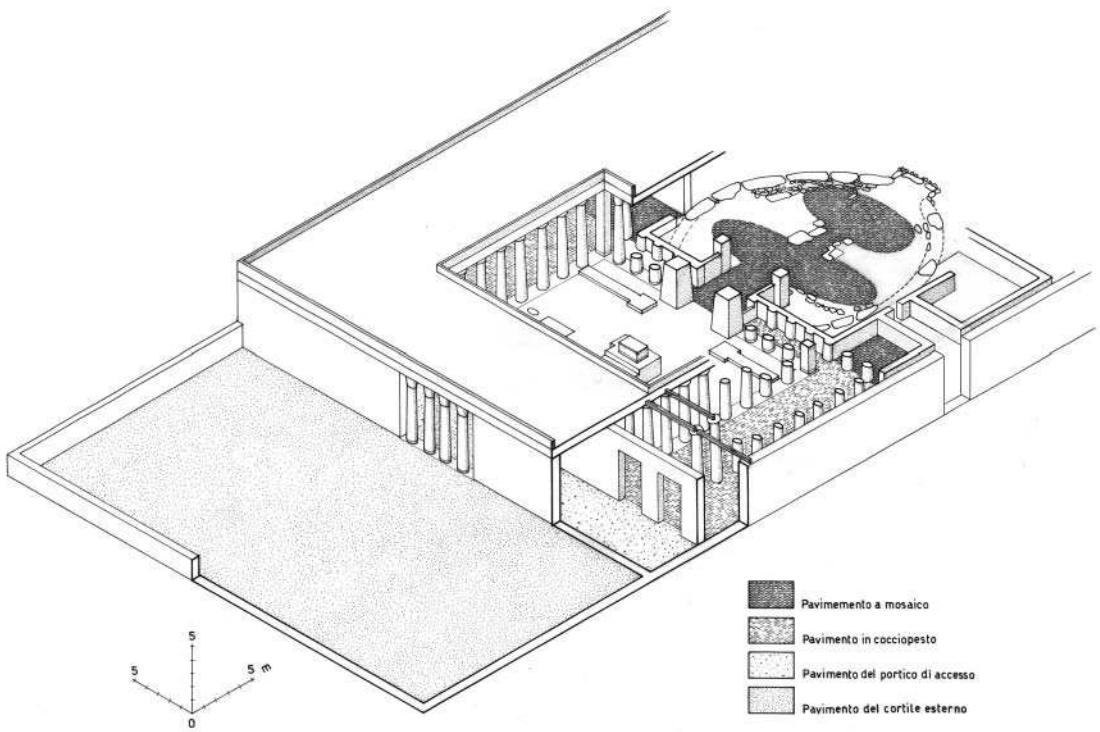
UNIVERSITÀ DEL SALENTO
DIPARTIMENTO DI BENI CULTURALI

Studi di Antichità 13

NUOVA SERIE



CONGEDO EDITORE 2015

ISBN 9788867661145

Tutti i diritti riservati

CONGEDO EDITORE 2015

Stampa: Artebaria – Martina Franca (Ta)

StAnt	13	2015	pp. 33-50

Andreas Morakis*

THE GAMOROI AND THE HISTORY OF ARCHAIC SYRACUSE: A NEW EXAMINATION

Syracuse, the most important city of the West,[1] was founded, according to Thucydides, a year after Naxos, the first Greek colony in Sicily, by Archias, a Heracleid from Corinth, after expelling the natives from the island of Ortygia,[2] which was the place of initial establishment of the colonists.[3] The available written sources concerning the internal organization of the city are numerous compared to the rest of the colonial cities of the West, but they are scarce and often without any chronological references, rendering the reconstruction of the city's internal affairs difficult.

Initially, in the literary sources, a certain king Pollis of Argive origin is mentioned.[4] Moreover, there are references by Aristotle[5] and Plutarch[6] about a certain *stasis* in Syracuse which was provoked by a love affair and resulted in the overthrow of the existing regime. Thucydides also refers to a *stasis* in Syracuse, which resulted in the exile of the Myletidai family, who later cofounded Himera with the Zanclaeans,[7] and adds that the Syracusians founded three cities, namely Akrai, Casmenai and Camarina, in 663, 643 and 598 respectively, and that the last one revolted from Syracuse.[8]

In addition, we obtain information about the existence of a kind of class or group in Syracuse, called the *gamoroi*. Herodotus mentions that the *gamoroi* were expelled from Syracuse by the combined force of their slaves, the *Killirioi*, and the *demos*, and that they settled in Casmenai. From Casmenai they were resettled to Syracuse by Gelon who took command of the city.[9] References to the *gamoroi* are also found in the *Marmor Parium*,[10] in Diodorus, where they also ap-

* University of Athens (andmorakis@gmail.com).

[1] As Cicero mentions *nobilissima Greciae civitas* (*Tusc. disp*. 5, 66).

[2] Th. 6, 3, 2. (734/3): Συρακούσας δὲ τοῦ ἐχομένου ἔτους Ἀρχίας τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ᾤκισε, Σικελοὺς ἐξελάσας πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἐν ᾗ νῦν οὐκέτι περικλυζομένῃ ἡ πόλις ἡ ἐντός ἐστιν·

[3] Strabo following Antiochus of Syracuse (Strabo 6, 1, 12 = *FGrHist*555 fr.10) relates the foundation of Syracuse with the foundation of Croton, see Morakis 2011, p. 467 n. 46. For the foundation of Syracuse among others Bérard 1957, pp. 116-130; Asheri 1980, pp. 116-118; Leschhorn 1984, pp. 13-16 with 13 n.3 for previous bibliography; Reichert-Südbeck 2000, pp. 5-9; Bernstein 2004, pp. 45 ss. with 46 n.3 for an extensive older bibliography; Domínguez 2006, pp. 269-275; Morakis 2011, pp. 468-469; Guzzo 2011, pp. 194-199.

[4] The sources for Pollis are Hippys, *FGrHist*554. fr.4: Ἵππυς δὲ ὁ Ῥηγῖνος τὴν εἰλεὸν καλουμένην ἄμπελον βιβλίαν φησὶ καλεῖσθαι· ἦν Πόλλιν τὸν Ἀργεῖον, ὃς ἐβασίλευσε Συρακοσίων, πρῶτον εἰς Συρακούσας κομίσαι ἐξ Ἰταλίας; Pollux. 6, 16, who cites Aristotle: καί που γλυκὺς καὶ Πόλλιος· ἔστι μὲν ἐκ Συρακουσῶν, Πόλλις δ'αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀργεῖος πρῶτος ἐπεσκεύασεν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τοὔνομα, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ Συρακουσίων βασιλέως Πόλλιδος, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει; Ael. *V.H.* 12, 31: καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις Πόλλιος· ἐκλήθη δὲ ἀπό τινος ἐγχωρίου βασιλέως. For a different tradition of Pollis' origin, *Etym. Magn.*: <Βίβλινος οἶνος>. καὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ, ὑπὸ Πόλλιδος τοῦ Σικυωνίου τυράννου· ἔνθεν αὐτὴν τινὲς καὶ <πόλλιον> καλοῦσιν.

[5] Arist. *Pol.* 1303b 20-26: Μάλιστα δὲ καὶ αἱ μικραὶ ἰσχύουσιν, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς κυρίοις γένωνται, οἷον συνέβη καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις. Μετέβαλε γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία ἐκ δύο νεανίσκων στασιασάντων <τῶν> **ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντων**, περὶ ἐρωτικὴν αἰτίαν. Θατέρου γὰρ ἀπο δημοῦντος ἑταῖρος ὤν τις τὸν ἐρώμενον αὐτοῦ ὑπεποιήσατο, πάλιν δ' ἐκεῖνος τούτῳ χαλεπήνας τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἀνέπεισεν ὡς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν· ὅθεν προσλαμβάνοντες **τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι** διεστασίασαν πάντας.

[6] Plut. *Mor.* 825c-d: ἐν δὲ Συρακούσαις δυεῖν νεανίσκων συνήθων ὁ μὲν τὸν ἐρώμενον τοῦ ἑτέρου λαβὼν φυλάσσειν διέφθειρεν ἀποδημοῦντος, ὁ δ' ἐκείνῳ πάλιν ὥσπερ ἀνταποδιδοὺς ὕβριν ἐμοίχευσε τὴν γυναῖκα· τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων τις εἰς **βουλὴν παρελθὼν** ἐκέλευσεν ἀμφοτέρους ἐλαύνειν, πρὶν ἀπολαῦσαι καὶ ἀναπλησθῆναι τὴν πόλιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῆς ἔχθρας· οὐ μὴν ἔπεισεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τούτου στασιάσαντες ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς μεγάλαις **τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν ἀνέτρεψαν**.

[7] Th. 6, 5, 1: καὶ Ἱμέρα ἀπὸ Ζάγκλης ᾠκίσθη ὑπὸ Εὐκλείδου καὶ Σίμου καὶ Σάκωνος, καὶ Χαλκιδῆς μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἦλθον ἐς τὴν ἀποικίαν, ξυνῴκισαν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ Συρακουσῶν φυγάδες στάσει νικηθέντες, οἱ Μυλητίδαι καλούμενοι·

[8] Th. 6, 5, 2-3.

[9] Hdt. 7, 155: Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ εὕρημα τοὺς γαμόρους καλεομένους τῶν Συρηκοσίων ἐκπεσόντας ὑπό τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν σφετέρων δούλων, καλεομένων δὲ Κυλλυρίων, ὁ Γέλων καταγαγὼν τούτους ἐκ Κασμένης πόλιος ἐς τὰς Συρηκούσας ἔσχε καὶ ταύτας· ὁ γὰρ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Συρηκοσίων ἐπιόντι Γέλωνι παραδιδοῖ τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἑωυτόν.

[10] IG XII.5, 444, l. 36, 52a: ἐν Συρακούσσαις δὲ τῶν γαμόρων κατεχόντων τὴν ἀρχὴν, Jacoby, 1904, pp. 15, 100-101, a reference which is dated in the late 7th- early 6th century, more precisely between 603/2 and 596/5, also Bravo 1992, p. 68.

pear to have juridical powers,[11] in Dionysius of Halicarnassus[12] and in the lexicon of Hesychius,[13] as well as in a very fragmentary bronze inscription (SEG 4, 27).This inscription, found near Akrai, is written in the "blue" alphabet, which is usually related to Megara and Selinous and is dated (based on the form of letters) to the beginning of the fifth century. According to this inscription, a city (the ethnic name which denotes the city is missing) grants to the *gamoroi* rights which are related to taxation, land possession and political participation.[14] Finally, Aristotle mentions a democratic government in Syracuse which was destroyed shortly before Gelon's occupation of the city.[15]

As far as the *Killirioi* are concerned, there are additional references by Plutarch and the lexicographers, namely Pausanias Atticus (2nd century A.D.), Zenobius (2nd century A.D.), Hesychius (5th century A.D.), Photius (9th-10th century A.D.), Suda (10th century A.D.) and Eustathius (12th century A.D.).We will be examining the references to the *Killirioi* below.

The most detailed reconstructions of the archaic history of Syracuse are those of Freeman and Hüttl and most scholars since then have followed one of the two approaches with few differences, or tried to reconcile them in a way. Freeman made the following reconstruction of the political and social status of Syracusian affairs: The land was divided among the first settlers equally (he does not mention explicitly in equal manner, but from his narration one could arrive at this conclusion, since he is referring to a pure democracy of the first settlers). Initially the first settlers granted land and political rights to later arrivers in Syracuse. But these grants stopped when the first colonists felt strong and did not need the newcomers.

In the end, the families of the first settlers, who were diminishing in numbers, in contrast to the later arrivers who were increasing, formed an oligarchy with the exclusive right to possess land. They became the *gamoroi* of our sources.[16] In general, Freeman echoes the views of equality in the distribution of land (*isomoria*) and in political matters, and combines those with the view that the first settlers created narrow aristocracies. Although rarely mentioned, this final thesis is based on a passage by Aristotle, where he points out that in Apollonia and Thera the magistrates were held by the nobles who initially held the colonies and were few in number among many/ or although they were few in number they governed many.[17] Moreover, Freeman following Holm combines the fall of the Bakchiads with the foundation of Casmenai and considers that exiles from Corinth were among the new settlers of Casmenai;[18] he also dates the events mentioned by Plutarch and Aristotle to the early 5th century and relates them with the exile of the *gamoroi* shortly before the arrival of Gelon in Syracuse.[19]

Hüttl on the other hand has proposed a different reconstruction of Syracusian affairs. According to him, the initial distribution of land was made by Archias and the families of aristocratic descent, who divided the land according to the origin of each settler, meaning that the ones with aristocratic origin took a larger share in land. Moreover, the latter were the only ones who possessed full political rights and were en-

[11] Diod. 8, 11.

