In the footsteps of Aeneas: Excavations at Butrint, Albania 1991-2

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protinus aerias Phaeacum abscondimus arces
litoraque Epiri legimus portuque subimus
Chaonio et celsam Buthroti accedimus urbe

We had soon put the cloud-capped citadels of Phaeacia down below
the horizon and we coasted along Epirus until we entered the
harbour of Chaonia and then walked up to the lofty city of Buthrotum

(*Aeneid* III 291-3: tr. David West)

In the summer of 1991, the authors were privileged to be the first British archaeologists to excavate in Albania. The venture, made possible by the endeavours of Dr Katy Hatzis, was a collaborative project with the Centre for Archaeological Research of the Albanian Academy of Sciences (represented by the Director, Neritan Ceka) and the Ionian University on Corfu (represented by Dr Hatzis). A further excavation in 1992 was carried out by the same institutions in co-operation with the MacDonald Institute in Cambridge (represented by Catherine Morgan).[1] *This preliminary report gives some indication of the aims and results of the project, and also its background and some of its wider implications.*

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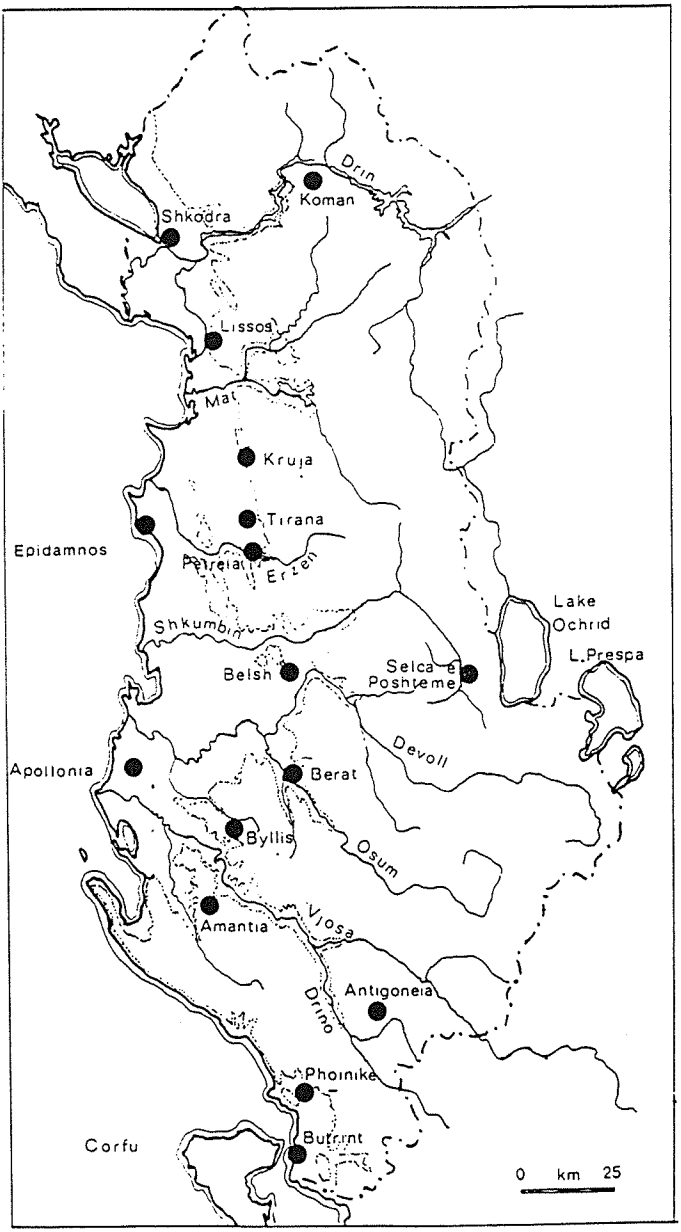


Fig. 1 Albania
(after T.F.C. Blagg, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 5 [1992] 344, fig. 1).

Butrint, Archaic Bouthrotos, in south-west Albania, lies c.20 km south of the modern port of Ag. Saranda, at the southern tip of the Hexamil peninsula. This peninsula is bordered to the west by the Corfu channel and to the south and east by the Vivari channel which leads into the Lake of Butrint, and is cut off from the territory further north by a fortification wall, the so-called Dema wall, which probably dates from the fifth century B.C. Butrint was a renowned port in antiquity, a short distance by sea from Corfu town (and closer still to the north of the island), with easy access to the Corfu channel and trade between Italy and mainland Greece. The Mediterranean Pilot (3.121) notes that Butrint bay is 'considered to offer the best anchorage on the coast abreast the island of Corfu'. It appears therefore that the harbour was located on the south-east side of the site, entered via the Vivari.

In 1928, the first large scale excavations at Butrint were begun by an Italian mission established at the request of Mussolini and under the direction of Luigi Ugolini; these continued under Domenico Mustilli after Ugolini's death in 1937, and were completed in 1940. The results of the Mission's research at Butrint and neighbouring sites were in part published in *Albania Antica* monographs, and Ugolini also published an account of his work in his *Butrinto. Il Mito d'Enea gli Scavi* (Rome 1937), in which he dealt also with the mythology surrounding the foundation of the city, and particularly the story of Aeneas' and Helenus' visit on their return from Troy. This was the story which first attracted Mussolini's interest in the site and which led Ugolini to concentrate on the Roman city and its Hellenistic predecessor, uncovering major monuments and sculpture, much of which was subsequently taken to Rome.

