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a cura di
MARCO BETTALLI ED ELENA FRANCHI



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From Ancient Greece to Contemporary Europe. Cross-border Cooperation as a Tool for Stabilization *

BY ELENA FRANCHI
(University of Trento)

1. *From peacebuilding to stabilization. Ancient and Modern*

Just as studies of comparative federalism¹ have long questioned the potential of federalism as a means of conflict resolution, studies of ancient federalism have followed suit.² Aggregative federalisation processes would

* This article provides an overview of some preliminary results of research conducted in the framework of the ERC project “FeBo: Federalism and Border Management in Greek Antiquity” (COG PR. 2021 Nr. 101043954) funded by the European Union. Views and opinions expressed are however those of the author only and do not necessarily reflect those of the European Union or the European Research Council Executive Agency. Neither the European Union nor the granting authority can be held responsible for them. I’m grateful to Roy Van Wijk and the anonymous referees for their valuable comments.

1 See e.g. Rufus S. DAVIS, *The Federal Principle. A Journey Through Time in Quest of Meaning*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, University of California Press, 1978; John R. ONEAL, Bruce RUSSETT, «The Classical Liberals Were Right: Democracy, Interdependence, and Conflict, 1950-1985», *International Studies Quarterly*, 41 (1997), pp. 267-294; Harvey STARR, «Democracy and Integration: Why Democracies Don’t Fight Each Other», *Journal of Peace Research* 34, 2 (1997), pp. 153–162; Svante E. CORNELL, «Autonomy as a Source of Conflict: Caucasian Conflicts in Theoretical Perspective», *World Politics* 54, 2 (2001), pp. 245-276; Svante E. CORNELL, *Small Nations and Great Powers: A Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict in the Caucasus*, Richmond, UK, Routledge 2001; Soeren KEIL, «Federalism as a Tool of Conflict-Resolution: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina», *L’Europe en Formation*, 363, 1 (2012), pp. 205-218; Ursula MAENNLE. «Preface», in Hanns BUEHLER, Susanne LUTHER, Michael STEGNER (eds.), *Federalism and Conflict Management*, Munich, Hanns Seidel Foundation, 2017, 3-4; Alain G. GAGNON, «Multilevel Governance and the Reconfiguration of Political Space: Theoretical Considerations from a Multinational Perspective», in Guy LACHAPPELLE, Pablo OÑATE (eds.), *Borders and Margins: Federalism, Devolution and Multi-level Governance*, Opladen and Berlin, Germany, and Toronto, ON: Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2018, pp. 77-90; Jens WOELK, «Kooperativer Föderalismus, Bundesstreue und europäische Integration. Deutsche Erfahrungen für Bosnien und Herzegovina?», in *SVESKE ZA JAVNO PRAVO* 38 (2019), 12-25.

2 See, e.g., Arthur E.R. BOAK, «Greek Interstate Associations and the League of Nations»,

be an excellent means of pacifying different regions, nationalities, ethnic groups and religious ones often engaged against each other in deep-rooted conflicts.

With regard to contemporary federalisation processes it has been noted that federalization is more than a means of pacification an accelerator of pacification processes triggered by other factors, esp. in the case of so-called holding-together federalism.³ As far as antiquity is concerned, ongoing research is reaching similar conclusions.

From pacification per se, the focus of research has now shifted to stabilisation and the extent to which stability of a supra-state federal body is favoured by a balance and stability of relations between the member states.⁴ These relations are fostered by so-called cross-border cooperation, i.e. cross-border relations that implement and enhance multi-level (cultural, linguistic, religious, economic) forms of cooperation. The phenomenon of cross-border cooperation is as significant in the contemporary age as in antiquity. This article aims to show the heuristic potential of this concept with regard to Greek Antiquity and to outline similarities and differences between ancient and modern cross-border activities.

The American Journal of International Law, 15, 3 (1921), pp. 375-383; Jakob A.O. LARSEN, «Federation for Peace in Ancient Greece», 39, 3 (1944), pp. 145-162; DAVIS, cit.; Michael WHITBY, «Federalism, Common Peace, and the Avoidance of War in Fourth Century Greece», *Annals of the Lothian Foundation*, 1 (1991), pp. 71-94; Sheila AGER, «Peaceful Conflict Resolution in the World of the Federal States», in H. Beck, P. Funke (Eds.), *Federalism in Greek Antiquity*, Cambridge, 2015, pp. 471-486; Ioanna KRALLI, *The Hellenistic Peloponnese: Interstate Relations. A Narrative and Analytic History, from the Fourth Century to 146 BC*, Swansea, Classical Press of Wales, 2017, p. 147; Emmanouil M.L. ECONOMOU, *The Achaean Federation in Ancient Greece. History, Political and Economic Organization, Warfare and Strategy*, Cham, Springer Verlag, 2020, p. 184. See already Edward A. FREEMAN, *History of Federal Government, from the Foundation of the Achaian League to the Disruption of the United States*, vol. I, London, Macmillan, 1863.

- 3 KEIL, cit., p. 205; Francesco PALERMO, «Federalism, Constitutionalism and Conflict Management», in H. Bühler, S. Luther, M. Siegner (eds.), *Federalism and Conflict Management: Concluding Reflections*, Munich, Hanns Seidel Foundation, 2017, p. 12. On holding-together federalism, see Michael BREEN, «The Origins of Holding-Together Federalism: Nepal, Myanmar, and Sri Lanka», *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 48, 1 (2018), available online at: <https://doi.org/10.1093/publius/pjx027> (with further literature).
- 4 See e.g. Dawn WALSH, *Territorial Self-government as a Conflict Management Tool*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018. See also the research conducted at the Institute for comparative federalism of the Eurac in Bolzano.

