

ABSTRACTS

Barbara Kowalzig

GREEK IDENTITIES BETWEEN RELIGIOUS PRACTICES AND ECONOMIC PATTERNS: THE CASE OF AIGINA

This article tackles the long-standing, stagnant debate on the role of the island of Aigina in the ancient economy of the Archaic and early Classical periods. Local myths, rituals and religious customs, for which religious songs such as those of Pindar and Bacchylides are a chief source, reveal the incessant forging of an insular identity centred on economic pursuits and the establishment of overseas ties, along with concomitant institutions and social mechanisms, amounting to an “ideology of connectivity”.

Keywords: Aigina – Pindar – Bacchylides – economy – myth

Klaus Freitag

“A CHANNEL FOR ETHNICITY?”. THE ROLE OF THE GULF OF CORINTH FOR COMMUNICATIONS IN ANCIENT GREECE AND CONNECTIONS TO THE WEST

In antiquity the Corinthian Gulf formed a geographically and culturally complex zone of interaction. By connecting the mountain zones of the Peloponnese and Central Greece to western sea routes, the Corinthian Gulf brings together some of the most socially and politically complex regions of Greece and connects them with the wider Mediterranean world. The integration into a gulf region also had further impacts on the development of surrounding regions. It was an important factor in creating and sustaining various forms of political contacts between very differently organized communities and the identities of the involved *poleis* and *ethne*. In Ancient Greece the Gulf of Corinth had no separating, but a rather connecting function. The gulf is a “transportation area” for everyday regular traffic,

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the exchange of information and general communication and in a way it was also an artery for Greek culture and ethnicity.

Keywords: ethnogenesis – Corinth – communication – harbours – Corinthian Gulf

Maurizio Giangiulio

THE PRIDE OF CORINTH. IDENTITY AND LOCAL TRADITIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST FROM HOMER TO PINDAR

Corinthian mythological tradition is to be taken as an identitarian discourse, rooted in the needs of the local community, and especially of the agonistic *élites* striving for fame at a Panhellenic level, and for power within the *polis*. Alatas, Sisyphos, Medea, Bellerophon, Pegasus, and the stories about the mythical past of the city, then, find a place in the framework of the Corinthian intentional history. Local mythology is much more the result of the appropriation of elements belonging to Thessaly and Boiotia than a legacy of an “Aeolic” past, and the stories told about the Dorian “conquest” are in fact foundation myths strictly related to collective identity and to the great public festival of the Hellotia. The last section of the article discusses the mythological complex of Bellerophon, Pegasus, Chimaira, aiming to find the traces left by “Orientalizing revolution” on Corinthian imaginary. There are reasons to assume that those myths both reflected and expressed the place of Archaic Corinth between East and West.

Keywords: mythology – identity – intentional history – Bellerophon – Hellotia

C. Antonetti, S. De Vido

NEWLY-FOUND HOMELAND: OLD AND NEW IDENTITIES BETWEEN CORINTH, NORTH-WESTERN GREECE, AND SYRACUSE

C. Antonetti (*Newly-found homeland. Corinth and North-Western Greece*) and S. De Vido (*Newly-found homeland. Corinth and Syracuse*) intend to shed some light on the topic, “metropolis-colony ties in the Hellenistic age”, from different standpoints. As a matter of fact, from the second half of the 4th cent. BC Corinth becomes a significant reference – if not a clear model – both to far-away Syracuse and for multi-faceted “third” Greece: while organizing in structured *poleis*, these once-Corinthian realities turn to their own mother-city anew.

In the first place, Claudia Antonetti presents some of the results attained by the research group she leads, whose main target it was to work on *politeiai*, institutions, and *nomima* of North-Western *poleis*: actually a new way to approach a typically “homogeneous” documentation, imbued with a cultural *koine* characterized

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by a clear hiatus between the rare – and mostly Corinthian – information about the origins and the 4th cent. BC, as well as by patent elements of contact with Magna Graecia and Sicily. The evidentiary framework tells us about a “refreshed” or “reactivated” Corinthian perspective, due to a strong local interactive pressure fitting in Timoleon’s historical experience very well. This interpretation is suggested by numismatic analysis: all-present Pegasi are capital evidence of the double nature – both Corinthian and local – of North-Western *poleis*. Next a brief study is presented on the possible ideology of this metropolis-colony relationship, coherent with the theme of loving childhood, association and affinity: archaeological data, inscriptions, and literary sources from both the time of Timoleon’s expedition and slightly thereafter all contribute to such a reconstruction.