The new excavation took place on the acropolis of Archaic Butrint, with the aim of investigating its urban development and regional role. The results are expected to contribute to a more general study of the relationship between this territory and the Corinthian colony on Corfu, focusing on the impact of colonization on a native hinterland.

Butrint: problems and perspectives

In 733 B.C. Corinth colonized Corfu, perhaps, according to Strabo (6.2.4), evicting earlier colonists, including Euboians. Interestingly, the earliest non-Corinthian import we have is a Euboian pendent semi-circle skyphos, a form which dates mainly to the ninth or very early eighth century. Yet since these are now appearing at a growing number of Western sites, they should not be taken as evidence of Euboian presence.[2] Colonial dates are a notorious minefield, but the earliest

archaeological evidence for Corinthian activity on Corfu, beside the Archaic harbour channel at modern Kasfiki, south of Corfu town, fits this picture well: the earliest imported pottery here dates from c.750-725 B.C.[3] The foundation comes at a time of restructuring of Corinthian relations and especially of trading connections in the north west, with a lapse in inland routes going up through Greek Epirus via Ioannina to the Tren region of south east Albania (at least until the Corinthian colonization of Ambrakia early in the sixth century), and a systematization of links with Italy following the foundation of colonies there. Coastal acropoleis along the Adriatic (notably the future colonial sites at Apollonia and Epidamnos) have produced earlier eighth century imports, but there is a real escalation of contact at this time, as the Corfu channel increased in significance as a route, and the harbour facilities at Corfu (and indeed Butrint) must have been of great importance in this.[4]

The colony of Corfu was physically extensive and disparate, stretched out from the Kanoni peninsula to the headland north of modern Corfu town. It was spatially a loose community, and later historical sources refer to constant factional fights, with various families being driven out of the city into the hills or onto the mainland (the Peiraia) from time to time. The distribution of sites on Corfu as we know it may indicate that the colonists looked east to the mainland rather than to the inland and southern parts of the island for refuge and extra land in the first instance. It is hoped that future work in the northern part of Corfu (and especially around the Aphionas peninsula where an Archaic/Classical sanctuary was excavated by Heinrich Bulle for the German Archaeological Institute in the 1920s), in conjunction with newly acquired knowledge of mainland pottery sequences, will put this impression on a firmer footing.[5]

The likeliest candidate for the Corfu peiraia is surely the Butrint peninsula. This is the closest cultivable part of the mainland (the coast to the south, up to the modern Greek border, is rocky and inhospitable). It has a fine port entered via the Vivari channel, and there is ample historical and epigraphical evidence for regular relations between the colony and this particular area, exploited almost as an extension of Corfu's own grazing and agricultural land. As Dr Hatzis' recent research has shown, Archaic and later epigraphical evidence, both from the peninsula and the surrounding area, attests not only to ideological links (such as the use of elements of the Corinthian calendar and the establishment of Greek cults), but more practically, to the recurrence of Corfiote toponyms and personal names, suggesting that Corfiote families maintained interests on either side of the Corfu

channel.[6] In the reverse direction, the fourth century Pseudo-Skylax lists Kerkyra among the tribes of the Illyrians. There are also numerous historical testimonia to the closeness of these ties, notably Thucydides' account (3.85) of the severe disruption caused when, after a civil war in 427, the defeated and exiled party took over what Thucydides calls Corfiote territory on the mainland and used it as a base to harry the island. We suggest that the role of Butrint as a colonial hinterland had a very early origin. The earliest securely datable imported pottery so far discovered here dates from the second half of the eighth century, with the bulk from c.700. This is almost all simple table ware and amphorae. Finewares are mainly Corinthian with a few Ionian and Attic pieces from the sixth century onwards (although nothing that one might not find on Corfu at the time or as standard 'background noise' along one of the main routes to Italy), and amphoras are mainly Corinthian A and B types (many of the latter, as recent characterization work suggests, probably of Corfiote manufacture).[7]

The picture which emerges is of a close relationship between Butrint and Corfu, but one which is hard to characterize, especially as we also have to deal with modern ideologies. Prior to Enver Hoxha's death in 1985, Butrint was commonly depicted in Albanian scholarly literature as a typical Illyrian city capable of using Greek material culture in its own way without being colonized or exploited by Greeks; conversely, from the other extreme, it may be seen as an example of the way Greeks were able to colonize and exploit whatever area of the mainland they chose, with scant regard for local interests. Clearly neither view will do; we are observing a negotiated relationship of some sort, but we have almost no evidence with which to approach the issue of Butrint's 'cultural identity'; it would, for example, be very erroneous to regard it as an example of the Illyrian city, an early Iron Age foundation exploiting Greek contacts, when we do not even know exactly when settlement began.[8]

