THE ORGANIZATION OF THE *KHORA* IN SOUTHEASTERN GREEK SICILY: SYRACUSE AND ITS HINTERLAND (733 -598 BC)

A ORGANIZAÇÃO DA KHORA NA SICÍLIA GREGA SUL-ORIENTAL: SIRACUSA DIANTE DE SUA HINTERLÂNDIA (733 -598 A.C.)

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The organization of the *khora* in southeastern Greek Sicily:
Syracuse and its hinterland (733 -598 BC)

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Abstract: Founded by Corinthians in Sicily in the 8th century, Syracuse soon became one of the biggest and more powerful poleis of the Greek world. During the first century of life in Sicily, the Syracusans founded in the hinterland four other settlements: Heloros, Akrai, Kasmene and Kamarina. This article intends to demonstrate, through the description of material data, that: 1. These foundations were enabled thanks to negotiation with local people and that Syracusan expansion was not exclusively a military/violent one; 2. Through these foundations, Syracuse established boundaries for its initial territorial expansion; 3. The empty space between Syracuse and these boundaries were filled up by degrees and in different conditions; 4. That this movement made by Syracuse allows us to better understand an inherent characteristic of the Greek 'way of being', i.e., territorial control

Keywords: Syracusan territory; Cultural Contact in Sicily; Greek territorialization

Resumo: Fundada por coríntios na Sicília, no séc. VIII a.C., Siracusa transformou-se em uma das maiores e mais poderosas pólis do mundo grego. Ao longo do primeiro século de instalados na Sicília, os siracusanos fundaram, outros assentamentos na hinterlândia: Heloros, Acrai, Casmena e Camarina. Este texto procura demonstrar, por meio da descrição da documentação material, que: 1. Estas fundações foram realizadas em negociação com as populações locais e que portanto a expansão de Siracusa não foi puramente militar e/ou violenta; 2. Por meio destas fundações Siracusa definiu os limites iniciais da expansão territorial que pretendia; 3. Que o espaço vazio entre Siracusa e esses limites foi sendo preenchido aos poucos e em graus diferentes de densidade; 4. Que este movimento de Siracusa permite que entendamos melhor um traço imprescindível do 'modo de ser grego', i.e, o domínio de territórios.

Palavras-chave: Expansão Siracusana ; Contato Cultural na Sicília; Territorialização Grega.

*All history of Greek civilization is the history of a
mixed civilization (Edouard Will, 1956, p.99)*

In the context of the project "The organization of the *khora*[3]: The Greek city and its hinterland", being carried out by Labeca, the *Laboratory of studies on the ancient city*, we came across the case of the Corinthian *apoikia* of Syracuse, founded in the 730s BC on the southeastern coast of Sicily. From the 6th and the 5th centuries, Syracuse became the second wealthiest, most powerful and most populous city of the Greek world after Athens. We verified that the classical definition of *polis*, which sheds light on our studies,

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gains specific contours and brings to light the richness of Greek creativity in adapting to new environments, without losing its original Hellenic identity. With this case study we hope to demonstrate that the Greek *khora* could be much more than the 'rural' hinterland directly controlled by a *polis* in view of its economic survival as it is understood from the definition of *polis* put forward by the English archaeologist A. Snodgrass (1987, p. 47): "the Greek term *polis*, denoting in its strict sense a polity consisting of a settlement and its territory, politically united with one another and independent of other polities"; or according to the definition of *khora* by the Italian-Israeli scholar David Asheri (1980, p. 119): "a continuous whole of citizens' agricultural land".

We hope to demonstrate that Syracuse *khora* was neither a stable nor a continuous space and not even 'politically united' (at least in the juridical sense) to the main settlement. Syracuse has, indeed, created original strategies of territorial control and definition of boundaries, becoming a special polis in antiquity. In fact, and at least in classical times, Syracuse was the second in size and activity, after Athens, as mentioned above.

In order to achieve this objective, it is necessary to, initially, understand the landscape configuration of the region chosen by the Corinthians for the foundation of the new *apoikia* and to place, in that same space, the populations that occupied it at the time of the establishment of the city and, later, in compulsory sharing, although not always a peaceful one (MAP 1).

It is from the contact among different populations, non-Greeks and Greeks, that a specific type of organization of the *khora* and ingenious solutions are created for a better use of the territory. We will focus mainly on the time of the establishment of the Greeks in southeastern Sicily in the middle of the 8th century until the period of consolidation of Greek rule in the region, when the effects of Greek colonial expansion[4] can be felt in all its intensity in the hinterland, according to what the evidence allows us to estimate around the beginning and the middle of the 6th century BC (LEIGHTON, 1999, p. 219).

I. SOUTHEASTERN SICILY AND THE LANDSCAPE

Southeastern Sicily is dominated by the geomorphologic structure of the Hyblaean hills, a name borrowed from Hyblon, who would have been a native leader at the time of the foundation of Hellenic *apoikiai* in the second half of the 8th century. These hills can be defined as a "vast sub-circular plateau that culminates in Monte Lauro, 987m above sea level" (*Regione Siciliana*, p.1). This is a mountainous plateau,

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[4] The bibliography is very extensive regarding the debate about the use of the terms 'colonization' and 'colony' for this Greek movement in the Mediterranean from the 8th century BC. See here A. Pollini and A. Esposito, "Diáspora, colônia, colonização: desafios e questões de um léxico", *Cadernos do LEPAARQ*, XIV, 28, 2017. In Portuguese, one can also consult E.F.V. Hirata *Archeology, Religion and Political Power in Western Greek. Associate Professor Habilitation* Thesis MAE-USP, 2010. (mainly p.31-64)

with several important hilltops of different heights, from 600m, the whole being very irrigated by several river basins. The structure of this massif comprises mostly white limestone and watercourses dugging deep gorges and creating natural lakes. As the distance to the coast diminishes, the relief loses altitude, presenting terraced hills and valleys that widen and create environments suitable for the practice of agriculture and animal grazing. The coastline is largely made up of sandy dunes (MILITELLO, 2008, p.34). At high altitudes, the limestone is arid and visible, but in the valleys, even in the deepest ones, the vegetation is luxuriant.

In the vicinity of the coast, the soil is called *tuff*, since water erosion and chemical corrosion of the limestone causes great porosity, creating small pools and lakes (*Regione Siciliana*, p.2). To the north, the Hyblaean hills reach the vast plain of Catania; to the west they reach the plain of Gela; to the east and south the sea and towards the coast of Syracuse and Ragusa (*Regione Siciliana*, p.1-2). Here the altitude decreases considerably creating interesting openings for the settlement of urban nuclei such as the *apoikiai* of Syracuse, Kamarina and even Heloros, as we will later see.

The heights of the Hyblaean hills are dominated by Monte Lauro and its slopes, where several water sources feed the rivers that irrigate the region. Other equally high hills also dominate the plain, such as Monte Arcibessi and Monte Casale, respectively 906 and 910m above sea level, and where the Greek (or mixed) settlement of Kasmenai was installed.

The rivers that run through all this area had a fundamental role as a means of communication and also as a privileged space for the inland settlements in view of their plentiful vegetation and land fertility in many stretches. It is therefore essential to treat them as basic elements in the configuration of the landscape that we seek to portray and that the Greeks desired to dominate. As it happens also today, the main rivers' sources are located in the mountains and their waters flow to the coast (MILITELLO, 2008, p. 34). The most important ones are the Anapo River, the Irminio, the Dirillo, the Tellaro, the Hipparis and the Cassibile. Others are more modest rivers, affluent or not of the larger ones, but that also contributed to irrigating the entire region.

The Anapo is the largest river. Its source is located on the slopes of Monte Lauro, north of the Hyblaean hills. It flows for 59km south of the Catania plain, irrigating it as well as the Syracuse plain. It reaches its mouth in the Syracuse "Porto Grande", at the side of the Ciane, a small and short river fed by the Anapo. The course of the Anapo flows largely inside deep gorges, therefore known as Anapo, which means 'invisible' in Greek.

The Dirillo River is the other great river that delimits the Hyblaean hills at the west side. Its source is located on the southern side of Catania, in the town of Vizzini, on the slopes of Mount Lauro. It flows 54km westward to the town of Piano Rizzo, in the so-called sea of Gela, on the south coast of Sicily.

The Tellaro River is also quite long, reaching 45km. Its source is situated on Mount Erbesso in a locality known today as Giarratana. Its course reaches the ancient city of Akrai and then, 30km south of

Syracuse, it flows into the Heloros River, in the city of the same name, city about which, as well as about Akrai, we shall refer to later. Incidentally, it is necessary to register that this river appears in the ancient textual sources either with the name of Heloros or of Asinaros.

The Irminio River (or Irminio, name derived from Hermes, *Regione Siciliana*, p. 3) is also long, 55km, and is considered by the historiography as the western boundary of "southeastern Sicily". Near its mouth on the south coast of Sicily, Syracuse founded the town of Kamarina, as we shall later see. In fact, Kamarina was founded between the Irminio and the Hipparis, the latter a more modest watercourse (28km) born in Monte Serra di Burgio. Kamarina built a rock-dug port at the Hippari's mouth.

Lastly, the Cassibile, Kakuparis in Greek, a 30km watercourse also born in the vicinity of Akrai on the southern slopes of Mount Lauro, has its mouth in the Ionian Sea at 23km south of Syracuse. Despite its many gorges due to its mountainous course, its estuary is already a flatter and lower area. Actually, this is practically no estuary as here the Cassibile runs underground until it flows into the open sea (*Regione Siciliana*, p.2).

On the coast of eastern Sicily, we found small promontories, protected bays and gulfs, suitable for the establishment of ports, preferred sites of the first Greek foundations, such as the *apoikiai* of Naxos, Catania, Megara Hyblaea and Syracuse. Other *apoikiai* used the mouth of rivers flowing from the Hyblaean hills to install river ports, including rock-dug ones like those of Heloros and Kamarina, settlements which will be discussed below.

The fertile plains, irrigated by these rivers descending from the Hyblaean hills in southeastern Sicily, may not be as extensive as the great plain of Catania, but they are many and very fertile: one, situated west of Syracuse, almost reaching Akrai and to the south passing by Cassibile; the other, reaching west and south of Heloros, following the Tellaro River valley and reaching as far as Capo Passero; and the plain of Kamarina between the Irminio and the Hipparis, connecting to the north with that of the Dirillo valley that borders Gela. It is also worth mentioning the Ragusa plain, between the Irminio and the tip of southeastern Sicily (MAP 2).

II. THE SIKELS IN SOUTHEASTERN SICILY BEFORE THE FOUNDATION OF SYRACUSE

During the period before the foundation of Greek *apoikiai*, the entire southeastern Sicily region, with its landscape structured from the Hyblaean hills, was dominated by the Sikel population. Thucydides relates that before the arrival of the Greeks the island of Sicily had been populated by two other groups besides the Sikels: the Sikans and the Elymians. According to Thucydides, the Sikans called themselves autochthonous, although in ancient times they had came from Iberia; on the other hand, the Elymians were the refugees, defeated in the Trojan War, who had settled in the westernmost part of the island.

