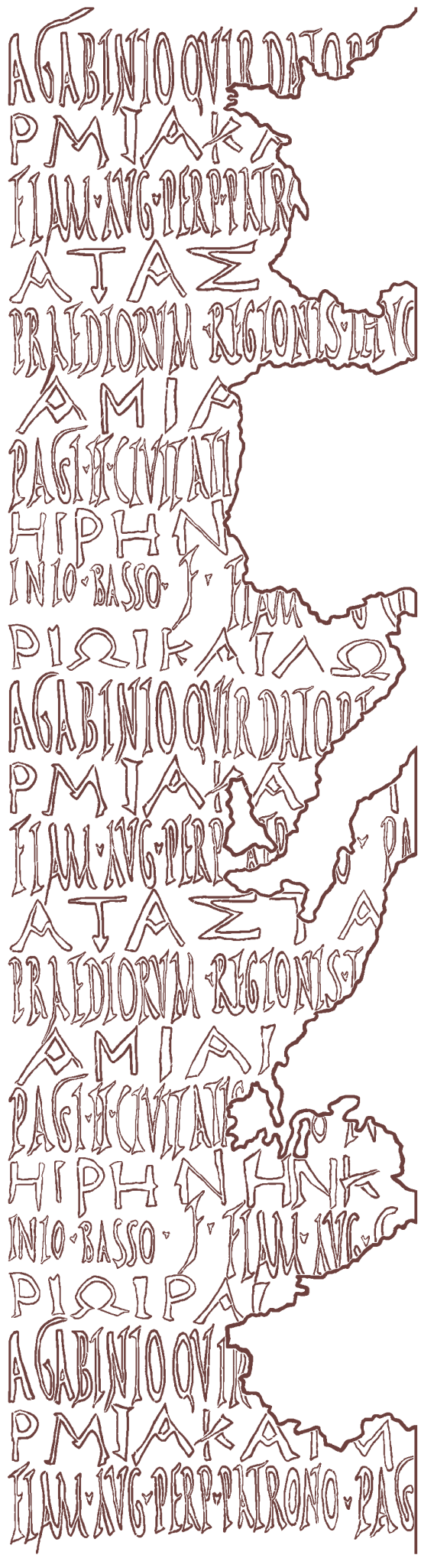

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ON THE CHARACTER OF KASMENAI

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Résumé. – Au cours du siècle dernier, les travaux universitaires sur Kasmenai ont largement suivi l'idée que la colonie grecque avait été fondée en tant qu'avant-poste militaire pour assurer la sécurité et l'avancée en force de Syracuse contre les populations siciliennes locales. Cette croyance a grand besoin d'être réévaluée à travers des réanalyses de preuves récentes de la Sicile grecque dans son ensemble et de Kasmenai lui-même. Nous présentons ici des arguments contre les principaux points de la position traditionnelle, et nous montrons que l'implantation de Monte Casale n'était pas différente d'autres sites grecs siciliens qui ont évolué au fil des contextes sociaux, politiques et économiques.

Abstract. – Over the past century, scholarly work on Kasmenai has largely followed the view that the Greek settlement was founded as a military outpost for the security and forceful advancement of Syracuse against the local Sicilian populations. This belief is in dire need of reassessment through reanalyses of recent evidence of Greek Sicily as a whole and Kasmenai itself. Presented here are arguments against the main talking points of the traditional stance, with a case that the settlement at Monte Casale was not unlike other Greek Sicilian sites that evolved through the social, political and economic contexts.

Mots-clés. – Kasmenai, Syracuse, Monte Casale, colonisation, fondations secondaires, offrandes votives.

Keywords. – Kasmenai, Syracuse, Monte Casale, colonisation, secondary foundations, votive offerings.

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INTRODUCTION

In a recent article, I addressed the effect of the colonialist mentality of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries on Archaic period south-east Sicily (Fig. 1).[1] In this I argue against the historians and archaeologists of a century ago and their predilection to assign characteristics of military value onto the movements of Syracuse and the placement of its settlements, Heloros (c. 700 BC), Akrai (664 BC) and Kasmenai (644 BC).[2] Collectively, their viewpoints render the expansion of Syracuse a forceful, almost imperial, act wherein these settlements placed across south-east Sicily were all fortresses for the purpose of claiming land from 'culturally inferior' populations and defending from the expansionist policies of rival Greek states. Despite recent reanalyses, this view remains accepted. Instead, I proposed that the expansion of Syracuse across the region was motivated by wealth through the acquisition of land, as a marker of social status, and participation in the already well-established trade routes flourishing through the island and the Mediterranean. This included peaceful relations, cooperation and integration with non-Greek populations. For reason of space limitations, I feel my position was not thoroughly argued for Kasmenai as a non-military settlement, and so here I return, expanding upon (and keeping in mind) my contention against a military penchant. My previous arguments over colonialist and Hellenocentric bias will not be reintroduced, instead focusing on Kasmenai and the literary, historical and archaeological evidence.

The status of Kasmenai within the Syracusan settlements begins with literary evidence,[3] or the lack thereof. There is no mention of an οἰκιστής and, coupled with the fact that the settlement never minted their own coinage, is evidence enough to some that Kasmenai was nothing more than a 'subcolony'.[4] This 'subcolonial' role of Kasmenai has long been branded as one of a

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1. J. Lancaster, «Reassessing Syracusan 'Colonisation' in Archaic Period South-East Sicily», *Ancient West & East*, Forthcoming.

2. The most noteworthy of which include: L. Bernabò Brea, *Akrai*, Catania 1956, p. 4-21; A. Di Vita, «La penetrazione siracusana nella Sicilia sud-orientale alla luce delle più recenti scoperte archeologiche», *Kokalos* 2, 1956; R. Martin, P. Pelagatti, G. Vallet, G. Voza, «Le città greche» in E. Gabba, G. Vallet eds., *La Sicilia Antica. I,3: Città greche ed indigene di Sicilia*, Palermo 1980, p. 483-705; G. Voza, *Nel segno dell'antico: archaeologia nel territorio di Siracusa*, Palermo 1999; P. Anello, «L'ambiente greco» in F. Cordano, M. Di Salvatore eds., *Il Guerriero di Castiglione di Ragusa: Greci e Siculi nella Sicilia sud-orientale. Atti del Seminario, Milano 15 maggio 2000*, Roma 2002, p. 59-76; D. Erdas, «Forme di stanziamento militare e organizzazione del territorio nel mondo Greco: i casi di Casmene e Brea» in *Guerra e pace in Sicilia e nel Mediterraneo antico (VIII-III sec. a.C.). Arte, prassi e teoria della pace e della guerra*, Pisa 2006, p. 45-55; F. Collura, *Kasmenai. Note sull'urbanistica di una città-fortezza.* [Online] Available at: http://www.academia.edu/2157864/Kasmenai._Note_sullurbanistica_di_una_citta-fortezza [Accessed 2021], 2012; F. Collura, «Kasmenai (Monte Casale), una colonia militare in cima agli Iblei. Note sull'urbanistica e la cronologia dell'abitato», *Cronache di Archaeologia* 39, 2020, p. 63-101.

3. Namely Thuc. VI.5.2.

4. A. Di Vita, «Tucidide VI 5 e l'epicrazia siracusana. Acre, Casmene, Camarina», *Kokalos* 33, 1987, p. 80; F. Collura 2020, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 65. On this debate, see F. Copani, «Acre e Casmene: L'espansione siracusana sui Monti Iblei», *Quaderni di acme* 109, 2009, p. 17-18.

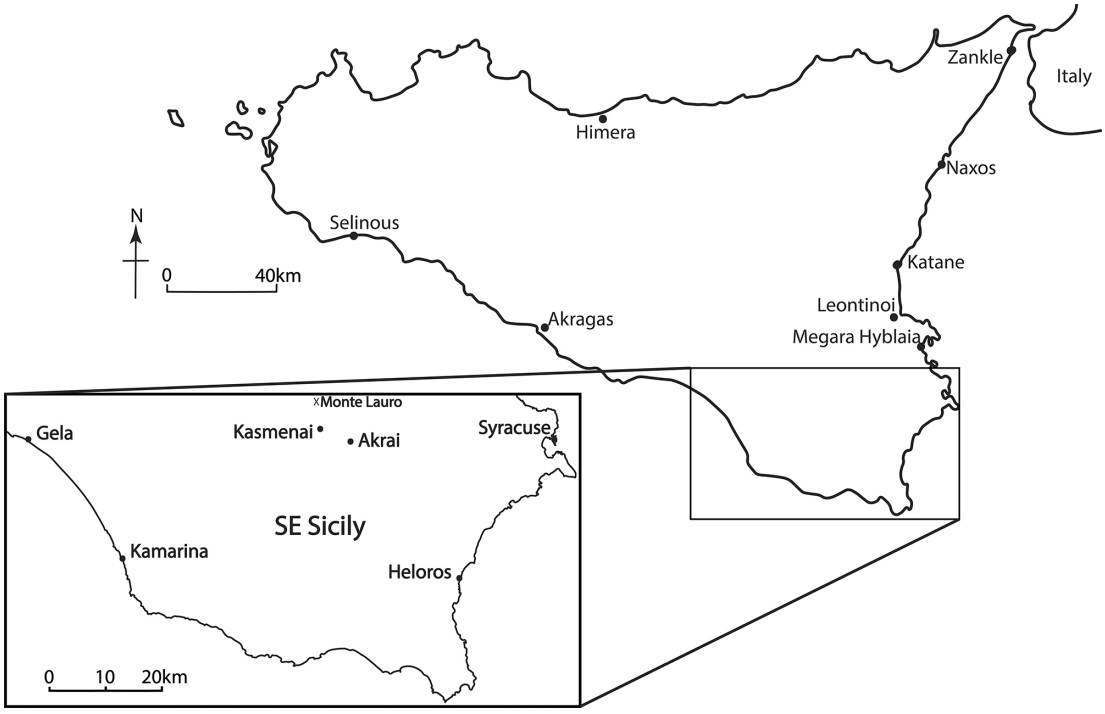

Figure 1: map of Sicily and south-east with places mentioned in text. Author.