A combination of evidence from Albanian, Italian, Greek and Yugoslav research projects (many of them very recent) is now providing us with an ever clearer picture of the nature of Corinthian colonial and precolonial contacts with the Adriatic, and of the impact of colonization at Corfu and Tarentum on the route between them.[9] To emphasize the contrast between 'conventional' views of colonization and cultural interaction and the situation at Butrint, it is interesting to compare the relationship between Corfu and the colonial cities further up the Adriatic coast, notably Epidamnos (modern Dürres) and Apollonia. Epidamnos, a Corfiote and Corinthian foundation (of c.627), lies c.150 miles north of Corfu,

and was established on an existing native settlement which seems to have been an earlier port of call on the Adriatic coastal route from the eighth century onwards. Apollonia was founded soon afterwards (by c.600), possibly by Corinth alone (or perhaps with Corfu), and also on a native site. Both were Greek cities with Greek populations in alien territory, and literary evidence well illustrates their political independence and the ease with which they could play off their own, separately negotiated ties with local populations against the interests of the mother city for their own advantage. For example, Thucydides (1.24-30, 3.85) gives a detailed account of the way in which the aristocratic and democratic factions at Epidamnos exploited their various ties with the local population and Corfu in the course of a civil war, which in time escalated into a major diplomatic incident contributing to the outbreak of war between Corinth and Corfu in 433 B.C. These ties are also illustrated archaeologically. From their foundation, both Apollonia and Epidamnos have rich cemeteries containing Greek goods, local pottery workshops which produced Corinthianizing wares, and a comparative wealth of Archaic art, including from Epidamnos a fragment of limestone sculpture of c.625-600 which may belong to an early cult statue.[10] At Epidamnos also, a direct link with Corfiote workshops is illustrated by the presence of a Corfiote louterion stand with relief panels which comes from the same mould as a vase with a relief representation of the Judgement of Paris found at Corfu.[11] Nothing even approaching this has been found at Butrint (not even a pre-Roman cemetery, a fact which will be of great significance if it is shown not to be an archaeological oversight).

The contrast between the apparent situation at Butrint and that of the colonies further north also raises the general issue of the theoretical basis on which we assess the impact of colonization on local populations and, indeed, the nature of colonization itself. The range of models on offer is perhaps unpromising: those based on domination and resistance or imperialism seem to be unduly monolithic, and the concept of Hellenization, while pervasive, is rarely closely defined and tends to externalize change, assuming an inevitable one-way influence from colony to native settlement.[12] This is well illustrated in the Illyrian debate, notably by Ceka's proposed proto-urban phase in Illyrian cities in the immediate post-colonial period (c.700-500 B.C.), during which the character of the city underwent a transformation with the arrival of Greek luxuries and aspects of Greek lifestyle, a transformation which Ceka links to a local switch from tribal to urban society (interestingly, he perceives this as a contrast).[13] This latter aspect of his argument has received particular criticism, notably from Selim Islami and Simon Bakhuizen, who argue

for interaction between two very different societies with the maintenance of local tribal structures and Greek elements simply grafted onto existing early Iron Age hillforts.[14] And as they point out, no 'Illyrian' city, Butrint included, has produced a building plan or layout to match that of Archaic Apollonia before the fifth century at the very earliest. The important point, however, is that in the absence of much hard data, the debate is largely theoretical.

Such limited information as we have about the relationship between Butrint and Corfu points, as we have seen, to a less formal, but closer, negotiated relationship. And there is clearly great scope for pursuing such issues as the nature of subsistence interaction (the demands of herding as opposed to cultivation), along the lines of, for example, Whitehouse and Wilkins' work in southern Italian colonies; or the extent to which ideological statements (such as the adoption of cults and calendars) can be distinguished from real practical changes in settlement and subsistence.[15] In this case, we shall also be looking east for parallels, to the Black Sea area, where a great expansion of research in the last twenty or so years has produced a similarly puzzling mix of evidence, ranging from substantial settlements like Istros and Olbia to fragmentary evidence from sites like Odessos.[16] As in the case of Illyria, this begs the question of what we call a colony. Many of the Black Sea colonies were the foundations of one city, Miletus. Pliny the Elder (*NH* v.112) refers to ninety Milesian colonies; his reference is usually, and probably rightly, regarded as an exaggeration, but it has interesting implications. Even if we assume that Pliny is wrong by a factor of 100 per cent (and we have no justification for doing so), this still appears to require one city to find colonists for 45 colonies from the late seventh century until its destruction in 494. The obvious explanation is that most colonists were not Milesian citizens (perhaps only the citizenship of the founder was important); but a complementary issue is the question of what constitutes a colony: is it a city like Tarentum or Corfu, or a more symbolic matter of sending someone out to raise the flag? Such are the concerns which we must address in characterizing what we find at Butrint; clearly we are not short of comparanda, and the debate about colonization is due for reconsideration. Nothing in the present archaeological record of Butrint can prove that the site was more than a seasonal refuge, at least until the fifth century, and without further excavation, we have no means of assessing the relevance of rival models for urban development in this area. We hope that future work will provide answers.

