HESPERIA 86 (2017)
*Pages 205–271*

# BOUTHROTOS (BUTRINT) IN THE ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL PERIODS

## The Acropolis and Temple of Athena Polias

## ABSTRACT

**This article examines the archaeology and history of Bouthrotos (Butrint) from the 8th to 4th century B.C., in the context of Epeiros and the Greek colonization of Korkyra (Corfu). The Roman Forum Excavations (RFE) Project has recovered stratified material deep below the level of the forum that elucidates the phasing and topography of Archaic and Classical Bouthrotos. The conclusions include a reconstruction of the historic shoreline and formation processes of the Butrint headland and the identification and partial reconstruction of the Temple of Athena Polias on the acropolis.**

## INTRODUCTION

Bouthrotos was located at the periphery of the Greek world, situated closer to Italy than other city-states of mainland Greece (Fig. 1). Its geographical siting, between Greece and Italy, has given the city a distinctive history and fortune as a seaport. Located on the coast of Epeiros, the city arose opposite the island of Korkyra (Roman Corcyra; modern Kerkyra/Corfu). According to literary tradition, Corinth founded a colony on Korkyra in 734/3 B.C., during the early stages of Greek colonization of Italy.[1] Bouthrotos and its territory served as a critical point of contact between the Greek colonists and the Epeirote tribes of the Chaonians, Thesprotians, and Molossians, who dwelt on the mainland. The city and its environs represented an intermediate zone, between ethnic boundaries of Greek (Korkyra) and "barbarian" (Epeiros and Illyria), between colony (Korkyra) and mother city (Corinth), and between Greece and Magna Graecia.[2]

Surrounded by the sea and mountains at the southeastern tip of the Ksamil Peninsula, the site of Butrint occupies a small headland (ca. 410 × 225 m) with strong natural defenses (Fig. 2).[3] The acropolis, running across the northern part of the headland, would have offered a commanding view of all major settlements within the city's territory (Diaporit, Vrina Plain, Kalivo, Shën Dimitri, Xarra, Mursi, Çuka e Aitoit) and also a direct line of sight to the island of Korkyra (Fig. 3). The ruins of a Byzantine basilica

1. Graham 1983, pp. 219–223; Antonelli 2000, p. 60; Fauber 2002, pp. 27–42; Cabanes 2008, pp. 165–173. The foundation date is based largely on Thucydides (6.3–5) and Strabo (6.2.4). Eusebius (*Chron.;* see Helm 1956, p. 91), however, dates the foundation to the eighteenth Olympiad (709/8–706/5 B.C.). Coldstream (2003, p. 165) cautiously favors Eusebius's later date, citing the absence of direct archaeological evidence for an earlier settlement.

2. For Epeirote ethnic identity, see Hammond 1967, pp. 422–424, 525–533; Papazoglou 1986, p. 439; Cabanes 1987b, 1988; Wilkes 1992, pp. 102–104; Hatzopoulos 1997; Malkin 1998, pp. 132–140; 2001, pp. 188–194; Ceka 2013, pp. 64–68; Meyer 2013, pp. 72–79.

3. For an overview of Butrint, see Bergemann 1998; Hodges et al. 2004; Hodges 2006, pp. 19–34; 2013.


**Figure 1. Epeiros in the western Balkans.** D. Hernandez

now occupy the summit, which reaches a height of 45 m on the acropolis's eastern side (Fig. 4). The acropolis castle, from the city's Venetian period (A.D. 1386–1797), sits 12 m lower, on the acropolis's western plateau.[4] The ancient urban center emerged in the relatively flat terrain of the lower city, along the foot of the acropolis.

Despite more than 80 years of intermittent excavations at Butrint, few traces of the Archaic and Classical phases of the city have been found. Since the start of excavations, archaeologists have searched for this material on the acropolis. In the lower city, the high-water table has deterred deep excavation, with deposits of Roman and pre-Roman date submerged below sea level.[5] From 1928 to 1936, Italian archaeologists under the direction of Luigi M. Ugolini undertook large-scale excavations on the acropolis and found no significant, undisturbed Archaic deposits.[6] Buried two or more meters deep, the earliest layers, resting directly above bedrock, often contained Roman material. Almost all the Archaic pottery recovered, though substantial, was residual, found in deposits of Hellenistic to medieval date. Nevertheless, Ugolini assigned three wall segments beneath the medieval circuit wall around the acropolis to the Archaic period on the basis of their masonry style.

From 1937 to 1939, after Ugolini's death, the Italian team, now under the direction of Domenico Mustilli, systematically excavated a series of

4. See Hernandez, forthcoming a.
5. See Hernandez, forthcoming b.
6. Ugolini 1937, pp. 86–87, 116–117; 1942, pp. 25–44.

**Figure 2. Butrint headland.** Photo A. Islami; courtesy Butrint Foundation

test trenches across the acropolis, in north–south and east–west directions in the saddle between the acropolis castle and the Byzantine basilica.[7] Mustilli concluded that Roman construction had destroyed almost all traces of earlier occupation on the acropolis.[8] One trench, however, yielded the remains of an Archaic *bothros,* a pit of ritual offerings, which had been partially disturbed by Roman activity. The *bothros* contained a number of complete Corinthian ceramic vessels, including aryballoi, alabastra, skyphoi, kalathoi, kotylai, kraters, and a few diagnostic sherds of black-figure Little-Master Cups *(Kleinmeisterschalen)* imported from Athens. Mustilli dated the assemblage to the end of the 7th century B.C. on the basis of the Corinthian pottery. The presence of Little-Master Cups, however, would suggest a date closer to ca. 550–525 B.C.[9] The *bothros* demonstrates Greek ritual practices on the acropolis during the Archaic period, with material culture linked to Corinth. A few of the Corinthian sherds were incised with the letters "A Θ A." Believing that they referred to Athena (Ἀθανᾶς), Mustilli proposed that the cult of the goddess had been established on the acropolis by that time.

For more than five decades after the onset of communist rule in Albania in 1945, the primary concern of archaeological inquiry related to Archaic Butrint was the fortification circuit on the acropolis.[10] In 1982, Albanian archaeologists, under the direction of Selim Islami, assisted by Skënder Anamali and Dhimosten Budina, began a renewed program of large-scale, multi-area excavations at Butrint—resuming, in effect, the Italian archaeological campaigns initiated by Ugolini.[11] Astrit Nanaj, the director of excavations on the acropolis, dug trenches adjacent to the fortification walls. Over the period 1983–1987 he recovered substantial Archaic pottery from these trenches, mostly of secondary deposition.[12] Owing to the prevalence of residual pottery on the acropolis, combined

7. Mustilli 1940; 1941, pp. 685–688, 691. Ugolini died in 1936 at the age of 41.

8. Roman deposits were also found directly above bedrock in the trench excavated by the Butrint Foundation in 2006; see Lima 2013, p. 32.

9. *New Pauly, Antiquity* 7, 2005, cols. 729–730, s.v. Little-Master Cups (H. Mommsen).

10. Prendi 1959, p. 19; Islami 1976; Baçe 1979; Ceka 1976, 1988b; Karaiskaj 1984; 2009, pp. 46–47; Budina 1988, pp. 31–56.

11. Mano 1983; Budina 1988, pp. 25–26.

12. Nanaj 1983, 1985, 1986, 1988, 1995.

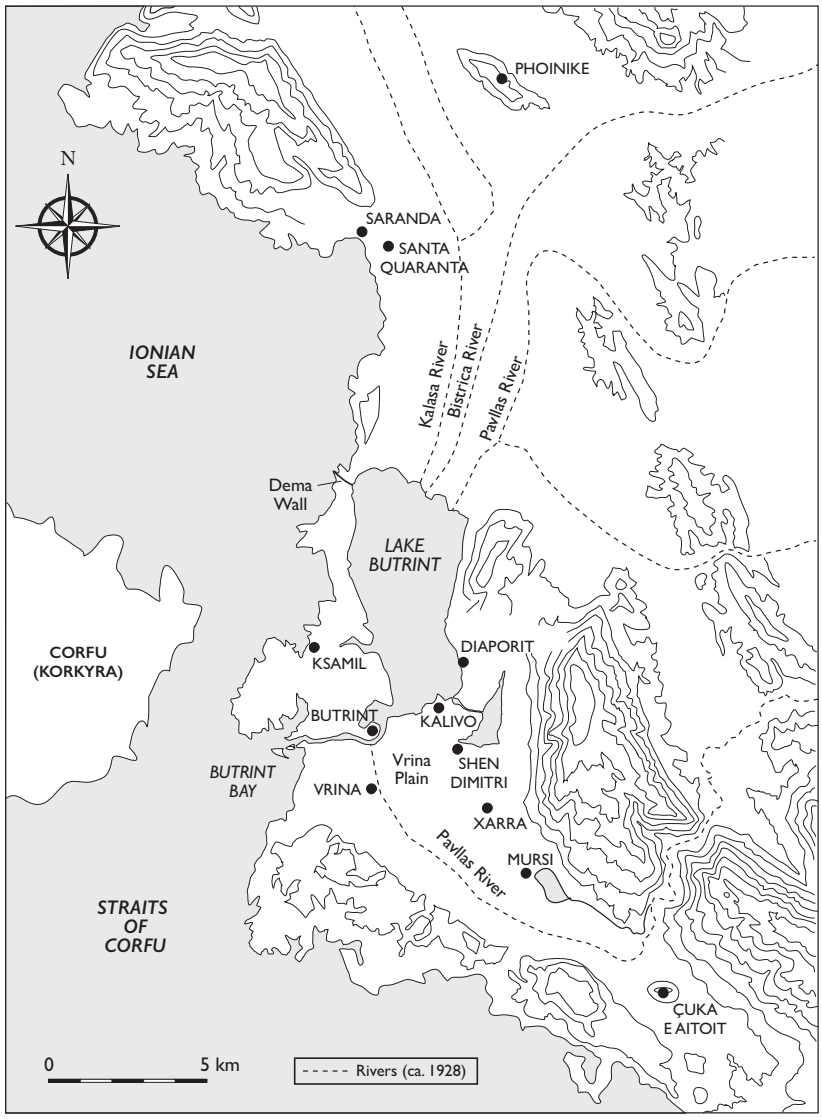



**Figure 3. Butrint region.** D. Hernandez

with the rudimentary methods of arbitrary (metrical) excavation employed by both Italian and Albanian archaeologists up to that time, the phasing of the site and conclusions from these investigations remain questionable.

With the inception of democracy in 1991, excavations recommenced on the acropolis under a collaborative Greek–Albanian team co-directed by Nanaj and Katerina Hadzis of the Ionian University in Corfu.[13] The project reinvestigated Nanaj's old trenches and undertook new excavations as well. The Hadzis–Nanaj excavations (1991–1995) on the acropolis were never published. A summary article written by team members Karim Arafat and Catherine Morgan, reporting on the 1991–1992 excavations, remains the most significant account today, not only for these excavations but for Archaic Butrint as well.[14] Nearly 15 years of recent research by the Butrint Foundation (1994–2008), focused mostly on the Triconch Palace and extra-urban sites of Diaporit and the Vrina Plain, has yielded virtually no new evidence for the Archaic and Classical phases of the city.[15]

13. Hadzis 1998.

14. Arafat and Morgan 1995.

15. In 2006, the Butrint Foundation reexamined the Hadzis–Nanaj trenches and excavated a new trench (4 × 4 m) to a depth of 2.5 m; see Lima 2013, p. 32. The earliest deposits, found above bedrock, dated to the Roman period. The report (Greenslade, Leppard, and Logue 2013) presents a short summary and discussion of previously discovered Archaic material. For other summary accounts, see Martin 2004, pp. 80–81; Hodges 2006, pp. 51–59; 2013, pp. 7–10, 18.

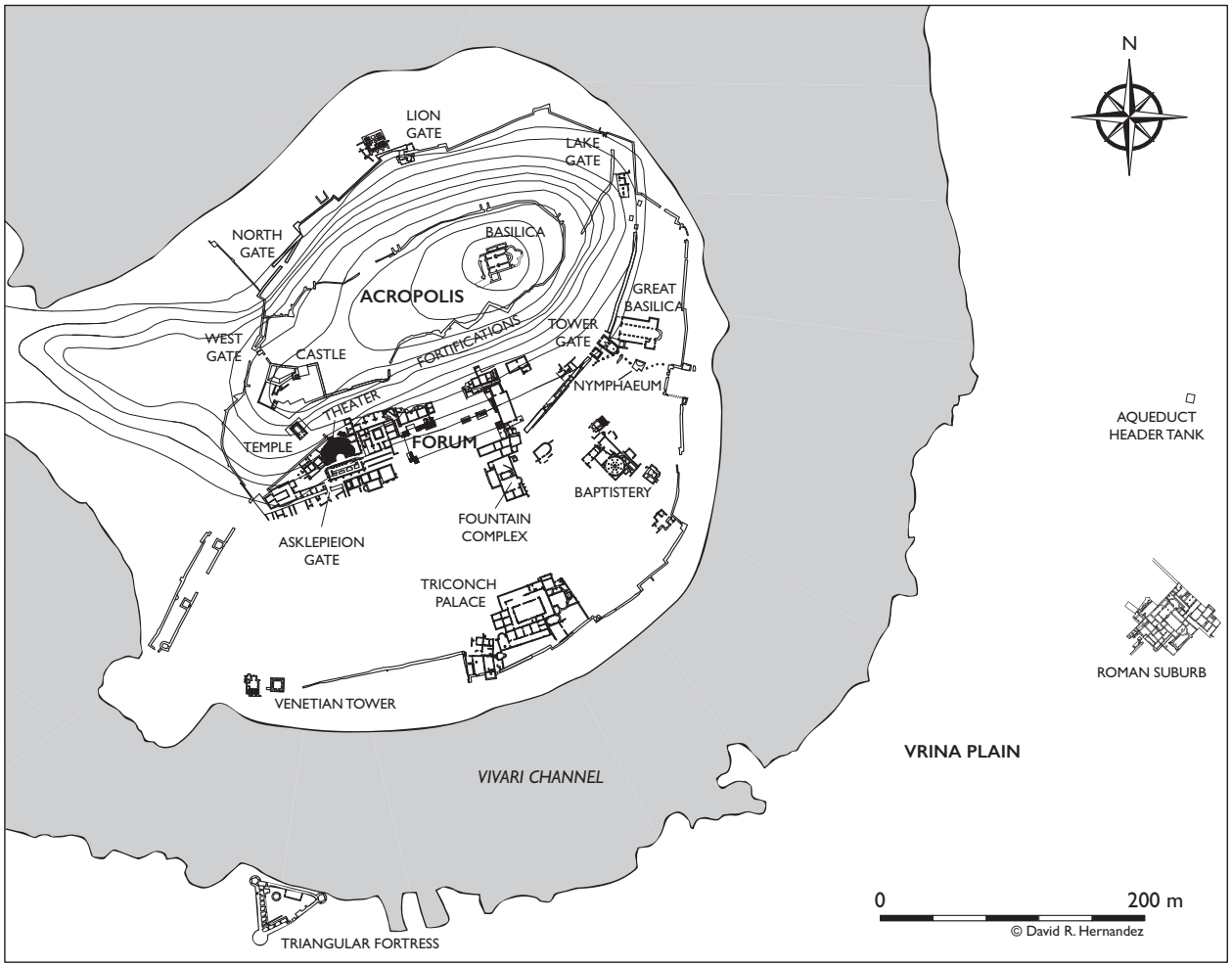



**Figure 4. Butrint site plan.**
D. Hernandez

Beginning in 2011, the Roman Forum Excavations (RFE) Project undertook a new campaign of research at Butrint, aimed at examining the early urban archaeology of the lower city (Fig. 5).[16] Between 2011 and 2013, excavations in the forum probed deep into the ancient urban center, reaching depths of up to four meters below the water table and seven meters below the surface.[17] The waterlogged deposits, which have remained uninvestigated at Butrint up to this time, were found to represent at least half the volume of cultural deposits in the lower city. They provide a rich source of information for the earliest urban phases of Butrint and for the formation processes of the Butrint headland. The anaerobic conditions of the waterlogged deposits have preserved organic remains extremely well. Ancient wooden objects, for example, such as fragments of a plow dated to the 3rd century B.C., have been recovered, in addition to seeds, leather, hair, and other organic remains. The complete archaeological sequence of the lower city spans the late 7th century B.C. to the 16th century A.D.

With the exception of Arafat and Morgan's excavation report, no published study has been devoted exclusively to Bouthrotos in the Archaic or Classical period or has explored the intimate history between Korkyra and Bouthrotos. A principal aim of this article, therefore, is to provide a

16. See Hernandez and Çondi 2008, 2011, 2014. For the methodology of the RFE Project, see Hernandez 2017; forthcoming c.

17. The pavement slabs of the Roman forum are submerged, lying below the water table.

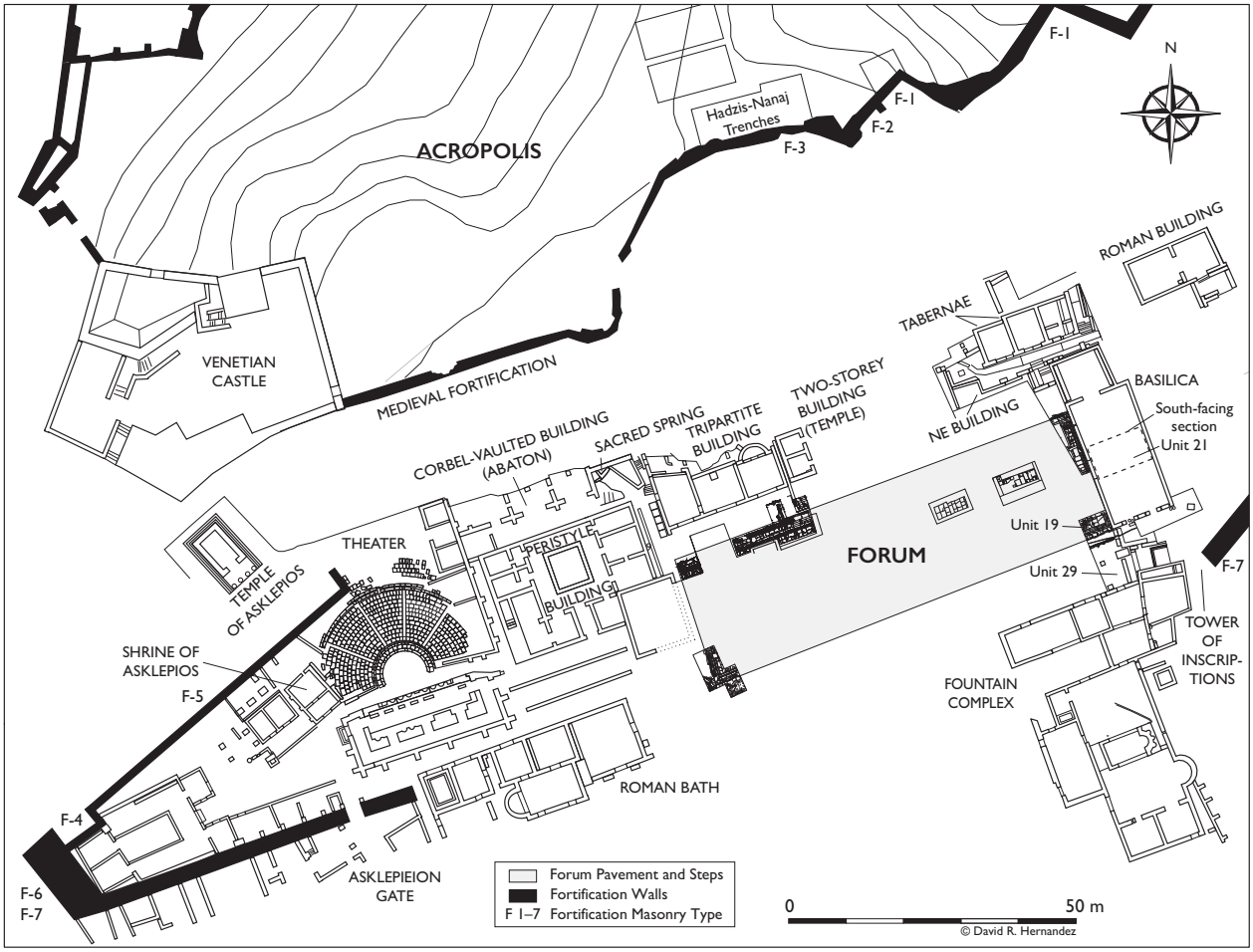



**Figure 5. Forum and ancient urban center.** D. Hernandez

comprehensive examination of the archaeology and history of Bouthrotos in the Archaic and Classical periods, particularly in light of the new archaeological discoveries of the RFE Project. The discussion begins by looking at the origins of Bouthrotos in the context of Greek colonization, Korkyra, and the historical relationship between Epeiros and the Hellenic world.

## TROJAN ORIGINS

Examining the myths of the *Nostoi* (the returning Achaeans and Trojan refugees from the Trojan War), Hammond concluded that Helenos, prince of Troy, founded Bouthrotos in the 11th century B.C.[18] The sources for the foundation legend are late, coming predominantly from Roman authors of the Augustan period. In the account of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.51.1), Anchises takes the fleet of Trojan exiles to Bouthrotos from Ambrakia, while Aeneas with picked men makes a two-day journey from there to the oracle of Dodona, where he encounters Helenos.[19] Dionysius remarks that ancient bronze kraters dedicated and inscribed by Aeneas continued to exist at Dodona in his own day. He reports that a hill at

18. Hammond 1967, p. 419. For the use of the term *Nostoi* as Greek and Trojan heroes (as opposed to *nostoi*, their "returns"), see Malkin 1998.

19. See Biraschi 1981–1982.

Bouthrotos is called Troy and is the site where the Trojans first encamped before founding the city. According to Ovid (*Met.* 13.721), Bouthrotos was built as a replica of Troy *(simulata Troia)*.

In Vergil's *Aeneid* (3.289–505), Aeneas and Anchises disembark together at "Buthrotum" and meet Andromache and Helenos. The narrative does not include Aeneas's visit to Dodona. The story of Aeneas's travel to the oracle, however, was current in the time of Augustus (Serv. on *Aen.* 3.256). In the epic, Aeneas also considers Buthrotum to be a second Troy, built by Helenos in imitation of the lost mother city.[20] He calls the city a "little Troy" *(parva Troia)* and refers to its citadel as Pergama. The bulk of the narrative centers on Helenos's prophecy to Aeneas, which is the longest prophetic speech in the *Aeneid*.[21] Varro (*Rust.* 2.2.1) describes a place in Epeiros called Pergamis that is renowned for sheep, in the context of a discussion by Titus Pomponius Atticus on the subject of pastoralism.[22] Atticus, Cicero's confidant, is known to have had a lucrative estate *(latifundium)* at Buthrotum from as early as 68 B.C. An inscription dating to the 3rd or early 2nd century B.C. found near the Temple of Zeus at Passaron, the original capital of Molossia, refers to a treaty of friendship between the *ethne* of the Pergamioi and the Aterargai.[23] This appears to confirm the historical validity of the literary references by Vergil to the citadel named Pergama and by Dionysius to the hill named Troia at Bouthrotos.[24]

The story of Butrint's foundation is mentioned by Teukros of Kyzikos (*FGrH* 274 F1 = Steph. Byz., s.v. Βουθρωτός), a pre-Augustan source of the 1st century B.C. During a sacrifice, a bull escaped the grasp of Helenos and swam across a river before expiring suddenly on the spot upon which the city was later founded. Bouthrotos was believed to be named after this "wounded bull" (βοῦς + τρωτός) (Serv. on *Aen.* 3.293; *Etym. Magn.* 210).[25] Images of the bull, its swim across the river (Vivari Channel), and allusions to the foundation legend are found on the coinage of the Augustan colony.[26]

Elements of the foundation tradition are rooted in the Archaic period.[27] In the *Ilias Parva* (fr. 18 [Kinkel] = schol. Lycophr. *Alex.* 1268), an epic in the Trojan Cycle dated to the 7th century B.C., Neoptolemos, son of Achilles, takes both Aeneas and Andromache from Troy as war captives. In Euripides' *Andromache* (1243–1252), Neoptolemos brings Helenos to Molossia as a captive from Troy and arranges the wedding of Helenos and Andromache in order to establish a royal line in the kingdom. According to Pausanias (1.11.1; cf. Apollod. *Epit.* 6.12), Neoptolemos and Andromache had a child, Molossos, the progenitor of the Molossians, and in this

20. Bettini 1997, p. 19.

21. Williams 1962, p. 132.

22. For Atticus, see Deniaux 1987; Hansen 2011.

23. *SEG* XV 411; XXXVII 515b = Cabanes 1976, pp. 561–562. The inscription postdates 264 B.C.

24. If the *ethnos* of the Pergamioi resided in the territory of Bouthrotos, it may have been situated at Çuka e Aitoit, a city with a distinct *ethnos* occupying a fortified hilltop at the southern territorial border of Bouthrotos. The fortified site at Kalivo would have lain within the *chora* proper of Bouthrotos, due to its proximity. Çuka e Aitoit at times was incorporated into the larger *koinon* of the Prasaiboi at Bouthrotos.

25. Paschalis 1997, p. 132, n. 81. Another possibility is that the name Bouthrotos derives from βόθρος, which would suggest a close relationship between sanctuary and city; see Paschalis 1997, p. 132, n. 82.

26. Burnett, Amandry, and Ripollès 1998, pp. 275–277, nos. 1378, 1384, 1385, 1386, 1393, 1394, 1399.

27. For a discussion of the sources, see Lepore 1962, pp. 33–66.

version, Helenos wed Andromache after the death of Neoptolemos. The royal bloodline of Molossia was thought to descend from both Neoptolemos and Helenos (Theopompos, *FGrH* 115 F355). The royal houses of the Thesprotians and Chaonians traced their descent from Odysseus and Helenos, respectively. During the Archaic period, the royal houses of the Epeirote tribes began to identify themselves with the *Nostoi,* specifically with Odysseus, Aeneas, Neoptolemos, and Helenos.[28]

## HISTORICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL POLIS OF BOUTHROTOS

The early history of Bouthrotos is obscure. Only one ancient reference from the Archaic and Classical periods mentions the city by name. Writing ca. 500 B.C., Hekataios of Miletos (*FGrH* 1 F106 = Steph. Byz., s.v. Ὠρικός) identifies it as a *polis* while listing the coastal sites of Epeiros.[29] Among the 30 settlements classified as *poleis* in his *Periegesis,* 13 are non-Greek.[30] For Hellenic cities, Hekataios employs the term *polis* in a manner consistent with contemporary usage, on the basis of political institutions, urban-centered life, and shared characteristics with *poleis* from the Greek mainland.[31] He uses the term *polis* for non-Hellenic cities that show an advanced degree of urbanization marked by a fortified citadel and dependent territory. Hekataios's identification of Bouthrotos as a *polis* should not be taken to mean that he viewed the city as particularly large or densely populated. Most *poleis* in Greece were small.[32]

The absence of Bouthrotos in the literary record is significant, especially if, as Hekataios claims, the city was a *polis.* Bouthrotos is not mentioned as a member of any alliances formed throughout the Archaic and Classical periods. Notably, it is absent from the accounts of the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, which drew in virtually every Greek *polis* and *ethnos.* The city is not mentioned in connection with Panhellenic sanctuaries. It is not found in references to oracles, games, and dedications. Significantly, the absence of direct references to the city contrasts sharply with the copious textual references to Korkyra, the island located within eyesight of Bouthrotos.

Korkyra was a very powerful and prosperous city, commanding a fleet that was rivaled only by that of Athens on the eve of the Battle of Salamis (480 B.C.; see Hdt. 7.157–168).[33] According to Thucydides (1.13.4), the earliest naval battle fought among Greeks occurred in 665/4 B.C. between Corinth and Korkyra.[34] In ca. 580 B.C., the Korkyraian colony built the Temple of Artemis, one of the earliest stone temples in the Greek world. As a harbor located opposite Korkyra, Bouthrotos was connected closely to the maritime networks of commerce and communication that ran along the

28. Malkin 1998, pp. 132–136. Other cities said to have been founded in Epeiros and Illyria by *Nostoi* include Orikos by Elpenor, Amphilochian Argos by Amphilochos, and Bylliake (= Byllis?) by Neoptolemos; see Hammond 1967, pp. 383–389, 448, 471–472.

29. Funke, Moustakis, and Hochschulz 2004, p. 343.

30. Hansen 1997a.

31. See Hansen 1997b, 2000.

32. Sixty percent of Greek *poleis* controlled a maximum territory of 100 km$^2$; see Hansen and Nielsen 2004, p. 71. See also Sealey 1976, p. 19.

33. Korkyra launched 60 triremes, although it did not take part in the battle.

34. See Roland 2008, pp. 235–237.

Ionian and Adriatic coasts and across to Italy through the Strait of Otranto. It was not situated in an isolated place, unaffected by external events.

Shortly after the start of the Peloponnesian War, in 427 B.C., *stasis* (civil strife) arose on Korkyra (Thuc. 3.70–83).[35] Thucydides (3.85) reports that 500 Korkyraian oligarchs seized the walls (τείχη) on the mainland and used them effectively as a base to attack the democratic faction on the island. The *oligoi* were supported by Corinthians and Chaonian mercenaries, while the revolutionary *demos* was allied to Athens.[36] Thucydides (3.85.2) states that Korkyra controlled part of the Epeirote mainland opposite the island:

> ὕστερον δὲ οἱ φεύγοντες τῶν Κερκυραίων (διεσώθησαν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους) τείχη τε λαβόντες, ἃ ἦν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ, ἐκράτουν τῆς πέραν οἰκείας γῆς καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ὁρμώμενοι ἐλῄζοντο τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ πολλὰ ἔβλαπτον, καὶ λιμὸς ἰσχυρὸς ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ πόλει.