fortress or stronghold;[5] some even take it a step further labelling the site as a φρούριον.[6] This term is undoubtedly militaristic in nature, evident through its Classical literary connection to

5. P. Orsi, «Campagne di scavi nella Sicilia orientale nel 1930», *BA* 10, 1930, p. 144; P. Orsi, «Notiziario archeologico sulla Sicilia orientale», *Il Mondo Classico* 1, 1931, p. 51; A. Di Vita 1956, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 190, 193-194; R. Martin, «Problémes d'urbanisme dans les cités grecques de sicile. Comunicazione di R. Martin (Paris)», *Kokalos* 18-19, 1972-1973, p. 359; D. Asheri, «La colonizzazione greca» in E. Gabba, G. Vallet eds., *La Sicilia antica. I,1: Indigeni, Fenici-Punici e Greci*, Napoli 1979, p. 123; R. Martin, P. Pelagatti, G. Vallet, G. Voza, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 530-531; A. Marotta D'Agata, D. Moreschini, «Monte Casale» in G. Nenci, G. Vallet eds., *Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirreniche*, Pisa 1992, p. 291; A. Muggia, *L'area di rispetto nelle colonie magno-greche e siceliote,* Palermo 1997, p. 34; P. Anello, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 68; T. Fischer-Hansen, T. Nielsen, C. Ampolo, «Sikelia» in M. Hansen, T. Nielsen eds., *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis: An Investigation Conducted by The Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish National Research Foundation*, Oxford 2004, p, 205; M. Hansen, «A Typology of Dependent Poleis» in M. Hansen, T. Nielsen eds., *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis: An Investigation Conducted by The Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish National Research Foundation*, Oxford 2004, p. 87, 92; F. Copani 2009, *op. cit*. n. 4, p. 15-20; F. Collura 2012, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 2.

6. A. Di Vita 1956, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 189; D. Erdas 2006, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 46; M. De Luna, «Camarina sub-colonia di siracusa: dalla fondazione al conflitto» in M. Lombardo, F. Frisone eds., *Colonie di colonie: le fondazioni sub-coloniali greche tra colonizzazione e colonialismo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Lecce, 22-24 giugno 2006)*, Galatina (Lecce) 2009, p. 77; F. Collura 2020, *op. cit*. n. 2.

the verb τειχίζειν (to build a wall) with synonymous usage to τεῖχος (wall), τείχισμα (wall) and ἐπιτείχισμα (fort).[7] Φρούρια could be defensive in nature, an aspect I do not dismiss, but this is not the prevailing view in studies of the site over the past century.[8] Instead, the perception of Kasmenai has followed that of Di Vita since his 1956 summary of the 'penetrazione siracusana nella Sicilia sud-orientale' in which the settlement served to claim the area from the local Sikel populations while furthering the westward progression of Syracuse.[9] In this, the 'φρούριον' of Kasmenai was a guard against any non-Greeks that may become a nuisance.[10] This limits the role of nearby Sikels to one of adversary or conquered.[11] Arguments given previously, however, provide ample evidence of a more symbiotic relationship between the Greeks and Sikels, casting doubt on the military function of the settlement.[12] The Copenhagen Polis Centre defines Kasmenai as a fortress;[13] yet, their entire argument is given in a single sentence of reference to Di Vita, who centres his argument around the same characterising factors as subsequent publications: geography, perimeter fortifications, an ordered urban plan and, most importantly, votive offerings of a military nature.[14] These aspects form the basis of my previous and the following refutation, contending that Kasmenai was not a φρούριον but a settlement (at the very least evolving into an independent πόλις) devoid of purely military obligations.

Geography

Monte Casale, the plateau on which Kasmenai was settled, elicits arguments surrounding its topography and that around it.[15] Its location is within the Hyblaean Mountains, four kilometres south of the peak of Monte Lauro, and the plateau itself is surrounded by steep elevation

7. T. Nielsen («Phrourion. A Note on the Term in Classical Sources and in Diodorus Siculus» in T. Nielsen ed., *Even More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 6*, Stuttgart 2002, p. 49-51) references many of these etymological connections as found throughout the works of Thucydides and Xenophon. Cf. V. Lo Monaco, «Phrourion: History and Archaeology of a Word», *História (São Paulo)* 39, 2020.

8. Cf. F. Collura 2020, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 63, 68-69.

9. A. Di Vita 1956, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 190. First put forward by Orsi («Miscellanea sicula», *Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana* 48, 1928, p. 77-78; 1930, *op. cit*. n. 5, p. 144; 1931, *op. cit*. n. 5, p. 51) and most recently repeated by Collura (2020, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 64).

10. Cf. M. Jonasch, «The military landscape of Greek Sicily» in M. Jonasch ed., *The Fight for Greek Sicily. Society, Politics, and Landscape*, Oxford 2020, p. 189.

11. D. Asheri, *op. cit.* n. 2, p. 120.

12. J. Lancaster Forthcoming, *op. cit.* n. 1.

13. T. Fischer-Hansen, T. Nielsen, C. Ampolo, *op. cit*. n. 5, p. 205; M. Hansen 2004, *op. cit*. n. 5, p. 87, 92.

14. D. Erdas, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 46; F. Collura 2020, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 92. Although, Di Vita («Town Planning in the Greek Colonies of Sicily from the Time of their Foundations to the Punic Wars» in J. Descœudres ed., *Greek Colonists and Native Populations. Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology Held in Honour of Emeritus Professor A. D. Trendall, Sydney 9-14 July 1985*, Oxford 1990, p. 350) does not mention the votive offerings. Cf. R. Albanese Procelli, «Sul deposito votivo di Monte Casale in Sicilia» in S. Bouffier, A. Hermary eds., *L'Occident grec de Marseille à Mégara Hyblaea. Hommages à Henri Tréziny.* Aix-en-Provence 2013, p. 229-230.

15. Most recently A. Marotta D'Agata, D. Moreschini, *op. cit*. n. 5; T. Fischer-Hansen, T. Nielsen, C. Ampolo, *op. cit*. n. 5, p. 205; F. Collura 2012, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 2-3; F. Collura 2020 *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 69.

drops of over 100 m (Fig. 2). Nearby are the sources of the rivers Anapo and Tellaro, which lead to the sea near Syracuse and Heloros respectively, and the Irminio which served as the border of Kamarina territory.[16] While just 12 km to the southeast sits Akrai, that settlement's location on the edge of a cliff overlooking the Tellaro river valley to its west supports the view to Akrai's χώρα extending eastward while the land to the west would be more easily controlled by Kasmenai. Monte Casale is only readily accessible on its western end, forming a geological peninsula amongst the hills and river valleys. What arguments of Kasmenai focus upon is the fortress-like stature this peninsula would have had when fortified: 'un caposaldo inespugnabile' indeed.[17]

