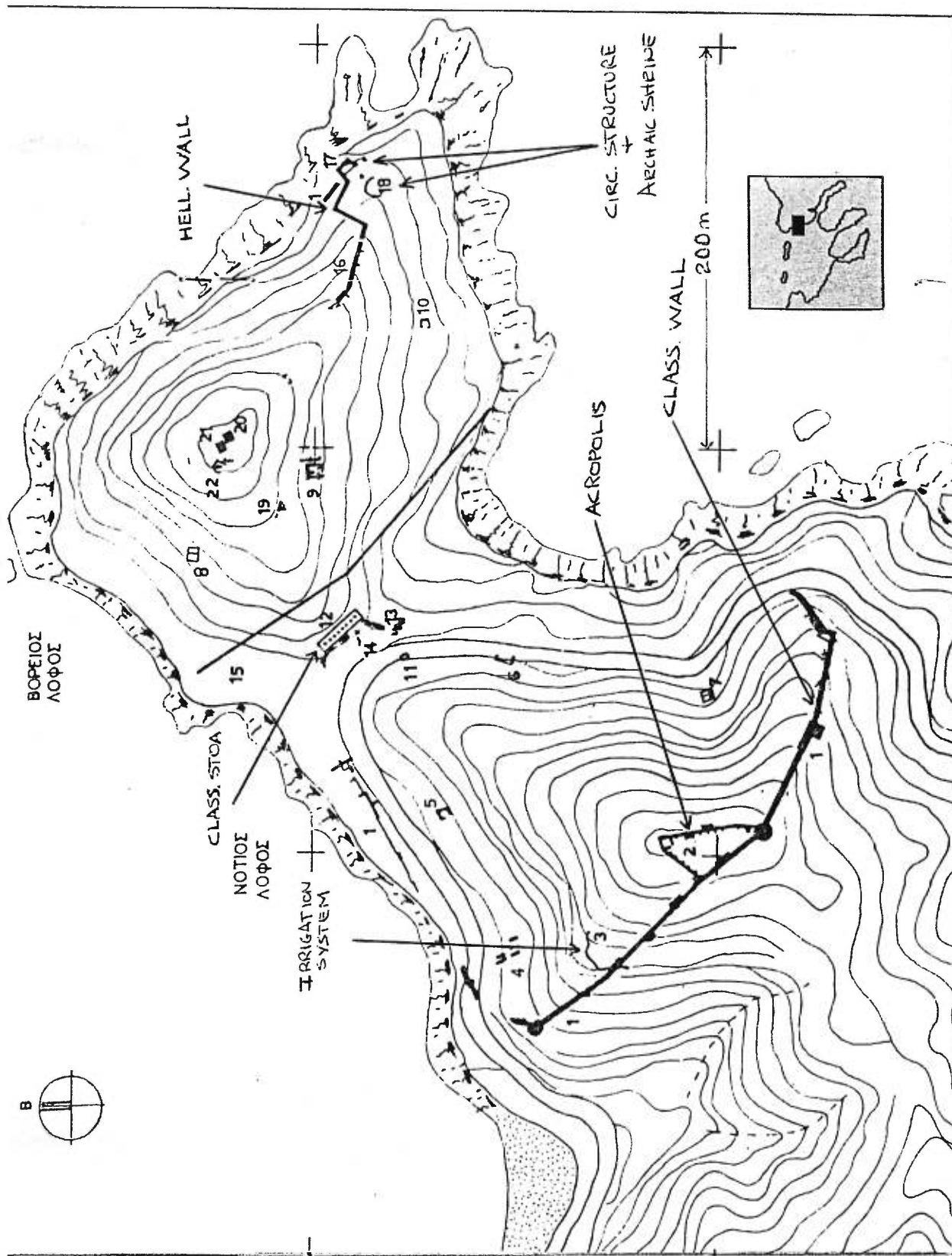


Fig. 5: Topographical plan of Stagirian peninsula showing excavated finds including the Classical and Hellenistic walls

As the excavation surrounding the Hellenistic wall progressed, a sanctuary of the Archaic period was revealed and which, those who built the Hellenistic wall respected by going around it (Fig. 6). The sanctuary has a trapezoid shape with a maximum length of 6.2m. Within the structure were found the remains of a stone-built wall, a simple altar built of two successive large stones, and a square sacrificial grate that consists of four marble slabs placed on each side.¹ Adjacent to the eastern wall of the sanctuary, part of an archaic road was uncovered which appears to continue towards the south.² Among the material finds from this sanctuary were many fragments of Attic black-figured and red-figured pottery, Corinthian pottery sherds, pieces of figurines, and a well-preserved terra-cotta mold of the 6th c. B.C.³ Another interesting find were the 7 coins from Amphipolis and the two uninscribed silver tetrobols characteristic of Akanthos.⁴ According to Sismanidis, the peculiar element about these two coins is the fact that even though they most likely are Akanthian, the fact that they are not indicated as such leads to the possibility that they were minted in Stagira.⁵

Slightly to the east of the Archaic sanctuary lies a trapezoidal structure separated from the former by a paved-stepped road that ascends southwards. And to the south of the shrine, the remains of a circular structure, contemporary with the latter and the trapezoidal structure, was brought to light (Fig. 6). Carved into the cavity of the rock that the structure would have inevitably encompassed, the bottom portion of a large pithos was found. Two similar cavities besides the one containing the pithos fragment testifies to the storage nature of the structure.⁶ Again, great care was taken in order to enclose these structures with the fortification wall, reaffirming the respect for the sanctuary during the Hellenistic period.⁷

The south wall, which dates to the Classical period, stretches from sea to sea establishing the limits of Stagira to the south (Fig. 5 & 7). It is almost completely uncovered, at least on its outer face and stretches over 300m in length and in some areas is preserved to a height of 4m.⁸ The wall is highest near its eastern extremity where the terrain is smoother, therefore, where the enemy would think to have an easier access.

1 *AEMO*, 5(1991), p. 321.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*

4 *AEMO*, 6(1992), p. 460. C.M. Kraay, *Greek Coins*, New York, 1971, p. 330-331.

5 *AEMO*, 6(1992), p. 460.

6 *AEMO*, 6(1992), p. 459-460.

7 *AEMO*, 6(1992), p. 458-459.

8 *AEMO*, 6(1992), p. 451.

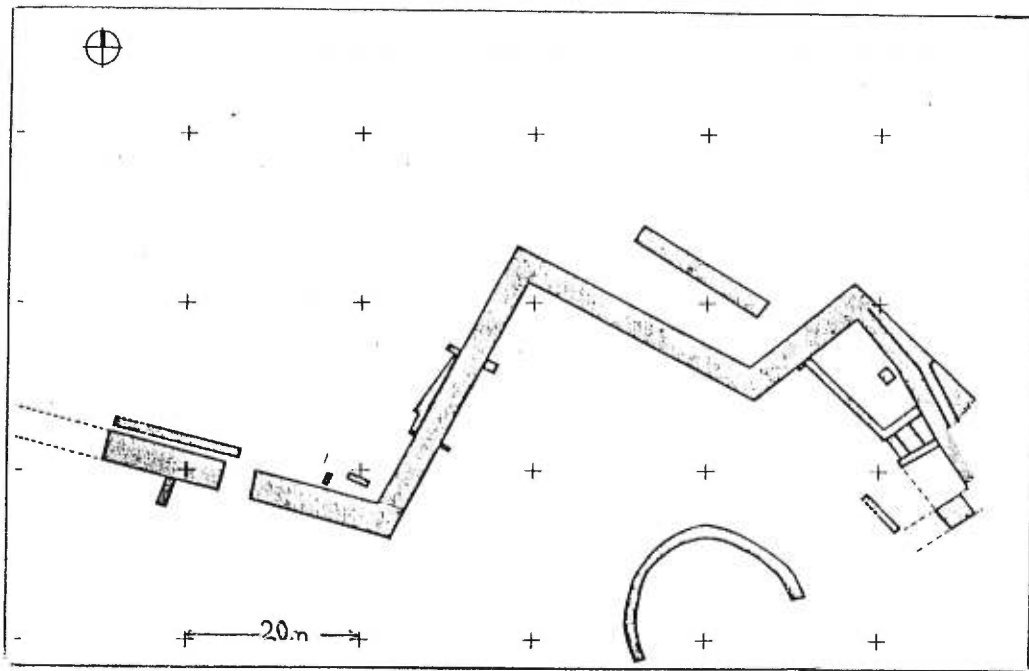


Fig. 6: Plan of N-hill with Hellenistic wall, Archaic shrine, and circular tower (Source: *AEMQ* 6, 1992, p. 459.)

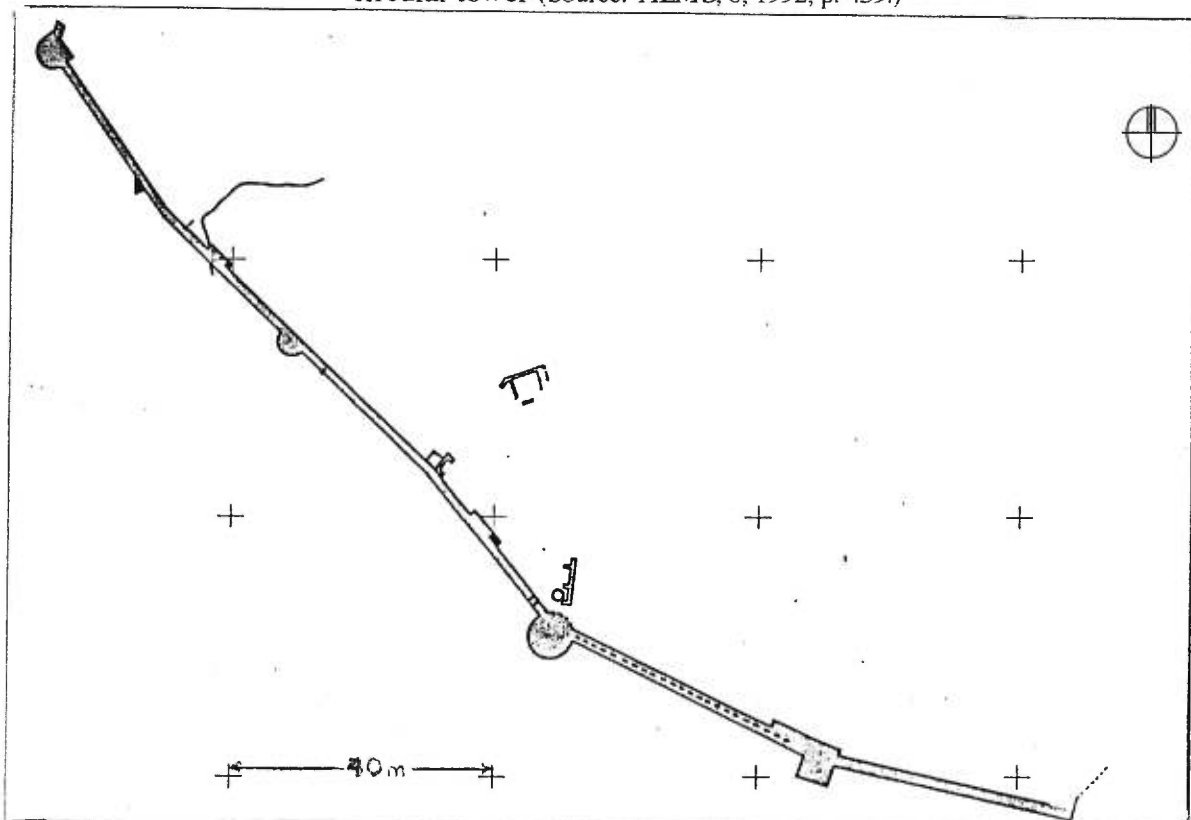


Fig. 7: Plan of south Classical wall with towers and water pipe (Source: *AEMQ* 6, 1992, p. 454.)

A total of five towers adjacent to the wall were found; two are square, three are round. The circular towers are all on the west side of the fortification wall, which leads K. Sismanidis to think that their principal task is to reinforce the solidity of the fortifying structure.¹ The distance between each tower varies from 47 - 68m. The largest of these towers measures 9m in diameter and sits at the eastern extremity of the acropolis for which the wall itself sets the southern limit.

The wall and towers are built in three different styles of which two are predominant: 1) The Lesbian style; and 2) the irregular trapezoidal style. According to Sismanidis, the latter is characteristic of the 5th c. B.C. while the former was prevailed around 500 B.C.² However, R.L. Scranton asserts with undeniable certainty that the Lesbian style is a style attributable to the 6th c. B.C. and that in some specific cases can be dated to the 7th or even the 8th century where its origins would lie.³ On the other hand, the irregular trapezoidal style is, according to Scranton in use as of the 5th c. B.C. until the beginning of the Hellenistic period.⁴

Four different sets of stairs providing access to the top of the wall from the inside were found at four different points over the length of the wall and at a distance of approximately 70m from one another.⁵ The purely defensive character of the southern wall is demonstrated in the lack of access to the city from the southern side.

A large terraced stone structure, attached obliquely to the wall as it turns and slightly changes direction, serves as reinforcement for the wall where the inclination of the hill is strongest.⁶ A short distance to the east from this structure was found an intricate irrigation system which supplied Stagira with water from the top of the hill (Fig. 7).

Still on the southern hill, the research done in the area of the acropolis revealed that the acropolis itself had a fortification wall forming a right angled triangle, the city's fortification wall being its south side (Fig. 5). The walls of the acropolis are strengthened every 2.5m with internal buttresses. Between two buttresses, along the diagonal portion of the fortification, was found a circular water-cistern 4m deep with an interior diameter of 1.8m.⁷ Characteristic of what we have seen so far is that this cistern

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 452-453.

² *AEMQ* 5(1991), p. 322-323.

³ *Op. cit.*, R.L. Scranton, p. 33-44.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 79-98.

⁵ *AEMQ* 6(1992), p. 453; *AEMQ* 7(1993), 1997, p. 430.

⁶ *AEMQ* 6(1992), p. 453; 455. The irrigation system consists of similar clay-pipes (69 - 73cm long with a maximum diameter of 23cm) attached in sequence. The pipe does not follow a straight line but rather turns several times over the uncovered length of 40m. Sismanidis suggests that the pipes were laid out as such in order to counter the effects of the water rushing through them.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 455.

was carved out of the existing rock as was the support for the pipeline and the Classical wall on the northern hill. Another instance of using the ground rock for a particular purpose is the dug-out crevasse found near the cistern which contained a destruction layer with traces of fire. Though its purpose is ignored, the crevasse measuring 3.8m wide was only partially excavated over a length of 2m, but most certainly goes northward.¹

What seems to be a military watch-post (4.8 x 5.1m) was found at the intersection of the acropolis' western wall and the city's southern wall. It is assumed to have served as a watch tower for the simple reason that it sits on the ancient city's highest point and commands an excellent view of the surrounding environment.²

Lastly, some of Stagira's public buildings were discovered at the area of the low pass between the northern and the southern hills. A rather large stoa, 25.5 x 5.5m (internal dimensions), built mostly in marble in "opus pseudo-isodum" style was excavated. A large staircase provided access while a plain stone bench lined the interior of the walls. Eight columns, of which only the bases have survived, lined the middle of the stoa.³

Different then what the excavations from Akanthos have revealed, the numerous architectural remains of Stagira do not paint as clear a picture as one would hope for when trying to establish a socio-economic history of the Andrian colonies. The situation for Stagira remains the same as for Akanthos and Sane when it comes to the material finds found during the excavations. A list of the number of coins and spearheads found along the southern wall of the city can hardly be considered a gold mine of information rendering possible the establishment of the said history. Nevertheless, the information prevailing from Stagira is valuable, however, what is necessary, are more precise renderings of the pottery fragments found on each site so that an eventual interpretation of such data becomes possible. Such is the case for Argilos; not necessarily due to detailed excavation reports available, but rather because the whole of the research, though not yet compiled, is accessible to me.

(4.4)Argilos

The excavations that have taken place in the area of the ancient city of Argilos can be placed into two categories: 1) The excavations performed in the cemetery area

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *AEMO*,7(1993), 1997, p. 433–435.

associated to the ancient city; and 2) the excavations of the urban area. The discovery of several Macedonian tombs, starting in 1974, near the modern village of Nea Kerdilia may be responsible for the renewed interest of the Argilian territory.¹ Situated between two of the Macedonian tombs uncovered, and 1km east of the urban area of Argilos (Paleokastro), part of the Argilian cemetery area was excavated in 1980 under the direction of D.B. Grammenos, yielding a total of 26 burials belonging to the first half of the Classical period.²

The excavation, which was restricted to a small trench measuring 9 x 10m, was unusually rich in content. Among the burials found were 7 monolithic sarcophagi, 6 larnakes, 3 tile-covered graves, and 2 urns.³ M. A. Tiberios, though he did not participate in the excavation himself, but is responsible for the report published in the *AA* compares the finds to those of neighboring Olynthos situated on the Chalcidic peninsula. He reports that even though more burials were uncovered there, only two monolithic sarcophagi were found, making the finds at Argilos all the more significant.⁴ Even in Athens, this type of sarcophagus is not all that common during the 5th c. B.C. as is the case in most of the Greek world at the exception of Corinth where there use is abundant due to the availability of the building material.⁵

The grave is situated east of the ancient city, and the graves were, for the most part, oriented E -W, which as the case was in Akanthos, would place the burials in a position which is relatively parallel to the sea. The burials are dated to the Classical period, the oldest being dated to 480 B.C. and the most recent to 420 B.C.⁶

All the sarcophagi were found at the same depth in a soil which does not differ from the landfill produced from the erosion of the surrounding hills. Slightly to the south of where the graves were found and at the same depth, a wall built of stone was unearthed (Fig. 8). The fact that the wall was at the same depth as the graves and that the mobile finds associated to it are dated to the Classical period, leads archaeologist D.B. Grammenos to conclude that it is associated with the graves.⁷ Furthermore, he and M.A. Tiberios are of the opinion that the wall is the peribolos wall of the whole cemetery or of a certain section of it, constituting the southern limit.

¹ For information concerning the Macedonian tombs which fall out of the scope of this study, see: *AA* T. 42(1987), p. 448; T. 41(1986), p. 177-178; T. 33(1978), p. 296-297; T. 32(1977), p. 204; and T. 30(1975), p. 288.

² M.A. Τιβερίος, «Ανασκαφή ενός νεκροταφείου στην Άργιλος», *AA* T. 35(1984), M. A. Μελετες, p. 44. Also see: *AA* T. 35(1980), p. 424.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁴ *Ibid.* in reference to *Olynthos*, Vol. 11, p. 158-159.

⁵ *Ibid.* in reference to S. Charitonidou, *AE*, 1958, p. 133 (for Athens); and *Corinth*, Vol. 13, p.73.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

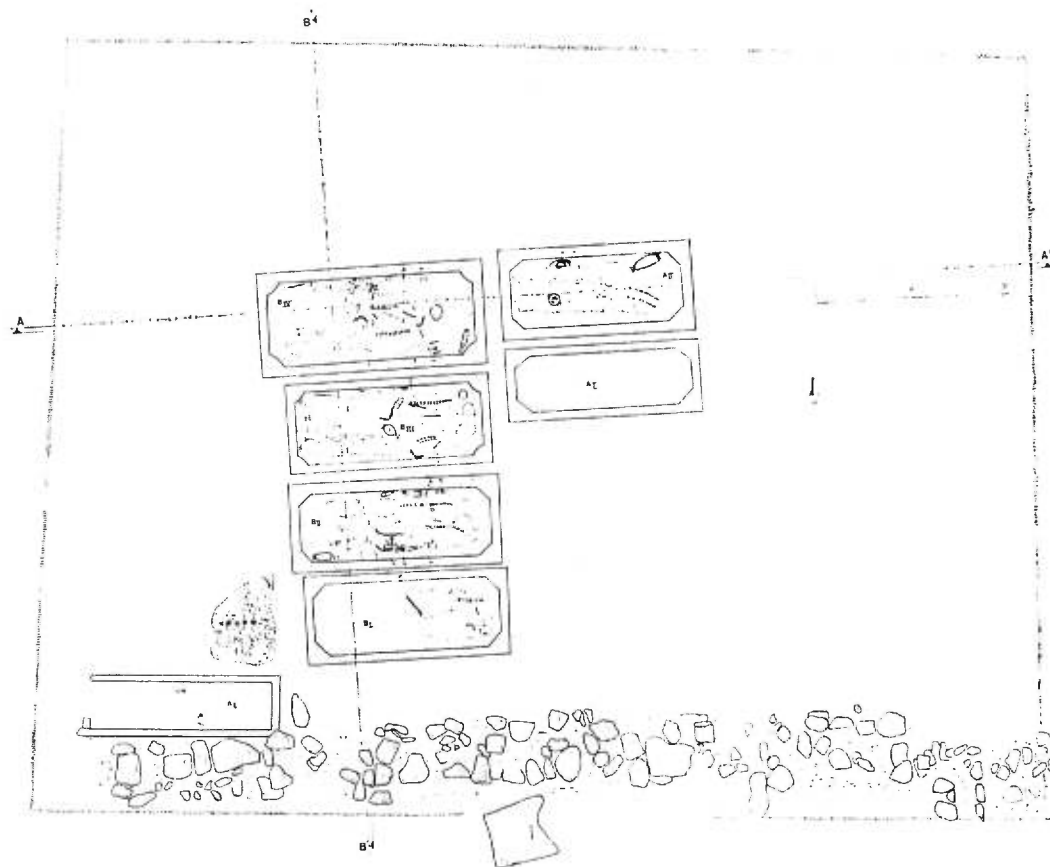


Fig. 8: Sarcophagi and peribolos wall (Source: *AA* T.39,p. 4.)