The Sikels (*sikelos* in Greek) who settled on the eastern coast of Sicily had migrated more recently from the Italian Peninsula, pushed by groups that came from the north of the peninsula (Latinos, Opticians, Umbrians, and Sabines?). The island that today bears the name of Sicily would thus have received, in ancient times, a variety of names according to the people who inhabited it: first of all Trinakria (three points), Sikania (of the Sikans) and Sikelia (of the Sikels) (Thuc. VI 2).

Linguistic and archaeological studies have attributed veracity to Thucydides' account of the Sicilians' migration from Central Italy, even through the period in which this occurred is still under discussion: at the end of the Bronze Age?; at the beginning of the Iron Age?; at some point in the 1000s?; at the end of the Iron Age?

It should be noted that, since prehistoric times, shared cultural traces between the southern Italian Peninsula and the northern coast of Sicily have been registered. In this sense, throughout the Tyrrhenian basin, the role of the Aeolian Islands (in northeastern Sicily) in the sharing of traces has become evident by archaeological research findings (LEIGHTON, 1999, p.3-4).

In general, it is accepted that the Sikels occupied the eastern part of the island, the Sikans the center-south, and the Elymians the northwest. However, it is difficult to establish boundaries between these peoples. The sharing of traces between them, throughout the Iron Age until the arrival of the Greeks in the 8th century, had been always very intense. Nevertheless, we can say that when the Greeks arrived on the eastern coast of Sicily, from north to south, these were exactly the groups they found: the Sikels.

The stage of development during which they were found is named by the researchers 'Pantalica-south' (850-730). The culture archaeologically defined as Pantalica has been recorded since the 13th century and is widespread throughout southeastern Sicily, although its center is thought to be in the Anapo valley. Its 'southern' phase seems to correspond to a renewal that some authors relate to the arrival of Sikels (VOZA, 1980, p. 37-38); or even to the arrival of Greeks. These are hypotheses that still require further evidence. This renewal responds to a greater social cohesion represented by greater standardization of traces (MILITELLO, 2008, p.45). Even today, in many of these settlements it is possible to understand how the place chosen for their installation met clear criteria of landscape control, both visual and auditory: you see what happens, but you can also hear it.

In general, the Pantalic culture is characterized by a settlement pattern which is described as the "primary use of valleys associated with the control / domination from high hilltop settlements" (MILITELLO, 2008, p.45). The use of rock-dug caves, housing and necropolis is widely found throughout the region. At this stage, the most characteristic settlements are to be found far from the coast. The coastal sites typical of the Bronze Age seem to have lost their preeminence as politically and economically strong centers: some are depopulated if not abandoned. The bibliography insists on the fact that the Sikel society of this period is a weakly stratified society, not urbanized, very fluid and mobile. The settlement pattern indicates a more

decentralized world. From a more sophisticated society of the Bronze Age (13th-11th centuries), with an uneven distribution of wealth, specialized craftsmanship, an elitist / aristocratic ideology, perhaps stimulated by the connectivity with the East, and characteristic of this time in the Mediterranean, the 10th and 9th centuries brought a "more endogenous or more West-oriented political, social and economic realignment". The profound changes that took place in the eastern Mediterranean around the 1200s may indeed be the major reason for this realignment (LEIGHTON, 2000, p. 18). Thus, the social groupings characteristic of the final stages of the Pantalica culture at the beginning of the Iron Age can be described as "*tribal* entities characterized by more uniform or less ostentation burials and less funeral furniture" … there is also a "distance from an elitist ideology of the preceding period and a proximity to a more collectivist and egalitarian *ethos* noticeable in the diffusion of utilitarian products to the detriment of luxury goods" (LEIGHTON, 2000, p.18). The excavated burials and the recovered mortuary plaster, however, attest to the permanence of the division of labor (qualified production of metal objects and ceramics in the lathe) and a greater valuation of metallurgical work to the detriment of ceramic work. In the Hyblaean hills, which later will become the hinterland of Syracuse facing southern Sicily, there are numerous 9th and 8th centuries small Sikel settlements, installed on higher slopes, dominating the fertile plains of Ispica and Comiso: Ragusa, Castiglione, Cava dei Servi, Canicarao, Cava d'Ispica, Giarratana (where the Tellaro River has its source), Chiaromonte (in the vicinity of Ragusa, Akrillai and Scornavacche, to be addressed later in this text), and Modica, all of them having their epicenter in the locality of Hybla (Di STEFANO, 1987, p.132). Findings in these settlements show their insertion between the 10th and the 13th centuries in the western Mediterranean surroundings, with links to Sardinia and the Iberian Peninsula. Here, indeed, the wealth of burials points to the social hierarchy and specialization of labor, in this case, by means of furniture showing sophisticated metal pieces.

We must reinforce, in the context that interests us concerning the arrival of the Greeks in Sicily, that there is no technological *gap* between these Sikel populations and the Greeks; there are, anyway, social differences, differences in worldview, posture before the land and the territorialization of society (LEIGHTON, 2000, p.19; 1999, p.221; MILITELLO, 2008, p.45; ALBANESE PROCELLI, 1996, p.167).

These are, therefore, the Sykels that the Greeks met during their visits to southeastern Sicily from the beginning of the 8th century. Indeed, there is archaeological evidence confirming that the eastern coast of Sicily and the southeastern part – our area of interest – were being visited by Greeks of Euboia and Cyclades since at least the beginning of the 8th century[5]. These used, preferably the route of the Anapo and

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[5] The evidence of the presence of Greek, Euboeans, Cyclades and Corinthians before the 'official' foundation of the *apoikiai* registered by textual sources, is based on the chronology of pottery vessels found mainly in inland indigenous cemeteries and of diversified archaeological material. There is much discussion about these chronologies, whether these are actually deposits from the early 8th century or whether their dating may slide towards the end of the same century indicating that they are deposits subsequent to the foundations of the Greek settlements. The general tendency,

then of Dirillo rivers, where their passages left material traces that have been recovered, especially the presence of Greek pottery objects. In fact, before the Greek 'official foundations', there seems to have been a settlement of Chalcidians in Thapsos, 20km north of Syracuse. However, the oldest Greek material found in southeastern Sicily dates from the first half of the 8th century and was found in what is today the village of Villasmundo, north of the Anapo.

In Castelluccio, located in the valley of the Tellaro River, 30km south of Syracuse, Corinthian presence in the first half of the 8th century has also been attested. The Greek presence is also, and largely, registered in various Sikel settlements after the beginning of the *apoikiai* foundation in the second half of the 8th century, as well as in inland sites in what is today Modica, Ossini, Cocolonazzo di Mola and Lentini, indicating the survival of Sikel settlements and the good relationship between these and the newly arrived Hellenes (CORDANO, 1980, p.31). We will return later on this subject.

It is believed that some of these Sikel sites (or Hyblaean as some authors call them in reference to the Hyblaean hills) have served as commercial warehouses for the dissemination of Greek material into the interior of the island (GUZZO, 2011, p.190). Some archaeological findings, although sporadic and scattered throughout this region of Sicily (Avola, Solarino, Noto and also Gela on the southern coast of Sicily) also indicate the presence of Corinthian material (GUZZO, 2011, p.190-191).

Indeed, it is possible to draw, from the archaeological material, a reconnaissance travel itinerary as undertaken by the Corinthians before the foundation of Syracuse: not only are Corinthian remains recorded on the eastern coast of Sicily as they also seem to have explored the south coast of the island around Capo Passero and sailed to the mouth of the Dirillo, where later Gela would be founded by Rhodian and Cretans (GUZZO, 2011, p.192 -193).[6]

One also has to wonder why the first Greek *apoikiai* in Sicily were always located on the eastern coast of the island, although the south coast had already been explored. A simple answer is the fact that it is the first point touched in the island when coming from Greece. One the one hand, it is also very likely that

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however, is to accept that before settling into more definitive forms of settlements, the Greeks did indeed have a phase of reconnaissance with the Sikels, sometimes even conviviality, and then settled for a more permanent installation (Albanese Procelli, 1996, p.169; Cordano, 1986, p.29-30; Guzzo, 2011, p.17-18; and Leighton, 2000, p.15-17 for the terms of the discussion). This is a tendency registered by the archaeological material in Sicily in general and also in Southern Italy (see the case of Metaponto in summary form in Florenzano, 2012 and for Magna Graecia in general Torelli, 2014, p. 349ss).

[6] Among the reasons for the Corinthian endeavor to venture into an expansion to the West of the Mediterranean, accompanying Euboeans and Phoenicians, the vicissitudes of the rise to power of the Bacchiadae tyranny and the power displayed in the eastern Mediterranean in this period must be considered (GUZZO, 2011 , p.196-199). We will not deal here in depth with this question because it is not decisive for the subject we are discussing, although it may shed light on our conclusions about the organization of the Syracuse hinterland. Also, we will not go into the today much debated question about the reasons that led to the expansion of Greeks across the Mediterranean from the Aegean. The terms of this debate can be followed in D'Ercole, 2012, p.13-21 and Bouffier et al., 2012, p.5-20, with previous bibliography.

the occupation of the Island by the indigenous population[7], very much widespread in the hinterland, has been a factor of difficulty to the immediate control. On the other hand, one must also consider that the 'Phoenician' factor had some influence in this first choice, since they circulated throughout the Mediterranean from before the 8th century and were already established in western Sicily (GUZZO, 2011, p.191-192).

III. THE FOUNDATION OF SYRACUSE

It is Thucydides who informs us, and with great precision, about the arrival of the Greeks in Sicily and the beginning of the "official" *apoikiai* installations from the second half of the 8th century. His account has been always understood by historiography as the record of a structured process of the departure, from Balkan Greece, of expeditions guided by instructions from the oracle of Delphi in search of new stoppages for a considerable contingent of Greeks. In the case of the founding of Syracuse, Thucydides (VI 3) says: "Syracuse was founded by Arkhias, one of the Heraclids of Corinth, after having expelled the Sikels of what was then the island, which today is no longer surrounded by water, in which the inner city now exists; in later times the outer city was attached to it by its walls and became also very populous". The mention of the eviction of Sikels turned the violent military character of these Dorians, the founders of Syracuse, into the recognition of the intrinsic character – if we may say so – of this *apoikia*, serving as a key for understanding the later actions undertaken by it. As much as the authority of this important source constituted by the text bequeathed by Thucydides must always be considered, it cannot be ignored that the fact that these lands were already occupied by local populations, even if dispersed, triggered particular processes of contact. At the same time, the power struggle, whether economic or political, by the different groups of Greeks and indigenous peoples led to unprecedented forms of configuration of these societies. And if the course of the occupation promoted by the Greeks has often involved violence and eviction of Sikels from their original places, it is necessary to take into account that this process has also involved social coexistence and sharing of solutions to face common problems, and even, in the case of Syracuse's expansion, towards the hinterland of southeastern Sicily.