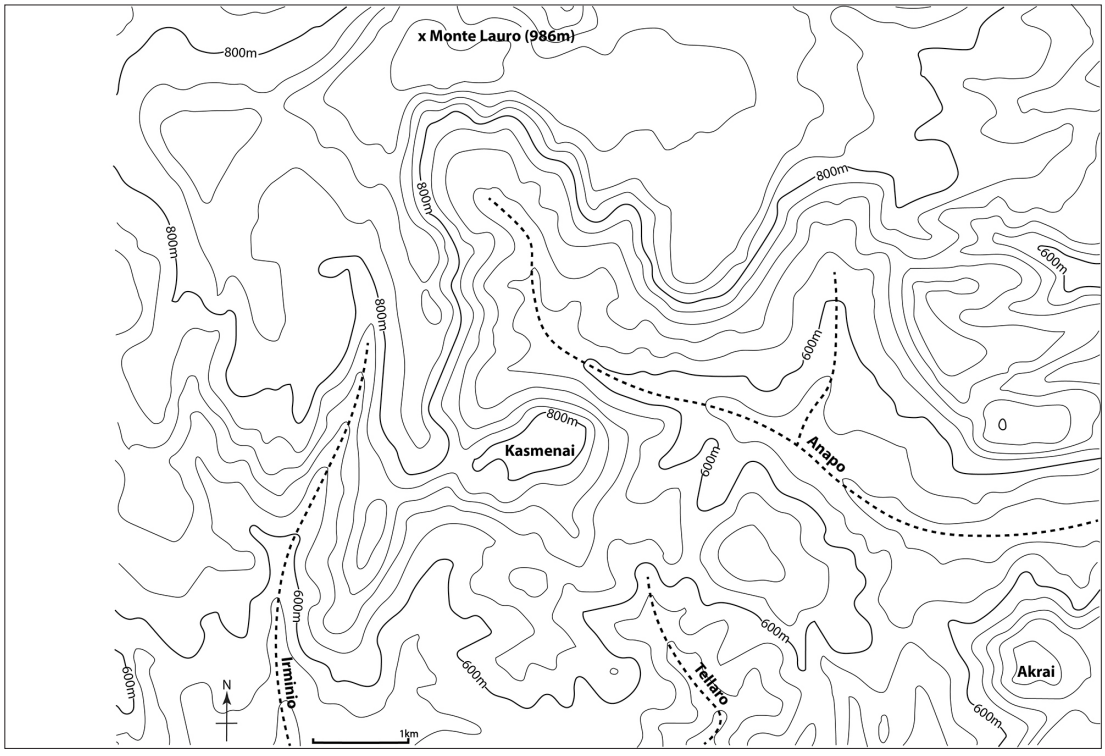

Figure 2: topography of Kasmenai (centre) and surrounding area with Akrai (bottom-right corner), Monte Lauro (top) and Anapo, Irminio and Tellaro rivers (dashed lines). Redrawn by Author from Google Maps.

Yet, establishing a community on a plateau is not inherently followed by strong fortifications and a military population. In fact, an easily defensible position was a traditional value of Greek settlements and their ancestors through the centuries.[18] It is not unreasonable

16. Dion. Hal. *Pomp.* V.4.
17. A. Di Vita 1956, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 190.
18. R. Frederiksen, *Greek City Walls of the Archaic Period: 900 - 480 BC*, Oxford 2011, p. 50-53.

to believe the acropolis at Athens was, at the very least, sparsely utilized in the Neolithic period.[19] The same could be said of Acrocorinth.[20] In Archaic Sicily, Gela (688 BC) began in its occupation of a long hill and acropolis, Himera (648 BC) likely started on the coast but quickly subsumed the nearby plateau, Selinous (651/628 BC) was founded on a coastal hill with the acropolis nearest the sea and Akragas (c. 580 BC) on a hilltop overlooking a coastal plain.[21] The island of Ortygia, home of the initial settlement of Syracuse, is only accessible by a bridge connected to the mainland, providing ample defence from land-based attacks. Akrai, established twenty years prior to Kasmenai, is well guarded on three sides by cliff edge.[22] In all of these instances a location of elevation or natural defence became an important factor in the placement of a settlement, but one cannot label all of these military settlements or φρούρια.

Before confirmation of Monte Casale as Kasmenai, Orsi pushed the harsh environmental conditions of the plateau as a deterrent to traditional settlement: 'dove nell'estate il sole picchia inesorabile (vi è un solo albero) e dove d'inverno imperversano le bufere e domina il ghiaccio.'[23] This point is still argued,[24] even though Orsi himself acknowledged that conditions must have been better millennia ago.[25] In fact, literary and archaeobotanical evidence indicate the Sicilian environment was likely not as harsh as Orsi describes. Pollen evidence of central and western Sicily point to heavily forested land prior to the arrival of the Greeks.[26] Monte Casale itself has provided evidence of a Sikel settlement prior to the Greeks, further demonstrating the plateau was far from uninhabitable.[27] While not dismissing entirely the proposal of unfriendly environs on the plateau millennia ago, in the end, geographical conditions at Kasmenai do not point to an environment that would only be suitable for a military outpost. The location is traditional in a secure and well natured site for a Greek settlement.[28]

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19. J. Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis. History, Mythology, and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present*, Cambridge 1999, p. 68.

20. J. Lavezzi, «Corinth before the Mycenaeans», *Corinth* 20, 2003, p. 63-74.

21. S. Vassallo, *Himera: Città greca; Guida alla storia e ai monumenti*, Palermo 2005; A, Domínguez, «Greeks in Sicily» in G. Tsetskhladze ed., *Greek colonisation: An account of Greek colonies and other settlements overseas*, Boston 2006, p. 281, 295-296, 303-304, 306-309; A. Burgio, O. Belvedere, *Carta archeologica e Sistema informativo Territoriale del Parco archeologico e paesaggistico di Agrigento*, Palermo 2012; F. De Angelis, *Archaic and Classical Greek Sicily. A Social and Economic History*, New York 2016, p. 71-82.

22. Akrai has been deemed a φρούριον itself, a view I also oppose (J. Lancaster Forthcoming, *op. cit.* n. 1.); cf. M. Jonasch, *op. cit*. n. 10, p. 190, 195.

23. P. Orsi 1930, *op. cit*. n. 5, p. 144. Cf. P. Orsi 1931, *op. cit*. n. 5, p. 51; A. Di Vita 1956, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 189.

24. G. Voza, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 141; F. Collura 2012, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 2; F. Collura 2020, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 71.

25. P. Orsi 1928, *op. cit*. n. 9, p. 75-76.

26. H.-P. Stika, A. Heiss, B. Zach, «Plant remains from the early Iron Age in western Sicily: differences in subsistence strategies of Greek and Elymian sites», *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 17, 2008, p. 147; F. De Angelis, «Re-assessing the Earliest Social and Economic Developments in Greek Sicily», *MDAI(R)* 116, 2010, p. 33; F. De Angelis 2016, *op. cit*. n. 21, p. 230.

27. P. Orsi 1928, *op. cit*. n. 9, p. 77; P. Orsi 1931, *op. cit*. n. 5, p. 50; R. Martin, P. Pelagatti, G. Vallet, G. Voza, *op. cit*. n.2, p. 530; R. Albanese Procelli, *op. cit*. n. 14, p. 236.

28. M. Jonasch, *op. cit*. n. 10, p. 194.

An additional point arises in the etymological analysis of the settlement's name. Kasmenai has been connected linguistically to Indo-European origins shared by Latins and indigenous Sicilians, specifically the water nymph Camenae.[29] This is fitting given its geographical location near the sources of the rivers Anapo, Irminio, and Tellaro. The Greeks were not hesitant to adopt local linguistics within their own lexicon. The name of the island, «Sicily», has its roots in Near Eastern and Egyptian sources from the second millennium BC.[30] Zankle, founded by the Euboeans and Chalcidians, derives its name from a Sikel word for 'sickle'.[31] Hermokrates invokes the term 'Σῐκελιώτης' in arguing for a communal identity among the Sicilian Greeks prior to the Athenian invasion of Sicily.[32] This is not done within any negative or demeaning posture, but instead with pride and acceptance of the historical and cultural background of the island from which he belonged. The Sicilian roots of 'Kasmenai' must equally express an acceptance, not dominance or subjugation, of the cultural environment in which it was founded.

Fortifications

Although naturally defensible, a 'φρούριον' would not be complete without a wall surrounding it. That surely must be to what the fortified remains at Kasmenai attest. At least that is the prevalent opinion, and with this comes the view that the walls were constructed upon the foundation of the settlement.[33] Yet, there has been no successful dating of the fortifications to confirm this. A sixth-century dating has been offered based on the rebellion of Kamarina in 552 BC.[34] However, for a military settlement, a century seems too long to wait for a permanent defence.

In fact, that permanent fortresses or φρούρια were commonplace, or simply present, in Archaic period Sicily cannot be confirmed.[35] The term φρούριον, or its cognates, appear often in Thucydides' account of the Peloponnesian War, but as a temporary measure within war

29. F. Copani 2009, *op. cit*. n. 4, p. 18-20.

30. P. Poccetti, «Language Relations in Sicily. Evidence for the speech of the Σικανοί, the Σικελοί and others» in O. Tribulato ed., *Language and Linguistic Contact in Ancient Sicily*, Cambridge 2012, p. 51-55.

31. Thuc. VI.4.5.

32. Thuc. IV.64.2-3. L. Donnellan, «Apollo mediating identities in ancient Greek Sicily», *BABesch* 87, 2012, p. 180; M. Lombardo, «Greek colonization: small and large islands», *MHR* 27, 2012, p. 79.

33. D. Adamesteanu, «Quadro storico delle fortificazioni greche della Sicilia e della Magna Grecia» in P. Leriche, H. Tréziny eds., *La Fortification dans l'histoire du monde grec, Actes du colloque internationale, Valbonne, décembre 1982*, Paris 1986, p. 110; T. Fischer-Hansen, T. Nielsen, C. Ampolo, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 205; R. Frederiksen, *op. cit*. n. 18, p. 155; F. Collura 2020, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 74.

