

SULLA ROTTA
PER LA SICILIA: L'EPIRO,
CORCIRA E L'OCCIDENTE

a cura di

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THE PRESENCE OF ITALIOTE GREEKS AND ROMANS IN AETOLIA,
ACARNANIA AND THE ADJACENT ISLANDS FROM THE 3rd c. BC
TO THE BEGINNING OF THE IMPERIAL AGE

The sequence of plains and mountains and the extended maritime hinterland of the western coast of the Greek mainland, the string of islands of the Ionian Sea and the chain of ports and the interaction among these zones are to be viewed as a whole, as F. Braudel has shown in his classic works on the Mediterranean¹. It is only for methodological reasons that lead one to limit the present study to the region of Aetolia and Acarnania and the adjacent islands of Zakynthos, Cephallenia, Ithaca and Leukas. This region, located at a crossroads of land – and sea – communications, controlled the entrance to the Corinthian gulf and offered the advantage of a short and direct sea route to Italy, although it was not always to be recommended, as navigability depended on weather². Yet sailing near the coast could in certain periods also be extremely dangerous, because of possible attack by inhabitants of the coast or by pirates.

Despite these difficulties, movement of Greeks westwards for economic reasons is attested as early as the Mycenaean period and reached its peak during colonisation from the 8th c. BC onwards³. Cultural and religious links between Greeks of both sides of the Adriatic Sea were henceforward lively⁴. Individuals from Greek colonies of Southern Italy and Sicily are known often to have made the journey between their new homes and their motherland, since they are attested as victors of the Panhellenic games from the Archaic period onwards. Significantly, Lucius Manlius (Acidinus), sent to Olympia in 208 BC during the Olympic games to encourage Greeks from Sicily and Taras who had been banished by Hannibal to return home (Liv. 27, 35, 3-4), had obviously realised that this was the most effective way of

¹ BRAUDEL 1985 and 1990.

² The sea-route along the west side of the Ionian islands was not to be recommended at all. There was no protection against bad weather, as the absence of ancient settlements on their west coasts indicates (WIRBELAUER 1999, 401-402) and as the attempt to construct the *dioryktos* between Leukas and the Acarnanian coast also show.

³ For an overall presentation of the archaeological data related to the presence of Greeks in Italy from the first approaches to the 3rd c. BC, see GRECO 1992 (with a rich bibliography), RIDGWAY 2004, 15-33.

⁴ LOMAS 1993, 99 ss. on the meaning of being an Italiote Greek and the general question of the survival of Hellenism in Magna Grecia.

reaching a large audience from this region in order to announce the news.

Interaction between the two coasts of Adriatic Sea is further to be traced in particular aspects of material culture already in the Prehistoric period⁵, but especially to be observed from the Geometric period onwards, when similarities between the Apulian Geometric Style and the Western Greek pottery become obvious⁶. Several specialists speak indeed of a *koine* of the art of the Adriatic basin that developed in various fields of production⁷.

A regular movement of Romans eastwards for economic reasons is not, however, attested before the Hellenistic period. The text of Polybios (2, 8, 1), when dealing with the Illyrian pirates who attacked vessels sailing from Italy and often robbed and killed Italian traders, is a very useful witness both to the conditions involved in the dangerous sea route described above and to the fact that in the second half of the 3rd c. BC, there was maritime communication of an economic nature between Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean. The Roman campaign in 228/7 BC, whose aim was to wipe out Illyrian pirates in the Adriatic Sea, shows that the Romans, beyond their desire to intervene in Illyria and then indirectly in Macedonia, were interested in maintaining secure maritime communication with the East⁸. It is no coincidence that in the 3rd c. BC, substantial modifications to the economic life of Rome are to be observed. These are to be seen in such matters as the systematic production of coins⁹, the increasing importance of traders and manufacturers, Roman expansion in Italy and Sicily and the elevation of Rome to the status of a naval power¹⁰. Moreover, businessmen apparently went hand in hand with troops and never failed to find convenient ways of communicating with foreigners¹¹.

There is not much evidence for an Italiote Greek and Roman presence in the region of Aetolia, Acarnania and the adjacent islands from the 3rd c. BC down to the beginning of the Imperial period. Data are few and scattered, in any case fewer than those for Epirus and Korcyra. Thus one is obliged to exploit every piece of evidence, direct and indirect. In the context of the interplay we have noted between the two sides of Adriatic, the influence of Italian workshops is clearly to be observed on ceramic production in Aetolia and Acarnania and other neighbouring areas of Western Greece, such as Elis and the Ionian islands, as early as the 4th c. BC¹². Throughout the Hellenistic period interaction between ceramic and sculp-

⁵ E.g. PREKA-ALEXANDRI 2000, 69-72 with earlier bibliography, summarizes similarities in terms of settlements and ceramics between Corfu and Southern Italy and Sicily, beginning with the Mesolithic period (settlements of Sidari on Corfu and Riparo Blanc and La Porta in Italy) and similarities in terms of the Mycenaean pottery between the settlements of the western coast of Corfu and those of Piano Notaro of Apulia and Calafarina on Sicily.