However, since the excavation was concerned primarily with the burials and not the S-wall, there is no concrete conclusion possible regarding the wall. The wall extends to the east past the limits of the trench which therefore makes it premature to conclude that it is associated to the graves which do not go as far. Even the finds used to date the wall and establish that it is contemporary with the graves must have been found in the same landfill / soil which encompassed the graves and which Grammenos attributes to the erosion of the hill. Thus, it is possible that this wall is actually of a much earlier date, which Grammenos indirectly confirms by suggesting the strong possibility of Archaic graves at further depths in the same trench.¹

As was the case in Akanthos, the numerous figurines were found in the child burials but, contrary to Akanthos, where the child burials contained the majority of the funerary gifts, the bulk of the funerary gifts at Argilos are to be associated to the adult burials.² This contrast between the two colonies may be explained by the fact that out of the over 5000 burials uncovered at Akanthos, the majority are dated to between the 5th

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 44-45.

c. B.C. and the end of the 3rd century. Had the dating of these graves been done more precisely and we were to realize that the majority of these 5000 burials actually dated to after 450 B.C., then the offerings start to resemble those of Argilos where there too are less in number and of poorer quality as of 440 B.C.¹ This phenomenon, according to Tiberios is not attributable to a decline of the economic status of those buried in the plot, but rather, to a general gradual decline of offerings in the Classical period.²

The offerings in the graves at Argilos were mostly clay vessels with a marked predominance of Attic pots.³ Tiberios points out that the proportion of Attic vessels found is a phenomenon usually encountered in Attica and *Magna Graecia* which attests to the prosperity of Argilos in the first half of the 5th c. B.C.⁴ Of these rich ceramic offerings, only 3 are dated to after 440 B.C. which is explained by a change in funerary tradition and inevitably by the establishment of Amphipolis.

In 1986, during the installment of a water pipe along side the National road between Thessaloniki and Kavala, near the Paleokastro hill, parts of the ancient settlement was damaged. The small scale excavation which followed revealed house walls, marble architectural fragments with decoration in relief, as well as a built water-collecting pipe.⁵ The water pipe was found at a point where it turns and heads towards the sea. Also, many Archaic and Classical sherds were found. In 1992, while additional excavations were being conducted in the area of Classical cemetery, the first of six consecutive excavation seasons had begun on the Paleokastro hill.

The excavations at Argilos, rather than being sporadic in nature, as is the case with those of the other three Andrian colonies, were very systematic. Three areas of the hill have been the subject of these campaigns: 1) At the bottom of the hill on its SE flank (south sector); 2) the top of the hill's highest summit where it was thought the acropolis might be situated (acropolis sector); and 3) parallel to, and south of, the National road (National road sector) (Fig. 9).⁶ The cooperative Greek - Canadian study of Argilos is

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

² *Ibid.*; See also: I Morris, *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge, 1992, p. 104-111 & 128-129.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 45-46. Out of the 35 intact vessels, 29 were of Attic origin, 4 were local, and 2 were Corinthian. Of these vessels, 20 lekythoi were offered, of which two were Corinthian, 4 kylixes, 2 pioxides, 1 amphoriskos, 1 canostron, 2 skyphoi (1 of local origin), 1 oinochoi, 1 lekane, 1 baby bottle, and 2 local vessels unidentified with any shape in particular. Ten stone vessels were also found, as well as 18 figurines, of which at least half are of local origin. Among the metal objects found, there were 22 strigels, of which 20 were bronze with a leaf shaped end, 2 bronze chiton pins, 4 rings (2 bronze, 2 iron), and a silver coin found in the hand of the deceased as was often the case for the burials at Akanthos. All the bronze objects were locally made.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁵ *AAT*. 41(1986), p. 177.

⁶ Only the first two years of the excavation have associated published material. The remaining information concerning Argilos and the other years of excavation will be obtained from reports that have

directed by Z. Bonias of and J. Perreault. The systematic approach reveals itself in both the published and unpublished excavation reports because, right from the start, the primary goal of the archaeologists was to extract from the site information which would help understand the process of colonization along the northern coast of the Aegean as well as obtain valuable information on colonial urbanization, relations with the indigenous populations, and the development of the colonial economy.¹

In the south sector (Fig. 10), two houses dating to the middle of the 6th c. B.C. have been uncovered: 1) House A, which is in a considerably good state of conservation, measures 4 x 5.25m; and 2) House D, a little further to the west from House A, has only partially been revealed but undoubtedly belongs to the same period.² In between the two lies a small House E measuring 3.75 x 3m which lies just south of two other buildings of considerable size which have only partly been uncovered.³

Near the end of the 6th century, House A underwent considerable modifications. The central room was enlarged and two small rooms were added to the back of the house. Of similar dimensions (Room A1 - 2.25 x 1.75m; Room A2 - 2.25 x 2.25m), the two rooms had a second floor above them as indicated by the spaces left in the end wall to allow the addition of support beams.⁴

The 5m wide road that runs for over 25m along side this house and House D to the west, is considered to be contemporary with the original phases of the dwellings.⁵ This road, as it is supposed by J. Perreault, must have followed its course towards the acropolis as well as towards the port area.⁶ To the east of House A is another road; less wide than the first, it runs along the side of the house until it hits a wall, where it turns at

yet been published but have been elaborated upon during the *AEMO* conferences given every year in Thessaloniki, and from first hand experience as active participant of the excavation team. These unpublished reports are:

J. Perreault, «Argilos (Grèce du Nord): Rapport sur les cinq premières campagnes de fouille, 1992 - 1996», p.1-6.

----- «Argilos (Grèce du Nord): Rapport sur les trois premières campagnes de fouille, 1992 - 1994», p.1-7.

----- «Mission archéologique Gréco-Canadienne d'Argilos: Rapport sur la campagne de 1995», p.1-4.

----- «Mission archéologique Gréco-Canadienne d'Argilos: Rapport sur la campagne de 1996», p.1-4.

----- «Mission archéologique Gréco-Canadienne d'Argilos: Rapport sur la campagne de 1997», p.1-4.

----- «Fouille archéologique de l'antique Argilos (Grèce du Nord)», 1997, p. 1-5.

¹ J. Perreault, «Fouille archéologique de l'antique Argilos (Grèce du Nord)», 1997, p. 1.

² J. Perreault, «Argilos (Grèce du Nord): Rapport sur les cinq premières campagnes de fouille, 1992 - 1996», p. 3.

³ *Op. cit.*, «Fouille archéologique de l'antique Argilos (Grèce du Nord)», p. 3.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, «Argilos (Grèce du Nord): 1992 - 1996», p. 4

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3-4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4. This notion concerning the course of the road is in part supported by the fact that additional portions of the road are visible on the surface of the flat area facing the flank where the excavations took place.

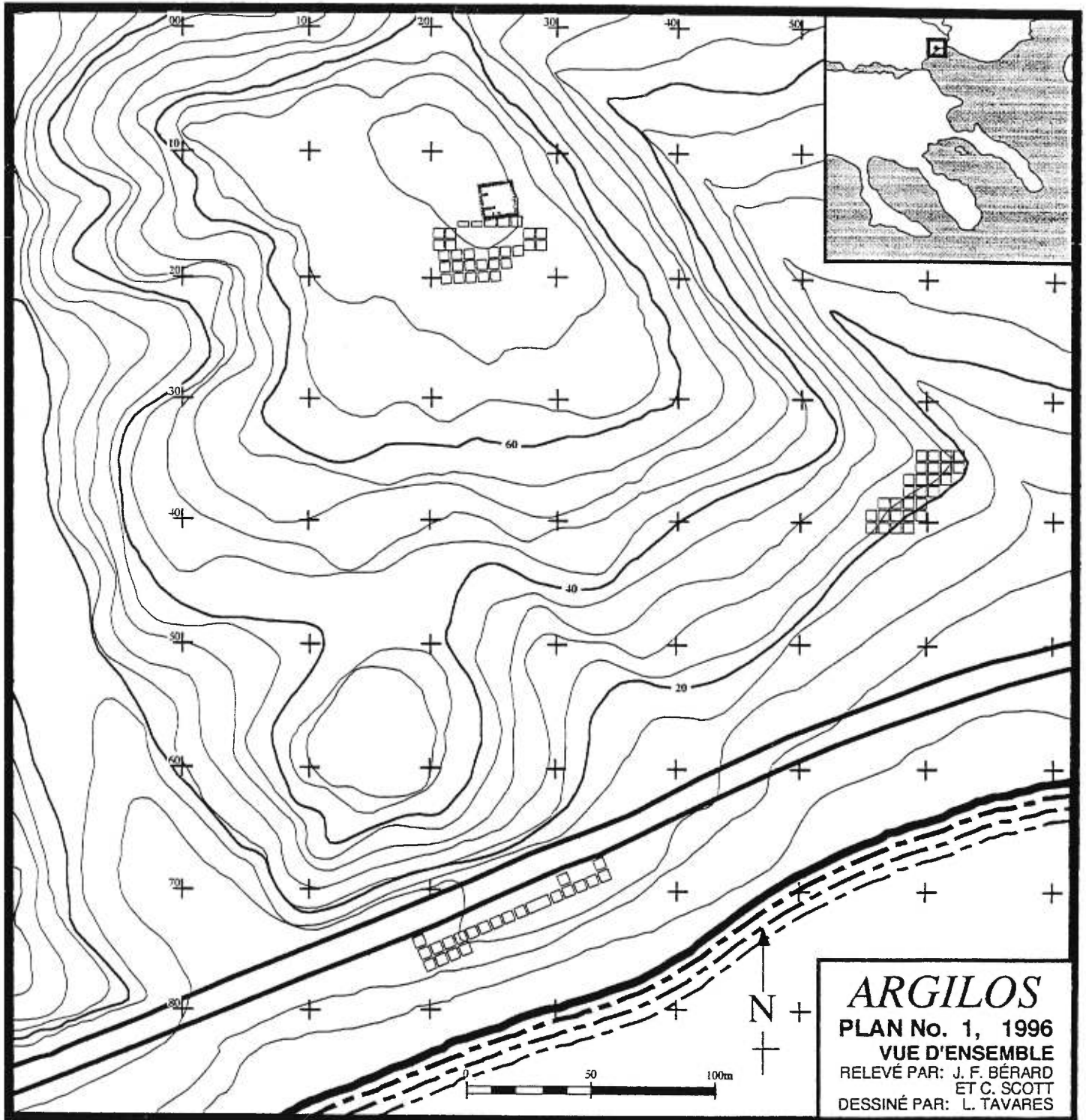


Fig. 9: Topographical plan of Argilos showing areas that were excavated

ARGILOS

PLAN 3

1996

CHANTIER SUD

ÉCHELLE: 1:50

REG. G.V.F. PAR J. Perreault

DESSINÉ PAR L. Tavares

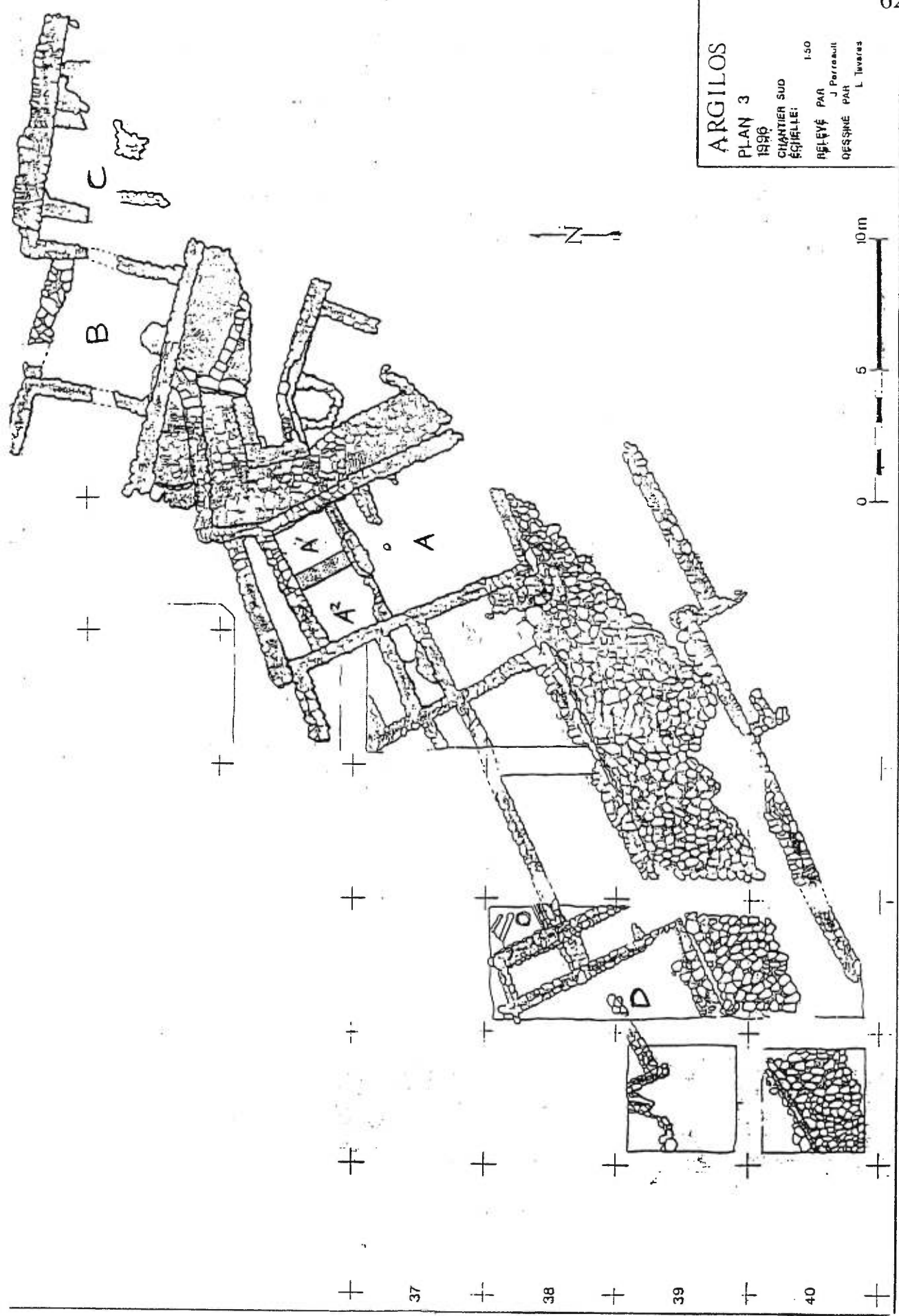


Fig. 10: Topographical plan of the south sector at Argilos

a very acute angle. It continues for a few more meters, all the while going uphill, and then ends abruptly on a terrace built of flat stones turned upright.¹

To the west of these upright stones is a water irrigation canal of over 5m long. The water collected by the canal was poured out onto the terrace where the upright stones no doubt served to either further channel the water or, at least slow it down as poured down the small and winding road. North of the terrace are Houses B and C dating to the 5th c. B.C. House B was the subject of modifications around the beginning of the 4th c. B.C. with the addition of large flat rocks, placed in a vertical position against the end wall in order to prevent it from falling over and/or to help straighten it out.² West of house A, there are indications that additional reconstruction was conducted in the early 4th c. B.C. and which, later around the middle of the same century, would have been abandoned, as the rest of the sector, in concurrence with the sherds found on the roads of which none are dated to later than 350 B.C.³

In the acropolis sector, we also find 6th century habitations being superseded by more recent structures. A single large structure arose from the modifications brought to the Archaic dwellings at the end of the 6th or beginning of the 5th c. B.C. (Fig. 11).⁴ These modifications that lead to this large structure include the addition of a second large building or attachment along the E-W axis of the N-S orientation of the original habitations. Within this E-W axis there are two similar and circular fireplaces towards the eastern end of the structure which in itself has two small rooms.⁵

Therefore, around the turn of the 6th to the 5th c. B.C., a large single structure, composed of two wings, one running E-W, the other N-S, occupied the area of the acropolis.⁶ This idea that the end of the 6th c. B.C. marked a period of reconstruction is supported by the large landfilled pit that was found in the SW corner of the sector, and in which were found many pottery fragments dating to the end of the Archaic period.⁷ It is thought that these two wings may actually have been part of a larger 4-wing structure which enclosed a courtyard.⁸ Of course this may not be determined with certainty by what has been uncovered so far but, what is certain is that some sort of public or religious building did occupy this area in the 5th c. B.C.⁹

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

² *Op. cit.*, «Fouille archéologique de l'antique Argilos (Grèce du Nord)», p. 3.

³ *Op. cit.*, «Argilos (Grèce du Nord): 1992 - 1996», p. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

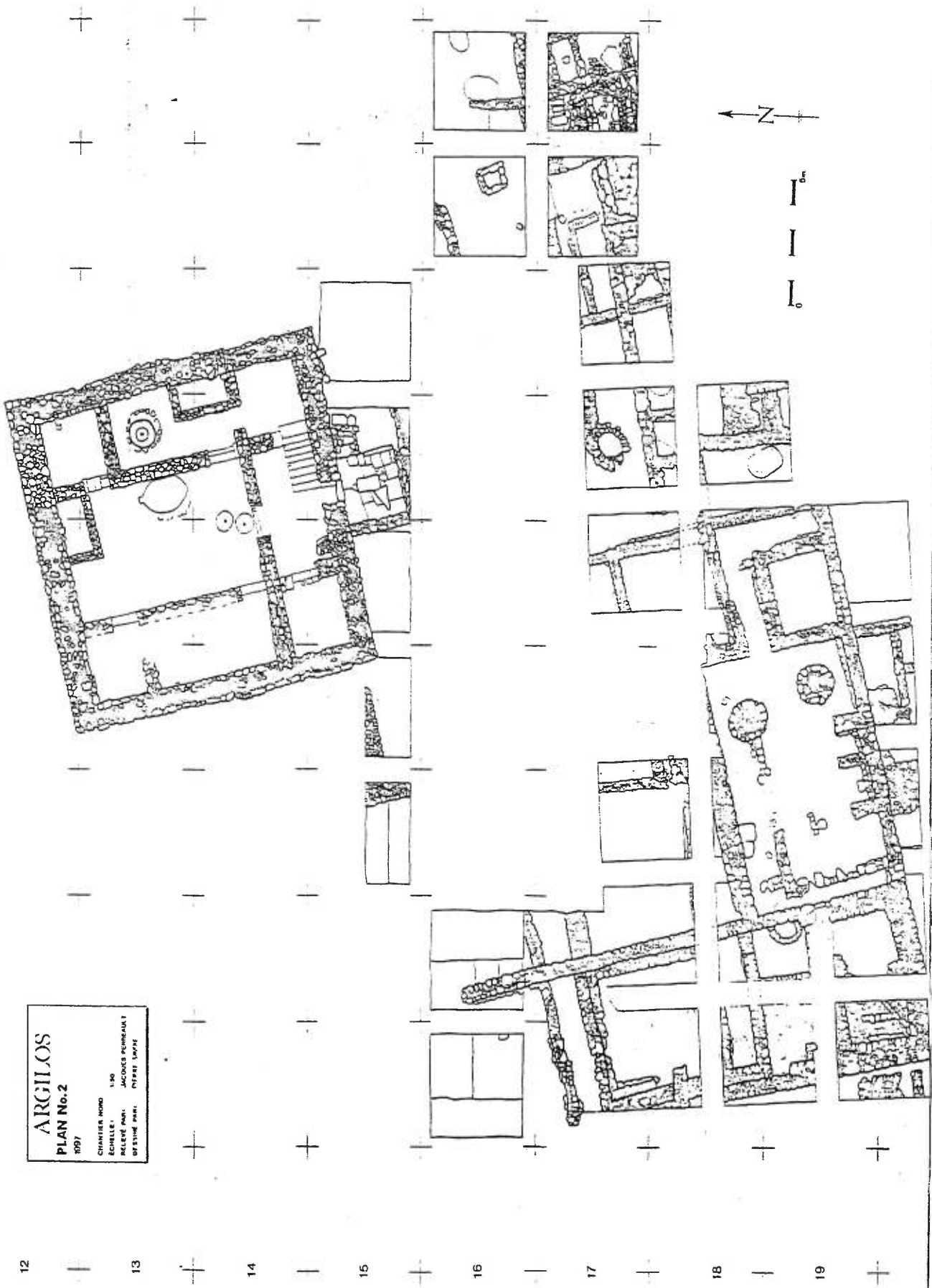
⁵ J. Perreault, «Argilos (Grèce du Nord): Rapport sur les trois premières campagnes de fouille, 1992 - 1994», p. 4.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, «Argilos (Grèce du Nord): 1992 - 1996», p. 4.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, «Argilos (Grèce du Nord): 1992 - 1994», p. 4.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, «Argilos (Grèce du Nord): 1992 - 1996», p. 4.