[12] D. H. 6, 62, 1: ἐν Συρακούσαις οἱ γεωμόροι πρὸς τῶν πελατῶν ἐξηλάθησαν, a reference which echoes the previously mentioned incident by Herodotus.

[13] <γαμόροι>· οἱ περὶ τὴν γῆν πονούμενοι. ἢ μοῖραν εἰληχότες τῆς γῆς. ἢ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγγείων τιμημάτων τὰ κοινὰ διέποντες.

[14] For this inscription see mainly Guarducci 1949-1951, pp. 111-113; 1959-1960, pp. 254-258; Manganaro 1965, pp. 194-197; Dubois 1989, pp. 275-276; Bravo 1992, pp. 71-75, who makes a different reconstruction of the inscription based on his own interpretation of the *gamoroi* (see below); Luraghi 1994, p. 283 n. 43; Van Effenterre, Ruzé 1994, pp. 274-278; Gras, Tréziny, Broise 2004, p. 573; Erdas 2006, pp. 46-47. Scholars have proposed various places as the origin of the inscription (Di Vita 1956, p. 196, from Casmenai, Guarducci from Megara, Manganaro from Selinous, Dubois from Syracuse).

[15] Arist. *Pol.* 1302b 27-32: καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις οἱ εὔποροι καταφρονήσαντες τῆς ἀταξίας καὶ ἀναρχίας, οἷον καὶ ἐν Θήβαις μετὰ τὴν ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις μάχην κακῶς πολιτευομένων ἡ δημοκρατία διεφθάρη, καὶ ἡ Μεγαρέων δι'ἀταξίαν καὶ ἀναρχίαν ἡττηθέντων, καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις πρὸ τῆς Γέλωνος τυραννίδος.

[16] Freeman 1891-1894, v.2, pp. 10-13.

[17] Arist. *Pol.* 1290b 12-15. οἷον ἐν Ἀπολλωνίᾳ τῇ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ καὶ ἐν Θήρᾳ (ἐν τούτων γὰρ ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν πόλεων ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς ἦσαν οἱ διαφέροντες κατ' εὐγένειαν καὶ πρῶτοι κατασχόντες τὰς ἀποικίας, ὀλίγοι ὄντες, πολλῶν). It is possible as Weil 1960, p. 267, remarks this reference to originate from Aristotle's *Politeiai* of Apollonia and Thera.

[18] Holm 1870-1898, v.1, p. 148; Freeman 1891-1894, v.2, pp. 23-24.

[19] Holm 1870-1898, v.1, p. 148; Freeman 1891-1894, v.2, pp. 32-33, 439. This passage of Aristotle is placed in the beginning of the 5th century also by Busolt 1893-1904, v. 2^2, p. 785 n.2 and Weil 1960, p. 300.

titled to participate in the state government as members of the council mentioned by Plutarch. They formed an aristocracy headed by a *prytanis*. The other landholders with the less land were of a legal status between the nobles and the serfs. Then, in the middle of the 7th century (it is in this period that places the passages of Plutarch and Aristotle) a civil strife occurred in Syracuse between the aristocratic families, which led to the departure of the Myletidai from the city (649) and also the foundation of Casmenai (644). In these civil strives, not only the non-aristocratic landowners but also the residents who occupied themselves with commerce and industry took part.

As a result of their participation in this strife the old aristocratic regime based on descent ceased to exist and a new oligarchic one was born based on the goods from land, like the Solonian. At the same time, the rich without land were allowed to acquire land and the non-nobles to intermarry with nobles. The *gamoroi* were the richer and top class among the landowners. In other words, according to Hüttl, after the *stasis* described in Plutarch and Aristotle, the old aristocracy of birth gave way to an oligarchy of wealth from land and the *gamoroi* constituted this new oligarchy.[20]

Finally, based on Herod. 7, 155 and the early minting of Syracuse,[21] Hüttl considers that at around 520, the *gamoroi* regime was overthrown and democracy was established that lasted only until the occupation of Syracuse by Gelon.[22] This last remark of Hüttl about a Syracusian democracy as early as 520 has rightly gained no favour among modern scholars, since it is better to consider that the Syracusian democracy was installed after the defeat of the Syracusians by Hippokrates at Helorus River.[23]

In general, Hüttl's view reflects three basic principles: a) he denies the existence of land equality (*isomoiria*) and subsequently the equality among the first settlers, b) he stands in favour of the inalienability of land in the first place, and c) he supports the view of the succession of the aristocratic regimes of birth by others based on wealth. He determines this wealth, following a primitivistic view, as exclusively coming from agricultural products.

Dunbabin, from his point of view considers, like Holm and Freeman, the mid-7th century changes in Syracuse, Corcyra and Corinth as interrelated. He also argues that the *stasis* may have occurred as a consequence of the overthrow of the Bakchiads but also as a result of the way that new Syracusian territory (the one of Akrai and Casmenai) should be divided. In addition, he considers that Hüttl's hypothesis about the change, as mentioned in Plutarch and Aristotle, makes some sense and that it is possible that a certain compromise occurred after the stasis, which allowed the rich non noble landowners to enter the oligarchy, changing its character. Finally, he does not exclude the possibility that the *gamoroi* could have been not the descendants of the first settlers but possibly descended from the nobles among the original colonists. Dunbabin, however, does not seem to support Hüttl's view of a wealth originating exclusively from agriculture.[24] In general, Dunbabin draws elements from both Hüttl and Freeman.

Finally, there is also Bravo's reconstruction which, though having many similarities with Freeman's, is worth mentioning more thoroughly, because it is very detailed and adds some new elements. According to Bravo, the *gamoroi* were those who divided among themselves the land of Syracuse, thus the whole body of the first settlers. The government of the city was restricted to the aristocratic families until the mid-7th century and the *stasis* which broke out and led to the expulsion of the Myletidai and the fall of the existing regime. It is the same *stasis* to which Aristotle, Plutarch and Thucydides are referring to. The *gamoroi*, meaning the whole of the Syracusians who possessed land, drove the Myletidai away and created a new regime while the land possessors, who were also the vast majority of those who lived in Syracuse, became the new political body.

Thus, according to Bravo, a kind of democracy of the agrarian type was created in mid-7th century Syracuse. Moreover, he considers that during the period between the mid-7th and early 5th century the new *demos* that was created by the new settlers in Syracuse and the original

[20] Hüttl 1929, pp. 47-52.

[21] For these coins see Boehringer 1984-1985, pp. 122-124; Rutter 1997, pp. 114-116.

[22] Hüttl 1929, pp. 53-56.

[23] See below.

[24] Dunbabin 1948, pp. 55-59. Lepore 1970, pp. 52-53, seems also to follow Dunbabin's view concerning the changes described by Aristotle and Plutarch.

Syracusians who had however lost their land, was deprived of both land and political rights. Finally, Bravo states that a passage of Diodorus is related to the internal affairs of Syracuse and that the *politai* mentioned, are the *gamoroi*.[25] In the same context he identifies the *gamoroi* in another passage of Diodorus,[26] where they decided to forfeit the property of Agathocles, as the whole of the political body of Syracuse and, simultaneously, the land possessors.[27] We should, however, remark that, as Bravo himself admits, he follows Jajlenko's reconstruction as for the origin and the character of the *gamoroi*.[28] Their only difference is that according to the latter the *demos* was gradually formed from the 7th century and had some political rights, whilst according to Bravo it had none.

Modern scholars have expressed various opinions as for the character and the origin of the *gamoroi*, following in a way the analysis of Freeman and Hüttl.[29] In our view the key to defining the political regime of Syracuse from the foundation of the city to the appearance of Gelon is on the one hand the *gamoroi* and their origin, and on the other the character and the time of the change of the regime described by Plutarch and Aristotle. We should remark, as will also be seen from our subsequent analysis, that our view stands closer to Hüttl than Freeman.

As for the initial organization, a very important issue is the division of land. If all settlers took equal plots (*isomoiria*), consequently they were also equal in other aspects, particularly in political matters. Scholars are divided on this matter.[30] We will not expand on this though. Suffice it to say that the earliest references in the ancient sources regarding equality in the foundation of colonies are placed in the fifth century (Epidamnus, Thuc. 1, 27, 1, Thurioi, Diod. 12, 11, 2, Histiaia IG.I^3, 41, l.52, δοκεῖ ἐπὶ ἴσε[ι καὶ homoíai], Black Corcyra (Syll^3.141), and they reflect the realities of this period, when the characteristics of the democratic rule were long embedded and transmitted, and the equality among citizens was basic. Moreover, the references of Plato (*Leg*. 737 b-e) and Aristotle (*Pol*. 1266a40, 1267b10-11) are also placed in the classical period and in our view, are more probably theoretical reconstructions without been practiced.[31]

In addition, we also consider that land sales

[25] Diod. 10, 26. Ὁ γὰρ τοῖς πολλοῖς κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν φθόνος τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἐγκρυπτόμενος, ἐπειδὴ καιρὸν ἔλαβεν, ἄθρους ἐξερράγη. διὰ δὲ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν τοὺς δούλους ἠλευθέρωσαν, μᾶλλον βουλόμενοι τοῖς οἰκέταις μεταδοῦναι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἢ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις τῆς πολιτείας. This passage of Diodorus has been considered to refer to the Syracusians affairs by Dunbabin 1948, 414 after Andrewes but it could also very plausibly refer to the political situation in Argos after the battle of Sepeia, see also below.

[26] Diod. 8, 11.

[27] Bravo 1992.

[28] Jajlenko 1990, pp. 115-118 (*non vidi*).

[29] For the *gamoroi* as the descendants of the first settlers we mention among others How, Wells 1928, v. 2., p. 194; Andrewes 1956, p. 129; Bérard 1957, p. 131; Drögemüller 1969, p. 38; Frolov 1980, p. 41; Luraghi 1994, pp. 285-286, aristocracy of the first settlers who had the exclusive right of the ἀρχαίοι κλῆροι; Manfredi, Braccesi 1996, pp. 102, 242; Maffoda 1996, pp. 68-69; Austin, Vidal-Naquet 1998, 98 the one who divided the land; Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen, Ampolo 2004, p. 226 are referring to an initial regime of an aristocracy of the *gamoroi*. Asheri 1980, pp. 119-120 wavers over whether the *gamoroi* are the descendants of the first settlers and considers them an oligarchy with the exclusive privilege to the most fertile lands in the plain of Eloros and Anapos and disagrees with the proposed by Hüttl changes in 649 (p. 121); Dominquez 1989, p. 192, "el estamento más antiguo de los grandes propriatores". On the other hand Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg 1963, pp. 335 n.20 and 112, accepts the proposed by Hüttl changes in the constitution of Syracuse in the middle of the 7th century; Loicq-Berger 1967, p. 36, who thinks possible a change in political affairs in this period accompanied with economic changes and changes in the regime of the land; Consolo-Langher 1996, p. 282 seems to adopt Hüttl's opinion. Finley 1968, p. 38, thinks possible that the change of the regime could be related with the Myletidai, and refers to the *gamoroi* as a ruling aristocracy, those who divided the land (p. 18); Calderone 1978, p. 18, states that from the lexicographers we cannot be sure whether the character of the *gamoroi* regime was an oligarchy or aristocracy but considers the first possibility as more probable. Hofer, 2000, p. 85 n. 2 although he refers to a threefold division of the residents of Syracuse in the early 5th century, the *gamoroi-politai*, the slaves *Killirioi*, the *demos* without land and political rights he cites Dunbabin, Bravo and Luraghi, whose opinions are not the same concerning the origin of the *gamoroi*.

