

# PATTERNS OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN METROPOLIS AND APOIKIA IN DORIAN SICILY

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**Summary:** This paper explores the relationship between Dorian *metropoleis* of Sicily and their colonies there during the archaic and early classical periods. We will concentrate on three case studies and different topics such as political organization, attitude towards the indigenous populations, alphabet, foreign relations, burials, and material culture. The three case studies are the following: (a) Syracuse and its three colonies, Akrai, Kasmenai and Kamarina, (b) Megara Hyblaea and Selinous, and (c) Gela and Akragas.

## Syracuse and its colonies

The first Dorian colonists in Sicily were the Corinthians under Archias in 734/3.<sup>1</sup> Shortly afterwards arrived the Megarians under Lamis. After a lot of difficulties, they founded Megara Hyblaea in 729/8.<sup>2</sup> Dorians from Rhodes under Antiphemus and from Crete under Chersicrates founded Gela in 688.<sup>3</sup> The first colony that established new settlements was Syra-

1 For Archias and Syracuse, see Thuc. 6.3.2. For the foundation of Syracuse, see among others, Bérard 1957: 116-30; Leschhorn 1984: 13-16; Bernstein 2004: 45-77; Domínguez 2006: 269-75; Morakis 2011: 468-69; Guzzo 2011: 194-99.

2 For the foundation of Megara, see Thuc. 6.4.1-2; Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70) fr. 137 = Strabo 6.2.2; Scymn. 270-278; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 5.5, along with Bérard 1957: 83-84, 110-16; Malkin 2002: 210-6, 220-22; Guzzo 2011: 171-81; Robu 2014: 119-57.

3 Thuc 6.4.3. For the foundation of Gela, see, among others, Bérard 1957: 225-31; Leschhorn 1984: 48-50; Sammartano 1999; Raccaia 2000: 99-130; Domínguez 2006: 279-83; Morakis 2011: 470-73.

cuse. Archaeological evidence points to the occupation of the site of Helorus ca. 700 BCE.<sup>4</sup> The Syracusans later destroyed the indigenous settlement of Monte Finocchito (mid-seventh century).<sup>5</sup> Thucydides noted the foundation of Akrai by Syracuse in 664, of Kasmenai in 644, of Kamarina in 598, as well as the oikists of the latter, who were Daskon and Menekolus.<sup>6</sup>

Akrai was founded in a strategic position at the top of a hill in the range of the Hyblaean mountains (870 m alt.), 30 km west of Syracuse and close to the springs of the Anapus river.<sup>7</sup> Excavations that began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century brought to light the urban layout of the settlement, an *agora*, part of the fortifications and a temple dedicated to Aphrodite. With the exception of the temple of Aphrodite, which is dated around 525-520, all the rest dates from the Hellenistic period.<sup>8</sup>

Kasmenai is located about 13 km west of Akrai on a hill (830 m) close to the springs of the rivers Anapus, Hyrminus, and Helorus.<sup>9</sup> The site was excavated by Orsi in the 1920s and 1930s. From these early excavations we have the urban layout, houses and a temple. More recent archaeological research revealed a wall and offered a clearer picture of the site. The urban layout consisted of about 40 *stenopoi* (most recently Collura identified 46),<sup>10</sup> of about 3.5 m wide which form habitation blocks of 25 m wide and up to 55 m long. Inside these blocks, complexes (each side 25 m) of four quadrangular houses (each side 12.5 m) with a courtyard

4 Its foundation is not mentioned by literary sources. For Helorus, see di Vita 1956: 183-87; Domínguez 1989: 196-99; Copani 2010; Frasca 2015: 74-76; Morakis 2019: 196-98.

5 For Monte Finocchito, see Domínguez 1989: 206-13; Frasca 2015: 30-33, 77-86; Morakis 2019: 198-99.

6 Thuc. 6.5.3.

7 For its location, see Chovaniec 2015: 43.

8 For Akrai, see Domínguez 1989: 303-6; Fischer-Hansen 1996: 335-36; Mertens 2006: 76-77; Tréziny 2009: 173-74; Chovaniec 2015; Lancaster 2018: esp. 42, 235-37.