The Korkyraians took possession (ἐκράτουν) of "their own territory across [the island on the mainland]" (τῆς πέραν οἰκείας γῆς), which means that it had already been a territorial possession of Korkyra.[37] Elsewhere, Thucydides (1.45.3, 1.53.4) speaks of "Korkyra and the lands of the Korkyraians." Hammond interpreted the term "Korkyraian territory" (τῆς Κορκυραίας), used by Hekataios in his description of the Epeirote coast and found also in Strabo, to mean the portion of the island of Korkyra controlled by the *polis* of the same name.[38] The interpretation is untenable, however, owing to Korkyra's immense power at the time. A century earlier, the *polis* was sufficiently powerful to found the colony of Epidamnos in Illyria. In the context of the Epeirote coastline, Korkyraian territory meant the portion of the mainland (not island) controlled by Korkyra.[39] As Korkyra's only neighbor, the mainland was a vital asset for safeguarding the island.

Mainland possessions attached to powerful Greek islands were common, because of their strategic and economic value.[40] In the 3rd or 2nd century B.C., the word *peraia* came to mean the mainland territory attached to a Greek island.[41] Thus, in the story of Jason and the Argonauts, Apollonios of Rhodes (4.1213) refers to the *peraia* of Korkyra. It is noteworthy that in the *Iliad* (2.635), the mainland controlled by Odysseus, in effect the *peraia* of Ithaka, is called ἤπειρον.[42] The best explanation for the lack of literary references to Bouthrotos is that the city had the status of a dependent *polis,* situated in the *peraia* of Korkyra during the Archaic and Classical periods.[43] Occupied by Greeks, Bouthrotos was a Korkyraian enclave in Epeiros.

35. See Price 2001, pp. 6–78; Hansen and Nielsen 2004, pp. 124–129.

36. Hammond 1967, p. 504.

37. Carusi 2011, p. 95.

38. Hammond 1967, pp. 447–448; Strab. 7.7.5, and fr. 6. Nevertheless, Hammond (1967, p. 499) believed that Bouthrotos and its territory were part of the *peraia* of Korkyra.

39. Cabanes 1976, pp. 116–120; Carusi 2011, pp. 98–99. In the wake of the Persian Wars, Themistokles sought refuge at Korkyra after being ostracized from Athens and accused of medism by the Spartans (Thuc. 1.135–136). The Korkyraians, who had previously bestowed upon him the title of benefactor (εὐεργέτης), sent him to the mainland opposite the island (ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον τὴν καταντικρύ).

40. Examples include the islands of Thasos, Samothrace, Samos, Chios, and Rhodes. See Constantakopoulou 2007, chap. 7.2.

41. Carusi 2011, pp. 90, 97.

42. In the *Odyssey* (14.100), Odysseus has flocks on the mainland.

43. Beaumont 1952, pp. 64–65; Lepore 1962, pp. 130–155; Hammond 1967, p. 499; Carusi 2011. For the categories of dependent *poleis,* see Hansen 1997c. For prosopographic evidence linking Archaic Korkyra and Bouthrotos, see Arafat and Morgan 1995, pp. 28–29, n. 6.

## COLONIAL RELATIONS: KORKYRA, EPEIROS, AND BOUTHROTOS

The sea lanes fronting the Epeirote coast had become well known to the Greeks by the end of the 8th century B.C., enabling both the colonization of Sicily, southern Italy, and the eastern coast of the Adriatic and Ionian seas and the colonial expeditions that were to proceed for more than two centuries.[44] Nevertheless, the legends and stories transmitted through oral traditions and set down into writing in the Archaic period demonstrate that Hellenes had long considered Epeiros to be at the edge of the known world, beyond which lay monsters and Hades itself.[45] Two rivers to the underworld, the Kokytos and Acheron, flowed through Epeiros. The Nekyomanteion (Oracle of the Dead) was established on a hill overlooking their juncture near the coast of the Ionian Sea (Hom. *Od.* 10.513, 11.23; Hdt. 5.92.7). This was the region where Theseus, Odysseus, and other legendary heroes were said to have begun their descent into Hades. Further north, the lands contiguous with the Adriatic Sea were the settings for many heroic adventures, including those of Jason and the Argonauts, Herakles, and Odysseus (Ap. Rhod. *Argon*). One source reports that the tomb of Medea was located at Bouthrotos, placed there by Jason (Solin. 2.28–31).[46] Ancient authors conceived of Epeiros as well populated and vast in the Archaic period.[47]

Greek contacts with lands bordering the Ionian and Adriatic seas can be traced to the Late Bronze Age, with a significant diffusion of Mycenaean material culture occurring in the 13th century B.C.[48] Greek pottery begins to reappear in Epeiros and in Italy in the Iron Age, at sites between Otranto and the Cape of Leuca, in the 8th century B.C., with some pottery in these locations dating to the late 9th century B.C. as well.[49] The Greek colonies *(apoikiai)* of Korkyra and Syracuse were founded by Corinth in the same year, in 734/3 B.C.[50] Like the Corinthians, the colonists spoke a Doric dialect.[51] Having occupied the Kanoni Peninsula, arguably the most advantageous position on the island, the colonists must have displaced and overpowered the inhabitants of the island.[52]

44. Ridgway 1992; Snodgrass 1994; Osborne 1996, pp. 119–127, 197–198; Cabanes 2002, 2008; van Dommelen 2005.

45. For a concise summary of the myths, see Cabanes 2008, pp. 155–163.

46. The remark is attributed to Gaius Coelius (tribune 107 B.C.; consul 94 B.C.) in the *collectanea rerum memorabilium* of the early 3rd century A.D. See Mommsen 1895, pp. xii–xv, 39; *RE* IV, 1901, col. 195, s.v. Coelius (12) (F. Münzer); Ugolini 1937, pp. 81–82.

47. See Malkin 1998, p. 123.

48. For Mycenaean cultural contact with Korkyra, see Hammond 1967, pp. 363–365; with Italy and the eastern Adriatic coast, see Vagnetti 1982; Wardle 1993; Bejko 2002; Galaty 2007; Tomas 2010.

49. D'Andria 1984; 1990, p. 283; Morgan 1988; Sueref 1993; Osborne 1996, pp. 119–127.

50. See Fauber 2002, pp. 27–42. The earliest source for the *ktisis* (foundation story) of Korkyra is the lost work of Antiochos of Syracuse (ca. 420 B.C.): *FGrH* 555 F 1–3; IIIB, pp. 288–297; Drawing on Antiochos, Strabo (6.1.12; 6.2.4) reports that Archias of the Bacchiadai, a clan which claimed descent from Herakles, left Corinth with settlers to found the colony of Syracuse (cf. Thuc. 6.3). Along the journey, Archias stopped at Korkyra and instructed Chersikrates, a member of the same clan, to found a colony on the island, with some portion of the settlers. The *oikistai* (founders), Archias and Chersikrates, were members of a long-established oligarchy at Corinth that was later banished after the end of the tyranny of Kypselos in the mid-7th century B.C. (Hdt. 5.92β; Str. 8.6.20).

51. Hammond 1967, p. 419.

52. Strabo (6.2.4, citing Antiochos of Syracuse) remarks that the Corinthian colonists expelled Liburnians, who were native Illyrians, from Korkyra.

The production of Greek transport amphoras for wine and oil emerged in the second half of the 8th century B.C., contemporary with the foundations of Korkyra and Syracuse.[53] This production, together with its wide distribution, offers the strongest evidence that maritime trade and commerce were important during the incipient phases of colonization. It is important to bear in mind an observation by Graham that Korkyra could only have become a significant port *after* the establishment of the trade route across the Strait of Otranto that followed Greek colonization and urbanization in Italy and Sicily.[54] Greek settlement in the northern Ionian Gulf may not have predated settlement in southern Italy. Colonization did not have to proceed incrementally across territory, as many have imagined. Italy was the objective, not Epeiros. The Strait of Otranto became vital, both commercially and strategically, only after regular communication existed between mainland Greece and southern Italy.

This conclusion is important to consider when examining the identity of the first Greek settlers in the region of Epeiros. Plutarch (*Quaest. Graec.* 11 [*Mor.* 293a]) reports that Euboeans from Eretria were the earliest Greeks to colonize the island of Korkyra, in the second half of the 8th century B.C.[55] This late account is the sole ancient reference for the proposed foundation. Other sources claim that Euboeans colonized Orikos, a strategic port in northern Epeiros, as well.[56] More recently, Cabanes has suggested that Euboeans controlled the territory of Bouthrotos.[57] Many scholars have supported the view that Euboeans were the first Greek colonizers in the Ionian Gulf, owing to Euboean trade in southern Italy and the settlements at Pithekoussai, Naxos, and Cumae in the 8th century B.C.[58] The historiography of the literary tradition and the archaeological evidence from the islands and the littoral sites of the Ionian Gulf, however, cast doubt on the historicity of early Euboean settlement in the region of the Ionian Gulf during the 8th century B.C.[59] The small and sporadic distribution of Euboean material culture in the Ionian Gulf suggests that the region was in contact with the earliest Greek (Euboean) ventures in Sicily and southern Italy during the first half of the 8th century B.C.[60] No evidence comparable to that found at Pithekoussai, Naxos, or Cumae has been found in the region that would suggest Euboean settlement. It is conceivable that some of this early material arrived in Epeiros as Euboeans passed through and communicated with Italy.

Enmity between mother city (metropolis) and colony *(apoikia)* emerged soon after the founding of Korkyra, culminating after some 300 years in the

53. See Koehler 1978, pp. 3, 9–13.

54. Graham 1983, p. 220.

55. See Cabanes 2008, pp. 163–165.

56. Hammond 1967, pp. 414–415.

57. Cabanes 2008, p. 164, citing Ap. Rhod. 4.1175.

58. Hammond 1967, p. 415; D'Andria 1990, p. 283; Ridgway 1992, pp. 11–82; Malkin 1998, pp. 75–81; Antonelli 2000, pp. 15–57; Metallinou 2010, pp. 13–15; Kos 2015, pp. 8–9. The ancient term "Ionian Gulf" refers to both the Adriatic and the Ionian Sea.

59. Morgan 1998; Fauber 2002, pp. 62–99. Euboean ceramics found in the region are small in quantity and typically appear alongside Corinthian ceramics, which are represented in much higher proportions.

60. Morgan 1998, p. 293. The early stages of Greek contacts in southern Italy are generally thought to have been motivated by trade interests in minerals and other natural resources: see Hammond 1967, pp. 427–428; Graham 1983; D'Andria 1984; 1990, pp. 283–285; Dakaris 1987, p. 71; Osborne 1996, pp. 119–127, 197–200; Thomas and Conant 1999, pp. 126–134; Descoeudres 2008.

outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (Hdt. 3.49.1; Thuc. 1.31–55).[61] Korkyra had become a formidable sea power by the early 7th century B.C., successfully challenging the naval supremacy of Corinth at the sea battle of 665/4 B.C. (Thuc. 1.13.4). A string of colonies was founded along the Balkan coast during the 7th century B.C. Ancient sources report that Korkyra was the metropolis for the foundation of Epidamnos (Roman Dyrrachium) at a site inhabited by Illyrians (Thuc. 1.24.2; Strab. 7.5.8; App. *B Civ.* 2.39; Euseb. 2.891).[62] The *oikistes* (Phalios) was chosen from the clan of the Bacchiadai from Corinth, thereby allowing both Korkyra and Corinth to claim the status of metropolis for Epidamnos in the 5th century B.C. Apollonia was a Corinthian colony established in the last quarter of the 7th century B.C., although there was a tradition claiming that it was jointly founded with Korkyra (Thuc. 1.26.2; Strab. 7.5.8; Ps.-Skymn. 439–440; Plin. *HN* 3.23.145; Cass. Dio 41.45; Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀπολλωνία).[63] The city is situated in southern Illyria, near the border of Epeiros. Three sons of the tyrant Kypselos of Corinth served as *oikistai* for the three colonial foundations of Ambrakia, Leukas, and Anaktorion, which created a strong Corinthian presence in the Gulf of Ambrakia (Nic. Dam., *FGrH* 90 F57; Thuc. 2.80.3; Arist. *Pol.* 1304a31–33).[64] The colonies were established in the pursuit of maritime commerce, land for agriculture, and natural resources. In the case of Epidamnos and Apollonia, these colonies were situated too far north to link to the regular trade network across the Strait of Otranto. They appear to have been founded to control shipping in the Adriatic Sea and the land passage through the Balkan interior which later developed under the Romans as the *via Egnatia.* The colonies in the Ambrakian Gulf benefited from fertile agricultural plains and from the shipping routes across the Strait of Otranto and north along the Adriatic Sea.

Before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, Korkyra deployed a fleet of 120 triremes *(triereis)* and defeated Corinth off the coast of Epeiros at the Battle of Leukimme in 435 B.C. (Thuc. 1.25.4, 29.4, 33.2). The victory gave Korkyra temporary naval supremacy in the West. Ships, particularly triremes, were very expensive to build and maintain.[65] The manpower needed to operate 120 triremes was 24,000 men. During the Archaic period, these were drawn from the free population. Demographic estimates based on these figures place the free population of men, women, and children at no less than 100,000.[66] The total population, including slaves and metics, would have been higher. In order for Korkyra to operate its fleet it drew from a substantial population and a robust economy. As part of the Korkyraian *chora,* towns in the *peraia,* including Bouthrotos, must have contributed men to the Korkyraian fleet.

The Battle of Sybota in 433 B.C., between Corinth and Korkyra, was, at the time, the largest Greek naval engagement in history (Thuc. 1.46–50). The arrangement and operations of the respective forces provide valuable insight into the relations between Korkyra and Epeiros.[67] Corinth and its allies gathered and encamped on the coast of Epeiros, launching the campaign from Thesprotia. The colonies of Ambrakia, Leukas, and Anaktorion were firmly allied with Corinth (Thuc. 1.38.1–4). Epidamnos, which was seized by the Korkyraians shortly before the war, was an ally of Korkyra. Apollonia, on the other hand, appears to have been allied to Corinth.[68]

61. See Salmon 1984, pp. 270–272. Throughout this time, there would have been periods of cooperation and harmony between colony and mother city: Roland 2008, p. 241.

62. See Cabanes 2001; 2008, pp. 166–173; Antonetti 2007, pp. 89–96; Santoro Bianchi 2012, pp. 9–12.

63. Beaumont 1936, pp. 168–170; Cabanes 1993a. Some ancient sources erroneously report a joint foundation with Korkyra: see Stocker 2009, pp. 317–318, 891.

64. See also Beaumont 1952; Andréou 1993; Karatzeni 1999.

65. Casson 1971, p. 90.

66. Fauber 2002, pp. 4–5.

67. Corinth and its allies deployed 150 triremes (Corinth 90, Ambrakia 27, Leukas 10, Anaktorion 1, Megara 12, and Elea 10). Korkyra deployed 120 (Korkyra 110, Athens 10), supported by its own land forces and 1,000 troops provided by Zakynthos.

68. Cabanes 2008, p. 173.

According to Thucydides (1.47.3), the Corinthians were aided by "many barbarians" in Epeiros who were their long-standing allies: ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων παραβεβοηθηκότες· οἱ γὰρ ταύτῃ ἠπειρῶται αἰεί ποτε αὐτοῖς φίλοι εἰσίν. Most, if not all, of Epeiros, including the Ambrakian Gulf, consisted of regions opposed to Korkyra. The network of alliances at the start of the Peloponnesian War consisted of the largest Epeirote tribes, the Chaonians, Thesprotians, and Molossians, allied to Corinth, on the one hand, and the Ionian islands of Kephalonia and Zakynthos and the neighboring regions of Illyria and Akarnania allied to Korkyra, on the other.[69]

Korkyra's efforts to maintain autonomy and neutrality not only toward the Corinthians but also toward the Athenians and other Greek powers lay at the root of Korkyra's long-standing strife with its mother city.[70] Thucydides (1.31.2) reports that the Korkyraians never joined in any Greek league.[71] Nevertheless, Korkyra looked to Athens to counterbalance Corinthian power in the Ionian Sea and Epeiros.[72] The *stasis* on Korkyra in 427 B.C. between *oligoi* and *demos* developed over the issue of whether to maintain an alliance with Athens, a policy supported by the latter, or to return to a previous stance of friendship with Corinth, advocated by the former (Thuc. 3.70, 3.85). Within the *chora* of Korkyra, Archaic and Classical Bouthrotos was inextricably tied to these interstate and regional tensions and to the colonial outlook of Korkyra.

## THE COLONIAL TOPOGRAPHY AND ARCHITECTURE OF KORKYRA

Desire for autonomy found expression in architecture. Korkyra developed architectural forms for monumental building that were largely independent of Corinth.[73] The "Ionian Sea style" of architecture, with distinct Ionic features in the Doric order, such as capitals with leaf necking, the sofa anta capital, and the half-column, is believed to have originated at Korkyra.[74] The earliest example of this style is the column capital of the funerary monument of Xenares from Korkyra (ca. 600–575 B.C.).[75] Elements of the "Ionian Sea style" also appear on capitals from the Temple of Artemis and on a number of other early architectural fragments. The style achieved a wide distribution, from Paestum and Metapontum in southern Italy to Olympia and Sparta in the Peloponnese.

69. The Illyrians were allies of Korkyra, having assisted in the siege of Epidamnos two years earlier (Thuc. 1.26.4). Shortly after the start of the war, in 429 B.C., the Chaonians and Molossians, among other Epeirote tribes, joined Corinth and the Peloponnesians to attack Akarnania, which was allied to Athens (Thuc. 2.80.5–6). In the previous year, the Chaonians and Ambrakians campaigned together (Thuc. 2.68.9). Korkyra, Kephalonia, Akarnania, and Zakynthos were all counted as allies of Athens (Thuc. 2.7.3).

70. The Corinthian colonies never operated as an "empire": Graham 1962, pp. 250–252; 1983, pp. 118–142; 2001, p. 65. Each was politically autonomous, though tied to Corinth through bonds of kinship and mutual interests.

71. This issue was also raised by the Corinthian delegation at Athens prior to the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 1.37).

72. See Intrieri 2015.

73. Williams 1995, pp. 39–40. For a summary of Corinthian architecture in the Archaic period, see Pfaff 2003.

74. Barletta 1990, pp. 46, 71. The style is traditionally called the "Achaean Doric style."

75. Barletta 1990, p. 46, 2001, p. 83; Mertens 2006, pp. 132–133. The name is often transliterated (incorrectly) as "Xenvares" in secondary sources. I thank Simon Oswald for this observation.

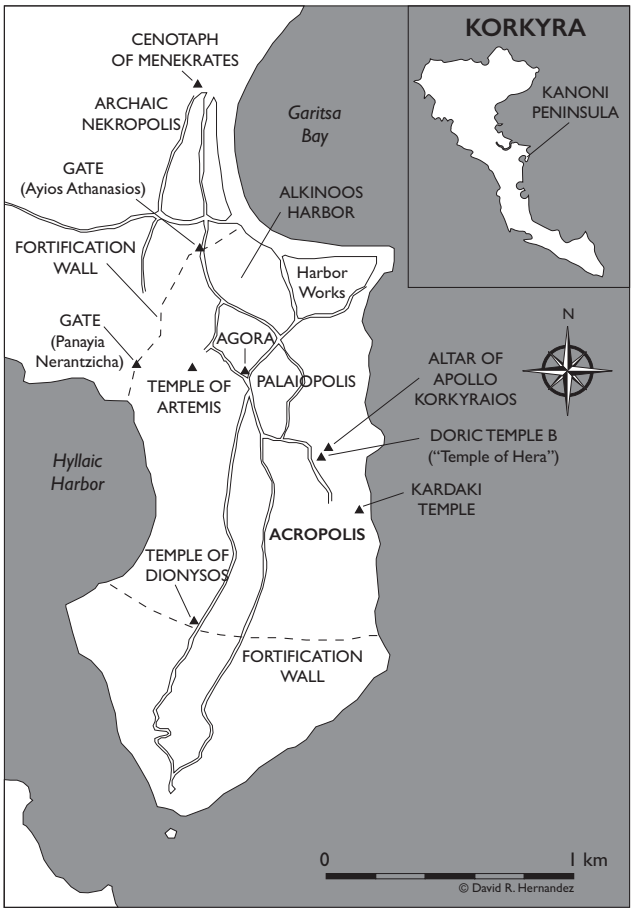



**Figure 6. The Kanoni Peninsula, Korkyra.** D. Hernandez

The ancient settlement on Corfu is located on the Kanoni Peninsula, south of the modern town (Fig. 6).[76] A number of Archaic sanctuary sites, together with harbor works and shipsheds, have been identified near the ancient coast.[77] There were major ports on both sides of the isthmus: Hyllaic harbor on the lagoon and Alkinoos harbor on the southern side of Garitsa Bay (Thuc. 3.72.3, 81.2; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.1125; Eust. *Commentarii in Dionysium Periegetam* 492).

Imported pottery begins to appear at Korkyra from 750–725 B.C.[78] Late Geometric (ca. 750–700 B.C.) and Protocorinthian (ca. 725–625 B.C.) pottery has been found in the agora at Palaiopolis and at various sites on the Kanoni Peninsula.[79] The acropolis was situated on the hill of Analipsis. A preplanned Hippodamian street layout has been proposed for the settlement, owing to the orthogonal orientation of excavated structures and streets.[80] Two gates belonging to the northern fortification wall of the settlement have been discovered: the western gate at the Byzantine church of Panayia Nerantzicha and the eastern gate at the church of Ayios Athanasios (discussed pp. 252–253, below; see also Fig. 39). The fortifications of Korkyra have been dated by excavation to the 5th century B.C.[81] The Garitsa cemetery, situated north of the settlement, has revealed grave goods dated from the 7th to 5th century B.C.[82] The cenotaph of Menekrates, dating to 625–600 B.C., has yielded the earliest evidence for the institution of *proxenia* in the Greek world.[83] It demonstrates that formal diplomatic relations with Greek city-states (in this case, with Ozolian Lokrians) had developed by the late 7th century B.C.

76. Metallinou 2010, pp. 19–25.

77. Baika 2013.

78. Arafat and Morgan 1995, p. 28, n. 3.

79. Kallipolitis 1955, p. 190; 1961, p. 124; Dontas 1965c, pp. 391–398; Kostoglou-Despini 1970, pp. 322–325. See also Morgan 1998. For a summary of excavations on Corfu, see Leekley and Noyes 1975, pp. 1–3.

80. Preka-Alexandri 1984, p. 209; 1994, p. 29; Kanta-Kitsou 1992, pp. 334–338.

81. Dontas 1965a, pp. 66–70; 1965b, pp. 140–143; 1978, pp. 109–110; Kalligas 1966; 1971, p. 92; Baika 2013, p. 323.

82. Preka-Alexandri 1994, pp. 32–34.

83. *IG* IX.1 867.

In ca. 580 B.C., the Temple of Artemis was constructed at a site between the agora and the Hyllaic harbor on the western side of the Kanoni Peninsula.[84] It is one of the earliest stone temples in the Greek world and among the first to display the architectural features that have come to embody the Doric order. The temple measures 49 × 24 m, ranking among the largest of Greece, with a colonnade (17 × 8 columns) enclosing a pronaos, cella, and adyton or opisthodomos.[85] It was probably the first Greek octastyle temple. Facing east, the temple had a long altar (3 × 25 m) parallel with its front. The excavations of Wilhelm Dörpfeld from 1910 to 1914 recovered fragments of its metopes and the remains of the western pediment.[86] Dörpfeld also discovered a second large temple (Doric Temple B) that he believed was contemporary with the Temple of Artemis.[87] Both temples demonstrate the remarkable wealth and innovation of Korkyra in the 6th century B.C. At the end of the century, the Kardaki temple was constructed at the edge of a cliff, overlooking the straits in the direction of Epeiros.[88] Nearby, an open-air precinct was also built at about this time, with a central altar (1.4 × 1.4 m) dedicated to Apollo Korkyraios, a god associated with war.[89]

The sculptural program on the pediment of the Temple of Artemis features Medusa in flight at the center, flanked by Pegasos and Chrysaor, the offspring born from her own blood at the time of her death.[90] The corners of the pediments are thought to feature scenes of the Gigantomachy, with Zeus hurling a thunderbolt at a giant at the southern end, and of the Trojan War, with Neoptolemos slaying Priam at the northern end. These themes showing warriors in action represent the triumph of Greek civilization over the natural world and barbarism. After the Persian Wars, they become central to expressions of civic pride and Greek identity in cities and sanctuaries throughout Greece, representing the victory of Greeks over Persians and other barbarians.[91]

The ethnic ambiguity of Epeiros, from the perspective of the Greek colonies, brought about new articulations of Greek and non-Greek identity.[92] To rationalize the origins of the indigenous peoples of Epeiros within the framework of their own history, Greek colonists ascribed to the Epeirote tribes a heroic ancestry from *Nostoi.* Through a process of acculturation, Epeirote royalty subsequently adopted these same genealogies to explain their own ancestry. One important development that arose in the specific colonial context of the Corinthian and Korkyraian colonies in Epeiros is the notion of opposition between the Greek and Trojan lines of this heroic

84. *Korkyra* 1, pp. 31–33; *Korkyra* 2; Dinsmoor 1950, p. 73; Bensen 1967; Coulton 1982, p. 43; Osborne 1996, p. 259; 2000, p. 231. For recent summaries, see Lawrence 1996, p. 77; Barletta 2001, p. 77; Mertens 2006, p. 133; Lippolis, Livadiotti, and Rocco 2007, pp. 164–167, 775–776; Roland 2008, p. 116.

85. It is unclear whether the Temple of Artemis featured an *opisthodomos* or *adyton:* Barletta 1983, p. 76, n. 30.

86. Dörpfeld 1912, pp. 248–250; 1914a, pp. 170–171; 1914b, pp. 48–50.

87. The temple, located in Mons Repos, is often referred to as the Temple of Hera, although the identification is not secure. See Dörpfeld 1912, pp. 247–248; 1914a, pp. 161–170; 1914b, pp. 46–48; Dontas 1963, 1964, 1965b, 1967, 1968; Kalligas 1969; Roland 2008, pp. 118–120. First discovered in 1822 by Colonel Whitmore, it is now thought to predate the Temple of Artemis and date to ca. 610 B.C.

88. Johnson 1936; Dinsmoor 1936; Dinsmoor Jr. 1973; Dontas 1977; Lippolis, Livadiotti, and Rocco 2007, pp. 776–777; Roland 2008, pp. 116–118. The front of the temple has fallen into the sea.

89. Dontas 1967, p. 363; Kalligas 1968, pp. 309–313.

90. Lippolis, Livadiotti, and Rocco 2007, pp. 166, 776; Gruben 1986, pp. 108–112; 2001, pp. 111–116; Stewart 1990, pp. 113, 115; Marconi 2007, pp. 11–14; Roland 2008, pp. 244–245.

91. Hölscher 2011, pp. 58–60; E. Hall 1989, pp. 56–69; J. M. Hall 2002, pp. 175–189; Stewart 2008, pp. 60–63.

92. Malkin 1998, pp. 134–140; 2001, pp. 188–194.

ancestry. The Molossians, for example, viewed their ancestry as a mixture of Greek and Trojan (i.e., Greek Neoptolemos and Trojan Helenos; see Theopompos, *FGrH* 115 F355). The Chaonians, on the other hand, viewed their ancestry as strictly Trojan (from Helenos and Andromache), perhaps in opposition to the Greek ethnicity of the colonizers and/or the mixed ancestry of the southern Epeirote tribes.

The earliest known instance of explicit opposition between Greek and Trojan *Nostoi* comes from a lost monument erected at Olympia by the colony of Apollonia that showed Odysseus paired against Helenos (Paus. 5.22.2).[93] The themes expressed on the pediment of the Temple of Artemis, namely Greek gods slaying barbaric giants and a Greek hero smiting a Trojan king, became canonical in the 5th century B.C., having emerged in this colonial context of Korkyra (and Bouthrotos) facing the natives of Epeiros.[94] The question remains, however, as to what degree do these themes reflect the self-identity of the *polis* of Korkyra at large and the Greek identity of the colonists in reference to barbarian Epeiros.[95]

The urban structures of Korkyra, such as its monumental temples, agora, streets, regular settlement layout, and fortification walls, were potent symbols that distinguished Korkyra from the larger region of Epeiros, which did not develop urban centers until the second half of the 4th century B.C.[96] Thucydides conceived of the Epeirotes as barbarians because of a perceived backwardness in their social organization and way of life, but not because of their language.[97] The inhabitants of Epeiros spoke West Greek, the same Greek dialect used in Akarnania.[98] Like the Greek colonies in Italy and Sicily, the colonial outlook of Korkyra was inward looking, that of a Doric *polis* in "barbarian" lands.[99]

## THE SETTLEMENT AND SHORELINE OF ARCHAIC BOUTHROTOS

The RFE Project recovered important material evidence from Archaic Bouthrotos in the sequence of deposits below the floor of the Roman basilica in unit 21 (Fig. 7). Part of the stratigraphy is illustrated in the south-facing section of the trench (Figs. 5, 8). The stratigraphy encompasses ten major phases (A–J). The earliest material dates to the second half of the 7th century B.C. The ceramic assemblages attest to continuous occupation until ca. 475 B.C. There is almost a complete absence of pottery at Butrint from the period of the second quarter of the 5th century to the third quarter of the 4th century B.C.[100] It is unclear what brought about the abandonment of the city. There was no settlement at Bouthrotos when

93. See Petrain 2014, pp. 131–133.

94. Malkin 2001, pp. 188–194.

95. Marconi 2007, pp. 27–31.

96. For an overview of urbanism in Epeiros, see Cabanes 2010, pp. 123–126.

97. Malkin 2001, pp. 188–194.

98. The evidence that the Molossians, Thesprotians, and Kassopians spoke West Greek is strong: see Hammond 1967, pp. 422–423; Wilkes 1992, pp. 102–104; Hatzopoulos 1997; Malkin 1998, pp. 142–150. The language of the Chaonians is less certain. Cabanes (1979, pp. 192–196) posits that the Chaonians spoke Illyrian and that bilingualism (Illyrian and West Greek) was prevalent throughout the region. It is more likely, however, that the Chaonians also spoke West Greek: Dosuna 1985, pp. 17–20.