[30] In favor of the *isomoiria* as a standard practice in the colonial expeditions which is closely related to equality in every aspect, see among others Asheri 1966, mainly pp. 13-16; Calderone 1978, p. 19; Boyd, Jameson 1981, p. 327; Graham 1983, p. 69; Frederiksen 1984, p. 75; Murray 1993, pp. 113-114, 117; Isager, Skydsgaard 1992, p. 123; Raaflaub 1993, p. 81; Malkin 1994a, p. 6; Hanson 1995, pp. 192-193; Di Vita 1996, p. 263; Robinson 1997, p. 71; Tréziny 1997; 2009, p. 161; Σακελλαριου 1999, p. 288; Rabinovitz 2004, pp. 199, 208; De Oliveira Gomes 2007, p. 29; Μπιργαλιας 2009, p. 23. The opposite opinion is expressed by Finley 1968, pp. 36-38; Lepore 1973, p. 23 ss.; De Sensi Sestito 1987, p. 231; Lamboley 1996, p. 198; Jannelli 1999, p. 318; Lombardo 2005, p. 117; Carter 2006, p. 6; Antonaccio 2007, pp. 211-213; Fitzjohn 2007, pp. 216-218; Gallo 2009.

[31] In general Gallo 2009 reflects our view on this subject.

were not forbidden in the colonial cities in general.[32] In particular, for Syracuse there is a passage of Athenaeus that could support this view. It is mentioned that Aethiops, a colonist, gave his share of land for some honey.[33] Moreover, in Homer and Hesiod it seems that land was salable.[34] Additionally Plato's references for prohibition of land sales,[35] although having been used to support the inalienability of land, do not correspond to the 8th and 7th centuries and the colonial environment, but rather are political theories of Plato and should not be considered as a generally applicable practice. Finally, similar references by Aristotle (*Pol*.1266b17-24, 1319a10-13), indicate that the restrictions in land sales were a practice used by some cities in later periods, later than their foundation, in order to confront the accumulation of land by few people. Namely, the fact that in the beginning land was alienable and legislations occured in later periods in order to place restrictions on the uncontrollable sale of land, confirms the alienability of the first *kleroi*. Of course we should have in mind that these people were forced to leave their homelands with the prospect of taking a land-piece to sustain themselves and their families. And by selling it, they were practically canceling the reason for moving to the West. Although theoretically it was not forbidden, in practice land sales should not have been frequent for the first generation of colonists.

Moreover, concerning Aristotle's reference on the creation of aristocracies of the first settlers, and their descendants, (Arist. *Pol*. 1290b12-15) we should remark that it cannot be applied to every colonial city. Moreover we must note that the two cities mentioned by Aristotle are not colonies of the West and their foundation is not placed on the 8th century like Syracuse. On the contrary Thera was founded according to tradition, by Sparta much earlier than the first colonies in the West,[36] while Appollonias' foundation is placed much later, close to 600.[37] It seems more reasonable to consider this way of the initial organization of the first settlers as something specific to these cities (and others probably), rather than a general rule applicable to every colony. In that case we would expect a similar statement by Aristotle, like that about the character of tyrannies in Sicily.[38] In conclusion, in our view, Aristotle's reference does not seem to confirm the existence in the West in general, and in Syracuse in our case, of aristocracies of the first settlers (as a whole) or their descendants.

Another element which excludes, in our view, the possibility of equality in the first colonial societies is the fact that the cities the colonists departed from were not societies built on equality, as it appears from Homer, if we accept of course that Homeric poems reflect the reality of the 8th century,[39] and Hesiod,[40] where a limited group of men of noble origin stands out in wealth, power and authority, and distinguish themselves from the common people.[41]

More precisely in Corinth, where the colonists

[32] For the alienability of land are still very important the articles of Cassola 1965 where an extensive older bibliography can be found (p. 206 n. 1-2) and Finley 1967 where there is a good summary of the main arguments on this matter. Some of the scholars who speak in favor of the alienability of land in the colonies are: Dunbabin 1948, p. 15; Will 1955, p. 317; Burford Cooper 1977-1978, p. 167; Starr 1977, pp. 150-151; Snodgrass 1980, p. 37; Gallant 1982, pp. 112-113; Morris 1987, p. 176, also Calderone 1978, pp. 15-16. For the opposite view Asheri 1966, pp. 16 ss., with n.7, where there is an extensive older bibliography; Lepore 1973, p. 30; Métraux 1978, pp. 55, 82-83; Murray 1993, pp. 113-114; Hanson 1995, p. 192 n. 11; Tandy 1997, pp. 131-134; Mitchell 2000, p. 86.

[33] Athen. *Deipn*. 4.63: τοιοῦτος ἐγένετο καὶ Αἰθίοψ ὁ Κορίνθιος, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Σκήψιος, οὗ μνημονεύει Ἀρχίλοχος. ὑπὸ φιληδονίας γὰρ καὶ ἀκρασίας καὶ οὗτος μετ' Ἀρχίου πλέων εἰς Σικελίαν ὅτ' ἔμελλεν κτίζειν Συρακούσας **τῷ ἑαυτοῦ συσσίτῳ μελιτούττης ἀπέδοτο τὸν κλῆρον ὃν ἐν Συρακούσαις λαχὼν ἔμελλεν ἕξειν**. The historicity of this passage has been challenged though; see Vallet 1996, p. 50. Asheri 1966, p. 19 n.1 considered Syracuse an exception to the general rule of the alienability of land. Later though, (Asheri 1974, pp. 232-236) he thought that this action of Aethiops has nothing to do with alienability of land, since he did not yet received the land promised to him, followed by Gambuto 2001, p. 416 n.5. Asheri's last remark has some reasoning.

[34] See in Παγκουση 2007, pp. 174 ss.

[35] See in Asheri 1966, pp. 19-20.

[36] In general see Malkin 1994b, pp. 89-111.

[37] Wilkes, Fisher-Hansen 2004, p. 328.

[38] Arist. *Pol*. 1316a 35-38.

[39] For scholars who identify Homer's world with the 8th century and the rise of the polis as a state, see the bibliography in Duplouy 2006, p. 170 n.101; Gagarin 2008, p. 13 n.1; Papakonstantinou 2008, p. 145 n.10; Schwartz 2009, p. 106, in generally see also Osborne 2004, 216-218.

[40] They are the *basileis* who seem to be in power (*Works and Days*, 202-216) and are shouldered with adjudication (*Works and Days*, 37-39, 248-255, 263-264). For these kings see the bibliography in Hawke 2011, p. 200 n.6.

[41] For the "homeric aristocracy" (the term has been questioned by scholars, Calhoun 1934, p. 208; Starr 1977, p. 119; 1992, p. 7, Ulf 1990, pp. 1-4, with previous bibliogra-

of Syracuse departed, the government of the city was restricted to the Bakhiads, an aristocratic clan of 200 families who claim to be descended from Heracles and put an end to the Corinthian kingship.[42] The Bakhiads collectively elected each year someone among themselves who exercised the power that formerly belonged to the king.[43] So, the regime of Corinth was a rather peculiar form of oligarchy where the citizen-body was restricted only to the members of a single aristocratic family.[44] If our interpretation of the character of the Greek colonisation of the 8th-7th century in Sicily, or elsewhere, as an enterprise organised by dissatisfied nobles[45] is correct, then it is very reasonable to assume that these nobles (the *oikist* and others) who had the leading role in the colonial expeditions, had the same role in the organisation of the city and later on the government as well. In particular, in the case of Syracuse this role was played by Archias, the *oikist*, and other prominent Corinthians who could not take part in the government of their city because of the Bakhiads. Besides them there must have been nobles from other areas like Argos or Arcadia as the literary sources indicate,[46] who also took part in the organization of the expedition. All these nobles took more land and undertook the government of the new community, forming a kind of aristocracy.

Of course it is quite probable that in practice the decisions among the first generation colonists would have been taken in a more collective way than the decisions in an aristocratic regime and that the aristocrats would have taken into consideration the commoners' view. But the nobles were standing on a higher level than the commoners, a point which must have been clear from the beginning, and the foundation of Syracuse and could be seen in many aspects of everyday life, such as the size of land, the cult, the authority in general. An assembly could have existed, where all the colonists gathered and probably the commoners could also speak, but the final decision was for the aristocrats to be made.[47] After one or two generations, when the existing population grew more and possibly new settlers came to live - not in great numbers in our opinion - in Syracuse, the members of the aristocratic families, which also became more numerous, must have tightened their control and exercised a more authoritative government, a pure aristocracy. The aristocrats among the first settlers were the *gamoroi*, those who have divided the land[48], not only for themselves but for the rest of the colonists. It is most probable that the term *gamoroi* occurred at a later period by the descendants of the first aristocratic families.

The absolute rule of the *gamoroi*, as being the only ones with (full) political rights, lasted in our view until the incident mentioned by Aristotle and Plutarch, an incident which should be related neither with the exile of the Myletidai and the foundation of Camarina nor with the political changes in Corinth (all these incidents occurred in the mid- 7th century) nor with the expulsion of the *gamoroi* mentioned by Herodotus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (beginning of the 5th century)[49] nor of course with the creation of the *gamoroi*, as Hüttl believes. In general, I find it less convincing to combine the few references of the sources for the Syracusian history and relate all of these with the same

phy) see Schulz 1981, pp. 68-81; Βλαχος 1985, pp. 62 ss.; Arnheim 1977, pp. 13-30; Stein Hölkeskamp 1989, pp. 15-56; Fouchard 1997, pp. 34 ss.; Donlan 1999, pp. 2-26; Montes Miralles 2006; Gallego 2006, p. 76 n.30 (bibliography); Rougier, Blanc 2010, pp. 248-258. Some of them though, (Arnheim, Donlan) following Finley 1975 regard that the Homeric society reflects the 10th and 9th centuries.

[42] For an effort to construct the history of Corinth in the age of the kingship see mainly Will 1955, pp. 239-294; Salmon 1984, pp. 38-54; Kõiv 2003, pp. 227-229.

[43] Mainly Diod. 7, 9, from Georg. Syncell. *Chron*. p. 179; Schöne 1900, v.1, p. 220, but also Paus. 2, 4, 4; Nic. Dam. *FGrHist* 90 fr. 57, 6; Hdt. 5, 92.

[44] For this kind of oligarchy Whibley 1913, pp. 120-122, for an analysis of the Bakchiads' rule, Will 1955, pp. 298-306; Oost 1972, pp. 10-16; Salmon 1984, pp. 55-74, mainly pp. 55-57; Kõiv 2003, pp. 233-235.

[45] Morakis 2011.

[46] Pind. *Ol*. 6, 4 and Scholia for the forefathers of Hegesias and their Arcadian origin, Bérard 1957, pp. 126-127, but see Malkin 1987, pp. 93-97, also Casevitz 1985, p. 104, for the legendary king Pollis of Argive origine see above p. 33, also Salmon 1984, pp. 66-67 who bases his assumption for the existence of Argives and Chalcidians settlers among the Corinthians in archaeological data; Van Compernolle 1984-1985, p. 29; Reichert-Südbech 2000, pp. 7-9.

[47] An assembly like the Homeric one. For the latter see Βλαχος 1985, pp. 99-124; Ruzé 1997, pp. 13-106; Werlings 2010, pp. 88-107.

[48] As Finley 1968, p. 18, mentions.

[49] Others scholars also are avoiding to make the connection between Aristotle and Plutarch's passage either with the banishment of the Myletidai, or with the one of the *gamoroi*, Schütrumpf 1991-2005, v.3, p. 466 (some conflict during the 7th or 6th century), also Asheri 1980, p. 121 by implication.

events. And it is even less convincing when these events are also connected with the few known incidents in other cities related in a way with Syracuse, such as Corcyra and Corinth. In particular the scenario of relating the changes in Corinth and her conflict with Corcyra with any kind of similar events in Syracuse, as the expulsion of the Myletidai and the *stasis* mentioned in Plutarch and Aristotle seems the most improbable of all, since Syracuse was not a state guided colony and consequently not a Bakhiadic one, and its regime had no direct connection or subordination with the Bakhiadic regime.

Moreover, the interpretation given for the *gamoroi* by Bravo and Jajlenko seems very improbable. A common rule of the possessors of land in the 7th century, who at the time were the vast majority of the free resident population of Syracuse, points to a kind of democratic regime which does not in any way correspond, in our opinion, to the realities of the 7th century. The *gamoroi* are not to be seen as a large body, but rather as a limited one. In addition we should not consider that the absolute rule of the *gamoroi* lasted until the early 5th century. Moreover, we consider that the expulsion of the Myletidai and the *stasis* mentioned in Plutarch and Aristotle should be regarded as two separate events.