9 For its location, see Lancaster 2018: 241.

10 Collura 2020: 68.

sometimes shared by two house units have been excavated.<sup>11</sup> Of significant importance is the evidence from the temple of Mars inside of which weapons (helmets, swords, lances) and agricultural tools were excavated.<sup>12</sup>

The different ways these two Syracusan foundations have been seen by modern scholars are clearly related to the type of their relations with their mother city, Syracuse. For Orsi<sup>13</sup> and Di Vita, both settlements had a military character and were not proper *poleis*. Their aim was to facilitate the expansion of Syracuse to the interior of South-Eastern Sicily.<sup>14</sup> Di Vita stressed the lack of *plateiai*, an *agora* and large streets and interpreted the urban layout as having been created on the principle of *isomoiria* and further connected to hoplite warfare and equality of the hoplites forming the phalanx.<sup>15</sup> This interpretation has gained much favor by modern scholars.<sup>16</sup> In the same context, scholars also pointed out the lack of coinage in both cities, as well as the fact that Thucydides fails to mention an oecist for both of them, and considered that the two settlements were in a way subordinated to Syracuse.<sup>17</sup>

This exclusively military character and the equality of Kasmenai residents,<sup>18</sup> as well as the anti-native orientation of the two settlements and

11 For Kasmenai, see Greco & Torelli 1983: 183-85; Domínguez 1989: 213-18; Fischer-Hansen 1996: 336; Di Vita 1996: 276-79; Menéndez Varela 2003: 53-55; Mertens 2006: 77-79; Tréziny 2009: 174-76; Lancaster 2018: esp. 43-45, 239-41; Morakis 2019: 200-3; Collura 2020.

12 For this data, see more recently Melfi 2000; Albanese Procelli 2013; Scarci 2022.

13 See in Collura 2020: 63.

14 Di Vita 1956: esp. 181-94, 204-5; 1987: 79-80.

15 Di Vita 1996: 276-78.

16 See e.g. Bérard 1957: 132; Sjöqvist 1973: 7; Domínguez 1989: 214, 217; Anello 2002: 67 n. 48; Menéndez Varela 2003: 53; Erdas 2006: 46-50; Copani 2009: 15; Guzzo 2011: 208. See also in Collura 2020: 68-69.

17 Bérard 1957: 132; Sjöqvist 1973: 37; Asheri 1980: 122; Greco & Torelli 1983: 181, 184; Domínguez 1989: 217-18; 2006: 285 with n. 86; Hansen 1997: 36; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo 2004: 189; Erdas 2006: 46-47, with some doubts; de Luna 2009: 75-76; Copani 2009: 13-14; Uggeri 2015: 48 with n. 11; Chovaniec 2015: 43.

18 Already by Greco & Torelli 1983: 183-84, see also more recently Collura 2020: esp. 75-83 who postulated the existence of *plateiai* and *agora*. Tréziny 2009: 176 had also postulated the existence of an *agora* but in a different location than Collura.

especially of Kasmenai, have been challenged.<sup>19</sup> Doubts were also cast on the supposed subordination or dependency to/on Syracuse, mainly of Kasmenai and especially during the (very) late archaic period.<sup>20</sup> The relevant main arguments are the following:

- (a) For Herodotus, Kasmenai was a *polis*;<sup>21</sup>
- (b) An early fifth-century fragmentary inscription, usually considered as originating from Kasmenai, is granting tax immunity and other privileges to (probably) the *gamoroi*.<sup>22</sup> Since Kasmenai could grant tax immunity, and land possession or citizenship, it is certain that we are dealing with a proper *polis* completely independent from Syracuse.
- (c) Thucydides includes both cities in the list of Greek colonies of Sicily, while he omits other Syracusan settlements like Helorus and Akryllai.
- (d) The lack of coinage should not be considered as evidence of non-*polis* status and/or of dependency from Syracuse. There are many cities of the West that minted coinage only at a late or very late date.<sup>23</sup>

19 Mainly Melfi 2000, followed by Greco 2000: 229 and Copani 2009: 17-18, see also Albanese Procelli 2013: 237. On the contrary, di Vita 2003: 66-69 considers these weapons as spoils taken from the natives.

20 See for example Asheri 1980: 123; di Vita 1987: 79-80; Hansen 2000: 198-99, for Kasmenai, although he remarks that its location is totally inappropriate for the foundation of a colony; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen & Ampolo 2004: 205 for Kasmenai.

21 Hdt. 7.155; Steph. Byz. s.v. Κασμένη.

22 SEG 12.407. See for example Asheri 1980: 23; Domínguez 2006: 284-85; Lancaster 2018: 43. For this inscription see, among others, Alexander 1925; Guarducci 1959-1960: 254-58; Manganaro 1965: 194-97; Dubois 1989: 275-76; Luraghi 1994: 283 n. 43; van Effenterre & Ruzé 1994: 274-78; Erdas 2006: 46-47; Mignosa 2021. They do not all agree that the inscription comes from Kasmenai. For Alexander (the first to publish it) it was found at the site of ancient Akrai, while others, mainly because of the mixed alphabet of the inscription (with elements from Syracuse, Megara, but also the Chalcidian cities), believe that it comes from Megara Hyblaea (Guarducci), Selinous (Manganaro), or Syracuse (Dubois, Mignosa).