2. *Cross-border cooperation in contemporary Europe*

In the last few years scholars specializing in dynamics of territorialization and management of political communities that belong to supra-state organizations have become more and more interested in cross-border cooperation. This is not by chance: cross-border cooperation has a considerable potential for territorial convergence between the two sides of a border,⁵ that is for a decrease of distinctions between integrating related but different spatial units, and is therefore vital to understanding modern supranational spatial planning processes. This decrease is thought to be based on increasingly institutionalized forms of cross-border cooperation as well as the primarily functional feature of cross-border flows and interactions started by people with a variety of roles and collective actors.⁶ As such, it can be ideational as well as structural (with regard to urbanization, economic activity, and social composition). In these situations, the first dimension is as significant as the second since it is linked to border societies' collective perceptions and representations of both themselves and the neighbouring foreign societies to the point that these representations can occasionally result in the development of a transborder sense of shared identity.⁷

Territorial convergence can become a means of integrating people living on both sides of the border and thus have significant potential in stabilising inter-state relations in a Europe that was torn by conflict less than a century ago. It is therefore not surprising that the European Union started to value these occurrences of territorial convergence a few years ago. Since the EU's founding, one of its goals has been promoting cohesiveness among its members, and the latter is seen both as an effect as well as a potent instrument for cross-border collaboration.⁸ The establishment of the European Groupings of Territorial Cooperation (EGTCs), a

5 Philip DE BOE, Claude GRASLAND, Adrian HEALY, *Spatial Integration. Study Programme on European Spatial Planning Strand 1.4, Final Report*, Stockholm, Nordregio, 1999.

6 Alice ENGL, Johanna MITTERHOFER, «Bridging National and Ethnic Borders: The European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation as a Space for Minorities», *European Yearbook of Minority Issues Online*, 12, 1 (2016), pp. 25-28.

7 Frédéric DURAND, Antoine DECOVILLE, «The EGTC as a Tool for Cross-border Integration», in G. Ocskay (ed.), *15 years of the EGTCs. Lessons learnt and future perspectives*, Budapest, Central European Service for Cross-border Initiatives, 2020, p. 107.

8 ENGL, MITTERHOFER, cit., p. 28.

legal entity, elevates territorial convergence to the point of institutionalization.⁹ Establishing EGCTs in 2006 was done thus “to enable cross-border cooperation approaches to reach a new level, by creating supranational institutional structures with legal personality and their own financial and human resources”.¹⁰ They are intended to institutionalize the current occurrences of cross-border collaboration¹¹ as well as to encourage the formation of new forms of cross-border territoriality: EGCT are both a result and a tool for cross-border collaboration.¹² The latter is thought to present border regions with an opportunity: it can “aim to find win-win partnerships between regions, in particular to transform a border into a possibility of development”¹³. Since neighbouring territories have become interfaces, their border position is no longer a weakness.¹⁴ They are increasingly cross-borderised. Cross-borderisation means that previous social or economic interactions are re-activated in order to generate this effect. Therefore, the true crux of the issue is in these relationships, independent of any modern institutionalization that may strengthen and further motivate them. They may serve as a tool for fostering unity among supra-state body members.

One of many possible examples of EGCT is the ‘European Region Tyrol-South Tyrol-Trentino’ EGCT, whose history will be briefly outlined here.¹⁵ Territorial

9 Alice ENGL, «Ein Instrument zwischen Gemeinschaftspolitik und nationalem Recht: Die Durchführung der Verordnung über den Europäischen Verbund für Territoriale Zusammenarbeit in ausgewählten EU-Mitgliedstaaten», *Europarecht*, 48, 3 (2013), pp. 285-306; ENGL, MITTERHOFER, cit., p. 13 (n. 13) and 14-16 (see esp. Regulation 1082/2006 and subsequent amendments [1302/2013]).

10 DURAND, DECOVILLE, cit., p. 104. See also Luis DE SOUSA, «Understanding European Cross-border Cooperation: a Framework for Analysis», *Journal of European Integration*, 35, 6 (2013), pp. 669-687.

11 See ENGL, MITTERHOFER, cit., pp. 23-25.

12 Antoine DECOVILLE, Frédéric DURAND, Christoph SOHN, Olivier WALTHER, «Comparing Cross-border Metropolitan Integration in Europe: Towards a Functional Typology», *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 28, 2 (2013), pp. 221-237.

13 DURAND, DECOVILLE, cit., p. 105. See also Alexander STUBB, «Foreword», in P. Järviö, *Cross-border Cooperation – Benefiting from Borders*, Helsinki, 2011, p. 1.

14 Antoine DECOVILLE, Frédéric DURAND, Valérie FELTGEN, *Opportunities of Cross-border Cooperation between Small and Medium Cities in Europe*, Luxembourg, 2015.

15 More at: <https://www.europaregion.info/en/>; ENGL, MITTERHOFER, cit., pp. 16-27. On cross-border cooperation with regard to this specific EGCT see the seminal article by Francesco PALERMO, Jens WOELK, «Autonomy: the Problem of Irredentism and Cross-Border Cooperation. Cross-Border Cooperation as an Indicator for Institutional Evolution of Autonomy: The Case of Trentino-South Tyrol», in Zelim SKURBATY (ed.), *Beyond a One-Dimensional*

