

## Foundations (*ktiseis*)

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In discussing the bibliography concerning Greek colonial foundations in the Archaic period, brief reference must be made to the descriptions and reflections already contributed by three major authors in antiquity: ARCHILOCHOS, HERODOTUS, and THUCYDIDES.

The subject was tackled by the nineteenth-century German historians, Beloch's work being an important example. He argued that there existed a colonizing movement, carried on gradually and systematically, from southern Italy to Sicily and the western Mediterranean and from the PROPONTIS to the BLACK SEA. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Gwynn studied the main causes of Greek expansion, among which he stressed agriculture. In Wilcken's view, the reasons were demographic necessity (linked, of course, to agriculture) and also commercial interests. In the years prior to World War II, when Libya became an Italian colony, intense excavations were carried out in the agora of ancient CYRENE, which yielded important findings, reported by Stucchi in a series of volumes. In France, Clerc published a study of the history of Marseille in which he devoted a great deal of space to its foundation, while in 1941 Bérard brought out the first edition of his monograph on Greek colonization of southern Italy and Sicily, followed by a second enlarged edition in 1957. In the years following World War II, of particular note in France was Chamoux's monograph on the early stages of the development of Cyrene under the dynasty of the Battiads, successors to the city's OIKISTES (founder), while in Great Britain Dunbabin published another extensive study of the colonization of Magna Graecia and Sicily, in which his treatment of cities such as AKRAGAS (AGRIGENTUM) and SYBARIS stands out. Some interesting research was also carried out concerning the Sicilian settlement of MEGARA HYBLAEA, for instance that directed by Vallet

and Villard. In Switzerland, the outstanding work was Schmid's monograph on the legendary accounts of foundations.

In relation to the technical aspects of the movement of Greek populations to the places where the new settlements were established, mention must be made of Morrison and Williams and of Casson. These experts on navigation in antiquity studied the types of craft used for different purposes (commercial, military) and the most commonly employed maritime routes in the MEDITERRANEAN and the Black Sea.

The key role played by the oracle of Delphi in encouraging the foundation of new cities was examined in an article by Forrest and in books by Delcourt, Rohrbach, Fontenrose (all extremely critical of the oracular accounts that have survived) and by Parke–Wormell (this one with a more positivist approach).

In the English-speaking academic sphere, the last decades of the twentieth century saw a host of publications about the most diverse aspects of Greek colonization. Doubtlessly the decolonization process that took place in Asia and Africa between 1945 and 1965 had a major influence. The works of Graham and Boardman were particularly significant. The former published a monograph about the relations between colony and metropolis, as well as contributing to the *Cambridge ancient history*. Boardman produced a major study, in which he dealt not only with the setting up of new cities by the Greeks, but also with the whole process of expansion and the contacts established before the Classical period between Hellenes and other peoples. He first marshalled archaeological and literary information and then looked at various geographical areas (Asia, Egypt, Italy, Sicily, the Black Sea) where such military, diplomatic, and commercial contacts occurred.

The fundamental work on Greek expansion in the ADRIATIC SEA is Braccisi's, while on the Phoenicians' expansion in the western Mediterranean the works by Gras and Fernández Nieto are of special interest. Morel

gathered together the entire bibliography on this latter subject between 1966 and 1975, and Lacroix studied the economic and monetary consequences stemming from the Greek presence in this region.

Asheri wrote about distribution of land in Greece, which naturally included the colonial foundations. The trading practices (and piracy) of the Archaic period connected with the colonies and the *emporía* were analyzed by Mele. The work by Faure on everyday life in the Greek colonies in the sixth century BCE and that by Bravo on reprisals and private justice against foreigners in Greek cities should also be mentioned.

Although Murray did not produce a monograph on the complex question of the *ktiseis*, mention ought still to be made of chapter 7 of his influential book on archaic Greece – in which he discussed the possible causes of this historical process, the criteria employed in choosing both the new population nuclei and the colonizers themselves, the early organization of the colonies and their relationship with their surroundings, and, lastly, the foundation of Cyrene. Without focusing exclusively on the role of the oracle of APOLLO on the establishment of Greek colonies, Malkin dedicated a monograph to the interrelationship between religion and colonization in Greece. He devoted part of his study to issues such as the omens of foundations, the taking of the holy fire from the metropolis, and the creation of shrines in the new cities, especially those connected with the worship of the figure of the *oikistes*. Ridgway analyzed the origins of the entire historical process, focusing on the path-breaking setting up of PITHEKOUSSAL. Together with D'Agostino, Ridgway published another volume on the political and social organization of the early Greek foundations in the western Mediterranean.

Interest has been shown in the issue of the establishment of social, commercial and cultural relations between the colonizing and the native populations from a postmodern and multicultural standpoint. A good example of this is the book published by Descoeudres.

The collapse of the Soviet bloc at the end of the 1980s led to the appearance of new studies, carried out using a methodology similar to that employed in western countries. This historiographic shift can be plainly seen in the work of Lordkipanidze and Tsetskhladze. It should be remembered that these authors concentrated on the colonies in the Black Sea area, a subject that had previously been dealt with by Drews and Wasowicz.

Other works on the creation of Greek settlements in the Mediterranean that must be taken into account alongside those already cited are the entire series of *Convegni di studi sulla Magna Grecia*, the journal *Kokalos* about Sicily and the *Hesperia* collection of monographs published by L'Erma di Bretschneider. Lastly, the new cities set up on the orders of ALEXANDER III, THE GREAT during his expeditions, which were also genuine *ktiseis*, were studied by Tcherikover and Fraser.

SEE ALSO: Colonization, Greek; Colonization, Phoenician; *Emporion*; Foundations (Hellenistic); *Oikoumene*; Omens, Greece and Rome.

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