⁹ *Ibid.*



ARGILOS
 PLAN No. 2
 1907
 CHARLES MOHR
 ÉCHELLE 1/50
 RELIÉ PAR JACQUES FURICAULT
 DÉFINI PAR J. F. S. 1907

Fig. 11: Topographical plan of the acropolis sector at Argilos

Though it is uncertain, it is thought that this sector suffered the same destruction as did the southern sector around the middle of the last century of the Classical period.¹ If so, the acropolis was undoubtedly reoccupied within the same century as demonstrated through the remains of buildings built directly upon earlier remnants and which were possibly used for agricultural purposes.² All of these structures undoubtedly existed in conjunction, thus forming a Hellenistic farm, with the very impressive remains of a large house measuring 13.5 x 14m and whose walls are preserved over a height of almost 3m.³ Within the multi-room house are preserved, a complete staircase leading to a second floor and, all that is necessary for the production of olive oil including a trapetum which was used to separate the olive's skin from its seed.⁴ It is estimated, according to the pottery samples extracted from beneath the floor of the NE and SE rooms, that the abandonment of the farm occurred around the first quarter of the 3rd c. B.C.⁵

For its part, the sector along the National road also yielded some interesting data even though the area has suffered enormous damages due to the building of the old Thessaloniki-Kavala road which used to wind around the hill, and the present road which simply cuts through the bottom portion of the hill. Work performed in order to install underground telephone wires also contributed to the pitiful state of the sector which abruptly ceases to exist to its northern limit as it comes into close contact with the road.

A various assortment of buildings and two small streets (Fig. 12) which date to the 6th c. B.C. were uncovered along with a small portion of the city's fortification wall. These elements, in conjunction with those found in the other sectors, show that the city laid itself out from the shores of the Aegean all the way to the acropolis as of the 6th c. B.C. and that it was fortified as of the same time.⁶

One particular trench which was rid of any structure whatsoever and excavated to a depth of over 6.5m, yielded a considerable amount of late 7th c. B.C. pottery sherds of local, Thracian, and/or Macedonian origin.⁷ Though the trench seems to be constituted of incoherent landfill, the homogeneity of the stratigraphy lends credibility to its supposed authenticity. Unfortunately, not the entire trench was excavated to its total

1 *Op. cit.*, «Fouille archéologique de l'antique Argilos (Grèce du Nord)», p. 3.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*, p. 3-4.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

5 J. Perreault, «Mission archéologique Gréco-Canadienne d'Argilos: Rapport sur la campagne de 1997», p. 3.

6 *Op. cit.*, «Argilos (Grèce du Nord): 1992 - 1996», p. 4-5.

7 *Op. cit.*, «Argilos (Grèce du Nord): 1992 - 1994», p. 5-6.

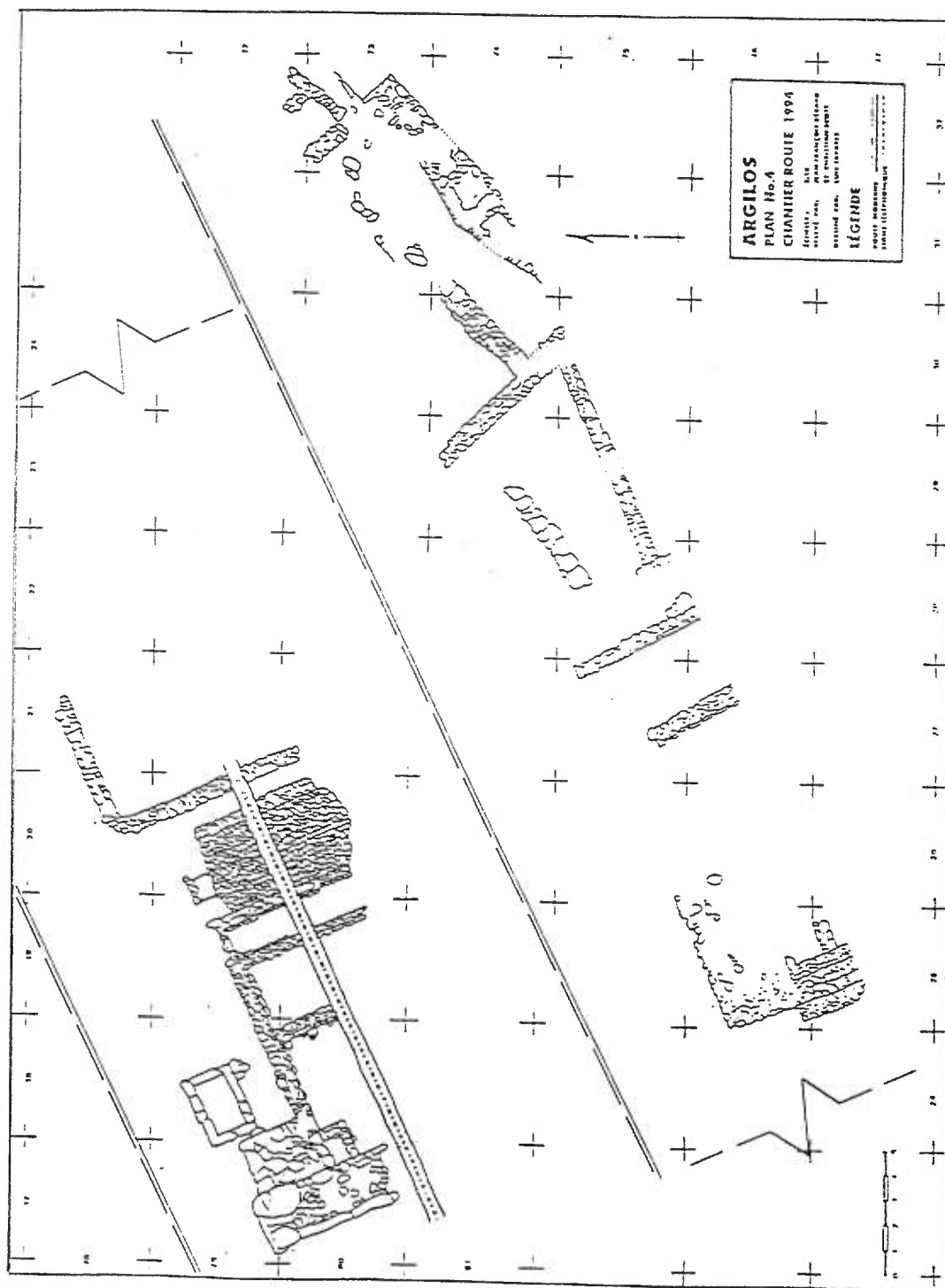


Fig. 12: Topographical plan of the National road sector at Argilos

depth of 6.5m due to the fragility of the bulks. Therefore, the level at which some sporadic rocks and sherds were found laid flat or the level where the powdery remains of a kiln was found could not be concretely established as being a ground level for the area they were found in measured less than 2 x 2m.¹

Nonetheless, it is from this trench and from the trench on the acropolis which encompassed the pit that the oldest ceramic fragments were found dating to the 3rd and 4th quarters of the 7th century.² Aside from the local fragments of Thraco-Macedonian origin, there are many fragments of an "Olynthiac" type pottery, said to prevail from Olynthos based on the fact that there were found the first fragments, but which is found in abundance at Argilos and on other sites in the Chalcidic peninsula.³ There are also two types of Greek vases represented in the fragments pertaining to the century which concords with the establishment of the colony. The most obvious of these are those which come from Asia Minor, such as bird bowls and rosette bowls, but there are also 7th c. fragments which prevail from the Cyclades.⁴ However, it was not expected that the numerous skyphoi fragments associated to this period would be Syphnian.⁵

The 6th and 5th centuries provide a much more varied selection of pottery. The first half of the 6th c. B.C. is dominated by Corinthian imports, but there are numerous Attic finds and some from Asia Minor.⁶ There also appears in this century a variety of wares prevailing from production centers situated as near by as Thasos or the Chalcidic peninsula.⁷ Towards the end of the Archaic period (520 B.C.), there tends to be more and more Attic pottery, especially black glaze, but also a good number of red-figured pottery.⁸ Concerning the latter, over 700 fragments were found belonging mostly to large open vessels such as craters at first, then, around the middle of the 5th c. B.C., small vases become predominant.⁹ What is important to note here is that all phases of Attic red-figured pottery are represented from the end of the 6th c. B.C. right through the 4th c. B.C., when there is a considerable decline of these imports of which signs are apparent as of the last quarter of the preceding century.¹⁰

¹ J. Perreault, «Mission archéologique Gréco-Canadienne d'Argilos: Rapport sur la campagne de 1995», p. 2.

² *Op. cit.*, «Fouille archéologique de l'antique Argilos (Grèce du Nord)», p. 2.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Op. cit.*, «Argilos (Grèce du Nord): 1992 - 1996», p. 5.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Information obtained from summary of Attic red-figure pottery written by Hubert Giroux, resident Attic red-figure specialist of the Argilos excavation team.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

The excavations at Argilos, conducted with a critical eye, has perhaps not yielded as many majestic finds as in Stagira or as many mobile finds as in Akanthos, but, the systematic approach and the numerous specialists used to analyze the finds make it such that it is equal to the task, if not greater, in supplying valuable information permitting the establishment of a socio-economic history of the Andrian colonies.

(4.5)The Archaeological Remnants: Concluding Remarks

From this overview of the architectural remains and mobile finds of the four Andrian colonies, it is clear that the conclusions that can be extracted are limited especially when it comes to Sane, for which the excavations have been very limited. In the case of Akanthos and Stagira, the fact that efforts were concentrated around the necropolis and fortification walls respectively, also hinders the forthcoming analysis and establishment of the socio-economic history of the colonies. This is not to say that the data acquired is entirely useless, but clearly, the task of laying down the history of the colonies would be facilitated had more "systematic" excavations taken place at these said sites. Though the finds at Argilos may not be as impressive as those of Akanthos and Stagira, the reports, published and unpublished, are more rewarding in that they forward data in a historically oriented manner.

Thus, the archaeological data from Argilos and the other three Andrian colonies will be analyzed in conjunction with the evidence and/or theories extracted from the ancient sources in order to accomplish the primary goal of this thesis which is to lay down the concrete, the probable, and the improbable in regards to the histories of the said colonies from the time of their foundation until the foundation the Peace of Nicias or thereabouts.

(5.0)Analysis : Towards a Socio-Economic History of the Colonies of Andros

The varying degrees in quantity and character of the information available for Sane, Akanthos, Stagira, and Argilos, as provided by the ancient sources and the archaeological findings, would make it impossible to establish a socio-economic history of any one colony in particular based solely on that colony's data. This assessment is the principal reason why the colonies are examined as a whole entity as well as on an individual basis. Considering given information on one colony and relating its probability to the others, will perhaps make it possible to fill in gaps that would otherwise have remained void had each colony's history been established based solely on related merit.

Thus, the ultimate goal of this analysis of the data acquired is to establish, when possible, the individual histories of the Andrian colonies, and where information is lacking, to try and rationalize a possible history based on the findings of the other Andrian colonies and/or neighboring Greek colonies. Secondary sources are used to compliment the primary sources in establishing the parallel histories of other peoples and other aspects which had an impact on the development of the Andrian colonies.

(5.1)The 7th c. B.C.: The Colonization Process

In the years immediately preceding the supposed foundation of the Andrian colonies in 655/54 B.C., a considerable amount of events took place in the Chalcidice and lower Strymon regions which had an inevitable and direct impact on the actual colonization ventures of Andros. Among the most important of these events are the mass migrations and expansions of the various indigenous populations.

(5.1.1)The Migratory and Expandatory Movements of the Indigenous Populations

The Illyrian expansion towards the east forced other existing populations to migrate to safer grounds. Expanding from the Adriatic coast as of early in the 8th c. B.C., they took control of the Vardar valley pushing the Phrygian Briges to the northern hills and occupied land as far as the Strymon valley as demonstrated by the presence of the Illyrian Maedi tribe in the valley of the middle Strymon after the foundation of Amphipolis.¹ Near the beginning of the 7th c. B.C., the Paeonians were also forced to

¹ *HM-I*, p. 422-423.

withdraw eastwards in the general area of the upper Strymon valley.¹ But, the expansion of the Illyrian tribes was relatively short lived as they were forced back westward within the first half of the 7th century. It was in this period that changes started to take place in Asia Minor and Thrace driven by the migrating Cimmerians from the north.²

The Cimmerians, themselves forced to move on by the Scythians, found allies in Thrace, including the Edoni, and invaded and settled that area in Asia Minor which had been settled by the Phrygians, who were destroyed as too was the Lydian kingdom of Gyges.³ The movement of the Cimmerians and their allies westward forced the retreat of Illyrian tribes and created opportunities for other populations, such as the Paeonians who settled around the Strymon basin and further north along the upper Strymon valley.⁴

The Macedonians in turn would as of the middle of the century expand their territory towards the east but prior to this happening, Thracian tribes, especially the Edonians, benefiting from their alliance with the Cimmerians, settled areas east of the Strymon⁵ as well as the fertile lands of Mygdonia and moved westwards to as far the Axios river.⁶ It controlled Crestonia to the north, Crousia to the SW of the Chalcidic peninsula, and the Sithonian peninsula itself which was under the control of the Sithones, an Edonic tribe.⁷ However, as the new Macedonian Argead dynasty came into being around 650 B.C., the expansion of the Macedones started to take definite form. The Bisaltae, a tribe independent of the Edones, established itself in the area to the west of the Strymon. Though it is uncertain as of when this land became theirs, it is strongly probable that it was as of the time of the Thracian migrations since by 480 B.C. they had even absorbed Crestonia, the adjacent territory to the north-west with whom they had a common king.⁸

The first two stages of the Macedonian expansion, between 650 - 550 B.C., saw the repelling and destruction of the Pieres of Piera and the Bottiaei of Bottiaea, the latter retreating across the Axios river to the area adjacent to Olynthos which they founded, and the former, it is thought, fled or escaped to the area just south of Mt. Pangaeon

1 *Ibid.*

2 *Ibid.*, p. 427.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*, p. 428.

5 *Ibid.*, The Odomantes and the Bistones were of the Edonic tribes which settled in the area east of the Strymon.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 427-428.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*, p. 191-203.

where it is thought they may have joined a related tribe formerly known as the Cicones.¹

So, the time that saw the establishment of the Andrian colonies, as well as the Thasian colonies to the west and the Euboean colonies in Chalcidice, was a time of massive shifts in power and of mass migrations of the indigenous populations. These rather unstable conditions may have facilitated the founding of colonies for the indigenous populations were probably more interested in the fertile lands lying towards the interior than the coastal lands which, by nature, are more a part of the Greek seafaring world.² However, in principal, by the observations made above, at around the middle of the 7th c. B.C., the colonization ventures of Andros would have had to have dealt with the Bisaltae mostly (Map 5), but also the Pieres and Edones east of the Strymon for the establishment of Argilos and with the Bottiaei, an independent and non-Thracian tribe of Chalcidice, for the establishment of Sane, Akanthos, and Stagira. The indigenous population of the Bottiaei would also have been, along with the Croussaei, concerned with the arrival of the Euboeans on the other two prongs of the Chalcidic peninsula while Thracians, to the west, with the arrival of the Parians on Thasos.



Map 5: Indigenous populations east of the Axios River (Source: *HM-I*, p. 180.)

1 *Ibid.*, p. 438.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 192.

(5.1.2) The Time of Colonization and Relations with the Indigenous Populations

We saw earlier concerning Thasos and its *peraea*,¹ that at times, especially during the establishment of the *peraea*, that the Parians and Thasians were obliged to battle the Thracian tribes who refused to give up territory or were simply revolting against the Parian/Thasian presence in the area and therefore were out to protect their interests. All this taking place east of the Strymon, the character of the colonization undertaken by Paros was undoubtedly different than that of Andros and the Euboean city-states of Chalcis and Eretria because the effects of the push by the Macedonians towards the east were probably only felt up to and including the Strymon valley as demonstrated by the retreat of the Pieres to the area of Mt. Pangaeon. Therefore, since the Thasians were dealing with relatively sedentary Thracian tribes, which would have permitted some sort of political organization, or to the very least, a consolidation of forces among the tribes, the conclusion that the establishment of the Thasian *peraea* was the result of long and arduous battles against the Thracians seems even more plausible. The undisturbed Thracian lands east of the Strymon also help to support the probability of ongoing battles even after the coastal colonies were established.

In the middle of the 7th c. B.C., the expansion of the Macedones probably did not extend further south in Chalcidice than the area settled by the Bottiaei and certainly no further east than the pass of Rendina (Map 5).² This fact, once again supports the relatively easy conditions with which the Greeks had to deal with in colonizing the three prongs of Chalcidice and the colonies facing the Strymonic gulf. The military prowess of the Macedonian movement only served to weaken the indigenous populations which retreated and in turn, served as a sort of buffer between the Greeks and the Macedonians.

Another important aspect of the movement of the indigenous populations is the occupation of the most easterly prong of the Chalcidian peninsula, Acte, by a variety of peoples namely the Crestones, the Bisaltae, and the Edones.³ It is in the opinion of the N.G.L. Hammond, that these inhabitants of Acte were probably forced to take refuge there as a result of the retreating Bottiaecans who were destined to take over the area at the base of the three prongs of Chalcidice.⁴ If so, we must assume that this migration occurred before the establishment of the Andrian colonies or during the very early days of their existence when interference on the part of the Greeks would have been kept to a minimum and the migration to the south-east of Chalcidice may be completed. Though

¹ *Supra*, Sect. 2.3.1, p.14-15.

² Thucydides, IV, 109.

³ *HM-I*, p. 192.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 440.

in the afore mentioned passage from Thucydides which attests the strong Thracian population on Acte, there is also mention of Chalcidian inhabitants, perhaps at Cleonae, it is the opinion of S.C. Bakhuizen that these Chalcidians referred to were not of Euboean origin but rather, were indigenous of Chalcidice.¹ In addition, it has far from been established, either through archaeological data or literary sources, what the actual foundation date was for the supposed Chalcidian settlement of Cleonae on Acte, just south of the Andrian colony of Sane. Therefore, at the onset of the Andrian colonization, the Andrians came mostly into contact with the Bisaltae and Edones and this at both extremities of the perimeter that they would occupy.