⁶ GRAVANI 2009, 50 with bibliography.

⁷ Cf. PAPAPOSTOULOU 1972, 434-436.

⁸ SHIPLEY 2000, 371-372.

⁹ CRAWFORD 1985, 28-29.

¹⁰ ALFÖLDY 1988, 29-30, 37.

¹¹ For example, traders accompanied Roman military units in Africa during the 1st Punic war (cf. Polyb. 1, 83, 7 ss.).

¹² Cf. MCPHEE 1979, 159-162; GRAVANI 2009, 51-52.

ture workshops of Western Greece and Italy is so obvious, that it is often difficult to decide where a particular form or a decorative motif originated¹³. Given the mobility and interchange among interdependent production centres in the commercial environment of the Eastern Mediterranean of the time, a merging of various, and not always discernable influences is to be expected.

This interplay, which we sketch very roughly here, presupposes mobility between the two sides, although not necessarily a tangible or more intense presence on the part of individuals from Italy in Western Greece. For the purpose of our study, we will consider archaeological finds that display common developments and interaction as the context, in which a more systematic movement of Romans eastwards in the 3rd c. BC takes place. However, here we focus mainly on more concrete evidence for individuals from Italy who were active in some fashion in Western Greece. Sources for this topic are therefore mainly literary texts and inscriptions. Indirect evidence of their presence is found in the use of Latin language or of Roman names at an early date. Wherever such cases are accompanied by further indirect indications, such as archaeological remains, imported items, e.g. pottery or other artefacts, clearly western-style influences on local ceramic or sculpture workshops and in the circulation of coins, they are to be taken into account. These latter types of evidence of course can be examined only on the basis of published material and we are reliant on the conclusions of the archaeologists and numismatists.

Some of the earliest relations between Aetolia and the opposite side of the Adriatic Sea are to be traced in proxeny agreements. In a long list of *proxenoi* of the Aetolian Koinon from Thermos (IG IX 1² 1, nr. 17), which may be dated to about 263/2 BC or 271/270 BC¹⁴, a Roman, Λεύκιος Λευκίου Ὀλκαῖος

¹³ For the problem of recognizing the origin of various forms cf. e.g. the amphiconic amphora, the Apulian or Peloponnesian origin of which is disputed, and the shapes of pyxis, “hadra”-hydriae, relief skyphoi, see GRAVANI 2009, 51 and n. 32; 52 and n. 49; 53 and nn. 64-65; 54 with bibliography.

Hellenistic pottery published from various sites of Aetolia, Acarnania and the islands of the Ionian Sea shows clear connections with various production centres. A typical example comes from finds from the Hellenistic graves of Chalkis in Aetolia, which display influences of the western Greek tradition, especially Elean, along with those from Corinth and Southern Italy, whilst there is no imported Attic material after the late 4th c. BC, see EIRING, ALEXOPOULOU 2004, 99. For the difficulty of the definition of the origin of several forms of the finds from this excavation see EIRING, ALEXOPOULOU 2004, 108-109; in particular see the discussion regarding the origin of the ‘shallow’ one-handed bowl type (115), which seems to be “more reminiscent of the ‘tazza biansata ad anse orizzontali’”, the type of shallow echinus bowl (117-119) which, although popular in Athens in the course of the 3rd c. BC, is according to the editors “... not unlike the Campana shapes, thus hinting contacts between western Greece and Italy already in the early Hellenistic period” (EIRING, ALEXOPOULOU 2004, 118); cf. also the dispute of the origin of the *unguentaria* from the West or East Mediterranean, EIRING, ALEXOPOULOU 2004, 120-122.

For a case of interaction between sculpture workshops of Western Greece and Italy and the influences of various origins on the Western Greek sculpture production cf. PAPAPOSTOLOU 1993, 15-89 and esp. 81 for the Attic origin of several decorative motifs and the contribution of Macedonia and Southern Italy to their spread in the Hellenistic world.

¹⁴ HABICHT 1982, 382-383 (263/262 BC), GRAINGER 2000, 65 (271/270 BC).

Ῥωμαῖος (l. 51)¹⁵, some, perhaps two, individuals from Syracuse (ll. 67-68), two from Metapontion (ll. 74-75) and two more from Agrigentum (ll. 93-94) are listed as *proxenoi* of the Koinon. The Greek names in the latter cases show that the Greek population of Sicily still played a leading role in relations with Western Greece. Sponsors of these proxenies are, as a rule, prominent citizens of individual Aetolian poleis. A further proxeny agreement with Taras took place in 207/206 BC, after the town was recovered by Rome during the Hannibalic war (IG IX 1² 1, nr. 31). In the same list a *proxenos* from Thurii is also to be encountered (l. 18). The latest attested *proxenos* of the Aetolians from Magna Grecia is Persas, son of Dionysios, from Syracuse, known from a decree of the Aetolians set up in Delphi in 183/2 BC¹⁶: Dionysios was one of the three *theoroi* sent by the king Eumenes to announce the organisation of the Nikephoria as isopythian and isolympian games. It is furthermore significant that the majority of proxenies for Greeks from Magna Grecia of the 3rd c. BC were granted by the Aetolians and Delphi, which was under Aetolian control during this period, until the first decade of the 2nd c. BC.