cooperation has a long history in the Alpine Space and has grown in significance since the Second World War's conclusion. As a result, administrations' readiness to collaborate across borders has increased dramatically over the years. In this sense, the ground was prepared by the Arge Alp, the Working Community of the Alpine Countries, which was established in 1972 and comprises ten areas and cantons from Germany, Italy, Austria, and Switzerland. Since national governments were previously the only entities responsible for cross-border collaboration, ARGE ALP was the pioneer in establishing regional cross-border cooperation. In 2006, the Alpine region received additional prominence and clout inside the Union with the adoption of the EU Strategy for the Alpine Region (EUSALP). With a total population of almost 80 million in the Alpine area, the seven Alpine countries of Austria, France, Germany, Slovenia, Italy, Switzerland, and Liechtenstein, as well as 48 of their regions, are included in the EUSALP. In 2011, the Land Tyrol and the two autonomous provinces of Bolzano and Trento availed themselves of the possibility of setting up an EGTC and transformed the already existing cooperation, for which the three territories had worked together in the past but without institutionalisation, into the legal form of the EGTC with its seat in Bolzano. Even if regulation (EC) No. 1082 of 5 July 2006, as amended and implemented by the Regulation of 17 December 2013 regarding the establishment and operation of the EGTC, is directly applicable in the Member States, some provisions are subject to an implementation reserve and must be applied by the member states: the Tyrolean law on the EGTC was adopted by the Landtag of Tyrol in summer 2010 and entered into force on 3 September 2010, while in Italy, on the other hand, the EGTC regulation was implemented by Law No. 88 of 7 July 2009. In October 2010, the Convention and the EGTC Statute were sent to Rome and the establishment of the EGTC and also the participation of South Tyrol and Trentino were then approved on 28 April 2011 by the Italian government. The formal authorisation by the Regional Government of the Land Tyrol took place on 10 May 2011.¹⁶ The founding act, the Convention and the Statutes, were solemnly signed on 14 June 2011 at Castel Thun in Trentino by the then presidents Günter Platter (Tyrol), Luis Durnwalder (South Tyrol) and Lorenzo Dellai (Trentino).

State: An Emerging Right to Autonomy?, Leiden, Martinus Nijhoff, 2005, pp. 277-304.
16 More at: <https://www.europaregion.info/it/euregio/chi-siamo/fondamenti/>.

The establishment of the Euregio Tirolo-Alto Adige Trentino takes on a special significance given the well-known events concerning South Tyrol, which was annexed to Italy after the First World War, tormented during the Fascist period and then progressively protected linguistic minorities and local cultural identities, for historical reasons connected to the (remaining) Austrian Tyrol. The Euregio was further enhanced through the institutionalisation of cross-border cooperation, which in this case reveals all its potential for boosting local resources and smoothing out the inevitable tensions inherited from the troubled history of this region.

3. Cross border cooperation in ancient Greece

As already stated in the introduction, this article intends to provide some preliminary remarks on the usefulness of investigating cross-border activities in ancient Greece. This usefulness is one of the topics being investigated within the framework of the ERC Project “FeBo: Federalism and Border Management in Greek Antiquity” (COG PR. 2021 Nr. 101043954), which focuses on the topic of border management by ancient Greek federal states.

It is clear that in the case of ancient Greece, cross-border activities involved territories that were often not separated by a border that the ancients imagined as linear and identifiable in all its features,¹⁷ just as it is clear that the investigation will have to focus on informal and non-formalised, i.e. non-institutionalised, cross-border activities. Despite their low or more often no degree of formalisation, they nevertheless deserve special attention because in certain cases they seem to have facilitated processes of stabilisation in the area. We will focus here on three cases: the Ozolian Locrians; the southern Phocians; and the various actors at play in Cynuria, in the eastern Peloponnese. These three cases will be investigated in further detail in the upcoming months; at this time, we are only going to provide some preliminary results.

As far as the Ozolian Locrians are concerned, our focus is mainly on Oiantheia (and will shortly move on to Naupactus, an even more complex and promising case). Oiantheia, most likely to be identified with the modern site of Mathiou

¹⁷ See e.g. Christel MÜLLER, «Globalization, Transnationalism, and the Local in Ancient Greece», in Oxford Handbooks Online. DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935390.013.42.

in the bay of Vittrinitsa,¹⁸ was considered by the ancients to be very important for Locrian identity, as seems to be indicated by the fact that it is enumerated among the first cities founded in Ozolian Locris by the eponymous hero Lokros.¹⁹ Given its location, however, Oiantheia's relations with the Aetolians were frequent, both politically (Thuc. 3.101) and economically (cf. Strouza Region Project)²⁰, as has already been remarked by Emily Mackil.²¹ At that point Oiantheia, quite possibly equipped with a port, became the most convenient hub (even more convenient than Naupactus, both for historical and purely odological reasons²²) for both the trade of surplus from the Aetolian hinterland and the import of products from outside to Ozolian Locris and southern Aetolia. Research conducted within FeBo is highlighting how precisely this intense cross-border activity of an economic nature favoured the stabilisation of this area of Ozolian Locris once it was

18 Lucien LERAT, *Les Locriens de l'Ouest*, vol. I, Paris, de Boccard, 1952, p. 208; Petros THEMELIS, «Ο Δαμοφών στην Οιάνθεια», in P. Themelis, R. Stathaki-Koumari (Eds.), *Το Γαλαξίδι από την αρχαιότητα έως σήμερα*, Αθήνα, Εταιρεία Μεσσηνιακών Αρχαιολογικών Σπουδών, 2003, p. 33. Further literature in E. FRANCHI, *Oiantheia in between. Cross-border Activities in Ancient Federal Greece*, forthcoming.

19 Aristot. fr. 561 ll. 14-20 Rose. See Elena FRANCHI, «Genealogies and Violence. Central Greece in the Making», *The Ancient History Bulletin*, Suppl. Vol. 1 (2020), p. 147, with further literature.