Timoleon is the very focus of Stefania De Vido’s in-depth examination: after chronicling the fortunes of Corinth-Syracuse relations between the Sicilian chapter of the Peloponnesian War and the end of the tyranny of both Dionysiuses, not omitting the Greek background of Dio’s return, she identifies mid-4th cent. BC as the very moment Corinth seems to gain back an independent role within the turbulent political frame of Mainland Greece, as well as new intentions in its being a metropolis. Dispatching Timoleon into the West can easily be seen as part of a larger plan, whose aim it is to reach internal political stability and – quite primarily – the widest consensus possible as to Macedon’s intervention beyond the Gulf. The identikit of some mercenary commanders who give aid to Timoleon in Sicily, his attitude towards the Phocians who had plundered the Delphic sanctuary, the constant reference to Corinth while searching for a new *politeia* for Syracuse, and – most of all – the destination and typology of the monuments celebrating the Victory won on the Crimisus: all of these elements show a substantial agreement between the Corinthians in the West and their mother-city, both before and after Chaeronea.

Keywords: North-Western Greece – Leucas – Pegasi – Korinthos (hero) – Zeus Eleutherios

Cristina Carusi

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ISLANDS AND *PERAI*AI IN NORTH-WESTERN GREECE

In classical studies the term *perai*a indicates, on the basis of the Rhodian example, the mainland territories belonging to an island. In terms of relationships with the facing mainland, the Ionian Islands did not act along the same set of lines, but revealed different patterns of behaviour. Despite the contacts hinted in the epic tradition between the insular world of Odysseus and the mainland, Ithaca, Cephalonia, and Zakynthos do not appear to have possessed mainland enclaves during historical ages. The city of Leucas, right from its initial foundation by the Corinthians, developed on both sides of the isthmus joining the island to the

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mainland and established a strong and lasting connection with its mainland appendix. However, its close vicinity and direct link to the mainland made the position of Leucas ambiguous in terms of insularity and caused its progressive absorption in the mainland political horizon. The relationship between Corcyra and its *peraia* – which Thucydides significantly defines *oikeia ge* – falls perfectly within the definition and dynamics of *peraia* drawn from the example of Rhodes and other microasiatic islands. Even if this experience ended in the late 5th century, as the period of full splendour of the island declined, the relationship that linked Corcyra with its *peraia* on the political, economical, and mythohistorical plan was a significant episode in the context of north-western Greece and did not fail to leave a trace in the political and military balances of the mainland.

Keywords: peraia – insularity – Korkyra – Leukas – Epirote tribes

Nicola Reggiani

MANTEIS OF NORTH-WESTERN GREECE

An investigation of the available evidence about the families of seers from Illyrian Apollonia (Euenius and Deiphonus) and from Acarnania (above all Karnus, Megistias, Amphilytus) allows us to reconstruct cultural, religious and political dynamics in the north-west regions of the Greek world. The mantic “specialization” of such peripheral areas, beginning with the mythical ancestor Melampous, appears firstly connected to the peculiar geographic symbology of these farthest western lands, at the borderline between living people and the Afterworld, as already conceived and developed by the Greeks who first arrived there. The Corinthian interest in these strategic regions contributed to emphasize these topics up to more recent times.

Keywords: seers from north – Western Greece – Euenios of Apollonia – Acharnania – Melampodids

Mario Lombardo

DELPHI AND GREEK WESTERN COLONISATION

The role of Delphic oracle in Archaic Greek colonisation has been in the past, and is still, a very much debated subject. Actually, it raises difficult problems deriving mainly from the nature of available sources, mostly consisting of ‘foundation stories’ incorporating oracles and reported by sources significantly later than the described events. Recently, the interpretation of those oracular tales has looked mainly at their nature of intentional identitary elaborations by the relevant communities, meant to stress their bonds with Delphi. This paper focuses on the

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possible genetic contexts of such elaborations, starting from the consideration of the very reduced number of the reported cases, which seems to suggest an actual role played, at least in some of those cases, by the Delphic oracle.