The question thus arises as to why this privilege was so extensively granted by Aetolians to Greeks from western Greek colonies and secondarily to Romans. In the case of the aforementioned *proxenoi* of the Aetolian League nothing is mentioned regarding the reasons for granting this distinction beyond the general statement that such persons were regarded as benefactors. Since the long list of *proxenoi* reveals that connections with individuals from the West are much fewer in number than those with towns within the Aegean basin, the proxeny agreements with the West suggest, in the view of J. Grainger, a political motivation, after the rapid expansion of the Aetolian League in the 270s, which was followed by an extensive proxeny programme. Grainger ties the case of Taras, in particular, to the final unification of Italy after the conquest of Taras and regards it as the “equivalent of the modern gesture of recognising a foreign regime”¹⁷. The fact that the initiative for the granting of the proxenies in the long lists of the Aetolian League came from prominent citizens may imply the existence of personal connections with the honoured foreigners. Although some scholars regard *proxenoi* as *agentes mercatorii*, this is doubted by Chr. Marek in his classic work on proxeny, who argues that there are in fact few cases of *proxenoi* who can be shown to have played a role in trade¹⁸.

That there was in any case commercial activity on the part of Romans and Italiote Greeks in Western Greece is to be concluded both from the interchange between ceramic and sculpture workshops already mentioned and from further

¹⁵ Ὀλκαῖος is the Greek rendering of the *gentilicium* Olcius (SOLIN, SALOMIES 1994, 131) or Volceius/Volcius (SOLIN, SALOMIES 1994, 212).

¹⁶ Syll.³ 629; FD III 3, nr. 240.

¹⁷ GRAINGER 2000, 65.

¹⁸ Scholars, such as L. Robert, Chr. Habicht and L. Shear, regard *proxenoi* as *agentes mercatorii*, which is doubted by MAREK 1984, 359 ss., where previous bibliography on both views is to be found.

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scanty, but still significant, details, such as the aforementioned passage of Polybios (2, 8, 1) on Italian traders or a decree of the senate of 187 BC. According to this, the Ambraciots are to recover all their property, are to be free, are to have their own laws and collect port-duties, provided that the Romans and the allies of the Latin confederacy be exempt from paying them (Liv. 38, 44, 4). This clearly shows interest on the part of the Romans in maritime communication and commercial exchange in Western Greece.

Furthermore, J. Hatzfeld sees two possible Roman *negotiatores* of Ambracia¹⁹ in a proxeny decree from Anaktorion, which is, in fact, one of a series of proxeny decrees of the Acarnanian Koinon, dated to the 2nd c. BC²⁰. In one and the same text, two Roman brothers, Publius and Lucius Acilii, sons of Publius, whose names given in the Roman onomastic formula (Πόπλιον, Λεύκιον τοῦς Ποπλίου Ἀκιλίουσ Ῥωμαίουσ)²¹, are named *proxenoi* and benefactors of the Koinon, along with an individual from Patras, Agasias son of Olympio. All three are awarded various privileges, including the legal right to obtain and own land and a house in Acarnania. It is perhaps significant that the Roman brothers and the individual from Patras are mentioned in the same decree and this may imply that the Romans were among the men of business active in Patras long before the foundation of the colony, as letters of Cicero make clear²². The fact that the right of *enktesis* and a guarantee of security for themselves and their belongings (καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ χρήμασι) during travel by land and sea is provided, if it is not just a formality, shows that they were based in some way in the region or that mobility between Greek mainland and Italy, probably via the sea route from Patras along the Acarnanian coast²³, was important to them.

It is, however, remarkable that the privilege of *enktesis* is awarded to a Roman magistrate in a further proxeny decree of the Acarnanian Koinon, this time from Thyrraeion. It is dated to the year 168/167 BC, if the new *proxenos* Cnaeus Baebius is indeed to be identified with Cn. Baebius Tamphilus, praetor in 167 BC and member of the five-legate committee to Illyria under the chairmanship of L. Anicius Gallus, as the editors suggest²⁴. This proxeny grant to Cn. Baebius is then presumably to be interpreted as an initiative on the part of the pro-Roman party of Acarnania²⁵.

Whether these *proxenoi* who possessed the right of *enktesis* or whether other Romans or Italiote Greeks were actually active or even settled in Aetolia or

¹⁹ HATZFELD 1919, 23.