One would think that the Bottiaei would also have come into contact with the colonizing Greeks and it is likely but, only to a very minimal extent as demonstrated by the total absence of pottery prevailing from the nearby Greek colonies at the Bottiaean city of Olynthos between 650 - 550 B.C.² The Bottiaean along with the Crousaei seem to have been resistant of the influences of the nearby Greek colonies to the same extent as the Macedones.³ Trade, at this time seems to have been more intense between the Greek cities of the Thessalian coast and Thracians settled near the eastern coast of the Thermaic Gulf.⁴ This commercial activity may stem from the very early contacts Thracians had with the Eretrian colony of Methone, established according to Plutarch in 730 B.C.,⁵ or the Chalcidian colony of Torone, founded in 700 B.C. on the Sithonian peninsula around the time as the arrival of the Thracian Sithones.

The gradual manner with which Paros proceeded to establish Thasos indisputably indicates that pre-colonial contacts represented a necessary preliminary stage in the overall process of colonization in Northern Greece. By the time of the establishment of the Andrian colonies, this stage of the Greek colonization process had more or less been completed by the Euboeans, supposing that the Andrians themselves may not have needed to venture north very frequently prior to the actual colonization of Sane, Akanthos, Stagira, and Argilos.

The four Andrian colonies, according to historical tradition, were all founded in 655/54 B.C., but this is based on direct associations to a very late source, Eusebius.⁶

¹ *Op. cit.*, S.C. Bakhuizen, p. 15. On the origin of the Ionic Chalcidians indigenous of the Chalcidice since the end of the Mycenaea Age see: M. Zahrt, *Olynth und die Chalkidier. Untersuchungen zur Staatenbildung auf der chalcidischen Halbinsel im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Vestigia 14 (1971), p. 12-27.

² *HM-I*, p. 440.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.*, 11.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, A.J. Graham, *CAH*, p. 117.

Akanthos and Stagira are the two colonies which are dated by Eusebius to this period. By inferred reasoning, since Plutarch mentions the quasi-simultaneous foundation of Akanthos and Sane,¹ it is only logical to assume that Sane was founded at this same date. Argilos on the other hand, has no literary evidence to support that it was founded at the same time as the other colonies. It is only by association to the other three Andrian colonies that its accepted traditional founding date is the same as for the others. However, it seems to be rather imprudent to accept the foundation dates of the four colonies which are based on a rather late source. Though, it is useful in indicating to researchers what evidence they should be looking for or should expect, it would be of a more scientific nature, since sufficient research has been done on the four sites, to subject this literary source to the archaeological evidence at hand in order to properly establish the foundation dates of the four colonies.

Thus, based on the findings from the four colonies, of which very few fragments date to before the last quarter of the 7th c. B.C.,² it is, at present, more reasonable to assume that the Andrian colonies were founded during the course of the 3rd quarter of the 7th century in conjunction with the findings and the retreat of the Bisaltae and the Edones to the promontory of Acte in the second half of the same century. The occupation of Acte by the Bisaltae, the Edones and other indigenous populations reveals itself to be an important factor in the direction and development of Andrian colonization.

As supposed, the migration by the Bisaltae and the Edones to Acte was conducted prior to the arrival of the Greeks and because of the expansion of the Macedonians beginning around 650 B.C. which forced the Bottiaean to retreat to Chalcidice. Support for this hypothesis is also shown in the eventual choice of sites by the Andrian colonists. Even though the Eretrians and the Chalcidians chose to settle the peninsulas of Sithonia and Pallene, the Andrians who according to Plutarch,³ were aided by the Chalcidians which would suppose a continuation of the pattern, simply avoided the peninsula of Acte and headed north along the coastline, therefore avoiding a possible conflict with the residents of this prong. This avoidance of conflict is once again exemplified by the location of the other colonies especially Argilos which is situated 4km east of the Strymon and therefore, of the Edones, who lived just east of the river at Ennea Hodoi and undoubtedly attached a great deal of importance to the commerce of the Strymon basin, explaining why they wouldn't allow anyone to settle in proximity of

¹ Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.*, 30.

² *Supra*, Sect. 4.2, p. 48; 4.4, p. 67. Only in Akanthos and Argilos have mobile finds been dated to the last quarter of the 7th c. B.C. while J. Perreault has unofficially concluded that some of these said fragments from Argilos actually pertain to the 3rd quarter of the 7th century.

³ Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.*, 30.

the river's banks on the coast. Of course this pattern of Andrian expansion supposes that Sane was established first on the NW extremity of Acte and that Akanthos, Stagira, and Argilos were subsequently settled.

There are two reasons which lead to this conclusion. The first is based on geographic reasoning and the second based on Plutarch's account of the colonization of Sane and Akanthos. The fact Sane lies on the Singitic Gulf rather than on the Strymonic Gulf strongly supports the above reasoning by the orderly pattern of colonization in which it falls and maintains. Plutarch's acknowledgment that Chalcis was part of the expedition is part of this pattern. It would be unreasonable to suppose that any of the other three colonies was established by Andros alone and that thereafter, they would have combined their efforts with Chalcis to colonize a settlement which, by the indications in this study's section on ancient sources, was not a very prosperous one.¹ The Chalcidians and Andrians, in colonizing Sane, would have undoubtedly followed the same route with which the Chalcidians were accustomed and may even have undertaken the final phase of colonization from Singos, a supposedly Chalcidian colony opposite Sane on the eastern shore of Sithonia (Map 1).² To maintain this pattern, it would have been logical that subsequent colonies be implemented south of Sane, but as mentioned earlier, the presence of the Edones and other indigenous populations on Acte most likely forced the Andrians to venture northward to settle Akanthos.

Akanthos, if settled from Sane, was almost certainly settled by land because of its proximity to the latter. It is highly unlikely that the colonists went by sea, through the renowned rough waters which surround Acte's point in order to colonize what is highly achievable by foot. A possibility which would permit such thinking is that the Andrians traveled by sea hoping to colonize other sites on Acte but were unable to do so, until arriving at Akanthos, because of the resident indigenous tribes of Acte. However, giving pre-colonial contacts some credit, it must be assumed that the colonists would not have adventured blindly and were aware of the peninsula's inaccessibility.

The colonization of Stagira and Argilos, not attested for by Plutarch may not have been part of this seemingly continuous process of colonization. Though based on reasoning and the pattern established so far, it seems logical to assume that Stagira was the next colony to be settled, but the origin of the settlement is entirely ambiguous; that is, whether it was part of a single venture or grand plan to colonize the eastern coastline of Chalcidice or if it was a result of gradual exploration towards the north.

¹ Herodotus, VII, 22; 116.

² The fact is, there is actually no literary or archaeological evidence linking Singos to Chalcis. It is linked to Chalcis by tradition descending from the fact that all other the sites on Sithonia are Chalcidian.

It may have been that Stagira was settled with an entirely different group of colonists from Andros which would make it likely that the site was, at least in part, attained by sea. Nevertheless, whether it be a grand plan or a totally separate venture which lead to the colonization of Stagira, the pattern of colonization so far, as do unwritten rules of exploration, indicates that the starting point for the colonization of Stagira was Akanthos. Akanthos may have very well also been the starting point for the venture which brought Andrians to Argilos.

Supposing for a moment, as the avoidance of settling Acte indicates, that the actual settling of the four Andrian colonies was done in a relatively peaceful manner, it seems reasonable to assume that a mutual respect of sorts existed between the Bisaltae, the Edones, and the Andrians and that interactions between the groups were not unlikely. Furthermore, these interactions probably played a direct or indirect role in the actual selection of the sites to be colonized. Much in the same way that the indigenous populations of North America aided, and sometimes even served as guides to the European explorers and colonists who crossed the Atlantic, those taking refuge on Acte may have performed the same task for the Andrians. Supported by the fact mentioned earlier that Bisaltians and Edonians alike were settled at each extremity of the Andrian "*peraea*", it is not too doubtful that the former guided the Andrians to the site which was to become Argilos, or at the very least, pointed towards it. The latter suggestion could perhaps even be attributed to Stagira as well for curiously enough both the sites of Stagira and Argilos have particular landmark traits (Mt. Pangaeon for the latter and the small island of Karpos situated in front of the Stagirian peninsula), visible from many points of Acte to which direction could be pointed towards or made reference to by the Bisaltae and/or the Edones.

Thus, considering all these elements, based solely on geographic reasoning, it is highly likely that the Andrian colonies were settled successively from south to north. This probability becomes all the more likely when we take Plutarch's testimony into consideration.¹ This second reason which affirms the likelihood of a S to N process of successive colonization recounts the story surrounding the naming of the "Beach of Araenus". The passage clearly indicates that Sane was established prior to the foundation of Akanthos. As well it points out the relative ease the colonists had in establishing Sane and Akanthos, the first being treacherously given up to the settlers and the second having been abandoned before the colonists had even arrived. In both cases, rather than combating with the Greeks, the indigenous populations, whether it be Thracian or Bottiaean, gave up their rights to the place. Now, it is quite impossible to

¹ *Supra*, Sect. 3.2, p. 31-33.

determine who inhabited the settlements prior to the Greeks' arrival but in all likelihood they were Thracian since it is in the general area of the refuge of Acte towards which they were fleeing. Furthermore, Plutarch's account only really yields that the sites were in fact betrayed and abandoned respectively. These terms are basically one and the same which simply emphasizes once again the ease with which the Andrians were permitted to settle. In the end, we may not at this point even suppose that the sites were abandoned due to the arrival of the Greeks for it may be just as likely that when they arrived, the sites had long been evacuated in the process which saw the Thracians take refuge on Acte.

This theory concluding on the relative ease with which the Greeks were permitted to settle must not take credit away from the Thracian tribes besides which they lived. Both the Bisaltae and the Edones are referred to as being strong in the Archaic period. The Edoni were part of the leading force behind the Thracian expansion to the west.¹ Two Edonic tribes, the Odomantes and the Bistones held the territory between the Strymon and the Nestus.² The Mygdones who occupied the land called Mygdonia were also of Edonic stock.³ The Bisaltae were Thracian but not considered Edonic. Their strength is represented in the fact that at the time of Xerxes' passage Bisaltia included the former Crestonian territory adjacent to it.⁴ However, it seems that the Bisaltae were not too keen on fighting and preferred to retreat than do battle as indicated by their taking refuge on Acte and by the evasive action undertaken by the king of the Bisaltia at the time of Xerxes' passage.⁵

Hence, with the aggressive migratory movement of the Macedonians, the Andrian colonists, whose number probably did not exceed that of the retreating Bisaltae, did not represent a comparable threat, the Bisaltae may in fact have perceived them as allies.

The Crestones, whose territory was to later be annexed to Bisaltia, no doubt viewed the coming of the Greeks with the same eye. However, the Edones, the strongest tribe in the Edonic group and the last to be expelled by the Macedones,⁶ probably had a more preventive point of view in regards to the Andrians indicated by the emplacement of Argilos, 4km to the west of the Strymon and the Edonian inhabitants around there. The Edonian tribes were the most resistant of the Thracians when the Macedonians

1 *HM-I*, p. 427.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 428.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*, p. 193.

5 Herodotus, VIII, 116.

6 *HM-I*, p. 438.

started to advance westward. Their position in Mygdonia was strong and it wasn't until the middle of the 6th c. B.C. that they were forced to retreat west and/or to take refuge on Acte.¹ Therefore, the presence of Edonic tribes on Acte, prior to the arrival of the Greeks, is likely, but most probably comprised of the weakest elements of the Edonic group, namely, the Crestones. Had the residents of Acte, or those which lived along the coastline from Acte to the Strymon, once been strong in combat, the altercations with the Bottiaean and the Macedonians had no doubt weakened them considerably making them more favorable to cooperate upon the arrival of the Greeks.

The evidence so far shows the positive effect the relations between the indigenous populations and the Andrians had on the colonization process. It is of course inevitable that certain negative effects may have had an impact on this same process. It is the case of the relations between the Greeks and the other indigenous peoples of the region, namely, the Bottiaean and the Macedonians. The Macedonians did not seem to readily align themselves with the latter aside for sporadic trading purposes with the Greeks of the Thermaic Gulf.² The Bottiaean seem to have reacted the same way towards the Greeks for, as mentioned earlier, none of the Greek colonies are represented among the finds of Olynthos pertaining to the 100 years between 650 - 550 B.C. The animosity that this represents may, to some extent, have contributed to the choosing of the sites by Andrian colonists.

The colonists may invariably have preferred to establish themselves within the many valleys that lay towards the interior and that were accessible through the intricate network of rivers, but instead they avoided the interior and its fertile environment, heading north along the coast, satisfying themselves with the coastal plains and the Aegean with which they were much accustomed to. However, even though the choice of their sites may have ultimately been restricted right from the start to coastal settlements, the nature of one of the sites along the Chalcidian coastline, that of Stagira, indicates that enemy attack was a strong possibility and was taken into account in selecting the emplacement of Stagira. The colony of Stagira was situated on a small peninsula of defensible character. Its rocky contour left Stagira vulnerable at only one extremity of its perimeter, the western extremity where the 1500m wall of the Classical period was uncovered by K. Sismanidis and his team.

Argilos is also a good example of a site with incorporated natural defenses. The hill which it is located on is lined with deep ravines to the W and NW and the sea to the south leaving it vulnerable to the east and north. However, since we have established

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 441.

the relatively friendly circumstances under which the Andrians were permitted to colonize Argilos, the north did not worry the Greeks for this was the area of the Bislatae with which the Andrians must have had good relations with and, the 4km buffer zone between Argilos and the Edonians of the Strymon (perhaps imposed by the latter) was no doubt viewed by both as a reassurance of each other's honorable intentions.

The choice of the locations may not be attributed uniquely to the defensible character of the area. As is demonstrated by Plutarch's testimony, Sane and Akanthos were probably settled on existing sites. Based on this same testimony and on Sane's geographical emplacement, it may be concluded that Sane was most certainly attained by sea, which would explain its coastal emplacement. It is also supposed that Akanthos was reached by land, on account of Plutarch's testimony and the fact that Akanthos' principal settlement was situated on the slopes of hills which lie inland.

By the numerous amount of Thracian pottery sherds found in the lowest levels at Argilos, we also get the impression that it was founded on a former or existing indigenous settlement. The oldest Greek sherds from this site were found in the acropolis and National road sectors indicating that right from the start Argilos occupied the bottom of the hill near the coast as well as the top. K. Sismanidis suggests for Stagira that the initial settlement was situated only on the eastern hill of the Stagirian peninsula. The fact that all three northern sites were based on hills clearly shows that the notion of defense was an integral part in the selection of a site.

Therefore, there seems here to be an additional pattern within the pattern which saw the choice of the sites being based on the favorable relations with the Thracians of Acte. This internal pattern suggests that the choice of sites was narrowed down based on three determinants: 1) proximity to navigable waters; 2) environmental conditions which facilitated defense; 3) previously inhabited or existing sites whose remains may have served as building material for the first phase of the settlements.

Hence, in the favorable relations that the Andrians had with the Thracians, the pattern by which the colonies would be founded was rooted. Pre-colonial contacts granted, the actual foundation of the colonies seems, according to archaeological finds, to have taken place during the course of the 3rd quarter of the 7th c. B.C. The picture painted here is one of organization and determination on the part of the Andrians which demonstrates that by no means was the venture to colonize performed in a haphazard way.

(5.1.3) Reasons and Causes of the Andrian Colonization Movement

Having surveyed the general colonization process of the Andrian expansion in Northern Greece from the time of their initial presence in Chalcidice through the colonization of Sane, Akanthos, Stagira and Argilos, it is imperative to examine the reasons and causes which led Andros to colonize. What were the conditions on Andros? Why did they head north? These questions are difficult enough to answer as it is, and the present state of research on Andros being so limited,¹ the task becomes outright impossible to carry out based on the findings concerning Andros alone. Therefore, indirect stipulations can be expected based on the reasons for colonization which have been noted for Paros and Euboea.

As has been established for Euboea and Paros it is highly unlikely that a demographic explosion be at the root of the Andrian colonization movement. It is important to note that within the confines of present day Andros, there are three fertile valleys which more or less run E-W. Aside from this, the rest of the island is mostly barren.² If this state of desolation represents a similar state in antiquity, then it is possible that the Andrians were seeking land to a certain extent, however, the barrenness of the island today may simply be attributed to its exploitation in antiquity. The fact that the Andrians themselves admit to the "impotence" of their land,³ as described by Herodotus should not be taken too seriously for it may simply have been a cunning attempt to avoid payments to Athens. Though he doesn't explain why he thinks so, L.H. Jeffery suggests that Andros was indeed a poor island; he acknowledges the same phenomenon for Paros as well which implies a generally biased approach on his part in explaining the colonization movement.⁴ Assuredly, the 12 talent tribute Andros paid Athens in 451/0 B.C. and the 6 talents thereafter, does not help to yield an image of an impoverished island.⁵ Furthermore, the three fertile valleys of Andros were probably more than sufficient to feed everyone, but Greece in the 7th c. B.C. was not a land of equal opportunity for all, which implies that the fertile valleys of Andros, if sufficient, were not used to the benefit of all of its residents, creating two classes, the land owning and the landless. As was concluded for Euboea, social strife stemming from this particular class division definitely played an important role in the colonization process for it is this landless class which would have formed the bulk of the colonists recruited

¹ *Op. cit.*, A. Cambitoglou, p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³ Herodotus, VIII, 111.

⁴ L.H. Jeffery, *Archaic Greece: The City-States, c. 700-500 B.C.*, London, 1976, p. 183-184.

⁵ *ATL*, I, p. 230.

by those that were at the head of the ventures, the land owning aristocrats which are attested by A. Snodgrass as being the initiators of the colonization movement as a whole.¹

The unequal division of class on Andros can only be attributed to the unequal division of the land and the resources it possessed. This exploitation by the aristocrats on Andros had most likely reached a limit and rather than beating up on themselves, as may have been the case during the Lelantine War on Euboea, the rich leaders engaged themselves, or trustworthy associates, in colonizing ventures which would rid Andros of an undesirable population and permit the exploitation of new land. Snodgrass suggests that colonization may have permitted the transfer of the burden of serfdom from the landless Greeks to the indigenous populations they overtook in the colonization process.² However, he also acknowledges the communality of the indigenous populations being permitted to remain within the newly established state's territory and allowed to interact.³ This last suggestion by Snodgrass seems to have prevailed at the Andrian colonies, but it should not be interpreted to suggest that the social strife between the aristocrats and those who had been reduced to serfdom was not alleviated by the acquisition of the new territory.

Colonization would resolve the aristocratic problem of an undesirable population, the latter forming the bulk of the colonists who invariably would benefit from the newly acquired territory which they helped secure. From this settlement, could evolve a *polis* - like community which, as well as serve itself, could serve the interests of the aristocratic class who ventured north to exploit its land and resources in the same way they did on Andros.

(5.1.4) Natural Resources

The search for natural resources cannot be ignored as being a factor and a cause of the colonization movement towards the northern Aegean. Since it is most likely that pre-colonial contacts must have taken place prior to any actual implementation of a settlement, it is obvious, as demonstrated above, that colonists chose the eventual site to be colonized based on a criteria which would include all things related to the quality of the land and the natural resources that it may yield such as wood and various metals. Natural resources being assuredly abundant in northern Greece, the possibility of the

¹ A. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece: The Age of Experiment*, London, 1980, p. 40-41; 121-122.

² *Ibid.* p. 94-96.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

exploitation of these was by no means guessed upon by the aristocratic factions of Andros.

In the case of Thasos, Herodotus mentions that the gold mines on the island were exploited by the Phoenicians before the Parians had even opted to settle the island.¹ If Herodotus was aware of this fact, it seems rational to believe the Parians were aware of the possibility of exploiting the mines themselves.