23 E.g. Cumae, Leontinoi and Catane minted coins for the first time at the beginning of the fifth century, Lipara at the end of the fifth century, while Lokroi minted at about the middle of the fourth century. For all these, see Morakis (forthcoming).

- (e) The size of Kasmenai (45 ha) cannot support the view of a simple stronghold.<sup>24</sup>

The fact that Thucydides does not mention oecists for both cities suggests some special character and very plausibly indicates that both settlements were not proper *poleis* from the beginning and had special bonds to Syracuse. In the same direction points the choice of their sites, inland and at a high altitude, close to each other and with no adequate arable land in their vicinity. The two settlements were most probably founded as strongholds by Syracuse with the aim at controlling the indigenous populations of the interior and preventing the expansion of Gela to the east. The same is indicated, as we have seen, by the mountainous area where both were established which has no parallel in Sicily, and the proximity to each other (less than 15 km). It is in this way that we can also explain the absence of oecists. There are no names because there were no formal foundations and consequently no oecists: at first there were only a few soldiers stationed in both settlements.

Collura is right to support the view that gradually more people with their families settled at Kasmenai. The (re)organization of the urban layout along with the monumentalizing of the temple of Aphrodite and the construction of other public buildings are the outcome of this procedure.<sup>25</sup> If the inscription mentioned above originates from Kasmenai, its *polis*-status is further confirmed by the date of the inscription (ca. 500). A simple *phrourion* could not issue a decree. By the 490s, at the date of the events described by Herodotus (7.155), Kasmenai was a *polis*. It was also the case during the period of Thucydides' source about colonization in Sicily (probably Antiochus of Syracuse).

There is less evidence for Akrai, which was a *polis* when a reorganization of the urban layout of the city took place in the third century under Hieron II.<sup>26</sup> But, it is highly unlikely that it remained a *phrourion* until that date. It is plausible that Akrai became a *polis* during the archaic period and well before Kasmenai, since its foundation is of earlier date. It seems also plausible that Akrai, unlike Kasmenai, kept its military character

24 Collura 2020: 70.

25 Collura 2020: 70.

26 Scripo 2018: 313.

down to the reign of Gelon. It was most probably after Gelon's triumph over Carthage that Akrai lost its military function. Thus, Akrai must have reached the *polis* status at the latest by the 470s.

To sum up, both cities seem to have achieved *polis*-status during the sixth century. Nevertheless, this did not alter the strong bonds that they both had with Syracuse as its former strongholds. These bonds imply some kind of dependency, at least in matters of foreign policy. Although it is difficult to say more about the relations between these two colonies and their mother city,<sup>27</sup> it seems rather possible that both settlements/*poleis* were in some way united with Syracuse. We could postulate for Akrai and Kasmenai a status more or less similar to that of the Spartan *perioikides poleis* to the city of Sparta.<sup>28</sup>

It is within the same context that we propose to explain the relations of the *gamoroi* of Syracuse with Kasmenai, revealed by Herodotus and the inscription mentioned above, the *gamoroi* being the ruling elite, identified with the Syracusan state itself.<sup>29</sup> The establishment of Kasmenai and Akrai as strongholds and the gradual transformation of Kasmenai (and presumably of Akrai) into proper *poleis* were facilitated by Syracuse itself who had a close eye on both settlements throughout the archaic period. These close relations between colonies and mother city have been lately demonstrated also through the architectural program; it has been assumed that the urban development of both needed constant assistance from Syracuse.<sup>30</sup>

The third Syracusan foundation, Kamarina, was founded in the southern part of Sicily near the mouth of the river Hypparis (modern Ippari)<sup>31</sup> at a distance of approximately 100 km from Syracuse. Its *chora* covered an area of about 600-700 km<sup>2</sup> between the rivers Irminio (ancient Hyrminus) and Dirillo.<sup>32</sup> As we have seen, Thucydides dates its foundation to 598 and also gives the names of the two oecists. He moreover says that

27 Lancaster 2018: 224 remarks that the degree of independence of Kasmenai may have changed over time.

28 For the status of these, see lately Ducat 2018: 606-12.

29 For the character of the *gamoroi*, see Morakis 2015.

30 Lancaster 2018: 225.

31 For the location of Kamarina, see de Luna 2006: 77-78; Uggeri 2015: 52.

32 Di Stefano 1987: 134-36. For the *chora* of Kamarina, see in detail Uggeri 2015: 13-34.

Kamarina was later destroyed by Syracuse as a result of its revolt (δι' ἀπόστασιν) in 553/2.<sup>33</sup> A fragment of Philistus gives more information about this conflict between colony and mother city. We learn from Philistus that Enna and Megara Hyblaea were allies of the Syracusans, whereas the native Sicilians and others were allies of Kamarina. Gela was also an ally of Kamarina but refused to fight against Syracuse. When Kamarina crossed the river Hyrminus, Syracuse was ready to react.<sup>34</sup> According to Herodotus, Syracuse was defeated by Hippocrates of Gela at the Helorus river, and was forced to cede Kamarina to the latter in 493/2,<sup>35</sup> who refounded it.<sup>36</sup> Excavations in the site of Kamarina and archaeological research in its *chora* began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and revealed the urban layout, especially the area of the *agora*, the port, the walls, the