One further aspect which we wish to touch on before discussing the site of Butrint itself is that of its description as a 'polis'. In the late sixth or fifth century,

the geographer Hekataios (*FrGrHist* 106) lists Butrint along with colonial sites like Apollonia and Orikon as an Illyrian city, and he explicitly uses the word 'polis'. His criteria are unclear; as a Milesian he surely knew what a real urban conglomeration looked like, and so it is intriguing to know what he saw at Butrint that led him to describe it thus. This has become a matter of some disquiet, largely because of the social and political connotations attached to the term in modern scholarship (although it was used very vaguely in antiquity). It may be regarded as a fully independent political entity with a closely defined urban centre (*astu*) and territory (*khora*), the two elements being politically indivisible. Its use here presents a definitional challenge, which is to some extent already being addressed by Greek scholars, since the term 'polis' (rather than *ethnos*) was also applied to certain northern cities, particularly in southern Epirus. Sotiris Dakaris has sought to contrast those poleis which developed in southern areas of Greece from the eighth century onwards, with the fifth/fourth century northern Greek tribal centres like Kassope, Kastritsa and particularly Passaron, often created via synoecism.[17] Although cities in both areas were ostensibly similar in form (sometimes walled, with an agora, gymnasium and theatre, and related to a defined territory), Dakaris stresses the wholly different political foundations of the Epirote poleis (and here too, we have far to go in understanding their real role in relation to local tribal structures). Clearly, these ideas are relevant to the 'cities' of northern Epirus also, although the need to consider north and south Epirus together is only just being accepted in Albanian scholarship: Hoxha sought to stress the inherently different character of Illyrian and Greek cities, most famously in the phrase 'ç'është ilire është ilire dhe ç'është greke duhet konsideruar greke' ('what is Illyrian is Illyrian and what is Greek must be considered Greek').[18] We would wish to pursue such ideas further.[19]

Similar problems arise when we consider the local role of Butrint. Pseudo-Skylax (28-32) presents a picture of small-scale village life in this region, focused on a few major tribal centres. Yet the precise nature of Butrint's local role remains unclear, and archaeological investigation of this problem has been limited. If we can extrapolate from Hellenistic evidence, Butrint was the ancient capital of the Prassaiboi, probably related within a local settlement system to the rather smaller fortified hill site of Kalyvo on the opposite side of the Lake of Butrint, and to the north, having relations with the city of Phoinike (a Chaonian capital, although the pre-Hellenistic border between the Prassaiboi and Chaones remains obscure, and one often finds the whole area called Chaonia). Clearly, different tribes existed

within southern Albania, but the nature of society and the degree of fragmentation into local kingships are matters of great dispute. Greek and Roman written sources are few and fragmentary, and the dispute is again essentially ideological, between advocates of an early unified greater Illyrian ethnos, and those who are prepared to accept greater fragmentation and to redefine 'Illyria' as one small ethnos among many (noting the ancient Greek use of the term to describe many barbarian tribes over the northern borders).[20] Despite the poverty of the sources, the argument remains historical and to a more limited extent epigraphical, rather than archaeological, and no real attempt has been made to investigate small-scale regional power structures of the kind which may be focused on Butrint.[21]

Butrint: the new excavations

With these problems and issues in mind, we turn to the site itself. The unwalled early Iron Age site (covering 20 hectares at most) appears to have been confined to the large, flat acropolis, and the first (early fifth century) circuit wall enclosed some 30 hectares. On the north-east side, the acropolis slopes so sharply down towards the lake that access is relatively difficult, and there is little evidence of construction of any period on the lower slopes. The more gentle south and east slopes (towards the Vivari) probably provided the principal access route in antiquity, and have produced evidence of construction from the fourth century B.C. into Mediaeval times. The top of the acropolis seems to have been very densely settled at least by the second century A.D., and Byzantine remains include two small basilicas of around the tenth century A.D.

Ugolini excavated two sets of fortification walls, the earliest and smaller 'Archaic' upper circuit overbuilt by Medieval walls, and the Hellenistic circuit which takes in the lower slopes and has four gates. Also discovered were the major monuments of the Hellenistic lower town which were mostly rebuilt in Imperial times and formed the basis of the Roman city; these include the theatre, temples of Asklepios and an unknown deity, and a late third- or second-century B.C. stoa.