34. A. Marotta D'Agata, D. Moreschini, *op. cit*. n. 5, p. 290; M. Miller, *Befestigungsanlagen in Italien vom 8. bis 3. Jahrhundert vor Christus*, Hamburg 1995, p. 261. The same has been proposed for the walls at Akrai and Heloros (J. Lancaster Forthcoming, *op. cit.* n. 1).

35. R. Frederiksen, *op. cit*. n. 18, p. 15; M. Jonasch, *op. cit*. n. 10, p. 203-204.

actions.[36] It gains its meaning as a fortified post only in the fourth century BC.[37] It is difficult to reconcile the war-time actions of Classical Athens in Greece with the expansion policies of Archaic Syracuse in Sicily.[38] Further, interpreting the movements of the Greeks from ancient sources can be problematic at best, especially Thucydides.[39]

Even then, the presence of fortifications does not prove an aggressive, militaristic settlement but rather a characteristic of the Greek πόλις.[40] Archaic period fortifications are not unheard of and may have been more common than is currently known.[41] The acropolis of Athens was fortified by c. 632 BC when Kylon took refuge after his attempted coup,[42] while Corinth, the mother city of Syracuse, was constructing walls in the late seventh century BC.[43] In Sicily, the walls in Megara Hyblaia demonstrate three phases of construction, the first in the late eighth century BC, the second c. 600 BC, and the third in the late sixth century; the three phases at Naxos date to the second half seventh century, second quarter sixth century and c. 500 BC.[44] Sixth century dating is also found for fortifications on the acropoleis of Gela and Selinous.[45] This demonstrates a precedent of Greek settlements fortifying themselves throughout the seventh and sixth centuries, and it is likely that space was set aside for fortifications from the earliest days of town planning, even if their construction did not immediately follow.[46]

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36. M. Jonasch, *op. cit*. n. 10, p. 204 n. 109; V. Lo Monaco, *op. cit*. n. 7, p. 3.

37. H. Tréziny, «Fortifications grecques et fortifications indigènes dans l'Occident grec» in H. Tréziny ed. *Grecs et Indigènes de la Catalogne à la Mer Nord*, Paris 2010, p. 560, V. Lo Monaco, *op. cit*. n. 7, p. 9.

38. V. Lo Monaco, *op. cit*. n. 7, p. 4-5.

39. E. Sjöqvist, *Sicily and the Greeks.* Ann Arbor 1973, p. 15-16; J. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece: 900-700 BC²,* London 2003, p. 223; T. Hodos, *Local Responses to Colonization in the Iron Age Mediterranean*, London 2006, p. 92; I. Malkin, *A Small Greek World. Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean.* Oxford 2011, p. 102-103; A. Morakis, «Thucydides and the character of Greek colonisation in Sicily», *CQ* 61, 2011, p. 463-467; F. De Angelis 2016, *op. cit*. n. 21, p. 39. Cf. J. Lancaster Forthcoming, *op. cit.* n. 1.

40. J. McK. Camp II, «Walls and the Polis» in P. Flensted-Jensen, M.H. Hansen, T.H. Nielsen, L. Rubinstein eds., *Polis & Politics: Studies in Ancient Greek History*, Copenhagen 2000, p. 49.

41. R. Frederiksen, *op. cit*. n. 18, p. 8-9; M. Jonasch, *op. cit*. n. 10, p. 195.

42. Thuc. I.126.7. R. Frederiksen, *supra*, p. 22, 31. Let alone the Mycenaean construction (S. Iakovidis, *The Mycenaean Acropolis of Athens*, Athens 2006).

43. And Acrocorinth was likely fortified to some extent in the Archaic period. R. Frederiksen, *supra*, p. 135.

44. H. Tréziny, «Les Fortifications grecques en Occident à l'époque classique (491-322 av. J.-C.)», *Pallas* 51, 1999, p. 241-242; H. Tréziny, «Les Fortifications archaïques» in M.Gras, H. Tréziny, H. Broise eds., *Megara Hyblaea 5: La ville archaïque: L'espace urbain d'une cité grecque de Sicilie orientale*, Rome 2004, p. 237-301; R. Frederiksen, *supra*, p. 162-163, 173-174.

45. R. Frederiksen, *supra*, p. 143, 185-186.

46. F. De Angelis 2016, *op. cit*. n. 21, p. 78-80, 92.

Additionally, the presence of fortifications can also serve social and political functions.[47] A seventh century BC wall at Leontinoi demarcated new boundaries of the community, reworking the use of the urban and bordering spaces and forming a new physical and political identity within the region.[48] At Monte Saraceno di Ravanusa, a sixth century fortification around the acropolis excludes two areas of residential inhabitation, and, because extending the wall around the inhabited area would not have been difficult, this has been interpreted as a defining of the physical and sacred community centre.[49] It has been proposed that a Late Archaic wall at Eryx was part of a process to politically reidentify itself as a πόλις.[50] The fifth century fortification of the Epipolae area of Syracuse came in response to the Athenian Siege of 414 BC. Dionysius I wanted principally to boost the defences of the city, but the walls also served as an 'area di rispetto', discussed further below.[51]

At Kasmenai, remains indicate a line of fortifications following the plateau edge that include at least one gate (although likely more) and assume the presence of towers (Fig. 3). Also present are a short wall near the temple in the south-west sector and a long interior wall running north-northwest/south-southeast, almost splitting the plateau into equal east and west halves. This latter interior wall does not run the entire width of the site, instead turning east for a short distance before terminating near the southern edge of the plateau. Initial examinations have immediately led to an aggressive nature for the presence of such structures. Yet, the dearth of information on the size and dating of these defenses ultimately limit interpretation. While one can presume military motives for their construction, these walls can equally possess socio-political purposes.[52] That the fortifications prove Kasmenai as a military colony has been entirely justified based on the preconceived perception of the site itself. 'The presence of walls alone cannot determine military function, for if this were the case, all *poleis* protected by a wall should also be considered fortresses at the same time.'[53]

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47. Y. Garlan, «Les fortifications grecques; bilan et persepctives de recherche» in P. Leriche, H. Tréziny eds., *op. cit*. n. 33, p. 15-21; S. De Vido, «Epilogue: war and society in Greek Sicily» in M. Jonasch ed., *op. cit*. n. 10, p. 345. Cf. S. Müth, E. Laufer, C. Brasse, «Symbolische Funktionen antiker Befestigungen» in S. Müth, P.I. Schneider, M. Schnelle, P. De Staebler eds., *Ancient Fortifications. A Compendium of Theory and Practice*, Oxford 2016, p. 126-158.

48. M. Frasca, «War and society in Greek Leontinoi» in M. Jonasch ed., *op. cit*. n. 10, p. 276-277.

49. M. Jonasch, *op. cit*. n. 10, p. 198-199.

50. S. De Vincenzo, «The city walls of Eryx and the sociopolitical conflicts in western Sicily before the Roman conquest» in M. Jonasch ed., *op. cit*. n. 10, p. 292-291.

51. V. Mignosa, «When war changes a city. Fortifications and urban landscapes in tyrant-ruled Syracuse» in M. Jonasch ed., *op. cit*. n. 10, p. 266-267.

52. Y. Garlan, *op. cit*. n. 47; S. De Vido, *op. cit*. n. 47.

53. V. Lo Monaco, *op. cit*. n. 7, p. 4.

Urban Centre

The urban layout of Kasmenai is notably unique in its lack of central πλατεῖα across the entire plateau, argued as a defensive construct to limit the effectiveness of an enemy invasion and accommodate as many 'citizen-soldiers' as possible.[54] This is proof to Erdas of Greek strategic town-planning discussed by Aristotle, albeit three centuries after the foundation of Kasmenai.[55] If indeed some strategy can be found in the absence of a central πλατεῖα, a defensive motive seems plausible and would follow the traditional aspects of security found in Greek settlements of the Archaic period such as natural geography and fortifications. What does not seem plausible is the effectiveness of such an urban plan for the speedy assembly