33 Scymn. 295-296; Scholia in Pind. *Ol.* 5.16.

34 Philistus (*FGrHist* 556) fr. 5 = Dion. Hal. *Pomp.* 5.5: ... ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς δευτέρας τῶν Περί Σικελίας “Συρακόσιοι δὲ παραλαβόντες Μεγαρεῖς καὶ Ἐνναίους, Καμαριναῖοι δὲ Σικελούς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους πλὴν Γελῶν ἀθροίσαντες Γελῶιοι δὲ Συρακοσίοις οὐκ ἔφασαν πολεμήσειν· Συρακόσιοι δὲ πυνθανόμενοι Καμαριναίους τὸν Ὑρμινον διαβάντας ...” (At the beginning of the second book of his *Sikelika*: “The Syracusans brought over to their side the Megarians and the Ennaians, and the Kamarinians levied the Sikels and the other allies apart from the Geloans (who refused to go to war against the Syracusans). The Syracusans, having learned that the Kamarinians had crossed the Hyrminus ...” (transl. C.B. Champion)). Pais 1894: 236 n. 1 replaces Μεγαρεῖς with Ἀκράιους and Ἐνναίους with Κασμεναίους. For a discussion of Pais’ emendations, see Madolli 1980: 20; di Vita 1987: 82-83; Anello 2002: 69-70; de Luna 2009: 81; Lancaster 2018: 235 n. 2.

35 Hdt. 7.154.3: Συρηκοσίους δὲ Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ Κερκυραῖοι ἐρρύσαντο ... ”ἐρρύσαντο δὲ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοῖσδε καταλλάξαντες, ἐπ’ ᾧ τε Ἴπποκράτεϊ Καμάριναν Συρηκοσίους παραδοῦναι· Συρηκοσίων δὲ ἦν Καμάρινα τὸ ἀρχαῖον (“They were, however, rescued by the Corinthians and Corcyraeans ... who made a peace for them on the condition that the Syracusans should deliver up to Hippocrates Kamarina, which had formerly been theirs” (transl. A. D. Godley)). There are also two worn out passages of Timaeus and a passage of Philistus that refer to the destruction of Kamarina: Timaeus (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 19a = Schol. in Pind. *Ol.* 5.19a; Timaeus (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 19b = Schol. in Pind. *Ol.* 5.19b; Philistus (*FGrHist* 556) F15 = Schol. in Pind. *Ol.* 5.19c. For these passages as well as two plausible destructions of Kamarina one in 492/3 and another in 485/4, see briefly Morakis 2019: 216-17.

36 Thuc. 6.5.3.

sanctuary of Athena, and cemeteries. However, few finds date from the archaic period.<sup>37</sup>

Modern scholarship agrees that Kamarina was founded as a city (*polis*). The reference by Thucydides to its oecists,<sup>38</sup> the choice of its site by the sea, near a river and surrounded by fertile plain, as well as the distance from Syracuse, support this view.<sup>39</sup> However, there is no agreement as far as the relationship with Syracuse is concerned: an independent city from the beginning,<sup>40</sup> or dependent on Syracuse?<sup>41</sup> In my view, the reference of Thucydides to a war δι'ἀπόστασιν and Herodotus' description of its status vis-à-vis Syracuse (Kamarina belonged to Syracuse during earlier periods: Συρηκοσίων δὲ ἦν Καμάρινα τὸ ἀρχαῖον) point to dependency on Syracuse.<sup>42</sup>

With this in mind, we need to consider the war between colony and mother city not as an effort of Syracuse to violate the (independent) status of Kamarina, but as an effort to ensure that Kamarina would stay under Syracusan control and follow the foreign policy of the mother city. Kamarina certainly aimed at emancipation from Syracuse and for this reason formed alliances with other cities also dissatisfied with Syracuse and menaced by the latter. These were, as we have seen, indigenous populations, Gela and probably some others, as these are mentioned by Philistus, and probably Leontini (not mentioned by Philistus but included at all probability in his reference to ἄλλους συμμαχούς) that was a neighbor of Syracuse.<sup>43</sup> The pretext could be the good relations of Kamarina with the local Sicels. This attitude of Kamarina threatened the

37 See Uggeri 1996: esp. 75, 84, 88, 95, 109; 2015: esp. 134-35, 148.

38 It is plausible that Menekolus was from Corinth, see Asheri 1980: 123; Uggeri 1996: 26; 2015: 50; de Luna 2009: 78-79.