99. Morgan and Hall 1996, pp. 214–215; van Dommelen 2005, pp. 159–160.

100. Aleotti 2015b, p. 101.

**Figure 7. Excavation in the Roman basilica in the forum, unit 21 (2012).** Photo D. Hernandez

the Korkyraian *oligoi* occupied the forts of the *peraia* in 427 B.C. Owing to its fortifications (wall F-1, discussed pp. 245–250, below), the site may have served as a temporary fortress at the time. This might explain why Thucydides referred to them as τείχη, rather than cities (πόλεις) or towns (ἄστεα). After resettlement, sometime between 350–300 B.C. (discussed pp. 256–258, below), the recovered cultural material shows a continuous sequence of occupation at the site, with the latest material in the subfloor of the basilica dated to the 2nd–3rd century A.D.

No architecture or remains of buildings were encountered within the depositional sequence below the floor of the basilica. The earliest deposit excavated was 1635, down to a depth of 3.12 RL ("reduced level," i.e., a unit equating elevations relative to the temporary benchmark established in the forum); this was about seven meters below the modern surface and over four meters below the water table. Containing few and highly degraded remains of cultural material, it was probably just above natural deposits of prehabitation date. Sulfuric gas emissions became increasing strong below ca. 5.00 RL, compelling archaeologists to work in shifts and nearly preventing deeper excavation. The gas indicates the presence of substantial underlying hydrocarbon deposits.[101]

The lowest deposits can be divided into two groups based on formation characteristics and material remains. The earliest group consists of deposits 1635, 1620, 1617, and 1615 (phase A). They are dark greenish gray clays, formed in anaerobic conditions beneath the sea. They have high sand and gravel content. In addition to pottery, tiles, and animal bones, they also contain fragments of natural wood, complete mollusks (seashells) of various types and sizes, fish vertebrae, and other traces of marine life. Other finds include a small piece of white marble inlay (1635) and obsidian (1620).

The next group above this consists of deposits 1613/1634, 1600/1630, and 1595 (phase B). The soils of these deposits become increasingly brown moving up the sequence, from grayish brown to full brown. This indicates an increase in carbon concentration, produced by vegetation growth in aerobic conditions. In addition to pottery, tiles, animal bones, mollusks,

101. The hydrocarbon deposits and sulfuric emissions may have played a role in the establishment of the Sanctuary of Asklepios at Bouthrotos in the 4th century B.C. See discussion on the Sanctuary of Asklepios and Sacred Spring in Hernandez and Çondi 2011, pp. 247–249.

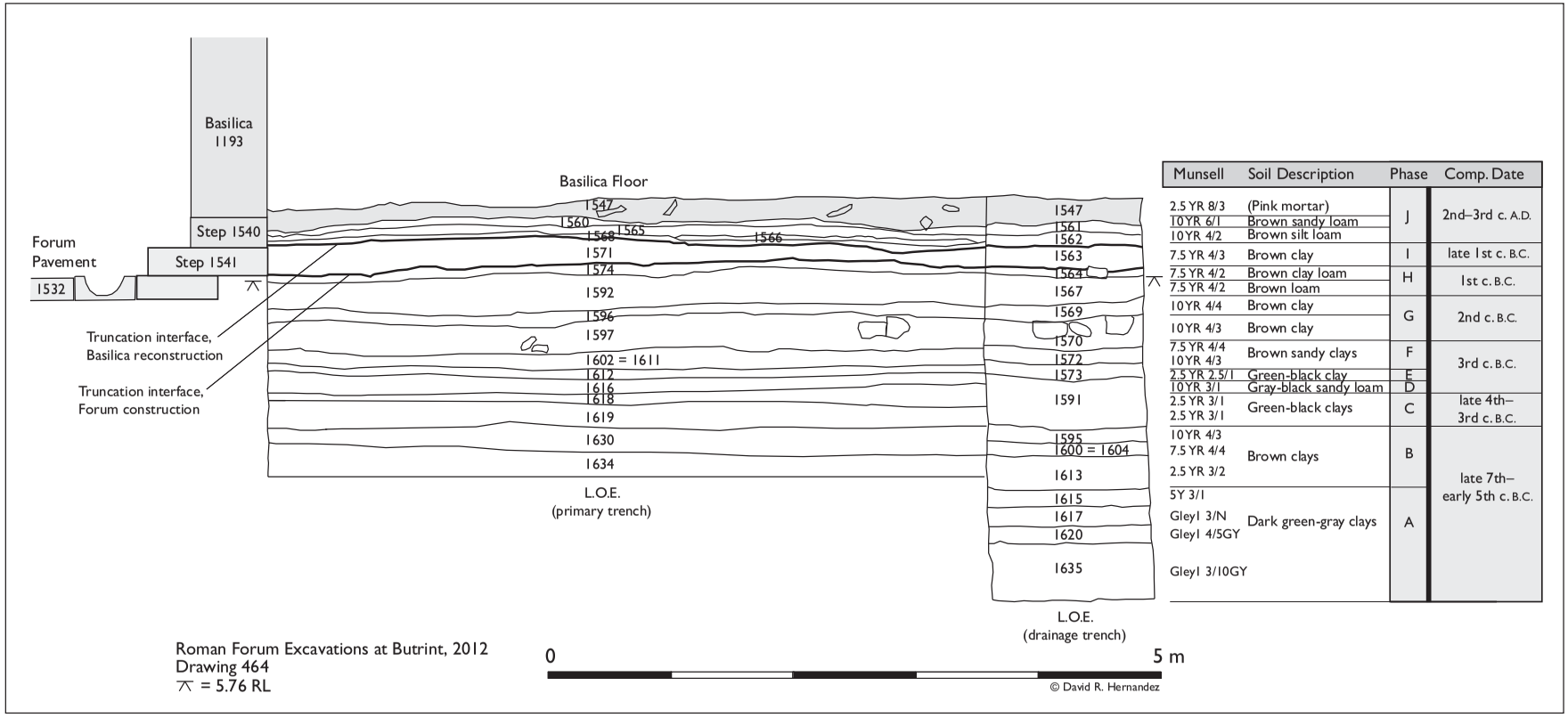



**Figure 8. Stratigraphy below the basilica floor in unit 21, south-facing section.** D. Hernandez

and natural wood, this group produced a lead clamp (1634), a bronze needle (1634), marble (1613), worked bone (1595, 1600), and worked wood (1595). Ceramic sherds, animal bones, and mollusks were found in higher concentrations in this group.

The deposits in both groups contain mixed ceramics ranging in date from the second half of the 7th to the early 5th century B.C. (Fig. 9). The earliest diagnostic ceramics, dating from the second half of the 7th century B.C., include East Greek banded pottery (hydriai, kraters, Ionian cups), Corinthian kotylai and Type A amphoras, and Chian amphoras.[102] Corinthian and Korkyraian ceramics predominate in the 6th century B.C., represented by kotylai and aryballoi and less frequently by lekythoi, alabastra, and amphoriskoi. Attic and Laconian imports begin to appear at the end of the 6th and early 5th century B.C., together with Corinthian Type B amphoras. The most common Attic imports are skyphoi. During this period, all fine-ware pottery is imported. These deposits produced relatively few remains of cooking wares in relation to amphoras and fine wares. The remains also include a few fragments of mortars and degraded roof tiles.

Both groups contain a wide range of mollusks, featuring ten of the fourteen types identified by the project in ancient Butrint (Fig. 10, Table 1).[103] The most common are cockles *(Cerastoderma lamarcki),* clams (*Venerupis* sp.; *Venus verrucosa*), Murex and Cerithium snails (*Hexaplex trunculus*; *Cerithium* sp.), and mussels (*Mytilus* sp.). Less common, but consistently present, are Monodonta and Charonia sea snails (*Monodonta turbinata; Charonia* sp.) and pink oysters (*Spondylus* sp.). The mollusks in both groups are endemic to the subtidal and intertidal marine zone. Mussels in particular flourish in intertidal regions, especially in rocky coastal environments, and are not naturally found in subtidal habitats. Most of the others lived submerged in shallow water, in a sandy, muddy, and gravelly environment. The taphonomic conditions of the shells indicate no signs of sun exposure. There is no evidence that any of the shells were worked or pried open. The variability in their sizes also demonstrates that they developed in their natural habitat and were not harvested.

The numbers of identified specimens (NISP) of animal bones from these deposits are cattle (12), pig (10), goat (18), tortoise (2), hare (1), and duck (1).[104] The bones from cattle, pig, and goat show signs of butchering but no charring. Surprisingly, no sheep bones were identified. All the pig bones were recovered from only one deposit (1613) and were young, pointing to a system of meat production at one time. There are no indications of selection of specific body parts or skewing in age among the cattle and goat bones. There is no evidence of ritual activity associated with the animal bones, although such activity cannot be ruled out. The taphonomy of the animal bones reveals standard characteristics of secondary waste stemming from regimes of animal husbandry.

Although the deposits in both groups contain material dating from the second half of the 7th century B.C., all deposits in the sequence contain pottery from the 6th and early 5th centuries B.C. as well. A sample of wood was taken from deposit 1600 for AMS radiocarbon dating (Beta-325678). The two-sigma calendar-calibrated date of the sample (95% probability) is 730–690 B.C. and 660–650 B.C. and 540–400 B.C. The one-sigma calendar calibrated date (68% probability) is 520–400 B.C. In other words,

102. N. Aleotti (RFE Project ceramicist) examined the pottery and kindly provided this information. See Aleotti 2015a, 2015b.

103. The mollusk shells were examined by M. MacKinnon (RFE Project faunal specialist) and tabulated by T. Hite and K. Sheldon. Table 1 represents a sample (ca. 5%–10%) of mollusks from the lowest deposits of unit 21. It shows which types were present and a rough estimation of relative counts. The table does not represent the absolute mollusk counts, which were significantly higher. Total collection of mollusk shells occurred in 2013 in unit 29. In Figure 8 and Table 1, "Comp. date" refers to the composition date of the material as opposed to the deposition date.

104. M. MacKinnon examined the faunal evidence and kindly provided this information.



**Figure 9** *(above)*. **Archaic pottery from context 1634 in unit 21 (late 7th–early 5th century B.C.).** Photo D. Hernandez

**Figure 10** *(left)*. **Mollusk shells from context 1613 in unit 21 (ca. 475–350 B.C.).** Photo D. Hernandez

## TABLE 1. MOLLUSK DATA FOR UNIT 21

| *Deposit (Context)* | *Composition Date* | *Cockle* (*Cerasto-derma lamarcki*) | *Clam* (*Venerupis* sp. and *Venus verrucosa*) | *Murex snail* (*Hexaplex trunculus*) | *Mussel* (*Mytilus gallo-provincialis* and *Pinna nobilis*) | *Snail* (*Monodonta turbinata*) | *Pink Oyster* (*Spondylus gaederopus*) | *Blue Oyster* (*Ostreola stentina*) | *Snail* (*Charonia* sp.) | *Snail* (*Helix* sp.) | *Snail* (*Cerithium* sp.) | *Snail* (*Rissoa* sp.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1619 | late 4th–3rd century B.C. | – | – | 3 | – | – | – | – | – | – | 2 | – |
| 1595 | late 7th–early 5th century B.C. | 7 | 2 | – | 3 | – | – | – | – | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| 1600 | late 7th–early 5th century B.C. | 45 | 17 | 2 | 2 | – | 5 | – | – | – | 4 | – |
| 1604 | late 7th–early 5th century B.C. | 5 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 1 | – | – | – | – | 1 | – |
| 1613 | late 7th–early 5th century B.C. | 17 | 28 | 3 | 17 | 1 | 4 | – | 1 | – | 6 | – |
| 1617 | late 7th–early 5th century B.C. | 15 | 7 | 2 | 28 | 2 | – | – | – | – | 3 | 1 |
| 1630 | late 7th–early 5th century B.C. | 5 | 7 | 2 | 2 | – | 1 | 2 | 1 | – | – | – |
| 1634 | late 7th–early 5th century B.C. | 5 | 2 | 10 | 2 | – | – | 5 | 2 | – | 4 | – |


**Figure 11. Natural wood from context 1613 in unit 21.** Photos D. Hernandez


**Figure 12. Worked wood from context 1595 in unit 21.** Photo D. Hernandez

context 1600 dates between 730 and 400 B.C. with a probable date between 520 and 400 B.C.

The marble fragments from 1595 and 1635 are from Prokonnesos, which was first quarried in the 6th century B.C.[105]

The mollusk counts and distribution in these deposits reveal that there was some delay in the formation process. Sufficient time lapsed to allow mollusks to colonize each deposit. This means that the coastal deposits did not form at once or in a short period of time. The changing carbon content in the Phase B group also shows that the conditions of formation were not the same for each deposit. The time delay also explains why pig remains were found only in one deposit (1613), suggesting distinct events within the overall homogeneous mixture of material culture. Hundreds of fragments of wood were recovered from these deposits as well, mostly small natural branches, twigs, and chips from trees and plants (Fig. 11). Bark was preserved on a number of them. A few pieces were worked (Fig. 12). The highest concentration of wood fragments in this sequence came from phase B, specifically, deposit 1595/1630. The deposit had a high concentration of mussels and numerous large stones, which served as a suitable substrate for mussel colonies. Many of the stones were smeared with dark residue, which would have formed from the decayed root structures of plants.[106] The deposit comprising the top of the phase B sequence was created in a rocky coastal salt marsh.

The formation of these two lowest groups of stratified deposits was driven by soil transported down from the acropolis, which ultimately

105. E. Pitt (RFE Project marble specialist) examined the marble fragments and kindly provided this information. See Dodge 1988, p. 77.

106. The residue was not natural petroleum (bitumen).

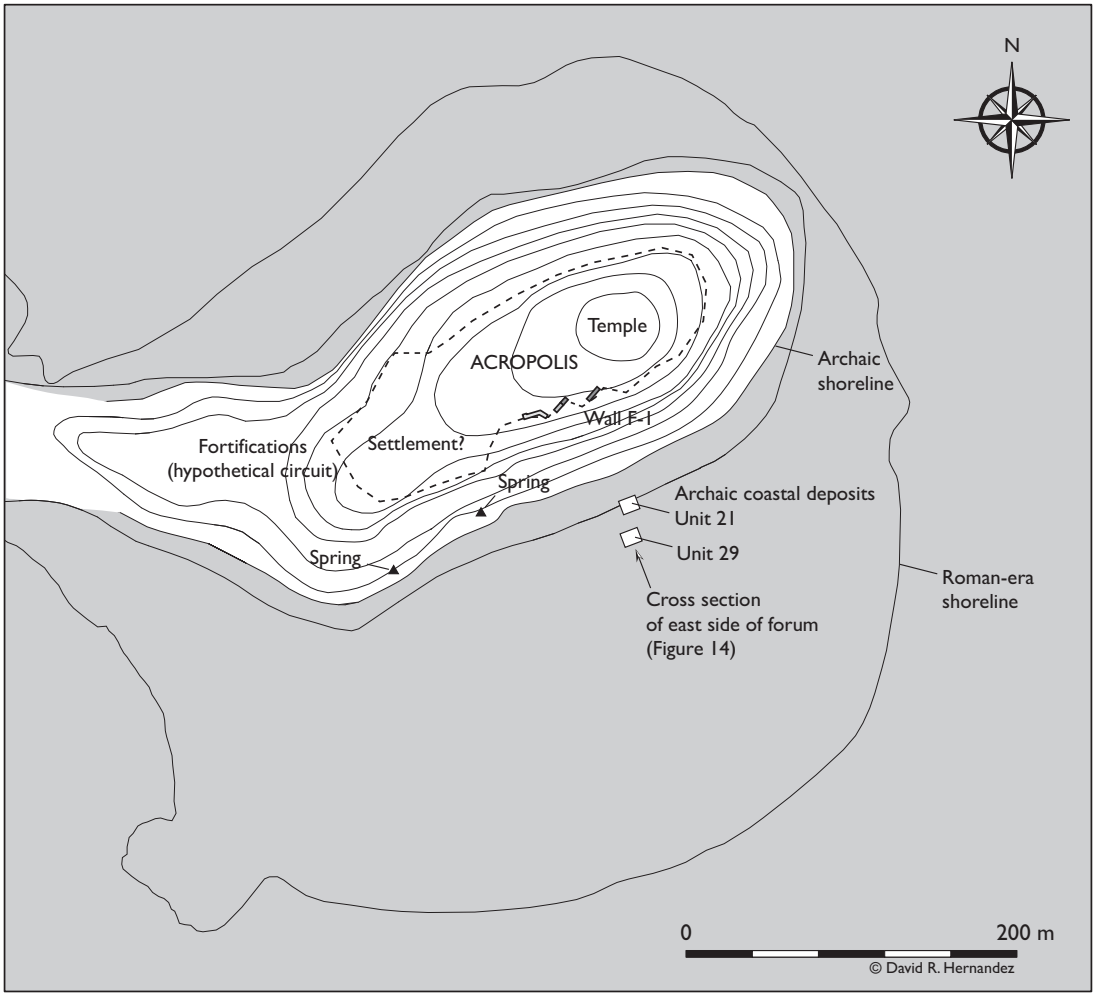



**Figure 13. Archaic Bouthrotos, ca. 475 B.C.** D. Hernandez

filled in the coast near the foot of the hill. Organic matter that had a lower density than water would have been swept away by the sea, aided by coastal tides. The remainder was dense wood that settled to the bottom. In the case of the phase A group, the formation process resulted in sandy clay deposits rich in cultural material, particularly ceramics, in a subtidal marine zone.

When deposition along the coast began to reach the intertidal level, a salt marsh developed, resulting in the formation of the phase B group. The salt marsh emerged in a rocky coastal area that was able to trap sufficient amounts of organic material in the developing clay beds. This appears to have begun with 1613, but the deposition of contexts 1600 and 1595 unequivocally marks the formation of the marsh. Thus, the sea level was somewhere near the top of context 1595, at the current position of ca. 4.52 RL, in the 5th century B.C.

The formation of these deposits in the sea shows that the lower city did not exist in the Archaic and Classical periods (Fig. 13). The coast was located directly beneath the area which later became the agora and Roman forum. In the Archaic period, the city of Bouthrotos was confined to the acropolis, since the entire region of the headland south of the hill was submerged. Within a relatively short period after the early 5th century B.C.,

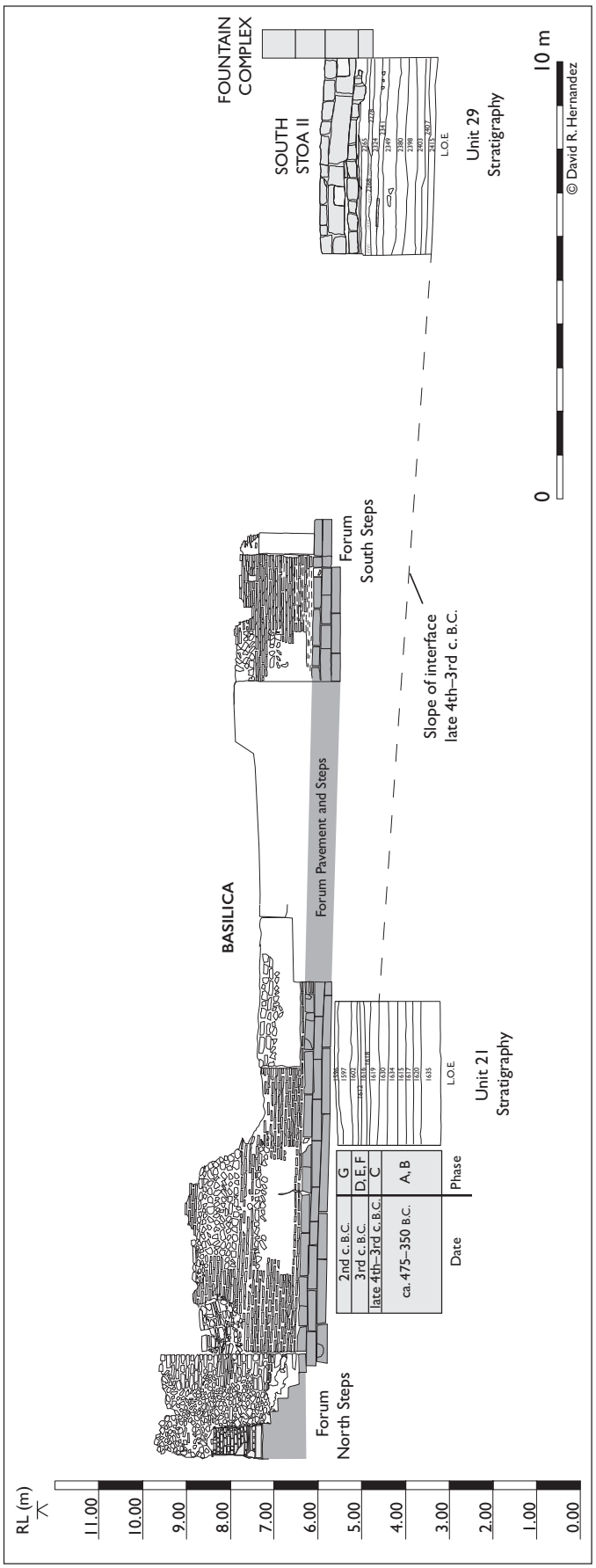



**Figure 14. Cross section of east side of forum (west-facing), showing elevation of basilica and stratigraphy below the forum.** D. Hernandez

an enormous soil mass had built up a significant portion of the seashore. In unit 21, the height of the depositional sequence measured ca. 1.45 m. This soil yielded a high density of cultural material dating from the second half of the 7th to the early 5th century B.C. All the deposits in the sequence, from top to bottom, contained the same mixed material culture, from the establishment of the settlement to about the time of the construction of the fortification wall in the early 5th century B.C. (discussed pp. 245–250, below).

The subsurface topography of these deposits and the formation characteristics suggest that they formed across the southern foot of the acropolis. Millions of tons of soil, rich in cultural material, accumulated along the coastline after the early 5th century B.C. The deposits excavated within this large soil mass have yielded a high density of pottery, evidence that the primary source of sedimentation was the acropolis and not soil accretion from the sea (via Lake Butrint and the Vivari Channel). A cross section running from units 21 to 29 reveals the subsurface topography of the deposition (Figs. 13, 14). None of the Archaic deposits from unit 21 were encountered at comparable levels 17 m south in unit 29. The deposition falls steeply and likely diminishes at a short distance from the coast. The deposition is confined to the area of the Archaic shoreline, indicating that erosion of neighboring hills could not have been its primary source. Erosion in the region of Butrint probably contributed more significantly to the rate of sedimentation in later phases, simply because the acropolis could not have yielded the amount of soil sufficient to create the entire mass of headland to its south that is known to have existed in Roman times. Mollusk counts in unit 21 are also significantly lower than those in unit 29, suggesting that the individual deposits in this area were submerged and connected to the sea for shorter periods of time, although, as mentioned above, sufficient time elapsed during the formation of the coastal deposit in unit 21 for mollusks to colonize each successive deposit.

The formation process was the result of both urbanism and natural forces. Settlement of the acropolis would have required the clearing of woods and vegetation. The hillslope would have been terraced. Construction programs for walls, dwellings, and buildings would have entailed leveling, building on scarped bedrock, and displacing soil. As the original settlers and subsequent generations denuded the region of wood, using it for construction and fuel, erosion would have increased. The deforestation of the hillslope in particular would have removed its soil catchment and triggered erosion.[107]

The Archaic settlement at Bouthrotos came to an abrupt end in ca. 475 B.C., sometime after the large-scale building programs that produced the fortification walls and the Doric temple (discussed pp. 234–235, below). It was during the period of abandonment that erosion of the hillslope, driven by rain, wind, and gravity, filled in the shore with the soil and cultural material accumulated over more than a century of habitation, from the second half of the 7th century B.C. to the early 5th century B.C. Notably, no Classical red-figure pottery has ever been found at Butrint, although it appears further north at Orikos, Amantia, Apollonia, and Epidamnos.

The ceramic and radiocarbon dating of the erosion deposits, together with the time frame for formation evidenced by the mollusk remains, indicates that the submerged Archaic deposits formed between ca. 475 and

107. See Hutchinson 1969; Davidson 1980.

**TABLE 2. OCCUPATION CHRONOLOGY FOR BUTRINT**

| *Period* | *Dates* | *Description* |
|---|---|---|
| Bronze Age | 1300–1050 B.C. | Limited activity |
| Iron Age | 1050–750 B.C. | Possible abandonment |
| | 750–700 B.C. | Limited activity |
| | 700–650 B.C. | Abandonment |
| Archaic | 650–600 B.C. | Origin of settlement (Korkyraian) |
| | 600–525 B.C. | Continuous occupation |
| | 525–500 B.C. | Small *polis*<br>Construction of Temple of Athena Polias |
| Classical | 500–475 B.C. | Construction of fortification wall F-1 |
| | 475–350 B.C. | Abandonment |
| Hellenistic | 350–300 B.C. | Resettlement (Chaonian)<br>Small *polis*<br>Construction of fortification walls F-2 and F-3 |

350 B.C. The wood remains date specifically to this period, since earlier wood would not have survived on the acropolis for long, whether buried or exposed to the air. The smallest twigs were found complete in the excavated waterlogged deposits, yet not one branch as large as an arm's length was found. The recovery of numerous timber chips and shavings confirms that wood was regularly gathered and worked at Bouthrotos during this period. By the end of the formation process, a salt marsh in the intertidal zone, with vegetation growth, occupied the shoreline. The likely cause of this large coastal formation during the period of abandonment is discussed below (pp. 260–261).

The phasing established by the RFE Project for Bouthrotos from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period is illustrated in Table 2.

## THE ARCHAIC TEMPLE ON THE ACROPOLIS

The existence of the Archaic temple on the summit of the acropolis of Bouthrotos has been known since the time of Ugolini. Mustilli suggested that it was dedicated to Athena, basing this assumption on the recovery of Archaic pottery sherds on which the letters of the goddess's name had been incised. Given this seemingly tenuous connection, scholars have been reluctant to identify the deity of the temple, believing that the material remains cannot prove anything more than the existence of an Archaic temple.[108] Fortunately, much stronger evidence exists not only to identify the temple as one dedicated to Athena but also to reconstruct its architecture.

Since its discovery by Ugolini the lintel of the Lion Gate at Butrint has stood as the most extraordinary find from Archaic Bouthrotos (Figs. 15, 16).[109] It is a limestone block that was reused in Roman or Late Antique times to decorate the false facade placed above the entrance of the Hellenistic gate (the so-called Lion Gate).[110] The face of the stone features a relief of a lion attacking a bull. The relief, carved as deep as 9 cm, is weathered

108. E.g., Martin 2004, pp. 80–81; Hodges 2006, pp. 51–59; 2013; Pojani 2007, p. 63; Greenslade, Leppard, and Logue 2013.

109. Ugolini 1937, pp. 83–84, 119–121, 123, figs. 45, 67; 1942, pp. 56–65.

110. For the reconstruction of the gate, see Hammond 1967, pp. 104–105; Zheku 1971, p. 81. Karaiskaj (2009, p. 40) favors a date in the Augustan period, reporting that Roman mortar was employed in certain places in the gate's construction.

**Figure 15. Lion Gate at Butrint.** Photo D. Hernandez

**Figure 16. Relief of lion attacking bull on epistyle block.** Photo D. Hernandez

and worn. With the exception of the lion's ears and possibly the end of its snout, only the outlines of lion and bull are distinguishable. The head of the lion is frontal, facing downward, with its mouth locked on the bull's neck. The lion's body, on the other hand, is depicted in profile, and its hind legs are fully extended, with left leg forward and right leg back. The bull's head is turned in the direction of the viewer, with its horns forming a crescent. The left ear of the bull is carefully depicted, stretched along the ground below the horn. The lion appears to be still, holding the bull's neck in its mouth. The scene depicts the bull's moment of death.

Following Ugolini, some have asserted that the bull's body is not portrayed and that the lion is in the process of "devouring" a bull's head.[111] If this were correct, the absence of the bull's body would make the relief unique

111. Martin 2004, p. 81; Pojani 2007, p. 63; Greenslade, Leppard, and Logue 2013, p. 51.

in the Greek world. The fact that the lion is biting the bull's neck—the way a lion typically kills its prey—suggests that the theme is one of death and not devouring per se. The style and iconography of the relief can be dated to the late 6th century B.C., on the basis of the Archaic characteristics of the lion and the overall composition.[112]

The lower, central part of the relief is peculiar. This is most apparent in the lion's left hind leg, which is missing its paw. The area is chiseled flat. There is also no sign of the lion's front right paw, which should have been depicted, as it is always present in other extant depictions of lions attacking prey. Finally, as discussed, the bull's body is missing. All of these anomalous features occur in one area of the relief—the bottom center.