In fact, archaeological research has brought great acuity to the various types of contact processes that occurred between populations previously settled in this area of Sicily and the Hellenes: be it the violent, destructive expulsive power and domination of one group over the other, or be it the cultural contact in which both sides have adapted to common forms of life and shared territories.

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[7] It is always necessary to explain that the non-Greek populations of areas that came into contact with the Greeks in the Mediterranean have been, for decades, improperly called by the specialized literature by the name of 'indigenous peoples'. In this text, we try to use the expression "non-Greeks" to the extent possible, even though the dialogue with the specialized bibliography requires de use of "indigenous.

It must also be assumed that Greek colonization in Sicily did not occur without prior knowledge of the region by the Greeks, as we tried to make it clear above, and that it had been a long and continuous process.

As Federica Cordano indicates, in her very appropriate statement, "it should be noted that there was no chronological succession in 8ᵗʰ century Sicily before and after the Greek colonial expansion. Archaeological findings show how before the 'officialization' of the foundations, Greek presence is strongly registered in the Sikel settlements and how these settlements, in one way or another, continued to exist near Greek cities when founded and in close proximity to them, often choosing the Greeks as preferential partners for all kinds of exchange" (CORDANO, 1986, p.29-30; cf 4 above).

In order to advance knowledge on how Syracuse dealt with its hinterland, it is worth recalling that there were no major cultural or technological differences between Greeks and Sikels: two Mediterranean societies presenting many common features (ALBANESE PROCELLI, 1996, p.167; MILITELLO, 2008, p.45; LEIGHTON, 1999, p.221). However, the Greeks had already an internal organization that was compact and structured in such a way as to lead them to occupy and take advantage of the territory. This is perhaps the main and most specific characteristic of these Greeks who left the Aegean in search of power that in the 8ᵗʰ century was mainly based on the possession of territories and territorial bases for the contact and acquisition of goods that did not exist in the eastern Mediterranean. Today, material evidence available allows us to state that the polis, as a socio-economic and political structure, was still being developed in the Aegean and that it is not possible, at this moment, to speak of 'urbanization'. Corinth and Megara, which founded, respectively, Syracuse and Megara Hyblaea, were no more than thin settlements with nearby water sources and tombs, and the delimitation / structuring of a polity *khora* in this period is not attested to by any source (SALMON, 1984, p.75-81; LEGON, 2004, p.463). On the contrary, Greek urbanization and the definition of territories under the rule of a city seem to have received a significant contribution from the *apoikiai* founded in the West (FLORENZANO, 2009: 93 ff.). We further emphasize that the Hellenic cohesion has, certainly, strengthened itself in the search for land beyond the Aegean and by settling in territories already occupied by other populations. Also, as mentioned above, the Sikels had less cohesion, were more dispersed in the territories under their control, had a less sophisticated social stratification and a more fluid society. It is also believed that in Sicily, as a whole, due to this dispersed configuration in the territory of these indigenous groups and settlements mainly on the high hills, there was a good amount of land to be cleared from its forests and to be used for productive activities as agriculture and animal husbandry or even forestry (D'ERCOLE, 2012, p.61).

It is within this general framework of interpretation that the foundation, *ktisis*[8], of the Syracusan *apoikia* by the Corinthians, should be located. After the exploratory voyages that led these Corinthians to the mouth of the Dirillo River on the south coast of Sicily, they decided to settle in Ortygia, a small promontory almost separated from the greater island (now an islet attached to Sicily by two bridges) to the north of the estuary of the Anapo on the eastern coast of Sicily. Both the promontory and the mainland just in front of it had been occupied by the Sikels for centuries, as registered by archaeological excavations (CORDANO, 1986, p.34). There is also a record of some, even if slightly, Greek, specifically Euboia-Cycladic, frequentation, already in the first half of the 8th century in Ortygia (CORDANO, 2006, p.466).

A classic account of the founding of Syracuse is presented by Thucydides, quoted above. According to this author, as we have seen, the city was founded by Arkhias, one of the Heraclids of Corinth, one year after the founding of Naxos (further north on the eastern coast of Sicily) by the Chalcidians and Naxos from the Cyclades in the Aegean. Scholars agree that this would have happened around 733 (CORDANO, 1986, p. 28). Although the account by the written sources concerning the foundation of Syracuse has anecdotal elements (e.g. leaving Corinth because of having murdered his lover) it is very probable that the foundation of this *apoikia* had been decided in the middle of political disputes in Corinth, between the Bacchiadae and those who were philo-Argives, among them Arkhias himself (MANNI, 1974, p.87, apud GUZZO, 2011, p.194-196). In any case, it is the thucydidean account, coated with its usual authority, the one that has always guided and served as a starting point for archaeological research in Syracuse. But the analysis of archaeological material from excavations, since the works of Paolo Orsi in the early 20th century, presents numerous challenges that sometimes contradict and sometimes complement Thucydides' text. According to Guzzo, who analyzes all the records of excavations carried out in Ortygia with rich details, today it is difficult to confirm with the support of Archeology the violent process during the official foundation of this *apoikia*, as Thucydides' tells us (GUZZO, 2011, p.201-203). What we know is that there is a deeper level, clearly pre-Greek, Sikel, with no traces that could detect Hellenic presence. There are, at the bottom, levels of destruction, but these are seemingly contemporaneous levels of non-destruction in which Sikel material is recorded to be mixed with Greek material. Worthy of record is the finding of the existence of huts, typically in the undisturbed context dating back to the official date of the founding of the *apoikia*, beneath the Ionian temple (Artemision?) in the vicinity of the main square of Greek Ortygia (CORDANO, 1986, p.33). These Sikel huts are dated, in principle, from the very moment of the founding of Syracuse, registered by the discovery of an altar and sacrificial vestiges in this same square (VOZA, 1999). Likewise, research on the archaeological Greek necropolis of Fusco in Syracuse, in *terra firma* and not in Ortygia, indicates transformations in the Greek funeral rite by local influence, especially with regard to the deposition of funeral offerings. It is as if

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[8] Greek term used in general by the specialized bibliography to designate the act of founding a new settlement.

the indigenous people had been incorporated into Greek society to the point of being buried in the same way or in the same graveyard as the Greeks (LEIGHTON, 1999, p.236). Whatever the assumed position (violence or not at the time of foundation) in any historical interpretation of the development of Greek cities in Sicily one always returns to the Thucydides record. Thus, the discussion of the military and expansionistic character of Syracuse that contrasts with a 'commercial' nature of the euboia / chalcidic expansion is a recurrent theme in the bibliography in general (ALBANESE PROCELLI, 1996, p.170). There is no escape from this interlocution with a textual source as respected as Thucydides. However, Archeology has on many occasions shown how the Syracusans also interacted peacefully or in alliance with the Sikels, and how also the Chalcidians became involved in violent episodes whether with the Sikels or with the Greeks themselves.

Regarding the *installation and organization of a Syracuse hinterland*, the main questions are evident: how did these Corinthians, who previously made exploratory expeditions along the coast of Sicily and sometime later chose a definite place and in it settled permanently and how they appropriated land where they could cultivate as to guarantee their survival and guarantee their way of life that privileged the possession and dominion of territories?; and, with what human contingent or with what manpower would they cultivate / occupy / use these lands? What human contingent came from Balkan Greece to secure this occupation?

Once again, we can start from evidence offered by a written source, the testimony of Herodotus, an ancient author equally respected as a source on Greek antiquities.

Herodotus (VII 155, 2), explaining an episode of the 5th century, tells us that "due to the fact that the Syracusans named *gamoroi* were evicted from Syracuse by the people and by their own slaves, named *kyllirioi*, Gelon brought them back ....." Who are the *Gamoroi* and who are these *Kyllirioi* and what would they have to do with the organization and / or exploitation of the *khora* of Syracuse?

Both terms are mentioned by other written sources, leading to more precise explanations: already in 6th century *gamoroi* would be those who decided upon common topics in the city relating to their land properties: *ge* = land; *moreo* = receive a part in lottery. In the case of Syracuse, the vocabulary refers to a hierarchy in relation to the ownership of land, constructed over time: from a first division of land at the time of the foundation of the *apoikia* until a later moment when the inequality caused by the position gained by those who 'arrived first' generated a conflictive situation.[9] About the *kyllirioi*, it is generally accepted – and here the testimony of Aristotle is a very strong one (Frg 586 Rose) – that these comprise dependent populations of Sikels reduced since the foundation of the *apoikia*. According to Guzzo, this would be a practice equally documented for other *apoikiai* of the Greek West like Cuma, Zancle, Locris and Sybaris (2011,

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[9] See D'Ercole, 2012, p.59-61 for an up-to-date discussion on this issue, as well as for the list of other written sources on the subject, in addition to Herodotus.

p.202). It is noteworthy that, even if these *kyllirioi* are described by the written sources as an ethnic group subject to servitude, it is not possible to say that they were a compact block of population, or rather, that all the Sikels had been reduced to servitude and that there would be no nuance in this contact between Greeks and Sikels, also in relation to the possession and occupation of territories. This is what we will try to demonstrate next in more detail. As Guzzo tells us, the archaeological documentation and its analysis of the distribution in space allows us to establish at least two main spheres in the relationship between the Sikels and the Greeks: first, the centers and areas farthest from the Greek *apoikiai* where the indigenous people continued to live in their own way, even though they were influenced by the Greek presence on the coast and by trade with them; and, second, those indigenous people were forced to live within the Greek polis or in the more immediate hinterland. Among the latter, Guzzo also distinguishes indigenous women married to Greeks and, on the other hand, both men and women constrained to work either on land or in other activities(GUZZO, 2011, p.202 - 203). But this scheme was perhaps not so rigid: burials show that from the 6th century, more and more Greek customs were adopted, leading us to think of Greeks living among indigenous people, even inland; or indigenous people who adopted Greek lifestyle. It is worth recalling the role played by the indigenous elites who valued Greek objects in order to mark their power. There were very rich indigenous burials, including during the period studied by us, painted Greek vessels. It is also noteworthy, and this is a fact already trivialized by the bibliography, that of the adoption by the indigenous elite of specific Greek banquet ware: cups, craters, *oinochoai.* Containers also present in metal-rich burials, rich also according to the type of tomb, data that led scholars to suppose the incorporation of banqueting by indigenous people (LEIGHTON, 1999, p.244-245).[10] Also, mixed marriages are an interesting fact that has been discussed since the 1970s in relation to the installation of Greeks in the western as well in the eastern *apoikiai* (in the Black Sea, for example) (VAN COMPERNOLLE, 1981, p. 1037 ff.). It is thought that in the expeditions women would generally not have accompanied men and these, once settled, would take local inhabitants as wives. The hypothesis set 'in the wake of memories' preserved in one or another remaining textual fragment (for example, the very famous episode of the Sabina kidnapping, which even yielded a Hollywood movie), gained some evidence in the many excavations of tombs in 8th century cemeteries and beginning of the 7th in Sicily, as already mentioned in relation to the Fusco graveyard in Syracuse. In fact, there are numerous burials of women richly adorned with typically indigenous props in cemeteries characterized as Greek. Even if Greek women have come from Greece on successive trips, it is thought that

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[10] The introduction among the indigenous elite of wine consumption and banquet practice, as attested by the material document, is very much dealt with by the literature on the Greek West, including not only Sicily, but also Magna Graecia, southern France, and Spain. In fact, the role of the elites in approaching the 'conquerors' is not unknown in other historical contexts. FORA DA MARGEM

they would always be fewer in number than men. And a document, found in an excavation taken place in Syracuse at levels of the first generation of Greeks, draws attention to a Sikel woman's name appearing in a *pyxis* with Corinthian characters.[11]

In any case, should not escape our horizon the fact that the Sikel identity remains strong and evident even in the 5th century when the Greek dominion in Sicily was already consolidated: it is sufficient to recall Ducetius' leadership among the Sikels and his capacity in establishing alliances with some Greeks against other Greeks, or even the episodes of alliances between Greeks of Kamarina with Sikels to fight the metropolis of this polis, Syracuse (CARDETE DEL OLMO, 2007; Di STEFANO, 1987, p.197).