Finally, we cannot follow the view of constant and mass arrival of new settlers to Syracuse, especially when it is added that these newcomers received no land. If a second or third wave of colonists had come to Syracuse there must have been some kind of reference in the sources as exists for Cyrene[50] and of course these newcomers would have taken some piece of land. Someone could very reasonably wonder why a group of people would leave their city and emigrate to a new one, making such a long journey from mainland Greece to Sicily, if they were not to take some land to improve their economic position, even if it was inferior to that of the original settlers.

We will begin our analysis from the *stasis* mentioned by Aristotle and Plutarch. Both agree as for the reason of the *stasis*, but their narrations have some differences, some of which are noted by Newman.[51] Although the two authors are giving the same details of the love affair, they differentiate as for the *stasis* itself. In general Plutarch's narration is more detailed than Aristotle's. Aristotle mentions that the two young men, who were the cause of the *stasis*, were <τῶν> ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὄντων.[52] Later on προσλαμβάνοντες τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι[53] they all took part in the stasis, (διεστασίασαν πάντας) meaning that the conflict which started as a quarrel of the aristocracy ended in a pure civil strife. As a result the existing regime fell (μετέβαλε γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία), an event which Plutarch indicated as the fall of the best regime (τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν ἀνέτρεψαν). Plutarch adds that before the *stasis* broke out the exile of the two youths had been suggested to the *boule*.

Taking into consideration the similarities of the two narrations it is plausibly assumed that the two writers had a common source.[54] Newman points out the differences between the two narrations and believes that if the two authors had a common source, then one of them failed to follow that source. He adds that since they are both love stories they could have originated from a kind of collection such as the Ἐρωτικά of the Peripatetic Ariston of Ceos. On the other hand he also assumes that the more detailed story of Plutarch could be deriving from the *Syracusian Politeia* of Aristotle.[55] Weil, from his point of view, remarks that the references of Aristotle to Syracuse in the 5th book of the *Poli-*

[50] Hdt. 4, 159, 2-3; 161, 3.

[51] Newman 1887-1902, v. 4, p. 320.

[52] For the meaning of this expression see the remarks of Köhler 1898, p. 490 n.1; Newman 1887-1902, v. 4, p. 321; Dunbabin 1948, p. 57; Aubonnet 1960-1973, v.2, p. 164. This phrase could be translated as "who belonged to the ruling class", as Jowett 1885, "who were in the government"; Köhler 1898, p. 490 n.1; Lepore 1970, p. 52; Everson 1996; Aubonnet (Budé); Rackham (Loeb) regard, but also "who hold a magistrate" as Barker 1995; Weil, 1960, p. 300; Lord 1984; Sinclair 1981; Reeve 1998; Schütrumpf 1991-2005, v.3, translate. If the second stands, we should remark that for someone to hold a magistrate he must have belonged to the ruling class. Moreover, it would be interesting to know the kind of magistrate it was given to young people.

[53] Dunbabin 1948, 57 considers that by this expression is meant not the citizen body but those administering the constitution but, in our opinion it could also apply to all the citizen body since this would have been small and was composed only by the *gamoroi*. For the first opinion, among others Jowett 1885; Rackham (Loeb); Aubonnet (Budé); Lepore 1970, p. 52; Lord 1984; Everson 1996; Schütrumpf 1991-2005, v.3; Reeve 1998, while for the second Barker 1995; Weil 1960, p. 300; Sinclair 1981.

[54] Köhler 1898, p. 491.

[55] Newman 1887-1902, v. 4, pp. 320-321.

tics[56] demonstrate that he had a particular interest in Syracuse, that at the time he composed his *Politics* he also studied Syracuse, using all this material to write the Constitution of Syracuse.[57]

In our opinion, Newman's second hypothesis, namely that Plutarch's passage derives from Aristotle's *Politeia* of Syracuse, seems most probable. In this work Aristotle referred to the *boule* and the fall of the best regime, and Plutarch copied these references. It seemed that Aristotle did not give a more detailed description of the *stasis* in the *Politics* because this version existed or will appear later in the Syracusian *Politeia*, depending on which of the two works had been written first. Aristotle must have had reliable sources, probably written.

Aristotle was not a historian, but he was very much interested in history,[58] particularly in constitutional matters. The fact that he has written (helped by his pupils as it is widely accepted) 158 *Politeiai*,[59] is indicative. Unfortunately, from these works only that of the Athenians is preserved, while from the others only a few fragments are preserved.[60] The works of the most important historians of the Greek West surely were available at the Lyceum. Regarding the archaic period, these are Antiochus[61] and Philistus.[62] It cannot be excluded that he also used some information from his contemporary historians of the West, although they did not write history prior to their era.[63] Besides from written sources, Aristotle may have drawn information from pupils of his, originating from Syracuse and the West generally,[64] who may have had special knowledge based on oral tradition, but also local chronicles.[65] Finally, Aristotle may also have drawn information from his teacher Plato, who visited Syracuse twice and stayed in the court of both Dionysii.

Having in mind that Plutarch's source is Aristotle and that the first's phraseology derives from the latter, we should examine which is the best regime according to Aristotle. When Aristotle refers to the best regime he means that its members are not working but are devoting themselves to political matters and the exercise of virtue.[66] Other people would have to work on

[56] For Aristotle's *Politics* (composition, chronology, and historical environment) there is an extensive bibliography. We are limited to mention BARKER 1995, p. xi-xlvi; AUBONNET 1960-1973, v. 1, 2 ss.; WEIL 1960, pp. 9-84, where an extensive analysis and previous bibliography can be found; LORD 1984, pp. 1-24; SCHÜTRUMPF 1991-2005, v.1, 39 ss.

[57] WEIL 1960, pp. 302-303.

[58] WEIL 1960, mainly pp. 179-233, is still fundamental as for Aristotle's relation with history, and his use of the historical sources. To Weil we will add JAEGER 1948, pp. 265-269; von FRITZ 1958; DE STE CROIX 1975; POWELL 1987; ROWE 1991, pp. 69-74; TOYE 1999; AMBAGLIO 2010; MOGGI 2010.

[59] For Aristotle's *Politeiai*, WEIL 1960, pp. 97-104; RHODES 1981, pp. 58-61; KEANEY 1992, pp. 2-19.

[60] The fragments of Aristotle's *Politeiai* are in WEIL 1960, pp. 211 ss. and more recently POLITO 2001 where an extensive commentary can be found.

[61] Antiochus from Syracuse lived during the 5th century and he is considered contemporary to Herodotus and Thucydides. According to Diodorus, (12, 71, 2) he wrote a work "About Sicily" in nine books beginning with the legendary king of Sicily, Kokalos and ending in 424/3 and the Congress of Gela, while Dionysius from Halicarnassus (D. H. 1, 12, 3) and Strabo (6, 1, 4) are mentioning another work of his "About Italy". For Antiochus see JACOBY 1955, pp. 486-496; PEARSON 1987, pp. 11-18, with p. 11 n. 32, for older bibliography mainly of the 19th century; SAMMARTANO 1998, pp. 129 ss.; LURAGHI 2002, with previous bibliography on pp. 85-89; CUSCUNÀ 2003, mainly pp. 1-21; VATTUONE 2007, pp. 191-193.

[62] Philistus from Syracuse was born at about 430 and died at 356. He was related to Dionysius, (husband of Dionysius' niece, Plut. *Dion*, 11, 6; Diod. 15, 7, 3), and was supporter of the two Dionysii and their tyrannical regime. According to Diodorus, (13, 103, 3; also D. H. *Epist. ad Pomp.* 5) he wrote Sicilian history in two parts. In the first he narrated events until the destruction of Akragas by the Carthaginians at 406, and in the second events from 406 to 362. For Philistus and his work, mainly JACOBY 1955, pp. 496-514; WALBANK, 1968-1969, pp. 481-483 with n. 33; PEARSON 1987, pp. 19-30; BEARZOT 2002, with extensive older bibliography; VATTUONE 2007, pp. 194-196.

[63] For these historians JACOBY 1955, pp. 514-26; MUCCIOLI 2002, also TOYE 1999, pp. 243-244. These historians have dealt with Sicilian history of the 4th and early 3rd century, we may plausibly assume though that they may had some references on earlier periods.

[64] For this view in a broader sense though, TOYE 1999, pp. 237-238.

[65] We should remark though that there are not known such chronicles, not even the names of authors who wrote regional history of particular colonial cities, as we know for other cities in mainland Greece like Megara and Athens. But their existence must not be excluded, especially for cities like Syracuse, Taras, Rhegion, Kroton and Lokroi who continue to exist as *poleis* to down to the Hellenistic period. In the case of Cumae the existence of such a chronicle has been postulated for Hyperochus, as the source for Dionysius from Halicarnassus narration about Aristodemos of Cuma, see ALFÖLDI 1965, p. 56; ASHERI 1966, p. 83; GABBA 1991, p. 85; URSO 2002, p. 502, also at WELWEI 1971, p. 46 n.3-5.

[66] Mainly, Arist. *Pol.* 1328b34-1329a1: ἐπεὶ δὲ τυγχάνομεν σκοποῦντες περὶ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας, αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ καθ' ἣν ἡ πόλις ἂν εἴη μάλιστ' εὐδαίμων, τὴν δ'εὐδαιμονίαν ὅτι χωρὶς

their behalf for this purpose, and they of course were standing out of the political body. Excluded also from political participation were the residents of the city who had to work for a living. This kind of regime perfectly suits that of the *gamoroi* who controlled the government of the city, held the best land and had the *Killirioi* working on their fields for them. So, the passages of Aristotle and Plutarch must refer to the ending of the absolute rule of the *gamoroi*.

This incident should not be related with the exile of the Myletidai as we have mentioned earlier, since this event took place in 649 according to Thucydides (6, 5, 1), but we hear of the *gamoroi* as still having the government of the city in the late 7th- early 6th century according to the *Marmor Parium* (ἐν Συρακούσσαις δὲ τῶν γαμόρων κατεχόν των τὴν ἀρχὴν). So, according to our reconstruction, the *stasis* which led to the ending of the best regime, meaning the fall of the *gamoroi*, should have occurred sometime in the 6th century, probably not very late. Moreover, there is also strong indication from Aristotle's temporal reference ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις that the passages of Aristotle and Plutarch should not be related with the exile of the *gamoroi* as described by Herodotus. Although it is not to be exluded ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις to extend as far as the early 5th century it is more likely not to be placed, as Dunbabin also remarks,[67] later than the sixth.[68]

In addition, according to Herodotus' narration it does not seem that the *gamoroi* were also in power in Syracuse at the beginning of the 5th century, since he only mentions that they were exiled by the *demos* and the *Killirioi*, without mentioning that they had lost the city's government.[69] The same is also said by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, namely that the *gamoroi* were banished/exiled by their serfs.[70]

Finally, when Diodorus refers to the members of the government in Syracuse after the defeat by Hippocrates at Helorus River (491), he does not mention the *gamoroi*, but only points out τοὺς προεστῶτας τῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις πραγμάτων,[71] which means that the *gamoroi* were not in power at the time in Syracuse, although earlier, as we have previously mentioned (8.11), the *gamoroi* (*γεωμόροι*) are mentioned in his narration as having juridical power and the authority to make decisions. It seems that from Diodorus it occurs that the *gamoroi* were in charge of the state at the period of 8, 11 but not in 491.

In conclusion, the absolute rule of the *gamoroi* and their aristocratic regime ceased to exist sometime in the sixth century and was replaced by another, whose nature is difficult to define and can only be postulated. Since we have interpreted the rule of the *gamoroi* as based in descent (as the descendants of the nobles among the first settlers), we may assume that descent ceased to be the main criterion for participation in political matters and in all probability was replaced by wealth.[72] As Dunbabin also mentions, in a different context than our analysis though, it was the base of the oligarchy that changed.[73] After the *stasis* mentioned by Plutarch, the aristocratic/oligarchical rule, which was until then restricted to the *gamoroi*, was broadened, to probably include other wealthy people of non-noble origin. This schema of aristocratic regimes succeeded by oligarchic based on wealth has been long proposed as a standard evolution for most cities, and in our view it could also apply to the colonies of the West in general.[74] For Rhe-

ἀρετῆς ἀδύνατον ὑπάρχειν εἴρηται πρότερον, φανερὸν ἐκ τούτων ὡς ἐν τῇ κάλλιστα πολιτευομένῃ πόλει καὶ τῇ κεκτημένῃ δικαίους ἄνδρας ἁπλῶς, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, οὔτε βάναυσον βίον οὔτ' ἀγοραῖον δεῖ ζῆν τοὺς πολίτας (ἀγεννὴς γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος βίος καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὑπεναντίος), οὐδὲ δὴ γεωργοὺς εἶναι τοὺς μέλλοντας ἔσεσθαι (δεῖ γὰρ σχολῆς καὶ πρὸς τὴν γένεσιν τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ πρὸς τὰς πράξεις τὰς πολιτικάς), 1334a12-14 καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὅρον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τῷ τε ἀρίστῳ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τῇ ἀρίστῃ πολιτείᾳ, φανερὸν ὅτι δεῖ τὰς εἰς τὴν σχολὴν ἀρετὰς ὑπάρχειν·, also 1269a 34-36.