²⁰ IG IX 1, nr. 513 (dated by the editor W. Dittenberger to 167-146 BC; HATZFELD 1919, 23 n. 2 dates to after 189 and certainly to after 167 BC, but does not exclude the possibility that it is dated to after 146 BC); IG IX 1² 2, nr. 208 (dated by the editor G. Klaffenbach to the middle of the 2nd c. BC). Cf. STRAUCH 1996, 138-139.

²¹ For the *gentilicium* Acilius see SOLIN, SALOMIES 1994, 5.

²² ZOUMBAKI 1998-1999, 141-144.

²³ For the role of Patras in the maritime communication with Italy see RIZAKIS 1988, 453-472.

²⁴ FUNKE, GEHRKE, KOLONAS 1993, 131-144.

²⁵ Cf. STRAUCH 1996, 149; BÜSCHER 1996, 135.

Acarmania as early as the end of the 3rd / beginning of the 2nd c. BC is unknown. With the exception of a small number of sepulchral inscriptions, there are no further indications that such individuals had been established in the area any longer. A tombstone from Argos Amphiloichikon, dated perhaps to the 3rd c. BC, bears the inscription Χρησίμου Ἰταλιώτα²⁶. The individual, who, remarkably, is defined as “Italiote” died and was buried in the area, but nothing is known about the nature or the duration of his sojourn there. A further interesting example originates from Trichonion in Aetolia²⁷. The grave stele bearing the Latin funerary inscription of the *liberta* Lena, *Allia. C. l. Lena*, is dated to the early 2nd c. BC on the basis of stele type and of the letter forms. Whether the name Lena is of Greek origin, related to *Ληνός* (‘wine-vat’), or a Latin name related to a “contemptible occupation”, as similar names listed by I. Kajanto, is of secondary importance in this case²⁸. The use of Latin in a funerary monument, which belongs to the context of private life, implies an individual from a “Roman” social circle.

Besides, the grave stele of the late 3rd or the first half of the 2nd c. BC bearing the name Kritolaos in the genitive from Trichonion²⁹, which is decorated with excellent reliefs, is thought to indicate the presence of South Italian influences in terms of both style and iconography, namely the two half-naked figures framing the acanthus-scroll in the central acroterion, the scyla depicted in the pediment and the lions attacking a bull. The latter, in particular, is thought to recall similar motifs employed on Etruscan sarcophagus³⁰. These similarities do not exclude the possibility that there were either some connections between local and Italian workshops or that Italians were active in the region. Such a likelihood is strengthened by the fact that Trichonion is situated in the most fertile part of Aetolia, by Lake Trichonis, an area well supplied with water, as the numerous ancient wells indicate³¹. The prosperity that the town enjoyed is shown by the rich finds made during recent excavations³².

Further indications of contact between Acarnania and West consist of scanty

²⁶ SEG XXXII, 1982, 562; cf. paper by Cl. Antonetti in this volume.

²⁷ IG IX 1² 1, nr. 124; cf. FRASER, RÖNNE 1957, 145 and pl. 28, 164 on the name *Lena*, 173 on the chronology.

²⁸ KAJANTO 1965, 324; ANTONETTI 1996, 153-154.

²⁹ IG IX 1² 1, nr. 121; FRASER, RÖNNE 1957, 144, pl. 28. It has been suggested that the deceased Kritolaos is to be identified to the *strategos* of the same name of 157/6 BC from Trichonion, STAUROPOULOU-GATSI 2004, 347; FRASER, RÖNNE 1957, 193. For the chronology to the late 3rd-early 2nd c. BC see FRASER, RÖNNE 1957, 173, 193.

³⁰ FRASER, RÖNNE 1957, 193; cf. a characteristic detail on the short side of the sarcophagus of Arnth Tetnies and Tanchvil Tarnai, now in the Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, see ROWLAND 2008, 160, Fig. 9.

³¹ For the fertility of Trichonion cf. Strabo 10, 2, 3: ...τὸ Τριχώνιον, ἀρίστην ἔχον γῆν. For the wells, see STAUROPOULOU-GATSI 2004, 348, 350.

³² For Trichonion see KLAFFENBACH 1939, 86-90. For finds of the Roman period in Trichonion (mod. Gavalou) see STRAUCH 1996, 283-285. The excavation has brought to light a very important sanctuary of Asclepius (STAUROPOULOU-GATSI 2004, 348) and cemeteries with many valuable funeral gifts (STAUROPOULOU-GATSI 2004, 352 and 354).

finds from the area of the ship-sheds of Oiniadai³³, an impressive monument at the entrance of the port, built, it seems, about the beginning of the 4th c. BC. It collapsed in part in the 3rd c. and was reused after partial repair in the 2nd and 1st c. BC. Certain categories of pottery from the excavation, such as relief skyphoi – albeit local products –, display motifs from Athenian, Epirote and Italian workshops³⁴. In the context of the apparently intense commercial relations, it is possible that pottery and techniques, decorative motifs and even moulds were imported. That there were commercial contacts with the West is also indicated by the presence of a small fragment, “which evidently formed part of the neck of a pipe”, found among a number of stamped tiles, which belonged to the superstructure of the building³⁵. All of these stamps give names in the genitive; the fragment just mentioned bears the Latin inscription ZOILS, apparently the name Zoilus (IG IX 1² 2, nr. 426, n. 6). Given that copper coins of both the Acarnanian League and from Oiniadai dating to the late 3rd c. BC have been found in Southern Italy restructured as *trientes* of the uncial reduction (217 BC)³⁶, it is to be concluded that there were economic transactions or at least some mobility between western Greece and Southern Italy. Some idea of the extent of this mobility between coastal locations in Aetolia and Acarnania and in the West is given by the fact that coins from Carthage have been found in Oiniadai and Chalkis³⁷.