39 See Dunbabin 1948: 105; Uggeri 1996: 26; 2015: 49.

40 See Dunbabin 1948: 105; Uggeri 1996: 29; 2015: 54-55. According to both scholars, those who settled at Kamarina were the defeated in the internal conflicts in Syracuse along with the *Killyrioi*. This explains why Kamarina tried to keep a distance from Syracuse already from the beginning.

41 Pace 1927: 32; Graham 1983: 93; di Vita 1987: 85-86; Luraghi 1994: 28; de Luna 2006: 79.

42 Morakis 2019: 205. For Herodotus, see de Luna 2009: 79.

43 Uggeri 1996: 29.



unity of Syracuse and its colonies and also could show the path to *eleutheria* to the other two Syracusan foundations.

The victory of Syracuse over Kamarina restored the unity between the two cities. Kamarina did not cease to exist after its defeat and destruction by Syracuse. This is indicated also by the use of the nearby cemetery of Rifriscolano throughout the sixth century, along with the mention by Diodorus (1.68.6) of the Olympic victory of Parmenides in 528.<sup>44</sup> The rebellious Kamarinaeans might have found shelter among the indigenous populations, while their city received settlers from Syracuse.<sup>45</sup> The situation did not change until the defeat of Syracuse by Hippocrates at the Helorus river two generations later. The handing over of Kamarina to Hippocrates by Syracuse further confirms the status of dependency of Kamarina to Syracuse from 552 onwards. Finally, it is worth mentioning that there are striking similarities in burial customs between Syracuse and Kamarina. In both cities we see inhumations mostly in fossa graves to a little less than 60%, while cremations represent only 6% and *enchytrismo* (for children) 35%.<sup>46</sup>

To conclude. With the foundation of its own colonies, Syracuse aimed to control Akrai and Kasmenai, which were founded as advanced Syracusan strongholds monitoring the indigenous of the area and other Greek cities (like Gela). Their gradual development into *poleis* was achieved under the control of Syracuse, despite the fact that in both settlements presumably people from other *poleis* were established. Kamarina was founded as a proper *polis* under Syracusan control. For Akrai and Kasmenai this gradual evolution from a *phourion* to a *polis*, as well as the proximity of both to Syracuse and the strong bonds that the majority of their settlers had with the ruling class of the *gamoroi* (as the inscription mentioned above indicates) were the main reasons that both cities were so close to Syracuse. It is almost certain that Kasmenai and Akrai are included in the *Syrakousioi* of Philistus, who fought against Kamarina.

Kamarina's ambition to escape Syracusan control and eventually oppose the colonial 'empire' of Syracuse was facilitated by the distance

44 Pace 1927: 36-37; Dunbabin 1948: 106-7; di Stefano 1987: 199; Domínguez, 1989: 227; Fischer-Hansen 1996: 343; Anello 2002: 72; Pelagatti 2006: 58-59; de Luna 2009: 83.

45 Uggeri 1996: 29; 2015: 55.

46 Morakis 2019: 191-92 for Syracuse, and Pelagatti 2006: 61 for Kamarina.

from the mother city, as well as its fertile plain and commercial activity. The dissatisfaction of those who founded Kamarina with the ruling *gamoroi* is another factor that needs to be taken under consideration.<sup>47</sup> Kamarina tried to gain its independence with the help of the Sikels, being the first city to ally itself to the indigenous communities against another Greek city. The friendly relationship of Kamarina with the Sikels, contrary to the hostile attitude of Syracuse towards them, might have been a key factor for this conflict between colony and mother city. Kamarina's defeat meant the end of its effort to form a different and separate entity from Syracuse and the reestablishment of unity among the Syracusan foundations.

### Megara Hyblaea and Selinous

According to Thucydides (6.4.2), Selinous was founded by Megara Hyblaea and Megara in mainland Greece in 628 while Diodorus (13.59.4) and Eusebius (*Chron.* p. 88-89) give an earlier date (651).<sup>48</sup> We do not know if Megara Nisaia provided only the oecist (or one of the oecists) or (also) part of the population as has been suggested.<sup>49</sup> Therefore it is difficult to tell in some cases whether the similarities between Selinous and the two cities named Megara originate from the one in mainland Greece or the one in Sicily.

Selinous was founded on the southern coast of Sicily, more precisely on the extreme western side of the island, in an area of three hills separated from each other by two valleys, each one of them being crossed by a small river today's Cotone and Modione respectively.<sup>50</sup> Excavations of

47 Uggeri 1996: 29; 2015: 255; de Angelis 2016: 169.

48 Thucydides' reading allows two possibilities for the origin of the oecists. Either the oecist Pamillus came from Megara Nisaia or he came from Megara Hyblaea, while a second oecist, whose name is missing from the manuscript, is the one originating from Megara of mainland Greece. For Selinous' foundation, see e.g. Domínguez 1989: 361-62; Anello 2000: 99 n. 1; de Angelis 2003: 123-24, with n. 183; Menéndez Varela 2003: 56 n. 168; Morakis 2011: 478-80; Robu 2014: 159-200.