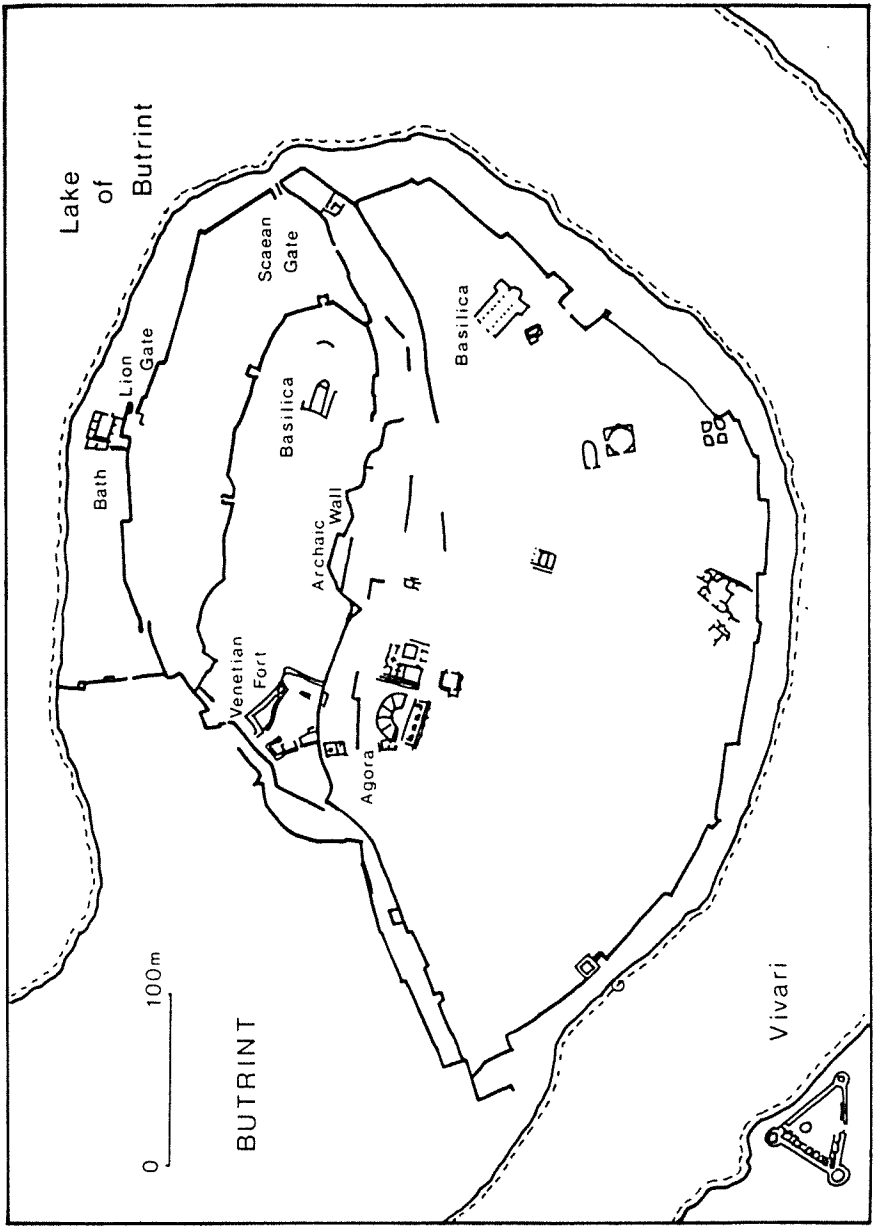
Early development on most of this side of the site, by the approach from the harbour, is unfortunately now impossible to trace since a rise of around a metre in the water level of the Vivari since antiquity has made it impossible to dig beneath Hellenistic levels without a major operation to dam the channel. The temples on the slopes are cut into bedrock, but the area below that remains a mystery. On the north-east slope Ugolini discovered only one Greek private house, also fourth-century in date, and he occasionally mentions pre-Roman walling on the Acropolis

(although he never discusses it in detail); he also reports the presence of prehistoric and Archaic pottery (early Protocorinthian onwards). However, he did not find securely dated early structures (Roman builders generally cut deeply into early levels), and his Archaic material comes from later disturbance and slope wash. Ugolini's excavations therefore confirmed the existence of Archaic activity, but provided no information about its extent or nature, and in the absence of any surviving documentation, it has proved impossible to assess the extent of his work or to re-examine any of his conclusions.

Since the establishment of the Centre for Archaeological Research of the Albanian Academy of Sciences in 1973, small campaigns have largely been concerned with late Roman and Medieval monuments, and with refining points arising from Ugolini's work (the date of the Hellenistic stoa, for example, or the form and nature of the gates in the Hellenistic fortification).[22] In a series of small excavations between 1982 and 1984, which confirmed the line of the Archaic fortification and the location of gates on the south side, Astrit Nanaj of the Saranda branch of the Centre for Archaeological Research dated the first walls to the sixth century B.C. on the basis of a mass of early Archaic pottery found in nearby fill (but without secure stratigraphy). He proposed an early local use of stone construction both at Butrint and at Kalyvo which he dated to the sixth century by association, but, apart from the fortification, he found no early structures or evidence for the nature of Archaic activity either at Butrint or at Kalyvo.[23]

Our primary task during the 1991 season was to resolve the dating of the first fortification. In addition, a number of basic practical problems had to be addressed: the only existing state plan was badly out of date, for example, the acropolis had never been gridded, and since there was no record of the location of previous trenches and dumps, we had to make a systematic attempt to locate them. An inventory, working archive and study collection had to be established (the existence of a small museum at the site was of great benefit here). Patterns of ceramic use and import have so far been treated impressionistically, and so statistical analysis of context pottery was undertaken throughout our excavations.

The date of the first fortification wall has long been disputed. Following Ugolini, Ceka has advocated a late fifth-century date, in accordance with his perception of the end of the fifth century as the transition point between his proto-urban and urban phases of Illyrian city development. As noted, Nanaj has proposed a late seventh- or early sixth-century date on the basis of pottery found in nearby fill and the assumption that the wall was a result of direct influence from Corfu.


Lake of Butrint
Scaean Gate
Lion Gate
Bath
Basilica
Archaic Wall
Venetian Fort
Agora
Basilica
0
100m
BUTRINT
Vivari

Neither date was based on stratigraphy or secure associations, and masonry styles in this region vary considerably, with Archaic often resembling Hellenistic.[24] In 1991, clear dating evidence was obtained from the excavation of a deep section directly abutting the inner face of the wall, which gave a *terminus post quem* for the construction of c.500 B.C.. Not only is this directly between Ceka and Nanaj's dates, it is also up to a century earlier than comparable fortifications in southern Epirus.