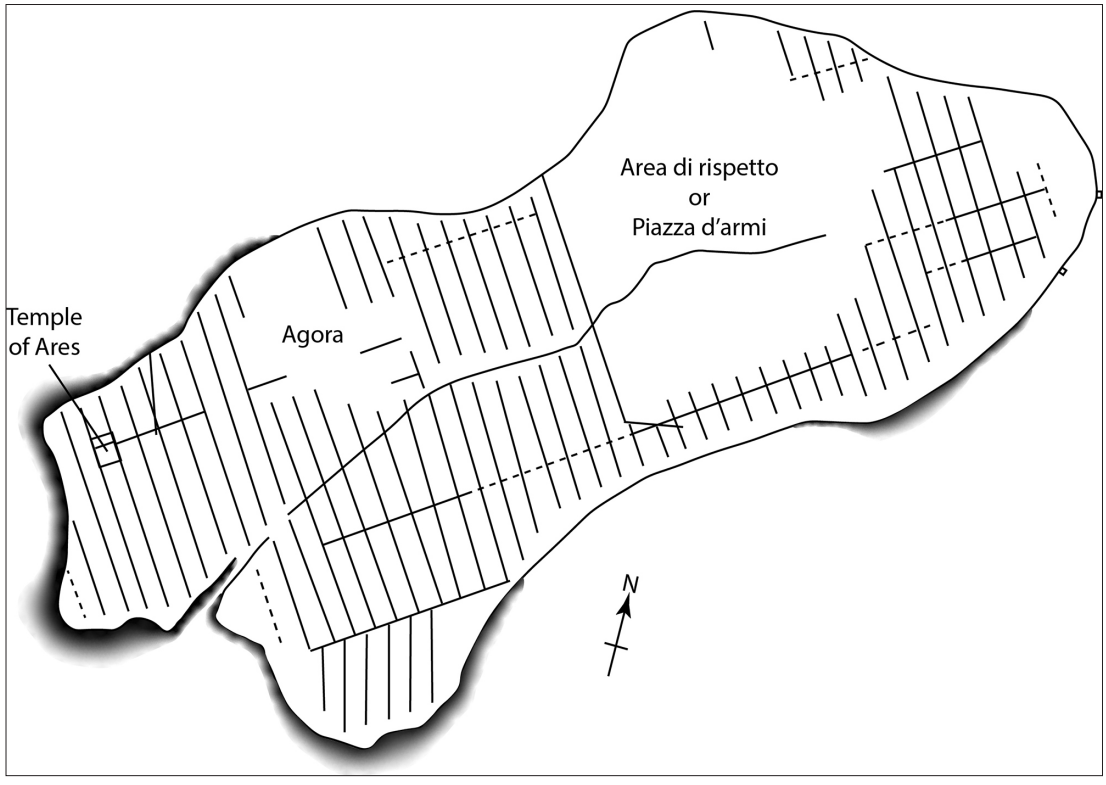

Figure 3: urban plan of Kasmenai. Redrawn from Collura (2020 op. cit. n. 3, p. 77) with additions by author. No scale provided in original text.

54. A. Di Vita, «L'urbanistica» in G. Pugliese Carratelli ed., *Sikanie. Storia e civiltà della Sicilia greca*, Milano 1986, p. 359-414; A. Di Vita 1990, *op. cit*. n. 14, p. 350; A. Di Vita, «Urbanistica della Sicilia greca» in G. Pugliese Carratelli ed., *I Greci in occidente*, Milano 1996, p. 263-308.; F. Collura 2012, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 14, although possible πλατεῖαι locations are suggested which he finds in F. Collura 2020, *op. cit*. n. 2.

55. Arist., *Pol.* VII.1326b. D. Erdas, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 49.

of soldiers in defence of a territory. One would suppose that limiting access across the site exclusively via small alleyways would prove to be a hindrance, especially as it can be expected that these routes were crowded with paraphernalia of daily Greek living.

A recent re-examination of the plateau of Monte Casale has brought about a more extensive view of the site (Fig. 3). In a multi-year study using aerial and satellite photography with ground survey and verification, Collura has immeasurably advanced our understanding of the urban layout and evolution of the settlement.[56] To him the new evidence from this study «conferma ancora una volta la natura stessa di Kasmenai quale colonia militare di fase arcaica.»[57] With respect for his work, I present an ulterior interpretation.

Collura has identified at least 50 distinct στενωπόι, most of which may run the width of the plateau; some exceptions are found in the southern and north-eastern districts. Connecting these are the possibility of up to 10 πλατεῖαι at various points and a pomerial road following the fortifications around the plateau edge. From the presumed main entrance of the settlement in the south-west corner, a long πλατεῖα may wind across most of the site, while another may stretch along the southern sector south of what Collura identifies as the «piazza d'armi». Within the στενωπόι are residential blocks of uniform character, which seems to persist across the settlement. Also apparent through ground survey is an open area in the north-west district surrounded by structures that may represent the community agora. This urban layout, with that known of Kasmenai to date, leads Collura to the conclusion that the settlement began as a fortress or φρούριον in the south-west corner of the plateau, and as time passed, the community expanded and the purpose of Kasmenai changed to one of a πόλις. The locations of the temple, agora and proposed πλατεῖαι would seem to support such an evolution, yet further examination suggests otherwise.

Literary and epigraphic evidence favours a Kasmenai with at least partial political autonomy in the fifth century BC. Herodotus tells us that in the first decade of that century, the γᾱμόροι, wealthy landowners from Syracuse having been expelled by a democratic uprising, took refuge at the πόλις of Kasmenai.[58] They would later return c. 485 BC when Gelon, the tyrant of Gela, took control of Syracuse. Further, a bronze plaque, uncovered last century in an unknown location near to Akrai and Monte Casale, details a list of privileges given to a group identified as the γᾱμόροι.[59] These privileges include exemption from paying taxes, right to ownership of property and participation in judicial matters. Given the Herodotean connection,

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56. F. Collura 2020, *op. cit*. n. 2.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 73-74.
58. Hdt. VII.155.2.
59. D. Erdas, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 46-47; F. Collura 2020, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 65; V. Mignosa, «Decreto per i descendenti dei gamoroi dall'area di Palazzolo Acreide», *Axon* 5, 2021, http://doi.org/10.30687/Axon/2532-6848/2021/01/001.

it can be supposed securely that the plaque refers to this event in Kasmenai history,[60] while it clearly demonstrates a community with a political identity powerful enough to grant such liberties. Further, in the mid-sixth century Kasmenai sided with Syracuse in the rebellion of Kamarina.[61] That they were specifically named in joining their metropolis in battle suggests some form of autonomy, as if the population was subjected to rule by Syracuse, then one would expect this would have been an understood fact without need of mentioning. Therefore, we have by this time at Kasmenai a community that is acting like a πόλις, not a φρούριον. The debate then moves to the beginning of the settlement and its purpose at foundation.

The development of the urban layout itself, with its system of στενωπόι and πλατεῖαι, cannot suppose distinctly a military or non-military purpose for the settlement; although judging by the fact that other Archaic Greek communities expanded as they grew (i.e. Megara Hyblaia) would reason away from aggressive tendencies. Collura argues that the ordered, cookie-cutter fashion in which the residential structures were built, persisting throughout the plateau and the existence of the settlement, is evidence of barracks for a military community.[62] This pattern of consistency from foundation, however, can be observed in the orthogonal urban layouts of many non-military Greek Sicilian settlements, such as Akragas, Himera, Megara Hyblaia, Naxos, Selinous and Syracuse.[63] Selinous, for example, founded by Megara Hyblaia in 628 BC less than two decades after Syracuse placed the settlement at Kasmenai,[64] was to be a large city, and the main arteries of the urban layout were evidently established by the first decades of the sixth century (Fig. 4).[65] What is notable is that as the residential areas were filled with housing over the following century, the στενωπόι delimiting the housing blocks (all 32.8 m wide with houses around 220 m²)[66] remained consistent. This pattern persisted well into the fifth century. Further, the large residential areas between the sanctuary on the acropolis and agora are apparently devoid of major cross streets. This is an aspect of the urban evolution of Selinous that mirrors that in the south-west sector at Kasmenai; the very sector that Collura claimed to have housed the citizen-soldiers of the early fortress on Monte Casale. The two settlements do demonstrate different roles in the Greek landscape: Selinous

60. Although an attribution to Selinous is proposed (cf. R. Albanese Procelli, *op. cit*. n. 14, p. 237; V. Mignosa 2021 *supra*).

61. *FGrH* 3 556 F 5. Cf. D. Asheri, *op. cit.* n. 2, p. 123; E. Greco, M. Torelli, *Storia dell'urbanistica: Il mondo greco.* Rome 1983, p. 183-184; A. Di Vita 1987, *op. cit*. n. 4, 79-80; A, Domínguez, *op. cit*. n. 21, p. 284-285.

62. F. Collura 2020, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 72-75.

63. F. De Angelis 2016, *op. cit*. n. 21, p. 75-85.

64. Diod. Sic. XIII.59; Thuc. VI.4.2.

65. F. De Angelis, *Megara Hyblaia and Selinous. The Development of Two Greek City-States in Archaic Sicily*, Oxford 2003, p. 140; F. Collura 2020, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 88-89.