49 See for example de la Genière 1977: 257; Asheri 1980: 129-30; Robu 2014: 188.

50 For the location of Selinous, see Bérard 1957: 246-47; de Angelis 2003: 124-25; Domínguez 2006: 303; Mertens 2006: 83.

the site of the ancient city on the Manuzza hill provided scant evidence for the seventh century: remains of houses and early phases of temples. From the beginning of the sixth century dates the reorganization of the urban design of the city.<sup>51</sup> This presents significant similarities with that of Megara Hyblaea, such as the trapezoidal form of the *agora*, its location and association with other prominent buildings, the urban sanctuary in the north for Megara Hyblaea, the area of the port and the acropolis, the circular rings for cult reasons, and the existence of an *hestiatorion* in both cities.<sup>52</sup> There are also suggestions for the existence of the cult of the *oikistes* in both cities.<sup>53</sup> It seems that the colonists adopted the urban organization of their metropolis and adapted it to the features and particularities of the area. The economic relations between the two cities, at least during the first generations of the colony's life, are reflected in the exports of polychrome pottery from Megara Hyblaea dating from the middle of the sixth century.<sup>54</sup>

There are differences between colony and mother city in their burial customs. Inhumations are the predominant form of burial in Megara Hyblaea and the other Greek cities in Sicily. Cremations form a small part, about 15%, at Megara Hyblaea,<sup>55</sup> while in the cemetery of Buffa at Selinous, almost all adults were cremated between 650 and 550, which is not the case later between 550 and 500. During the sixth century only 8% of the adults of the cemetery of Buffa were not cremated. In the cemetery of Manicalunga-Gaggera of Selinous cremations represent 70% of the total adult burials during the same period.<sup>56</sup> Cremation is totally absent

51 For the urban organization of Selinous in the archaic period, see di Vita 1996: 283-84; de Angelis 2003: 131-52; Menéndez Varela, 2003, 55, with n. 166 with previous bibliography: 58-61; Mertens 2006: 173-83; 2012: 154-64; Tréziny 2009: 165-67; Robu 2014: 195-200.

52 Tréziny 2009: 165; Mertens 2012: 1160-1, 1164; Gras, Tréziny 2012: 1139; 2017: 157; Robu 2015: 80.

53 Gras & Tréziny 2012: 1141; Robu 2015: 80-1.

54 De Angelis 2003: 85; Denoyelle & Iozzo 2009: 60. For this pottery, see Denoyelle & Iozzo 2009: 58-63.

55 See Bérard 2017: 32-44 especially, 33-34, 43.

56 See Morakis 2019: 374-75.

(only one has been found) at Megara of mainland Greece, where sarcophagi, jar burials, cist graves made by small stones and pebbles, and *fossa* graves occur.<sup>57</sup>

Epigraphic evidence from all three Megarian cities is very poor, which renders more difficult the task of tracing similarities between them. For this reason, we need to turn to evidence from Megarian colonies in the Black Sea and the Propontis. It is difficult to decide about influences of Megara Nisaia or of Megara Hyblaea on Selinous, as far as dialect and alphabet are concerned.<sup>58</sup> Robu traced similarities between Selinous and Megara Nisaia and advanced the hypothesis that Selinous was under direct influence of Megara Nisaia for its *nomima*: letter forms and cult practices, for which there is no evidence from Megara Hyblaea.<sup>59</sup>

Finally, there is a fragmentary inscription from Olympia of about 500,<sup>60</sup> which was previously interpreted as an agreement between the city of Selinous and Megarian refugees. That document was considered by Asheri as referring to the return, the reintegration in Selinous and the giving back of their property to Selinountian exiles from Megara Hyblaea.<sup>61</sup> This view has found much acceptance in modern scholarship.<sup>62</sup> More recently, Robu proposed to identify the Megara of the inscription with Megara Nisaia.<sup>63</sup> In my view, Asheri's reconstruction is preferable. In the inscription there are two important elements that reveal the unity between colony and mother city. The first is the mentioning of the *ai-symnetes*, a magistracy known from Megara Nisaia, and Megarian colonies in the Propontis (Chalcedon and Selymbria) and the Black Sea (Chersonesus and Kallatis).<sup>64</sup> This indicates the common *nomima* between *metropolis* and colony. The second is the choice of the refugees, either originating from Megara and founding shelter to Selinous or the opposite, to ask for protection in their kin city, even if this was located far away from

57 See Chairetakis 2016: esp. 221-23 with n. 27.

58 Arena 1989: 9-10, 89-95; Brugnone 2006: 47-57; Robu 2014: 188-89.

59 Robu 2015: 81-92.

60 Dittenberger & Purgold 1896: n. 22.

61 Asheri 1979.

62 For this inscription, see, e.g., Arena 1989: n. 52; Dubois 1989: n. 28; van Effenterre & Ruzé 1994: n. 17; de Angelis 2003: 160-62; Robu 2014: 189-91; Morakis 2019: 387-89.

