

The Chora Formation of the Greek Cities of Aegean Thrace. Towards a Chronological Approach to the Colonization Process

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The notion of *chora* within the Greek colonial world still constitutes a difficult reality to agree upon, as regards the organisation of its space, the chronology of its formation or even its borders themselves. Defined as the territory immediately surrounding a city, the *chora* remains, according to most of the studies devoted to it, a space which the city is supposed to have dominated politically and economically, to have used for its necropolis and to have cultivated for its agricultural needs from the city's foundation onwards or shortly thereafter. A place of exchange or conflict, and sometimes of cohabitation, the *chora* raises the question of the relationship between cities traditionally considered to be of essentially Greek population and their immediate native hinterland. Answering this question is often done by drawing on models developed for Magna Graecia and a few examples from written sources.

This paper attempts a survey of the situation in Aegean Thrace, a recent area of archaeological research and still poorly known by scholars. In this region of the Greek colonial world it is possible to approach the formation process of the city territory in a chronological way which allows a fruitful reconsideration of the complex relationship between the Greek settlers and the local populations.¹

Greek colonization in context: Aegean Thrace before the arrival of the first Greek settlers

The term "Aegean Thrace," common nowadays in historical bibliographies, is a recent geographical notion. It is applied to an area strongly disputed at the beginning of the 20th century, which lies now entirely within the limits of the administrative district of western Thrace in northern Greece. This area bordered by the Nestos River to the west and the Hebros River to the east gathers within its limits several geographical units, very distinct from one to another.

Historical sources locate here different populations ethnically characterised as Thracian such as the Sapaiani, Bistonians or Kikonians (Hom. 2.846; Hdt. 7.110). Although this region represents undoubtedly the first sector of the

Thracian coast known to the Greeks and is closely integrated into the Greek mythological world, historical sources do not provide us with any information concerning the settlement patterns of this area. Appian a much later Roman source writes of shores almost uninhabited due to a fear of piracy and describes a situation very similar to that of the *eremos chora*, the “desert country” of Magna Graecia (App. *Civ.* 4.102). Strabon, however, mentions the formal presence of three Kikonian cities: Xantheia, Maroneia and Ismaros (Strab. 7.43). The last one was also known to Harpokration. Our own knowledge of the subject is still limited, and the available archaeological evidence is both recent and incomplete. Unlike Thasos which has been regularly excavated since the beginning of the 20th century, the archaeological exploration of Aegean Thrace started only in the 1950s, and the first survey realised in the mountainous hinterlands took place only in the 1970s. Generally, until the end of the 1980s Thracian remains were often described as “prehistoric”, and excavations were mainly concentrated on Greek colonies located along the coast. Nevertheless, since studies of the ancient Thracian populations are gradually increasing, new evidence which can be used in the historical studies of Thrace is becoming available.

The development of the early Iron Age settlement pattern

The major features of the settlement pattern observed in the period immediately preceding the foundation of the Greek colonies in the northern Aegean appear to have been established during the late Bronze Age (Fig. 1). A major evolution then took place in the spatial occupation networks and the social structures of the local populations. In Central Macedonia and more particularly in the Langada Basin, a sector well studied by K. Kotsakis, a gradual diversification of the geographical sectors inhabited can be seen.² Henceforth, the slopes of the mountains and the highest zones are also taken into use. This development seems to reflect an increased hierarchy between the settlements around fortified centres as shown by the *tells* of Assiros and Perivolaki and further to the West on the Thermaic Gulf particularly by the *tells* of Toumba, Thermi and Gona. This change also demonstrates an internal process in the different communities which is also revealed by the appearance of important buildings in the settlements’ highest point. Such structures would not have come into existence without a central authority behind them.³ In eastern Macedonia the modification of the settlement pattern is also obvious. The sectors inhabited are located in the foothills or the hills’ slopes rather than in the central part of the basins.⁴ B. Blouet would like to see here the result of the exploitation of new lands rather than an *incastellamento* phenomenon.⁵ Further to the north, finds in the western Rhodope Mountains illustrate an important development of the settlements not only along the Nestos River, but also in the adjacent valleys.⁶ Thasos, however, offers a very distinct situation. Except for Potos, all of the coastal settlements were deserted for forti-



Fig. 1. Archaeological sites of the early Iron Age in Aegean Thrace mentioned in the text.

- Fortified sites
- Unfortified sites
- * Necropolis

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Oisyme | 9. Aghios Giorgos |
| 2. Platania | 10. Aghios Athanassios |
| 3. Mourgana | 11. Petralofos |
| 4. Tsouka | 12. Phanari |
| 5. Asar Tepe Sarakinis | 13. Zone |
| 6. Kastri | 14. Poltymbria / Ainos |
| 7. Toxotes | 15. Vafeika |
| 8. Asar Tepe Erganis | 16. Mikro Doukato |

fied settlements located on hill sites, well away from the shores as revealed by the acropolis of Kastri.⁷

The late Bronze Age in Aegean Thrace is not well documented owing to the weakness of the archaeological studies of the various settlements belonging to this period and the lack of publications of what earlier excavations have taken place. The indexes of the settlements listed in the *Arkhaiologikon Deltion* and other journals, however, show a real diversity in the settlement patterns of this period. We can observe that the occupation of mountain tops began at this time as took place at the site of Asar Tepe near the modern village of Ergani. This development appears very similar to the situation studied in Bulgarian eastern Rhodope.⁸ Moreover, the sites located in the southern foothills of the

Rhodope Mountains as well as along the hydrographic network, especially the Filiouri River, in the central part of the Komotini Basin, are numerous.⁹ These characteristics continue during the transition to the early Iron Age and increase thereafter. In the time prior to the Greek colonization we can note that, contrary to Appian's assertion, there is no *eremos chora* in Aegean Thrace, an observation that also takes the coastal zones into account. The Cape Phanari close to the mouth of the Bistonis Pond, as well as the colony of Zone, was actually already inhabited during the early Iron Age.¹⁰ Ainos, according to the literary sources, continued a Thracian settlement originally named Poltymbria (Strab. 7.6.1), a situation which corresponds to that observed in the Thasian *peraia*, where some colonies were located at, or near, pre-existing Thracian settlements.¹¹

Another feature of early Iron Age settlement patterns is the development of numerous fortifications concentrated in the mountainous sectors of Thrace. The excavations of the fortified sites of Tsouka and Asar Tepe near the modern village of Sarakini confirm the chronology of this development, which also corresponds to the results of research work carried out on the Aghios Giorgos Peak in the Ismaros Mountains, in the Oisymi and Pithari coastal *acropoleis* in eastern Macedonia, and at the inland fortresses of Platania and Mourgana in the Xeropotamos and Nestos valleys.¹² These sites are of differing sizes, and although their exact purpose is not always clear, they seem to have served different purposes. The first category, commonly known in Greek and Bulgarian Thrace under the Turkish name of *kale* or sometimes in Greek as *kastro*, represents a group of fortifications built in dry stone which surround the top of the hills around a small plateau. The research of N. Efstratiou near the village of Sarakini close to the Greek-Bulgarian borders shows that these constructions could serve pastoral purposes and need not always have had a defensive function.¹³ Of course, such structures connected to the villages located in the valley play an important part in the economical exploitation of each spatial unit.