Just inside the line of the wall in the same section, we excavated a stratum which spanned the sixth century and contained a loosely defined, irregularly shaped hearth area (a thick, tight deposit of ash packed with burnt shellfish shell and a little bone, which appears to be *in situ*). This hearth had a clay and rock surround early in its life, but soon spilled over this in the course of what appears to have been at least a century of continuous use. It predates the fortification, and, in the absence of evidence for construction in this area, indicates outside activity on an open hillside just below the top of the acropolis. Finds from the general area include a small quantity of iron slag; it is therefore likely that metalworking took place somewhere in the vicinity, although there is no evidence to associate it with the fire. This was interesting as a sign of possible things to come; previous excavations had not been concerned with such features, but if we are to deal with a largely open site, these must be mapped carefully over a large area.

In 1992, further to the west and immediately inside the line of the first fortification, we excavated the foundations of one of a series of small Roman houses built directly over a stretch of Archaic retaining wall. Its principal phase of use seems to have been the late second or third century A.D., after which it was abandoned and left to collapse (to judge by the quantities of roof tile and building debris over the floor, and the absence of domestic pottery), and the area was later used as an excavation dump by the Italians. The floors varied from the beaten earth of the ancillary room to the red plaster which finds a parallel in the principal rooms at Phoinike.

In addition to such features, a number of Archaic or early Classical objects point to the existence of an early large public building and a cult place (whether a temple or two separate features is as yet unclear). First, a couple of sling shots inscribed ανεθεκεν in Archaic Corinthian script indicate the existence of a cult place by the sixth century. Its location is still a matter of guesswork, but if the southern gate was the principal approach to the acropolis from the harbour, one might expect it to be somewhere in the vicinity; and inserting a cult place early into a controlled or

influenced site is a well established practice.[25] Sixth-century temples are well documented on Corfu and in her colonies, and votive sequences begin even earlier: the temple of Artemis on Corfu is dated c.590, the rather later Kardaki temple has yielded seventh century clay votives, and the Banquet pediment belongs to a nearby late sixth-century temple, probably of Dionysos. The first temple of Apollo at Apollonia dates c.520, although the presence of an earlier Archaic boundary marker of the territory of Gaia and Artemis suggests that there must have been a still older sanctuary on site.[26] Our second category of object is roof tile in a type of Corinthian yellow fabric which occurs at Corinth from the sixth century onwards. It may therefore represent an early building (the fabric continues into the Classical period), if not a monumental construction, at least a building worthy of the investment required for a tiled roof in a region which has not hitherto used terracotta tiles.

A decorated relief block incorporated as a lintel into the fourth century Lion gate also appears to be Archaic, and although there is no evidence for its original use, its size and decoration suggests a monumental construction of some sort.[27] It has been supposed that any elaborate reliefs like this must have been brought to the site in Roman times, but this seems rather an elaborate supposition. There is therefore additional evidence pointing to the existence of at least one large Archaic building.

As noted above, all of the fine pottery used at Archaic and Classical Bouthrotos was imported, mainly from Corinth, but also east Greece and occasionally Athens; no local finewares have yet been recognized (the coarsewares were a mixture of local and imported). Contrasts with cemetery finds from Apollonia and Epidamnos lie especially in the paucity or absence of fine quality fifth- and fourth-century Attic and South Italian wares and the absence of the Lakonian wares found all along the Albanian coast (perhaps originating in the Lakonian colony of Tarentum). During the fifth century, according to Ceka, mainland pre-occupation with the Peloponnesian war left the Adriatic market open to South Italian wares, with a resulting change in the external connections of most major sites.[28] Current evidence suggests that this was not true of Butrint, which shows a continuing close dependence on Corfu. Whether this is a real reflection of the nature of the site or simply a matter of contextual differentiation will only become clear when and if we discover early burials at Butrint. Ceka has also suggested that imported pottery was significant in creating a cosmopolitan appearance, perhaps the reason for Hekataios' description of Butrint as a polis; yet as we stressed earlier, the imports so far found are

mostly basic, or even second rate, table wares, and the few finer pieces bear close comparison with finds from graves on Corfu.

At present, Corinthian and Corfiote fineware fabrics found in northwest Greece are distinguished mainly by vaguely defined visual traits. Marie Farnsworth's 1977 analysis of fineware fabrics from Corfu revealed a body of Corfiote wares which are almost identical in appearance to Corinthian; but since she wrote, our knowledge of clay sources within the Corinthia has increased greatly, and the question is ripe for re-assessment. With the generous permission of Neritan Ceka, samples of local coarse and imported finewares were deposited at the Fitch laboratory at the British School at Athens for further study. Amphora production has received more recent treatment, and both fabric analysis and the excavation of production sites suggest that Corinthian B amphorae were made largely, although not exclusively, in Corfu.[29] The presence of notable quantities of this type at Bouthrotos further strengthens ties with Corfu therefore (Corinthian A, which represent a more straightforward case of Corinthian manufacture, exist but are less common). Local coarseware survives only in small fragments, but the most common shape was the kantharos with high loop handles. We also found pots covered with bitumen as a sealing for water carriers, some fragments incised with parallel lines, and many patterned with impressed fingermarks familiar from other Albanian sites and belonging to the broad ceramic tradition of Epirus and Corfu.