It would be interesting to reconstruct the picture of the presence of coinage from Italy and Rome in Western Greek coast and on the Ionian islands, although one cannot detect whether it is to be connected with movements of troops or with trade³⁸. Examination of coin hoards and isolated coins found in the area, sometimes at excavations, yield certain findings. With the exception of a silver coin from Heraclea in Lucania, found along with 171 coins from mainland Greece and Asia Minor in a hoard from Zakynthos buried about 175-150 BC³⁹, there are no examples from mints in Southern Italy and Sicily in coin-hoards of this period. Occasional examples of Roman Republican dinars from the second half of the 2nd c. BC⁴⁰ are found in hoards from Agrinion, Naupaktos and Vlachomandra (near

³³ KOLONAS 1992, 153-159; cf. also FREITAG 1994, 212-238.

³⁴ TSANTILA 2004, 314 and n. 39; 322 and n. 156. Tsantila regards the sherd of a relief skyphos (330, pl. 2a, no. A.M.A. 2063) as an example of Italian influence on local ceramic workshops.

³⁵ SEARS 1904, 235-237.

³⁶ BMC Thessaly and Aitolia, LIII; CRAWFORD 1974, 21 and 32. For the presence of coins from Acarnania and Leukas in coin hoards in Italy and Sicily from the 5th c. BC to the 1st c. BC see BONELOU 2004, 217-223 and pls. on pp. 226-228.

³⁷ Oiniadai: SERBETI 2004, 296, 298, 303. Chalkis: ALEXOPOULOU 2004, 192.

³⁸ I would like to thank Dr Charikleia Papageorgiadou-Banis for her help in collecting and evaluating the numismatic evidence presented here and her help in regard to the Roman Republican coins found in Western Greece from Ambracia to the Corinthian Gulf and the adjacent islands of the Ionian Sea. For a concise presentation of the Roman Republican numismatic finds from the North-Western Greek coast, namely the area with Ambracia as its southernmost border, see PAPA-GEORGIADOU-BANIS 1999, 115-118 with earlier bibliography.

³⁹ IGCH 245; CRAWFORD 1978, 8, nr. 12.

⁴⁰ PRICE 1987, 99.

Naupaktos)⁴¹. A further coin-hoard from a later burial at Actium⁴² includes 38 Roman Republican dinars along with two imperial dinars. Leaving aside the latter coin-hoard, it is significant that two of the earliest coin-hoards including Roman Republican dinars, were found in Aetolia, namely Agrinion and Naupaktos hoards – the third one is the coin-hoard of Stobi⁴³. A very small number of isolated coins were found in the region of Aetolia and the Ionian islands⁴⁴.

It is in any case impossible to trace how these coins came from Italy to Western Greece. It seems probable that they were carried with troops involved in one or the other of Rome's expeditions in the area or further in the East or that they are to be connected with Greeks who served in the Roman army⁴⁵. On the other hand, one cannot exclude the possibility that they were brought by Italiote and Roman traders or by Greeks who had visited Italy for economic activities.

On the other hand, epigraphic evidence from the islands of the Ionian Sea directly testifies to the existence of early close connections with the Italian peninsula.

A small number of grave stelai from Leukas speak of some individuals from the West, who died on the island, perhaps after they had settled there. The Hellenistic grave stele of Δημήτριος Μασσαλιώτης⁴⁶, the grave stele of another man from Syracuse, whose name is not preserved⁴⁷ and the bilingual epitaph of A(ulus) Cossinius Philocratis Puteolanus dated to the 2nd/1st c. B.C. (IG IX 1² 4, nr. 1451) indicate the existence of early contacts between Leukas and the West. As early as the 4th c. BC coins of Leukas are to be found in coin-hoards on Sicily, a fact which is to be explained either by supposing that Leukas sold its staters to Dionysios I of Syracuse or that there were early commercial contacts between Leukas and Sicily⁴⁸. Such connections are also to be observed in influences on techniques used in pottery found in the Hellenistic cemeteries of the island⁴⁹. The extensive external

⁴¹ Agrinion (IGCH 271) buried between c. 145 and 135 or shortly after 130 BC includes 39 Roman Republican dinars. Naupaktos (IGCH 317; cf. PAPAGEORGIADOU-BANIS 1996, 215-223) buried about the end of the 2nd c. BC, shortly after 114/113 BC, includes 3 Roman Republican dinars. Vlachomandra, Naupaktos (AD 1889, E, 103, no. 5; its burial is dated to the period of the first Macedonian war, 215-205 BC) includes a Roman bronze coin.