Pliny the Elder mentions Paros as being an island whose quality of soil is insufficient in order to yield and maintain forests of any kind or grandeur.² This statement helps us understand the astonishment of Archilochos upon seeing the majestic forests of Thasos for the first time.³ Such astonishment can only be explained by the fact that he had never seen such great forests before and therefore confirms the absence of such forests on Paros and the Cyclades in general. D. Berranger suggests that Thasos and its *peraea* was an indispensable source of pine for Paros' ship building needs or industry.⁴

This being said, the same process of prospecting before colonization must have taken place in the case of Andros and its colonies to the extent that it may have played as great a role in the selection of the sites as did the relations with the indigenous populations. This said prospection does not necessarily have to be attributed to the Andrians themselves considering the possibility that Andros was aided by Chalcis in its colonization movement. In the general vicinity of each of the colonies, Sane, Akanthos, Stagira, and Argilos, there are exploitable forests and wooded areas. Sane, though not too far from large wooded areas, is particular because it is situated at the junction of two large rolling plains which suggests, contrary to previous theories, that agricultural land was the primary reason for settling on that particular spot. In the case of Akanthos, Stagira, and Argilos, the abundance and importance of agricultural land, though very present, is less obvious due to the fact that the forests are in much closer proximity than is the case with Sane. Furthermore, each of these less agricultural sites are in very close proximity to gold and silver mines. Argilos is situated in relative proximity to Mt. Pangaeon, renowned in antiquity for its abundance of silver and gold, and the silver mines in the area of Lake Prasias. Stagira and Akanthos also benefited from gold mines in the region as well as silver-lead ore deposits.⁵ Therefore, the accessibility to natural resources can be considered a fourth element, added to the already existing three, which helped the Andrians pinpoint the eventual emplacement of their colonies.

1 Herodotus, VI, 47.

2 Pliny the Elder, XVI, 111.

3 Archilochos, f17.

4 *Op. cit.*, D. Berranger, p.297-303.

5 M.Y. Treister, *The Role of Metals in Ancient Greek History*, New York, 1996, p.22-26.

(5.1.5) Trade and Commerce

Since there is not any literary evidence concerning the commercial activity of the Andrian colonies, any remarks on the subject can only be derived from archaeological data on pottery fragments and the like, which is of course very limited for the 7th c. B.C. Furthermore, the lack of emphasis on such matters in the archaeological reports of Sane, Akanthos, and Stagira imply that much of the conclusions brought forth are inevitably derived from information pertaining to Argilos. In any case, aside from Argilos, only Akanthos has yielded 7th c. B.C. material of which no examples are brought forth in the reports.

At Argilos, the 7th c. B.C. pottery fragments demonstrate the relatively modest trading activity of Argilos and, no doubt, the other Andrian colonies in the first 25-50 years of their existence. As reported,¹ the finds of the 7th c. B.C. are limited, however, they are sufficient to conclude that the colonies were not isolated and that contacts and trade with other regions of the Greek world began within a very short period of time following the actual colonization. Most expectedly, fragments from Asia Minor, attest to the early involvement and trade between the latter and the northern coast of the Aegean. The Andrian colonies and the Thasian colonies on the coast were part of a littoral that could not be ignored by East Greek traders who had most certainly been aware of their implementation through their interactions with Thasos for which it was concluded in this report to have been founded in the early years of the 7th century. In the early years of the Andrian colonies, Thasos may have served as an intermediary in the forwarding of goods to and from the colonies. The Thasian skyphoi of Cycladic influence pertaining to the first half of the 6th c. B.C. are well attested for at Argilos and Akanthos.²

The "Olynthiac" pottery found at Argilos and the other Andrian colonies is more difficult to interpret. At priori, one would suppose that it would represent exchanges between 7th - early 6th century Olynthos and the neighboring Greek colonies. David M. Robinson, in his study of the excavations at Olynthos, wrote extensively of a specific type of pottery which he has dubbed, "Olynthiac".³ His assertion that this kind of pottery originates from Olynthos is based on the mere fact that "a fairly large and definite category exists" at Olynthos.⁴

¹ *Supra*, Sect. 4.4, p. 67.

² Though through the reports on Sane and Stagira, the presence of these skyphoi is not confirmed, there is little doubt that the phenomenon is spread throughout all four colonies.

³ D.M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthos. Part XIII, Vases found in 1934 and 1938*, Baltimore, 1950.

⁴ *Ibid.*

In any case, Robinson contributes quite a bit, if not all, of the knowledge we have to date on the said "Olynthiac" pottery. He divides the pre-Persian pottery found at Olynthos into three groups. Group I contains monochrome and painted ware dating to the 8th and 7th c. BC. According to Robinson, it is definitely Macedonian even though it resembles wares of the east coast of central Greece, the islands and Asia Minor. He gives no specific reason for his justification.¹

Group II consists mostly of those vases with high-standing knobbed handles or deep cups with one thick, flat and short handle. Robinson notes that the handles which were found in abundance, are made with a well sifted micaceous Olynthian yellowish clay. He proclaims that the vases or bowls pertaining to this group are of Olynthian origin with Macedonian connections and dates this group to the 7th and 6th c. BC. all the while stating that he believes this type of handled to have been imitated even in the early 5th c. BC.² The similar finds of such handles found at Argilos, hinder Robinson's theory that these handles are part of vases which are proper only to Olynthos. Since Hammond has firmly established the definite absence of material prevailing from Greek colonies at Botticiaeans Olynthos in this period, it would be improper to suppose that this particular type of pottery found its way out of Olynthos and that none of the Greek pottery succeeded to infiltrate Olynthos.

Since interaction between Olynthos and Argilos are doubtful, I am of the opinion that this pre-Persian "Olynthiac" pottery originates from either Macedonian or Thracian settlements situated in proximity to Olynthos and the Andrian colonies or which occupied these sites prior to the arrival of the Botticiaeans and the Greeks. If the latter idea is considered then, the "Olynthiac" pottery at Argilos and the other sites is simply a part of the archaeological remnants of the Thracian settlements. The resemblance of this particular pottery to Macedonian pottery suggests that it may have been acquired from nearby Macedonian settlements which at the time may have been situated as far east as the pass of Rendina. What is certain beyond doubt is that this pottery could not have originated from a single center of production since, at Argilos, the fragments found and dubbed "Olynthiac" consist of a varying number of clay types.

The theory which attests to there being a Thracian presence in the area of Olynthos until 650 B.C., when they were forced to retreat, and the theory which suggests that the four Andrian sites, including Argilos, were previously Thracian settlements, suggests, if we consider the likelihood that some Thracians remained within the new and foreign establishments, that the production of the so-called "Olynthiac" pottery was

¹ *Ibid.*, p.3-4.

² *Ibid.*, p.4.

performed throughout the Chalcidic peninsula in accordance to where there were Thracians.

Lastly, the 7th century finds at Argilos have yielded a particular type of Skyphos which has been attributed in this report to the Cycladic island of Siphnos. Its attribution to Siphnos is based more or less along the same lines which saw "Olynthiac" pottery being attributed to Olynthos. It is to say that its provenance is quite uncertain at this time, but it is most assuredly from the Cyclades. Whether the fragments are Siphnian or not can not be determined at this present stage in the research concerning this pottery type but, if they are Siphnian, it must not be concluded the vases were brought north by Siphnians. They may just have very well have been brought north by Andros or, better yet, Paros, who it is known traded extensively around the Cyclades and maintained strong relations with Thasos in the north.¹

(5.1.6)The 7th c. B.C.: Concluding Remarks

Not included in the examination of the natural resources is the possibility of acquiring slaves as a possible motivator in the Andrians' ultimate decision to colonize. Since it has already been established in section 3 that the Scythians and Thracians were among the first populations to be enslaved by the Greeks, it is possible that slavery played a certain role in the colonization process of Andros, however, this role is deemed negligible by the character of Andros' colonization laid out in this section. The supposed abandonment of Akanthos and Sane would imply that the slaves were not there for the taking. In Argilos, the numerous Thracian pottery fragments found pertaining to the end of the 7th and beginning of the 6th centuries have, in this study, been interpreted as being representative of there being a Thracian site prior or contemporary to the arrival of the Greeks. It is unfortunate, but there is simply no evidence to support the site of Argilos was abandoned or not prior to the arrival of the Andrians. At the very least, Thracians lived in close proximity to Argilos which would probably have had as great an impact as if the Thracians actually were settled on the site itself.

There remains to answer which of Andros' archaic settlements was behind all of these colonies. Undoubtedly, if only one settlement acted as the driving force behind the colonial expansion of Andros, residents from all around the relatively small island could have benefited. The truth of the matter is that there is simply not enough literary or archaeological information on Andros to be at all certain of any answer. However, it is possible with the information obtained from Zagora and Paleopolis, to at least suppose

¹ *Supra*, Sect. 2.3.2, p. 16-18.

that the ancient city of Andros (Paleopolis), was behind it all.

The settlement of Zagora lays on a small promontory in the SW portion of the island of Andros. Its natural defenses make it strikingly similar to the site of Stagira in the north. It is surrounded by sheer cliff making the access to the site difficult from all sides except its inland limit to the NE.¹ This finds from this naturally fortified settlement do not yield the reasons why the Andrians wished to isolate themselves but, it was most probably not linked to any mischievous dominance on the part of Eretrians, as may be interpreted from Strabo's statement on the control Eretria exerted on other Cycladic islands. The fact is that, as Eretria prospered in the 8th c. B.C., so did Zagora.²

On the basis of archaeological evidence from the site, Zagora was, most likely, abandoned in the beginning of the 7th c. B.C. in favor of the coastal site of Paleopolis to the north.³ The generally improved living conditions of the Aegean being at the root, the transfer follows closely in time the abandonment of Lefkandi on Euboea. There is so far very little information about this coastal settlement which has yet to yield early 7th c. B.C. material but, the probability of such a transfer is strengthened by the pattern established at Euboea, where Lefkandi would have been abandoned for the better coastal enclave of Chalcis which shortly after, would have started to colonize massively in the northern Aegean. The move to Chalcis from Lefkandi may also have been a direct result of the Lelantine war at the end of the 8th c. B.C., Chalcis representing a better refuge than was Lefkandi. Nevertheless, if the pattern follows the former hypothesis that the Euboean migration was instigated by an opening up of the lines of communication, the desire to migrate from the natural defenses of Zagora to the open harbors of Paleopolis, hence to facilitate communication and exchanges with other islands and other cities, is the same desire that saw Andrians extend those same lines of communication to Chalcidice and the Strymon.

Chalcis' experience in colonizing the north, from which Andros benefited, means that the time elapsed between the island migration and the start of Andrian colonization could be considerably short. If the move from Zagora to Paleopolis represents an immediate prelude to colonization, it is not surprising that the Andrians did not venture north alone since, the particular position of Zagora implies that these Greeks were not particularly seaworthy or simply didn't have the long-distance nautical experience necessary to undertake such an enterprise.

¹ *Op. cit.*, A. Cambitoglou, p. 7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 62.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

(5.2)The 6th c. B.C.: Colonial Prosperity

The image of the Andrian colonies in the 6th c. B.C. is one of gradually growing prosperity. Unfortunately, there aren't any literary sources concerning the colonies in this period which naturally means that this portion of the study is entirely based on archaeological data.

(5.2.1)Early Commercial Activity

The prosperity of the Andrian colonies in the 6th c. B.C. is mirrored by the increase in exchanges and commercial activity represented by the growing influx, throughout the century, of pottery coming from mainland Greece, the minting of coins in Akanthos, Stagira, and Argilos, and the distribution throughout the Greek world of such coins, and finally, the establishment of additional colonies, Kerdylion and Tragilos, by Argilos. For the latter statement, it is important to keep in mind that foundation of these two additional colonies may not rest solely on Argilos but may, as was the case with Thasian colonies on the coast, have been a venture in which Andros itself participated in order to consolidate its grasp on the west bank of the Strymon and therefore, may be linked to a second phase of Andrian colonization.

Before this expansion, the most crucial element which contributed to the prosperity of the colonies is the foundation of Potidaea by Corinth around the beginning of the century.¹ Situated on the isthmus of Pallene, it is supposed by J.A. Alexander, that Potidaea had two harbors, one on each side of the isthmus.² According to the same author, the Corinthian colony controlled the commerce between the cities on Pallene and those in mainland Chalcidice.³ For example, it seems that the Mendaeon wine trade was entirely dependent of Potidaea.⁴ Given the fact that there is a strong possibility of Potidaea having two ports, which is very likely considering the narrowness of the isthmus, it is most probable that Potidaea, as well as controlling trade between the cities of its prong and the interior, played an important role in the development of the trade in the entire region. Potidaea's two harbors inevitably aided the colony in this initiative.

The finds at Argilos support the last proposition suggesting the crucial role of Potidaea in the region. As noted earlier,⁵ Late Corinthian pottery fragments are

¹ *Op. cit.*, A.J. Graham, *CAH*, p. 162.

² J.A. Alexander, *Potidaea. Its History and Remains*, Athens, Georgia, 1965, p. 19.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Supra*, Sect. 4.4, p. 67.

predominant at Argilos for the first half of the 6th century. The presence of pottery from Asia Minor continued to flow from the contacts established from the very foundation of the Andrian colonies. The first half of the 6th century also witnesses a gradual rise in Thasian pottery which seems to have been revered as much as Attic pottery in some instances, since examples are found side by side with Attic wares in some Akanthian burials. The penetration of Athenian pottery in the Andrian periphery is more or less equal to its penetration in the rest of the Greek world at the beginning of the century. Though its presence increases gradually, Athenian pottery becomes an important commodity only as of the middle of this same century.

In light of the absence of any architectural remains dating to the 7th century, we can imagine that the first phase of the four Andrian colonies were relatively modest, however, evidence of urban development pertaining to the 6th century which has come to light at Akanthos, Stagira, and Argilos, somewhat supports the notion, established by the increase in trade, of the growing prosperity of the colonies in this century.

Though the increased visibility of the northern colonies was likely aided by the foundation of the commercial colony of Potidaea, especially when it came to the distribution of Corinthian goods, it must not be supposed that the development of the northern economy was entirely dependent on it.

On the other side of the Chalcidic peninsula, Akanthos, situated near the isthmus of Acte as Potidaea on Pallene, can be imagined to have played a similar role as the latter in the development of the economy on that side of Chalcidice. The control Akanthos may have had in the 6th c. B.C. over the isthmus of Acte is portrayed in the unilateral leading role it played in aiding Xerxes to build his canal which cut across the isthmus.¹ The fact that Sane sits on the Singitic Gulf at the canal's western extremity and that Akanthos, sitting some distance from the emplacement of the canal, was responsible for its building, clearly indicates an Akanthian dominance over the region. Sane, invariably, may have served as Akanthos' western port on the isthmus prior to its digging and following the supposed collapse of the canal.² The fact that both Strabo and Ptolemeos locate Akanthos on the Singitic gulf is further proof that Akanthos operated harbors on both sides of the isthmus,³ which would have increased its visibility, hence the likelihood of its importance. Akanthos' role may have invariably included the responsibility of transferring goods from one side of the peninsula to the other. In favor of such a theory suggesting that Akanthos operated harbors on both sides of the isthmus

¹ Herodotus, VII, 22 - 24; 116.

² *Supra*, Sect. 3.1, p. 28. Herodotus, VII, 23.

³ Strabo, VII, 33f; and Ptolemeos, III, 12, 9.

in order to transfer goods is the much attested difficulty of trying to contour the Actaeon peninsula by ship which is the principal reason why Xerxes proceeded to dig his canal across the isthmus.

The same passages in Herodotus which make Akanthos out to be the dominant player in the area of the isthmus also portray an image of Akanthos which has close contacts with the east.¹ In support of this hypothesis, according to what is known of Akanthian coinage, it would seem that Akanthos was very active in trade and probably was superior to other Andrian colonies, at least until the end of the Persian Wars.²

(5.2.2) Coinage and History

Of the four Andrian colonies, only three have yielded coins, Sane being the absent member. In the case of Sane, the lack of extensive research in the area of Trypiti may be the only reason why no coins have been associated to the Andrian colony. However, the fact that in the area of the Archaic oikos was found a number of Akanthian coins, but no Sanaean coins, and the image of Sane until now, suggests that Sane never minted any coins. As well, though there is evidence of minting in Stagira, represented by the 2 unfinished Stagirian coins found and the proximity of the site to silver mines, at present, too little is known about Stagirian coinage to be able to deduce anything of its history. It is likely that the history of Stagirian coinage, at least in its early stages, is very similar to that of Argilos and Akanthos to which have been attributed a common "Thraco-Macedonian" style,³ the early dating of the first Akanthian coinage and its distribution being the only distinguishable difference. The dating of Stagirian coinage may eventually resemble that of Akanthos considering that the exploitable mines in the region lay right in between the two colonies. The hoard deposits from the east provide information concerning the distribution of northern Aegean coinage prior to the Persian Wars. The earlier deposits seem to indicate that Stagira was heavily involved being outclassed only by Lete, under Paeonian rule at the time, and Thasos.⁴ This distribution should favor an early dating, equal to that of Akanthos, for the start of minting at Stagira. But, by 485 B.C., Akanthos surpassed neighboring Stagira and clearly was at the forefront of the Greek cities involved in the silver trade.⁵ Such clear dominance by Akanthos can only be attributed to the direct or indirect contacts with the Persians,

1 *Supra*, fnt. 1, p. 89.

2 *Infra*, Sect. 5.3.2, p.106.

3 K. Lampi, «Argilos. History and Coinage», *Νομισματικά Χρονικά* 1995, p. 28-29.

4 *HM-II*, p. 88-91.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 90 & C.M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*, Berkeley, 1976, p. 135.

established during the building of the canal and which were maintained even after the Persian retreat.

The relative importance of Akanthos as an independent city-state is revealed in its coinage. The first coins of Akanthos were struck at the impressively early date of 530 B.C. whereas most of the Greek colonies on the Chalcidice peninsula only started to mint coins as of about 500 B.C. as is the case with Argilos.¹ Of course, the first coins struck at both sites were silver. In the case of Akanthos and Stagira, their early initiative can only be representative of their constant exchanges with people from lands east of Greece, such as the Persians, once their territory had reached the coast of the Aegean which greatly increased the demand for silver.² The only other Greek colony in the north to have produced coins as such an early date is Potidaea.³ Traders in their own right, the Phoenicians and their influence on Corinth, the latter representing an exchange center and a chief outpost for Phoenician traders,⁴ must have imposed a heavy demand of silver which Potidaea was inclined to fill in the form of unworked silver at first, and around 530 B.C., in the form of coins. For Akanthos to produce coins at an equally early date as that of Potidaea, its character must have been somewhat similar lending more credence to Akanthos' control of the isthmus.

This East's demand for silver, which would have been the driving force behind the mining of silver, and later, the production of silver coins, is represented in the relatively frequent hoards of Greek coins found around the shores of the Levant and inland therefrom. The hoards of Greek coins found in places surrounding the Greek world consisted in part of coins, and in part, of silver ingots. That is to say that those who obtained the coins were not so much interested in the face value of the coin but rather of the overall weight of the bullion.⁵ An important feature of the earlier hoards found is the predominance of coins from the northern Aegean mints.⁶ Hence, prior to 480 B.C., a substantial proportion of Greek hoards in the Levant, whether it be the coin or the ingot part, came from the mines and mints of colonies such as Thasos, Mende, Aenus, Abdera, and Akanthos.⁷ Even though these mints yielded substantial issues in the 5th c. B.C., after 480 B.C., following the minting interruptions of the Persian Wars and the rise in the distribution of Athenian issues, the northern Aegean element in the

1 *Op. cit.*, K. Lampi, p. 24, (Argilos); C.M. Kraay, *Greek Coins*, New York, 1971, p. 330.

2 *HM-II*, p. 87.

3 *Op. cit.*, C.M. Kraay, *Greek Coins*, p. 330

4 G.M.A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art*, New York, 1987, p. 303.

5 C.M. Kraay, *Greek Coins and History*, London, 1969, p. 43-44.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 44.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 45.

hoards of the Levant became almost nil.¹ Nonetheless, the production of coins at Akanthos was resumed after the Persian Wars and continued at intervals until the middle of the 4th c. B.C.² The datings attributed to the different hoards shows that Stagira may have ceased its coining activity as early as 450 B.C. while Akanthos continued freely until 380 B.C.³ The dominance of Akanthos and its proximity to Stagira may simply have forced Stagira to cease its production.