66. F. De Angelis 2003, *supra*, p. 148-149; F. De Angelis 2016, *op. cit*. n. 21, p. 75, 85-86.

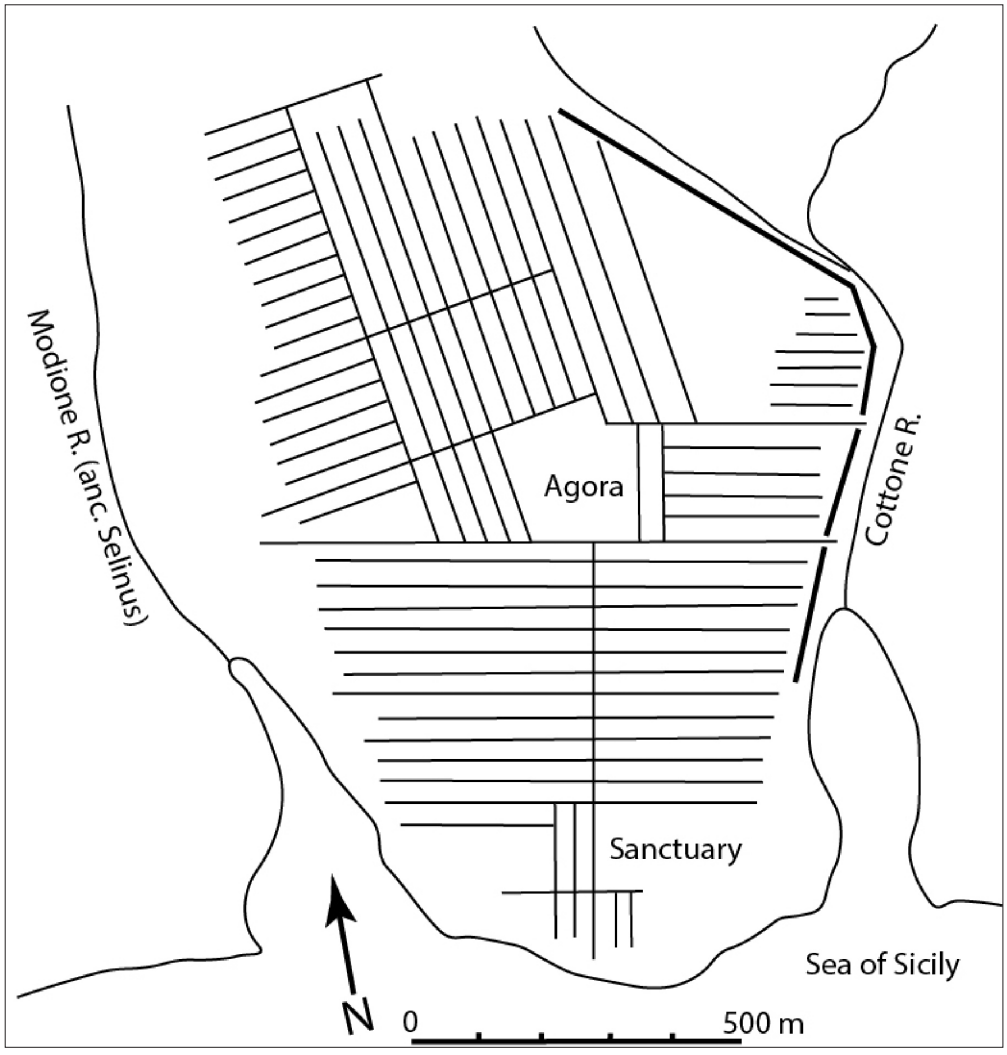

Figure 4: urban plan of Selinous. Redrawn from Mertens (D. Mertens, Città e monumenti dei greci d'occidente: dalla colonizzazione alla crisi di fine V secolo a.C., Rome 2006) with additions by author.

is a large city (covering over 100 ha) in a region largely devoid of Greek neighbours, where Kasmenai (stretching approximately 60 ha) is only 12 km from Akrai.[67] Yet, their evolution as settlements over time paralleled as non-military Greek communities.

67. Selinous: F. De Angelis 2003, *supra,* n. 56, p. 141; M. Hansen, *The Shotgun Method: The Demography of the Ancient Greek City-State Culture*, Columbia 2006, p. 107; F. Collura 2020, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 89. Kasmenai: J. Lancaster, «A demographic analysis of Syracuse and its settlements in southeast Sicily in the Archaic period», *Kokalos* 55, 2019 [2018], p. 22. Cf. M. Hansen 2006, *supra*, p. 42; F. Collura 2012, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 29; J. Lancaster, *Virtually Reconstructing the Past. Estimating Labor Costs through Digital Technologies,* Rome 2021, p. 85.

Similar arguments are made by Collura, comparing the orthogonal urban layout of Kasmenai with Megara Hyblaia, Selinous, and Himera.[68] Yet, to him these characteristics of Monte Casale indicate a community with a military origin only later adapting into a πόλις. For instance, at Megara Hyblaia the initial settlement surrounding the agora is divided into an orthogonal grid, but the στενωπόι on either side of the agora are not running in parallel directions. This represents the initial stage of occupation at the site, and as the community stretched westward in the Archaic period, the grid pattern became regular.[69] In the southern sector of Kasmenai, the long πλατεῖα across most of the plateau suggests a change in urban planning to accompany a growing population and further expansion. While this may be indicative of a shift from a military to civic purpose, it can equally denote a settlement that grew beyond initial expectations.

It was not uncommon in Sicily for Greek settlements to undergo shifts in urban character, but these occurred after major, traumatic events. In the first quarter of the fifth century BC, Hieron relocated the inhabitants of Naxos and later reorientated the urban plan of the settlement.[70] From its foundation in 599 BC, Kamarina would be destroyed no less than four times (Syracuse: 553 BC, Gela: 484 BC, Carthage 405 BC, Rome: 258 BC), often with a subsequent re-foundation not long after.[71] Literary and epigraphical evidence clearly indicate a πόλις at Kasmenai in its later years, and since there are no corresponding suggestions of an urban re-founding of the site, any argument in support of a military origin for the settlement at Monte Casale must be overwhelming, as it would suggest a socio-political shift in the community. While archaeological evidence of the urban character of Kasmenai cannot definitively point to either a military or non-military origin, what is known and comparanda from other Archaic Greek Sicilian settlements point towards a community at Monte Casale unlike a fortress or φρούριον, nor one that reinvented itself civically. Kasmenai shares many fundamental attributes of a πόλις with its Greek neighbours: a sacred district, agora, 'area di rispetto' and organized residential quarters (also including geography and fortifications mentioned above). The urban evolution of Kasmenai is similar to that seen elsewhere in Archaic Sicily.

An additional aspect of the urban plan at Kasmenai is an area devoid of permanent occupation, what Collura labels the 'piazza d'armi.'[72] With a military mindset, this area would prove useful where 'potevano svolgersi le attività di allenamento delle guarnigioni e soprattutto quelle di preparazione di un esercito con equipaggiamento di cavalli e macchine

68. F. Collura 2020, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 85-92.

69. G. Vallet, «Topographie historique de Mégara Hyblaea et problèmes d'urbanisme colonial», *MEFRA* 95, 1983, p. 643; M. Gras, «Aspects de la recherche sur la colonisation grecque. À propos du Congrès d'Athènes: notes de lecture», *RBPh* 64, 1986, p. 10; F. De Angelis 2003, *op. cit*. n. 65, p. 17-20.

70. F. De Angelis 2016, *op. cit*. n. 21, p. 106.

71. R. Martin, P. Pelagatti, G. Vallet, G. Voza, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 509.

72. F. Collura 2020, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 72.

belliche in vista di eventuali battaglie.' In fact, an open area within an urban setting is also not an uncommon feature for a Greek πόλις, and it is frequently referred to as the 'zona di rispetto' or 'area di rispetto'.[73] This intramural space has been analysed within demographic studies of Greek πόλεις, often in conjunction with the inhabited urban space; Hansen's *Shotgun Method* and Muggia's *L'area di rispetto nelle colonie magno-greche e siceliote* being two prominent works.[74] The importance of an 'area di rispetto' falls along its possible uses to the settlement. In times of war, the open space could serve as an area of refuge for the rural population associated with the urban centre, or concurrently as a way to gather additional water and produce food in times of siege.[75] Additionally, the area may have been kept open for the future expansion plans of the community. These plausible purposes need not be mutually exclusive, and although the first two would seemingly align with a militaristic character of the settlement, I would argue the opposite. Having an 'area di rispetto' may have been just another fundamental, defensive aspect of a new community to the Greeks, equally as important as a well defended geography and fortifications. That open intramural space has been recognized in Akragas, Gela, Himera, Kamarina and Selinous emphasizes its underlying importance.[76]

We see at Kasmenai a settlement that followed the traditions of Greek urban planning and adapted to its eventual expansion across the entire plateau. The agora, although not definitively non-military, is a staple of a civic and political community, as Kasmenai was undoubtedly in the fifth century BC. From the recent work by Collura, many more στενωπόι with crossing πλατεῖαι have been identified, but evidently not laid out from foundation. While this aspect is interpreted as proof of the evolution from a fortress or φρούριον to a πόλις, such an interpretation is borne from the predetermined view of Kasmenai as a military settlement. Taking away any preconceptions, the urban plan, as viewed from the archaeological evidence available, is in many ways closely aligned to that around Greek Sicily. Variations from other πόλεις can just as easily be explained through social, political and cultural reasons, albeit largely lost to time, as any other. In comparing Kasmenai to the other sites of Greek settlement expansion across Sicily, the case of a military origin becomes less likely.