⁴² CHRYSOSTOMOU 1987, 26-33.

⁴³ CRAWFORD 1985, 128.

⁴⁴ The isolated coin finds are the following: Pyra Herakleous: a sextans of 211-208 BC, an assarius of 169-158 BC (PAPAGEORGIADOU-BANIS 1996, 219 and ns 19-20); Thermos: dinar of 90 BC, see PAPAGEORGIADOU-BANIS 1996, 220; Ithaca: a very worn Roman bronze coin (BENTON 1938-39, 50, 91, 24, nr. 26).

⁴⁵ Cf. a soldier of Sulla, Ladameas son Nikias from Kalydon, attested in the inscription of an honorary monument erected by the Aetolian League (provided that the text is correctly restored) in 84 BC, after he had been honoured by Sulla for his bravery *δόρατι ...καὶ στρατιωτικῶς δώροις* (*dona militaria*) (IG IX 1² 1, nr. 139); cf. STRAUCH 1996, 45, 130.

⁴⁶ IG IX 1, nr. 590; IG IX 1² 4, nr. 1284; cf. LOMAS 2004, 475-498 on the Hellenic cultural identity and the progress of Romanisation in Massalia.

⁴⁷ IG IX 1, nr. 595; IG IX 1² 4, nr. 1277.

⁴⁸ CARTER 1993, 40; BONELOU 2004, 220 and cf. pl. on 226.

⁴⁹ Cf. for example PLIAKOU 2009, 207 for the adoption of a horizontal handle of the lamps produced by the local workshop, which is regarded as a clear example of the influence of Italian workshops.

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contacts are obvious in other areas, that is, in the numerous types of stamped amphora handles, in the fact that a local workshop involved in the production of amphoras has been identified on the island⁵⁰, in the various origins of individuals attested in the inscriptions of the island and the silver and bronze coins from various poleis, kingdoms and leagues found there⁵¹. This is not surprising, as the island is situated at a strategic point on sea-routes⁵², which is stressed by the importance of its canal (*dioryktos*, that traversed the neck of land at the NE corner of the island); in addition, the island possessed considerable naval power and played a crucial role in trade, especially in oil, wine and the perfume *irinum Leucade*⁵³.

Furthermore, in Ithaca, a Latin inscription roughly scratched on a triangular tile-fragment was found (IG IX 1² 4, nr. 1620) in an area called Polis Bay, in a cave-sanctuary among a mass of votive offerings. The chronology is specified exactly as '*Kalendis Octobribus quo anno L. Cornuficius, S. Pompeius consules fuerunt*', namely the 1st of October of 35 BC. The inscription mentions a certain Epaphroditus, *ungentarius de Sacra Via*, an unguent seller from Rome. The formula *Epaphroditus Novi* implies that the individual was a slave of some Novius. The *gens Novia* was of Campanian origin and engaged in business in Delos and other places in Greece⁵⁴. The main centre of perfume production was in Campania, a region rich in olive trees and flower-gardens which supplied the producers with raw material. *Commercium unguentarium* was carried out in the fashionable Via Sacra of Rome, as further inscriptions testify⁵⁵.

Studies on perfume production and the perfume trade show that it was a very profitable business⁵⁶. It was owned by aristocrats, but run as a rule by their slaves or freedmen. An extensive perfume trade network has left traces in several places. Among these traces are the perfume shops and production units which are to be identified on Delos⁵⁷. A branch of a further family engaged in perfume trade, the Phaenii, was settled in Gytheion in the first half of the 1st c. AD⁵⁸. As for Epaphroditus, his presence on Ithaca is perhaps to be accounted for as a visit to a famous sanctuary on his way to Italy after his business obligations had brought him either on Delos or some other destination in the East or perhaps even on Leukas,

⁵⁰ GRAVANI 2009, 53, 57.

⁵¹ Coins from Acarnania, Aetolia, Kephallenia, Korkyra, Phokis, Illyria, Macedonia, Sicyon, Corinth, Aegina, Peloponnesian poleis, Ptolemies as well as Roman Republican coinage, emissions of Lipari, Sicilian-Carthaginian of Mamertinoi etc. have been found on Leukas, see LIAMPI 2009, 32.

⁵² See also STRAUCH 1996, 148.

⁵³ Plin. *HN* 21, 42. For an excellent collection of types of perfumes and other aromatic substances attested in the ancient literary sources including *irinum*, see SQUILLACE 2010.

⁵⁴ MÜNZER 1936, 1214-1215.

⁵⁵ Cf. CIL VI 1974; ILS 7610: *M. Poblucius Nicanor unguentarius de sacra via*.