Conclusions

Clearly the site of Butrint promises much for future investigators; a preliminary report such as this can give but the briefest idea of the nature of the site and the problems and issues surrounding its study. Although substantial conclusions would, at this preliminary stage, be premature, it is clear that the archaeological evidence indicates close relations between Butrint and Corfu. Precisely how close is for another report, when the laboratory analysis, combined with further autopsy of material from Albania, Corfu and Epirus, will enable us to define Corinthian, Corfiote and local wares more closely. It is to be hoped that the developing political situation will not hinder future work, and that the experiments in international co-operation which have characterized the project may pave the way for more such ventures.

NOTES

1 The Corfu and Illyria Project was established in 1991 at the instigation of Dr Katy Hatzis, and is based on a Greco-Albanian protocol established in 1990. Financial support for the 1991 season was provided by the Ionian University, Corfu, and the Greek Government, with logistical support from the Centre for Archaeological Research of the Albanian Academy of Sciences. In 1992, additional funding was provided by the MacDonald Institute, Cambridge. Additional members of staff were Astrit Nanaj (Saranda Centre, CAR, Greek pottery), Dimitris Condis (Saranda Centre, CAR, Roman pottery), Kostas Lakkos (Saranda Centre, CAR, Late Roman and Byzantine), Damian Komata (1991; Saranda Centre, CAR, Byzantine), Vicky Gangadi-Robin (1992; Centre Camille Julien, Roman Sculpture), Linda Mol (1992; Rijksmuseum, Leiden, trench supervisor and draughtsman), Maria Hielte Stavropoulou (1992; Swedish Institute, Athens, trench supervisor), Giorgos Panagiaris (1992; Athens University, bone analysis).

2 J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas* (rev. London 1980) 225-6. R. Kearsley, *The Pendent Semi-circle Skyphos, Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* supp. 44. (London 1989).

3 CAM is grateful to Prof. M. Joukowsky for permission to examine early pottery from Brown University's excavations at Kasfiki in 1990. B. Kallipolitis, 'Κεραμεικὴ τῆς 'Αρχαικης Πρωτοκορινθιακῆς περιόδου ἀπὸ τὴν Κέρκυρα', in *Kernos. Studi in onore di G. Balakakis* (Thessaloniki 1972) 53-7, for pottery of the last quarter 8th century at Palaiopolis; ibid., 'Κεραμεικὰ εὑρήματα ἀπὸ τὴν Κέρκυρα', *Annuario della Scuola Archeologia di Atene* 60 (1984) 69-76.

4 F. D'Andria, 'Problèmes du Commerce Archaïque entre la mer Ionienne et l'Adriatique', in P. Cabanes (ed.) *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Epire dans l'Antiquité* (Clermont-Ferrand 1987) 35-8. C. Morgan, 'Corinth, the Corinthian Gulf and western Greece in the 8th century BC', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 83 (1988) 313-38.

5 Faction: eg. Thucydides 3.70-4. H. Bulle, 'Ausgrabungen bei Aphiona auf Korfu', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 59 (1934) 147-240.

6 N. Hammond, *Epirus* (Oxford 1967) 499-500. Thucydides 3.85.2 (peiraia of Corfu). K. Hatzis, *Kerkyraika*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Aix en Provence (1988) and *A Prosopography of Corfu* (in preparation).

7 Corinthian A and B amphora: C.G. Koehler, *Corinthian A & B Transport Amphoras*, unpublished PhD. dissertation, Princeton University; D. Koukoumelis, *Recherches Archéologiques à Corfou: Topographie, Questions historiques, Amphores de transport et commerces attiques*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Aix en Provence (1988). Production site: K. Preka-Alexandri, 'A ceramic workshop in Corfu', in F. Blondé & J. Perreault edd. *Les ateliers de Potiers dans le Monde Grec aux Époques Géométrique, Archaïque et Classique, Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* supp. XXIII (Paris 1992) 40-52.

8 The earliest securely datable artefact on site is a Protogeometric bronze leaf-form spearhead; local coarsewares are difficult to date independently but may be pre-colonial.

9 F. D'Andria, *Archaeologia dei Messapi: Catalogo della Mostra, Lecce, Museo Provinciale* (Bari 1990); ibid., 'Greek influence in the Adriatic: fifty years after Beaumont', in J.-P. Descoeudres (ed), *Greek Colonists & Native Populations* (Oxford 1990) 281-90. N. Ceka, 'Die Illyrer und die antike Welt', *Albanien. Schätze aus dem Lande der Skipetaren* (Mainz 1988) 33-84. Papers in *Magna Grecia, Epiro e Macedonia.* Atti del ventiquattresimo convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto, 5-10 Ottobre 1984 (Taranto 1984).

10 Epidamnos statue: V. Tocri, *Studia Albanica* 2 (1965) 79-81. Apollonia graves: A. Mano, *Iliria* 1 (1971) 103-208. Epidamnos graves: H. Hidri, *Iliria* 13 (1983) 137ff. Corinthianizing: H. Hidri, *Iliria* 13 (1983) 137ff, pls. VI, XI.1. Kilns: H. Hidri *Iliria* 6 (1976), 245-53; ibid. 'La production de la céramique locale à Durrachium durant les VIe-IIe siècles av.n.ère', *Iliria* 16 (1986) 187-95.