63 Robu 2015: 93-94.

64 Hanell 1934: 146-51; Loukopoulou 1989: 143-45; Robu 2014: 382-87.

their city, rather to another city which could be closer. This indicates the deep bonds that the people of the two cities kept even after four or five generations and despite the distance between them.

To conclude. There are many common points between Selinous and Megara Hyblaea. Differences also occur, e.g. burial customs. How much Megara Nisaia participated in the foundation of Selinous is a subject of debate. What seems plausible is that Megara Nisaia provided the oecist – as Thucydides says – but no colonists. We should also keep in mind that Megara Hyblaea, the *chora* and arable land of which were limited, compared to its neighboring Greek cities, presumably had a considerable number of people who needed land (since land is the main impetus behind the establishment of a new foundation), so there was no need for reinforcements by the mother city. In this framework, the *aisymnetai* of the aforementioned inscription must be a magistracy adopted from Megara Hyblaea, which in turn had adopted it from Megara Nisaia.

Finally, I should emphasize that distance must have played a crucial role in the formation of the relationships between Megara Hyblaea and Selinous. Even if the former (which remains very doubtful) wanted to perform a more intervening role in the affairs of its colony (similar to the one of Syracuse in its own colonies, as examined above) this was not possible since the two cities were located on the opposite sides of Sicily.<sup>65</sup> In addition, distance was probably an important factor in preventing Selinous from helping its mother city, when threatened and finally destroyed by Gelon in 485.<sup>66</sup> The destruction of its mother city must have played an important role for the decision of Selinous to side with the Carthaginians against Syracuse and Akragas and their tyrant-rulers a few years later. Generally speaking, it seems that Selinous was oriented much more towards the neighboring indigenous populations and Phoenicians than towards the east where its mother city lay. Nevertheless, this distance did not prevent the refugees of the inscription to ask for shelter in their kin city which is a clear indication of the strong bonds between the people (or most probably the elites) of the two cities down to 500.

65 For distance as an important character for the formation of the relations between colonies and mother cities, see Graham 1983: 71–97.

66 For the destruction of Megara Hyblaea, see Hdt. 7.156; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 1.27.3. See also Morakis 2019: 285–87.

## Gela and Akragas

Last to be examined are Akragas and Gela. Akragas was founded, according to Thucydides, by Gela in 580, the Geloans appointing as oecists Aristonous and Pystinous; other sources refer to Akragas as a Rhodian foundation, but these should not be preferred to Thucydides and others who speak of a Geloan foundation for Akragas.<sup>67</sup> The city was established in a fertile area, between two rivers (Akragas and Hypsas) on the southern coast of Sicily, about 75 km west of Gela.

Regarding the burial customs at Gela, inhumations and cremations (primary and secondary) are used at the same time but not to the same extent already from the beginning of the city's foundation. Children were usually buried in ceramic vessels. There were also sarcophagi for both adults and children, initially made of stone, but at a later stage also of clay. At Akragas, burial customs have many similarities to those at Gela, namely cremations and inhumations were also common and the same grave types were used as in Gela: urns, sarcophagi, stone-slab graves, pit- and tile-graves. Nevertheless, in some way Akragas diverged from its mother city. In particular, contrary to Gela, cremations corresponded only to a small part of the total burials in Akragas, while in Gela there were also numerous large pits in the rock, burials which are unattested in Akragas.<sup>68</sup>

Gela and Akragas maintained very good relations throughout the archaic period. There are no references in the sources to any kind of conflict, despite the fact that their territories were almost adjacent. This could have multiple explanations. The first one is related to Gela's decision to establish a colony that would be independent and *autonomos*. Literary sources and archaeological data reveal that Gela and Akragas tried to expand their influence over the interior where the indigenous popu-

67 From Gela: Thuc. 6.4.4-5; Scymn. 292-93; Strabo 6.2.5; Artemon (*FGrHist* 569) fr. 1. From Rhodes: Polyb. 9.27.8 and Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 2.15a, 16 = Timaeus (*FGrHist* 566) fr. 92. For the foundation of Akragas, see also Bérard 1957: 235-39; de Waele 1971: 81-97; Leschhorn 1984: 52 n. 5; Baghin 1991: 7-17; Musti 1992; Domínguez 2006: 306-311; Adornato 2011: 11-29; Morakis 2011: 480-82.