Keywords: Delphic oracle – Greek colonisation – oracular foundation stories – intentional history – selectivity of the reported cases

Eduardo Federico

MINOS, DELPHI, AND THE WEST.
COMPARING CRETAN IDENTITIES. AGAIN ABOUT HDT. 7, 169-171

Herodotus 7, 169-171 tells how the Pythia dissuaded the Cretans from taking part in the war against Xerxes: the Greek had not helped them to avenge Minos who had been killed by Kokalos in Sicily. The oracle of Delphi, located in Third Greece *stricto sensu*, establishes a close relationship between Crete, an island belonging *lato sensu* to the Third Greece, and the West italic settlements. This article proposes a reconsideration of the text of Herodotus, and aims to study the role of Delphi in the definition of the Cretan ethnicity. It first examines the relationship between Crete and Delphi, then the likely role of the Delphic sanctuary in the return of the bones of Minos to the Cretans by the tyrant Theron and finally supports the role of the *polis* of Knossos in the construction of the oracle in the mid-fifth century BC. Furthermore, it highlights how the Cretan-Delphic traditions, which consider the first priests of the Delphic worship chosen by Apollon as Cretans from the Minoan Knossos, reject the western traditions present in the passage of Herodotus, which deem the “barbarians” Iapyges, ancient inhabitants of Apulia, the descendants of Cretans of Minos who had left in droves to avenge their dead king in Sicily and never returned.

Keywords: Delphi – Minos – Crete – Theron – Iapyges

Luigi Gallo

SOME CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY
OF THE PHOKIDIAN CONFEDERACY

We consider the origins of Phocidian federal state and, in particular, its internal organization, to highlight the changes from the classical to the Hellenistic period. We aim to demonstrate that the III century is characterized by a substantial continuity with the previous period, while in the second century the most significant news can be seen.

Keywords: Phokis – Federal state – Internal Organization – Delphi – Pausanias

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Anna Di Gioia

THE TWO PHOKOS AND THE PHOKIDIAN IDENTITY

According to Pausanias (10, 1, 4; 10, 1, 10) during the battles against the Thessalians, the Phokians would take themselves under the patronage of the their eponymous hero Phokos. The ancient tradition knows two different genealogies about him: one considers him the son of Aiakos and Psamatheia, another makes him a Sisyphos' descendant. The paper concerns the special role played by the articulation of Phokos' different genealogical lines in defining the Phokians' identity. Particularly, it analyzes the uses of the Sisyphian line in claiming the territorial range of the ancient Phokis against the bordering Lokris.

Keywords: Phokos – Phokis – Lokris – genealogy – myth

Angela Kühr

GOING WEST: THESPIANS IN SARDINIA

In contrast to Boeotian connections to the East, Boeotian contacts to the West are hardly attested, apart from the story of the Thespiadai. These offsprings of Heracles and the daughters of king Thespios from the Boeotian *polis* Thespiiai are said to have migrated to Sardinia. Two main questions stand out: first, which historical context does the story stem from? Does it refer to migration movements of Thespian settlers in remote times, or does it attest to an invented past stressing Thespian identity in later periods? Secondly, what impact did Boeotia have on Western colonies? Or, should we pose the question the other way round by asking whether Western colonies had an impact on Boeotian identity? The paper discusses the interconnection between Thespiiai and settlements in the West by approaching the problem from poetological, archaeological, and historical perspectives.

Keywords: colonization – Boeotia – identity – migration – myth

Luisa Prandi

PLATAEA'S AUTONOMY AND BOEOTIAN IDENTITY

The paper aims at mapping the various traces of the Boeotian identity in the Archaic age, through events like the alliance between Plataea and Athens or the war of Boeotians and Kalkidians against Athens; documents, like the Homeric Hymn to Apollo or the Catalogue of the Ships; traditions, like the stories about the foundation of Thebes, mirror hard struggles in Central Greece between the sanctu-

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ary of Delphi and the Boeotian countries. The behaviour of Plataea and southern Boeotia (Parasopia) may act as a lead, with reference to a very rich debate by scholars, to better understanding the complex reality of the Boeotian ethnos.