On the other hand, the large, inhabited *acropoleis* surrounded by a ring wall constitute a very different category of sites. As in Bulgarian eastern Rhodope most of them are located in mountainous regions such as Asar Tepe near the village of Ergani or Aghios Giorgos in the Ismaros Mountains.¹⁴ The large fortified settlement of Toxotes located on top of a low hill close to the Nestos River, should also be included in this list.¹⁵ These settlements reveal the progressive development of a strong hierarchy in the settlement pattern. Indeed, these *acropoleis* look down on other unfortified sites, a situation well attested in Thasos where we may note the existence of the large acropolis of Kastri and an unfortified settlement in Limenas on the north coast.¹⁶ In Aegean Thrace, the Asar Tepe Erganis acropolis clearly stands out from the other sites located along the Philiouri River, while we note south of Toxotes two small and unfortified settlements in Petralofos (near Mandra) and Aghios Athanasios close to the modern village of Avdira.¹⁷

Because of its hierarchical structure, the Thracian world on the Aegean

shores was divided and subject to internal conflicts. A third category of fortification composed of either two or three ranges of wall with or without any remains of habitations seems to assume some defensive or military purpose as is clearly shown in Bulgaria in the case of Kievo and Peroun *kale*. This assertion finds confirmation in the destruction of Kastri prior to the Greek colonization, which could be dated back to the end of the 8th or the first decades of the 7th century BC thanks to the G2-3 ceramic found at the site.¹⁸

The cultural diversity of the Aegean Thracian societies

The lack of any political unity, underlined by Herodotos (Hdt. 5.3), is not the only reflection of the division of the Thracian world into small power units nor of a prepolitic stage of internal organization i.e. the tribe. It is also the direct consequence of a true diversity in the cultural profiles often masked by the generic terms applied to Thrace and to the various populations of which it was made up. The ritual customs known from the archaeological evidence constitute here a very precious piece of evidence which allows us to comprehend this reality. Although they cannot be immediately translated as ethnic identities, which we cannot grasp from the archeological material, the ritual customs do form a set of practices through which a group defines itself. Since the burial customs on the northern Aegean shores are profoundly different from one area to the next, this throws light the cultural diversity of the Thracian world (Fig. 2).

For instance, in the western Rhodope Mountains, from the late Bronze Age onwards, primary or secondary cremations in ash urns under a barrow are the most common type of burial.¹⁹ These burial customs extended into the Drama Basin in the first stage of the early Iron Age as shown by three barrows excavated in an industrial area close to the city.²⁰ Weapons, dagger and spear points, as well bronze jewellery, constitute the main features of the grave goods. Moreover, a vase, often a *kantharos* or a jug, completes the material in the grave. Later this group gradually changes customs and adopts the practice of inhumation in a *pithos* for children. The necropolis of Kastanas also makes use of this form.²¹ Defined through these burial customs, this group seems to be culturally close to the population present in Oisyme where secondary cremations without a barrow represent a high proportion of the graves of the 6th century BC.²² The grave goods here consist of weapons as well local hand made pottery and fibulae. In the same period, at the site of Phaia Petra, in the northern part of the Serres Basin, we can observe burial customs completely different from the above mentioned ones. Primary or secondary inhumation in a family enclosure prevails here, something rather similar to what was practiced in Thasos. On the island inhumations occurred in pit graves surrounded by small stone walls limiting the burial area.²³ Sometimes a stone cover gives the structure the appearance of a small building. In Aegean Thrace, however, the excavations made by D. Triantaphyllos in a



Fig. 2. Burial customs of the Rhodope Mountains, eastern Macedonia and Aegean Thrace during the early Iron Age.

- ✱ 1 Cremation under barrow
- ❖ 2 Cremation with megalithic structure
- 3 Cremation in urn and inhumation in pithos / in stones structure
- ✦ 4 Inhumation with Megalithic structure
- ▲ 5 Inhumation in pithos
- 6 Inhumation in simple pit
- ◈ 7 Inhumation in stone structure
- ⊙ 8 Inhumation in cist grave surrounded by a stone peribolos
- ◻ 9 Rock tomb

necropolis in Vafeïka, close to the Xanthi River have discovered three adult burials in *pithoi* belonging to the end of the 7th century BC.²⁴ This practise of *enchytrismos* for mature persons is very similar to the *necropoleis* of Aghios Mamas and Nea Skioni in western Chalkidike.²⁵ Further to the east, in the Komotini Basin, another necropolis located south of Mikro Doukato, along the Filiouri River, reveals the earlier practice of primary cremation in this sector.

In the first half of the 7th century BC, these customs disappeared replaced by a cist necropolis with primary inhumation.²⁶ The necropolis of the archaeological site known as Mesembria-Zone, on the south slopes of the Zonaion Mountains, offers some secondary cremations in urns and some *enchytrismoι* placed close to two elaborate, circular, stone structures. Finally, at the same time the eastern Rhodope Mountains, in the sector of the modern village of Roussa, next to the Greek-Bulgarian border, present secondary cremations under barrow covers with megalithic structures. This last group continued to be used in the early Iron Age when burial practices changed gradually to cist constructions.²⁷

In conclusion, it can be said that the Thracian world on the northern Aegean coast was not a culturally homogenous group. Thus the first contacts with other areas of the Aegean world take place in a more complex situation than one would expect.

The controversial question of pre-colonial contacts

One of the most important problems concerning Greek colonization and the relationship between native populations and the Greek world is the question of first contacts. In his work on Magna Graecia G. Pugliese Carratelli states that behind the different myths of foundation of the Greek colonies and the influence of the *epos*, we can find historical elements that belong to two different periods.²⁸ The first is that of trade contacts from the late Bronze Age, a reality well attested to by the presence of Mycenaean and Cypriot pottery in the native settlements of the Gulf of Tarento, on the southern coast of Sicily and in many sites of Sardinia.²⁹ According to Pugliese Carratelli, knowledge of these regions remained alive in later periods serving as a useful basis for the development of various contacts in the Geometric and Archaic periods. Such an analysis, however, grants to the Euboian aristocracy the main role in the diffusion of Greek and Oriental imports that shortly preceded the settlement of the colonists.³⁰ This idea is disputed because the identification of maritime traders during this early period is far from determined. The role of eastern traders cannot be excluded at this stage.³¹

Despite the debatable aspects of his theory, the research of Pugliese Carratelli has had a great influence exceeding by far southern Italy. Indeed, many scholars, influenced by their convictions that a parallel and identical development of Greek colonization in the Black Sea area existed, have tried to demonstrate the existence of a Mycenaean trade route along the northern shores of Anatolia during the last century of the Aegean Bronze Age.³² The discovery of Cypriot and Mycenaean pottery in some parts of Asia Minor has been used to confirm such an argument, although D. Kačarava, G. Kvirkvelija and O. Lordkipanidze point out that the mode of penetration and diffusion of these vases is not yet known.³³ Moreover, all the speculations advanced in favour of a Euboian navigation around the Black Sea prior to the foundation of the

first colonies eventually revealed by the myth of Prometheus and by the story of the Argonauts run up against the current absence of any archaeological evidence as has been underlined by O. Lordkipanidze.³⁴

The late Bronze Age commercial networks

Indeed, literary sources referring to early contacts between the Greeks and Aegean Thrace before the actual Greek colonization began exist in the form of the Homeric tradition and Herodotos' testimony; however, both of these authors appear to be very problematic as sources. The Homeric hymns raise serious difficulties because of the uncertainties of their chronology and their link to reality, whereas Herodotos seems to rely on local traditions, which in turn are drawn from the Homeric *epos*. This process is for example specifically perceptible in the local myth concerning the foundation of Maroneia, which is drawn from the mythological figure of the Thracian priest Maron in the *Odyssey*.³⁵ D. Triantaphyllos asserts, however, that the episode of Odysseus' expedition against the Kikonian city of Ismaros and the myth of the foundation of Abdera by Herakles in remembrance of his friend Abderos (Hom. *Od.* 9.39-55 and 196-201; Apollod. 2.5.8; Philost., *Eikones*, 2.25.1-2; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Abdera), are to be read as evidence for early and unfruitful Mycenaean or Archaic colonial settlements on the Aegean shore of Thrace.³⁶