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Thinking of understanding the strategies created by Syracuse to construct a *khora* that gave it political and economic autonomy in the face of Sikels and other groups of Greeks recently settled on the Island, we will analyze individually the settlements that the Syracusans promoted in order to control an extensive territorial area in southeastern Sicily. We will see that Syracuse adopted the strategy of establishing outposts to "encircle" the area to be dominated in 130 years: Heloros, Ackrai, Kasmenai and finally Kamarina. Using elements of the landscape, Syracuse created, from these outposts, defensive and communication passages as to structure a network of domination 'leaked' or 'dispersed' in the territory, but gradually being occupied – with greater or less success – by groups of Greeks or Hellenized Sikels (also of 'Sikelized' Greeks...) whose *polis* was Syracuse. This occupation strategy sustains the most perfect sense of the term 'frontier' as a forward territory, above which it is intended to throw a controlling net.

We understand that the Syracuse *khora* may have been initially, at least for the first generation arriving from Greece, installed on the immediate mainland of Ortygia, by means of a lottery drawing as prescribed in the ancient written sources. (Asheri, 1966) In the specific case of Syracuse, the famous anecdote that appears in Archilochus (first half of the 7th century BC) is always remembered. According to it, a certain Aithiops of Corinth, traveling in Arkhias expedition to Syracuse, starved and, hungry, he exchanged the plot he had the right to in the new *apoikia* for a honey cake. (Fr. 293 West) It is, undoubtedly, the rescued memory of procedures in the establishing foundations. Tradition registers that Archilochus himself, originally from the island of Paros, was the son of Telesicles, the founder of a parian *apoikia* in Thasos. But the absence of data is a hindrance to any kind of more detailed conclusion on the subject.[12]

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[11] See Guzzo, 2011, p.203 for an up-to-date discussion on this topic with previous bibliography.

[12] There are few cases in which any document, whether material or textual, allows conclusions about these issues at such further back date. One of the paradigmatic cases comes from Metapontum, in Magna Graecia, an *apoikia* founded in c. 630. Here, excavations show plots of land in *khora* farms, especially in the 5th and 4th centuries. But in some localities, there seems to have been plots since the installation at the end of the 7th century.

IV. A THE HINTERLAND OF SYRACUSE: THE EVIDENCE

Heloros

The urban center of Heloros is located approximately 30km from Syracuse, on the south coast of Sicily, on a small flat promontory at 30 / 50m above sea level. The settlement is situated on a strip of fertile land, between the rivers Cassibile to the north and Heloros (now Tellaro) to the south: "a promontory over the sea, dominating a wide landscape, where at the bottom the river flows, an excellent condition for the creation of a port " (COPANI, 2005, p.275). And here, north of the mouth of the Heloros River, a port was excavated in the tuff as a river channel. According to Basile (1988, p.59), in Greek times the course of this river was different then what it is today: now its water cover the first seats of the local theater, also excavated in the tuff. The urban center of Heloros was walled, most likely at the time of its foundation (COARELLI and TORELLI, 1984, p.287). The communication with the north and the south were secured by means of the placement of doors in both directions. In addition, the city's urban network was controlled by a road axis which ran from one door to the other and was almost all carved into the rock. Even today, this is perfectly detectable, as well as the traces left by wheels (site visited in 2014). Leaving the North Gate, one has access to Via Helorina, which led (until today!!) to Syracuse, and after 50m from the walls, to an archaic shrine dedicated to Demeter and Kore where attendance can be dated between the 6th and the 4th centuries from examining the numerous votive offerings found there. Via the South Port you can access the port and the mouth of the Tellaro River (VOZA, 1973, p.117-119). The textual sources sporadically mention the city, indicating that it had been, in different moments, under the direct control of Syracuse: Pindar mentions the Heloros River as a landscape of mythical episode (Pind. *Nem.* IX 40); Herodotus refers to a battle between Syracusans and the troops of the tyrant Hippocrates of Gela in Heloros, which would have occurred in 493 (Hdt. VIII, 154), and Thucydides refers, on several occasions, to the 'Via Helorina' linking Syracuse to Heloros (COARELLI and TORELLI, 1984, p.284-285; FISCHER-HANSEN et al., 2004, p.195). By the end of the 19th century, Paolo Orsi had identified the site at the mouth of the Tellaro (1899). Recent and more in-depth archaeological studies have shown that this city was, in all likelihood, the first second degree *apoikia* founded by the Corinthians of Syracuse, probably around 700 (COARELLI e TORELLI, 1984, p.285; VOZA, 1973, p.117-119; COPANI, 2005, p.265).

About the location of Heloros, it is also necessary to register how highly strategic it was from the point of view of communication and access to resources: near the mouth of the Tellaro river (ancient Heloros), a long route of penetration into inland Sicily. Also, it was situated on a hill projected to the sea with a good harbor and still neighbor to a vast and fertile plain. It is also noteworthy mentioning the proximity to a number of inland Sikel sites, located either in the mountains or in the heights of the Tellaro valley and that flourished, especially in the late 8th and first half of the 7th (see below). Excavations in the 1970s and 1980s

in Heloros evidenced the presence of entirely Sikel context levels but with much Greek influence: Proto-Corinthian ceramic pottery fragments and a consistent context of Sikel geometric pottery imitating Greek art. Then, the levels show a more consistent Greek occupation with Proto-Corinthian ceramic where structures built – quadrangular environments, 4m x 4m – were detected, identical to those found also in Ortygia (GUZZO, 2011, p.206-207 and COPANI, 2010, p.690). No levels of purely Sikel occupation have been recorded as in the inland nearby settlements. In fact, the settlements located in the interior course of the Tellaro River, south of Syracuse, were most likely to have received a supply of sikels that were retreating from the foundation of Greek *apoikiai* on the coast, especially after the weakening of Pantalica. It is thought that this movement have been due to the beginning of the 'official' foundations of *apoikiai*, especially Syracuse and Leontinos by the Chalcidians (FRASCA, 1996, p.139). Sikel settlements were excavated in ancient Noto, ancient Avola, Tremenzano and Finocchito. The main settlement at the end of the 8th century, on the upper Tellaro, is, without a shadow of a doubt, Finocchito: a populated center where demographic density is attested by about 570 tombs excavated in the necropolis at that time (almost no residential area was found) and calculated over several hundred inhabitants between 730 and 650 (LEIGHTON, 1999, p.242; 2000, p.39). Monte Finocchito represents a true Sikel fortress: situated at the very top of the mountain, surrounded by a powerful wall probably built in this second half of the 8th century (LEIGHTON, 2000, p.39), defended themselves from the Greeks of Syracuse but also traded with them as it is recorded in the numerous imports excavated among the burial furnishings of the tombs. This purely indigenous reference is lacking in Heloros. The abandonment or the decadence of Finocchito is registered in the archaeological documentation in approximately the middle of the 7th century (LEIGHTON, 1999, p. 244).

The current interpretation of this documentation, based on Syracuse's later history, and the *topos* of violent and militarized Syracuse expansion, is that this polis, preoccupied with its penetration into the interior by means of the various rivers that crossed this southern tip of Sicily, occupies this Sikel site, Heloros, evicts the indigenous inhabitants, so as to have direct access to the mouth of the Tellaro: the settlement would then be a 'first colony' of Syracuse (in the terminology of Torelli and Coarelli mentioned above), a military outpost aimed as a defensive stronghold against the Sikels and an attempt to delimit the Syracusan *khora* (COPANI, 2010, p.689).

At this regard, two facts come to the attention: the precocity of this "foundation" already during the first generation os founders and the considerable distance in relation to Ortygia, main nucleus of the *apoikia*: 30km.

Which Greeks have populated this vicinity? Were there such a large number of new arrivals as to allow a Greek installation 30km away from Syracuse? And which one among the various interpretation keys – military, political, economic, territorial – is the most plausible in the light of the data we have?

In contrast, also the Cassibile river, according to scholars (COPANI, 2010, p.692), would perhaps constitute, at first, the southern limit of the Syracuse *khora*. Even so, this river mouth lies 23km south of the *apoikia*. How can we think of the occupation of such an extensive *khora* by a human contingent that had been reduced by force? How can one imagine the installation of a defensive outpost against the Sikels, whose settlements south of Syracuse have flourished at least up to 650?

It is our understanding that in any interpretation given to the textual and archaeological data concerning Heloros, the negotiation or the role played by the Sikels is a decisive factor. Heloros can, in effect, represent the first Sikel settlement promoted by Syracuse: an interpretation put forward by Copani (2010). According to this author, a renowned scholar of Heloros, in negotiation with the Sikels who were losing their lands near the *apoikia*, Syracuse installs them in this promontory in order to mark the southern limits of their dominion, and especially to defend the southeastern coast of Sicily from future Greek foundations. Were these *kylliriori*, servants dependent on the Syracuse elite of *gamoroi*? (GUZZO, 2011, p.206) It is not possible to give an answer to this question on the basis of archaeological and / or textual documentation. However, the use of Sikels and their presence in this settlement have been proven and clearly raise the question of the *necessity* of having an indigenous population in the Syracuse enterprise aiming at the extension of the territorial control in Southeastern Sicily.