Photographs of the Lion Gate from as late as 1961 show an irregular mass, not chiseled flat, protruding below the left hind leg (Figs. 17, 18).[113] This mass is not in the correct position to have been part of the lion's left rear paw. It must have been a very degraded portion of the original relief that was removed and chiseled flat quite recently, perhaps for aesthetic purposes. This reworking would likely have coincided with the transformation of Butrint into a tourist destination in the later communist period.

It appears that the protrusion visible in these photographs was part of the bull. The outline of the bull's back can be extrapolated and aligned with the rest of its body. The now-missing left hind paw of the lion would originally have rested on the bull's back. The rest of the bull's body must have been removed at an even earlier time. Perhaps it was reworked when the lintel was installed in the gate, for the purposes of removing, again, an undesired, degraded element thought to diminish the aesthetic appeal of the image. Ugolini noted signs of reworking with a chisel on the sides and back of the stone and believed that this reworking took place when the stone was installed as a lintel in the Roman/Late Antique gate (Fig. 19). Two large holes on the back of the stone that are aligned with the doorjambs confirm that the back of the stone was cut and heavily reworked when installed. Since the image was specifically chosen to decorate a preexisting gate, it is reasonable to suppose that the relief too was reworked at that time.

Ugolini recognized that the stone originally served as an epistyle (architrave) block.[114] His evidence for this is the shape of the block and

**Figure 17. Lion Gate in 1928.** Ugolini 1937, p. 123, fig. 67; courtesy Butrint Foundation

**Figure 18. Lion Gate from film reel of Nikita Khrushchev's visit to Butrint in 1959.** Courtesy Butrint Foundation

112. See Hofsten 2007. The Butrint relief is stylistically similar to the lion depicted on the Temple of Athena at Assos: Wescoat 2012, p. 273, no. A11, pl. 83 (see Fig. 24). Contemporary depictions of this theme include: (1) the pedimental sculpture of a lion attacking a bull from the Temple of Athena Polias at Athens, dating to the late 6th century B.C. (see note 144, p. 242, below); (2) the pedimental sculpture of two lions attacking a bull, found near the Olympieion in Athens in 1862 and dated between 525 and 500 B.C. (of which one part is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the other in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens); (3) the relief of a lion attacking a bull from the Archilocheion, dated ca. 500 B.C. (it was found beneath the floor of the Church of Panayia Ekatontapyliani and is now in the Archaeological Museum of Paros [A759]); (4) the terracotta altar showing a lion attacking a bull from Gela, dated ca. 500–475, now in the Museo Archeologico Regionale di Gela (inv. Sop. BL 30); (5) the terracotta altar, showing a lion attacking a bull, from Centuripe in the Museo Archeologico Regionale di Siracusa (inv. 18670), dated between ca. 550–500 B.C. In the last of these, the bull's head is held up and the lion's tail is high in a scene of action that contrasts with the serenity of the image on the Butrint relief.

113. The mass is evident in Ugolini's photographs and drawings (1937, p. 123, fig. 67; 1942, p. 59, fig. 61), in Karaiskaj's original monograph (1984, pls. IX:1, XI:1), in Zheku's report on the gate's restoration (1971, p. 79, fig. 1), and in archival photographs of the Albanian Institute of Archaeology.

114. Ugolini 1942, p. 61. Some have suggested that the stone originally served as the lintel of a gate: Pojani 2007, p. 63; Greenslade, Leppard, and Logue 2013, p. 51. No evidence has been presented to support this claim, which is unlikely given the shape of the stone and its dimensions, decoration, and date.

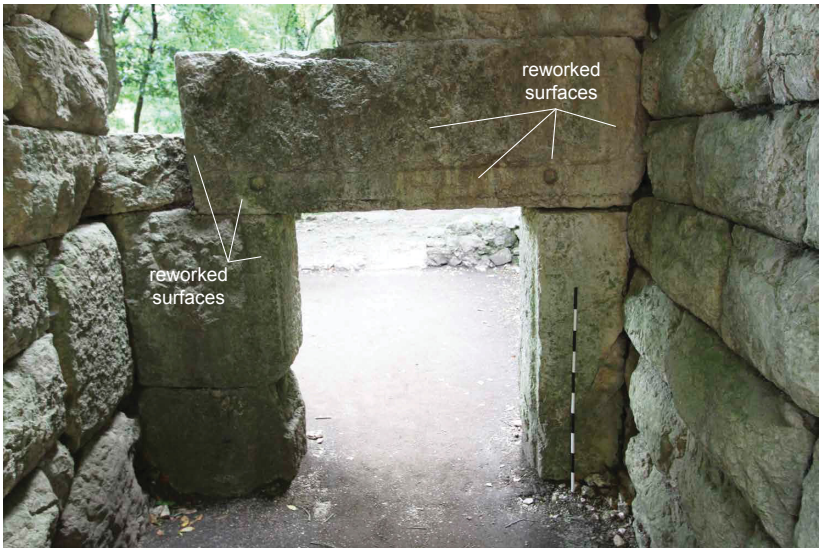



**Figure 19. Back of the Lion Gate, showing reworked surfaces of the epistyle (lintel).** Photo D. Hernandez

the taenia (crowning horizontal band) running along the top of the stone, above the relief. Ugolini suggested that the epistyle block belonged to an Ionic temple. It would have been very unusual for one to exist at Bouthrotos in the Archaic or Classical period. No temples in this order were constructed on Korkyra during that time, and, as discussed above, the Ionic order was rarely employed in the Archaic period in lands dominated by the Doric dialect, which include Sicily, southern Italy, the Peloponnese, and Korkyra.[115] During the 6th century B.C., architects on Korkyra, as well as in other cities in Sicily and southern Italy, were experimenting with temple architecture and infusing Ionic features into the Doric order, leading to the emergence of the unique "Ionian Sea style," which later in the same century spread to the Peloponnese.[116] Ionic architectural features began to appear in the West during the first half of the 6th century B.C. and achieved a widespread influence only in the last quarter of the 6th century B.C.[117] This period of experimentation resulted in considerable variation in the overall designs of early Doric temples. The first traces of the Ionian Sea style come from Korkyra, where many of these pioneering temple designs appear to have originated.

One temple of particular interest for the examination of the Butrint epistyle block is the Kardaki temple (Fig. 20). Built on the edge of a cliff on the Kanoni Peninsula, the temple is elevated over 30 meters above the sea, facing east, in the direction of Epeiros.[118] Below the cliff, a cave and

115. Dinsmoor 1950, p. 148; Gullini 1985, pp. 471–473; Auberson 1994; Mertens 1996, p. 330; 2006, pp. 241–249, 296–309; Gruben 2001, pp. 33–45, 259–285, 341–348. The few late Archaic Ionic capitals from the temples at Poseidonia and Gela, for example, are unusual, showing the fusion of Ionic and Doric elements characteristic of the Ionian Sea style. At Catania in Sicily, an Ionic epistyle block, with two fasciae separated by an astragal, has been found that dates to the late Archaic period. The Ionic temple at Syracuse (ca. 23 × 56 m), dated to the early 5th century B.C., was constructed as a result of a specific historical occurrence: stone masons from the island of Samos arrived in Syracuse after the fall of the tyrant Polykrates in 522 B.C. It became the prototype for Ionic temples in the later 5th century B.C., such as those at Catania, Kaulonia, Hipponion, and Contrada Marasà in Locri. The Ionic temple at Metapontion, dating to ca. 475 B.C., is an outlier. While it features Ionic capitals, the entablature does not incorporate all the characteristics of the Ionic order in the Aegean or Ionia.

116. Barletta 1983; 1990, pp. 46, 71.

117. Mertens 2006, pp. 241–249.

118. For the Kardaki temple, see Railton 1830; Dinsmoor 1936; Johnson 1936; Dinsmoor Jr. 1973; Dontas 1977, 1978.

**Figure 20. Kardaki temple, Korkyra.**
Photo D. Hernandez

natural spring were probably tied to the cult rituals of the temple. The front of the temple has fallen into the sea, but most of the stylobate and many architectural elements of the building survive. Discovered in 1822, it remains the best-preserved temple from ancient Korkyra. Covering a surface area of 12 × 20+ m, the temple is Doric, hexastyle, and peripteral, with a distyle-in-antis cella and 12 columns along its lateral sides (Fig. 21). Scholars generally agree that the temple dates to the late 6th century B.C.[119]

The temple proper consists of pronaos and cella, with no adyton or opisthodomos. The walls were built of mud brick set on a course of stone orthostates. The temple is regularly described as unusual, owing to its Ionic features and other peculiarities. It is the only known Doric temple not to possess a frieze.[120] It lacked not only triglyphs and metopes but also the stone course of the frieze itself, so that the entablature consisted of epistyle and cornice alone.[121] A novel type of cornice was also created for the temple, with an astragal and cyma recta. The cornice did not have mutules and guttae. The epistyle had a taenia with no regulae; regulae are rectangular elements that correspond in position with the triglyphs of the frieze above it, and given the absence of the frieze course they were not needed. The back of the epistyle featured a molding, presumably to support the interior wooden joists of the ceiling. All these unique elements are signs of Ionic influence, particularly the absence of the frieze.[122] Johnson observed that its absence lightened the weight of the entablature, thereby allowing the temple to have a wider intercolumniation than usual.[123]

The reworked epistyle block from Butrint bears a striking similarity to the epistyle blocks of the Kardaki temple (Fig. 22).[124] Both epistyles are characterized by a taenia without regulae. There are no other known temples in the Doric order that share this characteristic. Of the few Archaic Doric temples without regulae, all have plain epistyle blocks lacking a taenia.[125] This is seen in the three main temples at Poseidonia and the Temple of Apollo at Metopontion. In these cases, the taenia was replaced by an elaborate continuous Ionic molding made of sandstone, and the epistyle was surmounted by a Doric frieze with triglyphs and metopes. The

119. Weickert 1929, p. 156; Johnson 1936, p. 54; Robertson 1969, p. 326; Dinsmoor Jr. 1973, p. 173; Barletta 2001, p. 71. Johnson (1936, p. 54) claims that Dörpfeld proposed a date in the first half of the 5th century B.C. However, Dörpfeld (1914a, pp. 248–249) dated the capitals of the Kardaki temple to the 6th century B.C.

120. Barletta 2001, p. 150.

121. Johnson 1936, pp. 52–53; Dinsmoor 1936, p. 55; Dinsmoor Jr. 1973; Barletta 2001, p. 71.

122. Weickert 1929, p. 155.

123. Johnson 1936, p. 53. Robertson (1969, p. 71) considered the temple's spacing of columns to be "abnormally wide."

124. See also Johnson 1936, p. 51, fig. 5.

125. For the three temples at Poseidonia (Temples of Hera I and II and Temple of Athena) and the Temple of Apollo at Metapontion, see Dinsmoor 1950, pp. 95–97; Mertens 2006, pp. 139–152.

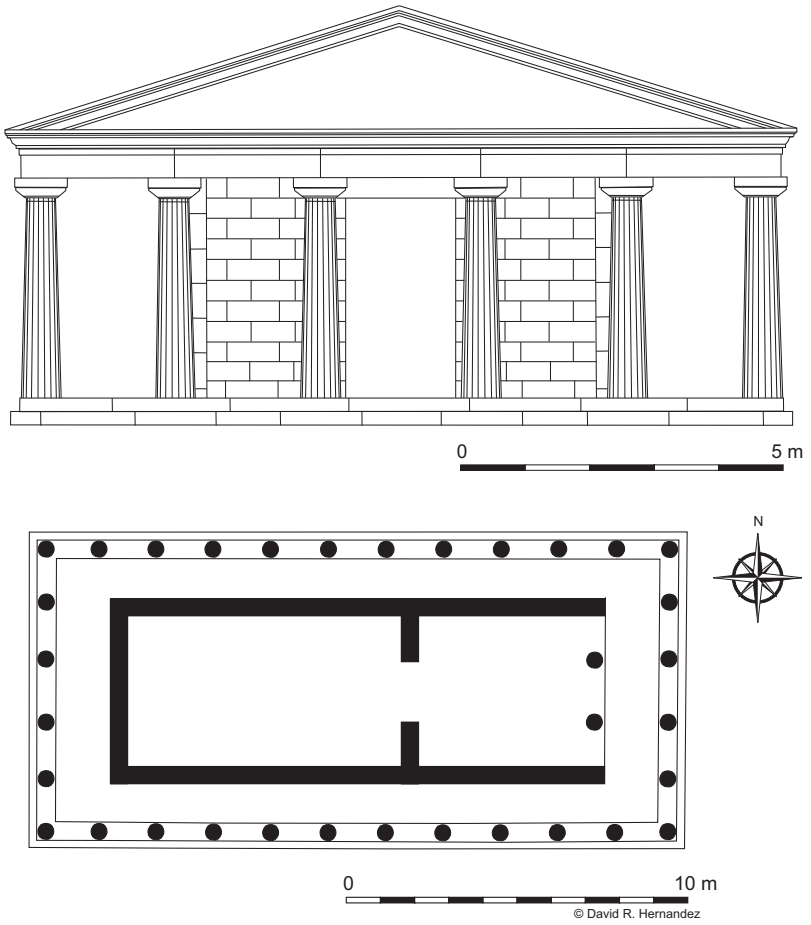



**Figure 21. Reconstructed elevation and plan of the Kardaki temple, Korkyra.** D. Hernandez

key similarity between the Butrint and Kardaki epistyles suggests that the Butrint temple too lacked triglyphs and a frieze. The Butrint and Kardaki temples were built at about the same time, in the late 6th century B.C., and only about 16 kilometers away from each other.[126] It should come as no surprise that the temple architecture of Bouthrotos reflected contemporary trends on Korkyra, particularly in view of the fact that Bouthrotos was a dependent *polis* of Korkyra.

The dimensions of the Butrint epistyle block are: L. 2.05; W. 0.45; H. 0.69 m; those of the Kardaki temple are: L. ca. 2.26; W. 0.62; H. 0.46 m.[127] As detailed above, the back of the Butrint block was cut and reworked extensively so that it could serve as the lintel for the entrance gate in Roman or Late Antique times, and therefore nothing can be inferred about the original width of the block or the original condition of the back of the stone. The Butrint epistyle block does preserve its original length, as shown by the central position of the image of the lion attacking the bull. The right side of the block is visible and shows traces of anathyrosis, which shows that the block originally spanned a colonnade. The height of the taenia is 14 cm for the Butrint block and 11 cm for the Kardaki block.

There is an anomaly in the top left corner of the Butrint block where the stone meets the fortification wall. The taenia is missing a segment of 7 cm (see Figs. 15, 22, 23). A cutting along the face of the fortification

126. This is the linear distance between the *polis* of Korkyra and Butrint.

127. Ugolini (1942, p. 61) states mistakenly that the Butrint lintel measures 0.61 m in thickness. The average length of the Kardaki epistle blocks is 2.264 m: Dinsmoor 1936, p. 55.

**Figure 22. Butrint and Kardaki epistyle blocks.** Scale 1:15. Photos D. Hernandez

wall, along the edge of the lintel, forms a rectangular recess in the masonry. The small segment of taenia appears to have been removed in order to insert a rectangular plate, made of either wood or iron, into this depression, when the lintel was installed. The gap in the taenia would have served as a slot to secure the plate. The base of the cutting for the rectangular plate is aligned with the slot and edge that are cut into the stone on the other side of the gate. This confirms that some kind of exterior apparatus, probably made of wood and iron, was installed to seal the exterior of the gate.

The length of the Butrint epistyle block (2.05 m) represents roughly the span between two columns. Although the intercolumniation of the temple would likely not have been identical in all instances, the presumed span length derived from this block provides a reasonable estimation of the temple's intercolumniation. The length of an epistyle block from Kardaki is ca. 2.26 m.[128] The Butrint epistyle block is 21 cm shorter in length and 23 cm higher than the Kardaki epistyle block. If, as Johnson observed, the length of the epistyle block (indicating the spacing between columns) was able to be particularly long in the Kardaki temple because it did not have to support the weight of a frieze, this would explain why the Butrint epistyle was shorter, since the block's height and, consequently, weight were increased. Without a frieze, the entablature of the Kardaki temple was unusually short (only 0.75 m high), a feature that would have seemed odd in comparison to contemporary Doric temples.[129] Nowhere in the Greek world was this peculiarity replicated. The Butrint temple significantly increased the height of the same type of epistyle. It also added a relief to the epistyle that would have required a larger space with which to frame the image in a manner proportionate to the elevation of the temple. Regulae were not added because the temple did not have a frieze. Moreover, regulae intrude

128. Dinsmoor 1936, p. 55.
129. Dinsmoor 1936, p. 55.

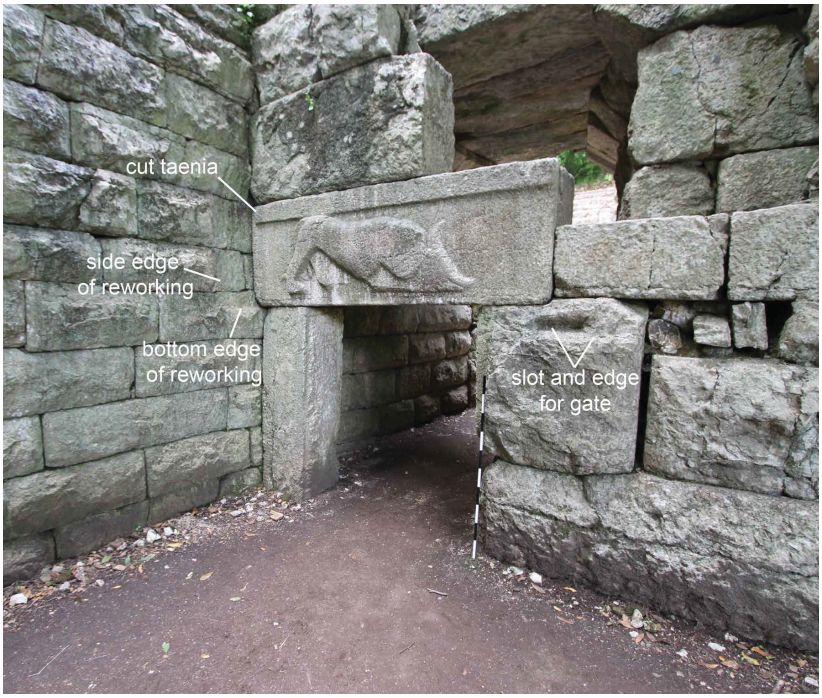



**Figure 23. Reworked areas at the entrance of the Lion Gate.** Photo D. Hernandez

**Figure 24. Epistyle block from the Temple of Athena at Assos, third quarter of 6th century B.C.** © RMN–Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY; courtesy Musée du Louvre

into the space of sculptural relief, and that consideration might also have played a role in the elimination of this standard architectural element.[130]

By placing an Ionic frieze on its epistyle, Butrint's temple made a bolder display of its Ionic features than did the Kardaki temple. This very combination of an Ionic relief on a Doric temple was executed shortly before in the Temple of Athena at Assos (ca. 540 B.C.), which also consisted of pronaos and cella, without opisthodomos.[131] The temple is also hexastyle (6 × 13) and peripteral. Its epistyle featured lions attacking bulls and hinds. One lion that attacks a hind is the closest stylistic parallel in relief to the lion on the Butrint epistyle block (Fig. 24).[132]

With the Kardaki and Assos temples as its two closest parallels, the Butrint temple would likely have been hexastyle as well. If so, the width

130. Wescoat (2012, p. 131) observes that "regulae . . . repeatedly intruded into the sculptural area" on the epistyles of the Temple of Athena at Assos.

131. Wescoat 2012, p. 239.

132. Wescoat 2012, p. 273, no. A11, pl. 83.

**Figure 25. Stone pavement in the acropolis basilica.** Photo D. Hernandez

**Figure 26. Bedrock cuttings showing cross-sectional area for ashlar masonry.** Photo D. Hernandez

of the temple can be estimated to measure ca. 11 m (the length of five epistyle blocks plus ca. 0.75 m for the steps of the stylobate). If the flanking columns were typical, numbering 12, then the temple would measure ca. 23 m long. The flanking columns would have numbered between 11 and 13, thereby establishing a length range roughly between 21 and 26 m. On the basis of the size of the Butrint epistyle block, the overall size of the Butrint temple appears to have been ca. 11 × 21–26 m. If we use the same methodology to estimate the width of the Kardaki temple (length of epistyle block 2.26 m × 5 blocks + 0.75 m) the result is 12.05 m. The measured width of the Kardaki temple is 11.90 m, a difference from our estimate of only 15 cm.[133] It is therefore probable that the estimation of the dimensions of the Butrint temple is not too far off.

A number of rock cuttings on the summit of the acropolis provide key evidence to establish the position and orientation of the temple.[134] On the northern side of the summit are the remains of a thick stone pavement, which was reused as a floor in a small room of the basilica. It may have originally served as part of the temple or temenos (Fig. 25).

To the southeast of the pavement, rectilinear cuttings on leveled bedrock provide the dimensions of ashlar blocks that would have formed a wall oriented northwest–southeast. One block, for example, measured 1.24 m long and 0.72 m wide (Fig. 26).[135] To the southwest, a second line of similar rock-cut features runs parallel to this wall. A projection of the wall to the southeast intercepts a leveled bedrock surface, into which a socket was cut, perhaps for drainage (Fig. 27). At a short distance to the

133. See Robertson 1969, p. 326.

134. The summit of the acropolis has never been carefully surveyed to search for traces of the Archaic temple.

135. These rock-cut features, which are typical of Epeirote hilltop settlements (e.g., Çuka e Aitoit, Amantia), have been dated incorrectly to Late Antiquity: Greenslade, Leppard, and Logue 2013, pp. 56–57, pl. 4:8. The cutting in the shape of a large rectangular block of ashlar masonry demonstrates conclusively that these features do not belong to the Late Antique basilica. The argument for the proposed Late Antique phasing rests on the belief that the summit needed to be leveled and quarried for the construction of the basilica. Besides the fact that the summit would have been level from Archaic to Roman times, the rock-cut features do not show any attempt at leveling or quarrying; their purpose was to shape the bedrock for the construction and functional purposes of the temple.

**Figure 27. Leveled bedrock below the basilica, showing socket for drainage.** Photo D. Hernandez

**Figure 28. Stepped cuttings for masonry evident on boulder (western wall of basilica narthex).** Photo D. Hernandez

west, a third set of rock-cut features has the same orientation (Fig. 28). In this area, stepped, rectilinear cuttings on the top of a large boulder would have formed the beds of masonry for a wall situated adjacent to the leveled bedrock of the summit. This boulder, which was reused later in the western wall of the basilica's narthex, calls to mind the boulders used for the earliest fortification wall on the acropolis (wall F-1, Fig. 33; discussed p. 245, below).[136] A few other cuttings on nearby stones probably belong to this same wall.

These three parallel lines of rock-cut features are visible on an aerial photograph of the acropolis basilica (Fig. 29).[137] The westernmost wall, which had boulders as its foundations, was not a retaining or fortification wall, and its masonry style indicates that it did not form part of the structure of the temple. It may have belonged to the temenos wall of the sanctuary. The two other aligned walls comprised rectangular ashlar blocks set directly into the bedrock platform of the summit. The distance between them is 11.6 m (Fig. 30). This width agrees with the estimated width of 11 m for

136. For a photograph of the boulder and the western wall of the basilica's narthex, see Greenslade, Leppard, and Logue 2013, p. 57, fig. 4:12.

137. The acropolis basilica was excavated by Ugolini (1937, pp. 175–177) and has been dated on the basis of its plan to the 4th century A.D. (Meksi 1985, pp. 16–17, 31, pl. 1; 1988, pp. 199–200). Greenslade, Leppard, and Logue (2013, p. 74, n. 31) date the basilica to the late 5th or 6th century A.D. See also Bowden and Mitchell 2004, pp. 111–113.

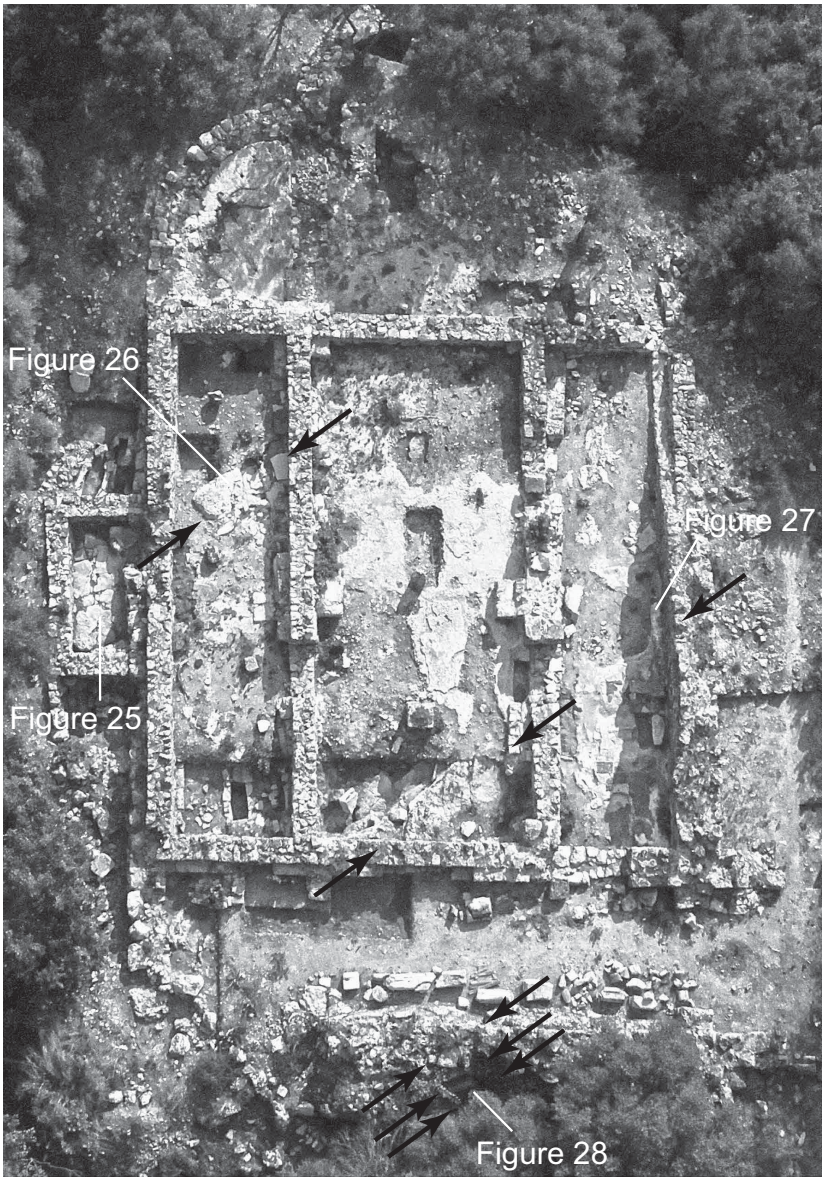



**Figure 29** *(left)*. **Aerial view of acropolis basilica, showing traces of the Temple of Athena.** D. Hernandez, after photo A. Islami; courtesy Butrint Foundation

**Figure 30** *(opposite, above)*. **Orientation and remains of Temple of Athena and fortification walls on the Acropolis.** D. Hernandez

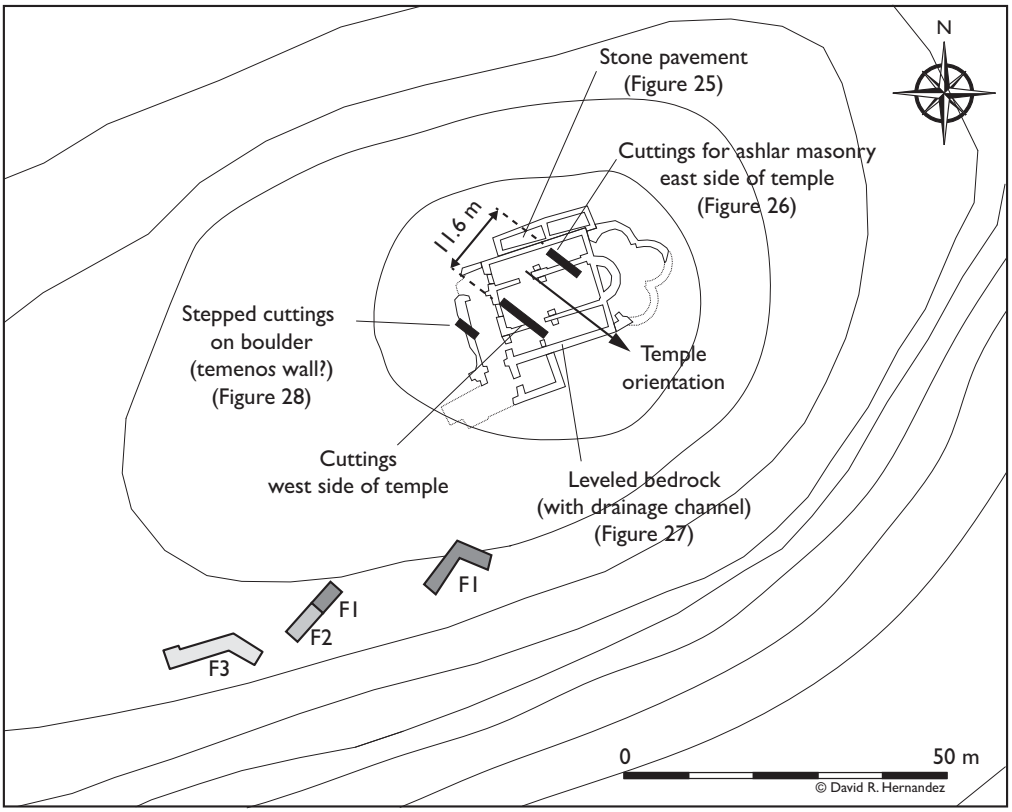
**Figure 31** *(opposite, below)*. **Orientation of Athena and Asklepios temples in respect to the Tower Gate and Roman suburb.** D. Hernandez

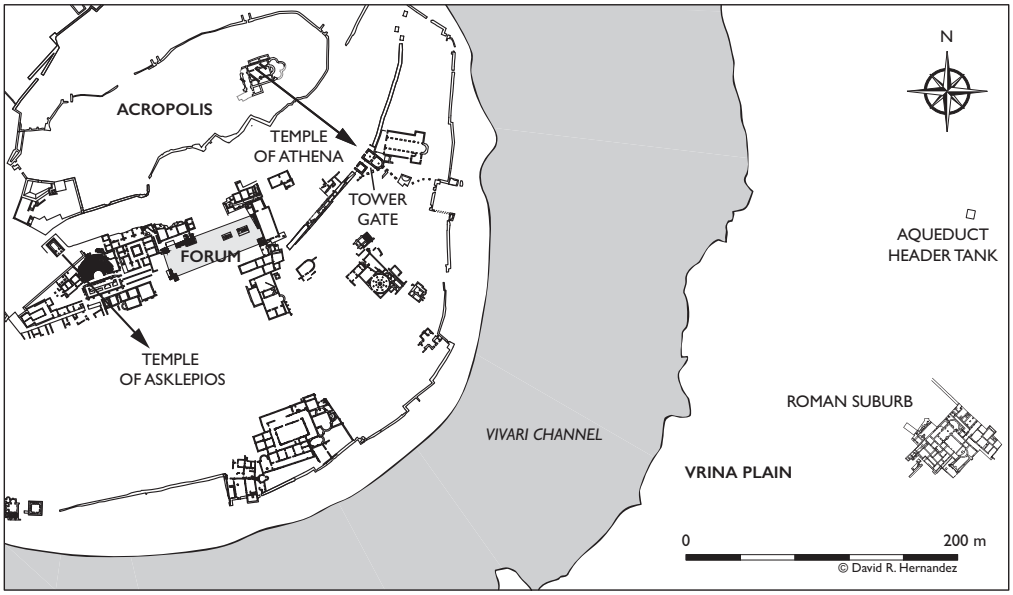
the temple, which was calculated on the basis of the length of the Butrint epistyle block. The two walls thus appear to represent the foundations of the krepidoma along the flanks of the temple. The orientation of these two foundations and the temenos wall demonstrate that the Archaic temple faced southeast, in the direction of the Vrina Plain and Çuka e Aitoit.