The distribution of Akanthian coinage prior to 480 B.C. is uncharacteristically, in relation to other northern colonies, not restricted to the Levant. Several hoards from Sicily have been found containing Akanthian coins. Albeit, the number was comparatively small in front of the significant amount of Athenian tetradrachms, the Akanthian mint is the only non-Athenian element in the hoards.⁴ This unique element in the distribution of Akanthian silver attests to the importance of the site as a precious metal producer and of the quantity it mined and produced but, it also attests to its independent character in that the coins did not simply follow a pattern of distribution established by another colony in the Chalcidic peninsula. The fact that no other northern colony is represented in the hoards entails that a direct trading route between Athens and Akanthos had been established. This independence could not have been expressed had Akanthos not been situated on the commercially-favored position of the isthmus on Chalcidice's most easterly prong. This theory is slightly contradicted by the fact that a hoard from southern Italy show the presence of Akanthian coins with those of Lete, Potidaea, and Thasos, but this should not hinder Akanthos' image for the company it is found in is rather impressive and, furthermore, even with the presence of this elitist group, Akanthos provided the most coins.⁵

Argilian coins dating back to before the Persian Wars were also among five hoards found in the east.⁶ The dating of these coins ranges from 510 - 460 B.C. The latter dating is probably attained by reference of the other coins found in the hoards but, as it has already been stipulated above, the presence on the Levantine coast of silver coins prevailing from the northern Aegean and dated after 480 B.C. was minimal while the circulation of coins struck prior to 480 B.C. continued sporadically. Hence, it can be assumed, as is the case for Akanthos, that production ceased temporarily after the wars and began shortly after, though with a limited distribution and only until 460 B.C. only

1 *Ibid.*

2 *Op. cit.*, C.M. Kraay, *Greek Coins*, p. 330.

3 *HM-II*, p. 90.

4 *Op. cit.*, C.M. Kraay, *Greek Coins and History*, p. 52.

5 *HM-II*, p. 88.

6 *Op. cit.*, K. Lampi, p. 29.

to be reissued, in the form of copper, sometime later around the end of the 5th c. B.C.

Nevertheless, the issuance of silver coins by Argilos as early as 510 B.C. is viable and reflects its prosperity. Stagira's production may have begun at the same time as did most other colonies on the Chalcidian peninsula,¹ rather than 530 B.C. In this case, the 20-30 year difference which separates the beginnings of minting in Argilos and Stagira and the first coins from Akanthos is significant, and demonstrates the leading role Akanthos played in the region. But this does not diminish the importance, prosperity and independence which is represented by the striking of coins by Argilos and Stagira. The striking of coins is a definite sign of these colonies' independent political existence, entities in their own right, not to be associated as being under the hegemony of their mother city Andros which was, to a certain degree, most probably the case for most of the century. Austin and Vidal-Naquet suggest that the minting of coins is also indicative of the development of civic consciousness and that it was "first and foremost a civic emblem".²

It is the opinion of A.J. Graham that the lack of literary and archaeological data of the relationships between mother city and colony should not be interpreted as proof that the colonies, once established, became independent.³ Thucydides' testimonies implies that an undefined hegemony over the colony is the indisputable right of the mother city and that it is not surprising that mother cities controlled their colonies.⁴ The relationship between Paros and Thasos seems to have been one of almost complete hegemony, the degree of control must have varied depending, among other criteria, on the purpose of the foundation, but it is clear that in most cases some control was exerted.

Again, having no literary evidence or archaeological evidence, it is quite impossible to establish to what degree Andros implicated itself in the affairs of their colonies after their foundation. However, it must be assumed that they did play a part in their colonies' socio-economic development during the first century of their existence since it is also logical to presume that the start of Argilian, Stagirian, and Akanthian coinage marks the end of any strict hegemony that may have existed. One reason for attaching such an important aspect of the colonies' common history to the start of minting in each city is the fact that the nearby colonies of Thasos/Paros, Galepsos and Oesyne, founded at around the same time as the Andrian colonies, and for which it is well known were tightly bonded to their metropolis, only started to mint coins in the

¹ *Op. cit.*, C.M. Kraay, *Greek Coins*, p. 330.

² M.M. Austin & P. Vidal-Naquet, *Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece: An Introduction*, Berkeley, 1977, p. 57.

³ A.J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*, Manchester, 1971, p. 212-213.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 214-215

early 4th c. B.C., following a trend which saw an increase in the number of copper coins issued by cities which had never minted before. The same is true for the city of Phagres, which may also have been a part of the Thasian *peraea*. Even though these colonies benefited from an equally productive environment as that of the Andrian colonies, their close relationship with Thasos and/or Paros probably took away from them any possibility of expressing their own political entity in the form of coins.

Though it remains relatively uncertain how much control, if any, Andros had over its colonies, the functioning of each city as an independent city-state can be dated to 530 B.C. for Akanthos and Stagira and 510 B.C. for Argilos. Coinless Sane undoubtedly, due to its proximity to Akanthos, fell under its reign. In the same vein, the settlement of Kerdylion, situated in "Argilian territory", was also coinless¹ and was situated at a similar distance from Argilos as Sane from Akanthos and therefore, as Sane was to Akanthos, was dominated and controlled by Argilos.

(5.2.3) Tragilos and Kerdylion

The ancient settlements of Tragilos and Kerdylion (Map 6), the latter being situated midway on the coast between Argilos and the Strymon and the former towards the interior, have by historical tradition been labeled, colonies of Argilos. The literary and archaeological evidence from Kerdylion lends credence to this site being linked to Argilos, though it remains to determine if Andros played a part in its foundation. Precisely situated at the south of Mt. Kerdylion, on the hill called Granista in between the abandoned villages of Ano and Kato Kerdylion, the ancient settlement of Kerdylion, "the place of the Argilians" according to Thucydides, was settled sometime in the 6th c. B.C.,² but a precise dating is impossible due to the absence of literary sources and the lack of archaeological data. Its date of abandonment and/or destruction is also unknown but by the finds found during the uncovering of the ancient city's southern wall and gate suggest a presence on the site till at least the end of the 4th c. B.C.,³ though in its latter years it may simply have served as a military outpost considering the view the emplacement has over the low-lying environment.

When Herodotus, in describing the passage of Xerxes through Argilos, he described the Andrian colony as "lying on a stretch of seacoast" which entails the thought that Kerdylion, already established at the time, may have been an integral part of

¹ *Op. cit.*, K. Lampi, p. 22.

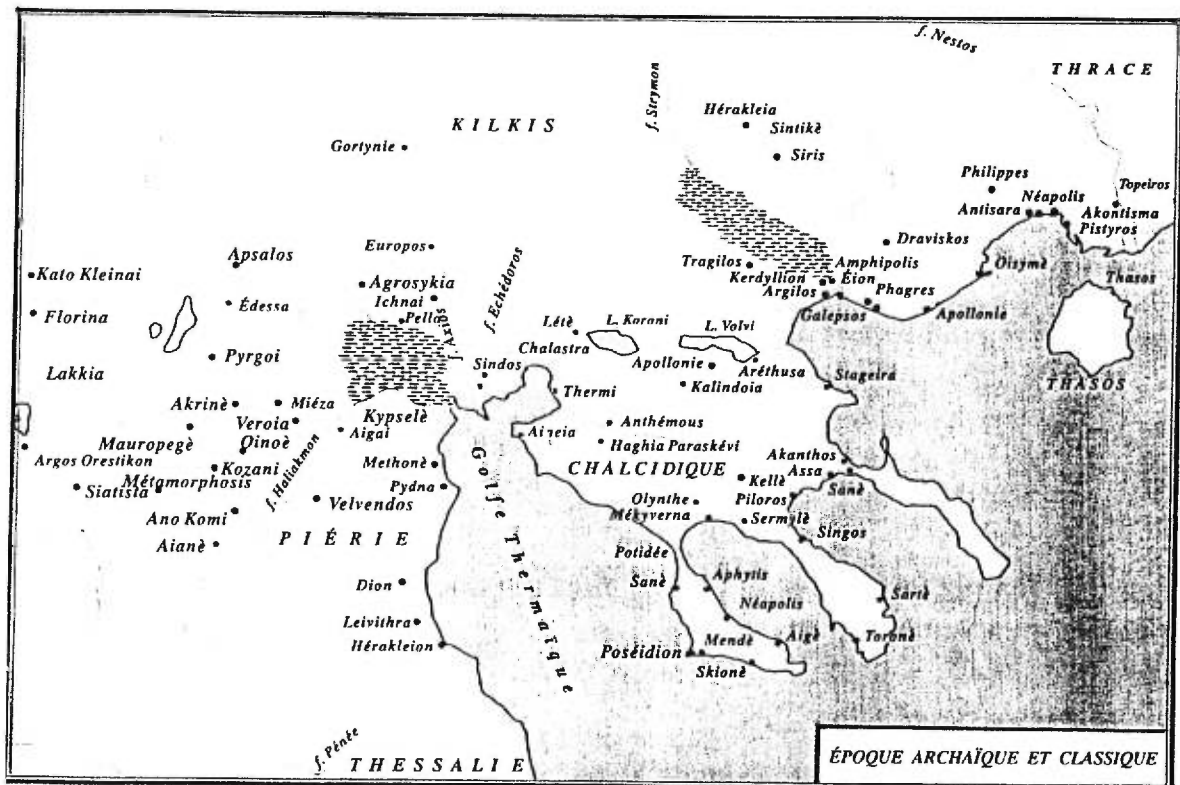
² Ε. Πελεκιδης, «Ανασκαφαι και ερευναι εν Αμφιπολει», *ΙΑΕ* 1920, p. 93.

³ *ΑΔΤ*. 41, p. 178.

his description. Taken in conjunction that Thucydides asserts Kerdyllion as belonging to the Argilians, the literary evidence alone allows to conclude that indeed Kerdyllion was part of Argilos' domain and territory. To say, that it was a colony is beyond what the literary evidence suggests. Had it been an Argilian colony, it would have been described as so by Thucydides.

Instead, Kerdyllion should be considered an extension of the limits of the Argilian territory as it was developing an increasing in size during the course of the 6th c. B.C., the Argilian territory eventually reaching the shores of the Strymon. At first a watch post, as it was used by Brasidas in his conquest of Amphipolis, the site perhaps gradually developed and became an integral and active part of Argilos, maintaining a separate identity in view of its location at the foot of Mt. Kerdyllion and its initially distinct function.

To the very least fortified on the south, if the only other fortification to be uncovered is to the east, Kerdyllion must be considered as being one and the same with Argilos which would make the environment of the Argilian settlement quite similar



Map 6: The north Aegean showing emplacement of Kerdyllion and Tragilos

to the one at Stagira, encompassing two hills, one at each end of the settlement. Though the Argilian hills are further apart from one another, it remains that both Mt. Kerdylion at Argilos and the southern hill at Stagira were adequately equipped to serve as watch posts. The settlement at Akanthos, regardless of whether or not it included Sane as part of its territory, also encompassed more than one hill, though here, the layout is more ambiguous since very little of Akanthos' urban area has been excavated. As the original settlements grew in size and ambition, it is natural that they would expand in a pattern that would reflect the criteria used in selecting the original emplacements aside from the criteria which supposes the former presence of Thracian settlements, though this may still be a possibility in the case of Kerdylion.

The settlement at Tragilos differs considerably from that of Kerdylion, and even though tradition dictates that it too was an Argilian colony, there is evidence to suggest that Tragilos was either a Thracian settlement, which became Hellenized due to its proximity to Argilos, or a fifth Andrian colony.

There is no literary evidence which associates Tragilos to either Argilos or Andros. The epigraphical evidence which links it to Argilos is the *ATL* which shows that along with Bormiskos, Tragilos was separated by *apotaxis* from Argilos in order to increase Athens revenue.¹ Therefore, as far as this study is concerned, the fact that Athens, in the first years of the Delian League, did not request tribute from Tragilos and considered it to be dependent of Argilos, does not necessarily justify that Argilos may have founded the city.

Those who may suggest that the resemblance in the names of the two places is grounds to consider an association, fail to recognize that the spelling for the place-name Tragilos as such is only attested for from the writings of Stephanos Byzantios, the spelling on the *ATL* and on the coinage of the said colony is ΤΡΑΙΛΟΣ and ΤΡΑΙΛΟΝ respectively.² It is possible that in the eyes of the Athenian that Tragilos was somewhat dependent on Argilos, but it may simply be that it did not contribute anything to the treasury during this period. The sudden appearance of Tragilos in the *ATL* should simply be taken to signify that it passed under Athenian rule at this time, whether it be Thracian or Greek.

The supposed dependence of Tragilos is also countered by the numismatic evidence which shows it to have produced coins from 460 - 400 B.C., a time when Argilos had ceased its production.³ Of course, coin production at Tragilos is also

¹ *ATL*, III, p. 218.

² *ATL*, I, p. 556.

³ B.H. Isaac, *The Greek Settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian Conquest*, Leiden, 1986, p. 54. The dating of 460 B.C. as opposed to 450 B.C. indicated by Isaac is obtained from: *AA* T. 28, p. 455.

attested for in later periods as well.¹ Had Tragilos during this time been dependent of Argilos, one would imagine that the opposite would have occurred, that Argilos would have minted coins while Tragilos didn't or, at the very least, that they both minted coins at the same period in history. Therefore, the supposed Tragilian dependence inferred by way of the *ATL* becomes highly improbable and the interpretation of the *ATL* should be that Tragilos was included in the tribute payment of Argilos for reasons of convenience.

Situated in the area of the modern village of Aidonokhorion, Tragilos has been the subject of numerous excavations yielding remnants and finds that show that the city was inhabited at least as of the middle of the 6th century, probably earlier,² until the end of the 4th c. B.C., the latter date being determined by the many coins, pertaining to Philip II, Tragilos, and an another mint of unknown origin which were found together.³ This dating gives Tragilos a similar chronology to that of Kerdyllion attesting to the general prosperity, population growth and/or urbanization of the region in the middle of the 6th c. B.C.

It is possible that Andros, acted as Thasos/Paros did and tried to consolidate the area around Argilos by founding Tragilos to the NE in order to be in a better position to exploit the riches of the land, but the fact that no sources mention a Greek presence, let alone an Argilian/Andrian one, in the interior of Bisaltia must not be taken for granted. Though the dealings between Tragilos and Argilos must have been quite frequent it is impossible without adequate primary sources, whether they be literary or archaeological, to determine the origin of the inhabitants of the site.⁴

It simply is not scientifically sound at this point to suggest that Tragilos was a colony of Argilos or that it fell dependent to it at one point or another. It is not even possible to determine if the city was Greek or merely a Hellenized Bisaltian city. If it was Bisaltian, for which there is a likelihood given its early dating, interior location, and the considerable number of Thracian, locally made, jewelry, pottery, and artifacts,⁵ the Hellenization process undergone by the city, represented by the numerous Greek products, goes a long way in explaining the relationship Argilos was able to develop with the Bisaltiae. Of course, the dual character of Tragilos can also be explained by its proximity to the Thracian cultures of the interior and the greater likelihood, in comparison to the other Andrian colonies given its interior location, that the colony

¹ *AA* T. 23, p. 359.

² *AA* T. 40, p. 270.

³ Μ. Νικολαΐδου-Πατέρα, «Ανασκαφικά δεδομένα από τί αρχαιε' πολεί Τραγιλο και Φαγητα», *ΑΕΜΘ*, 4(1990), 1993, p. 516; and *AA* T. 26, p. 418.

⁴ *AA* T. 27, p. 533; T. 28, p. 455.

⁵ *AA* T.26, p. 417-418.

consisted of a mixed population with heavy interactions with both the Bisaltae and the Argilians.

That Tragilos was indeed a fifth Andrian colony, colonized as of around the end of the 1st quarter of the 6th c. B.C. is also a strong possibility. Its location, character, and foundation date all fit well in the pattern established earlier. Unable to get closer to the Strymon and the mines of Mt. Pangaeon due to the presence of the Edoni, and unable to settle the other side of the Strymon because of the Thasian consolidation of the area, the Andrians/Argilians were forced to move north. As the pattern indicates, the starting point for this particular venture would have been Argilos with which Tragilos would later collaborate with for the acquisition of mineral resources. Located on a hilltop in close proximity to Lake Cercinitis, Tragilos fulfills almost all of the prerequisites for the establishment of an Andrian colony. Access to the sea being the only unfulfilled criteria suggests that Tragilos was originally founded for agricultural reasons and later developed into the intermediary of Argilian and Bisaltian trade.

(5.2.4) The 6th c. B.C.: Concluding Remarks

In the same manner that the seemingly sudden influx of Corinthian pottery in the first half of the 6th c. B.C. reflects the increased visibility of the Andrian colonies, the gradual increase of Attic pottery in the second half of the century accounts for the increase in commercial traffic between the colonies of Andros and Attic Greece. The distribution of hoards to the east in the latter part of the century, and to the west in the case of Akanthos demonstrates the wide recognition of the area as a supplier of precious mineral resources. The coins found in the hoards must not be taken as representing the start of this facet of the Andrian colonies' commercial activity.

There is no doubt that Akanthos, Stagira, and Argilos, by means of Tragilos, benefited from the silver mines in their region, Akanthos and Stagira benefiting from the gold and silver mines at Stratoniki which lay between the two and Argilos from possibly Mt. Pangaeon but probably from the area above Nigrita on the eastern most side of Bisaltia. The recognition through the years of Mt. Pangaeon as a "gold mine" of mineral resources and its proximity to the Argilos has led historical tradition to associate Argilos' silver trade to the exploitation of this area but, Herodotus' passage concerning Xerxes' march in the Pangaeon area suggests that its mines were not accessible to the Andrian colonists or any other colonists until Thasos was able to take control sometime after the Persian Wars.¹ It seems more likely that Argilos had direct or indirect access to

¹ *Supra*, Sect. 3.1, p. 28. Herodotus, VII, 112.

the mines that lay west of the Strymon such as those near present-day Nigrita and those around Lake Prasias a little further to the north.

Both these areas, as well as areas in Crestonia, according to Hammond and Griffith, were exploited by the Bisaltae from the end of the 6th c. B.C. till around the time of the Persian Wars.¹ Perhaps, the Argilians who, as it has been established were on good terms with the Bislatae, were permitted to mine these areas as of the same time which could explain, in light of the early minting of coins by Akanthos and possibly Stagira who had access to Stratoniki as of at least the middle of the 6th century, why the Argilians only started to produce coins in the last decade of the century.² It is more probable that this access was not permitted but only that the Bisaltae traded the fruits of their labor for Greek goods which would contribute in explaining the dual character of Tragilos which served as an intermediary between the Argilians and the Bisaltae.

The strong Bisaltian presence in the vicinity of Argilos may have hindered the development of Argilos in comparison to Stagira and Akanthos. Unlike Stagira and Akanthos, Argilos, having only indirect access, was probably never able to gain complete control over the wealth of mineral resources which surrounded them.

(5.3)The 5th c. B.C.: A Century of Warfare

Needless to say, the chaotic circumstances of the 5th c. B.C. contributed greatly to the histories of the four Andrian colonies but in a very unequal manner. While Sane continued in its seemingly lifeless agricultural lifestyle, Akanthos, Stagira, and Argilos all became very highly implicated in the events surrounding the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, not to mention the further expansion of Macedonia and the beginnings of the Chalcidic League. The Athenian Tribute Lists contribute greatly to the establishment of the social and economic histories of these colonies in the 5th c. B.C. as they do for the rest of the members of the Delian League created following the Persian Wars to avoid a similar reoccurrence.

(5.3.1)The Persian Legacy

The most significant event surrounding the Persian Wars is by far the state of affairs that the northern Aegean was left in following the Xerxes' retreat which opened the door to the Macedonian expansion towards the Strymon. But, prior to this was

¹ *HM-II*, p.70-73.

² *Ibid.*, p. 73. Concerning Akanthian and Stagirian exploitation of Stratoniki.

Xerxes' march across the Strymon and through the Andrian colonies of Argilos, Stagira, and Akanthos, the latter serving the Persian king in his endeavor to dig a canal across the isthmus.