Before leaving Heloros, we must mention a site located at its south, possibly of Syracusan affiliation: Ina (Di VITA, 1956, p.184, n.35 and Di STEFANO, 1987, tav. X). This site is mentioned by Cicero (*Contra Verres* iii, 103) and is presumed to be situated in the Gulf of Vindicari, which offers great shelter for ships sailing towards Capo Passero at the southeastern tip of Sicily, half way towards Kamarina (DUNBABIN, 1948, p.103-104). Ina was not identified archaeologically. On the one hand, it may rather have been another support spot for voyages around the Island. As Dunbabin says, we cannot be discouraged by negative documentation. On the other hand, Basile identified numerous moorings excavated in the tuff between Syracuse and Capo Passero. Maybe one of these can be identified as Ina (1988).[13]

Akrai

According to Thucydides (VI 5, 2) Akrai was founded by the Syracusans seventy years after the founding of Syracuse, in 664 BC according to estimate by specialists. This is confirmed by the discovery of Greek pottery dating back to shortly after that year (TORELLI and COARELLI, 1984, p.290).

The city was founded on an uneven Hyblaean hills terrace, west of Syracuse: it occupies an esplanade in the high valley of the Anapo, a terrace that decreases in altitude on successive terraces until the

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[13] Rock dugged structures are, of course, difficult to date and perhaps many of these berhts identified by B. Basile may be of different age periods than those we are dealing with in this text. In any case, they attest to a landscape of important resources to be mobilized by the sea routes.

coast of Porto Grande in Syracuse (former neighborhood known by the name of Polichne in ancient textual sources). It occupies a position where one has a view of the whole plain that reaches to Syracuse, 36km away. In its vicinity two rivers are born: besides the Napo, the Tellaro, the other big river of southeastern Sicily. Akrai was settled in an extremely strategic point, giving Syracuse the control of important access routes to the inland Sikel territories, the mountains, and Sicily's southern coast (Kamarina, Gela and Selinonte). As we have already mentioned, the Anapo served as a route by the Chalcidians installed in the northeast of Sicily and Akrai was placed precisely to create a Syracuse-dominated access to the interior, besides giving Syracuse the control of the whole area. It is evident that at least from that moment, Syracuse's intention was the expansion of its *khora*, of the territory under its control. As we said above, the indigenous nucleus of Pantalica, to the north, made it difficult for Syracuse to expand its area in that direction, just as Finocchito, the other great Sikel center of the south (from bird's eye view, Pantalica and Finocchito are separated by 25km only). The settlement of Akrai was placed on a small rocky hill steep on all sides, except for the east side, where the small town could be accessed by those who came from Syracuse. According to Torelli and Coarelli, it functioned as a true fortress destined to defend the Corinthian *apoikia* (1984, p.290). The idea of the defense function, also placed in relation to Heloros, can never be discarded. However, we believe that the fact that they are positioned 36km from Syracuse in the case of Ackrai and 30km in the case of Heloros clearly indicates an intention that reaches beyond the immediate defense of the *apoikia* and denotes a conviction / will, institutionalized / organized by Syracuse, of possession and control of the territory, of expansion of cultivable area and consequently of expansion of power.

Regarding Akrai, it is also necessary to say that this outpost had already been occupied since the Paleolithic and also that graves from the end of the Bronze Age were found nearby: to the south of the city in the hill of Pinita and in Buscemi (Information in the site visited in 2014, COARELLI and TORELLI 1984, p.290; and LEIGHTON, 1999, p.148). No doubt, its position of transition between the greater heights of the Hyblaean hills (Monte Lauro and Monte Casale) and the plain that ended at sea in Syracuse and near the valleys of two big rivers made of this location an extremely strategic and convenient one for the installation of settlements. The Syracusans were fully aware of it.

The inhabited area occupied approximately 33ha at an approximate altitude of 770m above sea level at maximum. The site has been excavated since the late 19th century, but excavations during the second half of the 20th century brought to light elements that clarify the importance Syracuse attached to its second-degree *apoikia*. In the first place, an urban road network was confirmed, as its visible vestiges date back to the Hellenistic period. However, stratigraphy data confirms that they recede to the time of the installation, in the 7th century. This road network appears to be very close to the layout of the various elements of the Syracuse road network itself. In it, the *plateia* or avenue, ran from east to west, going from the Syracuse gate to the Selinontine gate. Initially, the structure of a large temple dedicated to Aphrodite was identified in the

urban area, located in what would be the acropolis of Akrai, dating from the second half of the 6th century. Noteworthy here are vestiges under this temple that allow us to identify the use of this place for religious purposes since the 7th century (VOZA and LANZA, 1994, p.46).

It is interesting to emphasize the position of the articulating artery of the urban nucleus, the *plateia*, which as in Heloros linked one door to the other door in the walls, the east and the west doors, so that the city opened itself towards the intermediate territory between it and Syracuse, and towards the neighboring territory, theoretically 'unoccupied' in addition to Akrai to the west and towards other Greek cities of the south coast of Sicily. The names of these doors, recorded by later sources, quite possibly inform the memory of Akrai's role regarding the communication between Syracuse and the south coast of Sicily where Selinonte was founded by Megarians in 628 according to Thucydides (VI 4, 2) or in 651 according to Diodorus (XIII 59, 4), in any case founded near the foundation of Akrai.

Few data exist on the territory from Syracuse to Akrai. According to Di Vita, the area is 'dotted' by Greek presence, in a dispersed manner. He also notes that in the 'contrada' Cozzo Pantano there are signs in the rock attesting the abrasion caused by wheels always in east-west direction. And, still in Bagni, 3 km from Canicattini, groups of Greek houses dating from the 6th century BC (Di VITA, 1956, p.179) were excavated. More recent surveys indicate the "presence of farms and inhabited settlements with small necropolis in the Tellaro valley until its mouth " (VOZA and LANZA, 1994, p.46).

Kasmenai

The foundation of Kasmenai is, like that of Akrai, recorded by Thucydides: Kasmenai was also founded by the Syracusans almost 20 years after Akrai (and therefore 90 years after the founding of Syracuse), which is calculated in 644 (Thuc. VI 5, 2). Unlike Akrai, it took time before scholars identified the site where Kasmenai was founded: the locality was searched on the basis of Thucydides' text and, today, the arguments advanced by the critics lead to the identification of the site of this Syracuse foundation with Greek characteristics, excavated at the top of Monte Casale in the Hyblaean hills (Di VITA, 1956, p.185; 1961, p.70; COPANI, 2008, p.14). Kasmenai is located 12km west of Akrai and from where Monte Lauro can be seen towards the hinterland of Sicily, as well as the Dirillo valley.

As mentioned above, Mount Casale is, among the Hyblaean hills, the second highest after Mount Lauro. The site is on a plateau at 910m above sea level, surrounded by insurmountable escarpments mainly on the northeast and south sides. In addition, walls made of huge blocks of stone and with external turrets were identified (Di VITA, 1956, p. 189-90).

The southwest side of the plateau is a bit higher – called "acropolis" by archaeologists – and where a temple was erected. The plateau measures 1370m by 450m approximately and was totally occupied by an urban *sui generis* network: only streets in a north-west / southeast direction, and no transverse routes. The

other significant fact about this settlement is that in the sanctuary located in the 'acropolis' a votive deposit was found with an extraordinary quantity of iron weapons: 'around six hundred spearheads, dozens of daggers and knives, combat swords and prongs' (Di VITA, 1956, p.193). It should be emphasized that some of these armaments were miniaturistic, as usually were Greek offerings in initiation rites (GUZZO, 2011, p.208).

The choice of this location, the urban fabric, the walls and this votive deposit have led specialized critics to understand that this is a specifically military establishment. But the question still debated today is the _function_ of this military character: what was Syracuse's need to maintain a military outpost?; where does Kasmenai inserts itself in the Syracuse project in relation to its hinterland?

If, in the case of Akrai, in view of its position in the landscape, it is possible to say with some certainty that this locality closed the Syracuse plain, reserving or monitoring a large arable land connected to Syracuse, in the case of Kasmenai the situation is less evident due to its position, which is more recessed from the coast, and more turned out to the interior.

In a recent study about the votive deposit found in the temple structure at the Kasmenai 'acropolis', Milena Melfi concluded that the armaments found are mostly fabricated in typically Sikel shapes (MELFI, 2002). However, typical armament is always made of bronze and not of iron like these weapons found in the Kasmenai deposit. They cannot, therefore, be interpreted as weapons of indigenous Sikels defeated by the Greeks and offered in the sanctuary as some authors like to hypothesize, underlining the military expansionary character of Syracuse against the inland population. This researcher's studies lead to another hypothesis: those indigenous craftsmen worked hand in hand with the Greeks settled in Kasmenai (_apud_ COPANI, 2009, p.17). But what then is the threat faced by Syracusans in Kasmenai who led them to create this military post? Threat represented by other Greeks? Which ones?

The hypothesis advanced by Copani (2009, p.18-21) seems, for the moment, the most interesting and perhaps the right one. According to this author, firstly it is necessary to consider the name given by Syracuse to this foundation: Kasmenai. Indeed, following the language paths demonstrated by him, Kasmenai is a specific Sikel name, related to Kamenae, the name of Roman nymphs who were at some point identified to the Greek Muses (COPANI, 2009, p. 18). This would thus be one of the cases of kinship between Latins and Sikels (see above reflections on the origin of the Sikel from Central Italy). Moreover, nothing is so likely to be true than nymphs being worshiped in a place where sources of great rivers meet. Why would then Syracuse give a Sikel name to one of its foundations? It does not seem to be a defense settlement against Sikels. On the contrary, as in the case of Heloros, here too it seems that Syracusans and Greeks interacted less violently than the critics like to underline. Copani also draws attention to the excavated site in the vicinity of Kasmenai, in Monte Casasia. This last settlement, in the 8th century is characteristically a Sikel settlement, but in the 7th century, although it remained as a sikel settlement, the abundance of Greek imports is a

fundamental fact: indeed, from the second quarter of the 7th century until the beginning of the 6th century, these imports are especially Chalcidic, suggesting an 'insertion in the sphere of interest of Leontinos'. Monte Casasia, in fact, is at the heart of the articulation between the fertile plains of Leontinos / Catania (Chalcidic *apoikiai*) on the eastern coast of Sicily and the Dirillo valley, Gela's neighbor, on the south coast of the Island. With such installation of Gela in 688, Leontinos and Catania might have looked for a support in the route towards this new *apoikia*, exactly in Monte Casasia. Kasmenai can then be a Syracuse counterpart to the Chalcidic site in Monte Casasia. It can also be argued that the choice of site for the installation of Kasmenai (as well as of Monte Casasia) at the top of Monte Casale obeys a typical Sikel settlement pattern in the period: peak settlements having a visual and auditory control of the landscape.[14]

The foundation of Kasmenai represents, in our view, Syracuse's movement towards this same direction: the visual and auditory control of inland penetration by Chalcidians to take advantage of using the same route for the contact with the south coast. It is important to mention that Corinthian-type archaeological material also prevails in Monte Casasia, with some Gelian material, at the end of the 7th century, shortly before Kamarina was founded by the Syracusans, marking an change between the spheres of influence at this point of the route between eastern and southern Sicily (Di STEFANO, 1987, p.134; LEIGHTON, 1999, p.245-246).