[67] DUNBABIN 1948, p. 57, n.4.

[68] More precisely Arist. *Pol.* 1278a 6-8, in the early archaic period; 1285a 30-31 and 1295a13-14 for the *aisymnitai* who were widespread mainly in the 7th century; 1298b 19-24, the famous passage about the hoplite warfare is clearly referred also to the 7th century; 1305b 18-19, the oligarchy of the Basilidai in Eythrai, early archaic period, possible even earlier.

[69] ἐκπεσόντας ὑπό τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν σφετέρων δούλων. If they had the power, we would expect a different vocabulary, something like: στερηθέντων τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὑπό…

[70] D.H. 6, 62, 1: ἐν Συρακούσαις οἱ γεωμόροι πρὸς τῶν πελατῶν ἐξηλάθησαν. The world *pelatai* is obviously anachronistic, see BRAVO 1992, pp. 46-47. Bravo mentions that the *pelatai* should be identified with the Syracusian demos, but it also very plausible to consider that it refers to the *Killirioi*.

[71] Diod. 10, 28, 2.

[72] As we have mentioned earlier the same view about the changing of the character of the government of the city was expressed by Hüttl, although he places this evolution much earlier.

[73] DUNBABIN 1948, p. 58, also LEPORE 1970, p. 52.

[74] For this schema see WHIBLEY 1913, pp. 73 -78, and the bibliography in van WEES 2000, p. 52 n.1, for the application to the colonial *poleis* of the West, GHINATTI 1996, p. 81 with

gion there is a clear reference that proves its existence, and the same could also be reasonably inferred for Akragas.[75] Moreover, there is a reference by Aristotle who seems to point out that this was the case all over Sicily during the archaic period.[76] This regime must be like the one described in many passages of Plato and Aristotle.[77]

According to Hüttl, as mentioned above, this wealth was based on agricultural products, though wealth from other sectors of the economy, as commerce, must counted for political participation. In this context, we think that also feats Aristotle's reference for the causes of *stasis* in aristocratic and oligarchic regimes.[78] Of course the *gamoroi* did not cease to exist as the basic and more powerful group of the new oligarchic regime; that's why we still find them in the beginning of the 5th century playing an important role in the city's political affairs, since it is from their ranks that the wealthier citizens originated, as the agricultural products comprised the prime source of wealth. Moreover, we must remark that, in practice, in most cases wealth and noble origin must have coexisted.[79] But the *gamoroi* just ceased to be the only ones dealing with political matters.

In our point of view this was the situation down to the beginning of the 5th century and the events described by Herodotus (7, 155, 2) and also mentioned by Dionysius (*Antiq. Rom*. 6, 62, 1 and Aristotle (*Pol*. 1302b 30). As we have mentioned earlier, according to Herodotus the *gamoroi* were expelled from Syracuse by the *Killirioi* and the Syracusian *demos*.[80] Dionysius also refers to the expulsion of the *gamoroi* by the *Killirioi*. From Aristotle's passage it seems that a brief democracy was established after these events, until Gelon took command of the city. It has been suggested that all these events were the aftermath of the defeat of Syracuse by Hippocrates at Helorus River.[81]

A different reconstruction of these events is built by Dunbabin based on a passage by Diodorus (10, 26) as also mentioned earlier. Dunbabin refers to popular unrest which broke out in Syracuse as a result of the defeat at Helorus River and forced the *gamoroi* to free the *Killirioi* in order to confront the *demos*. But the *Killirioi* abandoned the *gamoroi*, allied themselves with the *demos* and banished their former masters. Moreover, he dates the fall of the *gamoroi* in 491 based on Dionysius 6, 62. Dunbabin's view is very interesting, Diodorus' passage though, as previously mentioned, could be related to Argos after the defeat from Sparta in Sepeia.[82] Moreover, we should remark that in Diodorus' passage there is no reference to the *gamoroi* to de-

n. 2 for previous bibliography. For a recent critical thought on this schema as originating from later periods of human history, RABINOVITZ 2004, pp. 172 ss., 209 n.61.

[75] For Rhegion, Heraclid. Lemb. fr. 55: πολιτείαν δὲ κατεστήσαντο ἀριστοκρατικήν. Χίλιοι γὰρ πάντα διοικοῦσιν αἱρετοὶ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων. νόμοις δὲ ἐχρῶντο τοῖς Χαρώνδου τοῦ Καταναίου, for Akragas D. L. 8, 66 = Timae. *FGrHist* 566 fr. 2.

[76] Arist. *Pol*.1316a 35-38 καὶ εἰς τυραννίδα μεταβάλλει ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας, ὥσπερ ἐν Σικελίᾳ σχεδὸν αἱ πλεῖσται τῶν ἀρχαίων.

[77] Pl. *Politicus*. 550c8-555b2 and mainly 550c10-550d1. Λέγεις δέ, ἦδ' ὅς, τὴν ποίαν κατάστασιν ὀλιγαρχίαν; Τὴν ἀπὸ τιμημάτων, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, πολιτείαν, ἐν ᾗ οἱ μὲν πλούσιοι ἄρχουσιν, πένητι δὲ οὐ μέτεστιν ἀρχῆς; Arist. Pol.1278a21-24 **ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις θῆτα μὲν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται εἶναι πολίτην (ἀπὸ τιμημάτων γὰρ μακρῶν αἱ μεθέξεις τῶν ἀρχῶν), βάναυσον δὲ ἐνδέχεται· πλουτοῦσι γὰρ καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν τεχνιτῶν**; 1279b 16-17 ὀλιγαρχία δ' ὅταν ὦσι κύριοι τῆς πολιτείας οἱ τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντες; 1280a 1-2 ὅπου ἂν ἄρχωσι διὰ πλοῦτον, ἄν τ' ἐλάττους ἄν τε πλείους, εἶναι ταύτην ὀλιγαρχίαν; 1290b1-2 δῆμος μέν ἐστιν ὅταν οἱ ἐλεύθεροι κύριοι ὦσιν, ὀλιγαρχία δ' ὅταν οἱ πλούσιοι; 1292a40-1292b4, where in two out of four types of oligarchy wealth consists the criterion for participation in the government of the city; 1293a11-34, the four types of oligarchy are categorized from the size of property; 1294a11 (ἀριστοκρατίας μὲν γὰρ ὅρος ἀρετή, ὀλιγαρχίας δὲ πλοῦτος, δήμου δ' ἐλευθερία); 1299b 25-28 οἷον ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἀριστοκρατίαις ἐκπεπαιδευμένων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ἐκ τῶν πλουσίων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις ἐκ τῶν ἐλευθέρων, ἢ τυγχάνουσι μέν τινες οὖσαι καὶ κατ' αὐτὰς τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν. Aristotle did not appreciate of course such a regime, *EN* 1160a 36 χειρίστη δ' ἡ τιμοκρατία.

[78] Arist. *Pol*. 1306b22-25. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀριστοκρατίαις γίνονται αἱ στάσεις αἱ μὲν διὰ τὸ ὀλίγους τῶν τιμῶν μετέχειν, ὅ περεῖρηται κινεῖν καὶ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας.

[79] As DONLAN 1999, p. 81 puts it "All the evidence, moreover, indicates that down to about 600 B.C. nobility of birth and the possession of wealth were inseparably linked".

[80] The Syracusian *demos* should not be considered as the landless without political rights as some scholars believe (FREEMAN 1891-1894, v.2, p. 438; HÜTTL 1929, p. 53; CONSOLO LANGHER 1996, p. 285; 1997, p. 5; MAFFODA 1996, p. 67, but a heterogeneous body consisting both of people with land and of others without land who occupied themselves with other sectors of the economy (artisans, merchants, laborers), see also LINTOTT 1982, p. 64 who mentions that in the beginning of the 5th century the *demos* of Syracuse consisted of the hoplites and the free poor. It must not be excluded that in an oligarchic/timocratic regime as described above the wealthier among the *demos* had some (limited) political rights.

[81] HOW, WELLS 1928, v.2, p. 195; ASHERI 1988, p. 768; MOSSÉ 1989, p. 95; MAFFODA 1996, p. 68 n. 4; CONSOLO LANGHER 1997, p. 7.

[82] For these events in Argos, ROBINSON 1997, pp. 84-86; ΜΠΙΡΓΑΛΙΑΣ 2009, pp. 92-93.

fine the ruling class of the city, instead the πολῖται are mentioned and they are compared to the πολλοῖς, namely the *demos*.

As for the *Killirioi* and the references to them by the lexicographers, the two earlier ones dated in the same period, those of Pausanias Atticus and Zenobius, have been practically copied (as a whole, or partly) by the later lexicographers. In particular, Pausanias Atticus in his "Collection of Attic words" in the lemma Καλλικύριοι mentions that the *Killirioi* took the place of the *gamoroi* in Syracuse and also became part of the city's *politeuma*.[83] Moreover, he mentions that they were numerous slaves of the exiled *gamoroi*. Their name was used in order to denote an enormous number of people. For these references he cites Timaeus (*FGrHist*566 fr. 8). He also adds that this particular name was given to them because they could gather themselves in the same place even though they were scattered in different places. He finally equates them with the Helots in Sparta, the *Penestai* in Thessaly and the *Klarotai* in Crete. For these last references he cites Aristotle (Rose fr. 544).

Zenobius in the lemma Καλλικυρίων πλείους mentions that thus named were those who attacked the *geomoroi* and that there is also a proverb according to which their name is equivalent to many people, that they took this name because, despite being in different places they could gather themselves in the same place in order to be close to their masters. Finally, he says that they were slaves who expelled their masters.[84] Hesychius, on his part, following Zenobius as it seems from his vocabulary, says that the Καλλικύριοι attacked the *gamoroi*, they were the latters' serfs and they expelled their masters.[85] Photius in two entries seems to follow Pausanias, since he gives the same information using the same vocabulary as the former.[86] The lexicon of Suida copies Pausanias almost entirely (except the phrase μέρος καταλαβόντες τοῦ πολιτεύματος), and partly Zenobius, mainly as for the derivation of the name of the *Killirioi*.[87] Plutarch in a rather confusing passage mentions that the expression πλείους τῶν Καλλικυρίων means that when a great number of the *Killirioi* inhabited Syracuse they drove out the previous residents.[88] Finally, Eustathius in his comment on Iliad 2, 584 (the *Killirioi* are mistakenly located in Crete and the *Arotai* in Syracuse), mentions that they were slaves not by birth but from war.[89]

There is an agreement between the lexicographers and Herodotus that the *Killirioi* were slaves of the *gamoroi*, but they all fail to mention anything about their origin. The fact though that they are equated by Pausanias Photius, Suida and Eustathius with the *Penestai*, the Helots and the *Klarotai*, who had in common that they all fell into slavery after the conquest of their territories, shows that the *Killirioi* were the previous inhabitants of Syracuse who were conquered by the colonists.[90] These slaves were quite possibly

[83] Paus. Att. <Καλλικύριοι>· οἱ ἀντὶ τῶν Γεωμόρων ἐν Συρακούσαις <μέρος καταλαβόντες τοῦ πολιτεύματος>, γενόμενοι πολλοί τινες τὸ πλῆθος. δοῦλοι δ' ἦσαν οὗτοι τῶν φυγάδων, ὡς Τίμαιος ἐν ἕκτῃ ὅθεν τοὺς ὑπερβολῇ πολλοὺς Καλλικυρίους ἔλεγον. ὠνομάσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς ταὐτὸ συνελθεῖν παντοδαποὶ ὄντες, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Συρακουσίων Πολιτείᾳ ὅμοιοι τοῖς παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις Εἵλωσι καὶ παρὰ Θετταλοῖς Πενέσταις καὶ παρὰ Κρησὶ Κλαρώταις. See also in his entry <Κλαρῶται> with whom they aree quated.