From the passages surrounding Xerxes' arrival at Akanthos,¹ the impression is that Akanthos had undertaken the task of digging the canal before Xerxes' had even crossed the Strymon and maybe even before the trek began. The fact that Xerxes declares "the Akanthians his guests and friends" and praised them for "furthering his campaign, and for what he had heard of the digging of the canal", substantially supports a theory suggesting that the Akanthians, and for that matter, the other Andrian colonies, did not need to be won over by Xerxes. The fact that the road traced by Xerxes' march is held in great reverence by the Thracians in the 5th c. B.C. supports the ease with which Xerxes won their favor and probably that of the Greeks as well, who by this time must have assimilated neighboring Thracian populations to some extent. The mixed population of the region undoubtedly helped the Persians, who were no strangers to the territory, in their quest to win the favor of the Thracian tribes and Greek colonies.

Xerxes was of course not the first Persian to have passed through the Andrian colonies. Before him was Mardonius, who, according to Herodotus, did not encounter any resistance since all the nations east of the Macedonian territory had already become subjects of Persia.² To this group of nations, one must add the Greek colonies, especially those containing a mixed population of Greeks and Thracians, and the Macedonians.³ The latter's bond with Persia is too often underestimated. It is important to note that it is at this time that Macedonia's royalty first became linked to Persia through the marriage of Amyntas' daughter to the Persian overlord of Macedonia, Bubares,⁴ who was in a sense, the Persian governor of Macedonia for about 10 years, leaving this place around the turn of the century, perhaps due to the Ionian revolt beginning in 498 B.C.⁵ Justin states also emphasizes the friendly relations between Macedonia and Persia under Amyntas and Alexander, hence, during the Persian invasions.⁶

In this same period, prior to Mardonius' march through Thracian and Macedonian territory in the first decade of the 5th c. B.C., the Persian presence was felt in the regions east of the Macedonian realm, especially through their recently subjected "allies", the

1 Herodotus, VII, 116; 115.

2 Herodotus, VI, 44.

3 *HM-II*, p. 60.

4 Herodotus, V, 18; 21.

5 *HM-II*, p. 59-60

6 Justin, VII, 4, 1.

Bisaltae and Edones, the latter expelling the Paeonians out of their recently acquired territory of Mygdonia, and the former extending their territory to include the former Crestonia.¹ Even the coast of northern Greece, just west of the Strymon where Argilos lies, became part of the Bisaltae's realm since in describing the emplacement of Argilos, Herodotus points out that it rests in Bisaltia.² Therefore in the period between 510 - 480 B.C., the Bisaltae and Edones expanded their respective territories, dominating the most of the area between the Axios and the Strymon.³ In light of the Persian influence and presence, the Macedonians just before the end of the 6th c. B.C. managed to consolidate the territory of Amphaxitis to the NW of Chalcidice, probably around the same time the Bisaltae expanded their territory.⁴

Mardonius, having on his side most all the Thracians and Macedonians, marched through Thrace and Macedonia, only to be surprised by the Thracian Brygi in a night attack while the army was encamped in Macedonia⁵ Darius' fleet would subsequently be repelled by the stormy waters round Acte.

By the time Xerxes came by, chaotic conditions were already in place following the continued migratory movements of the Macedonians and Thracians and the first Persian invasion. Defensive measures having not been implemented by the Greeks to avoid a second Persian invasion, when Xerxes came around, the Greek colonies were obviously in no position to say no to the Persian king's invitation to join him let alone try and resist compliance with his demands. This fact is not demonstrated in any better manner than by misery suffered due to the extravagant banquets provided to the king and his army by the cities he passed through.⁶ Fear dictated to the Greeks that it was better to praise and serve the Persians and place themselves in monetary misery than be annihilated by them.

Their fear is also represented in the apparent changes brought to the southern fortification wall at Stagira which was either rebuilt or reinforced around the turn of the century.⁷ At Argilos, though there is no clear sign of a restructuring of the city's fortifications at or around 500 B.C., there is however evidence of urban restructuring at this time in the south sector as well as on the acropolis.⁸ Evidently, the Persian influence in the area as early as 510 B.C. is directly or indirectly accountable for this

1 *HM-II*, p. 57-62.

2 Herodotus, VII, 115.

3 *HM-II*, p. 57.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 58.

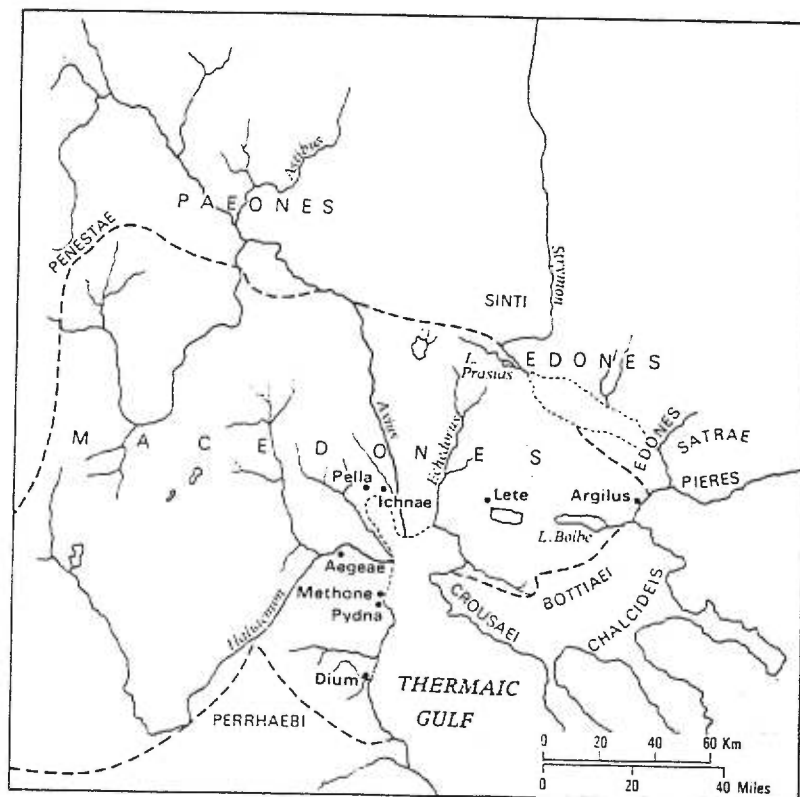
5 Herodotus, VI, 45.

6 Herodotus, VII, 118; 119.

7 *Supra*, Sect. 4.3, p. 55.

8 *Supra*, Sect. 4.4, p. 60; 63.

reconstruction phase of which there are signs for at Stagira and Argilos but which undoubtedly was also present at Akanthos and Sane. Not for all the colonies could this development be automatically attributed to the Persians. In the case of Argilos, the Bisaltae may be held responsible for the changes that took place at a time when it is thought the Bisaltians expanded their territory to include Argilos. However, considering the good relations attested for between the Bisaltae and the Andrian colonists, it is not all that likely that the Bisaltae would have hindered the relationship with the Greeks of Argilos since they represented a commercial and social link to the rest of the Greek world, a link which the Bisaltians probably had no interest to break. Therefore, if the area around Argilos and Tragilos became officially recognized as Bisaltian territory, it was most likely acquired by agreement as it is thought by Hammond and Griffith concerning the annexation of Crestonia.¹



Map 7: Macedonian territory after 478 B.C. (Source: *HM-II*, p. 67.)

¹ *HM-II*, p. 58.

Relatively peaceful times would follow the Persian retreat as may be indicated by the recommencement of coining at Argilos and Akanthos, and probably Stagira. The uncharacteristically rich burials of the Classical period at Argilos give evidence of a regained prosperity as well as do the erection of the imposing public buildings at Stagira. However, the peaceful and prosperous years following the Persian Wars seem to have lasted no more than 25 years for the Macedonians had once again begun to expand their territory. Perhaps through a Persian legacy of sorts which remained within the nuclei of the Macedonian authority, the Macedonians, sometime after 478 expanded their territory all the way to the Strymon, encompassing Argilos and Tragilos (Map 7).¹ The expansion of the Macedonians up to the Strymon is certain but, what is uncertain is when it occurred and to what degree.

(5.3.2)480 - 450 B.C.: The Macedonian Expansion

According to Hammond and Griffith, Alexander and the Chalcidians gained most from the Persian withdrawal, the latter taking over Olynthos shortly after Artabazus destroyed the Bottiaei who had revolted from Xerxes.² The Macedonians, for their part, were able to expand their territory to include Crestonia, Mygdonia, Bisaltia and the Strymon Basin, access to the latter two made easier no doubt by the Bisaltian retreat at the time of Xerxes' passage.³ The fact that the Bisaltae retreated is significant of the overall relations in the area. It is true that they benefited from the early chaos created by the Persian presence in the late 6th c. B.C. by annexing neighboring territories but, their lack of cooperation with the Persians in contrast to other Thracian tribes such as the Edoni, is indicative of the animosity they may have held towards the Persians and other Thracians as well. It should also be remembered that access to the mines of Lake Prasias, Theodoraki, and those near Nigrita was only obtained after the Edonians and Persians had succeeded to expel the Paeonians who held the mines.⁴ At this time, the Bisaltae must have been at peace with both the Persians and Edonians without necessarily taking their favor. So was the case for the Macedonians who as well as benefiting from the Persian presence, stood more or less on the sidelines playing a "double game", serving Persians and Greeks alike. Declared by the Athenians to be a "philhellene", this was not because of any military damage Alexander may have inflicted

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

² *Ibid.*, p. 101-102.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 99. Herodotus, VIII, 116.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 57 & 83; Paeonian control of mines: p. 82 & 119.

on the Persians, but rather due to the services he had rendered the Athenians.¹

By sometime between the end of the Persian War in 478 B.C. and the capture of Eion by the Athenians under Cimon in 476/5 B.C., the Macedonians had captured the afore mentioned territories which culminated in the capture of Ennea Hodoi in the Strymon Basin.² However, this territory seems to have been loosely held for when the Athenians, in 465 B.C., sent their 10, 000 colonists to take control of Ennea Hodoi, the Macedonians no longer held it.³ Part of Cimon's task was to push the Macedonians as far back as possible perhaps to regain access to the Bisaltic mines which, it is clear, were taken over by Alexander when he took over the territory as is demonstrated by Alexandrian coinage which starts at this same time.⁴ The fact that the Edonians recaptured their city shortly after it had been taken from them by the Macedonians may help explain the developments that occurred on the other side of the Strymon, in Bisaltian territory in that they may have been responsible for a partial Macedonian retreat which would have permitted the exploitation of the Bisaltic mines by the Edonians as well as by Bisaltians.

Beginning around 478 B.C., Alexander's coinage is particular in that it is distributed unequally over the period which he reigned. Regardless of which of the established chronologies concerning Macedonian coinage between 478 - 452 B.C. is selected, it remains that close to half of the total production is attributable to the first period of production between 478 - 468 B.C.⁵ It is clear from this distribution that Alexander lost his absolute control of the Bisaltic mines and that the Edoni,⁶ who apparently had control of the silver mine near Lake Prasias as of this time, were responsible for this loss of power.

The Bisaltians as well had once again access to these same mines a little later under king Mosses between 452 - 445 B.C., as represented by his issues and those of Perdicas which attest to good relations with Athens in that same period.⁷ So it is clear by the shifts in control of the mines that this newly acquired Macedonian territory was no strongly held in the 5th c. B.C. and that it was possible, in light of that fact, that the Greek colonies that side of the Strymon, though hampered by the situation, were able to maintain their existence and economic activity. Following the first intrusion by the

1 *Ibid.*, p. 101.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 102.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 102-103. Thucydides, I, 100.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 103-104.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 107-108.

6 *Ibid.*

7 *Ibid.*, p. 121-122.

Macedonians in the Bisaltic territory under Alexander, it is possible, if we accept the proposition that Argilos stopped issuing coins in 480 B.C. rather than in 460 B.C., that there was a short interruption in its economic activity due to the failure of the Bisaltae to prevent the Macedonians from taking over the mines. This inactivity would have lasted at least until the Edonians were able to push back the Macedonians and take over partial control of the mine at Lake Prasias but, it is even more likely, that this would have lasted until the Bisaltians were able to exploit the mines in their territory which would have been sometime between the Edonian takeover at Lake Prasias and the issuance of coins by Mosses.

The always friendly terms between the Andrian colonies and the Bisaltae, and the latter, as it seems, having always served as the intermediary between the mines and the Argilians, lends more credence to the latter dating which can be pinpointed even further in light of the high tribute of 10.5 talents paid by Argilos in 454/3 B.C.¹ and the start of coining at Tragilos sometime in that same decade, most likely before the year of the high tribute. The *ATL*, in which these dues are recorded, can yield allot of valuable information concerning its member cities for the period which it encompasses and thus, it shall be examined here for the purpose of this study.

(5.3.3)The Athenian Tribute Lists

The fact that the high tribute imposed on Argilos was not maintained and that in 446/5 B.C., Argilos only paid 1 talent and newly allied Berge paid 3,240 drachmae, must be taken to imply that the mines had once again changed hands, especially if we consider the chaotic state of affairs in the region which could also explain Berge's absence from the *ATL* in 443/2.²

The mention in the *ATL* of Argilos paying 10.5 talents in 454/3 B.C. has solicited quite a debate among scholars. The editors of the *ATL* have concluded that the stonecutter made an error in inscribing an **X** instead of an **H**, even though they acknowledge that the inscription clearly reads **X**.³ What is even more dumbfounding is that they would denigrate the preciseness of the *ATL* which according to a number of scholars is a state record consisting of important financial details for which there could be no mistake and that must have been checked.⁴ This idea that the mason made an error is anchored in historical tradition dating back to Perdrizet's visits to Argilos in 1883 and

¹ *ATL*, I, p. 232.

² *Ibid.*, p. 232 & 244.

³ *ATL*, II, p. 79.

⁴ *HM-II*, p. 117-118; and R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire*, 1972, p. 159(n. 3).

thereafter.¹ He is the first to have suggested that the **X** that was transmitted to him² was probably an **H** in light of the fact that Argilos could not have been "autre chose qu'une bourgade".³ Though he may be credited with the identification of Argilos with the Paleokastro hill, Perdrizet's awe of Amphipolis did not allow him to render an objective interpretation of the *ATL*.

Even if we accept the theory that Argilos may have stopped minting at the time when Alexander gained control of the mines, we are also forced to accept that they may have minted again when the mines fell back into the hands of the Bisaltae sometime after 468 B.C. Combining this eventuality with the dating of approximately 460 B.C. for the last Argilian silver coins examined so far, the possibility for Argilos to pay the said tribute of 10.5 talents becomes more probable and another reason must be found to determine why the tribute fell so drastically sometime between 454/3 B.C. and 446/5 B.C., the first year it was recorded to have paid only 1 talent.

The reason may be found simultaneously in the coining activity of Tragilos, whether it be a Greek or a Bisaltian city, and the 1000 Athenian settlers that were sent to Berge in 446.⁴ That the mines at this time be in the hands of only the Macedonians becomes less likely when we consider that the second half of the 5th c. B.C. represents the period in which Tragilos is known to have coined. It is possible that through accords with Athens, who, by agreement with the Bisaltae, had established themselves in the area, that Greeks and/or Bisaltians, and the Macedonians shared the mines. Absolute control of the mines by any party being doubtful and the presence of Athenians in Berge may have allowed Tragilos to break its ties with Argilos on which it depended upon as its contact to the rest of the Greek world. The Greek world having come to them in the form of Athenian settlers at Berge, Tragilos was able to become independent in the realm of trade and therefore produce coins bearing its name. It would be as of this time that Argilos' importance as one of the Greek bastions of the Strymonic trade industry fell dramatically.

The foundation of Amphipolis a few short years later were but the nails in the coffin which lead to the relative desertion of Argilos or rather the migration of Argilians to Amphipolis. The founding of its powerful neighbor is also marked by a further decrease in its tribute between 438/7 - 433/2.⁵ Had Argilos been strong at the time of Amphipolis' foundation, there is no doubt that such a migration would not have taken

¹ P. Perdrizet, *BCH*, 18(1894), p. 434-436; *BCH*, 46(1922), p. 42-47.

² *BCH*, 46, p. 45. Perdrizet did not examine the stone himself.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁴ Plutarch, *Pericles*, II, 5.

⁵ *ATL*, I, p. 232.

place or, at least, that it would not have been as seemingly massive and rapid.

In conjunction to both of these events and in support of the probability that Argilos had the means to pay 10.5 talents are the material finds from the eastern necropolis. Of these very rich offerings, the likes of which are usually found in Etruria, only 3 are dated to after 440 B.C.,¹ and the overall high percentage of Attic vessels (29/35 vessels) should be taken as indicative of the relative prosperity and importance of Argilos, in comparison to the other Andrian colonies, in the first half of this century.

The fact that Tragilos started to pay tribute in 425/4 B.C., must not be taken as indicative of a newly attained autonomy from Argilos for, as demonstrated by the coining activities of both cities and by the inevitable impact of the Athenian presence at Berge, this independence had already been attained. If anything, its presence on the *ATL* should be taken as indicating that Tragilos had opted to join the league at this time for they favored the Athenian presence, by now also at Amphipolis, and were aware of the ensuing troubles ahead in light of the Peloponnesian War that had broken out. The year 424 B.C. also marks Argilos' "revolt" from Athens as shown by its willingness to help Brasidas capture Amphipolis.²

For its part and for the greater portion of the period covered by the *ATL*, Akanthos paid an annual tribute of 3 talents, except for 450/49, the first record of Akanthos which shows it to have paid 5 talents.³ The first year which records this drop in dues is that same one which saw Argilos being marked down for 1 talent for the first time as well. The year in question is 446/5 which marks the added presence of Athenians at Berge but also marks the dramatic increase of the Thasian payment to Athens, which must be regarded as being the single most important factor contributing to the demise of Argilos and, to a lesser effect, Akanthos.

The Thasian contribution went from 3 talents to an astounding 30 talents in the same year that Argilos passed from 10.5 to 1 and Akanthos from 5 to 3 talents.⁴ The "coincidence" is too striking to ignore. I, as many other authors do,⁵ am inclined to attribute the increase to Thasian control of the mines on the coast, especially those of Mt. Pangaeon. It is known from Herodotus that at the time of Xerxes' passing the silver and gold of Mt. Pangaeon were being exploited by Thracians.⁶ It is also known from Thucydides' writings that he owned the right to work the mines in that part of Thrace in

1 *Supra*, Sect. 4.4, p. 59.

2 Thucydides, IV, 103.

3 *ATL*, I, p. 224.

4 *ATL*, I, p. 282.

5 *ATL*, III, p. 259; 301-302; *Op. cit.*, R. Mciggis, p. 85-85; *Op. cit.*, A.J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City*, p. 81.

6 Herodotus, VII, 112.

424 B.C.,¹ hence, it is very reasonable to suppose that access to the mines was attained sometime in between the two wars, most likely after the failed Thasian revolt at the hands of the Athenians in 463 B.C. and most certainly, just prior to the dramatic increase in Thasos' contribution to the Athenian cause. If in the years immediately preceding the first 30 talent year the Athenians had gained direct or indirect control of the Pangaeon mines and therefore became less involved with Argilos, it is only natural that the tribute imposed would diminish as well. The effects of Thasian control of Mt. Pangaeon probably spread all the way around northern Greece, changing priorities and trade routes. Akanthos is not an exception to this rule and most likely had its tribute reduced in light of the increased importance of Thasos since the demand for natural resources on the other northern cities would have diminished.

The contributions from Sane represent somewhat of a puzzle for at 1 talent in the earliest assessments, it is 6 times higher than that of Stagira at the same time.² Having established that Stagira benefited from the mines at Stratoniki and was an important element in the silver trade before the Persian Wars, it seems unlikely that Sane, a seemingly purely agricultural town with no immediate access to mineral wealth and dominated by Akanthos, was able to pay such a tribute.