⁵⁶ For an overview and bibliography on perfume production and trade in the Roman period see BRUN 2000, 277-308.

⁵⁷ BRUN 2000, 282-290.

⁵⁸ For the ointment and incense traders, Phaenii, attested in AD 42 at Gytheion see D'ARMS 1981, 167-168. Most of the members of this family are of freedman origin, judging by their cognomina.

where the aforementioned aromatic substance *irinum Leucade* was to be found.

It is likely that the location of Ithaca on the sea route between Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean influenced several aspects of its material culture, such as pottery production. It is telling that imitations of *terra sigillata* were produced in the 1st c. BC on the island and in Ambracia and Apollonia⁵⁹.

A strong indication of an early permanent settlement by people from Italy concerns Kephallenia and is to be found in the lists of *thearodokoi* from Delphi dated to the end of the 3rd or to the first half of the 2nd c. BC. Here a *thearodokos* from Same appears as ἐν Σάμει Μάαρχος Κορνήλιος Γαίου⁶⁰. Because of the early date it seems unlikely that we are dealing with a local individual who had received Roman citizenship and consequently a Roman name. We have rather a Roman who was apparently settled on the island, since he offered hospitality to the *theoroi* from Delphi who had come to announce Pythian festivities and games.

The extensive contacts of Kephallenia in the Hellenistic period are reflected on the numerous imported objects found during excavations on the island⁶¹. The strategic location of the island, on the sea route between the Italian peninsula and the Greek mainland and its excellent raw material for ship-building explain Kephallenia's important naval power and its contacts. The pine-cone is depicted on coins of Pronnoi, a trireme or galley on coins of Same, a fact which stresses the importance of both wood and ships for Kephallenia⁶².

Polybios (5, 3, 6-9) gives an account of the strategic advantages of Kephallenia's conquest by Philipp V, its crucial location and its important naval power, which also attracted the Romans, who wished to use it as a naval base⁶³. As a first move, they exterminated the pirates on the island, to ensure the safety of their trading vessels⁶⁴. In 191 BC, C. Livius Salinator plundered Kephallenia and Zakynthos (Liv. 36, 42, 5) and M. Fulvius Nobilior annexed Kephallenia in 189 BC. After the revolution in Same (Liv. 38, 28, 8), the town was plundered by Fulvius and its inhabitants were enslaved in 188 BC. By the middle of the 1st c. BC, C. Antonius, uncle of Mark Antony, exiled after his consulship, is said by Strabo (10, 2, 13) to have owned the whole island of Kephallenia, where he wanted to found a new town.

The island of Zakynthos was ceded by Philip V to Amynder, leader of the Athamanoi, who appointed governors there, the first of whom was first Philip of Megalopolis, followed by Hierocles of Agrigentum⁶⁵. Hierocles transferred the island to the Achaeans, who ceded it to Rome in 191 BC. In this year Zakynthos

⁵⁹ GRAVANI 2009, 55.

⁶⁰ PLASSART 1921, 15 II 146. For a discussion of date of the lists of *thearodokoi* see OULHEN 1992, 303-304, 329-332, 485 with earlier bibliography.

⁶¹ SOTERIOU 2009, 212 and 226.

⁶² BMC Peloponnesos, 89, 93.

⁶³ For the importance of the island for Hellenistic states and Rome see SOURIS 1976, 111-123.

⁶⁴ SOURIS 1976, 113-117.

⁶⁵ Liv. 36, 31, 11. For the relations of Zakynthos with Athamanoi and generally the relations of the islands of the Ionian Sea with the Western coast of Greek mainland see THIRY 2005, 227-237.

and Cephallenia were plundered by C. Livius Salinator (Liv. 36, 42, 5). An episode of the Mithridatic wars recorded by Appian (12, 6, 45) indicates that there were some Romans present on Zakynthos by that time, who attacked the fleet of Mithridates, which landed at Zakynthos. The nature of their sojourn on Zakynthos is not described. Traces of Roman presence on Zakynthos are otherwise not especially visible so far. Bearers of Roman names are extremely rare in the inscriptions of the island⁶⁶.

Coins of the last decades of the 1st c. BC show that both islands, Zakynthos and Kephallenia, lay at the centre of the fight between Mark Antony and Octavian. A coin of the Augustan age attributed to the town of Crane on Cephallenia (or to Ithaca) bears the name and the portrait of C. Proculeius, a political friend and confidant of Augustus, who was probably the commander of his fleet fighting at Actium and perhaps quartered by Kephallenia or Ithaca⁶⁷. Zakynthos is believed to have been in hands of Mark Antony, since bronze coins bearing his portrait on the obverse and the name of C. Sossius, general of Antony and commander of his fleet at the battle at Actium are attributed to Zakynthos⁶⁸. Zakynthos was probably administered by Sossius during this period. The name Sossius, attested later in nearby Elis (IvO nrr. 120-121), is perhaps to be regarded as an indication of the contacts he developed with the local population.