Votive Offerings

Any military argument of Kasmenai hinges on the cache of military goods (iron and bronze) in votive offerings, dated to the early sixth and fifth centuries BC, discovered at the so-called Temple of Ares. Currently housed at the Museo Archeologico di Siracusa, the deposit

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73. G. Nenci, «Spazio civico, spazio religioso e spazio catastale nella polis», *ASNP* 3, 1979, p. 465-466; A. Muggia, *op. cit*. n. 5.

74. A. Muggia, *op. cit*. n. 5; M. Hansen 2006, *op. cit*. n. 67.

75. Erdas (*op. cit*. n. 2, p. 45) makes this case in her argument of a military Kasmenai.

76. A. Muggia, *op. cit*. n. 5, p. 125-126, Fig. 5.

consists of at least 266 objects of iron (222), bronze (37) and bone (7).[77] Of the iron objects found are swords, daggers, spearheads, arrowheads and knives; of the bronze are miniature armour, miniature weapons and arrowheads; among the other fragments are included nails, rings and chisels. This vast quantity of masculine objects has for over 50 years 'attestata indiscutibilmente una città fortificata greca … e sede indubbia di una colonia militare.'[78] That some of the iron objects are of a non-Greek style must obviously mean the offerings represent dedications of victory or spoils of war against the local Sicilians, right?[79] Recent research into votive deposits, however, has provided ulterior views on metal objects within Greek contexts, casting doubt on such a categorical view.[80]

Focusing specifically on those iron objects of Sicilian character, a reinterpretation by Melfi suggests there were metal-working practices taking place at Kasmenai.[81] A major clue to such an industry present at the settlement comes in the various finds of bronze loaves and iron slag that have consistently been uncovered across the plateau over the past century.[82] Nearby, at Giarratana, was found a room storing various objects (military and civilian) of bronze along with ingots and slag dated to around the foundation of Kasmenai.[83] That Greek pottery was also present in the room indicates cross-cultural contact.[84] On the Italian peninsula, the presence of non-Greek weapons in Greek contexts has been interpreted as evidence of cultural interaction, not conflict; for instance at Kyme and Metapontion.[85] At Gela, a deposit of non-Greek weapons, first interpreted as spoils of war, are now considered to have been more likely a dedication of social status.[86]

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77. R. Albanese Procelli, *op. cit*. n. 14, p. 230. Although the quantity may be as high as over 600 (A. Di Vita 1956, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 193; M. Melfi, «Alcune osservazioni sul cosiddetto tempio di Ares a Monte Casale-Kasmenai», *Geo-Archeologia* 2, 2000, p. 44).

78. A. Di Vita 1956, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 193-194.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 193; A. Marotta D'Agata, D. Moreschini, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 291; M. Melfi, *op. cit*. n. 77, p. 42; A. Di Vita, »Ancora Casmene: una nota», *PP* 58, 2003; F. Spatafora, «Vincitori e vinti. Sulla deposizione di armi e armature nella Sicilia di età arcaica» in *Guerra e pace*, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 215-216.

80. M. Jonasch, *op. cit*. n. 10, p. 194.

81. M. Melfi, *op. cit*. n. 77.

82. P. Orsi 1928, *op. cit*. n. 9, p. 77-78; M. Melfi, *supra*, p. 44; F. Collura 2012, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 6; F. Collura 2020, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 93.

83. M. Melfi, *supra,* n. 73, p. 42.

84. Cf. T. Hodos, «Intermarriage in the Western Greek Colonies», *OJA* 18, 1999, p. 72-73; G. Shepherd, «Greek 'Colonisation' in Sicily and the West. Some Problems of Evidence and Interpretation Twenty-Five Years On», *Pallas* 79, 2009, p. 15-25; P. Guzzo, *Fondazioni greche. L'Italia meridionale e la Sicilia (VIII e VII sec. a.C.)*, Rome 2011.

85. E. Gabrici, «Cuma», *MonAL* 22, 1913, p. 70; P. Emanuele, *Armour and weapons from pre-lucanian Basilicata,* Ann Arbor 1984, p. 147-149. Cf. M. Melfi, *op. cit*. n. 77, p. 44-45.

86. F. De Angelis 2010, *op. cit*. n. 26, p. 29-30, esp. nn. 51-52.

In fact, the presence of weapons in a religious environment does appear to be a consistent aspect of Greek culture and community, but not necessarily within a martial context. At Selinous, the Archaic-Classical Temple R has returned no less than 165 iron and bronze weapons in recent excavations.[87] Consistently uncovered there were spearheads within the foundation floor interpreted as dedicatory offerings for the consecration of the land. Along the walls of the naos were also placed spearheads and blades (as well as objects associated with feasts) which suggest a connection to the successful construction of the temple walls. Weapons found in these contexts are indicative not of victory in war as much as the cross-section of war itself with the everyday life of the Greeks. The same can be said for much of that found in temples throughout Sicily, Magna Grecia and Greece.[88] Miniature reproductions of weapons and armour, like that found at Monte Casale, have been interpreted not only as dedications by less wealthy members of the society but ritual objects associated with maturation rites of passage for youths to adulthood.[89] That war to the Greeks was just another aspect of their existence provides much explanation for the presence of military objects throughout archaeological contexts.[90]

This can also be observed at Selinous in the nearby agora where a large quantity of metal objects, including arms and armour, were recently unearthed.[91] Among other finds of iron and bronze, arrowheads, spearheads and pieces of helmets have been interpreted as scrap metal refuse, the storage of wealth or metal supply or a medium for trade. This includes part of a bronze spearhead that has drawn comparisons with Giarratana. Similarities with that found at Monte Casale can indicate just as clearly a parallel occurrence there. A recent discovery of a large quantity of metal artifacts (ingots, production waste, semi-produced objects) at Kasmenai has been interpreted as a blacksmith or an early form of a bank.[92] Either way, one can observe the presence of metal objects in various forms as a staple of civilian life in a Greek community, and a strong case is made that Kasmenai served as a multi-cultural centre for metal-working.[93]

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87. A. Ward, C. Marconi, «War and the life of a sacred structure. Weapons from the NYU-UniMi excavations in the main urban sanctuary of Selinunte» in M. Jonasch ed., *op. cit*. n. 10, p. 18-46.

88. F. Spatafora, *op. cit*. n. 79; R. Graells, F. Longo eds., *Armi votive in Magna Grecia*, Mainz 2018; F. Paleari, «Scudi votivi da un santuario di Afrodite ed Eros», *LANX* 27, 2019, p. 204-225.

89. M. Martelli Cristofani, «Armi miniaturistiche da Ialysos» in G. Fiorentini, M. Caltabiano, A. Calderone eds., *Archeologia del Mediteranneo. Studi in onore di E. De Miro*, Rome 2003, p. 469; P. Guzzo, *op. cit*. n. 84, p. 208; R. Albanese Procelli, *op. cit*. n. 14, p. 232.

90. Jonasch's (ed., *op. cit*. n. 9) book, *The Fight for Greek Sicily. Society, Politics, and Landscape*, provides a great study into how ingrained war was within every aspect of Sicilian Greek life.

91. H. Baitinger, «A dangerous place to live? Arms and armour in the Agora of Selinunte» in M. Jonasch ed., *op. cit*. n. 10.

92. F. Collura 2020, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 93.

93. Cf. R. Albanese Procelli, *op. cit*. n. 14, p. 236.

The presence of such an industry is counter-intuitive to a fortress placed as an aggressive claimant against local inhabitants. Further, it seems warranted that the temple at Kasmenai be re-examined in its dedication to a different deity.[94]

The πόλις of Kasmenai

The arguments above dismiss a militaristic purpose to the foundation of a settlement at Monte Casale. Literary and archaeological evidence indicates Kasmenai was a πόλις with political autonomy by the fifth century BC.[95] The purpose of its foundation in the seventh century is easily attributed to an expansionist policy by Syracuse to gain wealth through the acquisition of land and participation in the trade routes that extended throughout the Mediterranean.[96] The role of Kasmenai in the network of Syracusan settlements originates in its geographical position in the Hyblaian Mountains, which afford the protection of the nearby river sources and access to routes extending into central and western Sicily. The locations of Akrai and Kasmenai lend to the view of an independent χώρα attached to Kasmenai, as mentioned above, facilitating the exploitation of the nearby hills and valleys of the mountains through the settlement on Monte Casale. The surrounding land would have served well a pastoralist economy based on the transhumance of sheep through the Tellaro river valley, with wool a common commodity of the time,[97] while a metal-working industry flourished within the settlement. Even Di Vita in his prolegomena of the Syracusan expansion seven decades ago acknowledged the importance of land in the foundation of Kasmenai,[98] the acquisition of which may have been a form of social equality through property to the founders of the settlement, themselves possibly descendants of the γᾶμόροι.[99]

Archaeological evidence does attest to a gradual decrease in occupation, perhaps beginning in the mid-fifth century BC and eventually leading to the settlement's abandonment sometime after the mid-fourth century.[100] From the traditional view, this is proof that a military post was no longer needed by this time. Yet, there could be myriad reasons for the abandonment of Kasmenai. For one, the rapid placement of settlements around Sicily in the Archaic period

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94. J. Lancaster, «A Question of the Temple (of Ares) at Kasmenai», Forthcoming. Albanese Procelli (*op. cit*. n. 14, p. 234-235) and Jonasch (2020, *op. cit*. n. 10, p. 194) propose Hera or Athena.