A possible explanation for this phenomenon is that the Sane in question on the *ATL* is not the Andrian Sane on Acte but rather Sane on Pallene, the westernmost prong of Chalcidice. Identified by Herodotus as one of the cities on Pallene that supplied Xerxes with ships,³ such a town is one that is more likely to have paid a 1 talent tribute to Athens. Such a scenario would also concord with the writings of Thucydides which, within the terms of the Peace of Nicias, identifies Sane as one of the 3 cities to have a right to their autonomy "on the same terms as the Olynthians and Akanthians", the latter two evidently being suggested as having previously ruled over them.⁴ The absence of Sane from the previous paragraph of Thucydides' testimony which lists those cities that regain their independence "so long as they pay the tribute that was fixed at the time of Aristeides",⁵ is further support that Sane paid no tribute. And lastly, in order to properly distinguish the nature of Sane in respect to the other Andrian colonies, had Andrian Sane paid this tribute, which seems to be in excess of what it could afford, wouldn't Sane have been more inclined to accept the alliance proposed by Brasidas, which of course Sane

1 Thucydides, IV, 105.

2 *ATL*, I, p. 396-397; 412-413.

3 Herodotus, VII, 123.

4 Thucydides, V, 18.

5 *Ibid.*

didn't accept because she evidently had no quarrel with Athens. That in the *ATL*, the editors observe that Sane, Dion, and Olophyxos paid their tribute together may put a damper on the proposed theory.² However, it is essential to note that the year 454/3 B.C. is the only instance that these three cities are recorded together and, more importantly, the reading of the three city names side by side should only be viewed as an interpretation of the restoration for of the three names, the only clear portion is the "φύχσ" of 'Ολοφύχσιοι.³ Furthermore, as it is known and was known that there are two cities bearing the name of Sane in Chalcidice, the seemingly more important one being situated on Pallene, had reference been intended for Sane on Acte, by this time known as Athos, wouldn't they have given it the descriptive 'απὸ τοῦ Ἄθου as they did for Dion,⁴ or 'εχς Ἄθου as was indicated for Olophyxos.⁵ If it is held that Sane on Acte was part of the three cities which contributed together, it must not be taken to imply that the Sane mentioned alone is one and the same.

The irregularity of the Sanaean tribute adds further doubt to the validity of the *ATL*. According to the *ATL*, Sane, as mentioned earlier, contributed together with Dion and Olophyxos in 454/3 B.C., paid 1 talent in 453/2 and 450/49 B.C., 1/3rd of a talent in 448/7 B.C., 2/3rds from 447/6 to 441/0, and again 1 talent from 436/5 to 432/1 B.C., only to see it fall again to 1/6th of a talent in 430/29 and 429/8 B.C., the latter representing the last readable tribute of the lists.⁶ This fluctuation may not support the theory that the Sane in the *ATL* prevails from Pallene, but, it does strongly suggest that we are dealing with two different cities. In fact, for the year 447/6 B.C., Sane appears twice in the *ATL*, one Sane paying 2/3rds of a talent as mentioned above, and the other paying a full talent as in earlier years.⁷ From the inscriptions concerning this year it is evident that Athens recognized both the Sane on Pallene and the Andrian Sane. What is difficult to determine is which one paid 1 talent and which one paid the lower tribute. It seems relatively certain that the Sane on Pallene was the one that was paying 1 talent a year because, for the year 450/49, in which Sane paid 1 talent, the inscription Σαναῖοι is preceded by Ἐρετριῶν ἄποικοι, suggesting that Sane was an Eretrian colony.⁸ Knowing that Sane on Acte was established by colonists from Andros and Chalcis, and knowing that Pallene was extensively colonized by Eretria, it seems logical to assume

1 Thucydides, IV, 109.

2 *ATL*, I, p. 464.

3 *ATL*, I, p. 396.

4 *ATL*, I, p. 262.

5 *ATL*, I, p. 361.

6 *ATL*, I, p. 396-397.

7 *ATL*, I, p. 396.

8 *ATL*, II, p.12.

that the 1 talent-a-year Sane was in fact Sane on Pallene.

It remains that, even though Sane probably did not contribute 1 talent a year, it did pay more than Stagira, therefore, we must try and account for the poor Stagirian contribution. The only possible explanation at this time is that the domination of Akanthos on the eastern side of Chalcidice had become so great that Stagira was no longer in a position to exploit and profit from its environment, including, as suggested beforehand, the silver and gold mines of Stratoniki. That Stagira, following the Persian Wars fell in importance should not come as too much as a surprise in light of the contacts Akanthos had established with Persia and the East given the services it rendered Persia during the digging of the canal.

The Athenian presence in the north following the Thasian acquisition of the Pangaeon mines continued to increase. It is marked by the founding of Amphipolis in 437 B.C. as well as the capture of Potidaea in 432 B.C. which would set the stage for the Peloponnesian War as well as spur the unity movement in Chalcidice.

(5.3.4) Brasidas and Chalcidian Unity

The change of Olynthos from a Botticiaeian city to a Chalcidian one, the ever growing involvement of the Athenians in the north, starting with the control of Eion and of Thasos shortly after the end of the last Persian War followed by the foundation of Amphipolis and the capture of Potidaea, and of course, the presence of the expanding Macedones who's next step was undoubtedly the control of the Chalcidic peninsula,¹ are all elements which must have contributed greatly to the growing unity of the cities of Chalcidice. But, the Macedonians, during the reign of Perdiccas, had several rivals to deal with and therefore could not take aggressive action and as the Athenians expanded their sphere of influence in Chalcidice, the Macedonians resigned themselves to playing the role of the spoiler by encouraging Chalcidian unity, for the lack of Athenian presence would favor the Macedonians.²

A.B. West argues that in 436 B.C., Stagira, Stolos, Scione, Sermylia, Mende, Torone, and Aphytis paid no tribute to Athens while Potidaea saw its tribute raised from 6 to 15 in this same year, setting the stage for what was ensuing.³ Shortly after, Perdiccas engaged in negotiations with the discontented cities of Chalcidice. A revolt from these cities would weaken Athens sphere of influence in the area as well as permit

¹ Demosthenes, IX, 11. Philip II told the Olynthian embassy that it was impossible for the Chalcidian power to coexist with that of Macedon.

² A.B. West, *The History of the Chalcidic League*, New York, 1973, p. 14-31.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 16

him to deal with those who aspired to his throne whom Athens supported.¹

Foreseeing the trouble which lay ahead, it is at this time that Athens sent its fleet to Potidaea with the dual purpose of preventing rebellion attempts and of calming down Perdiccas. Before the arrival of the Athenians, Potidaea revolted and an alliance was formed with the Chalcidians and Bottiaeanes who also revolted. Perdiccas joined this alliance and convinced the habitants of Chalcidice to migrate to Olynthos, giving them part of his territory for cultivation as long as the war between they and Athens lasted.²

Therefore, the Chalcidian League not yet being officially formed, there are clear signs of the unrest that pondered among the cities of Chalcidice. By the time of Brasidas' passing at Akanthos, the discontent was likely at an all time high, which facilitated his task of recruiting this city, as well as others, as allies.

Brasidas, escorted by recently allied Chalcidians, arrived at Akanthos in the summer of 424 B.C. who were hesitant to admit him into the city. Divided among themselves, "on the one side those who, in concert with the Chalcidians, asked him to intervene, and on the other side the popular party", the Akanthians finally let Brasidas in unattended "for they had fears concerning the grapes, which had not been gathered."³ Akanthian hesitation to let Brasidas enter demonstrates that, apart from the Chalcidian partisans, the Akanthians were not a primary force in the Chalcidian unity movement and probably, were not very keen on the idea either as demonstrated by the fact the Akanthians were later to be considered enemies of the league as indicated by the alliance between Amyntas of Macedonia and the Chalcidian League.⁴ Neither the Macedonians nor the Chalcidians were allowed to enter in relations with either the Bottiaeanes, Mende, Amphipolis, or Akanthos. Relations were possible only if both parties in the agreement entered into the relations together.⁵

West argues that the division within Akanthos was based on the question of democracy versus aristocracy.⁶ That the Akanthians finally accepted Brasidas' invitation suggests that an aristocratic constitution was temporarily instilled.⁷ If the oligarchic faction convinced the populace to join in an alliance with the Chalcidians and Brasidas is not surprising in light of the fears the Akanthians had for their harvest and Brasidas' threats to waste their territory if they did not comply.⁸

1 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

2 Thucydides, I, 56-58; 71.

3 Thucydides, IV, 84.

4 *Op. cit.*, A.B. West, p. 20 (by reference to Ditt. *Syll.*, 77.).

5 *HM-II*, p. 173.

6 *Op. cit.*, A.B. West, p. 147.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 148.

8 Thucydides, IV, 87-88.

Akanthian fear concerning their grape harvest also suggests that the wine trade was an important aspect of the Akanthian economy in the 5th c. B.C., especially if it was in fact the determining factor inclining the populace to join Brasidas. The probably extensive Akanthian wine trade has already been attested for by Rhomiopoulou, but it is also attested for by the vine and ivy leaf representations found on Akanthian coinage of the 5th century.¹ The agricultural economy of Sane may have played an important role in the Akanthian wine trade industry. If so, it may explain why Sane paid a higher tribute than Stagira as well as indicate that Sane may have had the same ideals as Akanthos, which would explain why they refused to join Brasidas when he came back to Acte after having captured Amphipolis.² Even after Brasidas wasted their territory, as well as that of Dion, Sane did not yield.³

The fact that Mende and Akanthos are noted together in the early 4th century alliance between the Chalcidians and the Macedonians dictates that Thucydides testimony of what happened at Mende can be used to indicate Athens' attitude towards Akanthos. At Mende, when Athenian forces presented themselves at the gate of the city, the demos rose against the oligarchic party, established after the passing of Brasidas, and opened the gates to the Athenians.⁴ The latter treated Mende with clemency and even permitted the demos to convict the aristocrats that had been the instigators of the revolt. The fact that Cleon and his army on their approach towards Amphipolis tried to sack Stagira rather than Akanthos,⁵ should be taken to indicate that Athens' attitude towards Akanthos may have been similar to that of Mende, especially considering that the populace did not originally favor the union with Brasidas and the Chalcidians. The attack on Stagira was unsuccessful,⁶ demonstrating the strength of the Stagirian fortress.

Though it is impossible to determine its role or to what extent, Stagira must have been an important part of the Chalcidian unity movement and later of the Chalcidian league for of all the cities between Torone and Amphipolis that Cleon would have crossed and tried to recuperate, Thucydides only mentions the attack on Stagira. Stagira is also one of two cities, the other being Olynthos, to have been named by ancient authors and for which it is certain was destroyed by Philip II in 348.⁷ If not an important part of the movement, definitely a partisan of it or containing within it a strong Chalcidian element, as indicated by the absence of any need to convince Stagira to revolt

1 *HM-II*, p. 110.

2 Thucydides, IV, 109.

3 Thucydides, IV, 110.

4 *Op. cit.*, A.B. West, p. 147-148 (by reference to Thucydides, IV, 123; 130).

5 Thucydides, V, 6.

6 *Ibid.*

7 *HM-II*, p. 372; 317 n.1.

from Athens.¹ It may be that Stagira need not be convinced to revolt but that it was simply following the example set by Akanthos shortly before. In his speech to the Akanthians, Brasidas expressed his worry of the consequences which would entail if Akanthos, "an important city", would not receive him.²

In the following winter, Brasidas and his allies proceeded towards Amphipolis with the aim of capturing it.³ The Argilians who dwelt at Argilos and within Amphipolis, "were always suspected by the Athenians, and were secret enemies of the place," played an important role in the capture of Amphipolis, arranging even before the arrival of Brasidas its surrender.⁴ That the Argilians held a grudge against the Athenians and Amphipolis there can be no doubt given the circumstances which lead Argilos to dwindle in importance. Prior to the foundation of Amphipolis and the control of the Pangaeon mines, Argilos was most likely Athens' single most important trading partner in the area of the Strymon Basin, but, as Athens began to impose itself more and more in the area, they gradually rid themselves of any dependence they may have had on Argilos for the acquisition of silver and other natural resources. The decline of Argilos was eminent and their participation in Brasidas' expedition against Amphipolis was no doubt the only option available to them which would help them regain some importance. The capture was successful but, Argilos, after the end of the conflict, was never to regain its previous prosperity. This does not entail that Argilos was not at all productive or was useless but, its importance in comparison to what it had once been was diminished considerably since after the foundation of Amphipolis, Argilos was charged a tribute equal to that of Stagira which is 1/6 of a talent.⁵ At this point in time, the economy and importance of Stagira and Argilos must have been somewhat similar in that the latter was overshadowed by Akanthos and the former, by Amphipolis.

(5.3.5)The 5th c. B.C.: Concluding Remarks

The Andrian colonies in the 5th c. B.C. traversed the most chaotic period of their individual and collective history. The empirical struggles for the north, determined the fate of the colonies. Being independent and unable to truly defend themselves, the colonies were forced to ally themselves with superior "empires" such as the Persians, Athenians, Macedonians, and Spartans. Only Akanthos, with its strong independent

¹ Thucydides, IV, 88.

² Thucydides, IV, 85.

³ Thucydides, IV, 102.

⁴ Thucydides, IV, 103.

⁵ *ATL*, I, p. 232.

character would desperately avoid the Chalcidian League. The Akanthians in 383 B.C. even sent envoys to Sparta to obtain help, as did Amyntas of Macedonia.¹ The Lacedaemonians, in response to their cry for help and the further developments in Chalcidice, sent out in 382 B.C. 10 000 hoplites to the aid of Macedon, Apollonia, and Akanthos. Somewhat successful in stopping the Chalcidian expansion, an alliance of sorts between Sparta and the Chalcidians was formed, albeit of short duration. Thereafter, Sparta was unable to send any troops up north and the Chalcidians took definite control of Pallene and Sithonia while Akanthos, according to West, gained control of Acte,² which would invariably include Sane. Though Akanthos may, in the years preceding Philip's annexation of Chalcidice, have allied themselves with the Chalcidians, they were for most of the first half of the 4th c. B.C. in opposition to the unity movement as indicated by their choice of actions.

Stagira's emplacement on the Chalcidic peninsula would, in these years, contribute greatly to its relative prosperity within the Chalcidian League, a league which Argilos could have benefited from had it not been for its geographical emplacement along the Strymon which, in light of the histories established so far, is the single most important element which has lead to the particular history of Argilos. Argilos maintained its relative independence at least until 360/59 for which it appears on the Epidaurian Thearodoci along with Tragilos.³

The peace treaty of 421 B.C. between Athens and Sparta and the alliance it had with Perdiccas essentially should have helped Athens to maintain its dominance in the north but, the gradual decline of its influence in the north after 413 B.C.,⁴ opened the door to the gradual ascension of Macedonian domination. By the midway mark of the 4th c. B.C., the individual and collective histories of the Andrian colonies fall from the realm of Greek colonial history to the realm of Macedonian History as Philip II ravaged the cities on his path as he took control of the area.

¹ Xenophon, V, 2, 11-19.

² *Op. cit.*, A.B. West, p. 109.

³ *I.G.*, IV², 95, II, lines 6 - 20; *Op. cit.*, *A History of Macedonia, Vol. II: 550-336 B.C.*, p. 193. Hammond and Griffith explain that that this list represents those states which offered hospitality to sacred missions.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

(6.0)The Colonies of Andros: Conclusion

The overall manner in which the northern coast of the Aegean was colonized by the Parians, Eretrians, Chalcidians, and Andrians yields a pattern of distribution that almost seems like it may have been prearranged. Though highly unlikely, the idea that the colonization of the northern coast was prearranged, does incline the probability that the process of colonization was conducted in an orderly fashion. Given the geographical emplacement of Euboea, it was perfectly natural for Chalcis and Eretria to have founded colonies in Chalcidice. In the same respect, being one of the easternmost islands of the Cyclades, Paros undoubtedly did not colonize Thasos by chance, setting out for the latter by means of a sea route along the coast of Asia Minor. The proximity of Andros to Euboea indicates that its northern route should resemble that of the Euboean city-states.

Colonizing by both land and sea routes, the Andrians invariably benefited from the cooperation of such Thracian tribes as the Bisaltae for the choice of their sites and for the development of their early economies, especially in light of the fact that the Bisaltae were to be found at both extremities of the Andrian periphery. Through the examination of the colonizing ventures of Chalcis, Eretria, and Paros, it was learned that the supposed demographic explosion of the 8th and 7th centuries could not be considered a viable factor leading to the colonization movement of these city-states as well as of Andros. The "aristocratic" initiative of colonization was no doubt due to a desire to generate profit from the exploitation of the new territory and its resources, and to relieve social strife on Andros by ridding it of an undesired population which would make up the greater part of the colonists.

It may be that the sites were established as early as 655/54 B.C. as indicated by the literary sources even though at present, the archaeological evidence points towards a later dating, but whatever the founding date of the colonies was, the first settlements must have been relatively modest in their first phase of existence until the start of the 6th c. B.C., for which we note a marked increase in commercial activity. This commercial activity is characterized at first by the presence of Corinthian pottery dating to the first half of the 6th century. The trend continues after 550 B.C. as Athenian pottery becomes predominant and as the mines in the vicinity began to be exploited by the colonies, save probably for Sane, which seems to have remained primarily agricultural throughout its existence. The exploitation of silver mines by Akanthos, Stagira, and Argilos, who all began to coin roughly within the last quarter of the 6th century, is strongly linked to the Persian kingdom's extension to the eastern coast of the Aegean which spurred the increase in the demand for silver and gold from northern Greece.

Though it seems that Stagira was able to profit as much as Akanthos from this industry at first, following the Persian Wars, Akanthos seems to have taken the lion's share of the market, gradually ousting Stagira out of the picture.

At one time paying 10.5 talents to Athens as tribute, Argilos seems to have been the most important of the 4 Andrian colonies for at least part of the 5th century, but its emplacement around the Strymon basin would also lead to its decline as the Athenian interest, on which its economy rested upon, shifted away from Argilos to Thasos and the Pangaeon mines. Even Tragilos, benefiting from the Athenian presence at Berge, seems to have surpassed Argilos in importance as many of the latter's citizens migrated to Amphipolis upon its foundation. If Tragilos, in the end, proves to have been a Hellenized Bisaltian city rather than a 5th Andrian/Argilian colony as the *ATL* indirectly suggests, it remains that the contacts between it and Argilos must have been very frequent and that their economies depended upon one another. Though slightly towards the interior, in light of its proximity to Argilos, Tragilos should not be brushed off so readily as possibly being an Andrian colony.

As Argilos dwindled, Akanthos, caught in between the Chalcidian and Strymonian worlds, maintained its importance bringing under its realm Sane and most likely Stagira. While Akanthos strongly opposed the Chalcidian unity movement which would eventually be the Chalcidian League, Stagira benefited from the movement and perhaps, prospered moderately from it as it broke away from Akanthos. Eventually, Philip II would control the whole area from the Axios to the Strymon including the resistant Chalcidic peninsula bringing an end to the pre-Macedonian history of Sane, Akanthos, Stagira, Argilos.

The principal purpose of this study was twofold. First, it was deemed necessary to collect all the pertinent information on the Andrian colonies under one roof to provide a reference manual of sorts for future scholars and in order to fulfill the primary goal which was to establish the socio-economic history of the colonies from the time of their foundation until the Peace of Nicias. After this time, the affairs of the north become too entangled with those of Macedonia for them to be treated here.

Sane, Akanthos, Stagira, Argilos, and even Tragilos, in light of the excavations that have taken place at these five sites, their geographical emplacement and the fact that they all stem from the same mother-city, examined under a microscope shed a ray of light on the overall process of a major mother city's colonization movement to the north, as well as the relationships of its colonies, in regards to each other, the indigenous populations, and the major city-states of the Greek mainland. Unfortunately, this study

has been unable to establish, aside from a brief mention, the history of the relationship between the mother city, Andros, and its colonies; and to suppose that all that's been laid out as part of the individual histories of these colonies is fact, would be unimaginable. What is important here is that there so far haven't been any comprehensive studies on the Andrian colonies and that this thesis has filled that gap.

It is essential that excavations at these sites be furthered or begun, as is the case with the urban areas of Sane and Akanthos, in order to increase the amount of information available for each site so that their histories may be established in further detail. To attain this goal, it would as well be essential for those directing these campaigns to keep in mind the importance of maintaining a systematic and scientific approach to the excavations so that the data doesn't become useless immediately upon being unearthed. The analysis of section 6, in many instances, remains hypothetical at best, but if these hypotheses, as excavations continue, can serve to generate some sort of debate, whether it be favorable or against what has been established here, then this study, of Sane, Akanthos, Stagira, Argilos, and Tragilos, will have been a successful one.

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