Admittedly, as in the south of Italy, Mycenaean material is not absent in the northern Aegean (Fig. 3). This should not be surprising as the Mycenaean world was geographically very close to Thrace. The excavations carried out in several *necropoleis* located on the northern slope of Mount Olympos even demonstrate the infiltration of Mycenaean communities into western Macedonia.³⁷ The noticeable presence of Mycenaean pottery in the *necropoleis* and settlements of western Macedonia, particularly along the banks of the Aliakmon River and on the plain of Kitrini Limni, is to be understood in this context of immediate proximity and local exchange networks.³⁸ As shown by the *tell* of Toumba and the site of Mikro Karabournaki in Thessaloniki, the north of the Thermaic Gulf also seems to present the same features.³⁹

In Chalkidike fragments of Mycenaean pottery were found in several late Bronze Age settlements. As revealed by some vases of the Vapheio type discovered during the excavations at Torone, contact here seems to be slightly earlier than the LH IIA.⁴⁰ The mode of contact between the populations was certainly maritime. Eastern Macedonia and Aegean Thrace belong to the same framework of exchange. On the Aegean coast of Thrace, the presence of Mycenaean material still appears sparingly. Only the limited excavations in the Asar Tepe acropolis closed to Ergani, and the more doubtful case of the Cyclop's Cave near Maroneia, have produced pottery fragments of the Mycenaean type, and these are poorly documented with only a vague reference and a photographic illustration published by E. Tsibidis-Pentazos.⁴¹ The lack of archaeological studies of the late Bronze Age sites of Aegean Thrace may

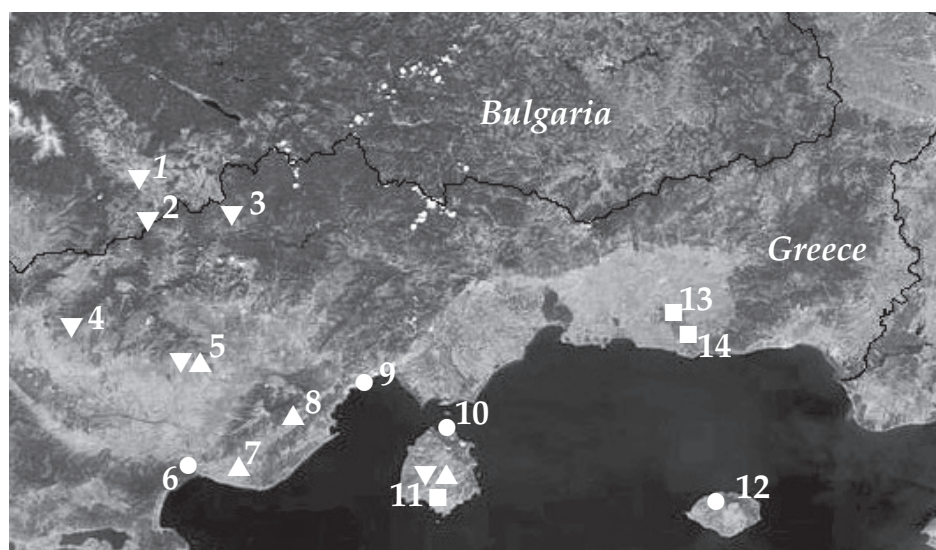


Fig. 3. Diffusion of the Mycenaean and G2-3 pottery in the northern Aegean.

- ▲ Mycenaean imported pottery
- ▼ Local production of Mycenaean type pottery
- Mycenaean pottery of indeterminate type
- G2-3 imported pottery

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Kopriolen | 9. Neapolis / Kavala |
| 2. Exohi | 10. Limenas |
| 3. Potamoi | 11. Kastri |
| 4. Phaia Petra | 12. Samothrace |
| 5. Stathmos Aggistas | 13. Asar Tepe Erganis |
| 6. Eion | 14. Cyclop's cave |
| 7. Palaiokastro Karyanis | |
| 8. Lakkovikia | |

be the reason for the weakness of our archaeological data and hardly allows us to go further in our conclusions. A comparison with Thasos and nearby eastern Macedonia, however, offers an interesting parallel.

Indeed, we can observe that in Thasos Mycenaean material has been discovered in the three *necropoleis* of the Kastri settlement – Kentria, Tsiganadika and Vrysoules – on the central part of the island. The situation here is very similar to that of the eastern Macedonian mainland where the sites of Karyani's Palaiokastro, Lakkovikia and, further inland, Stathmos Angistas reveal simi-

lar pottery.⁴² This circulation started in the LH IIIA at the same time as sites on Chalkidike began to import such wares and was followed afterwards by the production of imitations in local clay in Thasos, as well as on the Drama Plain, each with its own characteristics.⁴³ This fact confirms the existence of contact with Aegean traders. Later productions of local wheel made pottery were well diffused on the mainland, especially in the southern part of the Rhodope Range as shown at the necropolis of Phaia Petra on the western slope of Mount Vrontous, as well as in the Potamoi and Exohi's barrows, close to the present Greek-Bulgarian border.⁴⁴ This last site reveals the existence of a trade network between the Drama Plain and the Gotse Deltchev Basin during this period which undoubtedly followed the Xeropotamos and Nestos valleys to reach the settlement of Koprivlen where fragments of a *skyphos* dated to the LH IIIB were found.⁴⁵

The existence of many contacts between the Mycenaean world and the north Aegean shores seems to be a reality well attested for the period between the LH IIIA and the LH IIIC. Rather than seeing this as a sign of a colonial settlement, a theory voiced by I. Votokoupoulou in discussing the case of the acropolis of Vigla, I would see these contacts as stemming from the existence of a maritime trade.⁴⁶ The maintenance of these contacts beyond the LH IIIC seems doubtful. In Thasos we observe that an imitative production based on the latest models of Mycenaean ceramics survives over a relatively long period, but without any renewal of the shapes. A break in the relationship with the southern Aegean world is revealed in the last decades of the late Bronze Age.⁴⁷

The Geometric and Archaic period: the doubtful identification of the traders

The revival of the connection between the northern shores of the Aegean and the southernmost areas, a situation well observed during the Protogeometric period in Chalkidike and somewhat later in Thasos, raises the question of the identity of the traders. Some scholars suggest that Phoenician traders were present in this area during the first centuries following the Dark Ages. Among the different elements used in proving the existence of such trade, Herodotos' testimony constitutes the most serious evidence. He reports a local tradition from the island current during the 5th century BC according to which Phoenicians were the first to exploit the Ainyra and Koinyra mines (Hdt. 6.47).⁴⁸ Homeric references seem obvious, in particular book XV of the *Odyssey* where Homer describes the presence of Phoenician itinerant tradesmen in the Aegean (*Od.* 15.419-20). Most surprisingly, Herodotos also claims to have seen in Phoenicia a sanctuary devoted to the Thasian Herakles (Hdt. 2.44). Consequently, P. Devambez thinks it possible to distinguish a reciprocal Phoenician influence on the Sanctuary of Herakles in Thasos.⁴⁹ Moreover, F. Salviat hoped to prove the Phoenician origin of the Byblian wine production in the Thasian *peraia*, and A.J. Graham wished to show the historical

reality of Herodotos' information by his 1981 exploration in of mines in the eastern part of Thasos.⁵⁰ He also attempted to use an etymological analysis and cited the resemblance of the toponym of Abdera with the names of two Carthaginian cities. He also logically developed the idea of a first foundation of Abdera by the Phoenicians.⁵¹ However, Graham forgot to mention that no Phoenician material prior to the period of Greek colonization has ever been found in the northern Aegean. Neither does such material occur in the most ancient levels of Limenas, the settlement of Kastri or in the mines of Thasos where the earliest sherds belong to the late decades of the 6th century BC.⁵² Nor has anything similar been discovered in the different settlements on the continental coast such as Argilos, in the early Iron Age levels at Oisyme and Neapolis or during the excavations of both *periboloi* of Abdera.