Keywords: Boeotia – Delphi – Plataea – Thebes – myths

Mauro Moggi

BOEOTIANS AND BOEOTIA IN HERODOTUS

Boeotia and the Boeotians appear in Herodotos as a background for Thebes acts, within ethnic-regional policy and the wider frame of relationships with other Greek *poleis* and non-Hellenic powers. In both cases, Herodotos' description of Thebes is negative. Not only is the city barely involved in Greek archaism, but only faults and mistakes are enhanced, without any comprehension or justification. On a local ground, first of all we find mention of Thespiiai and Plataia's destructions by the Persians but at the instigation of the Thebans, unwilling to tolerate any opposition to their hegemonic ambition on the area; then comes Plataia's devastation of 427, by the Thebans themselves, which Herodotos had direct knowledge of (and probably condemned). Concerning *medismos*, Thebans and most of the Boeotians are guilty of all possible charges brought against those in the Hellenikon who leagued with the Persians. They promptly offer water and earth to Xerxes, play with zeal their role as allies-subjects-slaves, provide advice to Mardonio and betray Spartans and Thespiians at Thermopylai. It seems plausible to recognize Athenian traditions as primary source, even if tradition from other cities or Thebes itself may not be excluded. Herodotos used his *historie* to collect previously elaborated materials, among which he chose and revised traditions fitting to create for Thebans the merciless negative picture he had in mind.

Keywords: Boeotians – Herodotus – Thebes – Persians – Medismòs

Cinzia Bearzot

THE ANCIENT HEGEMONY OF ORCHOMENOS IN BOEOTIA: THE FORTUNES OF A PROPAGANDA THEME

The ancient hegemony of Orchomenos over Boeotia is at the centre of a cycle of local legends dating perhaps from the Mycenaean Age, but conserved during the Dark age and reelaborated in the Archaic Age. In the context of this cycle the saga of the wars fought between the king of Orchomenos, Erginus, and the Thebans is of particular interest: Erginus is said to have defeated the Thebans and forced them to pay tribute, until, with the help of Heracles they in turn defeated

Orchomenos, returning Thebes to freedom; Erginus was killed and Orchomenos became a tributary of Thebes, or was even destroyed, or it survived but made a humiliating peace. The memory of these ancient events reflects a lasting enmity, which emerges again in the history of Boeotia during the Classical Age, when it seems to continue in a noteworthy manner, with the creation of variants of the mythographic tradition.

- 1) The first occurrence of modernisation was identified in the Thessalian attack on Boeotia which ended with the defeat of the Thessalians at Cereusus, dated at circa 570 BC or in the interval between the Persian wars. Regarding this event, an agreement between Thessalians and Orchomenians has been suggested; however, though the hypothesis was advanced by Buck, there is no certain proof of the use of the Orchomenian mythographic traditions in the context of this event.
- 2) The context of the rebellion of 447/6 BC against Athenian dominion over Boeotia, which had started in 457, appears more interesting: it could have provided the chance of re-exhuming ancient traditions of Orchomenian hegemony and placing modernising variant types into the tradition. The sources seem to suggest an important role for Orchomenos in the rebellion of 447/6. So a scholium to Arist. *Panath.* 53-53 (I, 176-177 D.) is worth examination. This records that the Orchomenians, defeated by Heracles and forced to leave Boeotia, are said to have found refuge in Athens; welcomed by the Athenians, they “made their war, not intending to for *hypakouein*”. It is difficult to avoid the impression that this tradition, which we have no other trace of, constitutes an adaptation of the original legend and may actually have originated in Athens at the time of the 447/6 rebellion.
- 3) In the IV century BC the vitality of the struggle for hegemony over Boeotia between Thebes and Orchomenos is testified by Isocrate (Plataico 10), who contests the Theban interest in Plataea, Thespieae and Tanagra, claiming that it is without historical precedent and juridical foundation: in fact, in consideration of the patria tradition, these hegemonies should go to the Orchomenians, to whom the Thebans themselves paid tribute in ancient times.
- 4) Lastly, the episode of the destruction of the Orchomenians on the part of Thebes in 364 BC is to be considered. Diodorus (15, 79, 5) comments on the event recalling that the Thebans held an ancient enmity towards the Orchomenians, because in the Heroic Age they were a tributary of the Minyans and were later liberated by Heracles. The hypothesis has been advanced (Schachter) that the variant of the tradition, which has Erginus not only defeated but also killed by Heracles, and Orchomenos not only dominated but also destroyed, was introduced at this time.

That the legends, with their variants, may explain different phases in the relationship between Orchomenos and Thebes, is already accepted for the ancient levels of the formation of the mythographic heritage, from the Mycenaean Age to the Dark Age, and to the Archaic Age. The reuse of this heritage seems to be continued in the course of the Classical Age, when the fortunes of myths concern-

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ing the Erginus/Heracles war show a certain modernisation, both in the V and in the IV centuries. Orchomenos not only builds its identity on the recovery of the ancient Mycenaean and pre-Boeotian roots, but characterises it with a strongly anti-Theban tone.