The existence of a temple of Athena on the acropolis explains why Vergil (3.349) and Ovid (*Met.* 13.721) were able to claim that Bouthrotos was modeled on Troy.[138] Would it have been possible to call Bouthrotos "a little Troy" *(parva Troia)* and a "replica of Troy" *(simulata Troia)* if the temple on the acropolis were not dedicated to Athena? The orientation of the Shrine of Asklepios (adjacent to the theater) and the Temple of Asklepios (above the theater)—built, respectively, in the 3rd and 2nd century B.C.—has always been a mystery in the context of the topography of the city, because they do not align with other known buildings at Butrint.[139] The only alignment that has been correlated with them is the centuriation

138. The Temple of Athena existed at Troy by the 6th century B.C.: Webb 1996, pp. 47–51; Rose 2003, pp. 46–47; 2014, pp. 59, 183–185.

139. Hernandez and Çondi 2008, p. 276.




grid of the Roman colony on the Vrina Plain.[140] It is now clear that the orientation of the Temple of Athena is effectively the same as that of the Shrine and Temple of Asklepios. The temple also aligns with the Tower Gate and the Roman suburb (Fig. 31). Thus, the Temple of Athena appears to have established the orientation of the Shrine and Temple of Asklepios in the urban center, the position and orientation of the Roman suburb, and the alignment of Roman centuriation in the city's *chora*.

140. Bescoby 2007, p. 113. For the suburb on the Vrina Plain, see Greenslade 2013.

## THE TEMPLE OF ATHENA POLIAS

In the context of Archaic temple iconography, lions symbolize the power of the gods and serve an apotropaic function.[141] In the Gigantomachy, they are seen fighting alongside gods. Hofsten has examined the theme of feline–prey attacks in Archaic art from a corpus of more than 500 representations. The study has shown that the image of a lion attacking a bull in the context of temple iconography specifically symbolizes the power of Athena.[142] This same conclusion had been reached years earlier by both Hölscher and Ridgway.[143]

In addition to the scenes of a lion attacking prey displayed on the Temple of Athena at Assos, the image of a lion attacking a bull was depicted on the Temple of Athena Pronaia at Delphi and on the Temple of Athena Polias (Archaios Neos) and the Hekatompedon at Athens, all three constructed in the 6th century B.C. and dedicated to Athena.[144] A variation is the pair of lions attacking a bull and a hind on the east pediment of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, built ca. 510 B.C. This architectural sculpture, together with other elements of the temple, however, was designed and constructed by Athens and modeled on the pair of lions on the pediment of the Hekatompedon at Athens.[145]

According to Hofsten, "we could perhaps regard the lions/bull motif as some kind of attribute of Athena (and city arms for Athens?), in a similar way as the owl."[146] Introduced from the Near East, the motif emerges in Athens in the second quarter of the 6th century B.C. and becomes the dominant decoration of at least three pediments on the Athenian acropolis during this century.[147] The votive pottery inscribed with the name of Athena discovered by Mustilli on the acropolis, together with the iconography and date of the epistyle relief, is strong evidence that the Archaic temple at Butrint was dedicated to Athena. Because lions were typically shown in pairs on temples, the Butrint epistyle block would likely have been balanced by a corresponding image of a lion attacking prey on one of the short sides of the temple (Fig. 32).[148]

There is evidence to show, in addition, that the temple at Bouthrotos was dedicated to Athena Polias specifically. An oracular lamella from Dodona records a question posed by the Chaonians:

141. Rambo 1920, pp. 36–37; Hölscher 1972, p. 81; Markoe 1989, p. 87; Hofsten 2007, p. 53.

142. Hofsten 2007, pp. 54–55.

143. Hölscher 1972, pp. 82–104; Ridgway 1972, pp. 32–33.

144. Lions attacking bulls served as the central motif of three pediments on the Athenian Acropolis in the 6th century B.C. The remains of three groups in poros and marble have been found: (1) the poros group of two lions attacking a bull (Acropolis Museum inv. 3); (2) the poros group of a lion attacking a bull (Acropolis Museum inv. 4); (3) the Parian marble group of two lions attacking a bull (see Ridgway 1977, pp. 196–207; Hurwit 1999, pp. 109–111, 123). There is some debate among scholars whether the poros groups are contemporary and whether they belonged to the Hekatompedon (ca. 560 B.C) or to the Temple of Athena Polias (Archaios Neos, ca. 525–500 B.C). The marble group is thought to come from the latter. See also Schrader 1939, pp. 377–386; Dinsmoor 1947, pp. 115–116; Markoe 1989, pp. 96–97; Rhodes 1995, p. 52; Hurwit 2004, pp. 67–74, fig. 59:a; Marconi 2007, pp. 18–20.

145. Stewart 1990, pp. 60, 86–89; Neer 2007, pp. 247–253. Herodotos (5.62–63) reports that the Athenian clan, Alkmaionidai, rebuilt the temple and its eastern facade in marble; cf. Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 7.9b (Philochoros, *FGrH* 328 F115). Rhodes (1995, p. 30) notes that "the east end of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, the Alkmaionid end, is the first monument of the new Athenian democracy."

146. Hofsten 2007, p. 55.

147. Wescoat 2012, p. 147.

148. Such pairing of lions can be seen on, e.g., the Temple of Artemis on Korkyra, the Temple of Athena at Assos, and the Temple of Athena Polias at Athens.

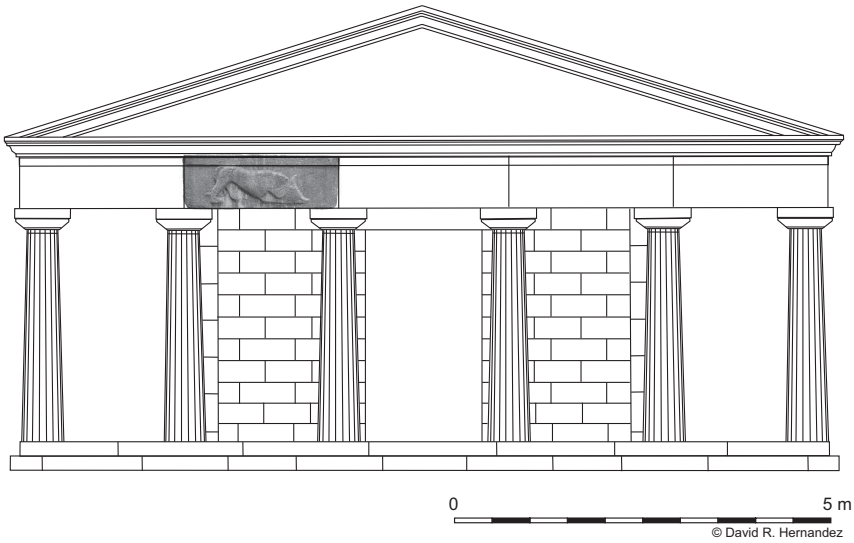



**Figure 32. Hypothetical elevation of the Temple of Athena Polias at Bouthrotos, showing possible position of lion/bull epistyle (modeled after the Kardaki temple on Korkyra).** D. Hernandez

> Ἀγαθὰ τύχα – αἰτεῖται ἁ πόλις ἁ τῶν Χαόνων τὸν Δία τὸν Νᾶον καὶ τὰν Διώναν ἀνελεῖν εἰ λῶιον καὶ ἄμεινον καὶ συμφορώτερόν ἐστι τὸν ναὸν τὸν τᾶς Ἀθάνας τᾶς Πολιάδος ἀγχωρίξαντας ποεῖν.[149]
>
> Good fortune. The *polis* of the Chaonians asks Zeus Naos and Dione if it is desirable, better, and more advantageous to move and rebuild the Temple of Athena Polias.

The lamella dates to ca. 330–320 B.C. Evangelidis, who first published the inscription, proposes that the generic term *polis* refers to Phoinike, the capital of Chaonia. Hammond points out that the inscription would more likely have read ἡ Φοινίκη than ἁ πόλις, if Phoinike were intended. He argues that the phrase ἁ πόλις ἁ τῶν Χαόνων means the "state of the Chaonians," a reading that is widely accepted today.[150] Oddly, Hammond mentions the inscription elsewhere and equates the "state of the Chaonians" with "Phoinike," unwittingly bringing the argument full circle.[151] He notes that an early temple dating to the late 4th century B.C. at Phoinike, first excavated by Ugolini and called the Thesauros by him, might be the Temple of Athena Polias mentioned in the inscription.[152] Cabanes and other scholars have generally agreed with this identification.[153] While the phrase ἁ πόλις ἁ τῶν Χαόνων might refer to the "State of the Chaonians," it does not necessarily follow that the Temple of Athena was located at Phoinike. In fact, the cult of Athena has never been attested there.[154] Scholars have looked to Phoinike for the location of the temple for three reasons. First, the Temple of Athena Polias must have been situated in a *polis,* by virtue

149. Evangelidis 1953–1954 (*SEG* XV 397) (*Praktika* 1952, pp. 297–298, n. 1); Franke 1961, pp. 19, 94; Hammond 1967, pp. 539–540; Dakaris, Christidis, and Vokotopoulou 1993, pp. 58–59; Cabanes 1999, p. 374; 2012, pp. 50, 54; Lhôte 2006, no. 11, pp. 59–61; Quantin and Quantin 2007 (*SEG* LVII 537). *Contra* Meyer (2013, p. 20, n. 33), who redates the lamella, together with several inscriptions from Dodona, to the 3rd century B.C.

150. Hammond 1967, p. 539, n. 3.

151. Hammond 1967, p. 574.

152. For the Thesauros, see De Maria 2002b.

153. Cabanes 2012, pp. 50, 54; Quantin and Quantin 2007, p. 182. See also Lepore 2012, p. 506.

154. The cults of Aphrodite, Artemis, Poseidon, and Zeus are attested at Phoinike: Quantin and Quantin 2007, p. 179.

of its name. Second, it is during the same period in which the lamella is generally dated, namely in the second half of the 4th century B.C., that Phoinike emerged as a *polis*.[155] Third, Phoinike was the capital and most important city of Chaonia.

After the period of abandonment (475–350 B.C.), settlement reemerged at Bouthrotos in the second half of the 4th century B.C., at about the same time Phoinike arose as an urban center (discussed below). The second half of the 4th century B.C. marks the inception of urbanism in the region of Epeiros generally.[156] In Chaonia, only Phoinike and Bouthrotos were urban centers during this incipient period of urbanism. Bouthrotos had a temple of Athena on the acropolis and it is, therefore, the likelier site for the location of the Temple of Athena Polias in Chaonia.

Before the Peloponnesian War, Bouthrotos was the only *polis* in the entire central coastal region of Epeiros. If the lamella dates to ca. 330–320 B.C., as is generally thought, it would be odd for the Temple of Athena Polias to be moved and rebuilt at Phoinike at the very time that the city became a *polis*. The act of rebuilding a temple associated with a *polis* in Chaonia during this early period of Epeirote urbanism points again to Bouthrotos, which was the first *polis* in this region of Epeiros. The lack of evidence for the cult of Athena at Phoinike combined with the existence of the Temple of Athena at Bouthrotos as early as the late 6th century B.C. strongly supports the conclusion that the Temple of Athena Polias was located at Bouthrotos. The Corinthian colonists were the first to introduce the cult of Athena to Epeiros.[157] The cult is attested at Corinth and Korkyra and also at Apollonia and Epidamnos. At Ambrakia, it appears on the first Pegasos staters in the early 5th century B.C. The head of Athena Parthenos on the early bronze coinage of Molossia also shows that Athens influenced the spread of the cult in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.[158]

The state of the Chaonians asked the oracle at Dodona whether the temple should be moved and rebuilt at about the time settlement reemerged at Bouthrotos, after over a century of abandonment. During the late 6th and 5th centuries B.C., Korkyra looked to Athens as a powerful ally in its long-standing struggle against Corinth. The Peloponnesian War diminished the power of both Athens and Korkyra. Nevertheless, Korkyra continued to rely on Athens for assistance. Athens rescued Korkyra from the devastating Spartan siege in 373 B.C. and safeguarded the island's independence (Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.3–26; Diod. Sic. 15.46–47) (discussed p. 257, below). Built at the end of the 6th century B.C. at Bouthrotos, the Temple of Athena Polias would have been the quintessential monument symbolizing the political relationship between Korkyra and Athens. It is at this same time, in the late 6th century B.C., that the first imported pottery arrives at Bouthrotos from Athens (discussed p. 223, above). Both the Hekatompedon and the Temple of Athena Polias (Archaios Neos) at Athens featured scenes of lions attacking bulls in their pediments. Some have argued that the eastern and western ends of the Temple of Athena Polias displayed two frontal lions attacking bulls.[159] Both Hölscher and Ridgway considered the lion-attacking-bull motif as the "badge" of Athena Polias.[160] The sacred imagery of the Temple of Athena Polias at Bouthrotos, with its lion attacking a bull, may have been inspired by the same motifs on the Temple of Athena Polias, built at about the same time in the late 6th century B.C., on the acropolis of Athens.[161]

155. For the origins of Phoinike, see Hammond 1967, pp. 572–574; De Maria 2001, 2002a, 2011; Lepore 2012; Giorgi and Bogdani 2012, pp. 45–46, 51–52; Podini 2015, p. 36.

156. Hammond 1967, pp. 572–580; Dakaris 1982; Cabanes 2010; Giorgi and Bogdani 2012, pp. 372–374; Podini 2015, pp. 17–18, 36–38.

157. Tzouvara-Souli 1993, pp. 71–72.

158. Franke 1961, pp. 88–89, 99–101; Kraay 1976, pp. 123–130.

159. Beyer 1974; Osborne 2000, pp. 232–233.

160. Quoting Wescoat (2012, pp. 149–150). Hölscher 1972, pp. 82–104; Ridgway 1972, pp. 32–33.

161. For the Temple of Athena Polias on the Athenian Acropolis, see Stähler 1972, pp. 101–112; Childs 1994; Ferrari 2002, p. 22; Hurwit 2004, p. 68; 2005, p. 23.


**Figure 33. Walls F-1 and F-2, below the medieval fortifications on the Acropolis.** D. Hernandez, after photo M. Smith; courtesy Butrint Foundation

## FORTIFICATION WALLS ON THE ACROPOLIS

Butrint's fortifications and in particular the walls on the acropolis have been studied intensively by Italian, Albanian, and British archaeologists.[162] The ancient walls on the acropolis were first classified by Ugolini into three phases according to masonry type.[163] The earliest (F-1) is a short segment (L. ca. 3; W. 2 m) on the southern side of the acropolis (Figs. 5, 33). Ugolini referred to it as "pelasgic" and "cyclopean." The wall consists of large, unhewn boulders filled in with smaller stones. A longer and better-preserved segment of wall F-1 is located ca. 10 m to the east, running parallel to it (Fig. 30). For reasons unknown, and as discussed below, this better-preserved segment of wall F-1 was not noted by Ugolini or observed by subsequent scholars who examined Butrint's fortifications until 2006, when the Butrint Foundation team recorded its elevation (Fig. 34).[164] Measuring ca. 10 m long and 2.6 m high, with a return at its eastern end, the wall consists of large unhewn boulders placed at intervals of ca. 5 m, with the intervening space filled with smaller stones.

Wall F-2 (L. 4; H. 3.5 m), in polygonal masonry, was a reconstruction of the western side of wall F-1. Ugolini called it "primitive polygonal." Twenty meters to the west of this is another stretch of wall, dubbed "large boulder polygonal" by Ugolini. This wall (F-3) is longer, with a combined length of ca. 16 m, and features angled returns and corner segments (Figs. 30, 35). All these walls are preserved within the medieval fortification wall that came to enclose the acropolis in the 10th or 11th century A.D.[165]

Ugolini believed that the first circuit wall (F-1) around the acropolis was built well before the 6th century B.C. His phasing for the masonry typologies was based on the idea of a gradual evolution from simple to complex. Given two private tours of Butrint by Ugolini, Hammond observed the walls associated with these phases and concluded on the spot that those on the acropolis were terrace walls.[166] He pointed out that only the southern faces

162. For the sake of clarity, only the most influential of these studies are discussed here. Other studies include Prendi 1959, p. 19; Islami 1976; Baçe 1979; Budina 1988, pp. 31–56.

163. Ugolini 1937, pp. 86–87, 116–117; 1942, pp. 25–44.

164. The wall was recorded during fieldwork. It is not discussed, however, in the publication that followed, but its position is marked in the plan: Greenslade, Leppard, and Logue 2013, p. 52, fig. 44, pls. 4:2–4:4, 4:6, 4:7.

165. For the medieval wall, see Greenslade, Leppard, and Logue 2013, pp. 62–65.

166. Hammond 1967, pp. 108–109.

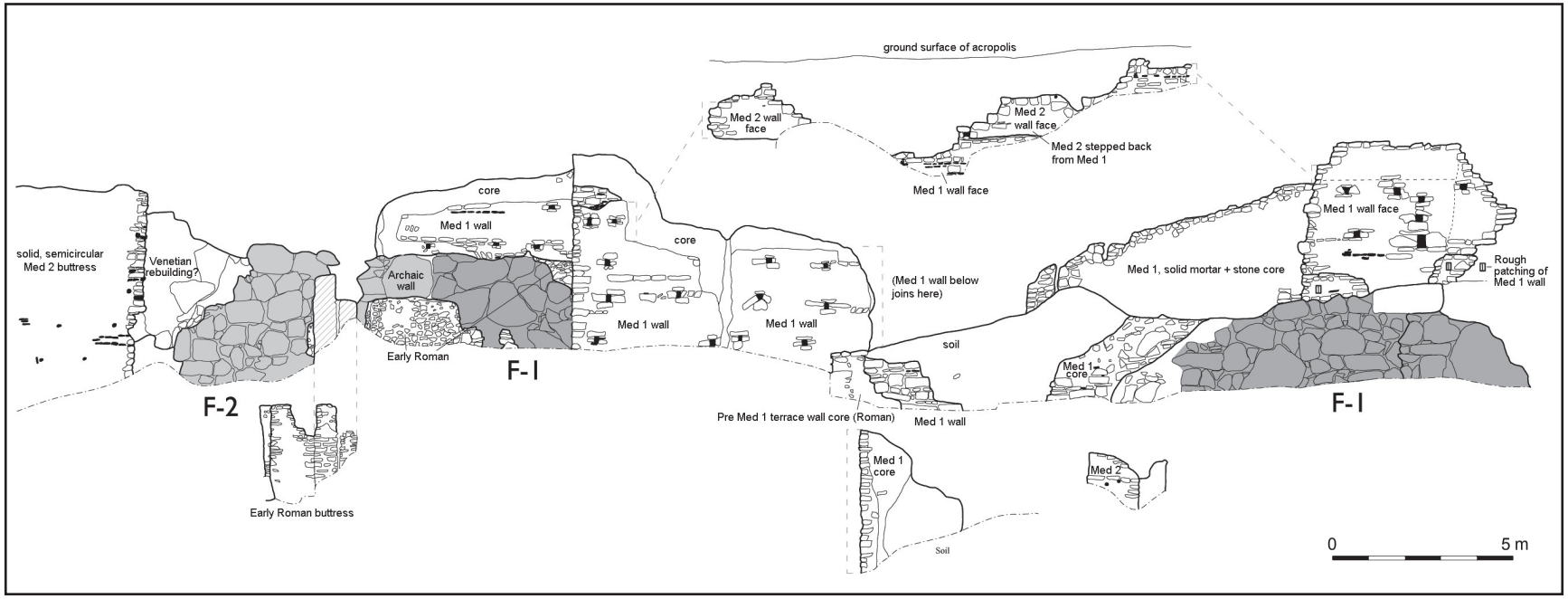



**Figure 34. Elevation of acropolis fortification walls F-1 and F-2.** Drawing C. Hodges and R. Andrews; courtesy Butrint Foundation

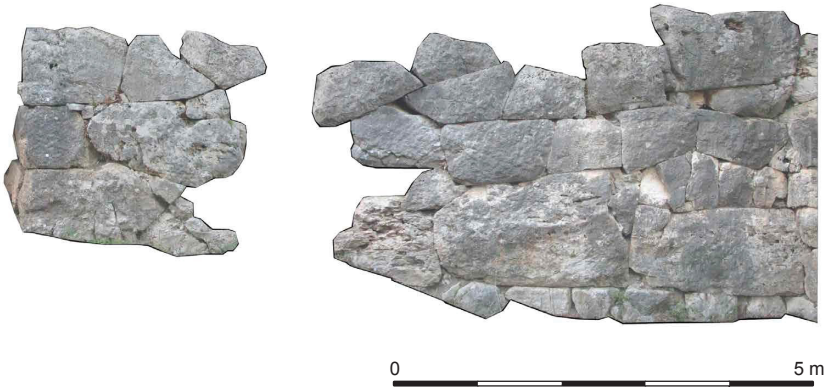



**Figure 35. Photogrammetric elevation of wall F-3 (late 4th–early 3rd century B.C.).** D. Hernandez, after archival photograph; courtesy Butrint Foundation

of the walls can be seen and that no remains of towers or gates have been found. He argued that there is no evidence of an enceinte and that such retaining walls are common throughout Epeiros. Hammond also disputed the notion that the first wall segment on the acropolis was the earliest, preferring to date it to the "late Greco-Roman period." Like Ugolini, Hammond did not see the longer segment of wall F-1, which features a corner return.

In the Greek-Albanian campaigns of 1991–1995, Hadzis and Nanaj excavated a trench on the inner side of wall F-1. This fieldwork represented a reinvestigation of the excavations undertaken by Nanaj on the acropolis in 1982–1987.[167] Nanaj had proposed that the acropolis was fortified in the second half of the 7th century B.C., as judged from the imported Corinthian pottery.[168] On the basis of stratified ceramic evidence from the Greek-Albanian excavations, however, Arafat and Morgan established a terminus post quem of ca. 500 B.C. for the construction of wall F-1.[169] In an unpublished report submitted to the Albanian Institute of Archaeology, Hadzis and Nanaj explain that a terminus post quem of the late 6th century B.C. is also possible, owing to the difficulty of separating late-6th- and early-5th-century B.C. material culture.[170]

As the RFE Project later observed at the site of the forum, all fine-ware pottery of Archaic and Classical date was imported, the majority from Corinth and Korkyra. Imported Corinthian and Korkyraian pottery dated from the late 8th to the 6th century B.C. In addition to some Late Bronze Age and Iron Age ceramics, a few sherds of Corinthian kyathoi and Thapsos skyphoi of late-8th-century B.C. date were found.[171] Corinthian imports were predominant in the second half of the 7th century B.C., represented by skyphoi, kotylai, aryballoi, and alabastra. East Greek pottery of this date was also common. Fine-ware pottery dating to the 6th century B.C. was restricted largely to kotylai and kotyliskoi. A few sherds of Attic pottery were recovered, mostly drinking vessels and kraters dating to the 5th or 4th century B.C. rather than the Archaic period. Hadzis observed that the pattern of imported amphoras changes in the late 6th century B.C. onward. In the earlier Archaic period, 75% of amphora imports are Corinthian, whereas in the later period, 40% of amphoras came from Korkyra and less than 20% from Corinth. In addition to the pottery, roof tiles and sling shots, inscribed "dedicated" (ἀνέθεκεν) in Archaic Corinthian script, were found, suggesting to the excavators that a sanctuary had been located on the acropolis in the 6th century B.C.[172]

167. Nanaj 1983, 1985, 1986, 1988, 1995.

168. Nanaj 1985, pp. 304–305, 308–309; 1986. To support the early date, he cited the walls at Tren (Gajtan) as comparable in technique. Nanaj also claimed to have recovered stratified pottery associated with the second phase (F-3), which he dated to the 6th century B.C. Nanaj studied all available Archaic pottery from the acropolis and, by seriation, subdivided the assemblages into three phases, dated to 650–570 B.C., 570–500 B.C., and 500–450 B.C. Reportedly, the proportion of cups from these phases combined is 40% Corinthian, 20% Korkyrean, 10% Attic, and 30% Ionian (local).

169. Arafat and Morgan 1995, pp. 33–37.

170. Hadzis and Nanaj 1993, p. 3.

171. Hadzis 1998.

172. Hadzis 1998, pp. 223–225; Arafat and Morgan 1995, p. 37.

A more recent analysis of the acropolis by the team from the Butrint Foundation concludes that Butrint functioned as a sanctuary and not an urban center during the Archaic period.[173] The assessment, which is based not on new data but rather on a reconsideration of previous research, posits that the earliest wall (F-1) dates between the 8th and 6th century B.C. (not after 500 B.C.) and, following Hammond, that all the Archaic walls on the acropolis served as terrace walls.[174] The reasons given are that no walls encircling the acropolis have been found and that no clear structural features of urbanism have been identified. Butrint is said to have been a "seasonal refuge focused upon a modest sanctuary complex" during the Archaic period. The reconstruction phase, represented by wall F-3, is considered to have "extended the terrace to the west." In this reconstruction, although it is not stated, wall F-3 would represent a significant expansion of the sanctuary, rather than a remnant of urban development on the acropolis.

The idea that Butrint served as a seasonal settlement for itinerant Epeirote tribal groups during the Archaic period was first proposed by Ceka, who argued that the earliest fortifications arose after Epeirote tribal organization degraded.[175] Ceka was the first Albanian archaeologist to undertake a comprehensive study of the fortifications of Epeiros and Illyria. He noted that Ugolini's typological classification, based entirely on masonry style, was flawed. He also criticized Hammond for employing similar methods to identify them as terrace walls. Instead, Ceka examined the walls in the context of local masonry styles and chronologies. Comparing the masonry and construction techniques of fortification walls at hilltop sites across Epeiros, Ceka devised a four-stage developmental scheme, which turned out to be consistent, for the most part, with Ugolini's scheme.[176] According to Ceka, the acropolis was fortified in the first half of the 6th century with a wall of rough stone (F-1), which was replaced with well-faced trapezoidal and polygonal masonry in a second phase, in the mid-5th century B.C. (F-2, F-3).[177] The study of Butrint's fortifications by Karaiskaj agrees for the most part with Ceka's chronology for the earliest phases of Archaic fortifications.[178]

Despite the divergence of opinions on the character, purpose, and date of Butrint's early walls, a number of considerations and conclusions can be advanced on the basis of the available evidence. First, stratigraphic excavations by Hadzis, Nanaj, Arafat, and Morgan provide a terminus post quem of ca. 500 B.C. for wall F-1. No evidence has been presented that would challenge this date, which derives from diagnostic ceramics found in a stratified context. As noted above, the fortifications of Korkyra were built in the 5th century B.C. The construction date of fortifications at Greek colonies generally follows those on mainland Greece, beginning in the later part of the 6th century B.C.[179]

Second, the orientation and location of wall F-1 is informative (Fig. 30). It is oriented almost in line with the gradient of the summit of the acropolis, where the Archaic temple was situated. The wall does not follow the contour of the hill around the summit, as one would expect for a temenos wall. It is also too far from the summit to have served as a retaining wall for the sanctuary. It is located more than 8 m below the position of the

173. Martin 2004, pp. 79–80; Melfi 2012, p. 23; Greenslade, Leppard, and Logue 2013, pp. 49–51; Hodges 2013, p. 10.

174. Greenslade, Leppard, and Logue 2013, pp. 49–50; *contra* these authors, I note that no "early Bronze Age strata" have ever been discovered on the acropolis.