20 Sebastiaan BOMMELJÉ, Peter K. DOORN (Eds.), *Strouza Region Project. An Historical-Topographical Fieldwork. First*, Utrecht, SRP, 1981; Sebastiaan BOMMELJÉ, Peter K. DOORN (Eds.), *Strouza Region Project. An Historical-Topographical Fieldwork. Second*, Utrecht, SRP, 1984; Sebastiaan BOMMELJÉ, Peter K. DOORN (Eds.), *Strouza Region Project. An Historical-Topographical Fieldwork. Third*, Utrecht, SRP, 1985; Peter K. DOORN, «Geographical Analysis of Early Modern Data in Ancient Historical Research: The Example of the Strouza Region Project in Central Greece», *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 10, 3 (1985), pp. 275-291. The project is dedicated to eastern Aetolia and in particular Kallipolis [=modern Steno] and Aigition [= modern Strouza], working as an interconnecting hub between the Aetolian hinterland and the Locrian coastline; cfr. also Claudia ANTONETTI, «Problemi di geografia storica del territorio etolo-acarnano: appunti sulla base di nuove testimonianze epigrafiche», in P. Janni, E. Lanzillotta (cur.), *ΓΕΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ. Atti del secondo Convegno maceratese su geografia e cartografia antica (Macerata, 16-17 aprile 1985)* (=Atti di convegni 7; Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università degli studi di Macerata 45), Roma, p. 17. See FRANCHI, *Oiantheia in between*, cit., with further literature.

21 Emily MACKIL, *Creating a Common Polity: Religion, Economy, and Politics in the Making of the Greek Koinon*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, University of California Press, 2013, p. 288.

22 See FRANCHI, *Oiantheia in between*, cit., with sources and further literature.

‘annexed’ to the Aetolian League,²³ which did not hesitate to exploit its strategic importance later on, also militarily (see e.g. Polyb. 4.57.2). All this leads one to believe that the Aetolians’ success in expanding their control of mainland Greece was due not only to the creation of *tele*, which most likely re-functionalised the federal structures of the koina that then became ‘sub-koina’ of the Aetolian koinon (e.g., the Lokrikon telos)²⁴, nor only to the manipulation of genealogies (I am thinking of Lokros, which from the 4th century onwards became related to Aitolos: Plutarch. qu. Gr. 15²⁵), but also to the exploitation of previous forms of informal cross-border cooperation. The border areas (rather than borders) that divided Aetolians and Ozolian Locrians were frequently traversed by people and objects. These borderlands and their inhabitants had much more in common than what divided them. Exploiting these cross-border activities facilitates the integration and stabilisation, and thus control of these areas.

The second case concerns the Phocians, in particular the Phocians living in southeastern Phocis. The chronological period under consideration now will be primarily the Roman period, although the cross-border relations that constitute our focus, those between the Phocians and the Boeotians, are much older and should be recalled. In fact, relations between the Boeotians and the southeastern Phocians have always been quite intense.²⁶ For instance, eastern Phocis is often interpreted, together with the Opuntian Locris, as the northern periphery of My-

23 Lucien LERAT, *Les Locriens de l'Ouest*, vol. II, Paris, de Boccard, 1952, pp. 61-94; A. Brian BOSWORTH, «Early Relations between Aetolia and Macedon», *American Journal of Ancient History*, 1 (1976), pp. 164-181; John D. GRAINGER, *The League of the Aitolians*, Leiden-Boston-Köln, Brill, 42-45.

24 Marta SORDI, «Le origini del koinon etolico», *Acme*, 6 (1953), pp. 442-445; Jakob A.O. LARSEN, *Greek Federal States. Their Institutions and History*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1968, p. 197; Thomas CORSTEN, *Vom Stamm zum Bund: Gründung und territoriale Organisation griechischer Bundesstaaten*, München, Oberhammer Gesellschaft, 1999, pp. 133-159; Jacek RZEPKA, *The Rights of Cities within the Aitolian Confederacy*, Valencia, Instituto Valenciano de Estudios Clásicos y Orientales, 2006, 33-45; MACKIL, cit., pp. 380-384; Peter FUNKE, «Aetolia and the Aetolian League», in H. Beck, P. Funke (Eds.), *Federalism in Greek Antiquity*, Cambridge, 2015, pp. 95-96; Chiara LASAGNI, *Le realtà locali nel mondo greco. Ricerche su poleis ed ethne della Grecia occidentale*, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2019, pp. 148-59.

25 See FRANCHI, «Genealogies and Violence», cit., pp. 148-50.

26 Jeremy MCINERNEY, «Delphi and Phokis: a Network Theory Approach», in J.-M. Luce (dir.), *Delphes, sa cité, sa région, ses relations internationales*, Toulouse, Presses Universitaires du Midi, 2011, pp. 95-106, esp. fig. 2.



Fig. 1. Map of Phocis, Boeotia and Attica
from Gustav Droysen's *Historischer Handatlas*, 1886

cenaean Boeotia and findings such as the Late Helladic tombs of Elateia have been traced back to the cultural irradiation of the palaces of Orchomenos and Thebes.²⁷ Moreover, in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, southern Phocis

27 Pierre SALMON, «Les districts béotiens», *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 58 (1956), pp. 51-70, esp. pp. 58-70; Antonia LIVIERATOU, «Phokis and East Lokris in the Light of Interregional Contacts at the Transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age», in M. Iacovou (Ed.), *Cyprus and the Aegean in the Early Iron Age. The Legacy of Nicolas Coldstream*,

and in particular the settlement of Kastrouli played a prominent role for those travelling from northern Boeotia to the Gulf of Corinth.²⁸ However, it should be borne in mind that these relationships were often conflictual as well (the most striking example is the so-called Third Sacred War).²⁹ It is only in the Roman period that the evidence points towards a relationship more characterised by co-operation. There are several elements that point to different forms of cross-border frequentation and cross-fertilization.

First of all, we should mention figures such as Flavia Lanica, who, according to an inscription dating to the 3rd century AD, was a life-long priestess of both the koinon of the Boeotians for the cult of Itonia (at Coronea) and that of the Phocians (IG VII 3426, esp. ll. 3-5).³⁰ Another example is M. Ulpus Damasippus, mentioned in an inscription found at Amphikleia and dated to a period between the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 3rd AD., who was both beotarch and phocarch (IG IX 1, 218).³¹ As has been pointed out, the Boeotian koinon is at this stage more religious than political in character and also includes federal structures that retain their political autonomy (this is the case of the Phocian koinon):³² this clearly im-

Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, Nicosia, 2012, pp. 79-80 (quote on p. 79); Elena FRANCHI, «Mille e un modo di diventare focidese. La Focide tra tendenze centrifughe, vocazione unitaria e Delfi», *Orbis Terrarum*, 20 (2022), pp. 95-121.