68 Burkhardt 2016: 122-24.

lations were living. Some of these settlements of the indigenous populations, especially those close to Gela, seem to have been under the direct control of the latter (Butera, Monte Bubbonia), others more distant like Gibil, Gabib, Sabucina, Capodarso and Monte Saraceno, seem to have initially maintained economic relations with Gela until 550, but from the second half of the sixth century they are considered to have been in the orbit of Akragas.<sup>69</sup> Especially for Monte Saraceno there is evidence for a possible control by Akragas.<sup>70</sup>

It seems to me very plausible that it was this anti-native orientation of both cities that fostered their good relations. Gela considered that an expansion of Akragas towards the area of the locals was favorable to the former, while Akragas had plenty of space for expansion without menacing its neighbor Gela. Gela's tyrants also avoided any expansion towards the territories of Akragas. Although both Hippocrates and Gelon implemented a very expansionistic policy, this targeted the east and the Euboean cities, Megara Hyblaea and Syracuse,<sup>71</sup> but not Akragas. Kinship also played some part in the formation of the alliance between Gelon of Gela and Theron of Akragas against the Carthaginians.

## Conclusions

We can conclude that different patterns of establishing new settlements occur as far as the Dorian colonies of Sicily are concerned. The case of Syracuse and its two foundations, Akrai and Kasmenai, is unique. These

69 Literary sources: Gela: Paus. 8.46.2; 9.40.4, capture of Omphace; Artemon (*FGrHist* 569) fr. 1 = Schol in Pind. *Ol.*2. 16b, fights against the Sicani; Xenagoras (*FGrHist* 240) fr. 12; *Lind. Temp. Chron.* C.25, spoils from Ariaiton dedicated by the Geloans in the temple of Athena in Lindos; Akragas: Polyaeus, *Strat.* 5.1.3-4, capture by Phalaris of two cities of the Sicani, one of them being Ouessa; Hdt. 7.170; Diod. Sic. 4.78; Schol. in Pind. *Pyth.* 6.5, capture of Camicus on behalf of the Acragantines. Archaeological evidence: Orlandini 1962; De Miro 1962; Fischer-Hansen 2002: esp. 136-63; Micciché 2011: 28-84; Morakis 2019: 291-305, 354-61; 2020: 381-86.

70 For Monte Saraceno, see Orlandini 1962: 97-98; Domínguez 1989: 311-14; Fischer-Hansen 2002: 150-52; Siracusano & Calderone 2006: 266-68; Micciché 2011: 37-38, 87-88; Morakis 2019: 299-300, 302-5, 356-57.

71 Hippocrates : Hdt. 7.154-55; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 5.6; Gelon: Hdt. 7.155-56.

were initially founded as *phrouria* which later developed into proper *poleis*. The other three settlements under consideration, i.e. Selinous, Kamarina, and Akragas, were proper *poleis* already from the beginning. Selinous and Akragas were independent *poleis* when founded, but that was not the case of Kamarina. The attitude of Syracuse seems exceptional by Sicilian standards.<sup>72</sup> Syracuse and Kamarina were neighbors and that aggravated the situation, as also did Kamarina's friendly relations with the local populations.

Megara Hyblaea and Selinous, as well as Gela and Akragas had friendly relations. In the first case, the effect of distance is not to be neglected as far as involvement in the affairs of its colony by Megara Hyblaea is concerned, as well as disputes and tensions on border disputes. In the case of Gela and Akragas, proximity did not result in any kind of disputes and conflicts. Apparently, Gela did not intervene in the affairs of its colony. Moreover, as in the case between Syracuse and Kamarina, the attitude towards the local populations was in all probability a key factor in the formation of relations between the colony and mother city. Both cities devoted their energy for expansion towards the interior and the indigenous populations, limiting the possibility of a clash between them.

As regards *nomima*, the available data reveal strong similarities in dialect, alphabet and burials between Syracuse and its colonies, in dialect, alphabet, magistracies, cult practices between Selinous and both Megara, and burial customs between Gela and Akragas. The same data have shown that occasionally colonies followed their own separate paths. This is clear in the alphabets at Syracuse and Kasmenai and in burial customs mostly between Megara and Selinous and to a lesser extent between Gela and Akragas.

72 Zancle and Mylae could also fit into this frame. Mylae was founded by Zancle at about 30 km to the west soon after the latter's establishment (dated to 730). Mylae is mentioned by Diodorus (12.54) as a *phrourion* in the fifth century and presumably it was dependent on Zancle already from its foundation, see for example Dunbabin 1948: 211-22; Vallet 1988: 166-67; Domínguez 2006: 266-68; Tigano 2009: 159-60.



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