Kamarina

The foundation of Kamarina is also reported by Thucydides (VI 5, 2) in the context of the foundation of both Akrai and Kasmenai. While their foundations are registered together by this historian, the foundation of Kamarina deserves a separate phrase and its founders must be mentioned: Dascon and Menecolos. Thucydides refers to one hundred and thirty-five years after the founding of Akrai, and, as estimated by scholars, in the year 598.[15] Therefore, and by the textual references around later episodes in the history of Kamarina, like the references about its autonomy in openly rebelling against its metropolis (already in 553, as Thucydides VI, 5,3 also reveals) and about supporting enemies of Syracuse, Kamarina was always considered by the critics as a true polis, while Akrai and Kasmenai would have been settlements as a 'prolongation' of Syracuse, thus directly dependent[16].

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[14] Peak settlements and the installation of peak sanctuaries were also frequent in eastern Greece at the end of the Bronze Age and the first Iron Age, not to be understood as a new pattern in Sicily. But it is interesting to mention that in the context of the Greek-Western expansion, the first *apoikiai* are placed almost entirely on the coast and Kasmenai, being a 'Greek' installation, is differentiated by adopting the Sikel standard settlement pattern of this period.

[15] The debate around the dates of the foundation of Akrai, Kasmenai and Kamarina that appear in Thucydides, Eusebius and other ancient sources is always taken up by critics. See Cordano, 1986, p.28 for the definition of the terms of the discussion.

[16] It is noteworthy mentioning that in the written documentation, Heloros, Akrai and Kasmenai also deserved the name '*polis*'. Hansen, 2004, should be consulted on the specific entries of each of these locations (Heloros, p.195, Akrai p.189, Kasmenai, p.205 and Kamarina, p.202).

Kamarina was installed on the south coast of Sicily, today at a distance of approximately 100km from Syracuse. The site chosen had been occupied since the Bronze Age: a promontory 60m above sea level, between the mouths of the smaller river Oanis (now Rifriscolaro) to the south and the Hipparis River to the north. It was on this north side also where the *apoikia* constructed a fluvial harbor, excavated in the tuff. In this same direction, the north, the Hipparis forms a swamp known in antiquity as *lacus camarinensis*, interconnected with the harbor. The promontory of Kamarina is, still today, a flat one, with a slight elevation to the center of the settlement, where a temple dedicated to the goddess Athena was placed. In the 4th century the settlement occupied an area of around 190ha. Situated a few meters above sea level, Kamarina dominated, towards the interior, west bound, a vast plain, with undulating hills, suitable for cultivation, and ending in the fringes of the Hyblaean hills. Although it was situated on the south bank of the Hipparis, shortly after crossing it, the adjoined plain reached the very fertile valley of the Dirillo River that bordered the *apoikia* of Gela founded by Cretans and Rhodeans in 688 (following once again Thucydidean VI 4, 3).

According to Di Stefano, in the 6th century Kamarina had a territory that stretched from the course of the Dirillo River to the west, to the lower course of the Irminio and the higher course of the Tellaro River to the east. Di Stefano also calculated this territory as covering an area of 67 to 70 square kilometers. Also according to Di Stefano, the limits with Gela were already consolidated in the 6th century (Di STEFANO, 1987, p. 131).

Archaeological data are abundant regarding Kamarina's inland territory, where numerous small localities were identified and excavated in the early 20th century by Paolo Orsi. Most (if not all) of those localities providing material documentation dating from the 8th and the 7th centuries are mixed communities: Greek / Sikel. It should be noted that among the findings there are some that even precede the founding of Kamarina. Depending on the locality, one can remark the predominance either of Greek or of local material. Let us take a look at the description of these locations made by their most recent excavators: Di Vita, Pelagatti, Di Stefano and Albanese Procelli.

We shall start with the site of Hybla (today situated in the vicinity of Ragusa). An important Sikel site that seems to have attracted much of the population 'pushed' inland by action of the *apoikiai* situated on the eastern coast of Sicily. As mentioned above, Hybla served as an epicenter to a number of Sikel sites located in its vicinity since the 10th century. From the 8th century, it can be said that Hybla responds to a settlement pattern that was common throughout the interior of southeastern Sicily in which the dispersed villages of the Iron Age become 'urban' population clusters, predominantly hilltop settlements (ALBANESE

PROCELLI, 1996, p. 169). Settlements that, beginning as early as the 6th century, gradually begin to adopt the orthogonal mesh of space organization.[17]

In Modica, a satellite settlement of Hybla, for example, from the end of the 8th century, Greek, Chalcidic and Corinthian imports gradually appear. Further north, on the upper Dirillo river in the fringes of the western side of the Hyblaean hills, in Castiglione, Licodia Euboea and Monte Casasia (neighbor to Monte Casale where Kasmenai was founded by the Syracusans) the presence of Sikels is reinforced as of the 7th century. It should be noted that here is where Sikel inscriptions making use of the Greek alphabet originate. Licodia Euboea and Monte Casasia are top hill settlements from the middle of the 7th century, located on either side of the Dirillo River, seemingly to control or follow the Greek penetration of Syracuse, as well as of Leontinos and Gela (FRASCA, 1996, p.144).

Castiglione was a lively settlement between the 8th and the beginning of the 6th century, although a typical indigenous site with houses clustered around common spaces and usually a silo for storage of grains. It had in its center a structure of 4m x 12m with characteristics of Greek *naiskos*, or a small sanctuary.

Another expressive example of the Greek presence in inland Sicily are the Rito necropolis findings, 1km from Hybla, where 76 Greek tombs having rich furniture, mainly Attic and Corinthian (6th century) were found (Di VITA, 1956, p.200, PELAGATTI, 1973, p.152). In Sikel sites more to the interior, there is also a great quantity of Greek material, although of inferior quality (PELAGATTI, 1973, p.152).

In order not to leave the coast completely outside, a Sikel site should be registered at the mouth of the Irminio, therefore south of Kamarina (Contrada Maestro - Scicli), dating from the 6th century. It presents a residential area in all similar to the structures found in Kasmenai (in-house courtyard and rooms arranged on one side only), but which seems to have been an emporium as the archaeological pottery that was found there is of various origins: Attic, Massaliot, Lesbian, etc. (DOMINGUEZ, 1989, p.220). It is worth recalling that the Irminio is a river descending from the heart of the Hyblaean hills and flowing through Hybla, a course between the south coast of Sicily and Syracuse to be consolidated only in the 5TH century (Di STEFANO, 1987, p.195).

Even when thinking of this place as a point of entry into the heart of the Sikel territory, its importance is also due to its performance as a port for circumnavigation around the eastern tip of Sicily, such as in Heloros and perhaps Ina. In Contrada Maestro, in fact, a port excavated in the tuff was also found on the Oanis stream.

In the 8th century, in the valley of the Dirillo, a river born in the slopes of Monte Lauro, especially Chalcidic Greek presence is found of Leontinos, Catania and Naxos origin, *apoikiai* situated on the central

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[17] It should be noted that this is not an exclusive pattern of southeastern Sicily as this is also found in many Sikel localities in the interior of the *apoikiai* located in Sicily's southern coast (as Gela and Agrigento; cf, for instance Vassallaggi) and in the northeast coast of the Island (ALBANESE PROCELLI, 1996, p.170).

north-eastern coast of Sicily. Also, at the end of the 8th century and throughout the 7th, Corinthian material is more evident but not unique, since the Gelian imports also appear here, as well as the Syracuse and Rhodian-Cretan presence in Gela. The ancient Greek road is more recognizable near Scornavacche, one of the sites where Greek presence has been recorded since the 6th century. Here, in a plateau that opens between the Dirillo and its tributary (west of what today is the Chiaromonte Gulfi), a small Greek site was excavated showing *emporium* features (very mixed material) or, according to Di Vita's interpretation, a caravan post (Di VITA, 1956, p.180). Regarding this site, occupied since the beginning of the 6th century, Di Vita indicates the possibility that this was a Greek Syracuse foundation, where an important archaic Greek necropolis of that time was excavated (Di VITA, 1956a, p.190 and 1956b, p.36-41 Di STEFANO, 1987, p. 142). According to Di Stefano, the route that passed directly by Hybla was avoided by the Greeks until at least the 5th century. This was a more mountainous region and of difficult access, also having had here, until that time, a more dense indigenous group (Di STEFANO, 1987, p. 142). Scornavacche was thus a shortcut step that avoided Hybla. In addition to Scornavacche, the sites with much archaic Greek presence in this area (7th and 6th centuries) are, above all, Akrillai (now neighboring Chiaromonte Gulfi), Castiglione and Bidis (now Acate). The presence consolidated in the later centuries (especially in the 4th century) when even orthogonal urban plans and Greek material evidence is abundant. The data indicated in the excavation reports on what would be the whole hinterland of Kamarina are innumerable. But it is also noteworthy that they register Greek presence from the middle of the 8th century onwards: thus independently of the foundation of Kamarina. Actually, with the founding of Kamarina in the early 6th century, Corinthian penetration seems to be consolidated along the Dirillo. However, as Paola Pelagatti (1973, p.151) states, with the assurance that only those researchers who have excavated many sites in the region can have, Kamarina always oscillated between Gela and Syracuse: the excavations in the city unveiled material of both Gelian and Syracuse influence. So much so that, at the mouth of the Dirillo, in Piano Pizzo, a junction of roads was identified: one arriving from the mountains, another towards Gela and another towards Kamarina. The 6th century site here excavated yielded mainly Corinthian material (Di STEFANO, 1987, p.140). Perhaps the fact that Kamarina was located between crossroads of influences was an important factor in its claim for independence, leading it to rebel against Syracuse, its metropolis, already 45 years after its founding (Thuc. VI 5, 3). As we address the data on the organization of the hinterland, the main question regarding Kamarina is the extent to which it is part or not of the Syracuse *khora*. Situated almost 100km from the metropolis, could we consider it as the institutionalization of an *eschatia*[18]? To what extent was Kamarina a dependent polis, as in Hansen's definition, and as others poleis were identified in the Greek world? (Hansen, 2004, p.87-95).

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[18]*Eschatia* is a term used by the ancient Greeks to define the farthest area of the central nucleus of a polis. See discussion in G. D. Rocchi. *Frontiera e confini nella Grecia antica*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1988 e M. Giangiulio L' *eschatiá*.