28 Andrew J. KOH, Kathleen J. BIRNEY, Ian M. ROY, Ioannis LIRITZIS, «The Mycenaean Citadel and Environs of Desfina-Kastrouli: A Transdisciplinary Approach to Southern Phokis», *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry*, 20, 3 (2020), pp. 51-52, 54, 56 and map 5a.

29 See e.g. John M. FOSSEY, *Topography and Population of Ancient Boiotia*, vol. I, Chicago, Ares, 1988, pp. 375-379 (on fortifications in border zones between Phocis and Boiotia); Giovanna DAVERIO ROCCHI, «Insediamento coloniale e presidio militare alla frontiera foce-se-beotica», *Tyche*, 8 (1993), pp. 1-8; Elena FRANCHI, *Die Konflikte zwischen Thessalern und Phokern. Krieg und Identität in der griechischen Erinnerungskultur des 4. Jahrhunderts*, München, Utz Verlag, 2016, ch. 4, and more recently Roy VAN WIJK, *Athens and Boiotia. Interstate Relations in the Archaic and Classical Periods*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2023, pp. 62-63 with previous bibliography.

30 See also John M. FOSSEY, Teiresias, *Epigraphica*, E 86.15 (1986); Denis KNOEPFLER, «L'exercice de la magistrature fédérale béotienne par des "étrangers" à l'époque impériale: conséquence de l'extension du koinon en dehors des frontières de la Béotie ou simple effet d'une multi-citoyenneté individuelle?», in A. Heller, A.-V. Pont (dir.), *Patrie d'origine et patries électives: les citoyennetés multiples dans le monde grec à l'époque romaine*, Bordeaux, Ausonius, 2012, pp. 233-247, spec. pp. 233-234, pp. 237-240.

31 Cfr. KNOEPFLER, «L'Exercice...», cit., pp. 233-234.

32 Paul ROESCH, *Thespiens et la confédération béotienne*, Paris, de Boccard, 1965, pp. 93-94; Paul ROESCH, *Études béotiennes*, Paris, de Boccard, 1982, pp. 407-411; Denis KNOEPFLER,

plies that the borders, or rather, the border areas between Phocians and Boeotians have a political function, albeit a weak one, but do not connote a religious or cultural border. The political boundary, while still existing, loses importance in relation to cross-border activities of a, as we shall see, multiple character.

This would be reflected, for example, in the ritual performed by the Phocians of Tithorea and Thebans mentioned by Pausanias (Paus. 9.17.4-7). It is a ritual in which Phokos, the founding hero of the Phocians, and Antiope, the Theban princess with whom he falls in love, are commemorated. The myth of the love between Phokos and Antiope may date back to the 5th century BC,³³ but what is of interest here is the ritual that is performed to commemorate them. Phokos and Antiope, so Pausanias, are buried in Tithorea, which is located in southeastern Phocis, while the tomb of the children Antiope had before she met Phokos is located in Thebes. The periegete reports that every year, in spring, the inhabitants of Tithorea go to Thebes to try to steal earth from the tomb of Antiope's children while the Thebans try to prevent it. This ritual clearly displays tension and conflict, but presupposes cooperation; not only that, but the stage of ritual encom-

«Louis Robert en sa forge : ébauche d'un mémoire resté inédit sur l'histoire controversée de deux concours grecs, les Trophônia et les Basileia à Lébadée», *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 152, 4 (2008), pp. 1421-1462; KNOEFLER, «L'exercice...», cit., pp. 224-228 ; Christel MÜLLER, «A koinon after 146? Reflections on the Political and Institutional Situation of Boeotia in the Late Hellenistic Period», in N. Papazarkadas (Ed.), *The Epigraphy and History of Boeotia. New Finds, New Perspectives*, Boston-Leiden, Brill, 2014, pp. 118-146 (esp. pp. 122, 126, 129); Hans BECK, Angela GANTER, «Boiotia and the Boiotian Leagues», in H. Beck, P. Funke (Eds.), *Federalism in Greek Antiquity*, Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 132-157, esp. pp. 156-157; Denis KNOEFLER, «Le financement des Basileia et l'histoire du Koinon Boiôtôn à la basse époque hellénistique : à propos de la nouvelle apologia de Lébadée et d'un fragment resté inédit», *Horos*, 26-31 (2014-2019 [2020]), pp. 241-257; Albert SCHACHTER, *Boiotia in Antiquity*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2016, pp. 141-143; Christel MÜLLER, «L'empreinte de Sylla : les conséquences de la première guerre mithridatique sur les territoires et paysages béotiens», in Th. Lucas, Ch. Müller, A.-Ch. Odon-Panissié (dir.), *La Béotie de l'archaïsme à l'époque romaine : frontières, territoires, paysages*, Paris, de Boccard, 2019, pp. 155-177; Christel MÜLLER, «Mort d'une confédération. Qu'est-il (vraiment) arrivé au koinon béotien en 172/171 av. J.-C.?», *Ktêma. Civilisations de l'Orient, de la Grèce et de Rome antiques*, 46 (2021), pp. 323-342.