175. Ceka 1976, 1988b, 2011.

176. Ceka does not agree with Ugolini's plan in respect to the segment running along the foot of the acropolis (= F-4, F-5).

177. Ceka 1988b, p. 121; 2011, pp. 650–652. Ceka's 2011 publication reaffirms the chronology presented in his 1976 article, in which Butrint I is dated to the late 7th or 6th century B.C. and Butrint II to the 5th century B.C.

178. Karaiskaj 2009, pp. 46–47. Karaiskaj agrees with Ceka's (1976) chronology.

179. Winter 1971, pp. 19–29.

**Figure 36. Fortification wall of Kalivo.** Ugolini 1937, p. 184, fig. 139; courtesy Butrint Foundation

temple, which was built on scarped bedrock. The orientation and location of wall F-1 and its later rebuild F-3 are consistent with the contour of the acropolis. It is worth noting that in the case of hilltop sites a strict dichotomy between retaining wall and fortification wall cannot always be made.[180] A number of sites feature hybrid terrace-fortification walls. The position and orientation of the walls on the hilltop of Bouthrotos are consistent with defenses, as is evident from the later medieval fortification circuit. In addition, the natural defensive elements characterizing hilltops, such as cliff faces, are typically incorporated in Archaic defensive systems. As described by Frederiksen, "a fully protected site could thus have a steep hillside on one side and a fortification wall on the other."[181] The absence of known walls on the northern side of the acropolis of Bouthrotos cannot be taken as evidence that the hilltop was unfortified.

Third, the large, irregular, unworked boulders of wall F-1 were quarried on the summit of the acropolis, at a time when part of the top of the hill was leveled. It is clear from the superposition that wall F-2 is a later reconstruction of wall F-1. As all scholars except Hammond have observed, wall F-1 was the earliest on the acropolis. It predates all other polygonal and ashlar walls, whose stones came from the distant quarry site of Shkallë, near Çuka e Aitoit.[182] Ugolini, followed by Ceka, Karaiskaj, and Nanaj, among others, has correctly noted that the masonry style of the wall is the same as that seen in the earliest fortifications at hilltop sites near Butrint (e.g., Kalivo, Vagalat, Çuka e Aitoit).[183] The similarity in construction technique is apparent in Kalivo's fortifications (eastern segment; Figs. 33, 36). Large unhewn boulders are set at intervals and filled in with smaller stones. These early fortification walls were all constructed in this way, through scarping of the hilltop and the assembly of large boulders into walls. Kalivo's fortification wall undermines Hammond's assertion that the walls are to be considered retaining walls on the basis of their masonry style.

It is during the period of Epeirote urbanization in the second half of the 4th century B.C. that hilltops with well-preserved fortification circuits in the region often show a combination of single and double curtains, such as at Phoinike.[184] The fact that the acropoleis of Kalivo and Çuka e Aitoit, two cities situated within the *chora* of Bouthrotos, came to be fortified by the early Hellenistic period, if not earlier, makes it certain that the

180. Frederiksen 2011, p. 51.
181. Frederiksen 2011, p. 51.
182. Zheku 1963.
183. See Ugolini 1937, pp. 184, fig. 139. See also Giorgi and Bogdani 2012, pp. 249–252, 258–260, fig. 43.
184. De Maria 2008, p. 687.

acropolis of Bouthrotos was fortified by then. Although dating by masonry style is ultimately insecure, even with the presence of strong local parallels, nevertheless the comparative evidence of fortified hilltops in the Butrint region supports the view that Butrint was fortified as well and that wall F-1 is a remnant of that wall.

Wall F-3, zigzagging in right and obtuse angles, displays the standard characteristics of fortification walls in Epeiros. This zigzag pattern, known as "indented trace," is found in Archaic fortifications throughout Greece.[185] The thickness of wall F-3 (2.6–3.8 m) is consistent with regional fortifications as well.[186] The same "indented trace" and masonry style have been noted at various sites (e.g., Çuka e Aitoit, Phoinike, Karaalibej, Ripësi, Borsh, and Himara).[187] The wall, which can confidently be identified as a fortification wall, is of the same construction as wall F-2 (as noted by Ceka) and was built to link to the earlier wall F-1, located at the same elevation on the hillslope ca. 20 m to the east. At Phoinike, comparable fortification walls in polygonal masonry (similar to F-2 and F-3), excavated stratigraphically, date between the mid-4th and early 3rd century B.C.[188]

The stratigraphic dating of walls at Butrint and Phoinike, combined with regional trends in Epeiros and the location and orientation of the Butrint walls, represent the strongest evidence that wall F-1 was built in the 5th century B.C. and that walls F-2 and F-3 were constructed in the second half of the 4th or early 3rd century B.C. The fortification circuit of the acropolis would have encompassed an area of ca. 1.5 ha within a perimeter of ca. 600 m.[189] It is possible that the construction of the fortification wall in ca. 500 B.C. may account for Hekataios's identification of the city as a *polis*.

## ADDITIONAL FORTIFICATIONS

### Walls of the Lower City

The acropolis fortifications were expanded to embrace part of the lower city (Fig. 4), but the dating of those walls remains uncertain, deriving as it does from insecure dates for masonry styles. The walls, however, were constructed within the time frame of the second half of the 4th century to the 2nd century B.C. The entire defensive perimeter of Hellenistic Butrint formed a circuit ca. 970 m long and embraced 6 ha (60,300 $m^2$).[190] The circuit featured at a minimum six gates: Asklepieion Gate, West Gate, North Gate, Lion Gate, Lake Gate, and Tower Gate.[191]

The construction of the walls entailed at least two major phases of development. The earlier of the two saw the construction of a continuous

185. Frederiksen 2011, p. 53.

186. Karaiskaj 2009, p. 32.

187. See Ceka 1976, p. 39.

188. De Maria 2008, p. 687; Lepore 2012, pp. 506–507.

189. Both Ceka and Karaiskaj argued that the earliest circuit wall had a perimeter of 260 m, enclosing an area of 0.4 ha on the acropolis.

190. The measurements were calculated on AutoCAD from a detailed Total Station survey. Ugolini proposed a circuit 750 m long with seven gates; Hammond, 750 m long with four gates; Ceka and Karaiskaj, 870 m long with six gates, enclosing an area of 4 ha. Budina (1988, p. 44) proposed a perimeter of 950 m, a figure which is accurate.

191. It is possible that a seventh gate was situated at the spot later occupied by the so-called Tower of Inscriptions.

**Figure 37. Polygonal wall F-4 of the lower city (4th–3rd century B.C.).**
Photo D. Hernandez

wall along the southern foot of the acropolis. It is represented by two masonry types, which Ugolini referred to as "eight-sided" (F-4) and "six-sided" (F-5) polygonal (Fig. 37).[192]

A later phase entailed the construction of a continuous circuit wall around the bottom of the acropolis. Its purpose was to enclose the urban center and lower parts of the Hellenistic city. The wall was built of two types of rhomboid (parallel-piped) masonry. The first (F-6) is characterized by blocks in which the height is greater than the width. The second (F-7) consists of large rectangular blocks set in regular courses.[193] Some of the earlier phases of these fortification walls should be associated with Pyrrhos in the early 3rd century B.C., owing to the large-scale construction programs that occurred across Epeiros during his reign. The later walls might date to about the mid-2nd century B.C., having been built to reflect the new status of Bouthrotos as an independent *polis* of the *koinon* of the Prasaiboi.

## The Dema Wall

The territory of Bouthrotos was defended by a large wall built across the narrow isthmus at the neck of the Ksamil Peninsula (Figs. 3, 38).[194] This wall, as well as a grave of a very specific type excavated in 2008 (discussed pp. 254–256, below), provides important evidence related to the *peraia* of Korkyra. Running for ca. 980 m, from Lake Butrint to the Ionian Sea, the wall was a barrier that served to defend the territory of Bouthrotos from the Chaonians, who occupied the coastal territory of northern Epeiros and whose center was at the nearby city of Phoinike. The scale and masonry technique of the wall are unparalleled in Epeiros. The wall is 9.5 m thick, with a 5-m thick rubble core enclosed by two curtain walls in isodomic ashlar masonry, which is well-faced and made of very large blocks

192. Ugolini (1942, p. 44) dated these walls to the 5th or early 4th century B.C.

193. Ugolini (1942, p. 44) dated these two types to the 4th and 3rd century B.C., respectively. Ceka (1988b, pp. 124, 129) dated walls F-4 and F-5 to the mid-4th century B.C. and walls F-6 and F-7 to the late 3rd century B.C. Kosta Lako (1977–1978, p. 295) conducted excavations adjacent to wall F-7. Although he did not reach the wall's foundations, because they were below the water table, he proposed a date in the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C. for the wall's construction on the basis of residual pottery.

194. Ugolini 1927, pp. 151–152, fig. 104; 1937, pp. 50, 180, fig. 140; Hammond 1967, pp. 99, 499–500, 552; Ceka 1976, pp. 36–37; Karaiskaj 2009, pp. 45–46, 50; Giorgi and Bogdani 2012, pp. 81–82, 248–249; Hodges 2014.

**Figure 38. Isodomic ashlar masonry of the dema wall on the Ksamil Peninsula, west-facing end.** Ugolini archive; courtesy Butrint Foundation

(ca. 1.3 × 0.8 × 0.6 m). Cuttings show that the blocks were fastened by iron clamps. Since at least the time of Ugolini, it has been called the Dema wall, after the famous Dema wall of Attica which walled off a major approach to Athens.[195]

The date of the wall's construction is not secure, but its masonry style and historical context provide important evidence. Hammond argued that the Korkyraians built the Dema wall in the 5th century B.C., sometime before the Peloponnesian War, as a boundary marking the northern frontier of the *peraia*.[196] The fortification would have served not merely to safeguard Bouthrotos, but rather the larger mainland territory of Korkyra. Karaiskaj, on the other hand, proposed on (faulty) historical grounds that the Dema wall was built by the *koinon* of the Prasaiboi after Bouthrotos attained autonomy.[197] He places the period of independence after 232 B.C., with the establishment of the Epeirote Republic, but the autonomy of the *koinon* did not come until after 163 B.C., as shown by Cabanes, on the basis of extensive epigraphic sources.[198] This immense defensive wall could not have been built at any time when the region was under Roman rule (post 168 B.C.).[199] Bouthrotos fell to Chaonia in the 4th century B.C. and then came under the power of Molossia in 3rd century B.C. Thus, Phoinike and Bouthrotos were united politically during these two centuries. It does not seem possible that the defensive wall separating the two territories could have been constructed during that time.[200]

The best evidence for the context and date of the wall comes from Korkyra. The same isodomic ashlar masonry was employed in the fortifications of the Kanoni Peninsula.[201] The western gate of the northern

195. See Frederiksen 2011, pp. 13, 16.

196. Hammond 1967, pp. 499, 552.

197. Karaiskaj 2009, p. 50.

198. Cabanes and Drini 2007, pp. 73–174.

199. Alcock 1993, pp. 141–145.

200. Giorgi and Bogdani 2012, p. 249.

201. I thank R. Hodges for the observation that the ashlar masonry styles of the tower at the church of Panayia Nerantzicha and the Dema wall are similar.

**Figure 39. Isodomic ashlar masonry of the fortification tower and wall at the Church of Panayia Nerantzicha, Corfu (Korkyra).** *Korkyra* 1, pl. 1; courtesy Verlag Gebr. Mann, Berlin

fortification wall, opening to the Hyllaic harbor, was incorporated into the structure of the Byzantine church of Panayia Nerantzicha (Figs. 6, 39). The wall and tower (ca. 14 × 6 m) are of isodomic ashlar masonry that is dated to the 5th century B.C.[202] The eastern gate, which led to the Alkinoos harbor, was discovered in 1966 below the church of Ayios Athanasios.[203] Likewise of isodomic ashlar masonry, the remains of the tower (ca. 7.9 × 9.5 m) have been dated to the late 5th or early 4th century B.C. South of the Kardaki temple, a segment of the southern fortification wall has been excavated and dated to the 5th century B.C.[204] It therefore seems likely that Hammond was correct and that the Dema wall was built in the 5th century B.C. to establish the northern limit of Korkyra's *peraia.*

The *peraia* extended as far south as Pyrgos (ancient Torone), near the mouth of the Thyamis (Kalamas) River, on the northern side of Igoumenitsa Bay.[205] Dakaris noted that the fort of Pyrgos Ragiou, built of isodomic ashlar masonry in the 5th century B.C., served to defend the southernmost harbor of the *peraia.*[206] He also considered the Dema wall and these forts to define the limits of Korkyraian territory. The *peraia* would have included the site of Mastilitsa, where late Archaic and Classical graves and a temple have been excavated.[207] The land encampments of the Corinthians and Epeirote forces on the eve of the Battle of Sybota in 433 B.C. were at Chimerion and the Bay of Sybota, both south of modern Igoumenitsa (Thuc. 1.30.1, 46.3–5, 50.3). Thus, the Corinthians placed their camp near the southern border of Korkyra's *peraia,* in the vicinity of the Thesprotian city of Gitani.

202. Dontas 1965b, pp. 140–143. See also *Korkyra* 1, pl. 1:b.

203. Dontas 1965a, pp. 66–70; Kalligas 1971, p. 92; Baika 2013, p. 323.

204. Kalligas 1966; Dontas 1978, pp. 109–110.

205. Dakaris 1972, pp. 35, 104–108; Carusi 2011, pp. 100–101. See also Hammond 1967, pp. 448–449, 500, 552.

206. Dakaris 1972, pp. 32–35, 77, 104–105, pls. 49–51; 1987, p. 79, n. 54.

207. Tzortzatou and Fatsiou 2009, pp. 46–50.

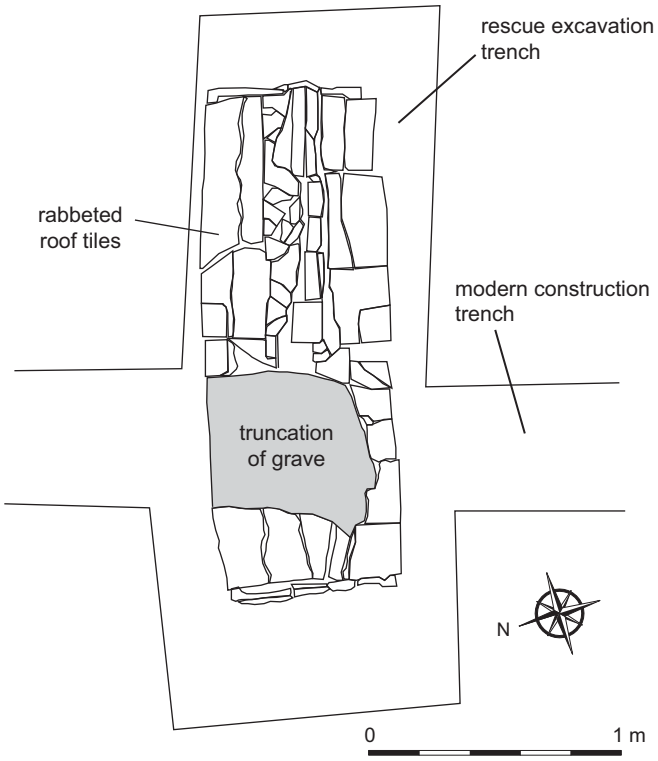



**Figure 40. Ksamil burial (5th century B.C.).** Photo and plan D. Hernandez

## KSAMIL BURIAL

In 2008, I was informed that an ancient grave had been found in Ksamil by construction workers who were digging foundation trenches for a house (Fig. 40). I undertook a rescue excavation of the burial before concrete was poured into the trenches. The construction trench demolished about a quarter of the grave, which measured L. 2.04, W. 0.73, and H. 0.45 m. The truncation (0.54 m wide) was limited to the western side of the grave and did not reach its western end. The grave had a triangular cross section made of six large roof tiles. Two spanned the length of each side, forming a pitched roof, and one was placed upright at each end to close the grave. The ridge formed by the roof tiles was sealed in clay and a line of smaller tiles. The burial was a cenotaph, containing intact ceramic vessels and no human remains.[208] Among the grave goods were a black-slipped skyphos of Attic type, with torus foot and horseshoe-shaped handles, and a little one-handled bowl, both dating to the 5th century B.C. (Fig. 41).[209] This is the earliest burial that has been discovered in the Butrint region.

The four tiles flanking the grave are pan tiles, 0.96 × 0.44 m in area and 3.6 cm thick. The tiles are a flat, Corinthian-style type with raised side borders. In this case, the underside of the roof tile is rabbeted at the two corners of its front end, to secure the tile against the adjacent, lower pan tile.[210] The two recesses are almost square, measuring 12.9 × 11.3 cm, and wedge-shaped in section (Fig. 42). The roof tiles closing the ends of the grave are of a different type. Measuring 0.55 m wide and 2.5 cm thick, these were flat tiles with raised, molded rims along their sides. The

208. It is improbable that the skeleton of an adult burial disintegrated completely in the grave, leaving no trace of teeth or long bones. Of the hundreds of reported inhumation burials from Hellenistic to Late Antique date, which occur in the same geological and environmental conditions as this one at Ksamil, all have left traces of skeletal remains, including infants: see Hernandez and Mitchell 2013, pp. 182–184, and sources cited there.

209. N. Aleotti (pers. comm.).

210. The rabbeted corners do not feature a uniform flange at the end of the tile, as in the Archaic Corinthian system. See Dinsmoor 1950, p. 44; Winter 1993, pp. 29 (fig. 4), 82–83, 108–109, 299–300.


**Figure 41. Black-slipped skyphos and one-handled bowl from the Ksamil burial (5th century B.C.).**
Photo D. Hernandez

**Figure 42. Rabbeted roof tile with two notches, from the Ksamil burial.**
Photo D. Hernandez

tops of both were broken at the level of the grave's ridge, so they were preserved only to a length of 0.45 m. The two types of roof tiles have the same fabric, made of a pale yellow or buff firing clay (5Y 8/3), but were painted with a different slip. The pan tiles with notches have a slip that is light red, almost pinkish (2.5YR 6/6), while the flat tiles with molded rims are reddish brown (5YR 5/6). The use of roof tiles in the grave suggests the existence of a local roof-tile industry in the 5th century B.C. It is also clear from their size and weight that they were manufactured for a monumental stone building.

This type of roof-tile burial in the shape of a tent appears in Greece in the Late Archaic period and becomes common in the Classical period.[211] It has been discovered at Corinth, where it is dated to the 5th century B.C.[212] The Ksamil burial is slightly larger than those at Corinth, where adult graves ranged between 1.60 and 1.80 m long. The skeletons at Corinth typically were laid on earth with the head to the east. The same burial type has also been identified at Corfu and Apollonia. Of the 500 burials

211. Kurtz and Boardman 1971, p. 97.

212. *Corinth* XIII, pp. 74, 249, 251, 253–254, 256, 263, 267–268, 276, n. 365, nos. 354, 358, 365, 371, 400, 412, 430, pl. 16.

excavated from 2000 to 2002 at the law court site on Corfu (north cemetery on Phylakon Hill), 37 were roof-tile graves dating from the late 6th to the 4th century B.C.[213] Similar burials have also been discovered at the Opera site.[214] At Apollonia, the same burial type has been identified and dated to the same time frame.[215] The burials at Apollonia feature the same type of pan tiles with two rabbeted corners as well (the recesses measure 14 × 10 cm). The burial type, together with the grave goods, demonstrate that the Ksamil cenotaph was made for a Greek, in this case buried according to the Doric customs of the colonists in the 5th century B.C. The grave serves as evidence that Greeks controlled the territory south of the Dema wall and confirms the conclusion that the land was part of the *peraia* of Korkyra in the Classical period.

The cenotaph is on a hill on the southern side of Ksamil Bay, overlooking the sea. It is located opposite Corfu, where the cenotaph of Menekrates, son of Tlasias, an Oianthian, was found. As mentioned above, the inscription on Menekrates' grave, dated ca. 625–600 B.C., represents the earliest reference to the institution of *proxenia.*[216] The *demos* and Menekrates' brother set up the cenotaph after he died at sea. It is possible that the Ksamil cenotaph represents a death at sea as well. In addition to symbolic memorials, cenotaphs were often used in ancient Greece to provide proper funeral rites to those who perished at sea.[217] Such burials would have been common in Archaic and Classical Korkyra and Bouthrotos, owing to the tens of thousands of free young men who were employed in shipping and the manning of the Korkyraian naval fleet.[218]

## THE RESETTLEMENT OF BOUTHROTOS (CA. 350–300 B.C.)

Bouthrotos was resettled between 350 and 300 B.C. This is confirmed by the large quantity of Corinthian Type B amphoras, in addition to black-glazed lekythoi and unguentaria, and an Athenian lekane, found in the deposits of the lower city by the RFE Project.[219] It was at this time that the local production of Corinthian Type B amphoras appears to have been established at Bouthrotos.[220]

Two ancient treatises provide valuable insights on the geography of Epeiros in the 4th century B.C. Drawing upon earlier written sources about sailing voyages *(periploi),* the *Periplous* of Pseudo-Skylax (28–33) traces the coast of the Mediterranean and purports to be a "circumnavigation of

213. Riginos 2001; Georgiadou and Spanodimos 2005.

214. Riginos 2005, p. 561; Georgiadou and Tzortzatou 2009.

215. Mano 2006, pp. 605–606, 615, 618, pls. II:16–18. Dimo, Fenet, and Mano (2007, p. 308, figs. 223, 224) report one similar roof-tile burial in tumulus VIII at Apollonia, which is described as poor in grave goods and dated to the end of the 4th–3rd century B.C.

216. See note 83, above.

217. Kurtz and Boardman 1971, pp. 99–100; Vermeule 1979, pp. 12, 214 n. 19; Garland 2001, p. 102.

218. See, e.g., an epitaph from Korkyra (ca. 600 B.C.) honoring Arniadas, who died in a sea battle, probably against Corinth in the Ambrakian Gulf (*IG* IX.1 868); a polyandrion cenotaph from Ambrakia (ca. 550 B.C.), with a funerary epigram in the Corinthian alphabet honoring Ambrakian citizens who perished at sea (*SEG* XLI 540A; XLIV 463; Andréou 1993, pp. 100–101; Andréou and Andréou 2007).

219. N. Aleotti (pers. comm.).

220. Aleotti 2015b, p. 102. See also Aleotti 2015a; Gassner 2011.

the inhabited world."[221] The text was composed in the third quarter of the 4th century B.C.[222] The description of Epeiros moves southward along the Adriatic and Ionian Seas in the direction of mainland Greece. It appears to represent Epeiros in the years ca. 380–360 B.C.[223] In Illyria, Epidamnos and Apollonia are listed as Greek cities (πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες). Orikos is identified as a *polis* located within the territory of an Illyrian city, Amantia.[224] After Illyria, the text lists Chaonia. It is said to have "good harbors," but none are specified by name. After Chaonia come Thesprotia, Kassopia, and Molossia. Only two cities, Korkyra and Ambrakia, are identified as Greek along the Epeirote coast. A similar account of the region is provided by Pseudo-Skymnos, who drew information from the *History* of Ephoros of Kyme (ca. 360 B.C.), rather than the *periploi* used by Pseudo-Skylax.[225] Pseudo-Skymnos (434–461) mentions the cities of Epidamnos, Apollonia, Orikos, Korkyra, and Ambrakia, and lists Chaonia, Thesprotia, and Molossia as barbarian tribes situated between Orikos and Ambrakia. In contrast to Hekataios's *Periegesis* (ca. 500 B.C.), both Pseudo-Skylax and Pseudo-Skymnos make no reference to Bouthrotos. The absence of the city in these geographical accounts is an indication that no settlement existed at the site until after ca. 360 B.C.

Inscribed lists of *theorodokoi* from the 4th century B.C. include several *ethne* in Epeiros. These lists record the hosts and the respective communities that received *theoroi,* the sacred envoys sent by cities to announce Panhellenic festivals. The earliest lists for the *theorodokia* come from Epidauros and record the itineraries of the *theoroi,* who traveled as far as Magna Graecia to announce the celebration of the Epidaurian Asklepieia.[226] The inscription, dated to 356–355 B.C., records the geographical region of Epeiros. The *theoroi* visited all the major Epeirote tribes identified by Pseudo-Skylax: Chaonia, Thesprotia, Kassopia, and Molossia. The itinerary, beginning at Corinth, includes Akarnania, Korkyra, Leukas, Anaktorion, Ambrakia, and other Greek cities in the western Balkans, Sicily, and Italy. As in the case of the writings of Pseudo-Skylax and Pseudo-Skymnos, Bouthrotos is not listed. This provides a terminus post quem of 355 B.C. for the resettlement of the city.

Korkyra lost its *peraia,* including Bouthrotos, in the aftermath of the Peloponnesian War. The factional feuds on Korkyra, which brought about the *stasis* of 427 B.C., continued to flare after the war, with leaders of the *demos* looking to Athens for support (Thuc. 6.32, 42–44).[227] In 375 B.C., Athens deployed a fleet of 60 triremes under the command of Timotheos and captured Korkyra (Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.63–66; Isoc. 15.109; Aeschin. 3.243; Nepos, *Timoth.* 2.1; Diod. Sic. 15.36). Timotheos went on to establish alliances with the Chaonians and other Epeirote tribes along the coast. The Athenian expedition managed to remove many northwestern islands and lands from the grip of Sparta.[228] Sparta responded in 373 B.C. with the naval blockade of Korkyra, supported by the oligarchic faction of the city (Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.3–26; Diod. Sic. 15.46–47). The Spartan allies providing ships included Corinth, Ambrakia, Leukas, Zakynthos, and Elis. During the siege of Korkyra, the countryside was ravaged and plundered. Famine ensued. Korkyra appealed to Athens for help. The Athenians, in turn, enlisted the help of the Molossians, who were able to save the city. The

221. Shipley 2011, pp. 1–22, 29–30, 60–61, 111–115.

222. The *Periplous* might preserve some information from the 5th century B.C. as well.

223. Hammond 1967, p. 517.

224. Cf. Hdt. 9.93. Hammond (1967, p. 473) argues that Panormos, in Strabo 7.5.8, is another name for the port of Orikos.

225. Barber 1935, p. 12; Hammond 1967, pp. 515–517.

226. *IG* IV$^2$.1 95; Perlman 2000, pp. 68–74, 180–184. See also Hammond 1967, pp. 517–519; Cabanes 1976, pp. 116–120; Meyer 2013, pp. 61–62, 65–66.

227. During the war, Korkyra served as the primary naval base for the Athenian expedition against Syracuse in 415 B.C.

228. Buckler 2003, p. 256.

Molossians secretly ferried troops to the island from the mainland.[229] The Athenians probably enlisted the help of the Molossians with a payment in silver from Laurion, which would account for the source of the earliest Molossian coinage.[230]

After the siege was lifted, Korkyra managed to remain independent by not joining the Athenian League.[231] Later, in 361 B.C., the Athenian naval commander Chares, colluding with the oligarchic faction, is said to have fomented *stasis* again on Korkyra (Aen. Tact. 11.13–15; Diod. Sic. 15.95). These turbulent events and the growing power of the Epeirote tribes and Macedonia ended Korkyra's control of the *peraia*. The northern part of the territory fell to the Chaonians, and the southern part to the Thesprotians.[232] Bouthrotos became part of Chaonia, under the tribal capital of Phoinike. The influence of Macedonia (Philip II) and Molossia (Alexander I) spread across Epeiros before the end of the 4th century B.C.[233] Korkyra fell under the power of Agathocles of Syracuse and was subsequently bequeathed as a dowry to the Molossian king Pyrrhos in 295 B.C. in his marriage to Lanassa (Diod. Sic. 21.4; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 9.1).[234] By this time, Bouthrotos was firmly under the dominion of Pyrrhos.

## CONCLUSION

The power of Korkyra in the Archaic period, demonstrated by its naval supremacy, monumental architecture, and its potent colonial foundation at Epidamnos, exerted considerable influence over Epeiros and Illyria. The establishment of successful Greek colonies at Epidamnos, Apollonia, Ambrakia, Anaktorion, and Leukas was linked to the continued martial strength of the colonists in the 7th century B.C. The territory of Bouthrotos was invaluable to Korkyra. It secured the island's defenses and ensured its prosperity. Korkyra and Bouthrotos have shared an interlocked history, tied to their binary role in overseeing the vital waterways between Greece and Italy. Korkyra's advantage lay in its strategic position as gatekeeper of maritime communication through the Ionian and Adriatic Sea. Bouthrotos supplied mainland commodities to Korkyra and its maritime trading network, such as wood, fish, crops, and animal products. The absence of Bouthrotos in the literary record should not be taken to mean that the city

229. It is often assumed that the Molossians ferried the troops from Igoumenitsa Bay (e.g., Buckler 2003, pp. 264–265). However, it is equally possible that this transit occurred across from the territory of Bouthrotos, which lies closer to the island than Igoumenitsa Bay.