[84] Zen. 4.54. <Καλλικυρίων πλείους:> οὕτως ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐκλήθησαν οἱ ἐπεισελθόντες γεωμόροις Καλλικύριοι. Ἔνθεν παροιμιωδῶς ἔλεγον, εἴ ποτε πλῆθος ἤθελον ἐμφῆναι, ὅτι πλείους ἦσαν τῶν Καλλικυρίων. Δοῦλοι δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι, καὶ τοὺς κυρίους ἐξέβαλον. Ἡ δὲ αἰτία τῆς κλήσεως αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ παντοδαποὺς εἰς ταὐτὸ συνελθεῖν, ὥστε τοῖς κυρίοις ἐγκεῖσθαι.

[85] Hesych. <Κιλλικύριοι>· οἱ ἐπεισελθόντες γεωμόροι. δοῦλοι δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι καὶ τοὺς κυρίους ἐξέβαλον.

[86] Phot. <Κιλλικύριοι>: ἐν Συρακόσσαις τινὲς ἐκλήθησαν· οἱ ἀντὶ τῶν γεωμόρων μέρος καταλαβόντες τοῦ πολιτεύματος· οἷον Εἵλωτες καὶ Πενέσται τινες.

[87] Suid. <Καλλικύριοι:> οἱ ἀντὶ τῶν Γεωμόρων ἐν Συρακούσαις γενόμενοι, πολλοί τινες τὸ πλῆθος. δοῦλοι δ' ἦσαν οὗτοι τῶν φυγάδων, ὡς Τίμαιος ἐν ς΄ ὅθεν τοὺς ὑπερβολῇ πολλοὺς Καλλικυρίους ἔλεγον. ὠνομάσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς ταὐτὸ συνελθεῖν παντοδαποὶ ὄντες, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Συρακουσίων πολιτείᾳ, ὅμοιοι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων Εἵλωσι καὶ παρὰ Θεσσαλοῖς Πενέσταις καὶ παρὰ Κρησὶν καὶ παροιμίᾳ· <Καλλικυρίων πλείους> τοῦτο ἐλέγετο, εἴποτε πλῆθος ἤθελον ἐμφῆναι. οἱ γὰρ Καλλικύριοι δοῦλοι ἦσαν, πλείους τῶν κυρίων αὐτῶν, ὥστε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξέβαλον. See also in his entry <Κλαρόται> with whom they aree quated.

[88] Plut. Παροιμίαι αἷς Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἐχρῶντο. Cent. 1.10. <Πλείους τῶν Καλλικυρίων:> Καλλικυρίων ποτὲ πλῆθος ἐπῴκησε τὰς Συρακούσας οὕτω πολλοί, ὥς τε καὶ τοὺς προτέρους οἰκήτορας ἐκβαλεῖ.

[89] Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὸ θηλυκὸν τῶν ῥηθέντων Εἰλώτων αἱ Εἰλώτιδες, ὡς ἐν ῥητορικῷ εὕρηται Λεξικῷ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὅτι ὥσπερ Εἵλωτες ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, οὕτω Πενέσται μὲν παρὰ Θετταλοῖς, οἱ μὴ γόνῳ δοῦλοι, ἀλλὰ πολέμῳ, Κιλλικύριοι δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ, Μαριανδυνοὶ δὲ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ τῇ Ποντικῇ, καὶ Ἀρότται ἐν Συρακούσαις.

[90] For example FREEMAN 1891-1894, v.2, p. 438; MACAN 1908, p. 21; he postulates that their name echoes a specific tribe of natives; DUNBABIN 1948, p. 111, who very rightly remarks that such a great number of slaves could not occur

the result of the conflict between the colonists and the native populations. Thucydides mentions that Syracuse was founded after such a conflict and the expulsion of the local populations (6, 3, 2) and the same seems to have been the fate of the native settlement of Monte Finocchito.[91] Eustathius' reference μὴ γόνῳ δοῦλοι, ἀλλὰ πολέμῳ confirms this view, in our opinion.

As for the character of the democracy mentioned by Aristotle, few things can be said. Many scholars considered that a new political body was created, which consisted of the *demos* and the liberated *Killirioi*. This view is essentially due to Pausanias' reference and is also followed by Photius.[92] The opposite is supported by Berve who considers that *Killirioi* did not obtain political rights in the newly founded democracy.[93]

On the one hand, it does not seem very probable that the *demos* of Syracuse would have granted political rights to the ex-slaves. First of all, giving them their freedom would seem enough for the slaves to ally themselves with the *demos* of Syracuse. Moreover, such a measure seems very radical, especially if we have in mind that the *Killirioi* were not of Greek origin. In addition, the fact that they were numerous would give them a great advantage in the popular assembly of the new democracy. In that case it would seem more reasonable to consider that they were granted some kind of privileges, possibly like those of the Athenian metics. On the other hand though, Pausanias' reference (and subsequently Photius' and Suidas') is quite clear. Of course these sources are much later, but they do use very reliable sources such as Aristotle and Timaeus. It is quite probable that the ex-slaves managed to obtain political rights, albeit limited, in the newly established democracy. In this frame, Birgalias' view that we should not take Aristotle's reference of a democracy literally may seem correct.[94]

After Gelon's occupation of Syracuse we hear no more of the *gamoroi*. Gelon's intervention ended their prominent role in the political affairs of the city and his relocation of populations from the rest of eastern Sicily to Syracuse,[95] along with the prominent role he gave to his mercenaries[96] normally put the *gamoroi* even more in the margin. This was obviously the situation during the Deinomenid rule, where a new upper class was created due to the tyrants' favor. In the democracy that succeeded the tyrannical regime there was of course no place for an elite group of noble origin like the *gamoroi*.

otherwise, he also adds that they collectively belonged to the *gamoroi*; Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg 1963, p. 337; Mossé 1989, p. 95; Consolo Langher 1996, p. 285 n. 79; Maffoda 1996, p. 67. Domínguez 1989, pp. 192-195 gives an entire different explanation for their origin. According to him they were not slaves of the *gamoroi*, but consisted part of the *demos* who voluntarily lived in the countryside and were occupied as agriculture labors. They had no land and were hired by the *gamoroi* to work their own. In our view this interpretation contradicts all sources that refer to the *Killirioi* as slaves of the *gamoroi*. Nevertheless, he later (2012, pp. 35-36, 44) changed his view and adopted the *communis opinio* about their character.

[91] For Monte Finocchito, Orsi 1894; 1897; Frasca 1982, who republished Orsi's material; Domínguez 1989, pp. 206-213; Holloway 2002, pp. 88-89; Copani 2005, pp. 260-261 with n. 64 for previous bibliography.

[92] Robinson 1997, p. 121 with n. 216.

[93] Berve 1967, p. 142.

[94] Μπιργαλιας 2009, 141.

[95] Hdt. 7, 156.

[96] Diod. 11, 72, 3.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALFÖLDI 1965 — A. ALFÖLDI, *Early Rome and the Latins,* Ann Arbor 1965.

AMBAGLIO 2010 — D. AMBAGLIO, *La storia come strumento ermeneutico: qualche caso dalla Politica di Aristotele*, in M. POLITO, C. TALAMO (edd.), *La Politica di Aristotele e la Storiografia Locale*. Atti della Giornata di Studio, Fisciano, 12 - 13 giugno 2008, Themata 5, Roma, pp. 19-34.

ANDREWES 1956 — A. ANDREWES, *The Greek tyrants*, London 1956.

ANTONACCIO 2007 — C. ANTONACCIO, *Colonization: Greece on the Move*, in H. A. SHAPIRO (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Archaic Greece*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 201-224.

ARNHEIM 1977 — M. T. W. ARNHEIM, *Aristocracy in Greek society*, London 1977.

ASHERI 1966 — D. ASHERI, *Distribuzioni di terre nell'antica Grecia*, Torino 1966.

ASHERI 1974 — D. ASHERI, *Il caso di Aithiops, regola o eccezione?*, in *PP,* XXIX, 1974, pp. 232-236.

ASHERI 1980 — D. ASHERI, *La colonizzazione greca*, in E. GABBA, G. VALLET (edd.), *La Sicilia antica*, I², Napoli 1980, pp. 89-142.

ASHERI 1988 — D. ASHERI, *Carthaginians and Greeks*, in N. G. L. HAMMOND, J. BOARDMAN, D.M. LEWIS, M. OSTWALD (edd.), *CAH*², *IV: Persia, Greece and the western Mediterranean c.525-479 B.C.*, Cambridge 1988, pp. 739-780.

AUBONNET 1960-1973 — J. AUBONNET, *Aristote Politiques*, Paris 1960-1973.

AUSTIN, VIDAL-NAQUET 1998 — M. M. AUSTIN, P. VIDAL-NAQUET, *Οικονομία και κοινωνία στηναρχαία Ελλάδα*, translated by T. Κουκουλιός, Αθήνα 1998.

BARKER 1995 — E. BARKER, *The Politics of Aristotle revised with an introduction and notes by R.F. Stalley*, Oxford 1995.

BEARZOT 2002 — C. S. BEARZOT, *Filisto di Siracusa*, in R. VATTUONE (ed.), *Storici greci d'Occidente*, Bologna 2002, pp. 91-136.

BÉRARD 1957 — J. P. BÉRARD, *La colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'antiquité: l'histoire et la légende*, Paris 1957.

BERNSTEIN 2004 — F. BERNSTEIN, *Konflikt und Migration: Studien zu griechischen Fluchtbewegungen im Zeitalter der sogenannten Grossen Kolonisation*, St. Katharinen 2004.

BERVE 1967 — H. BERVE, *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen*, München 1967.

ΒΛΑΧΟΣ 1985 — Γ. ΒΛΑΧΟΣ, *Πολιτικές κοινωνίες στον Όμηρο*, Αθήνα 1985.

BOEHRINGER 1984-1985 — C. BOEHRINGER, *Der Beitragder Numismatik zur Kenntnis Siziliens im VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, in *Kokalos,* XXX-XXXI, 1984-1985, pp. 103-126.

BOYD, JAMESON 1981 — T. BOYD, M. H. JAMESON, *Urban and rural land division in ancient Greece*, in *Hesperia*, L, 1981, pp. 327-342.

BRAVO 1992 — B. BRAVO, *Citoyens et libres non-citoyens dans les cités coloniales á l' époque archaique. Le cas de Syracuse*, in R. LONIS (ed.), *L'Étranger dans le monde grec,* II. Actes du Deuxième Colloque sur l'Étranger, Nancy,19-21 septembre 1991, Nancy 1992, pp. 43-85.

BURFORD COOPER 1977-1978 — A. BURFORD COOPER, *The Family Farm in Greece*, in *CJ,* LXXIII, 1977-1978, pp. 162-175.

BUSOLT 1893-1904 — G. BUSOLT, *Griechische geschichte bis zur schlacht bei Chaeroneia*, Gotha 1893-1904.

CALDERONE 1978 — S. CALDERONE, *Problemi storici relativi alle «apoikiai» siceliote in età protoarcaica*, in L. RIZZA (ed.), *Insediamenti coloniali greci in Sicilia nell VIII e VII secolo a.C.*, Catania 1978, pp. 11-20.

CALHOUN 1934 — G.M. CALHOUN, *Classes and masses in Homer*, in *CPh*, XXIX, 1934, pp. 192-208, 301-316.

CARTER 2006 — J. C. CARTER, *Discovering the Greek countryside at Metaponto*, Ann Arbor 2006.

CASEVITZ 1985 — M. CASEVITZ, *Le vocabulaire de la colonisation en grec ancien: étude lexicologique: les familles de [ktizō] et de [oikeō-oikizō]*, Paris 1985.

CASSOLA 1965 — F. CASSOLA, *Sull'alienabilità del suolo nel mondo Greco*, in *Labeo*, XI, 1965, pp. 206-219.

CONSOLO LANGHER 1996 — S. N. CONSOLO LANGHER, *Siracusa e la Sicilia Greca, tra età arcaica ed alto ellenismo*, Messina 1996.

CONSOLO LANGHER — S. N. CONSOLO LANGHER, *Un im-*

1997 *perialismo tra democrazia e tirannide, Siracusa nei secoli V et IV a.C*, Supplementi a *Kokalos,* 12, Roma 1997.

COPANI 2005 F. COPANI, *Alle origini di Eloro. L'espansione meridionale di Siracusa arcaica*, in *Acme*, LVIII, 2, 2005, pp. 245-263.