33 Angela KÜHR, *Als Kadmos nach Boiotien kam: Polis und Ethnos im Spiegel thebanischer Gründungsmythen*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner, 2006, pp. 84, 118ff., 122ff.; John GIBERT, «Euripides' Antiope and the Quiet Life», in J.R.C. Cousland, J. R. Hume (Eds.), *The Play of Texts and Fragments. Essays in Honour of Martin Cropp*, Leiden, Brill, 2009, pp. 25ff. See also Wien KHM 382 with comment by Elena FRANCHI, «Genealogies and Politics: Phocus on the Road», *Klio*, 99, 1 (2017), pp. 1-25, esp. p. 10, n. 31.

passes southeastern Phocis and Boeotia and is thus configured as a cross-border activity, markedly ritual in this case.

Mythical manipulation is another terrain in which it is possible to bring into play (and thus, for us historians, to intercept) phenomena of mythical and even cultural cross-border cooperation on a broader spectrum. The eponymous hero of the Phocians, who in the most widespread traditions turns out to be a native of Corinth or Aegina,³⁴ but of whom a story preserved in Plutarch and most probably dating back to the Hellenistic age states that he is Βοιώτιος (...) τῷ γένει (Boeotian by birth), is significant. Such a Phokos would be father of Kallirhoe, the heroine at the centre of an affair that thematises intra-Boeotians tensions, but cannot fail to evoke, in those who have handed down and variously enjoyed this story, eponymic resonances with the Phocians. Imagining a Phokos of Boeotian origins was not perceived as an anomaly in Roman times, as there were so many different practices of inter-regional sharing that they are to be read as cross-border, because they ignore and thus depoliticise what had been, and now only partially remained, a politically relevant border. These cross-border activities must have facilitated the expansion of the Boeotian koinon, now more religious than political in character; we can imagine that the Boeotians actively exploited them in this sense, facilitating the integration and stabilisation of the new areas involved.

The third case to be briefly examined here concerns a region in the eastern Peloponnese, Cynuria (or Thyreatis, the northern part of Cynuria)³⁵ to be precise. This is notoriously a territory disputed between Argives and Spartans in the course of a centuries-long conflict, as it was repeated on several occasions and with alternating fortunes.³⁶ The warlike and violent side of the issue is and remains significant. However, it should also be noted that two epigraphs have been found in the disputed region that could testify to its ubiquitous frequentation by both Argives and Spartans. In particular, it cannot be ruled out that Argives and Spartans would have frequented the same places of worship at the same time.

I refer to ‘sanctuaries’ in honour of Apollo Pythaios, documented as early

34 FRANCHI, «Genealogies and Politics», cit., with sources and previous bibliography.

35 Graham SHIPLEY, «Lakedaimon», in M.H. Hansen, Th.H. Nielsen (Eds.), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 569-598, esp. p. 571.

36 Elena FRANCHI, «Violence agonistique ? Guerre de frontières et anthropopoïèse des élites dans l’imaginaire grec», in V. Dasen, T. Haziza (dir.), *Violence et jeu, de l’Antiquité à nos jours*, Caen, Presses Universitaires de Caen, 2023, pp. 87-103, with sources and literature.

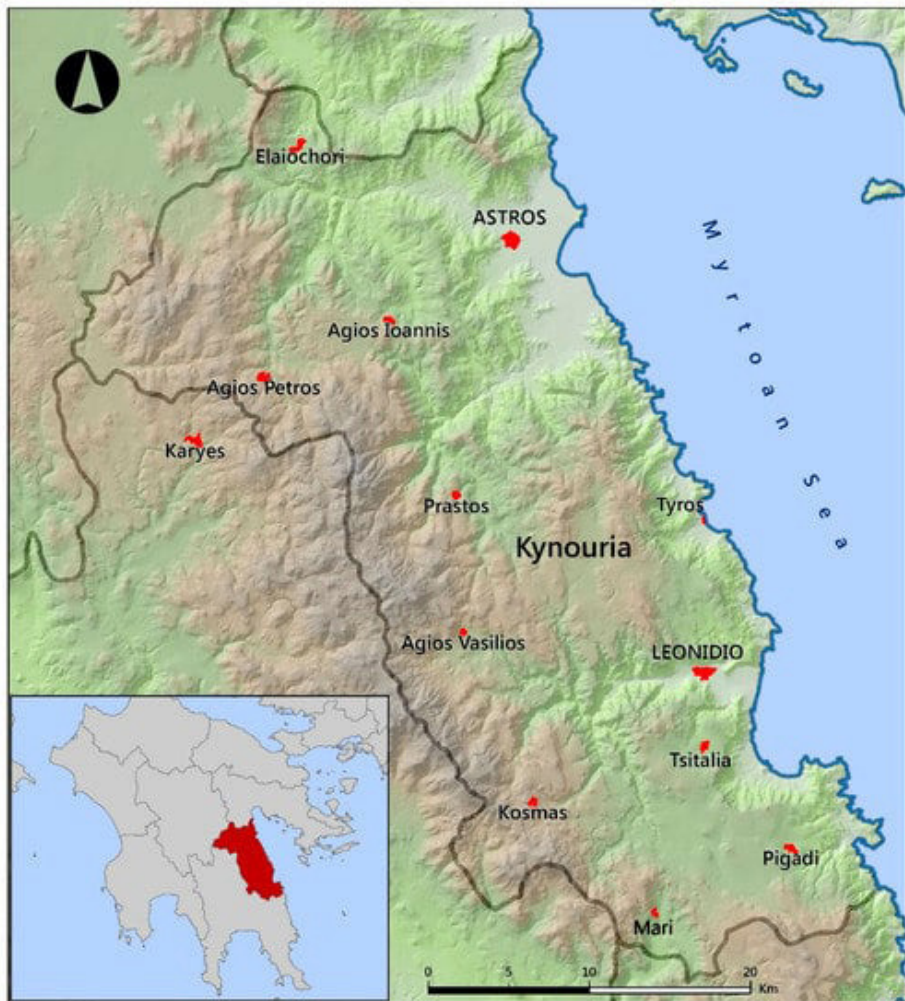


Fig. 2. Cultural Routes in Kynouria of Arcadia: from Boukouvalas, Lampros; Grigorakakis, Grigoris; Tsatsaris, Andreas. Cultural Routes in Kynouria of Arcadia: Geospatial Database Design and Software Development for Web Mapping of the Spatio-Historical Information. *Heritage* 2018, 1, 142-162. <https://doi.org/10.3390/heritage1010010>. License CC BY 4.0. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/326635008>

as the Archaic period. A little bronze disc that may date from the 1st half of the 6th century BC, but most likely from a bit later,³⁷ is our first piece of evidence,