It seems very important to note that the etymological analysis mentioned in the different publications dedicated to Thasos originates from a controversial article of G. Dossin who used doubtful linguistic methods to demonstrate a Phoenician origin for the name of Thasos without taking the Thracian elements into account. The adoption of this conclusion by P. Devambez and J. Pouilloux gives full credit to this theory and it is referred to thereafter by several authors even though few of them actually saw the original article.⁵³ As a consequence we must say that it is difficult to conclude that there existed a Phoenician presence in the north of the Aegean prior to the age of Greek colonization since the available data on this subject are for the moment not convincing.

The discussion of the early presence of Phoenician traders does, however, shed a new light on the imports of Subgeometric pottery, equally present in Drama and in the early Iron Age settlement located on Hill 133 north of Amphipolis. This pottery widely distributed in the Thermaic gulf and the Chalkidike Peninsula has recently been considered as Macedonian or Euboian. We must note moreover at this time the imports of G2-3 grey clay wares discovered in Thasos and on the Thracian coast (Fig. 3). This material appears to be very problematic since we neither know the exact chronology of its production nor its original provenance. Such pottery is also found in Lesbos, Aiolia, Troas and Lemnos. Moreover, C. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki tried to make a distinction between the Lesbian and the Lemnian production both represented in Thasos. She attributes these imports to the development of contacts with these islands without being able to be more precise concerning the nature of this exchange.⁵⁴

Only one relatively tempting proposal tries to go beyond this apparent paradox and opposes the absence of Phoenician material and the local traditions reported by Herodotos. Following A.J. Graham, J. Papadopoulos has emphasized that an essential part of the Protogeometrical and Geometrical imports discovered in Chalkidike are not Euboian as has been shown by different analyses. He ascribed the pottery to various Greek centres one of which is Athens. In addition Papadopoulos noted the important quantity of Oriental

material discovered at Lefkandi. Based on this Papadopoulos proposed that Euboia was only a stopover for the Phoenician traders. Consequently, the sherds known as “Euboian” discovered in Chalkidike or as “Macedonian” in eastern Macedonia and Thasos would have been produced at different Greek centres and transported by itinerant Phoenician tradesmen. This theory, which would at the same time explain the Thasian tradition of the earliest Phoenician contacts, the early character of the imports to the south of Chalkidike, and the absence of any Phoenician material, remains interesting but suffers from a lack of archaeological evidence to support it.⁵⁵

Thus, no matter what the ethnic identity of the traders, the presence of Subgeometric and grey G2-3 pottery productions in the early Iron Age settlements of the northern Aegean enables us to see the links that exist between this region and the southern Aegean. The Thracian world, however, was not a closed world. The findings of Gava type urns in eastern Macedonia and graphited pottery in Aegean Thrace also demonstrate that contacts with the rest of the Balkan Peninsula existed. It should be very difficult to conclude, as G. Pugliese-Carratelli has, that there was continuity between the late Bronze Age imports and the trade connections of the first century following the Dark Ages. Indeed, the disruption of the exchange networks during this last period appear to have been complete and nothing indicates that later traders came from the same regions.

*The early phase of colonization and the installation
of the colonists: an unexpected complexity*

In this context Greek colonization expanded throughout the 7th century BC (Fig. 4). It is very interesting to note, as first observed by J. Pouilloux,⁵⁶ that the pottery imported just before the beginning of the colonization includes at most only a very few vessels from the home regions of the first colonists, mainly the Cycladic Islands and Ionia. Only Aiolia, the homeland of Ainos and perhaps of the settlers of the Samothracian *peraia*, is well represented by the G2-3 pottery discovered in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods in Samothrace, in Thasos and in different parts of eastern Macedonia.

Thasos was founded around 680 BC on the initiative of Paros and the first settlement of colonists from Klazomenai in Abdera took place in 656 or 652 BC according to Solinus (Solinus, *Collectanea*, 10.10).⁵⁷ The date of the foundation of Maroneia by Chios is uncertain,⁵⁸ and we do not possess any information on the origins of Dikaia, a small colony located at the mouth of the pond Bistonis.⁵⁹ Our ignorance concerning Samothrace is also complete, as scholars hesitate between the last decades of the 8th and the 7th century BC. The paradox in this case is complete since literary sources indicate a Samian origin for the colonists, while inscriptions reveal the use of an Aiolian dialect on the island and not an Ionian dialect as would have been expected.⁶⁰

The creation by Thasos and Samothrace of a *peraia*, i.e. a continental ter-

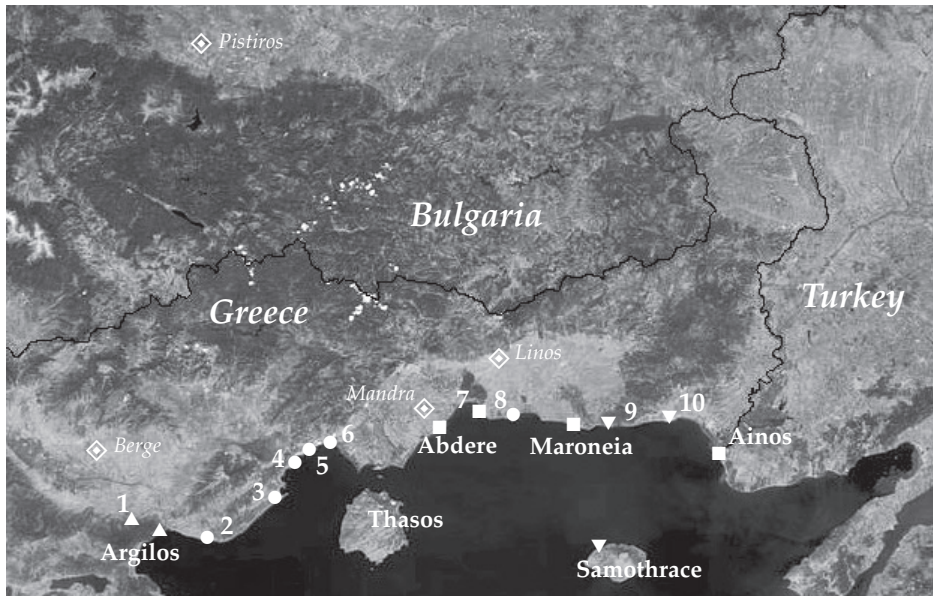


Fig. 4. The Greek colonies of the northern Aegean coast.

1. Tragilos
2. Galepsos
3. Oisyme
4. Antisara
5. Neapolis
6. Ankontisma
7. Dikaia
8. Stryme
9. Zone
10. Sale

ritory, on the opposite Thracian coast constitutes the second wave of colonization. This process started very early in the case of Thasos in the second half of the 7th century BC and lasted throughout the whole Archaic period, as revealed by excavations at several sites in eastern Macedonia and on the Aegean Thracian shore.⁶¹ On the other hand, the earliest archaeological evidence for the foundation of the Samothracian *peraia* comes from the site of Zone, where the oldest sherds date to the 6th century BC.⁶²

Our knowledge of the early period of Greek colonization in this area and the contacts the Greek colonists established with the local populations is extremely limited. The relative silence of the literary sources often leads to a tendency to underestimate the richness and the complexity of this period. Many researchers have been tempted by stereotypical models imported from other parts of the Greek world, in particular from Magna Graecia.

The first of these models consists in applying to each colonial movement a homogeneous set of characteristics which defines at the same time the relations existing between Greeks and native populations and the geographical characteristics of the new colonies.⁶³ In a simplified form such a theory is adapted to the Black Sea area by A. Wasowicz. She defines a colonization of the Megarian or Dorian type as based on primarily agrarian goals and on the planned and equal division of the territory between the colonists. In this model the new city is always located in an alluvial plain conquered by force and preferably by the first generation of settlers. The Milesian or Ionian model, however, favours trade and requires harmonious relations with the local populations. For this purpose settlers chose naturally strengthened sites for the development of their city, open to the sea, and not far from major trade routes such as the mouths of rivers.⁶⁴ However, contrary to Wasowicz' analysis, the sites selected in Aegean Thrace for new colonial foundations do not show any common geographical features. The locations represent either foothill sites such as Thasos or Zone, peninsulas as in the case of Archaic Abdera or even small islands close to the coast such as Stryme. The typical purpose of Ionian colonization, the establishment of a settlement at trade crossroads, appears only clearly in the case of Ainos on the mouth of the Hebros River.