CUSCUNÀ 2003 C. CUSCUNÀ, *I frammenti di Antioco di Siracusa. Introduzione, traduzione e commento*, Fonti e studi di storia antica, VI, Alessandria 2003.

DE OLIVEIRA GOMES 2007 C. DE OLIVEIRA GOMES, *La cité tyrannique. Histoire politique de la Grèce archaique*, Rennes 2007.

DE SENSI SESTITO 1987 G. DE SENSI SESTITO, *La Calabria in età arcaica e classica. Storia, economia e società*, in G. CINGARI (ed.), *Storia della Calabria, I*: *La Calabria antica*, Roma 1987, pp. 227-303.

DE STE. CROIX 1975 G.E. M. DE STE. CROIX, *Aristotle on History and Poetry*, in B. LEVICK (ed.), *The Ancient Historian and his Materials*, Farnborough 1975, pp. 45-58.

DI VITA 1956 A. DI VITA, *La penetrazione siracusana nella Sicilia sud-orientale alla luce delle piu recenti scoperte arceologiche*, in *Kokalos*, II, 1956, pp. 177-205.

DI VITA 1996 A. DI VITA, *Urban planning in ancient Sicily,* in G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI (ed.), *The western Greeks: classical civilization in the western Mediterranean*, London 1996, pp. 263-308.

DOMÍNGUEZ 1989 A. J. DOMÍNGUEZ, *La colonización Griega en Sicilia: Griegos, indígenos y Púnicos en la Sicilia Arcaica: Interación y aculturación*, Oxford 1989.

DOMÍNGUEZ 2006 A. J. DOMÍNGUEZ, *Greeks in Sicily*, in G. R. TSETSKHLADZE (ed.), *Greek Colonisation. An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas*, I, Leiden-Boston 2006, pp. 253-357.

DOMÍNGUEZ 2012 A. J. DOMÍNGUEZ, *Formas de dependencia en el Occidente griego en la transición entre el arcaísmo y el clasicismo*, in A. PINZONE, E. CALIRI, R. ARCURI (edd.), *Forme di dipendenza nelle società di transizione*. Atti del XXXII Colloquio Internazionale G.I.R.E.A., Messina 15-17 maggio 2008, *Pelorias*, XX, pp. 29-45, Messina, 2012.

DONLAN 1999 W. DONLAN, *The aristocratic ideal and selected papers*, Wauconda 1999.

DRÖGEMÜLLER 1969 H. P. DRÖGEMÜLLER, *Syrakus: zur Topographie und Geschichte einer griechischen Stadt*, Heidelberg 1969.

DUBOIS 1989 L. DUBOIS, *Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Sicile: contribution à l'étude du vocabulaire grec colonial*, Rome 1989.

DUNBABIN 1948 T. J. DUNBABIN, *The Western Greeks*, Oxford 1948.

DUPLOUY 2006 A. DUPLOUY, *Le prestige des élites. Recherches sur les modes de reconnaissance sociale en Grèce entre les Xe et Ve siècles avant J.-C,* Paris,Univ. Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, Brüssel, Univ. Libre de Bruxelles, Diss., 2003, Histoire 76, Paris 2006.

ERDAS 2006 D. ERDAS, *Forme di stanziamento militare e organizzazione del territorio nel mondo Greco: I casi di Casmene e Brea*, in *Guerra e pace in Sicilia en el Mediterraneo antico (VIII-III sec. a.C.). Arte, prassi e teoria della pace e della guerra*, I, Seminarie Convegni 7, Pisa 2006, pp. 45-56.

EVERSON 1996 S. EVERSON, *Aristotle, The Politics*, Cambridge 1996.

FINLEY 1967 M. I. FINLEY, *The Alienability of Land in Ancient Greece*, in *Eirene*, VII, 1967, pp. 25-32.

FINLEY 1968 M. I. FINLEY, *A history of Sicily*, London 1968.

FINLEY 1975 M. I. FINLEY, *The world of Odysseus*, London 1975.

FISCHER-HANSEN, NIELSEN, AMPOLO 2006 T. FISCHER-HANSEN, T. H. NIELSEN, C. AMPOLO, *Sikelia*, in M. H. HANSEN, T. H. NIELSEN (edd.), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, Oxford 2004, pp. 172-248.

FITZJOHN 2007 M. FITZJOHN, *Equality in colonies: concepts of equality in Sicily during the eighth to six centuries BC*, in *WorldA*, XXXIX, 2, 2007, pp. 215-228.

FRASCA 1982 M. FRASCA, *La necropoli di Monte Finocchito*, in M. FRASCA, D. PALERMO (edd.), *Contributi alla conoscenza dell'età del Ferro in Sicilia: Monte Finocchito e Polizzello, CronA*, XX, 1981, Palermo 1982, pp. 11-104.

FREDERIKSEN 1984 M. FREDERIKSEN, *Campania* (edited with additions by Nicholas Purcell), London 1984.

FREEMAN 1891-1894 E. A. FREEMAN, *The history of Sicily from the earliest times,* Oxford 1891-1894.

FOUCHARD 1997 A. FOUCHARD, *Aristocratie et démocratie: idéologies et sociétés en Grèce ancienne*, Besançon 1997.

FROLOV 1980 E. FROLOV, *Gamoroi and Kyllirioi*, in *VDI*, CLIX, 1980, pp. 27-41 (in Russian with a very small summary in English).

GABBA 1991 E. GABBA, *Dionysius and The history of archaic Rome*, Berkeley 1991.

GAGARIN 2008 M. GAGARIN, *Writing Greek law*, Cambridge 2008.

GALLO 2009 L. GALLO, *L'isomoiria: realtà o mito?*, in C. ANTONETTI, S. DE VIDO (edd.), *Temi selinuntini*, Pisa 2009, pp. 129-136.

GAMBUTO 2001 M. L. GAMBUTO, *Ateneo, I Deipnosofisti, I dotti a banchetto,* Libri XII-XV (v.3), Roma 2001.

GHINATTI 1996 F. GHINATTI, *Assemblee greche d'Occidente*, Torino 1996.

GRAS, TRÉZINY, BROISE 2004 M. GRAS, H. TRÉZINY, H.BROISE, *Mégara Hyblaea. 5: La ville archaïque. L'espace urbain d'une cité grecque de Sicile orientale* (Préface de Paola Pelagatti et Giuseppe Voza), Rome 2004.

GUARDUCCI 1949-1951 M. GUARDUCCI, *Note di epigrafia siceliota arcaica*, in *ASAA*, XXVII-XXIX, 1949-1951, pp. 11-13, 103-116.

GUARDUCCI 1959-1960 M. GUARDUCCI, *Nuove note di epigrafia siceliota arcaica*, in *ASAA*, XXXVII-XXXVIII, 1950-1960, pp. 21-22, 249-278.

GUZZO 2011 P. G. GUZZO, *Fondazioni greche: l'Italia meridionale e la Sicilia (VIII e VII sec. a.C.)*, Roma 2011.

JACOBY 1904 F. JACOBY, *Das Marmor Parium*, Berlin 1904.

JACOBY 1955 F. JACOBY, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker 3b, Text, Kommentar zu Nr. 297-607*, Leiden 1955.

JAEGER 1948 W. JAEGER, *Aristotle: fundamentals of the history of his development (translated, with the author's corrections and additions by Richard Robinson)*, Oxford 1948.

JOWETT 1885 B. JOWETT, *The politics of Aristotle translated into English with introduction, marginal analysis, essays, notes and indices*, Oxford 1885.

HOLLOWAY 2002 R. HOLLOWAY, *The Archaeology of Ancient Sicily*, London 2002.

HOFER 2000 M. HOFER, *Tyrannen, Aristokraten, Demokraten. Untersuchungen zu Staat und Herrschaft im griechischen Sizilien von Phalaris bis zum Aufstieg von Dionysios I*, Bern 2000.

GALLANT 1982 T. W. GALLANT, *Agricultural Systems, Land Tenure, and the Reforms of Solon*, in *ABSA*, LXXVII, 1982, pp. 111-124.

GALLEGO 2006 J. GALLEGO, *La imagen aldeana de la pólis: construcción de una identidad igualitaria de base agraria*, in D. PLÁCIDO, M. VALDÉS, F. ECHEVERRÍA, M.Y. MONTES MIRALLES (edd.), *La Construcción Ideológica de la Ciudadanía. Identidades culturales y sociedad en el mundo griego antiguo*, Madrid 2006, pp. 67-86.

GRAHAM 1983 A. J. GRAHAM, *Colony and Mother city in ancient Greece*[2], Manchester – Chicago 1983.

JANNELLI 1999 L. JANNELLI, *Ischia e Cuma*, in E. GRECO (ed.), *La città greca antica. Istituzioni, società e forme urbane*, Roma, pp. 303-327.

HANSON 1995 V. D. HANSON, *The other Greeks: the family farm and the agrarian roots of western civilization*, New York 1995.

HAWKE 2011 J. HAWKE, *Writing authority. Elite competition and written law in early Greece,* DeKalb 2011.

HOLM 1870-1898 A. HOLM, *Geschichte Siciliens im alterthum,* Leipzig 1870-1898.

HOW, WELLS 1928 W. W. HOW, J. WELLS, *A commentary on Herodotus, with introduction and appendixes*, Oxford 1928.

HÜTTL 1929 W. HÜTTL, *Verfassungsgeschichte von Syrakus*, Prague 1929.

ISAGER, SKYDSGAARD, 1992 S. ISAGER, J. E. SKYDSGAARD, *Ancient Greek agriculture. An introduction,* London - New York 1992.

KEANEY 1992 J. J. KEANEY, *The Composition of Aristotle's Athenaion Politeia: Observation and Explanation,* New York - London 1992.

KÖHLER 1898 U. KÖHLER, *Über eine Stelle in der Politik des Aristoteles*, in *RhM*, LIII, 1898, pp. 491-493.

KÕIV 2003 M. KÕIV, *Ancient tradition and*

early Greek history: the origins of states in early-archaic Sparta, Argos and Corinth, Tallinn 2003.

LAMBOLEY 1996 J. L. LAMBOLEY, *Les Grecs d' Occident. La période archaique,* Paris 1996.

LEPORE 1970 E. LEPORE, *Glassi e ordini in Magna Grecia*, in C. NICOLET (ed.), *Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l'Antiquité Classique*. Colloque CNES, Caen 25-26 avril 1969, Paris 1970, pp. 43-62.

LEPORE 1973 E. LEPORE, *Problemi dell'organizzazione della chora coloniale,* in M. I. FINLEY (ed.) *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1973, pp. 15-47.

LESCHHORN 1984 W. LESCHHORN, *Gründer der Stadt*, Stuttgart 1984.

LINTOTT 1982 A. LINTOTT, *Violence, civil strife and revolution in the classical city, 750-330 BC*, London 1982.

LOICQ-BERGER 1967 M.P. LOICQ-BERGER, *Syracuse: Histoire culturelle d'une cité grecque*, Bruxelles 1967.

LOMBARDO 2005 M. LOMBARDO, *Le 'prime democrazie' in Magna Grecia*, in U. BULTRIGHINI (ed.), *Democrazia e antidemocrazia nel mondo greco*. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Chieti, 9-11 aprile 2003, Roma 2005, pp. 109-118.

LORD 1984 C. LORD, *Aristotle: The Politics, translated and with an introduction, notes, and glossary*, Chicago 1984.

LURAGHI 1994 N. LURAGHI, *Tirannidi arcaiche in Sicilia e Magna Grecia: da Panezio di Leontini alla caduta dei Dinomenidi*, Firenze 1994.

LURAGHI 2002 N. LURAGHI, *Antioco di Siracusa*, in R. VATTUONE (ed.), *Storici greci d'Occidente*, Bologna 2002, pp. 55-89.

MACAN 1908 R. W. MACAN, *Herodotus Books VII-VIII-IX*, I, London 1908.

MALKIN 1987 I. MALKIN, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece,* Leiden 1987.

MALKIN 1994A I. MALKIN, *Inside and Outside: colonization and the formation of the mother city*, in B. D'AGOSTINO, D. RIDGWAY (edd.), *Apoikia. Studi in onore di G. Buchner, AION (archeol)*, XVI, 1994, pp. 1-9.

MALKIN 1994B I. MALKIN, *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean*, Cambridge 1994.

MAFFODA 1996 G. MAFFODA, *La monarchia di Gelone, tra pragmatismo ideologia e propaganda*, Messina 1996.