Keywords: Boeotia – Hegemony – Orchomenos – Thebes – Classical Age

Nicola Parise

COINAGE IN ARCHAIC BOEOTIA: A SUMMARY

The first series of Boeotian coinage reconsidered. Staters and fractions of Aiginetan standard issued between 525 and 505 ca. as federal currency for the increasing needs of the League under supremacy of Thebes. The role of Tanagra.

Keywords: Boeotia – coinage – league – Thebes – Tanagra

Luisa Breglia

BARBARIANS AND THE WOOERS OF THE MUSES:
THE ‘PRE-CADMEANS’

The work investigates the problem of Boeotian/Theban identity considering the otherness represented by the pre-Cadmean populations, Aones, Hyantes and Temmikes, probably very archaic ethnonyms, viewed as populations to defeat and expel at the time of Epaminondas, then, over the course time, becoming ancient realities into which to assimilate. The two different “images” reflect different periods: the end of the V century when the anti-Theban cities take their distance from Thebes and recover their “Barbarian” past, placing themselves closer to the ancient inhabitants of Boeotia; and the start of Boeotian military decline. Musical virtues remain and they shall continue to appear in celebrations and games, singing the praises of Beotia, the land of Aonian Muses and Hyantid nymphs.

Keywords: Cadmeans – Boeotian – Barbarians – identity – Boeotia

Alda Moleti

TROUBLING COUPLINGS IN EUBULUS’ *ANTIOPE*

Among the surviving works of the comic poet Eubolus is a comedy entitled *Antiope*, a parody of Euripides’ tragedy bearing the same name. Edmonds identifies

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in the protagonists of this comedy as representations of the politicians Epaminondas and Pelopidas. This study examines this hypothesis, never previously analysed in detail and almost ignored by the critics. Given the chronology of Eubolus, a contemporary of these politicians, an interpretation of the comic Antiope like that suggested by Edmonds, in which the politicians are to be identified with a pair of twins, would impose dating the literary construction of the “inseparable couple” to a period contemporary with the actions of Pelopidas and Epaminondas. This would lend support to the hypothesis that the image of the “inseparable couple” Pelopidas-Epaminondas started in the IV century as an artificial construction, for the purposes of Theban propaganda.

Keywords: Eubolos – Amphion – Zethus – Epaminondas – Pelopidas

Marcello Lupi

CIVIC SUBDIVISIONS AND FEDERAL SUBDIVISIONS IN BOEOTIA: A VIEW FROM ORCHOMENUS

Essentially absent in the epigraphic records of individual Boeotian *poleis*, civic subdivisions are attested only in a problematic passage of Pausanias the Periegete on the alleged institution of two *phylai* at Orchomenus during the mythical past of the city (9, 34, 10). This paper relates such poor evidence of civic subdivisions to the subdivision into eleven districts of the first Boeotian federation (447/6-386 BC), as testified by a well-known page of the Oxyrhynchus Historian (*Hell. Oxy.* 19 Chambers). More particularly, through the analysis of the relationship between the cities of Orchomenus and Hyettos, which together made up two districts of the Boeotian federation, a new interpretation of Pausanias' reference to the Orchomenian *phylai* is presented.

Keywords: Civic Subdivisions – Boeotian federation – Orchomenus/Hyettos – Pausanias the Periegete – Oxyrhynchus Historian

Alfonso Mele

ORESTES AT METAUROS

Orestes' purification rite at Metauro in the West, following his matricide of Clytemnestra, reproduces Apollo's rite at Tempe after the murder of Python. The Daphnephoria from Metauro to Delphi is the same as that performed by the people of Rhegium who collect laurel from Metauro to take to Delphi. Just as the Delphic daphnephoria testifies the completed purification of the god in the waters of the Peneius, the Rheginian daphnephoria testifies their own purification in the

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waters of the Metauros. This purification was necessary because of their original condition of *katharmoi*, exiled to the West, to the waters of the Apsia, the most sacred of the rivers, after a pestilence in Chalcis. Orestes' transfer of the Tauric Artemis to the same area introduces the motif of the detachment of the goddess from a deathly barbarianism, and also introduces the motif Iphigenia's return to the civilized world. This latter part of the myth is a metaphor about the Messenians saved from the ruin they were condemned to because of the impiety of the people: like Artemis they were transported to the West and to a world of renewed purity.