The second theory refers to the tradition of the *eremos chora*, a notion which P. Devambez made use of, including all the nuances developed by G. Vallet. The *eremos chora* is not an entirely empty area, but an unoccupied or insufficiently exploited one thus justifying the eviction of its occupants.⁶⁵ Devambez described Thasos as an uncultivated island inhabited by an uncivilized Thracian population, which inevitably came into conflict with the Greeks. According to him, the account of the battles with the Saians reported by Archilochos (Archilochos, fr. 13, *Belles Lettres*) confirms this analysis even if these Thracians were not really living on the island, but more probably on the mainland. In Aegean Thrace, the war between Klazomeneian, as well as later Teian colonists, and the native tribes is analysed in the same way. This radical vision refers to the experiments of Metaponton or certain colonies of the Black Sea, such as Byzantion or Herakleia where the settlement of the Greeks was accompanied by violence and the fate of the local population varied between expulsion, submission and exploitation. Applied to Aegean Thrace, however, this view has found critics. J. Pouilloux notes that signs of a mixed population in the colony itself are very numerous. For example the lists of magistrates attest the use of Thracian names in the city between the 6th and the 3rd century BC.⁶⁶ More interesting, an inscription found by D. Lazaridis relates the gratitude of the Parians to a person called Tokes who was killed near the walls of Eion in the 6th century BC.⁶⁷ This Thracian name could belong either to a Thracian man from the mainland and allied to Thasos or more probably to a Thasian of Thracian origin. These obvious elements of mixed origins reflect most probably an alliance between the native aristocratic families of the island and the new settlers. A similar situation is found in Ma-

roneia, where the will to make use of symbols of a local origin is particularly noteworthy. The colony worshipped as founder the Thracian priest Maron and employed Thracian symbols on its coinage. Moreover, the existing link between the Thracian settlement of Ismaros/a, the Kikonian population of the Ismaros Mountains and the Greek colony of Maroneia is often underlined in the ancient literary sources.⁶⁸ According to Herodotos (Hdt. 7.108) there was a city called Mesembria, a Thracian toponym, in the Samothracian *peraia*, and some cemeteries belonging to Greek colonies have been excavated on the northern shore of the Aegean and show many elements of Thracian burial customs, as for example at Oisyme.⁶⁹ The mixed character of the population is also confirmed in the Sanctuary of Apollon at Zone by the discovery of many pottery sherds with ritual inscriptions dedicated to the god in the Thracian language using Greek characters as is the case in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods at Samothrace.⁷⁰ Direct confrontation was not a general rule in Aegean Thrace and only Abdera, a city with very strong Greek features as shown by the archaeological data, followed a rather violent path perhaps due to lack of alternatives (Hdt. 1.168; Pind. fr. 52b.59-80 (Snell-Mahler)).

The willingness to form an alliance between newcomers and the local population seems logical. Nor does it depend solely on the need for young colonists of the first generation to find a wife, often indigenous, or to secure a viable site to build the new city. As we have seen, the Thracian world was not a homogeneous world. On the contrary, it was riddled with sometimes perceptible tensions and quite real cultural differences. Settling in this area, the colonists could not have escaped these divisions and sometimes even took advantage of the situation. By creating alliances with certain elements of the population as observed in Thasos or Samothrace, the Greek colonists obtained a solid base for their settlements. This fact may explain Thasian expansion on the continent only two or three generations after the foundation of Thasos, just as the participation of a person with a Thracian name for the account of Thasos close to Eion. The progressive arrival of new waves of colonists undoubtedly further reinforced the Greek element of the population.

The question of the territory and the first stage of its formation

The main danger for all Greek colonies however were not the Thracian tribes, but competition between the Greek cities themselves, a situation also observed in other parts of the Greek colonial world. Tensions over the possession of the coast run very strongly during this period as is shown by the foundation of the Thracian *emporion* of Stryme and the battle between Thasos and Maroneia for its control. Such a military conflict between two new cities and the advancement of military forces onto the continent would have been difficult if the Parians also had had to defend their new colonial foundation of Thasos against the native population of the island. It is perhaps also in this context that the episode of fighting on the continent related by Archilochos (Archilo-

chos, fr. 110) took place as a direct assault of Thasos by another Greek colony such as Abdera or Maroneia. Indeed, a maritime Thracian expedition against the island would be difficult to imagine.

On the other hand, the territory of these new colonies does not appear to have extended very far into the hinterland during the Archaic period, except for Thasos where the foundation of the Sanctuary of Alikí proves an early control of the city over the whole island.⁷¹ On the mainland we may note that the necropoleis of Abdera are situated only two kilometres north of the city wall, while the Archaic fortification has an abnormal thickness due, according to C. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, to the material used in its construction. The lack of stones from the Mandra stone quarries, exploited from the end of the 6th century and onwards, shows that the first settlers did not have control over this area, only 7km north of the city walls, where there was a Thracian settlement.⁷² Moreover, the first agricultural settlement near Abdera is dated to the 4th century BC a situation very similar to Zone where the necropolis is limited to a narrow plain next to the city.⁷³

It is important also to note the lack of evidence for a Greek presence on the plain of Xanthi and Komotini prior the Classical period. As well Greek material found on the southern slopes of the Rhodope, as well as further into the hinterland of the modern territory of Bulgaria, remains scarce.⁷⁴ Indeed the Thracian settlement pattern does not indicate any change during the Archaic period as shown by the Thracian *necropoleis* next to the Xanthi's and Filiouri rivers, north of Abdera and Maroneia respectively and dated to the 7th century and the first half of the 6th century BC.⁷⁵ In both cases we may observe a perfect continuity in the use of the site and the preservation of the traditional local burial customs. The influence of the Greek Ionian production on the local pottery, however, increased rapidly, and even in the first half of the 6th century BC we can observe some local imitations. The situation is quite similar in the Thasian *peraia* where only the settlements situated on the shore are replaced by Thasian foundations such as Neapolis or Oisyme. In this last case a destruction stratum implies a conflictual settlement. At the same time Thracian sites such as Eleftheroupoli, Hill 133, and the site close to the modern Gazoros all in the vicinity of continental Thasian *teiche* remained inhabited.⁷⁶

From these elements we can conclude that the Thracian settlement pattern was stable and the extension of the territory belonging to the Greek cities limited to the coastal sectors during the Archaic period. Greek commercial penetration was not significant during this time and involved only the population close to the cities as is shown by the imitative production of the Subgeometric and Ionian pottery discovered in the necropolis of the Drama industrial area, on hill 133, as well as in the cemeteries next to the Xanthi and Philouri rivers.

Only the Serres Plain presents a different situation and we can observe there the foundation in the 6th century of the town of Tragilos by Argilos. It is

interesting to note, however, that its two Archaic necropoleis suggest a mixed population, Greek and Thracian, where the local burial custom of cremation prevailed during the 6th century. This feature demonstrates the participation of the local populations and the attraction exerted by the center of activity that a Greek colony could be as in the case of Emporion on the Catalan coast.