MANFREDI, BRACCESI 1996 V. MANFREDI, L. BRACCESI, *I greci d'occidente*, Milano 1996.

MANGANARO 1965 G. MANGANARO, *Ricerche di antichità e di epigrafia siceliote*, in *ArchClass*, XVII, 1965, pp. 183-210.

MÉTRAUX 1978 G. P. R. MÉTRAUX, *Western Greek land-use and city-planning in the Archaic period*, New York 1978.

MITCHELL 2000 B. M. MITCHELL, *Cyrene: Typical or Atypical?*, in R. BROCK, S. HODKINSON (edd.), *Alternatives to Athens. Varieties of Political Organization and Community in Ancient Greece*, Oxford 2000, pp. 82-102.

MOGGI 2010 M. MOGGI, *Aristotele: la Politica e la storia*, in M. POLITO, C. TALAMO (edd.), *La Politica di Aristotele e la Storiografia Locale*. Atti della Giornata di Studio. Fisciano, 12 - 13 giugno 2008, *Themata* 5, Tivolia (Roma) 2010, pp. 35-46.

MONTES MIRALLES 2006 Y.M. MONTES MIRALLES, *Ideología aristocrática en los orígenes del Arcaísmo griego: estrategias de alteridad en la Ilíada,* Oxford British archaeological reports. International series, 1487, Oxford 2006.

MORAKIS 2011 A. MORAKIS, *Thucydides and the character of Greek Colonisation in Sicily*, in *CQ*, LXI, 2, 2011, pp. 460-492.

MORRIS 1987 I. MORRIS, *Burial and Society. The rise of the Greek city-state*, Cambridge 1987.

MOSSÉ 1989 C. MOSSÉ, Οι τύραννοι στην αρχαία Ελλάδα, translated by A. Καλογεροπούλου, Αθήνα 1989.

ΜΠΙΡΓΑΛΙΑΣ 2009 Ν. ΜΠΙΡΓΑΛΙΑΣ, Από την κοινωνική στην πολιτική πλειονοψηφία: Το στάδιο της ισονομίας, Μελέτες για τις πολιτειακές μεταβολές ιδιαίτερα στον εκτός Αθήνας αρχαίο ελληνικό κόσμο μεταξύ 550 και 479 π.Χ, Αθήνα 2009.

MUCCIOLI 2002 F. MUCCIOLI, *La letteratura storiografica tra Filisto e Timeo*, in R. VATTUONE (ed.), *Storici greci d'Occidente*, Bologna 2002, pp. 137-176.

MURRAY 1993 O. MURRAY, *Early Greece*[2], London 1993.

NEWMAN 1887-1902 W. L. NEWMAN, *The Politics of Aristotle*, Oxford 1887-1902.

OOST 1972 S. I. OOST, *Cypselus the Bacchiad*, in *CP*, LXVII, 1972, pp. 10-30.

ORSI 1894 P. ORSI, *La necropolis sicula del terzo periodo al Finocchito presso Noto (Siracusa)*, in *BPI,* XX, 1894, pp. 23-71.

ORSI 1897 P. ORSI, *Nuove esplorazioni nella necropolis sicula del Monte Finocchito presso Noto (Siracusa)*, in *BPI*, XXIII, 1897, pp. 157-197.

OSBORNE 2004 R. OSBORNE, *Homer's Society*, in R. FOWLER (ed.), *Cambridge Companion to Homer,* Cambridge 2004, pp. 206-219.

PAPAKONSTANTINOU 2008 Z. PAPAKONSTANTINOU, *Lawmaking and adjudication in archaic Greece*, London 2008.

PEARSON 1987 L. PEARSON, *The Greek Historians of the West: Timaeus and his Predecessors*, Atlanta 1987.

POLITO 2001 M. POLITO, *Dagli scritti di Eraclide sulle costituzioni: un commento storico,* Napoli 2001.

POWELL 1987 C. TH. POWELL, *Why Aristotle has no philosophy of history*, in *HPhQ*, IV, 1987, pp. 343-357.

RAAFLAUB 1993 K. A. RAAFLAUB, *Homer to Solon. The rise of the Polis. The written sources*, in M. H. HANSEN (ed.), *The ancient Greek city-state*. Symposium on the occasion of the 250th anniversary of the Royal Danish Academy of sciences and letters, July, 1-4, 1992, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser LXVII, Copenhagen 1993, pp.41-105.

RABINOVITZ 2004 A. RABINOVITZ, *Symposium, community and cultural exchange in Archaic Sicily and South Italy*, Texas (Unp. Diss.) 2004.

RACKHAM 1932 H. RACKHAM, *Aristotle. The politics*, London - New York 1932.

ΡΑΓΚΟΥΣΗ 2007 Ε. ΡΑΓΚΟΥΣΗ, Πρώιμες ελληνικές κοινωνίες όπως προκύπτουν από τα ομηρικά έπη και το έργο του Ησιόδου, Αθήνα 2007.

REEVE 1998 C.D.C. REEVE, *The Politics of Aristotle; translated, with introduction and notes,* Indianapolis 1998.

REICHERT-SÜDBECK P. REICHERT-SÜDBECK, *Kulte von Korinth und Syrakus: Vergleich zwischen einer Metropolis und ihrer Apoikia*, Dettelbach 2000.

RHODES 1981 P. J. RHODES, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, Oxford 1981.

ROBINSON 1997 E.W. ROBINSON, *The first democracies: early popular government outside Athens*, Stuttgart 1997.

ROUGIER-BLANC 2010 S. ROUGIER-BLANC, *La poésie homérique et la poésie archaïque: un témoignage sur les pratiques aristocratiques et le mode de vie dans les premières cités*, in L. CAPDETREY, Y. LAFOND (edd.), *La cité et ses élites: pratiques et représentation des formes de domination et de contrôle social dans les cités grecques*. Actes du colloque de Poitiers, 19-20 octobre 2006, Pessac 2010, pp. 247-272.

ROWE 1991 C. J. ROWE, *Aims and Methods in Aristotle's Politics*, in D. KEYT, F. D. MILLER JR. (edd.), A *companion to Aristotle's Politics,* Oxford-Cambridge MA 1991, pp. 57-74.

RUTTER 1997 N. K. RUTTER, *The Greek coinages of southern Italy and Sicily*, London 1997.

RUZÉ 1997 F. RUZÉ, *Déliberation et pouvoir dans la cité grecque: de Nestor à Socrate*, Paris 1997.

ΣΑΚΕΛΛΑΡΙΟΥ 1999 Μ. Β. ΣΑΚΕΛΛΑΡΙΟΥ, Πόλις: ένας τύπος αρχαίου ελληνικού κράτους, translated by Δ. Κοκκώνης, Μελετήματα IV, Αθήνα 1999.

SALMON 1984 J.B. SALMON, *Wealthy Corinth. A History of the City to 338 B.C.*, London 1984.

SAMMARTANO 1998 R. SAMMARTANO, *Origines Gentium Siciliae. Ellanico, Antioco, Tucidide*, Supplementi a *Kokalos*, XIV, Roma 1998.

SCHENK GRAF VON STAUFFENBERG 1963 A. SCHENK GRAF VON STAUFFENBERG, *Trinakria*, München-Wien 1963.

SCHÖNE 1900 A. SCHÖNE, *Die Weltchronik des Eusebius in ihrer bearbeitung durch Hieronymus*, Berlin 1900.

SCHULZ 1981 B. J. SCHULZ, *Bezeichnungen und Selbstbezeichnungen der Aristokraten und Oligarchen in der griechischen Literatur von Homer bis Aristoteles, III*, in E. C. VON WELSKOPF (ed.), *Soziale Typenbegriffe im alten Griechenland und ihr Fortleben in den Sprachen der Welt V: Das Fortleben altgriechischer sozialer Typenbegriffe in der deutschen Sprache,* Berlin 1981, pp. 67-155.

SCHÜTRUMPF 1991-2005 — E. SCHÜTRUMPF, *Aristoteles. Politik*, Darmstadt 1991-2005.

SCHWARTZ 2009 — A. SCHWARTZ, *Reinstating the Hoplite: arms, armour and phalanx fighting in Archaic and Classical Greece*, Historia Einzelschriften, CCVII, Stuttgart 2009.

SINCLAIR 1981 — T. A. SINCLAIR, *Aristotle The Politics*, London 1981.

SNODGRASS 1980 — A. M. SNODGRASS, *Archaic Greece: The age of experiment*, London 1980.

STARR 1977 — C. G. STARR, *The economic and social growth of early Greece, 800-500 B.C.*, New York 1977.

STARR 1992 — C. G. STARR, *The aristocratic temper of Greek civilization*, New York - Oxford 1992.

STEIN HÖLKESKAMP 1989 — E. STEIN HÖLKESKAMP, *Adelskultur und Polisgesellschaft: Studien zum griechischen Adel in archaischer und klassischer Zeit*, Stuttgart 1989.

TANDY 1997 — D. W. TANDY, *Warriors into traders: the power of the market in early Greece*, California 1997.

TOYE 1999 — D. L. TOYE, *Aristotle's Other Politeiai: Was the Athenaion Politeia Atypical?* in *CJ*, XCIV, 3, 1999, pp. 235-253.

TRÉZINY 1997 — H. TRÉZINY, *On equality of Lot Division at Megara Hyblaia in the Eighth Century B.C.*, in *AJA*, CI, 1997, p. 381.

TRÉZINY 2009 — H. TRÉZINY, *De Mégara Hyblaea à Sélinonte, de Syracuse à Camarine: le paysage urbain des colonies et de leurs sous-colonies*, in M. LOMBARDO (ed.), *Colonie di colonie: le fondazioni sub-coloniali greche tra colonizzazione e colonialismo*. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Lecce, 22-24 giugno 2006, Galatina, 2009, pp.161-181.

ULF 1990 — C. ULF, *Die homerische Gesellschaft. Materialien zur analytischen Beschreibung und historischen Lokalisierung,* Vestigia, XLII, München 1990.

URSO 2002 — G. URSO, *Iperoco di Cuma*, in R. VATTUONE (ed.), *Storici greci d'Occidente*, Bologna 2002, pp. 487-506.

VALLET 1996 — G. VALLET, *Le monde grec colonial d'Italie du sud et de Sicile*, Roma 1996.

VAN COMPERNOLLE 1984-1985 — R. VAN COMPERNOLLE, *La Sicilia e la Grecia arcaica fino alla fine del VI secolo: L'apporto delle fonti letterarie*, in *Kokalos*, XXX,1, 1984-1985, pp. 23-53.

VAN EFFENTERRE, RUZÉ 1994 — H. VAN EFFENTERRE, F. RUZÉ, *Nomima. Recueil d'inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l'archaïsme grec*, I, Collection de l'École Française de Rome, CLXXXVIII, Roma 1994.

VAN WEES 2000 — H.VAN WEES, *Megara's Mafiosi: Timocracy and Violence in Theognis*, in R. BROOK, S. HODKINSON (edd.), *Alternatives to Athens. Varieties of Political Organization and Community in Ancient Greece*, Oxford 2000, pp. 52-67.

VATTUONE 2007 — R. VATTUONE, *Western Greek Historiography*, in J. MARINCOLA (ed.), *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography,* v. I, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World, Oxford 2007, pp. 189-199.

VON FRITZ 1958 — K. VON FRITZ, *Aristotle's Contribution to the Practice and Theory of Historiography*, Berkeley 1958.

WALBANK 1968-1969 — F. W. WALBANK, *The Historians of Greek Sicily*, in *Kokalos*, XIV-XV, 1968-1969, pp. 476-498.

WEIL 1960 — R. WEIL, *Aristote et l'histoire. Essai sur la «Politique»*, Paris 1960.

WELWEI 1971 — K. W. WELWEI, *Die Machtergreifung des Aristodemos von Kyme*, in *Talanta*, III, 1971, pp. 44-55.

WERLINGS 2010 — M. J. WERLINGS, *Le dèmos avant la démocratie: mot, concepts, réalités historiques*, Paris 2010.

WHIBLEY 1913 — L. WHIBLEY, *Greek oligarchies: their character and organisation*, London 1913.

WILKES, FISHER-HANSEN 2004 — J. WILKES, T. FISHER-HANSEN, *Adriatic*, in M. H. HANSEN, T. H. NIELSEN (edd.), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, Oxford 2004, pp. 321-337.

WILL 1955 — E. WILL, *Korinthiaka: recherches sur l'histoire et la civilisation de Corinthe des origines aux guerres médiques*, Paris 1955.