230. Franke 1961, pp. 89–91; Hammond 1967, pp. 544–545.

231. Korkyra established a bilateral alliance with Athens and its allies: see Buckler 2003, p. 268.

232. Cabanes 2007, p. 230; 2008, p. 166; Christien 2015, pp. 134–142.

233. Meyer (2013, pp. 15, 46–47, 56, 60–64, 117) argues that the current scholarly opinion, that the federal Epeirote *koinon* under the hegemony of Molossia existed before 328 B.C., is incorrect, resting on epigraphic evidence that has been erroneously dated to the 4th century B.C. (instead of the 3rd century B.C.). If Meyer's revision is correct, there would have been no direct Molossian control of other Epeirote tribes and their territories in the second half of the 4th century B.C., as is generally thought. The members of the Epeirote alliance (Chaonians, Thesprotians, and other Epeirote tribes), nevertheless, would have been strongly influenced by the growing powers of Macedonia and Molossia at the end of the 4th century B.C. For the traditional view, see Franke 1961, pp. 86–95; Hammond 1967, p. 559; Cabanes 1976, pp. 113–114, 131–132; 2004, p. 31; 2007, pp. 229–231.

234. Baron 2013, p. 102; Antonetti 2015.

had not yet formed or that it was remote or insignificant. Instead, the city was part of Korkyra, and its historical development was in concert with the *polis* of Korkyra.

For much of its 500-year period under the Republic of Venice, Butrint served as an enclave surrounded by the Ottoman Empire.[235] It is remarkable that the city's outlook in the Archaic period was not altogether different. Until at least the end of the Peloponnesian War, Bouthrotos was a Korkyraian territory, surrounded by powerful, inimical Epeirote tribes—Chaonians to the north, Thesprotians to the south, and Molossians in the interior to the southeast. Thucydides reports that 500 oligarchs from Korkyra seized the fortifications (τείχη) on the mainland in the *stasis* of 427 B.C. The oligarchs used the *peraia* as an effective base to attack the island controlled by the *demos.* It is clear from this and similar episodes in history that control of Bouthrotos was vital to the security of Korkyra.[236]

The τείχη mentioned by Thucydides are city walls, established in the Butrint region by the early 5th century B.C. This is more than a century earlier than the fortification walls at Phoinike, the capital of the Chaonian *koinon*.[237] During the Archaic and Classical periods, the Epeirotes lived in unwalled villages (κατὰ κώμας; Ps.-Skylax 28–32). Korkyra's territory at Bouthrotos stood apart from the regional Epeirote landscape because of its hilltop fortifications. The Greek cenotaph discovered at Ksamil was placed within the territory of Korkyra in the 5th century B.C. The fortified hilltops seized by the Korkyraian oligarchs would have included Bouthrotos, Kalivo, and Çuka e Aitoit. The *peraia* extended from the Dema wall at Bouthrotos to the territory of Pyrgos (Torone). Two thousand years later, under the Republic of Venice, these two areas were again the only enclaves controlled by Corfu in the Balkans.

The residual presence of Bronze Age and Iron Age pottery and artifacts at Butrint points to a far earlier use of the acropolis, although there is as yet no evidence to confirm the existence of a permanent settlement during this early period.[238] Material evidence for the late 8th century B.C. is scarcer than that for the Bronze Age, and no material has been recovered dating to the first half of the 7th century B.C. Butrint remained unsettled down to the mid-7th century B.C. The importation of large quantities of amphoras and drinking vessels in the second half of the 7th century B.C. marks the inception of settlement and the beginning of urbanism at Butrint. The sudden appearance of large quantities of imported fine-ware pottery, wine, oil, and other commodities, linked to the Corinthian-Korkyraian maritime trade network, and the complete absence of any local fine-ware pottery suggest that the settlement was inhabited by Greeks tied to Korkyra from its inception.

The small assemblage of Archaic animal bones recovered in the excavations show animal husbandry practices typical of urban settlement. None of the animal bones are burned or show signs of ritual use. The much greater proportion of fine-ware to coarse-ware pottery should not be interpreted to mean that all the material culture from the late 7th century B.C. to the early 5th century B.C. derives from the site of a sanctuary alone. First, the abundant remains of transport amphoras from the late 7th century B.C. to the early 5th century B.C. indicate activities and an economy

235. See Hernandez, forthcoming a.

236. During Rome's civil war, Julius Caesar (*BCiv.* 3.16) placed one legion at Butrint to operate against Balbus, Pompey's naval admiral at Corcyra. In Venetian times, two Ottoman sieges were launched from Butrint against Corfu, in 1537 and 1716. See Hernandez, forthcoming a.

237. De Maria 2008, p. 687.

238. Lima 2013, p. 32.

far surpassing what would be expected at an isolated sanctuary. Second, mortars and roof tiles are more likely associated with habitation than cult activity. The absence of pottery at Butrint in the period ca. 475–350 B.C. signifies the end of settlement rather than the end of cult practices at an uninhabited sanctuary.

The material remains from the deepest deposits at the site of the forum, like those excavated on the acropolis, derive from the public areas of the settlement. The summit of the acropolis of a typical *polis* in Greece would not have featured houses in the 6th century B.C. The same was probably true for Bouthrotos. On the basis of the archaeological evidence and formation processes, we can conclude that the domestic buildings of Archaic Bouthrotos did not occupy the summit of the acropolis or its southern slopes. This leaves only three possible locations for the Archaic settlement at Bouthrotos: (1) on the northern slopes of the acropolis; (2) on the Vrina Plain, in proximity to cultivable land; or (3) more likely, on the acropolis's lower western plateau (area of the Venetian Castle), perhaps extending out to the isthmus (Fig. 13).[239]

There is no evidence at present to determine whether the settlement grew rapidly as an *emporion,* exploiting the resources on the mainland, or whether it was a formal foundation by Korkyra in the second half of the 7th century B.C. The historical context of Butrint's initial settlement places it firmly in the period when all the other colonies were founded on the Illyrian and Epeirote coast (e.g., Epidamnos, Apollonia, Ambrakia, Anaktorion, Leukas). These foundations occurred at a time of increasing Corinthian and Korkyraian hostilities over control of the maritime routes in the Ionian Gulf. The establishment of Bouthrotos allowed Korkyra to exert greater control over the straits and to ensure its position as gatekeeper to the West.

A major phase of urbanism occurred between 525 and 475 B.C., over a century after the initial settlement. The Doric temple of Athena Polias was built in the late 6th century B.C. This was followed by the construction of the fortification wall (F-1) in the early 5th century B.C. The *bothros* discovered by Mustilli dates to about this period or shortly before, as suggested by the presence of Athenian Little-Master cups. The stones employed in the construction of the fortification wall were quarried from the summit of the acropolis and indicate a leveling phase. This event, more than later activities and Roman occupation, was responsible for destroying much of the evidence of early occupation on the hill from the late 7th to late 6th century.

The stratigraphy of the lower city demonstrates that Bouthrotos was confined to the acropolis and that the shoreline reached the foot of the hill during the Archaic and Classical periods. A massive deposition of soil formed along the coast over a relatively short period of time. The deposit measured 1.45 m high in the trench (unit 21), representing millions of tons of soil across the foot of the acropolis. It is clear that the soil mass derived from the acropolis and that the formation process was driven by the combined effects of human activity (urbanism, deforestation) and natural forces (erosion). There are no homogeneous deposits of 7th- or 6th-century B.C. date. All the deposits contained mixed ceramics dating from the overall period of habitation (ca. 625–475 B.C.), starting from the time

239. As discussed above, with the exception of the area of the Roman forum, no explorations have been conducted below the Roman surface level because of the water table; see Hernandez, forthcoming b.

when Bouthrotos was first settled. This means that the formation process began after the end of settlement in ca. 475 B.C. Each of the distinct deposits within the large coastal deposition contained a wide range of mollusk shells. The time interval of formation was sufficiently long to allow mollusks to inhabit each deposit. It is unlikely, therefore, that the activities associated with the construction of the Temple of Athena or the fortification walls were directly responsible for the formation. It is also notable that the process ended at the time when Bouthrotos was resettled in the second half of the 4th century B.C. The deposits of the late-4th–3rd-century B.C. are homogeneous, for the most part, with little to no material from the earlier habitation period. In other words, the formation of the massive coastal deposit is directly tied to the period of abandonment (ca. 475–350 B.C.).

Once the major alterations were made to the acropolis, including the construction of the temple and walls, the fortification wall (F-1) would have served as a barrier, retaining material on the summit of the acropolis. If the wall was intact at the time of abandonment (ca. 475 B.C.), then the coastal deposition would have had to derive specifically from the southern slope of the acropolis. If this were the case, it is difficult to imagine what condition could have initiated the process and why it did not commence earlier during the period of settlement. If, on the other hand, the fortification wall had been demolished, even partially, at the time of abandonment or decades later, then such a breach could have been responsible for releasing the fill that had built up on the acropolis during the period of settlement. This material would have washed down through the action of rain, wind, and gravity. This scenario would explain the trigger that initiated the depositional process. It would also explain why the fortification wall (F-2 and F-3) was rebuilt by the Chaonians in the late 4th century B.C. and why the depositional process ended at the time the wall was rebuilt.

Bouthrotos was a small dependent *polis* whose inhabitants exploited and controlled a *chora* (Vrina Plain). It is likely, owing to the city's intermediary position, that Bouthrotos had come to serve as an *emporion* by the end of the 6th century B.C., providing a venue for exchange between Korkyraians and Epeirotes. It is worthwhile to consider the Archaic material from Bouthrotos in relation to the other major Greek colonies in the region. The evidence for urbanism in the Archaic period for Korkyra, Apollonia, Epidamnos, Ambrakia, Anaktorion, and Leukas is meager at each site. It consists of poor and questionable traces of Archaic fortifications and temples.[240] Yet these cities were powerful *poleis* in the late Archaic period. Little to no traces of Archaic *agorai* or domestic buildings have been found at these sites. Bouthrotos, which would have been significantly smaller, in both physical size and population, displays much of the same evidence: poorly preserved fortification walls and a monumental temple. The one significant difference between the sites of Bouthrotos and the Greek colonies is the absence of a known Archaic cemetery at Bouthrotos.[241] Owing to the subsidence of the Butrint headland, the scale of erosion historically, and the long period of habitation at the site, it is now clear that the subsurface Archaic horizon lies deeply buried, and probably submerged below sea level. Previous archaeological excavations at Butrint

240. Remains of Archaic fortifications are generally poor throughout Greece: Frederiksen 2001, p. 91.

241. Arafat and Morgan (1995, p. 30) note the absence of an Archaic cemetery at Bouthrotos.

could not have found the Archaic cemetery given its position in the lower extramural areas of the city.[242]

The Temple of Athena was constructed on the acropolis in the late 6th century B.C. The architectural design of the temple was influenced by the contemporary Kardaki temple on Korkyra and by the "Ionian Sea style" dominant in Doric lands. The Kardaki temple displayed Ionicizing elements and unique architectural features. It did not have a frieze and lacked triglyphs, metopes, mutules, guttae, and regulae. Its unique epistyle, having a taenia with no regulae, matches the only epistyle belonging to a contemporary Archaic temple at Butrint. However, unlike the Kardaki temple, Butrint's epistyle block is carved in relief. Like the Doric temple of Athena at Assos, built shortly before, the Butrint temple featured Ionic relief decoration on the epistyle. The distinctive epistyle blocks of the Butrint and Kardaki temples suggest that the Butrint temple was built without a Doric frieze as well. The two closest parallels to the Butrint temple are the Kardaki and Assos temples, both of which had hexastyle, peripteral plans with pronaos and cella and no adyton or opisthodomos.

Wescoat observes that in Archaic temples "the entire temple exterior functioned to define the most sacred interior, to represent the authority of the deity, to be the face of the *polis,* and to awe and transport the viewer."[243] The theme of a lion attacking a bull on the epistyle of the temple at Bouthrotos is linked to the cult of Athena. The Archaic votive pottery inscribed with the name of Athena confirms the identification. Monumental stone architecture and carved relief of this kind rendered with Greek craftsmanship and utilizing Greek iconographic vocabulary signify the presence of a Greek community at Bouthrotos in the 6th century B.C. that was connected to the resources and cultural trends of major *poleis* in the Greek world of that time. Attached to Korkyra, Bouthrotos stood in the vanguard of monumental temple construction. This was the city that Hekataios of Miletos described as a *polis* in ca. 500 B.C.

The Temple of Athena on the acropolis must also have been part of the reason that Vergil and Ovid were able to claim that Bouthrotos was modeled on Troy. The oracular lamella from Dodona provides strong evidence that the temple was dedicated specifically to Athena Polias. Athena Polias was a symbol of Athens, represented by the emblem of a lion attacking a bull. Built in the *peraia* of Korkyra, the Temple of Athena Polias stood on the summit of Bouthrotos as a tangible link to Athens, the one city that Korkyra depended upon in its struggle for autonomy.

Bouthrotos should not be considered a peripheral unit or suburban element of the Korkyraian *polis.*[244] Occupying a critical node of contact between the Greek colonists and the natives of Epeiros, the city was an integral component of Korkyra's "colonial urbanism."[245] This provides an important context for the Temple of Athena Polias at Bouthrotos. The temple did not face Korkyra or the Ionian Sea, as has often been assumed. Instead, it faced landward, toward the southeast, in the direction of its *chora* (Vrina Plain). The temple was not built by the Korkyraian colony to look back to the *polis* of Korkyra, nor was the Kardaki temple. It is of some interest that although the Butrint and Kardaki temples face eastward generally,

242. This assumes that the Archaic cemetery was not situated on a hilltop as was the Ksamil cenotaph.

243. Wescoat 2012, pp. 127–129.

244. See Fischer-Hansen 1996, p. 350.

245. See van Dommelen 2005, pp. 159–162.

as was typical of Greek temples, the two temples were not built strictly in relation to the sun's path across the sky. The Kardaki temple was built to face directly outward from the island, overlooking the sea controlled by the colony. Similarly, the Temple of Athena Polias at Bouthrotos was built to look outward, in this case, over the land of the colony. It was a monumental message of sovereignty and power on the mainland of Epeiros.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to the Loeb Classical Library Foundation, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation for the fellowship awards that permitted me to write this article. The Roman Forum Excavations Project has benefited tremendously from the unwavering support and assistance of Richard Hodges, to whom I owe a heavy debt for all of his help and guidance over the years. I thank RFE Project co-director Dhimitër Çondi for his tireless efforts to ensure the success of the project.

I am indebted to numerous individuals and institutions for their invaluable support. Funding for the RFE Project was generously provided by the Office of the Vice President for Research, the Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts, and the Department of Classics of the University of Notre Dame; the Packard Humanities Institute; the American Philosophical Society; and the Butrint Foundation. I acknowledge a debt of gratitude to the entire faculty in the Department of Classics at the University of Notre Dame and to Keith Bradley, Jack L. Davis, Steven Ellis, Michael MacKinnon, and Charles Brian Rose for their support. On behalf of the RFE Project, I thank the directors of the Albanian Institute of Archaeology, Luan Përzhita and Shpresa Gjongecaj, as well as the Albanian Ministry of Culture for granting the project permission to excavate at Butrint. I am grateful to the two anonymous reviewers from *Hesperia* for their helpful comments and suggestions, which greatly improved the quality and presentation of this article. Special thanks are owed to Richard Abdy, Nadia Aleotti, Elena Baldi, Christopher Baron, Christopher Bernard, Anna Biller, Gloria Bolzoni, Brian Carlsen, Marco Cavallazzi, Tania Chinni, Patrick Conry, Mia Counts, Thomas Crist, Matthew Cronin, Seth Estrin, Kaitlyn Farrell, Alison Fields, Michael Galaty, Gan Golan, Julie Hernandez, Thomas Hite, Michael Kipp, Fotini Kondyli, Andrew Manson, Laure Marest-Caffey, Elizabeth Mazurek, Sam Moorhead, Alexandra Nagy, Mentor Osmani, Leonor Peña-Chocarro, Giacomo Piazzini, Robin Rhodes, Erin Pitt, Suzanna Pratt, Erjona Qilla, Paul Reynolds, Diego Sabato, Liri Shametaj, Mirgen Shametaj, Karilyn Sheldon, Maickel van Bellegem, Mariangela Vandini, Joanita Vroom, Matthew Wieck, Elizabeth Wueste, and Emily Zavodny. Finally, I wish to thank all the archaeologists, specialists, students, and local excavators for their invaluable contributions to the RFE Project.

## REFERENCES


Alcock, S. E. 1993. *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece,* Cambridge.

Aleotti, N. 2015a. "New Ceramic Evidence for the Genesis and Development of Ancient Butrint: 2011–2013 Excavations in the Roman Forum" (diss. Univ. of Bologna).

———. 2015b. "Rapporti fra Phoinike e Butrinto: Le produzioni ceramiche ellenistiche," in *Phoinike* VI: *Rapporto preliminare sulle campagne di scavi e ricerche 2011–2014,* ed. S. De Maria and S. Gjongecaj, Bologna, pp. 101–104.

Andréou, I. 1993. "Ambracie, une ville ancienne se reconstitue peu à peu par les recherches," in Cabanes 1993b, pp. 91–101.

Andréou, I., and E. Andréou. 2007. "La stèle funéraire des Ambraciotes," in Berranger-Auserve 2007, pp. 235–246.

Antonelli, L. 2000. *Kerkyraiká: Ricerche su Corcira alto-arcaica tra Ionio e Adriatico* (Problemi e ricerche di storia antica 20), Rome.

Antonetti, C. 2007. "Epidamno, Apollonia, e il santuario olimpico: Convergenze e discontinuità nella mitologia delle origini," in Berranger-Auserve 2007, pp. 89–111.

———. 2015. "Lanassa e Corcira: La sposa, l'isola, la cultualità demetriaca al servizio della regalità ellenistica," in Antonetti and Cavalli 2015, pp. 191–219.

Antonetti, C., and E. Cavalli, eds. 2015. *Prospettive corciresi*, Venice.

Arafat, K. W., and C. A. Morgan. 1995. "In the Footsteps of Aeneas: Excavations at Butrint, Albania, 1991–2," *Dialogos: Hellenic Studies Review* 2, pp. 25–40.

Auberson, P. 1994. "L'architettura del tempio ionico di Siracusa," *CronCatania* 19, pp. 207–208.

Baçe, A. 1979. "Vështrim mbi arkitekturën e fortifikimeve antike në vendin tonë," *Monumentet* 17, pp. 5–47.

Baika, K. 2013. "Corcyra," in *Shipsheds of the Ancient Mediterranean,* ed. D. Blackman, B. Rankov, K. Baika, H. Gerding, and J. Pakkanen, Cambridge, pp. 319–334.

Barber, G. L. 1935. *The Historian Ephorus,* Cambridge.

Barletta, B. A. 1983. *Ionic Influence in Archaic Sicily: The Monumental Art* (*SIMA-PB* 23), Göteborg.

———. 1990. "An 'Ionian Sea' Style in Archaic Doric Architecture," *AJA* 94, pp. 45–72.

———. 2001. *The Origins of the Greek Architectural Orders,* Cambridge.

Baron, C. A. 2013. *Timaeus of Tauromenium and Hellenistic Historiography,* Cambridge.

Beaumont, R. L. 1936. "Greek Influence in the Adriatic Sea before the Fourth Century B.C," *JHS* 56, pp. 159–204.

———. 1952. "Corinth, Ambracia, Apollonia," *JHS* 72, pp. 62–73.

Bejko, L. 2002. "Mycenaean Presence and Influence in Albania," in *Greek Influence along the East Adriatic Coast. Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Split from September 24 to 26, 1998,* ed. N. Cambi, S. Čače, and B. Kirgin, Split, pp. 9–24.

Bensen, J. L. 1967. "The Central Group of the Corfu Pediment," in *Gestalt und Geschichte: Festschrift Karl Schefold zu seinem 60. Geburtstag am 26. Januar 1965* (*AntK-BH* 4), ed. M. Rohde-Liegle, H. A. Cahn, and H. C. Ackermann, Bern, pp. 48–60.

Bergemann, J. 1998. *Die römische Kolonie von Butrint und die Romanisierung Griechenlands* (Studien zur antiken Stadt 2), Munich.

Berranger-Auserve, D., ed. 2007. *Épire, Illyrie, Macédonie: Mélanges offerts au Professeur Pierre Cabanes* (Collection ERGA: Recherches sur l'Antiquité 10), Clermont-Ferrand.

Bescoby, D. 2007. "Geoarchaeological Investigations at Roman Butrint," in *Roman Butrint: An Assessment,* ed. I. L. Hansen and R. Hodges, Oxford, pp. 95–118.

Bettini, M. 1997. "Ghosts of Exile: Doubles and Nostalgia in Vergil's *parva Troia* (*Aeneid* 3.294ff.)," *ClAnt* 16, pp. 8–33.

Beyer, I. 1974. "Die Reliefgiebel des alten Athenatempels der Akropolis," *AA* 1974, pp. 639–650.
Biraschi, A. M. 1981–1982. "Enea a Butroto: Genesi, sviluppi, e significato di una tradizione troiana in Epiro," *AnnPerugia* 19, pp. 277–291.
Bowden, W., and J. Mitchell. 2004. "The Christian Topography of Butrint," in Hodges, Bowden, and Lako 2004, pp. 104–125.
Buckler, J. 2003. *Aegean Greece in the Fourth Century B.C.,* Leiden.
Budina, D. 1988. "Butrinti pararomak," in Ceka 1988a, pp. 6–107.
Burnett, A. M., M. Amandry, and P. P. Ripollès. 1998. *Roman Provincial Coinage* 1, pt. 1: *From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 B.C.–A.D. 69),* London, pp. 274–279.
Cabanes, P. 1976. *L'Épire de la mort de Pyrrhos à la conquête romaine, 272–167 av. J.C.* (Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 186), Paris.
———. 1979. "Frontière et rencontres de civilisations dans la Grèce du Nord-Ouest," *Ktema* 4, pp. 183–199.
———, ed. 1987a. *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité. Actes du colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 octobre 1984,* Clermont-Ferrand.
———. 1987b. "Réflexions sur quelques problèmes historiques des confins illyro-épirotes (IV$^{e}$–I$^{er}$ siècle avant J.C.)," in Cabanes 1987a, pp. 17–27.
———. 1988. "Les habitants des régions situées au Nord-Ouest de la Grèce antique étaient-ils des étrangers aux yeux des gens de Grèce centrale et méridionale?" in *L'Étranger dans le monde grec. Actes du colloque organisé par l'Institut d'Études anciennes, Nancy, mai 1987,* ed. R. Lonis, Nancy, pp. 89–111.
———. 1993a. "Apollonie et Épidamne-Dyrrhachion: Épigraphie et histoire," in Cabanes 1993b, pp. 145–153.
———, ed. 1993b. *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité II. Actes du II$^{e}$ colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand, 25–27 octobre 1990,* Paris.
———. 1999. "États fédéraux et *koina* en Grèce du Nord et en Illyrie méridionale," in *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité III. Actes du III$^{e}$ colloque international de Chantilly, 16–19 octobre 1996,* ed. P. Cabanes, Paris, pp. 373–382.
———. 2001. "Les ports d'Illyrie méridionale," in *Strutture portuali e rotte maritime nell'Adriatico di etá romana* (*CÉFR* 280) ed. C. Zaccaria, Trieste, pp. 121–136.
———. 2002. "Le présence grecque sur la côte orientale de l'Adriatique en Illyrie du Sud," in *Greek Influence along the East Adriatic Coast. Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Split from September 24 to 26, 1998,* ed. N. Cambi, S. Čače, and B. Kirgin, Split, pp. 51–63.
———. 2004. "L'Épire et le royaume des Molosses à l'époque d'Alexandre le Molosse," in *Alessandro il Molosso e i "Condottieri" in Magna Grecia* (*Atti Taranto* 43), Taranto, pp. 11–52.
———. 2007. "Appendice: Les Chaones et l'Épire, de l'indépendance à l'association (V$^{e}$–II$^{e}$ siècles avant J.-C.)," in *Phoinike* IV: *Rapporto preliminare sulle campagne di scavi e ricerche 2004–2006,* ed. S. De Maria and S. Gjongecaj, Bologna, pp. 227–238.
———. 2008. "Greek Colonisation in the Adriatic," in *Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas,* vol. 2, ed. G. R. Tsetskhladze, Leiden, pp. 155–185.
———. 2010. "Institutions politiques et développement urbain (IV$^{e}$–III$^{e}$ s. avant J.-C.): Réflexions historiques à partir de l'Épire," in *Lo spazio ionico e la comunità della Grecia nord-occidentale: Territorio, società, istituzioni. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Venezia, 7–9 gennaio 2010* (Diabaseis 1), ed. C. Antonetti, Pisa, pp. 117–140.
———. 2012. "L'organisation des collectivités (*ethnos* ou *koinon*) en Épire et dans la Haute-Macédoine à l'époque hellénistique (III$^{e}$–II$^{e}$ siècles avant J.-C.)," in Marinis et al. 2012, pp. 47–57.
Cabanes, P., and F. Drini. 2007. *Corpus des inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire* 2.2: *Inscriptions de Bouthrôtos* (Études épigraphiques 2), Athens.
Carusi, C. 2011. "La Grecia nord-occidentale e il problema storico del rapporto fra isole e peree," in *Ethne, identità, e tradizioni* 1: *La "terza" Grecia e l'Occidente* (Diabaseis 3), ed. L. Breglia, A. Moleti, and M. L. Napolitano, Pisa, pp. 89–112.
Casson, L. 1971. *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World,* Princeton.
Ceka, N. 1976. "Fortifikimi antik i Butrintit dhe i territorit të Prasaibëve," *Monumentet* 12, pp. 27–48.
———, ed. 1988a. *Butroti: Permbledhje Studimesh,* Tirana.
———. 1988b. "Fortifikimi antik i Butrintit," in Ceka 1988a, pp. 115–133.
———. 2011. "Les fortifications dans les villes d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire," in *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité V. Actes du V$^{e}$ colloque international de Grenoble, 8–11 octobre 2008,* ed. J.-L. Lamboley and M.-P. Castiglioni, Paris, pp. 649–662.
———. 2013. *The Illyrians to the Albanians,* Tirana.
Childs, W. A. P. 1994. "The Date of the Old Temple of Athena on the Athenian Acropolis," in *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy. Proceedings of an International Conference Celebrating 2500 Years since the Birth of Democracy in Greece, Held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, December 4–6, 1992* (Oxbow Monograph 37), ed. W. D. E. Coulson, O. Palagia, T. L. Shear Jr., H. A. Shapiro, and F. J. Frost, Oxford, pp. 1–6.
Christien, J. 2015. "Corcyre au IV$^{e}$ siècle entre Sparte et Syracuse: Que sont mes vaisseaux devenus?" in Antonetti and Cavalli 2015, pp. 119–144.
Coldstream, J. N. 2003. *Geometric Greece: 900–700 B.C.,* 2nd ed., London.
Constantakopoulou, C. 2007. *The Dance of the Islands: Insularity, Networks, the Athenian Empire, and the Aegean World* (Oxford Classical Monographs), Oxford.
*Corinth* XIII = C. W. Blegen, H. Palmer, and R. S. Young, *The North Cemetery* (*Corinth* XIII), Princeton 1964.