The classical period and the expansion of the city-state

An often underestimated event disturbed the existing balance. Until the end of the 6th century BC the evidence for a change in the territories of the Greek cities is limited, although Abdera did take control of the Mandra area, where there was a Thracian settlement, and began to exploit the quarries⁷⁷. Thasos gradually extended the network of its establishments along the coast, in particular in the strategic sector of the Lekani Mountains, a rich mining area, but no further inland. It is also believed that Samothrace began the founding of its others continental settlements mentioned by Hecateus Milesius and Herodotus at the start of 5th century BC.⁷⁸

The Persian invasions radically changed this situation and the balance of power, while at the same time they also displaced in certain cases whole populations as shown by the example of the Peonians, who were deported to Persia (Hdt. 5.12-16). After 512 BC the Greeks and Thracians were to various extents subject to Persian rule except during the Ionian revolt. Generally, the regional centres of administration and army headquarters were located in the Greek cities.⁷⁹ In the northern Aegean area Eion and Doriskos receive this privilege, but C. Veligianni-Terzi does not exclude the possibility that Abdera could have played a special role during this period as is revealed by the stationing of the Persian fleet in its harbour (Hdt. 6.48).⁸⁰ When Eion fell into the hands of the Athenians in 475 BC, the face of the northern Aegean area completely changed. The Macedonian settlement in 479 BC on the Serres Plain, most probably on the Strymon River,⁸¹ as well as the conflict between Thasos and Athens gradually weakened the Thasian presence on the continent. Moreover, in 465/4 BC Thasos lost control of its *peraia*, and after this date Neapolis acquired its autonomy, even its independence. The foundation in 437 BC of Amphipolis, which reinforced the Athenian presence in Eion, completely modified the political structure of the area. At the same time Samothrace underwent the same fate as is shown by the example of Zone.⁸²

The progressive political organization of the Thracian population constituted another determining element, a process particularly visible along the Strymon banks. Although there are coinages of some autonomous Thracian tribes, difficult to locate, more important is a rare inscription discovered next to the modern village of Neos Skopos which offers us valuable information about one of the settlements of the northern part of the Serres Plain.⁸³ This document, engraved in the Parian alphabet and dated by Zisis Bonias around 470 BC, recalls a decision of the *boule* of the Bergaioi to give some goods (τάδε)

to a Greek man called Timesikrates. Contrary to Z. Bonias, I do not think that Berge was one of the Thasian *emporía* in the first decades of the 5th century BC. It appears better to stress at this stage what we know for sure: that this inscription refers to a settlement located deep in the hinterland in the territory of a Thracian population, possessed of public institutions described with Greek words perhaps from the use of an analogy with the Greek institutions. It does not mean that Berge actually had an assembly with the same prerogatives and organization as a Greek *boule*. The above mentioned "assembly" discussed the possession of a vineyard and assigned goods to a Greek man who had settled there or who was in contact with the population in the remote hinterland. This fact testifies to the influence of the Greek institutional model carefully adapted in Tragilos and to the easy penetration of the Greeks into the Serres Plain thanks to the Strymon River. The situation was completely different in the nearby Drama Basin, rich in mining resources, where Greek penetration was still limited until the foundation of Krenides a century later in 360/59 BC.

Further to the East, in Aegean Thrace, nothing similar is known. The most interesting fact here is the first penetration of Greek material far into the Thracian hinterland.⁸⁴ This event indicates a major change in the relationship between the Greek Aegean colonies and the Thracian population. This process took place in a very particular context. In the first half of the 5th century BC parallel to the import of Greek pottery, we can observe the gradual emergence of local dynasties in the upper plain of Thrace and in eastern Thrace. After the middle of this century one of them, the royal house of the Odrysian, extended its domination over the others dynasties and a large part of Thrace under Teres and his son Sitalkes.⁸⁵ This change was decisive for the Greek cities because the Odrysian dynasts asked for Greek imports and sought to increase the exchange networks as shown by an inscription found near the modern village of Vetren close to Pazadjik. The document is attributed by F. Salviat to a period shortly after the assassination of Kotys I in 359 BC.⁸⁶ This decree, however, confirms previous engagements and was discovered next to the archaeological site of Adžijska Vodenica, present "Pistiros", where a settlement was established in the middle half of the 5th century BC according to the archaeological material.⁸⁷ The text of the inscription is partially obscure and a matter of controversy. I would like to reiterate here its principal elements: the document ratified a certain number of guarantees and renewed others, which benefited the Maronites traders and secondarily the Apolloniates and the Thasians. These decrees protected the traders' goods and ensured the Greeks that their merchandise would not be taxed during transport. Without wanting to enter into the discussion of the term ΑΠΙΑΞ[---] sometimes read without certainty as ἀμαξας, the inscription reveals the existence of some overland roads from Maroneia and the Thasian *peraia* to the upper plain of Thrace. Contrary to F. Salviat, I do not think that the Hebros River was the only way to reach the archaeological site of Pistiros from Maroneia, nor the

Strymon River the only passage for the Thasians as Z. Bonias suggests. The direct route from Maroneia passed across the Rhodope Mountain, a road not very difficult in the eastern part of this mountainous range. The ancient road along the Nestos River, known in Byzantine and Ottoman times, is also a possibility contrary to a mistaken assumption due first to S. Casson.⁸⁸

The inscription confirms the interest of the Thracian dynasties in supporting commercial contacts. According to Demosthenes, the benefit of this was great because this trade brought each year 200 talents to the Odrysian house (Dem. *Aristokr.* 110). It also reveals the new orientation of the Aegean colonies investing for the first time in exchange relations with the Thracian hinterland. In this context, we must consider the question of the double tribute paid by the Greek cities of the Northern Aegean to Athens within the framework of the Delian league and at the same time to the Odrysian kingdom from the third quarter of the 5th century BC on. Torn between these two powers, the Greek colonies sought a new balance and tried to take advantage of the new opportunities offered. Either collectively or on a purely individual basis, several of their citizens approached the Thracian dynasts asking them to become valuable intermediaries between the Athenian power and the Odrysian kingdom as is shown by the action of the Abderitan Nymphodoros. Nymphodoros was *proxene* of Athens and brother-in-law of the Thracian dynast Sitalkes and he tried to create a military alliance between these two powers (Thuc. 2.29). Herakleides, a Maronite citizen, counselor of the local Thracian dynast Seuthes, confirms this situation (Xen. *An.* 7.3). It is undoubtedly in this context that the double tribute must be understood, implicitly raising, as it does, doubt about the degree of control exerted by the Odrysians on the Greek cities of the coast. A.J. Graham has tried to show that the fluctuations of the Athenian tribute depended directly on this particular situation. From Xenophon we also learn that the Thracian dynasts could directly dominate the small Greek coastal settlements located on the northern coast of Propontide such as Ganos. At the same time, it seems more difficult to imagine a similar situation in Aegean Thrace. The correct question seems to be here: what interest do the Greek colonies have in this situation however financially unfavorable it might seem at first sight? It is obvious that the alliance with the Thracian dynasts offered to the Greek cities all that the inscription of Vetren described: namely the opening of new trade outlets and places of exchange, protection of the roads and the opportunity for the Greeks to join the local markets. This additional evidence is provided by the increase of Greek material discovered along the routes in particular at the site of Koprivlen, material which should not be forgotten in our analysis. Beyond the expense it represented, the payment of the tribute should be considered as an investment allowing the opening up of the Thracian hinterland to Greek citizens. Consequently, roads appear to be of great importance and control of them all the way to the Odrysian territory was essential. This new interest squares badly with the limited nature of the territory of the Aegean Thrace colonies. This factor may have been the main

impulse for the Greek cities' expansion of their *chora* during the 5th century. It is in this light that an undoubtedly major discovery north of the modern village of Linos in the Komotini Basin must be seen.