95. What little is known of the local necropoleis also points to a civic community, not a fortress or garrison. Cf. R. Albanese Procelli, *op. cit*. n. 14, p. 236.

96. As presented in my previous article: J. Lancaster Forthcoming, *op. cit.* n. 1. Cf. J. Lancaster *Syracusan Settlement Expansion in South-Eastern Sicily in the Archaic Period,* PhD diss.: Royal Holloway, University of London 2018, p. 226-232; M. Jonasch 2020, *op. cit*. n. 10, p. 191.

97. E. Greco, M. Torelli, *op. cit*. n. 61, p. 183-184; F. Collura 2012, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 2; F. De Angelis 2016, *op. cit*. n. 21, p. 255-259; J. Lancaster 2018, *supra*, p. 204-205.

98. A. Di Vita 1956, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 190.

99. M. Jonasch, *op. cit*. n. 10, p. 195; V. Mignosa 2021, *op. cit*. n. 51, p. 24.

100. F. Collura 2012, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 31; F. Collura 2020, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 93.

has in small part been connected simply to claiming territory.[101] This is a logical reason, albeit not the only one, for establishing a group in any location rich in natural setting and resources. Heloros, Kasmenai and Kamarina have all been theorized to have been founded, in part, to prevent other Greek settlements from expanding into south-east Sicily.[102] Additionally, the location of Kasmenai, especially coupled with nearby Akrai, formed a strong and secure grasp on the Hyblaian sources of the prominent rivers of the region. The river Tellaro was well known as an abundant source of fish, and the river valley would have been prime agricultural land.[103] Once political boundaries were established by the Classical period, these aspects, borne from defensive motivations, would have become moot. The search for metals was but one factor in the movements of the Greeks in Sicily and Magna Grecia,[104] and this was likely an important part in the placement of a settlement on Monte Casale. Because of this, the gradual demise of Kasmenai may have also paralleled that of its metal-working industry. Metallurgy and smelting became common place in Akrai in the sixth century,[105] and perhaps that community, with a growing population attached to a large hinterland and more easily accessible trade routes, soon subsumed the position of Kasmenai for the region. Owing to its pastoralism, Kasmenai likely did not contribute much to local agriculture, which may have expedited its end in the declining opportunities of wealth for its population and importance within the region.

Socio-political changes in Greek Sicily may also be to blame for the eventual abandonment of Kasmenai. The connection of the γᾶμόροι to Kasmenai has been well attested, and with the arrival of tyranny in Syracuse, the former ruling aristocracy, having already lost much power, quite plausibly also lost many land claims in the region. This may have diminished much of the importance of Kasmenai to Syracuse. In fact, tyranny controlled many of the major Greek πόλεις of Sicily in the fifth and fourth centuries BC, and during this time many settlements (Greek and Sicilian) were founded or re-founded as part of geopolitical masterplans to control and consolidate territories.[106] Kamarina was one of these πόλεις that was re-founded by a tyrant, Hippocrates of Gela in 492 BC,[107] with the land given to his mercenaries. Syracuse

101. M. Costanzi, «Les colonies de deuxième degré en Italie du Sud et en Sicile: amies des 'autres', ennemies des Grecs?», *REA* 111, 2009, p. 429-451.

102. Heloros: P. Orsi, «Buscemi. Sacri specchi con iscrizioni greche scoperti presso Akrai», *NSA* 1899, p. 242; P. Orsi, «Eloro, campagna di scavo del 1899, postumo di P. Orsi con aggiunte e note di M.T. Currò», *MonAL* 47, 1966, p. 215. Kasmenai: M. Melfi, *op. cit*. n. 77, p. 45; F. Copani 2009, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 20. Kamarina: A, Domínguez, *op. cit*. n. 21, p. 289-90; M. De Luna, *op. cit*. n. 6, p. 77-8. Cf. J. Lancaster, Forthcoming, *op. cit.* n. 1.

103. D. Asheri, *op. cit.* n. 2, p. 118; F. Copani, «Alle origini di Eloro. L'espansione meridionale di Siracusa arcaica», *ACME* 58 2005, p. 246; F. De Angelis 2016, *op. cit*. n. 21, p. 229.

104. A. Di Vita 1990, *op. cit*. n. 14, p. 343.

105. R. Chowaniec, «Palazzolo Acreide, Sicily, Italy. Excavations in 2015», *Światowit* 13-14 (54-55), 2018 [2015-2016], p. 301.

106. M. Costanzi, «La fondazione di città in Sicilia nel V e all'inizio del IV sec. a.C. (492-396 a.C.): tra passato e futuro» in M. Jonasch ed., *op. cit*. n. 10.

107. Thuc. VI.5.3.

itself was re-founded by Gelon of Gela c. 484 BC assembling a population from many sources, among which those γᾱμόροι at Kasmenai, half of the population of Gela and everyone at Kamarina (which he destroyed).[108] A year later Gelon forced the abandonment of Megara Hyblaia.[109] Within the constant shuffling and reshuffling of peoples around Greek Sicily, it seems appropriate, even expected, that Kasmenai, with its role claiming land complete, metal-working flourishing in Akrai and little pastro-agricultural output, to have lost relevance within the region. Naturally, the population may have found plenty of opportunities elsewhere in the changing socio-political climate, or perhaps even moved involuntarily in an act not uncommon for the time but unknown to us. Whatever the reason, the eventual end of Kasmenai need not be ascribed to any militaristic reason, or more specifically to a role as a fortress.

In light of that presented, the role of Kasmenai was one of simple cultural expansion, not military strategy. The settlement on Monte Casale was structured along traditional ideals towards geographical placement, civic security and land exploitation. Syracuse placed a community on a plateau for natural defence; any fortifications that may have arisen were in response to current geopolitical events, if not socio-civic identity; the community began small in one corner and then expanded as it grew, not unlike other Greek **πόλεις**; and the population participated in traditional religious rites associated with their culture and the prevalent metal-working industry that flourished locally. Eventually circumstances led to the end of the settlement, but each step towards that outcome is easily explained in simple actions unrelated to aggressive tendencies that have been presumed upon Kasmenai for over a century.

My arguments here do not exclude any circumstances of a defensive motive for protection of the settlement or any connection to nearby military events that may have taken place. What is dismissed, in my mind, is the view that Kasmenai was founded as a military outpost in an imperial-esque territorial expansion of Syracuse. Yet, this is what prevalent views of Kasmenai have contended. Collura compares the fortifications around Monte Casale to a Roman castra,[110] and more recently while admitting that there is no literary or epigraphic evidence attesting to Kasmenai as a military colony, 'è ipotizzabile in considerazione del momento in cui fu creata e della posizione geografica che fu scelta.'[111] Again, this moment in which it was created is argued as a phase of conquest over nearby Sicilian settlements. One cannot say with certainty that anyone in the modern period has made the claim that there were no socio-economic benefits from the establishment of Kasmenai. Even a militaristic foundation can provide ulterior advantages. While this may seemingly place my claims as a dialogue without an interlocutor, I assert that such a view is missing the point. Instead, this entire argument centres on the continued acceptance of a colonialist view of the Syracusan expansion whereby the Sikel population was simply an obstacle to be subjugated and conquered, and socio-economic

108. Hdt. VII.156.
109. Thuc. VI.4.2.
110. F. Collura 2012, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 1.
111. F. Collura 2020, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 69.

benefits were merely a secondary, even unintended, benefit. There have been many publications that address the foundation and occupation of Kasmenai as a military endeavour without a mention of other advantages.[112] No, these authors do not disavow said advantages. But in the dialogue of academic progress and understanding of Archaic Greek Sicily, silence in the matter is tantamount to a disavowal. I attest that the case has been made clearly and succinctly over this and my previous article that the relationship between the Greeks and their Sicilian neighbours was not one to necessitate a fortress, and that Kasmenai, especially without such a partiality, can be easily interpreted as just another Greek settlement among the many founded in Archaic period Sicily.

112. R. Martin, P. Pelagatti, G. Vallet, G. Voza, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 529-36; A. Marotta D'Agata, D. Moreschini, *op. cit*. n. 5; A. Muggia, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 34; T. Fischer-Hansen, T. Nielsen, C. Ampolo, *op. cit*. n. 2, p. 205.

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