It is noteworthy that among the types of dependent polis established by the Copenhagen Polis Center, there is 'type 4', indicating Ambracia as a main example, a Corinthian *apoikia* in the Adriatic, defined in textual sources, as Thucydides' (for example in II, 9 and III, 105), as *polis*. And yet it remained a Corinth dependent *apoikia* (Hansen, 2004, p. 87 and 89). Likewise we can understand Corcyra, which was sometimes dependent on Corinth but obtaining its independence at a later date (GEHRKE and WIRBELAUER, 2004, p.361; SALMON, 1984, p.209-217 and 387-396). Hence, how to adjust the chronology of events that were defining the degree of independence of Kamarina in relation to an initial dependency status, if ever this one constituted Syracuse's first intention? To what extent did the control of access to the interior due to commercial or domain expansion lead to the disagreement between Kamarina and its metropolis? According to Di Stefano, it is possible to assert that there was a true *symmachia* (a military alliance) between Sikels and Kamarinians soon after the foundation of the Greek *apoikia* and the archaeological data confirms much of this intimacy (Di STEFANO, 1987, p.130; Di VITA, 1956, p.200). And according to written sources, the first uprising against Syracuse in 553 is the result of an alliance between Kamarina and the hinterland Sikels (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 5.4, FGr Hist 556, F5 *apud* Di STEFANO, 1987, p.197). Syracuse would have entered slowly through the Hyblaean hills, aiming at extending its hinterland to the south coast of Sicily and, once there, founding Kamarina, completing its dominion over all southeastern Sicily? Or would this *polis* have been founded as an eventual reduction of demographic density (as in the case of the foundation of Selinonte by Megara Hyblaea)? Or even due to the metropolis internal problems that would have led free peasants pursued by *gamoroi* to some kind of negotiation that would allow them to settle in a new city?

CONCLUSION

The studies on space organization among the Greeks in relation to the definition of *khora* lead us to explore topics such as land allocation and appropriation, spatial livelihood and boundary definition (www.labeca.mae.usp.br Project 2010-2104). However, research on southeastern Sicily reveals an almost complete absence of data – archaeological or written – that would help us to identify how the land was divided among the first ones who arrived and settled in Ortygia. Although we know that, possibly at the foundation of the *apoikia*, plots were assigned by lottery, and Archilochus' fragment mentioned above is eloquent in this regard, this is elusive information that does not allow us to advance any conclusion. On the one hand, we know nothing about the surveyors who measured the plots in the area, what was the extension of the area occupied by each plot, the size of these plots in Syracusan *khora*, their level of productivity, the

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Prospettive critiche su rappresentazione antiche e modelli moderni. *Problemi della chora coloniale dell'Ocidente al Mar Nero. Atti 40°. Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia (29 sett-3 ott 2000).* Nápoles: l'Arte Tipografica, Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia, 2001, p. 333-361.

type of cultivation or their distribution in relation to those living in the *asty* (the more urbanized central area of a polis). Also, there are few data on the function of land outside urban centers and we rely on interpretive exercises to draw the boundaries.

On the other hand, there is other type of information on the organization of Syracusan hinterland offered to us – and in great detail – by archaeological data. These are data that put us before a scenario of cultural contacts, negotiations and territorial expansion in the hinterland of Syracuse that may well be articulated from this statement by Whittaker (1994, p. 18): "What is our general concept of border and of the old frontier? ... The confines are not merely natural, but historically determined delimitations that, especially in the archaic era, may leave peripheral areas unoccupied. The idea of 'open' boundaries then emerges, permeable areas through which forms of contact are constructed, zones of passage and encounters are developed". Our discussion on Syracusan hinterland may begin, then, from the finding that to the north of Ortygia, the Anapo river marked a natural border, and of complicated transposition, where, soon after the foundation of Syracuse there were the *apoikiai* of Megara Hyblaea that controlled a plateau to the west, and of Catania and Leontinos that controlled or intended to control a huge cultivable plateau between the geomorphologic structure of Etna and Monti Peloritani or the Peloritani hills and the Anapo valley. This plateau reached almost the center of the Island. Although the Anapo flowed south of Ortygia, its course came from the north and naturally limited the expansion of the city. This threw Syracuse to an expansion of the *khora* towards the west and the south.

In the definition of a *khora* to the west, we can consider the later data of the construction of the walls of Syracuse by Dionysius I, at the end of the 5th century. According to Diodorus Siculus (XIV 18, 2-17), Dionysius considered the fragility of the city after having been easily invaded by the Athenians from the south, via Zeus extra-urban sanctuary and, therefore, decided to build defensive walls in view of eliminating this vulnerability. The contour of the wall, recovered by archaeology, shows that not only the city was protected in its most urbanized part, but also protected was a portion of the *khora* to the west. Another interesting data to be considered for the definition of the limits of Syracusan *khora* and to the south, but also with later dating, is the construction of the temple of Olympian Zeus in the area called Polichne, in the middle of "Porto Grande" bay, practically at the mouth of the Anapo, in a space placed just in front of Ortygia, on the other side of the bay. Dating from 600-580, Syracuse Olympieion is a typical extra-urban sanctuary and, as it is well known, it was erected by the Greeks in the *khora*, with the intention of protecting / marking the domination of a polis over a given territory, in what has already been called the sacred landscape of the territorialization of Greek cities (LAKY, 2013, p.74-75; VERONESE, 2006; De POLIGNAC, 1994).

From these considerations, we should seek the direction taken for the installation of Syracusan *khora*, in the west and in the south, and in this sense, the evidence discussed above speaks for itself.

Which conclusions can be drawn regarding the position of Syracuse, a Corinthian *apoikia*, as far as its hinterland goes?

1. Since its early years, Syracuse has sought to expand its borders to the south and to the west by installing Heloros and possibly Ina on the southern coast, and within 90 years of its founding, Akrai and Kasmenai. Until the beginning of the 6th century, it established the second degree *apoikia* of Kamarina on the southern coast of the Island, marking the territory westward. It can be said that after 135 years of its founding, the descendants of the founders of Syracuse have their presence well recorded throughout the southeastern corner of Sicily.

2. This presence is not marked by complete, deep domination, neither from the economic nor from the institutional / political point of view. On the contrary, it is a scattered presence, which, although reaching spots far from Syracuse, maintains empty spaces between them, having the main propagator center of its presence in Ortygia. It is an unequal presence depending on the location, regardless of whether it is near or far from the 'center'. The borders are 'open', fluid and unequal.

3. As to be able to keep these frontiers as 'open' as they were, Syracuse established an efficient road network. With full knowledge of the landscape, this network was articulated in order to encircle the entire tip of southeastern Sicily, gradually seeking the domination of the different areas. Syracuse protects the descent to the Ionian Sea from attacks by other Greeks in its southern border and the contour of the Island at Capo Passero, placing indigenous groups under its protection in Heloros and possibly Ina. The closure of the southeastern coast is later achieved with the foundation of Kamarina.

On the west side of the hinterland, it surrounds the Hyblaean hills, founding Akrai and Kasmenai, in conviviality with the Sikels who remain in the hinterland between Akrai and Syracuse, and who in Kasmenai live together in the same settlement. It then creates a route along the Dirillo River – probably sharing it with the Chalcidians and the Gelian Greeks as of the 6th century – that reaches the southern coast. On this route, Greeks establish themselves in small settlements often together with Sikels. In which different situations they coexist with the Greeks: Enslaved? In mixed marriages collaboration? Individually or in groups of Greeks? In any case, important settlements such as Hyblaean Finocchito in the Hyblaean hills are isolated from the coast. At first, they receive demographic influx of Sikels that already in the 7th century begins to diminish. Stop stations on the Dirillo route, such as Akrillai and the one excavated in Scornavacche, define the Syracuse presence as far south as the coast, where one hundred years after the founding of Gela, north of the Dirillo, Syracuse is able to found a dependent *apoikia*, Kamarina , south of this river, on the banks of the Hipparis. To the south of Kamarina, at the mouth of Irminio, a half Greek-half Sikel emporium (Contrada Maestro) connects in the interior with Hybla in the 6th century, beginning then to close the remaining openings on the so unstable Syracuse border in order to offer greater support to the Island's Greek circumnavigation. In the

5th century, the communication route between Syracuse and the south coast will already be the shortest, via Hybla.

The circuit is now closed. Southeastern Sicily can, thus, be defined as a unity: although a fluid unity, supported by more or less strong negotiations and often an ephemeral balance of power. There is no political or institutional unity, but there is certainly a socio-economic base built-up by the conviviality and the construction of common interests and with an epicenter in the Syracuse polis. There is no foundation of new *poleis*, but there are many localities that gradually resemble each other, adopting many of the 'Greek' characteristics: a certain 'urbanism' represented by orthogonal meshes; the tile roofs and no more straw ones; pottery containers in typically Greek formats; writing in Sikel language but using the Greek alphabet. Throughout this area, a complicated and extensive network of contacts between Greeks and Sikels is gradually being built (ALBANESE PROCELLI, 1996, p. 174-5). It is a network that also manifests itself in the various farms discovered in the upper Tellaro valley. From this base of influence and political and economic dominance in southeastern Sicily, Syracuse – as a city – will confirm its status as a strategic place among all west Hellenism, a place to be conquered by other Greek cities, a role that it will play in the development of the Sicilian tyrannies in the 5th century.

4. We cannot advance conclusions about the position of Syracuse before its hinterland without addressing the traditional thesis in the historiography of a "Syracuse military and violent expansion in southeastern Sicily according to a Doric standard".

The thesis of the violent military expansionism by the Corinthians when they settled in southeastern Sicily prevailed for a long time. It seems to me that its main rationale lays in the traditional historiography focus in the very strong *topos*, the military character of Sparta (Doric) and in Syracuse's action in later period led by one tyrant after the other, making this the major dominant power of all Greek Sicily. The vitality of Thucydides' text in modern and contemporary historiography is not to be despised. Based on this line of thinking, one tends to regard the foundation of the *apoikia* in Ortygia as a violent action, as also violent was the reduction of Heloros and the installation of Kasmenai, therefore justifying the need for an advanced military outpost. Well, this thesis was also contaminated by another *topos* that permeated all the historiography of antiquity, namely the superiority and irreducibility of Greek civilization in relation to other population groups in the Mediterranean. Thus, the Greeks settled in Sicily defended themselves from barbarians, uneducated and unsophisticated such as the Sikels. In this view, Heloros, Akrai and Kasmenai had always been understood as settlements intended to defend the Greeks from the Sikels and to promote the elimination and enslavement of these in favor of the Hellenics.

But, already in the 1970s, Coarelli (1971, p. 331) taught us: "Greek culture *ut sic* is an abstraction; it does not exist, as there is no indigenous world to which it opposes in a complex system of influences and relations, in an easy and illusory dialectic".

Archaeological documentation demonstrate that there are many more moments and processes of coexistence between Greeks and Sikels than episodes of violent destruction. The latter existed, of course, but the material document clearly shows the perception of the Greek Dorian settlers and others who joined them and the relation to their own survival in Sicily: if they did not negotiate, if they did not seek coexistence, it was not certain that they could put down roots in the Island.