³⁷ Lilian H. JEFFERY, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1961, p. 199, no. 14; *Revised edition with a supplement by A. W. Johnston*, 48. Cfr. Maria Letizia LAZZARINI, *Le formule delle dediche votive nella Grecia arcaica*, Roma, Accademia

which comes from Kosmas on the mountain of Propheetis Ilias. A certain Melas dedicates it to (Apollo) Pythaios.³⁸ There are similarities between the shapes of most of the letters and Laconian inscriptions; this is a hypothesis that hasn't been contested as far as I know. A tiny bronze hoplite, dedicated in the Laconian style to (Apollo) Maleatas (mid-6th century), another local cult, by a certain Charilos, has been discovered at the same location, which is most likely a cult site³⁹. In this context it should be recalled that a goat sculpture discovered in its vicinity was connected to a Laconian workshop.⁴⁰ From our point of view, this is intriguing since it appears that groups of Laconians or individuals acquainted with styles common in Laconia frequently visited the site. In this context, it is tempting to consider that one of the successes attained by the Spartan Damonon⁴¹ was one he achieved in his youth at the Maleateia at the games held in honor of Apollo Maleatas at Kosmas.⁴²

nazionale dei Lincei, 1976, p. 296, nr. 835.

- 38 *SEG XXXV* (1985) 294 [= *SEG XI* (1954) 890], ed. Th. A. Arbanitopoulou, Πολέμων III 1947/8, 152/4 c. im. ph. fig. 1: Μέλας μ' ἐνίκε Πυθαίῃ. See Jeanne ROBERT, Louis ROBERT, «Bulletin épigraphique», *REG*, 63 (1950), pp. 121-220.; Charalampos B. Kritzas, «Remarques sur trois inscriptions de Cynourie», *BCH*, 109 (1985), pp. 709-716, (both emending in ἦνικε); LAZZARINI, cit., p. 296, nr. 835; Panagiotis B. PHAKLARES, *Archaia Kynouria*, Athinaï, 1990, pp. 181ff., fig. 104, 2; Massimo NAFISSI, «La stele di Damonon, gli Hekatombaia e il sistema festivo della Laconia d'epoca classica», in F. Berlinzani (cur.), *La cultura a Sparta in età classica*, Milano, 2013, pp. 105-174, esp. p. 133, n. 98.
- 39 Athens MN inv. 7598 (*IG V 1*, 927; JEFFERY, cit., no. 37 (194 and 200)). See Madeleine JOST, «Statuettes de bronze archaïques provenant de Lykosoura», *BCH*, 99 (1975), pp. 339-364, esp. p. 348 no. 10 and pp. 360-362; Claude ROLLEY, «Le problème de l'art laconien», *Ktéma*, 2 (1977), pp. 125-140, esp. pp. 129-130, t. 2, fig. 5; Marlene HERFORT-KOCH, *Archaische Bronzeplastik Lakoniens*, Münster, Archäologisches Seminar der Universität, 1986, pp. 56 and 116, no. K 131, t. 19, 1-2; Marie-Françoise BILLOT, «Apollo Pythéen et l'Argolide archaïque: histoire et mythes», *Archaiognosia*, 6 (1989-1990), pp. 35-100, esp. 83; PHAKLARES, cit., fig. 103 t. 93 γ-δ; Conrad M. STIBBE, «Gitiadas und der Krater von Vix», *BaBesch*, 75 (2000), pp. 65-114; Conrad M. STIBBE, *Laconian Oil Flasks and Other Closed Shapes. Laconian Blackgazed Pottery, Part III*, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson, 2000, p. 89, figs. 20-2; Rosa PROSKYNITOPOULOU, «Laconian Metalworking», in N. Kaltsas (ed.), *Athens-Sparta*. New York, 2006, pp. 155-180, esp. p. 163 no. 66; Nicolette PAVLIDES, «The Sanctuaries of Apollo Maleatas and Apollo Tyritas in Laconia: Religion in Spartan-Perioikic Relations», *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 113 (2018), pp. 279-305, esp. p. 280.
- 40 Athens, NAM, 7666 (late 6th B.C.) with comment of PHAKLARES, cit., p. 181 (see pl. 93α).
- 41 *IG V 1*, 213. On the chronology, see, recently, NAFISSI, cit., pp. 114-115; Paul CHRISTESEN, *A New Reading of the Damonon Stele*, Newcastle upon Tyne, *Histos*, 2019, p. 22.
- 42 On the Maleateia see Stephen HODKINSON, «An Agonistic Culture? Athletic Competition in Archaic and Classical Spartan Society», in St. Hodkinson, A. Powell (Eds.), *Sparta: New*

The Kosmas inscription must also be related to a bronze handle of a vase (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Misc. 7668) found in Tyros,⁴³ with a dedication by a certain Menoitos to Pythaios,⁴⁴ dating back to the end of the 6th century⁴⁵ or to the 5th.⁴⁶ With regard to this inscription, there are two seemingly contradictory pieces of evidence to consider. On the one hand, five finger rings found around there decorated with spirals most probably dating back to the 8th and 7th B.C. have corresponding items at the Spartan sanctuary of Orthia, which leads us to suggest⁴⁷ that some local tastes were more similar to patterns also observed in the Eurotas valley⁴⁸. On the other hand, the alphabet seems to mix Laconian and Argive elements: did the movement of people who were accustomed to the Laconian or Argive alphabet lead to the emergence in Cynuria of a hybrid alphabet composed of elements from several local alphabets that at some point acquired their own unique local characteristics? The porosity of borders between Cynuria and Laconia in Archaic times can be an explanation of this familiarity⁴⁹:

Perspectives, London, Duckworth, 1999, pp. 147-188, esp. p. 178; NAFISSI, cit., pp. 132-133.