A number of Latin and bilingual funerary inscriptions⁶⁹ from the islands of a later date, namely of the 1st and the 2nd c. AD., show a continuous and close contact with people from Italy, who not only were engaged in some activity on the island, but may perhaps even have settled and died there. A western influence is also to be observed in epitaphs inscribed within a *tabula ansata*⁷⁰.

The existence of movement in an opposite direction, from the Ionian Sea to Italy, is indicated by the bilingual epitaph of Iulia, Cai filia, Laudice from Same, and of her husband, the libertus Augusti, T. Flavius Alcimus, found in Rome, in *via Tusculana ad Formas*⁷¹. The funerary monument was set up by their daughter Flavia T. fil. Titiane, and was intended also for herself and her *liberti*. The names appear in a full Roman formula in the Latin text and just as *Λαυδίκη* and *Ἄλκιμος* in the Greek poetic text, where Same is mentioned as the hometown of Laudice.

A handful of Latin inscriptions are found scattered over Aetolia and Acarnania of the Imperial period, which indicates that a number of Latin-speaking people

⁶⁶ A group of inscriptions (IG IX 1² 4, nrr. 1751-1779) formerly belonging to the collection of Conte Romas, where a number of Roman names are attested, is attributed to Rhenia (BE 1965, 61, 87-91).

⁶⁷ POSTOLAKAS 1868, nrr. 925-928; BMC Peloponnesos, Introduction XLII and 83. For Proculeius see ECK 2001, 365 with the basic bibliography.

⁶⁸ BMC Peloponnesos, 102. For C. Sossius see BARTELS 2001, 745-746.

⁶⁹ Kephallenia: IG IX 1² 4, nrr. 1547; 1548; 1552; 1572. Ithaca: IG IX 1² 4, nrr. 1634; 1635.

⁷⁰ Cf. IG IX 1, nr. 652; 1² 4, nrr. 1545, 1571; cf. FRASER, RÖNNE 1957, 179-182 for various forms of *tabula ansata* used as inscription field of Western Greek tombstones.

⁷¹ IG IX 1² 4, nr. 1580; CIL VI 20548; IG XIV nr. 1703; GVI 1322; IGUR III nr. 1239.

sojourned there⁷². The diffusion of Roman names is however very limited on the islands and in Acarnania and Aetolia, as Claudia Antonetti has already shown⁷³. This sounds at first sight surprising for a region which in fact formed the entrance for the Romans to the East, a region where early relations to the West are so well attested. Yet historical evolution followed a different path. The area was disrupted by military activity. The events that led to the plundering of various towns, enslavement of populations and burdening of the region are well known. The dramatic speech of Ambraciot ambassadors before the senate in 187 BC complaining that “bare walls and door-posts had been left to the Ambraciots to adore, to pray to, and to supplicate” (Liv. 38, 43, 5) indicates that the town was plundered of its works of art. This was apparently a customary practice employed during the last two centuries BC, as the speech of Cicero against Piso (Cic., *Pis.* 91) castigating such looting carried out by Romans and tolerated by the governor makes clear. The new prosperity owed its existence to the peace imposed by the presence of Romans after 168/7 BC, which is testified by the abundant archaeological finds at several excavated sites. This period of peace, however, was succeeded by instability during the 1st c. BC. Western Greece and the islands in particular were not protected by the movements of Roman military power in the East and lay at the centre of the crucial hostilities between the two final rivals for the hegemony of the Roman world. Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that part of Aetolia was given to the colony of Patras along with the exploitation of the lagoon of Kalidon⁷⁴ and that the synoecism of Acarnanian towns and communities, Ambracia and part of Aetolia to Nikopolis in fact placed the whole of Acarnania in the ambit of Nikopolis⁷⁵. Thus, Latin epigraphic material of the Imperial period from the region may be attributed to the two great new foundations of Nikopolis and Patras that absorbed all vital energies of the region.

This evolution in combination with the abandonment of various urban centres in the Roman period in a region which was earlier an under-urbanised and marginal zone of Greek mainland for a long period⁷⁶ prevented the development of any elite of sufficient level to obtain Roman citizenship and consequently a Roman name. The leading group in the local society in the Imperial period belonged mainly to the new Roman settlers, namely the inhabitants of Nikopolis and the colonists of Patras, who exploited the local resources.

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⁷² Cf. Drymos, Vonitsa: MASTROKOSTAS 1971, 191, nr. 3. Gouria: MASTROKOSTAS 1963, 211 and 1964, 299. Naupaktos: CIL III 570. MOLISANI 1973, 395. Amphissa, Locri: CIL III 568.

⁷³ ANTONETTI 1996, 149-155.

⁷⁴ Strabo 10, 2, 21; Paus. 10, 38, 9. Cf. RIZAKIS 1996, 274-287.

⁷⁵ For the role of Nikopolis and Patras see STRAUCH 1996, 156-210.

⁷⁶ ALCOCK 1993, 143.

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