As Albanese Procelli (1996, p.168) tells us:

> There are the traditional military expansion models type Syracuse and commercial expansion type Chalcidic (Naxos, Catania, Leontinos). But these labels do not do justice to the dynamism of the process from the second half of the eighth century to the end of the sixth century. There is no Doric or Ionic rule for contact. There are trends according to specific chronologies and the socio-political order of *apoikiai*.

The Hellenic predominance that was finally consolidated in the 5th century – so far as the material culture indicates – is already a construction of two and a half centuries of contact. In the end, it is possible to assert that the Greeks were sufficiently creative and open to create a new reality from this coexistence without losing a Hellenic identity. The contribution given by Greeks in the West to the construction of Hellenism, as we know it today, was undeniable.

5. Another thesis linked to the thesis of a military and violent expansion against the indigenous Sikels, is the one regarding the notion that Syracuse domination in southeastern Sicily responded to an articulated project of building a Doric / Corinthian / Syracusan epicracy[19] (for example, Di VITA, 1956, 1987, 1997; Di STEFANO, 1987; FRASCA, 1996; COARELLI e TORELLI, 1984; PELAGATTI, 1973).

Some light might be shed on this issue if we leave this specific historical context of southeastern Sicily. Let us examine, for example, Corinth, the metropolis of Syracuse. In the 8th century, Corinth ranks among the Greek cities that are organizing themselves as *polis* in the Aegean world seeking the expansion of power by the commercial route and through the absorption of adjacent or overseas territories (GRAS, 1995, p.43-50). Sicily's exploration effort for the recognition and the founding of Syracuse is inserted in a process of maritime expansion that continued with the founding by Corinth of various *apoikiai* in the northern Balkans and in the Adriatic: Ambracia, Leucas, Anactorion, Corcyra, in the middle of the 7th century, c. 657-627 (SALMON, 1984, p.210-217; LEGON, 2004, p.468). Corinth is inserted in the Greek pattern of the 8th century – along with the euboeans, phoceaus, achaeans, milesians – of mobility across the Mediterranean, of participation in a maritime trade from east to west and vice-versa and of territorial expansion. It is a fundamental trait that marks the Hellenic character that also incorporates resolution of internal problems, whether it is a lack of land for all or political grievances, by encouraging migration and founding new

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[19] The Greek term *epikratia* means empire, domination, sovereignty over a territory and is regularly used by the specialized bibliography to designate the sovereignty of Syracuse over the territory of southeastern Sicily.

settlements. Syracuse is founded following the conflict with Argos in the middle of the 8th century, as we have seen above. In 650, as Guzzo (2011, p.196-199) emphasizes, more or less in the third generation of the foundation of Syracuse, Corinth faces internal crises that culminate in Cypselo's rise (c. 655) and the foundation of several *apoikiai*, as just mentioned. In Syracuse and Sicily, the middle of the 7th century is also a date on which the written sources keep the memory of important social conflicts that perhaps triggered the installation of new settlements and the foundation of new *apoikiai*. Around this date, internal problems in Megara Hyblaea, for instance, lead to the foundation of Selinonte on the southern coast of Sicily, on the confines of the Punic territories (Arist. *Pol*. 1303b); from Syracuse, the written sources say, the members of the *genos* of the Miletidae joined the Zanclians of the Strait to found Himera on the north coast of Sicily (Thuc. VI 5, 1). Syracuse repeats the Corinthian pattern of expansion and internal problem solving by installing new settlements. This is basically the characteristic Greek pattern of the archaic period. What was, then, the Greek expansion into the Mediterranean, known as 'colonization'? The mobility of the Greeks across the Mediterranean seems to us to be directly linked to the very organizational structure chosen by this people from the 8th century: the *polis*. The fragmentation of the Greek world into autonomous, scattered units, such as "ants and frogs around the pond" (Pl. *Phd.* 109b) has a counterpart in mobility, in the creation of networks that overlap with the *poleis* themselves and which give unity to this multi-faceted and 'mixed' Greek world as defined by E. Will in 1956. The basis for this organizational structure aiming at the possession of territories and the competition that is installed between the different *poleis*, work as a motor for this mobility and expansion. In southeastern Sicily, as in other regions of the Hellenic world in the Mediterranean during the archaic period, the competition was governed by some precise rules: it was a competition between equals, between Hellenic *poleis* more than with the non-Greeks.[20] Hence the negotiation with indigenous so as to construct a territoriality which preserved southeastern Sicily from the penetration of other Greeks that could settle, for example, to the south of Syracuse where Heloros was located; or as the foundation of Kamarina on the south coast so as to retain the advance of Gela; or as the outpost of Kasmenai controlling the passage of the Chalcidians. Therefore, there are no elements in the documentation available today –   whether material or textual – that give us assurance to state that what we are calling the Greek / Syracuse presence in southeastern Sicily, which predominantly occurs unevenly and gradually in the period under review, has responded to a previously delineated design model or project of an empire or *epikratia*. On the contrary, it was an expansionist policy of building power through the domination of a hinterland, a policy gradually built up in a dynamic of contact and coexistence with the Sikel population, in a constant process of social, cultural

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[20]On the issue of peer polity interaction see J. Cherry and C. Renfrew *Peer Polity Interaction and Social Political Change*. New Directions in Archaeology. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986. The competition between *poleis*, in the Greek West is manifest in many cases: destruction of Sybaris by Crotona; destruction of Siris by Sybaris; disputes for territory control between Regio and Locris; installation of Metaponto by Achaeans in the Gulf of Taranto to prevent the expansion of the territory of the Tarantine *apoikia* and dozens of other examples in the Hellenic world.

and political re-creation. Expansionist and competitive politics embedded in a typically Greek identity of the period.

The foundation of Syracuse and the expansion of its power in southeastern Sicily are included in this scenario: competition between Corinth and Argos, expulsion of a philo-Argive, Arkhias and foundation of an *apoikia* in Ortygia; competition with other Greeks for territories and expansion of the *khora* to the south generating the foundation of Heloros and perhaps of Ina; competition with the Chalcidians installed in the central coast and north of Sicily provoking the foundation of Kasmenai; the control of the inland territory of Ortygia leading to the founding of Akrai; the competition with the Greeks and Cretens of Gela and with the Chalcidians that reach the south coast of Sicily, leading to the foundation of Kamarina. At the beginning of the 6th century, a territory of great fertility was consolidated, capable of producing grain for the survival of the group and for export, capable of harboring a network of articulated routes for more agile communication and for the distribution of goods. The contact and conviviality with the Sikels, as it was accomplished in this region by the Greeks, serve to confirm such a behavior which is one of the facets of the Greek way of being.

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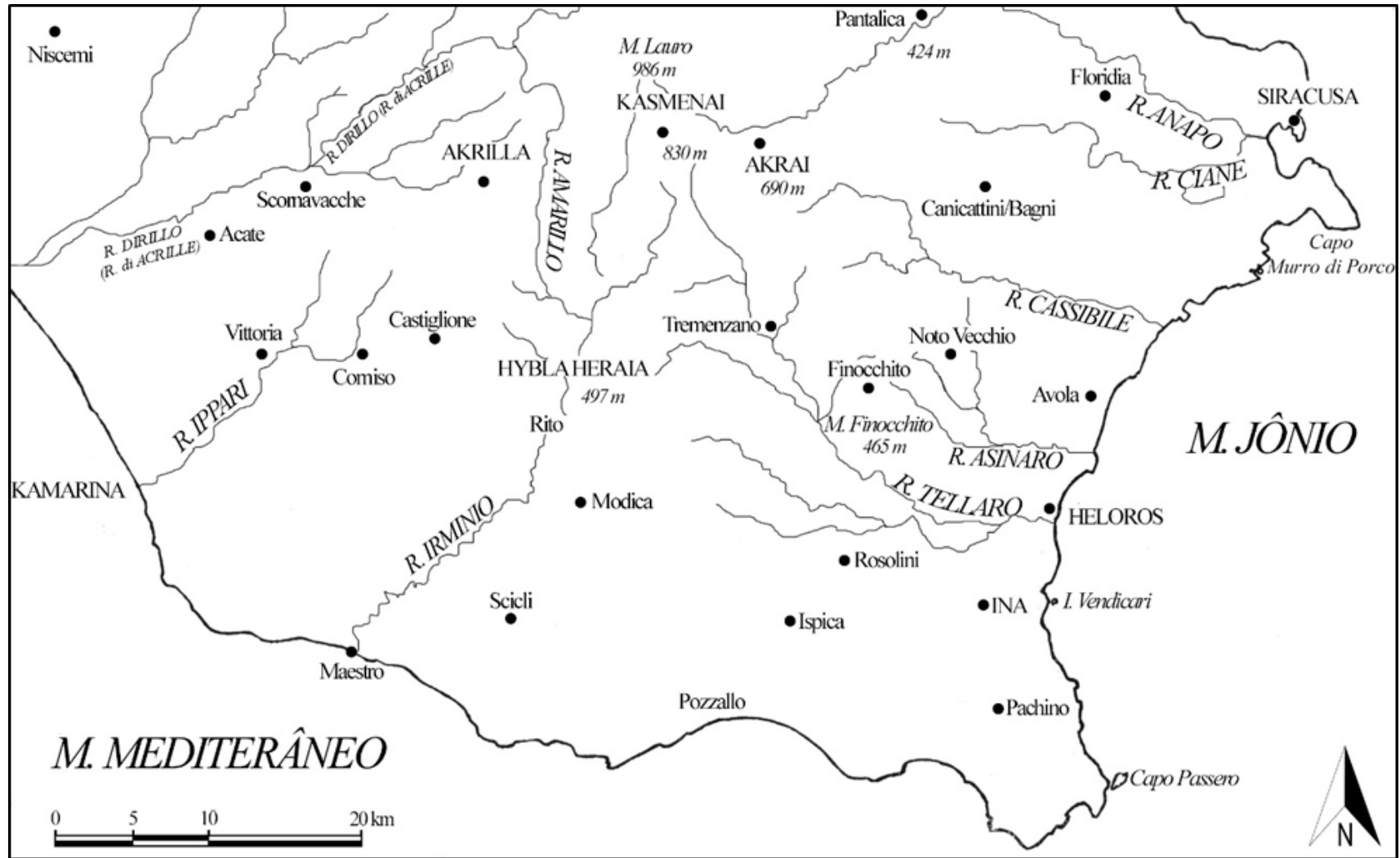**FIGURES**

Fig. 01: Sicily in Western Greece

Fig. 02: Southeastern Sicily. (Modified from DI VITA, A. La penetrazione Syracusena nella Sicilia sud orientale alla luce delle più recenti scoperte archeologiche. Kokalos, 2.2, 1956a,Tav. X)