11 M. Zeqo, *La Nuova Albania* 5 (1985) 30 fig.3. Cf. V. Kallipolitis, *Revue Archéologique* 1968, 25-35.

12 S. Dyson (ed.) *Comparative Studies in the Archaeology of Colonialism*. BAR IS 233. (Oxford 1985). J. Birmingham, 'The archaeology of colonisations', in J.-P. Descoeudres (*Archaeologia dei Messapi*) 635-48.

13 N. Ceka. 'La naissance de la vie urbaine chez les Illyriens du Sud', *Iliria* 13 (1983), 136-92. N. Ceka, *Albanien* (supra. n.9) 38. Idem., 'Processi di trasformazione dell'Illiria del Sud durante il periodo arcaico', in *Atti Conv. Cortona su Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione nelle società antiche* (Pisa-Roma 1983), 203-18.

14 S. Islami, 'Naissance et développement de la vie urbaine en Illyrie', *Iliria* 2 (1972) 7-23 and 'La Cité en Illyrie et en Épire (analogies et particularités), in P. Cabanes (*L'Illyrie méridionale*) 65-9. S.C. Bakhuizen 'The continent and the sea: notes on Greek activities in Ionic and Adriatic waters', ibid. 185-94.

15 R. Whitehouse & J. Wilkins, 'Greeks and natives in South-East Italy', in T. Champion (ed), *Centre & Periphery. Comparative Studies in Archaeology* (London 1989) 102-26.

16 J.G.F. Hind, 'Archaeology of the Greeks and Barbarian peoples around the Black Sea', *Archaeological Reports* 1992-3, 82-112.

17 S. I. Dakaris, 'Organisation politique et urbanistique de la ville dans l'Épire antique', in Cabanes (*L'Illyrie méridionale*) 71-80. E.L. Schwandner, 'Sull architettura ed urbanistica epirotica nel IV secolo', in *Magna Grecia, (supra*, n.9) 447-76.

18 Quoted in e.g. M. Korkuti, 'Mendimi – historiko filozofik i shokut Enver Hoxha në fushën e Arkeologjisë e historisë së lashtë të Shqiperisë', *Iliria* 18 (1988.2) 5-19, with French resumé 13-19. In a speech at Butrint in 1978, Hoxha used the variant phrase 'what is Illyrian is Illyrian, what is Roman or Greek is Roman or Greek' (quoted in English in the site guidebook (n.d.) p.9).

19 N. Ceka, 'Aperçu sur le developpement de la vie urbaine chez les Illyriens du Sud', *Iliria* 15 (1985) 119-61

20 For a general review: P. Carlier 'Rois Illyriens et <Roi des Illyriens>', in Cabanes (*L'Illyrie méridionale*) 39-46. F. Papazoglu, 'Les origines et la destineé de l'État illyrien: Illyrii proprie dicti', *Historia* 14 (1965) 143-79.

21 Ugolini conducted offsite exploration, and identified a few small sites in the area of the Lake of Butrint, but few were dated with any precision

22 Eg: A Baçe & N. Ceka, 'Shetitoret e periudhës qytetare ilire', *Monumentet* 22, (1981) 5-54 (36-9 on 3rd century Butrint). G. Pani, 'Restaurimi i Portës me kulla në Butrint', *Monumentet* 11 (1976) 35-44. G. Pani, 'Arkitektura e dy tempujve në Butrint dhe punimet restaurese në to', *Monumentet* 35 (1988) 23-37. Fortifications: L. Ugolini, *Albania Antica III. L'Acropoli di Butrinto* (Rome 1942) 25-44. N. Hammond, *Epirus* 99-111, appendix III. G. Karaiskaj, *Butrint dhe Fortifikemit e tji* (Tirana 1983). N. Ceka 'Fortifikimi antik i Butrintit dhe territorit të prasaibëve', *Monumentet* I2 (1976) 27-48; *ibid.*, 'Fortifikimet parahistorike ilire II', *Monumentet* 31 (1986) 49-84.

23 Kalyvo fortifications: A. Nanaj, 'Fortifications of the Chaonia', unpublished lecture, Plovdiv, October 1990; *ibid.*, *Vendbanimet Protoqytetare te Kaonisë,* publication of MA thesis, Tirana 1988.

24 Date of 1st wall A. Nanaj, 'La phase protourbaine de Bouthrotos', *Iliria* 15 (1985) 303-12.

25 Similar sling shot: *Albanien*, cat.166 p. 287 (uninscribed, dated 5th century). Corinthian vase: N. Hammond, *Epirus* 110.

26 Kardaki votives: C. Rodenwalt et al., *Korkyra* II (1939) 154, 172. Banquet pediment: A. Choremis, 'Αρχαϊκὸν ἀέτωμα ἐκ Κερκύρας, *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 7 (1974) 183-6. Apollonia shrines: Ceka, *Albanien* (*supra* n.9) 43.

27 Lion relief: Ugolini, *Albania Antica* III, pl.VI.

28 Ceka, *Albanien* 38, 46-7; D'Andria (in Descoeudres, *supra* n.9) 286-90.

29 M. Farnsworth, 'Corinth and Corfu: a neutron activation study of their pottery', *American Journal of Archaeology* 81 (1977) 455-68.