The excavations carried out in this area from 1988 until 1991 under the direction of I. Anagnostopoulou-Hatzipolychroni on the first heights of the Rhodope Range revealed a complex of buildings laid out in terraces built on the destruction layer of a previous Thracian settlement (Figs. 5 and 6).⁸⁹ On the upper part of the site a building of 9.5 m length and 6 m width in its first phase, covered with roof tiles, was discovered. It dominates several structures at lower levels: in particular a rectangular building with two rooms and a semicircular building. The unit surrounded by a wall is dated by finds to the middle of the 5th century BC. Its public character is obvious as is indicated by a tile stamped with the letters ΔΗ for *demos* accompanied by a vine stock, the emblem of Maroneia. This type of tile is well known from the Dionysos sanctuary and from a great public building in Maroneia. The remaining finds are also quite characteristic. The building with two rooms revealed a great quantity of terracotta of a seated female figure in *protome* or in full. In addition, the pottery found on the surface reveals an over-representation of vases linked with banquets such as *skyphoi* and *kantharoi* as well as a great number of amphoras originating in Thasos and Akanthos, two centers of wine production. Moreover, we may note the presence of spear and arrow points as well as objects belonging to everyday life such as grinding stones, *pithoi* and pottery sherds. The exact nature of this site is not certain although a sanctuary seems likely. At the same time, the public character of this complex and its relationship with Maroneia is certain. Its existence attests to the unquestionable extension of the colony's territory onto the lowest slopes of Rhodope in the middle of 5th century. Located along one of the roads leading by eastern Rhodope towards the upper plain of Thrace, the site's geographical situation should not be forgotten. In addition, the particular presence of weapons and amphorae connects this complex with the problem of control over the road and the Maronite trade. Its construction more or less contemporary with the *emporion* Pistiros constitutes an interesting coincidence. This extension of the territory of Maroneia and probably also of Abdera precedes the large diffusion of Greek material in the plains of Xanthi and Komotini as attested by many sites located during surveys, where the association of black glazed pottery and tile fragments has been noted. It does not represent an immediate expansion of the Greek population to the whole of the plain, but a progressive adoption of Greek style in Thracian domestic architecture. Indeed, K. Kallintzi observes the development of isolated buildings or hamlets in sectors close to Abdera only in the 4th century BC, a century after the construction of the Linos complex.⁹⁰ The chronological gap between the first evidence of an expansion of the territory of the colonies to the whole coastal plain and the development of the first Greek settlements in this area should be noted.



Fig. 5. View of the archeological site of Linos (Nomos Rodopis) (Anagnostopoulos 1991, fig. 4, p. 484).

Fig. 6. Terracottas and lamps, lower terrace, Linos (Nomos Rodopis) (Agnastopoulos 1991, fig. 14, p. 486).

Conclusion

The Greek colonization in Aegean Thrace demonstrates all the existing difficulties of transposing models of development from one area to one another. This is easily explainable by the opportunist character adopted by the colonists. The absence of predetermination emphasizes the absolute necessity of giving a major place in our analysis to chronology. The realities of a colony and of its environment differ over time. Colonization in the northern Aegean was based on an individual's search for better social prospects within the framework of a collective initiative directed by political authority. However, the development of a regional exchange network in Aegean Thrace postdates the period of the foundation of Greek colonies. This later development appears closely related to the question of territory, and its expansion does not predate the Classical period. This process did not end with the conquest of the first slopes of the Rhodope Mountains and continued during the Hellenistic period as is shown by the mention in 188 BC of a Samothracian continental settlement, Sale, as a *vicus Maronitum* (Liv. 38. 41). This element attests to a later expansion of the *chora* of Maroneia at the expense of the continental possessions of Samothrace. On the other hand, the Classical period did not constitute a final stage in the Hellenization of the native populations. The Thracian element maintained itself at least until the Roman period as shown by tumuli discovered in the basin of Komotini and in the area close to Alexandroupolis. The gradual diffusion of Thracian worship also has to be taken into account as well as inscriptions in the Thracian language using Greek characters and the onomastic evidences.⁹¹ Greek and Thracian cultures continued their dialog for a long time.

Notes

- 1 I would like to express my gratitude to Peter Van Nuffelen and Romeo Matsas for their valuable knowledge of the language of Shakespeare.
- 2 Kotsakis 1990, 183-184.
- 3 Andreou, Kotsakis & Chourmouziadis 1992, 184-188.
- 4 19 of the 25 settlements known in 1978 in the Drama Basin are located in hilly sectors (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1978, 231-232).
- 5 Blouet 1986, 139.
- 6 Baralis & Riapov 2007.
- 7 AD 33 (1978), 292; Papadopoulos 2005, 252.
- 8 PAE 1972, 88; Dremsizova-Nelčinova 1980, 372; 1984, 132.
- 9 AD 28 (1973), 466; AD 29 (1974), 807 and 818; AD 34 (1979), 337; Triantaphyllos 1983, 194; 1990a, 299-301.
- 10 Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993b, 483, 634.
- 11 Giouri 1987, 374-375.
- 12 AD 29 (1974), 785-786; AD 37 (1982), 325; AD 45 (1990), 377; Efstratiou 1987, 482; 1988, 518; Triantaphyllos 1990b, 627-628.

- 13 Efstratiou 1988, 519.
- 14 *PAE* 1971, 91-101; *PAE* 1972, 86-93.
- 15 Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1986, 88-89.
- 16 Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1986, 86.
- 17 Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1986, 86.
- 18 Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993b, 572-574. We must note the lack of sherds of Greek Archaic pottery in the Kastri graves as well as in the settlement (*AD* 27 (1972), 524-525).
- 19 Baralis & Riapov 2007.
- 20 *AD* 34 (1979), 333-334.
- 21 See Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993b, 633 and related bibliography.
- 22 *AD* 20 (1965), 447.
- 23 Valla 2002.
- 24 *AD* 53 (1998), 739.
- 25 Tsigarida & Mantazi 2004.
- 26 Triantaphyllos 1983.
- 27 Triantaphyllos 1973; *AD* 35 (1980), 432; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993b, 634-635.
- 28 Pugliese Carratelli 1996, 151-153.
- 29 For an exhaustive study of Mycenaean and Cypriot material discovered in Sicily, Southern Italy and Sardinia, see Vagnetti 1996.
- 30 Pugliese Carratelli 1996, 141. For a first list of sites with early Greek and oriental imports, see Lamboley 1996, 57-61.
- 31 A.M. Snodgrass first allots the revival of trade connections between the southern part of Italy and the Aegean world to the adventurous company of Greek aristocrats and particularly Euboian ones, on the basis of the Homeric model. Snodgrass 1971, 330-352. Several scholars, like J. de la Genière, however, have raised the question of a possible Phoenician trade as the true vehicle of this early material. Geniere 1983, 261. More recently, the role of Euboians in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea was also called into question concerning the emporion of Al-Mina by J.Y. Perreault, followed by J. Papadopoulos, who refutes the historical analysis developed by P. Lévêque (Perreault 1993; Lévêque 1990; Papadopoulos 1996, 159).
- 32 French 1982.
- 33 Kačarava, Kvirkvelija & Lordkipanidze 1996, 66.
- 34 Lordkipanidze 1996, 37. As recalled by A. Ivančik, discoveries of Greek material prior to the 7th century BC remain sporadic on the northern coast of the Black Sea (Cf. Ivančik 1991, 29).
- 35 Möller 1996, 320.
- 36 Triantaphyllos 1990a, 312.
- 37 The excavations carried out between 1986 and 1988 on the necropoleis of Spathes, Treis Elies and Stou Lakkou t'Ambeli have revealed a homogeneous area of simple cists built by local schist plates laid on the ground and along the sides of the graves. The offerings very characteristically are composed of Mycenaean wheel-made vases, among which alabastra or pyxides prevail, and of typical armaments, particularly spear points with a leaf shape which are absent from the other late Bronze Age *necropoleis* of Macedonia (Poulaki-Pantermali 1987; 1988).
- 38 This diffusion is remarkable in its importance in the Kozani department where G. Karamitrou-Mentesidi observes that in 1998 Mycenaean material has been found in eighteen out of twenty-two late Bronze Age settlements listed (Karamitrou-