43 PAVLIDES, cit., p. 281, fig. 1.

44 IG V 1, 928: Μεν[οί]τι[ο]ς ἀνέθεκε τοῖ Πυθαίῳ.

45 JEFFERY, cit., p. 200 no. 36. See also Konstantinos A. RHOMAIOS, «Ἐρευνα ἐν Κυνουρίᾳ», *Prakt* (1911), pp. 253-279.

46 Karl A. NEUGEBAUER, «Reifarchaische Bronzevasen mit Zungenmuster», in *MDAI, Römische Abteilung*, 38-39 (1923-1924), 341-44, 369.

47 Gabriel BERNARDO, «Archaic bronze votives from Argolis and the east coast of Laconia», forthcoming.

48 Gabriel BERNARDO, «Archaic bronze votives from Argolis and the east coast of Laconia», forthcoming.

49 Needless to say, the permeability of borders after the Archaic era should be examined in light of fortifications (see e.g. by William K. PRITCHETT, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, vol. III, Berkeley-Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1980, pp. 105-110 and 135-138; Jacqueline CHRISTIEN, Théodore SPYROPOULOS, «Eua et la Thyréatide: topographie et histoire», *BCH*, 109 (1985), pp. 455-466; Jacqueline CHRISTIEN, «Promenade en Laconie», *DHA*, 15, 1 (1989), pp. 76-80; PHAKLARES, cit.; Yvonne C. GOESTER, «The Plain of Astros: A Survey», *Pharos*, 1 (1993), pp. 39-112; Graham SHIPLEY, «Site catalogue of the survey», in W. Cavanagh, J. Crowwel, R.W.V. Catling, G. Shipley (Eds.), *Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape: The Laconia Survey II. Archaeological Data*, London, 1996, pp. 315-438; Graham SHIPLEY, «Archaeological Sites in Laconia and the Thyreatis», in W. Cavanagh, J. Crowwel, R. W. V. Catling, G. Shipley (Eds.), *Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape. The Laconia Survey, II, Archaeological Data*, London, 1996, pp. 263-313; Graham SHIPLEY, «The Extent of Spartan Territory in the Late Classical and Hellenistic Periods», *BSA*, 95 (2000), pp. 367-390; Jacqueline CHRIS-

Cynuria was a region with enough permeability for meaningful interregional connection to emerge. From the perspective of Argos as well as from the perspective of Sparta Cynuria is a borderland, but economic and ritual cross-border activities were intensive and this may explain that despite the frequency of conflicts no short periods in which this land is permanently controlled by the Spartans or Argives exist:⁵⁰ control over it was made less arduous by established and lasting forms of cross-border cooperation that on the one hand fostered integration and on the other did not obliterate the continued frequentation by individuals from the city that had lost control over it. Spartanized or Argivized Cynuria was easier to stabilize because of previous borders' porosity and cross-border activities.

4. *Cross-border cooperation as a tool for stabilization?*

Some preliminary remarks

The three case studies presented seem to indicate that starting to study cross-border relations not only with reference to contemporary Europe but also with reference to the ancient Greeks could be of some interest. The cases of Oiantheia, Tithorea and Cynuria show not only the significance of even informal cross-border relations but also their potential in relation to dynamics of territorial control and in certain cases even expansion. The penetration of the Aetolians into Ozolian Locris as well as the extension of the Boeotian influence into Phocis and the alternately Argive or Spartan control of Cynuria are facilitated by cross-border relations that in some cases may even have formed the underlying constant sometimes interrupted, and only partially and temporarily, by conflict.

TIEN, Bernard LEGRAS (dir.), *Sparte hellénistique – IVe-IIIe siècles avant notre ère*, Besançon, Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2014; Jacqueline CHRISTIEN, «Roads and Quarries in Laconia», in A. Powell (Ed.), *A Companion to Sparta* (2 vols), Hoboken (NJ), Blackwell, 2018, pp. 615-642; Claire BALANDIER, Matthieu GUINTRAND, «L'apport de la teichologie à l'étude historique d'une région», *BCH*, 143, 1 (2019), pp. 425-445 (with further literature).

50 For example, no battles for Cynuria are documented between the battle of Sepeia (Hdt.6.75-81) and the negotiation conducted on the eve of the battle of Mantinea in 418 (Thuk.5.40-41); or between this negotiation and the arbitration of Philip II (Polyb.9.28.7; Paus.2.20.1).

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So called Missorium of Kerch, 4th century Found: Bosporan Necropolis, vault on the Gordikov estate. Near Kerch, the Crypt in the North-Eastern Slope of Mount Mithridates, 1891 This silver dish was a diplomatic gift from the Byzantine Emperor to a representative of the Bosporan government. In this fine example of the early Byzantine art traditional Classical themes are combined with a new artistic style. The vessel shows a composition typical of Roman coins: the Emperor on horseback is piercing the enemy with a spear. The rider was usually accompanied by one or several warriors and Nike crowning the winner. In contrast to the Classical composition showing the final scene of a battle, here we see the scene of triumph: Emperor Constantius II sits on a horse, triumphantly raising his spear. To emphasize the Emperor's highest rank and divine power, the artist used special pictorial devices including, for example, the distortion of proportions. The images were produced by a chisel. Part of the ornamentation is nielloed. The outer surface is gilded and a loop is soldered onto it. Hermitage Museum. Saint Petersburg. CC BY-SA 4.0 (Wikimedia Commons).

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