Coulton, J. J. 1982. *Ancient Greek Architects at Work: Problems of Structure and Design,* Ithaca.
Dakaris, S. 1972. *Θεσπρωτία* (Ancient Greek Cities 15), Athens.
———. 1982. "Von einer kleinen ländlichen Ansiedlung des 8.–4. Jhs. v. Chr. zu einer spätklassischen Stadt in Nordwest-Griechenland," in *Palast und Hütte: Beiträge zum Bauen und Wohnen im Altertum von Archäologen, Vor- und Fruhgeschichtlern. Tagungsbeiträge eines Symposiums der Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung, Bonn-Bad Godesberg, veranstaltet vom 25.–30. November 1979 in Berlin,* ed. D. Papenfuss and V. M. Strocka, Mainz, pp. 357–374.
———. 1987. "Organisation politique et urbanistique de la ville dans l'Épire antique," in Cabanes 1987a, pp. 71–80.
Dakaris, S., A. P. Christidis, and J. Vokotopoulou. 1993. "Les lamelles oraculaires de Dodone et les villes de l'Épire du Nord," in Cabanes 1993b, pp. 55–60.
D'Andria, F. 1984. "Documenti del commercio arcaico tra Ionio ed Adriatico," in *Magna Grecia, Epiro, e Macedonia* (*AttiTaranto* 24), Taranto, pp. 321–377.
———. 1990. "Greek Influence in the Adriatic: Fifty Years after Beaumont," in *Greek Colonists and Native Populations. Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology Held in Honour of Emeritus Professor A.D. Trendall, Sydney, 9–14 July 1985*, ed. J.-P. Descoeudres, Oxford, pp. 281–290.
Davidson, D. A. 1980. "Erosion in Greece during the First and Second Millennia B.C.," in *Timescales in Geomorphology,* ed. R. A. Cullingford, D. A. Davidson, and J. Lewin, New York, pp. 143–158.
De Maria, S., ed. 2001. *Phoinike: La città e il suo territorio* (Percorsi di archeologia 1), Bologna.
———. 2002a. "Il sito, la città, la storia," in *Phoinike* I: *Rapporto preliminare sulla campagna di scavi e ricerche 2000,* ed. S. De Maria and S. Gjongecaj, Florence, pp. 13–26.
———. 2002b. "Il 'Thesauròs': Una revisione," in *Phoinike* I: *Rapporto preliminare sulla campagna di scavi e ricerche 2000,* ed. S. De Maria and S. Gjongecaj, Florence, pp. 55–61.
———. 2008. "Phoinike d'Epiro in età ellenistica," *Archaeologia Adriatica* 2, pp. 683–699.
———. 2011. "Genesi e sviluppo della città nella Caonia antica: Nuovi dati dagli scavi di *Phoinike*," in *Sulla rotta per la Sicilia: L'Epiro, Corcira, e l'Occidente* (Diabaseis 2), ed. G. De Sensi Sestrieri and M. Intrieri, Pisa, pp. 63–88.
Deniaux, É. 1987. "Atticus et l'Epire," in Cabanes 1987a, pp. 245–254.
Descoeudres, J.-P. 2008. "Central Greece on the Eve of the Colonisation Movement," in *Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas,* vol. 2, ed. G. R. Tsetskhladze, Leiden, pp. 289–382.
Dimo, V., A. Fenet, and A. Mano. 2007. "Les nécropoles," in *Apollonia d'Illyrie* 1: *Atlas archéologique et historique* (*CÉFR* 391), ed. V. Dimo, P. Lenhardt, and F. Quantin, Athens, pp. 300–316.
Dinsmoor, W. B. 1936. "Additional Note on the Temple at Kardaki," *AJA* 40, pp. 55–56.
———. 1947. "The Hekatompedon on the Athenian Acropolis," *AJA* 51, pp. 109–151.
———. 1950. *The Architecture of Ancient Greece: An Account of Its Historical Development,* 3rd ed., London.
Dinsmoor, W. B., Jr. 1973. "The Kardaki Temple Re-Examined," *AM* 88, pp. 165–174.
Dodge, H. 1988. "Decorative Stones for Architecture in the Roman Empire," *OJA* 7, pp. 65–80.
Dontas, G. S. 1963. "Ανασκαφή εν Κερκύρα, εντός του Βασιλικού κτήματος Mon Repos," *ArchDelt* 18, B′2, pp. 161–180.
———. 1964. "Αρχαιότητες και μνημεία των Ιονίων Νήσων," *ArchDelt* 19, B′3, pp. 315–328.
———. 1965a. "Ανασκαφαί Κέρκυρας," *Prakt* 1965, pp. 66–77.
———. 1965b. "Τοπογραφικά θέματα της πολιορκίας της Κέρκυρας του έτους 373 π.Χ.," *ArchEph* 1965, pp. 139–144.

———. 1965c. "Αρχαιότητες και μνημεία των Ιονίων Νήσων," *ArchDelt* 20, B′2, pp. 378–400.
———. 1967. "Αρχαιότητες και μνημεία των Ιονίων Νήσων," *ArchDelt* 22, B′2, pp. 360–370.
———. 1968. "Le grand sanctuaire de 'Mon Repos' à Corfou," *AAA* 1, pp. 66–69.
———. 1977. "Ανασκαφή στο Καρδάκι Κέρκυρας," *Prakt* 1977, pp. 154–158.
———. 1978. "Εργασίες στο Καρδάκι Κέρκυρας," *Prakt* 1978, pp. 108–110.
Dörpfeld, W. 1912. "Archäologische Funde im Jahre 1911," *AA* 1912, pp. 247–250.
———. 1914a. "Ausgrabungen auf Korfu im Fruhjahr 1914," *AM* 39, pp. 161–176.
———. 1914b. "Archäologische Gesellschaft zu Berlin," *AA* 1914, pp. 46–54.
Dosuna, J. M. 1985. *Los dialectos dorios del noroeste: Gramática y estudio dialectal,* Salamanca.
Evangelidis, D. E. 1953–1954. "Επιγραφή εκ Δωδώνης," *ArchEph* 1953–1954, pp. 99–103.
Fauber, C. M. 2002. "Archaic Kerkyra: An Historiographical Examination of the Formation and Formulation of an Ancient Greek Polis" (diss. Univ. of Chicago).
Ferrari, G. 2002. "The Ancient Temple on the Acropolis at Athens," *AJA* 106, pp. 11–35.
Fischer-Hansen, T. 1996. "The Earliest Town-Planning of the Western Greek Colonies, with Special Regard to Sicily," in *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis. Symposium August 23–26, 1995* (Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 3), ed. M. H. Hansen, Copenhagen, pp. 317–373.
Franke, P. R. 1961. *Die antiken Münzen von Epirus,* Wiesbaden.
Frederiksen, R. 2011. *Greek City Walls of the Archaic Period, 900–480 B.C.* (Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology), Oxford.
Funke, P., N. Moustakis, and B. Hochschulz. 2004. "Epeiros," in *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis,* ed. M. H. Hansen and T. H. Nielsen, Oxford, pp. 338–350.
Galaty, M. 2007. "'There Are Prehistoric Cities Up There': The Bronze and Iron Ages in Northern Albania," in *Between the Aegean and Baltic Seas: Prehistory Across Borders. Proceedings of the International Conference, Bronze and Early Iron Age Interconnections and Contemporary Developments between the Aegean and the Regions of the Balkan Peninsula, Central and Northern Europe, University of Zagreb, Croatia, 11–14 April 2005,* ed. I. Galanaki, H. Tomas, Y. Galanakis, and R. Laffineur, Liège, pp. 133–140.
Garland, R. 2001. *The Greek Way of Death,* 2nd ed., Ithaca.
Gassner, V. 2011. "Amphorae Production of the Ionic Adriatic Region," in *FACEM: Provenance Studies on Pottery in the Central Mediterranean* (http://www.facem.at/project papers.php).
Georgiadou, G., and C. Spanodimos. 2005. "Archaic Kerkyra: The Evidence of the Graves: Archaeological Investigations of the 8th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities in the Necropolis of the Ancient City," *Conference Proceeding: Ancient Epirus—Chaonia,* Gjirokastra, April 2005 (paper).
Georgiadou, G., and A. Tzortzatou. 2009. "Η πρωτοκορινθιακή και κορινθιακή αρχαϊκή κεραμική της Κέρκυρας: Μία συστηματική προσέγγιση των ευρημάτων από το οικόπεδο του Δικαστικού Μεγάρου Κέρκυρας (The Protocorinthian and Corinthian Archaic pottery from Corfu)," in *Η΄ Διεθνές Πανιόνιο Συνέδριο, Κύθηρα, 21–25 Μαΐου 2006, Πρακτικά* 1, Kythera, pp. 163–181.
Giorgi, E., and J. Bogdani. 2012. *Il territorio di Phoinike in Caonia: Archeologia del paesaggio in Albania meridionale* (Scavi di Phoinike 1), Bologna.
Graham, A. J. 1962. "Corinthian Colonies and Thucydides' Terminology," *Historia* 10, pp. 246–252.
———. 1983. *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece,* 2nd ed., Chicago.
———. 2001. *Collected Papers on Greek Colonization,* Leiden.
Greenslade, S. 2013. "The Vrina Plain Settlement between the 1st–13th Centuries," in Hansen, Hodges, and Leppard 2013, pp. 123–164.
Greenslade, S., S. Leppard, and M. Logue. 2013. "The Acropolis of Butrint Reassessed," in Hansen, Hodges, and Leppard 2013, pp. 47–76.
Gruben, G. 1986. *Die Tempel der Griechen,* 4th ed., Munich.
———. 2001. *Griechische Tempel und Heiligtümer,* Munich.
Gullini, G. 1985. "L'architettura," in *Sikanie: Storia e civiltà della Sicilia greca,* ed. G. Pugliese Carratelli, Milan, pp. 415–491.
Hadzis, K. 1998. "Preliminary Report on the Study of Pottery on the Acropolis of Bouthrotos," *Iliria* 28.1–2, pp. 223–227.
Hadzis, K., and A. Nanaj. 1993. "Preliminary Report on the '93 Expedition in Butrint (Synthesis)" (unpublished report, Albanian Institute of Archaeology, Tirana).
Hall, E. 1989. *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy* (Oxford Classical Monographs), Oxford.
Hall, J. M. 2002. *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture,* Chicago.
Hammond, N. G. L. 1967. *Epirus: The Geography, the Ancient Remains, the History, and the Topography of Epirus and Adjacent Areas,* Oxford.
Hansen, I. L. 2011. "Between Atticus and Aeneas: The Making of a Colonial Elite at Roman Butrint," in *Roman Colonies in the First Century of their Foundation,* ed. R. J. Sweetman, Oxford, pp. 85–-100.
Hansen, I. L., R. Hodges, and S. Leppard, eds. 2013. *Butrint* 4: *The Archaeology and Histories of an Ionian Town* (Butrint Archaeological Monographs 4), Oxford.
Hansen, M. H. 1997a. "Hekataios' Use of the Word *Polis* in his *Periegesis,*" in *Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 4; *Historia* Suppl. 117), ed. T. H. Nielson, Stuttgart, pp. 17–27.
———. 1997b. "The Polis as an Urban Centre: The Literary and Epigraphical Evidence," in *The Polis as an Urban Centre and as a Political Community. Symposium August 29–31 1996* (Acts of the Copenhagen Polis

Centre 4), ed. M. H. Hansen, Copenhagen, pp. 9–86.
———. 1997c. "A Typology of Dependent *Poleis,*" in *Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 4; *Historia* Suppl. 117), ed. T. H. Nielsen, Stuttgart, pp. 29–37.
———. 2000. "The Hellenic *Polis,*" in *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures: An Investigation* (Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter 21), ed. M. H. Hansen, Copenhagen, pp. 141–187.
Hansen, M. H., and T. H. Nielsen, eds. 2004. *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis,* Oxford.
Hatzopoulos, M. B. 1997. "The Boundaries of Hellenism in Epirus during Antiquity," in *Epirus: 4000 Years of Greek History and Civilization* (Greek Lands in History 2), ed. M. B. Sakellariou, Athens, pp. 140–145.
Helm, R. 1956. *Eusebius' Werke* 7: *Die Chronik von Hieronymus* (*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte* 47), Berlin.
Hernandez, D. R. 2017. "Buthrotum's Sacred Topography and the Imperial Cult, I: The West Courtyard and Pavement Inscription," *JRA* 30, pp. 100–124.
———. Forthcoming a. "The Abandonment of Butrint: From Venetian Enclave to Ottoman Backwater (A.D. 1386–1928)," *Hesperia* 87.
———. Forthcoming b. "Battling Water: The Frontiers of Archaeological Excavations at Butrint (1928–2014)," *BSA* 112.
———. Forthcoming c. "Wet-Site Excavation and Field Methodology at Butrint, Albania *(Bouthrotos/Buthrotum):* The Roman Forum Excavations (RFE) Project," *JFA* 42.
Hernandez, D. R., and D. Çondi. 2008. "The Roman Forum at Butrint (Epirus) and Its Development from Hellenistic to Mediaeval Times," *JRA* 21, pp. 275–292.
———. 2011. "The Roman Forum at Butrint and the Development of the Ancient Urban Center," in *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité V. Actes du V^e colloque international de Grenoble, 8–11 octobre 2008,* ed. J.-L. Lamboley and M.-P. Castiglioni, Paris, pp. 243–257.
———. 2014. "The Formation of Butrint: New Insights from Excavations in the Roman Forum," in *Proceedings of the International Congress of Albanian Archaeological Studies: 65th Anniversary of Albanian Archaeology (21–22 November, Tirana 2013),* ed. L. Përzhita, I. Gjipali, G. Hoxha, and B. Muka, Tirana, pp. 285–302.
Hernandez, D. R., and J. Mitchell. 2013. "The Western Cemetery: Archaeological Survey of Roman Tombs along the Vivari Channel," in Hansen, Hodges, and Leppard 2013, pp. 182–201.
Hodges, R. 2006. *Eternal Butrint: A UNESCO World Heritage Site in Albania,* London.
———. 2013. "Excavating Away the 'Poison': The Topographic History of Butrint, Ancient *Buthrotum,*" in Hansen, Hodges, and Leppard 2013, pp. 1–21.
———. 2014. "Butrint's Northern Frontier in the Eleventh Century? The Dema Wall," *BSA* 108, pp. 323–327.
Hodges, R., W. Bowden, O. Gilkes, and K. Lako. 2004. "Introduction," in Hodges, Bowden, and Lako 2004, pp. 1–19.
Hodges, R., W. Bowden, and K. Lako, eds. 2004. *Byzantine Butrint: Excavations and Surveys, 1994–99,* Oxford.
Hofsten, S. von. 2007. *The Feline–Prey Theme in Archaic Greek Art: Classification, Distribution, Origin, Iconographical Context* (Stockholm Studies in Classical Archaeology 14), Stockholm.
Hölscher, F. 1972. *Die Bedeutung archaischer Tierkampfbilder* (Beiträge zur Archäologie 5), Würzburg.
Hölscher, T. 2011. "Myths, Images, and the Typology of Identities in Early Greek Art," in *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean,* ed. E. S. Gruen, Los Angeles, pp. 47–65.
Hurwit, J. M. 1999. *The Athenian Acropolis: History, Mythology, and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present,* Cambridge.
———. 2004. *The Acropolis in the Age of Pericles,* Cambridge.

———. 2005. "Space and Theme: The Setting of the Parthenon," in *The Parthenon: From Antiquity to the Present,* ed. J. Neils, Cambridge, pp. 9–34.
Hutchinson, J. 1969. "Erosion and Land Use: The Influence of Agriculture on the Epirus Region of Greece," *Agricultural History Review* 17, pp. 85–90.
Intrieri, M. 2015. "Atene, Corcira, e le isole dello Ionio (415–344 a.C.)," in Antonetti and Cavalli 2015, pp. 53–117.
Islami, S. 1976. "Problèmes de chronologie de la cité illyrienne," *Iliria* 6, pp. 107–112.
Johnson, F. P. 1936. "The Kardaki Temple," *AJA* 40, pp. 46–54.
Kalligas, P. G. 1966. "Εργασίαι επί αρχαίων της πόλεως Κέρκυρας και της υπαίθρου. Καρδάκι," *ArchDelt* 21, B′2, p. 325.
———. 1968. "Αρχαιότητες και μνημεία των Ιονίων Νήσων," *ArchDelt* 23, B′2, pp. 302–313.
———. 1969. "Το εν Κερκύρα ιερόν της Ακραίας Ήρας," *ArchDelt* 24, A′, pp. 51–58.
———. 1971. "An Inscribed Lead Plaque from Korkyra," *BSA* 66, pp. 79–94.
Kallipolitis, V. G. 1955. "Ανασκαφή εν Παλαιοπόλει Κερκύρας," *Prakt* 1955, pp. 187–192.
———. 1961. "Ανασκαφή Παλαιοπόλεως Κερκύρας," *Prakt* 1961, pp. 120–128.
Kanta-Kitsou, A. 1992. "Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων," *ArchDelt* 47, B′1, pp. 334–340.
Karaiskaj, G. 1984. *Butrinti dhe fortifikimet e tij,* Tirana.
———. 2009. *The Fortifications of Butrint,* London.
Karatzeni, V. 1999. "Ambracia during the Roman Era," in *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité III. Actes du III^e colloque international de Chantilly, 16–19 octobre 1996,* ed. P. Cabanes, Paris, pp. 241–247.
Koehler, C. G. 1978. "Corinthian A and B Transport Amphoras" (diss. Princeton Univ.).
*Korkyra* = *Korkyra: Archaische Bauten und Bildwerke,* Berlin.
1 = G. Schleif, K. A. Rhomaios, and G. Klaffenbach, *Der Artemistempel: Architektur, Dachterrakotten, Inschriften,* 1940.
2 = G. Rodenwaldt, *Die Bildwerke des Artemistempels von Korkyra,* 1939.
Kos, M. S. 2015. "Corcyra in Strabo's Geography," in Antonetti and Cavalli 2015, pp. 1–31.
Kostoglou-Despini, K. 1970. "Αρχαιότητες και μνημεία των Ιονίων Νήσων," *ArchDelt* 25, B′2, pp. 322–332.
Kraay, C. M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*, Berkeley.
Kurtz, D. C., and J. Boardman. 1971. *Greek Burial Customs,* Ithaca.
Lako, K. 1977–1978. "Gërmime në Butrint: 1975–1976," *Iliria* 7–8, pp. 293–299.
Lawrence, A. W. 1996. *Greek Architecture,* 5th ed., New Haven.
Leekley, D., and R. Noyes. 1975. *Archaeological Excavations in the Greek Islands,* Park Ridge, NJ.
Lepore, E. 1962. *Ricerche sull'antico Epiro: Le origini storiche e gli interessi greci* (Collana di studi greci 38), Naples.
Lepore, G. 2012. "La formazione del centro urbano di *Phoinike* in Epiro," in Marinis et al. 2012, pp. 505–513.
Lhôte, É. 2006. *Les lamelles oraculaires de Dodone* (Hautes études du monde gréco-romain 36), Geneva.
Lima, S. 2013. "Butrint and the Pavllas River Valley in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age," in Hansen, Hodges, and Leppard 2013, pp. 31–46.
Lippolis, E., M. Livadiotti, and G. Rocco. 2007. *Architettura greca: Storia e monumenti del mondo della polis dalle origini al V secolo,* Milan.
Malkin, I. 1998. *The Returns of Odysseus: Colonization and Ethnicity,* Berkeley.
———. 2001. "Greek Ambiguities: Between 'Ancient Hellas' and 'Barbarian Epirus,'" in *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* (Center for Hellenic Studies Colloquia 5), ed. I. Malkin, Washington, D.C., pp. 187–212.
Mano, A. 1983. "Kërkime arkeologjike gjatë vitit 1982," *Iliria* 13.1, p. 278.
———. 2006. *Apolonia e Ilirisë,* Tirana.
Marconi, C. 2007. *Temple Decoration and Cultural Identity in the Archaic Greek World: The Metopes of Selinus,* Cambridge.
Marinis, G. de, G. M. Fabrini, G. Paci, R. Perna, and M. Silvestrini. 2012. *I processi formativi ed evolutivi della città in area adriatica* (*BAR-IS* 2419), Oxford.
Markoe, G. E. 1989. "The 'Lion Attack' in Archaic Greek Art: Heroic Triumph," *ClAnt* 8, pp. 86–115.
Martin, S. 2004. "The Topography of Butrint," in Hodges, Bowden, and Lako 2004, pp. 76–103.
Meksi, A. 1985. "Arkitektura paleokristiane në Shqipëri," *Monumentet* 30, pp. 13–44.
———. 1988. "Ndërtimet e Kultit në Butrint," in Ceka 1988a, pp. 199–210.
Melfi, M. 2012. "Butrinto: Da santuario di Asclepio a centro federale," in Marinis et al. 2012, pp. 23–31.
Mertens, D. 1996. "Western Greek Architecture," in *The Western Greeks: Classical Civilization in the Western Mediterranean,* ed. G. Pugliese Carratelli, London, pp. 315–346.
———. 2006. *Città e monumenti dei Greci d'Occidente: Dalla colonizzazione alla crisi di fine V secolo a.C.,* Rome.
Metallinou, G. 2010. "Kerkyra through the Excavations of the Last Years: Myths and Realities," in *Lo spazio ionico e la comunità della Grecia nord-occidentale: Territorio, società, istituzioni. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Venezia, 7–9 gennaio 2010* (Diabaseis 1), ed. C. Antonetti, Venice, pp. 11–34.
Meyer, E. A. 2013. *The Inscriptions of Dodona and a New History of Molossia* (Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 54), Stuttgart.
Mommsen, T. 1895. *C. Iulii Solini: Collectanea rerum memorabilium,* Munich.
Morgan, C. 1988. "Corinth, the Corinthian Gulf, and Western Greece during the Eighth Century B.C.," *BSA* 83, pp. 313–338.
———. 1998. "Euboians and Corinthians in the Area of the Corinthian

Gulf?" in *Euboica: L'Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in Occidente. Atti del convegno internazionale di Napoli, 13–16 novembre 1996* (Collection du Centre Jean Bérard 16), ed. M. Bats and B. d'Agostino, Naples, pp. 281–302.

Morgan, C., and J. Hall. 1996. "Achaian *Poleis* and Achaian Colonisation," in *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis. Symposium August, 23–26 1995* (Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 3), ed. M. H. Hansen, London, pp. 164–232.

Mustilli, D. 1940. "Gli scavi italiani di Butrinto," *Romana* 4, pp. 183–191.

———. 1941. "Relazione preliminare sugli scavi archeologici in Albania (1937–40)," *RendAccIt* 2, pp. 677–704.

Nanaj, A. 1983. "Gërmime të vitit 1983 në Butrint," *Iliria* 13.2, pp. 254–255.

———. 1985. "Butroti protourban," *Iliria* 15, pp. 303–312.

———. 1986. "Gërmime të vitit 1986 në Butrint," *Iliria* 16.2, pp. 255–256.

———. 1988. "Kupa të periudhës arkaike në Butrint," *Iliria* 18, pp. 51–74.

———. 1995. "Amforat arkaiko-klasike të Butrintit," *Iliria* 25, pp. 149–173.

Neer, R. T. 2007. "Delphi, Olympia, and the Art of Politics," in *The Cambridge Companion to Archaic Greece,* ed. H. A. Shapiro, Cambridge, pp. 225–264.

Osborne, R. 1996. *Greece in the Making, 1200–479 B.C.,* London.

———. 2000. "Archaic and Classical Greek Temple Sculpture and the Viewer," in *Word and Image in Ancient Greece* (Edinburgh Leventis Studies 1), ed. N. K. Ruter and B. A. Sparkes, Edinburgh, pp. 228–246.

Palmer, H. 1964. "Part IV," in Athens, pp. 65–327.

Papazoglou, F. 1986. "Politarques en Illyrie," *Historia* 35, pp. 438–448.

Paschalis, M. 1997. *Virgil's* Aeneid: *Semantic Relations and Proper Names,* Oxford.

Perlman, P. 2000. *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece: The Theorodokia in the Peloponnese* (Hypomnemata 121), Göttingen.

Petrain, D. 2014. *Homer in Stone: The Tabulae Iliacae in Their Roman Context,* Cambridge.

Pfaff, C. A. 2003. "Archaic Corinthian Architecture, ca. 600–480 B.C.," in *Corinth, the Centenary: 1896–1996* (*Corinth* XX), ed. C. K. Williams II and N. Bookidis, pp. 95–140.

Podini, M. 2015. *La decorazione architettonica di età ellenistica e romana nell'Epiro del nord* (DISCI: Dipartimento storia culture civiltà 5), Bologna.

Pojani, I. 2007. "The Monumental Togate Statue from Butrint," in *Roman Butrint: An Assessment,* ed. I. L. Hansen and R. Hodges, Oxford, pp. 62–77.

Preka-Alexandri, K. 1984. "Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων," *ArchDelt* 39, B′2, pp. 204–213.

———. 1994. *Kerkyra: From Nausicaa to Europe,* Athens.

Prendi, F. 1959. *Butrinti,* Tirana.

Price, J. J. 2001. *Thucydides and Internal War,* Cambridge.

Quantin S., and F. Quantin. 2007. "Le déplacement du temple d'Athéna Polias en Chaonie: Remarques sur les *cosidetti* 'temples voyageurs,'" in Berranger-Auserve 2007, pp. 175–196.

Railton, W. 1830. "Description of a Newly Discovered Temple at Cadachio in the Island of Corfu," in *The Antiquities of Athens* 4: *The Antiquities of Athens and Other Places in Greece, Sicily, etc.,* ed. J. Stuart and N. Revett, London, pp. 3–6.

Rambo, E. F. 1920. *Lions in Greek Art,* Concord.

Rhodes, R. F. 1995. *Architecture and Meaning on the Athenian Acropolis,* Cambridge.

Ridgway, B. S. 1972. *Classical Sculpture* (Catalogue of the Classical Collection, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design), Providence.

———. 1977. *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton.

Ridgway, D. 1992. *The First Western Greeks,* Cambridge.

Riginos, G. 2001. "Χρονικά," *ArchDelt* 56–59 (2001–2004), B′5, pp. 221–224.

———. 2005. "Οικόπεδο Λυρικού Θεάτρου," *ArchDelt* 60, B′1, pp. 559–564.

Robertson, D. S. 1969. *Greek and Roman Architecture,* Cambridge.

Roland, S. 2008. "Corinth and the Birth of Figural Representation in Greek Monumental Architecture" (diss. Columbia Univ.).
Rose, C. B. 2003. "The Temple of Athena at Ilion," *Studia Troica* 13, pp. 27–88.
———. 2014. *The Archaeology of Greek and Roman Troy,* New York.
Salmon, J. B. 1984. *Wealthy Corinth: A History of the City to 338 B.C.,* Oxford.
Santoro, S. 2012. "*Epidamnos/Dyrrachion:* Nascita e sviluppo della città fra VII e VI sec. a.C.," in Marinis et al. 2012, pp. 9–22.
Schrader, H. 1939. *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis,* Frankfurt.
Sealey, R. 1976. *A History of the Greek City States, 700–338 B.C.,* Berkeley.
Shipley, G. 2011. *Pseudo-Skylax's Periplous: The Circumnavigation of the Inhabited World. Text, Translation, and Commentary,* Exeter.
Snodgrass, A. M. 1994. "The Nature and Standing of the Early Western Greek Colonies," in *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation: Essays Dedicated to Sir John Boardman* (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology 40), ed. G. R. Tsetskhladze and F. De Angelis, Oxford, pp. 1–10.
Stähler, K. 1972. "Zur Rekonstruktion und Datierung des Gigantomachiegiebels von der Akropolis," in *Antike und Universalgeschichte: Festschrift Hans Erich Stier zum 70. Geburtstag am 25. Mai 1972* (Fontes et commentationes Suppl. 1), Münster, pp. 88–112.
Stewart, A. 1990. *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration,* New Haven.
———. 2008. *Classical Greece and the Birth of Western Art,* Cambridge.
Stocker, S. R. 2009. "Illyrian Apollonia: Toward a New Ktisis and Developmental History of the Colony" (diss. Univ. of Cincinnati).
Sueref, C. 1993. "Presupposti della colonizzazione lungo le coste epirote," in Cabanes 1993b, pp. 29–46.
Thomas, C. G., and C. Conant. 1999. *Citadel to City-State: The Transformation of Greece, 1200–700 B.C.E.,* Bloomington.
Tomas, H. 2010. "The World beyond the Northern Margin: The Bronze Age Aegean and the East Adriatic Coast," in *Archaic State Interaction: The Eastern Mediterranean in the Bronze Age,* ed. W. A. Parkinson and M. L. Galaty, Santa Fe, pp. 181–212.
Tzortzatou, A., and L. Fatsiou. 2009. "New Early Iron Age and Archaic Sites in Thesprotia," in *Thesprotia Expedition* I: *Towards a Regional History* (Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens 15), ed. B. Forsén, Helsinki, pp. 39–53.
Tzouvara-Souli, C. 1993. "Common Cults in Epirus and Albania," in Cabanes 1993b, pp. 65–82.
Ugolini, L. M. 1927. *Albania antica* 1: *Ricerche archeologiche italiane,* Rome.
———. 1937. *Butrinto: Il mito d'Enea, gli scavi,* Rome.
———. 1942. *Albania antica* 3: *L'Acropoli di Butrinto,* Rome.
Vagnetti, L. 1982. *Magna Grecia e mondo miceneo* (*AttiTaranto* 22) Taranto.
van Dommelen, P. 2005. "Urban Foundations? Colonial Settlement and Urbanization in the Western Mediterranean," in *Mediterranean Urbanization, 800–600 B.C.* (*ProcBritAc* 126), ed. R. Osborne and B. Cunliffe, Oxford, pp. 143–167.
Vermeule, E. 1979. *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Sather Classical Lectures 46), Berkeley.
Wardle, K. 1993. "Mycenaean Trade and Influence in Northern Greece," in *Wace and Blegen: Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Aegean Bronze Age, 1939–1989. Proceedings of the International Conference held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Athens, December 2–3, 1989,* ed. C. Zerner, P. Zerner, and J. Winder, Amsterdam, pp. 117–141.
Webb, P. A. 1996. *Hellenistic Architectural Sculpture: Figural Motifs in Western Anatolia and the Aegean Islands* (Wisconsin Studies in Classics), Wisconsin.
Weickert, C. 1929. *Typen der archaischen Architektur in Griechenland und Kleinasien,* Augsburg.
Wescoat, B. D. 2012. *The Temple of Athena at Assos* (Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology), Oxford.
Wilkes, J. J. 1992. *The Illyrians* (The Peoples of Europe), Oxford.
Williams, C. K. 1995. "Archaic and Classical Corinth," in *Corinto e l'Occidente* (*AttiTaranto* 34), Taranto, pp. 31–45.
Williams, R. D., ed. 1962. *Virgil: Aeneid III,* Oxford.
Winter, F. E. 1971. *Greek Fortifications* (*Phoenix* Suppl. 9), Toronto.
Winter, N. A. 1993. *Greek Architectural Terracottas: From the Prehistoric to the End of the Archaic Period* (Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology), Oxford.
Zheku, K. 1963. "Zbulimi i një gurores antike në Shkallë të Konispolit," *Buletin i Universitetit Shtetëror të Tiranës* (Seria Shkencat Shoqërore 1), Tirana, pp. 228–232.
———. 1971. "Restaurimi i Portës së Luanit, Butrint," *Monumentet* 1, pp. 79–86.

*David R. Hernandez*

University of Notre Dame
department of classics
304 o'shaughnessy hall
notre dame, indiana 46556

dhernan2@nd.edu