- Mentesidi 1998, 459). Imports started in Ano Komi during the LHIIIA and are essentially composed of three shapes vases different from the Mycenaean pottery discovered on the northern slope of Mount Olympos: the *kantharos*, the *alabastron* and the *kylix* (Karamitrou-Mentesidi & N. Kozanis 1999, 359).
- 39 Although the exact origin of the sherds in question is not certain, the oldest Mycenaean material found on the site of Karabournaki dates from the LHII, as is the same pottery discovered not far off in Kalamaria. Tiverios 1987, 250, note 19. In Toumba, in Thessaloniki, however, the Mycenaean pottery is not earlier than the last decades of the late Bronze Age period (LHIIIC), but the Mycenaean sherds represent a significant proportion of the total pottery and add up to 5.5 % of the unit (Andreou, Kotsakis & Houtmouziadis 1992, 188).
- 40 Kambitoglou & Papadopoulos 1989, 441. On the Mende acropolis, the Mycenaean pottery is dated to the LHIIIC. Votokopoulou 1992, 445; 1994, 270; 1997, 718-719; 2001, 754.
- 41 PAE 1971, 101 and board 112a.
- 42 Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980a, 57; 1993b, 559. It is interesting to note that a dagger of Aegean origin was discovered with these sherds in Stathmos Angistas. This widens the nature of the trade contacts.
- 43 Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1978, 247; 1993b, 561.
- 44 Valla 2002, 161; AE 1979, 26-71.
- 45 Alexandrov 2005, 47.
- 46 Votokopoulou 1990, 401.
- 47 Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993b, 561-572.
- 48 The toponym of Thasos itself, as well as the name of the colony Galepsos on the Thasian *peraia*, is connected by local tradition with the mythological figure of the Phoenician Thasos, son of Cilix, Agenor or Poseidon who came in the island in search of Europe (Cf. Hdt. 6.47 and Harpokration, s.v. Thasos).
- 49 Devambez 1955.
- 50 Salvat 1990, 466-467; Graham 1992, 45, note 19.
- 51 Graham 1992, 44-45. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1986, 87. For similar theories about Abdera, see Isaac 1986, 76-78.
- 52 AD 36 (1981), 339.
- 53 Dossin 1977, 200; Pouilloux 1982, 93.
- 54 Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1993a, 681, note 13.
- 55 Papadopoulos 1996, 159.
- 56 Pouilloux 1982, 96.
- 57 Pouilloux 1982, 100.
- 58 Fragment 2 of Archilochos, on the wine of Ismaros, constitutes according to Astrid Möller the best *terminus ante quem* for this foundation (Möller 1996, 318). We could add also the fragment preserved in Harpokration concerning the fight between Maroneia and Thasos for the control of Stryme (Harpokration, 281 4 (Dindorf) – Philochoros fr. 43 (Jacoby)).
- 59 On the ground of the main coin emission, a Samian origin was supposed (Lazaridis 1971a, 48).
- 60 Cf. Lazaridis 1971b, 18.
- 61 The oldest sherds found in Kavala, the former Neapolis, belong to the third quarter of 7th century BC, as in Nea Peramos (Oisyme) (AD 18 (1961-2), 238 and AD 20 (1965), 451). The settlement in Paralia Karyanis (Galepsos) appears to be founded a few decades later at the end of the 7th century or in the first decades of

- the 6th century BC (AD 16 (1960), 218). The settlements of Nea Karvali (supposed Akontisma) and Pontolivado were founded during the 6th century BC (AD 22 (1967), 420-422 and AD 27 (1972), 529). For Stryme the testimony of Archilochos is our best evidence for its foundation.
- 62 Tsatsopoulou 1997, 618. We will use in this article only the toponym “Zone”, for the archaeological site known as “Mesembria-Zone”, following the convincing identification of P. Tsatsopoulou and M. Galani-Krikou on the basis of the coins found during the excavations (Tsatsopoulou 1997, 619-620; Galani-Krikou 1997).
- 63 This theory was first of all proposed in Magna Graecia where many researchers such as P. Orlandini, D. Adamesteanu and G. Vallet opposed the model of colonies with a primarily agrarian purpose, which occupied the center of the alluvial plains, framed preferably between two major rivers, with a model of Phokaian colonization with a commercial purpose (Lepore 2000, 42).
- 64 Wasowicz 1999.
- 65 Devambez 1955; Vallet 1983, 939-940.
- 66 Pouilloux 1989, 368-369.
- 67 *AE* (1977), 164-181
- 68 Möller 1996, 316-317.
- 69 *AD* 20 (1965), 447.
- 70 “Archaeological evidence for Greek-Thracian relations on Samothrace”, conference of D. Matsas presented the 19th October 2005 during the 10th International Congress of Thracology in Komotini.
- 71 The inscription which relates the existence of a circle road around the island is a much later piece of evidence and belongs to the 5th century BC (Salviat & Servais 1964, 267-287).
- 72 Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1988, 48.
- 73 Kallintzi 2004, 281-284.
- 74 The earliest evidence of Greek pottery discovered in Aegean Thrace on the lowest slopes of the southern Rhodope Mountain is an Archaic sherd of the 6th century BC (Anagnostopoulou-Hatzipolychroni 1990, 8). For an overview of Greek import in the Bulgarian Rhodope and in the upper plain of Thrace see Archibald 1998, 93-94 and note 3; Bouzek 2000.
- 75 *AD* 53 (1998), 739; *AD* 29 (1974), 804; Triantaphyllos 1983.
- 76 *AD* 34 (1979), 332
- 77 Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1986, 87; Kallintzi 2004, 285.
- 78 For the Thasian settlements, see Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1980b; for the Samothracian *peraia* see Hec. fr. 160.1.1 and 161.1.1 (Jacoby). Herodotos, describing the road followed by Xerxes after the gathering of his army in Doriskos, evokes among the Samothracian *emporía*, Sale, Zone and Mesembria (Hdt. 7.59, 7.108).
- 79 Veligianni 1997, 694-695.
- 80 Veligianni 1997, 695.
- 81 *AD* 40 (1985), 271.
- 82 This situation is attested during the Peloponesian war when Zone, Drys and Sale appear alone in the Athenian tribute list of 422-1. IG I 77 V 27-31. The coin emissions of Zone are however much later, in the middle of the 4th century BC according to M. Galani-Krikou 1997. For Neapolis see Picard 1990, 544-545.
- 83 Bonias 2000.

- 84 The earlier Greek material discovered in the upper plain of Thrace comes from Duvanli and is dated to the first half of the 5th century BC. See Archibald 1998, 126. For the archaic material found in the Rhodope Mountains, see Archibald 1998, 93-94 and note 3.
- 85 According to Thucydides' testimony (2.97), the Odrysian Kingdom under Sitalkes extended from Abdera to the Danube delta and from the Strymon River to the Black Sea. For a chronology of Odrysian expansion, see Archibald 1998, 102-125.
- 86 Salviat 1999, 259-260.
- 87 Archibald 1998, 141.
- 88 Casson 1926, 13-24. Just as nowadays and during the Ottoman period, travel was not always carried out in Antiquity at the bottom of valleys. It is interesting to note indeed that the majority of the road axes on Rhodope more readily follow the middle of the slopes. Where on the other hand certain valleys are transformed into an insuperable defile, the roads follow a parallel valley as precisely as does the road connecting Stavroupoli to Xanthi, which avoids the Nestos gorges while passing to the north of the Achladovouno Mountain.
- 89 Anagnostopoulou-Hatzipolychroni 1991 and 1997.
- 90 Kallintzi 2004, 281-284; Evi Skarlatidou observed the same phenomenon for the whole Xanthi's basin see Skarlatidou 1990, 617.
- 91 AD 26 (1971), 438; 29 (1974), 792 (AK 449); 32 (1977), 258; 47 (1992), 498. In Loukoupoulou, Zournatzi, Parisaki & Psoma 2005, E 373, E376, E 377, E 427.

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Abbreviations

AD	<i>Arhaiologikon Deltion</i>
AE	<i>Arhaiologiki Efimeris</i>
AEMTH	<i>Arhaiologiko Ergo sti Makedonia kai Thraki</i>
PAE	<i>Praktika tis en Athinais Arkhaiologikis Etairias</i>