Keywords: Stesichoros – Orestes – Metauros – Artemides – Apollon

Luca Cerchiali, Mauro Menichetti

AJAX AND CASSANDRA IN THE LOKRIAN TRADITION

The study explores the existence and meaning of a hero cult dedicated to Ajax Oileus on the part of Lokroi. This tradition involves a rehabilitation of the hero through the atonement of the violence perpetrated against Athena and Cassandra during the last night of Troy and is part of the propaganda produced by Lokroi Epizephyrioi in the years following the battle of Sagra.

Ajax is portrayed as a hero with powers of healing, similar to Achilles: his new role culminates in the miraculous healing of the chief of the Kroton army defeated in the battle of Sagra, which took place in the island of Leuke in the presence of the royal couple, Achilles and Helen.

Keywords: Ajax – Cassandra – the battle of Sagra – Athena – Lokroi Epizephyrioi

Amedeo Visconti

**NOTHING TO DO WITH ORESTES?
PROPOSAL OF A NEW INTERPRETATION FOR HIPPIYS,
FGrHist 554 F 9**

This paper focuses on a generally neglected fragment by Hippys of Rhegium, F 9. A new interpretation of the fragment is proposed according to which it could have to do with Orestes and his purification by the waters of a river running through the country of Rhegium. Recent studies have besides, supposed an intervention of Hippys in the transmission of this mythical tradition.

Keywords: Hippys – Orestes' purification – Rhegium – Asteropaeus – Homeric commentaries

Michela Nocita

PEOPLE FROM LOKROI EPIZEPHYROI
AND ITS COLONIES ABROAD

The main concern of this study is the resettlement for personal reasons of people from Lokroi, in Magna Graecia, in the East, by which I mean the Balkans, Greece, the Aegean islands.

The present work aims to examine the provenance of settlers in light of the ethnic element that can be found in their onomastic formulas. This element is well attested in the literary and epigraphic evidence from the sixth to the first century BC. It is only after 88 BC, the year, that is, when Rome's *socii* acquired Roman citizenship that the ethnic element in the Italic names attested in the East begins slowly to disappear.

This study collects 23 literary and epigraphic records in which the Italic ethnic Lokros is preserved. The Greek inscriptions and the Greek literary material give us a good picture of the pattern of settlement; the literary evidence shows that the first Lokroi visitors of the eastern lands were for the most part athletes as they appear in the victory lists of the Greek sanctuaries (VI-V centuries BC). The inscriptions from the fourth to the first century record a number of honoured persons (*proxenoi* or *theorodokoi*), contributors and dedicants in the temples on Delos, and last Lokroi who died in Greece were probably merchants involved in trade or in agriculture.

Keywords: Magna Graecia – resettlement – Eastern Mediterranean Sea – onomastic ethnic element – epigraphic record

Lavinio Del Monaco

FURTHER COMMENTS ON THE *LEX SACRA* FROM THE TEMPLE
OF CASA MARAFIOTI AT LOKROI EPIZEPHYRIOI

In 1910 at Lokroi Epizephyrioi, in the collapse of the western front of the temple of Casa Marafioti, P. Orsi found a fragmentary bronze plate with an inscription boustrophedon dating to the end of sixth century BC, which was engraved in Lokrian alphabet and Doric dialect. D. Comparetti made the apograph but offered only partial readings, suggesting however that it must have been a sacred law. L. Jeffery instead proposed small but crucial readings for the overall interpretation of the document. In l. 8, whether to share and integrate [- - - hóp]ō κα λ[ἔι - - -] or [- - - h]όκα λ[ἔι - - -], the letters [- - -]OKA λ[ἔι - - -] can be compared with the Doric expression hοπō κα λἔι attested on the *lex sacra* from Selinous and it is the key to decode at least a general sense of the text and perhaps his vocabulary. As for the deity to whom the Lorrian *lex sacra* was dedicated, which was the same

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venerated in the temple of Casa Marafioti, the question is still open, although many elements seem to confirm the nomination of Zeus.

Keywords: lex sacra – boustrophedon – λαῶ – Zeus – Paolo Orsi

Maria Intrieri

**POLITICS AND PROPAGANDA:
CORCYRA IN THE FIGHTS AMONG *BASILEIS***

Between the end of the IV and the beginning of the III century BC the islands of the Ionian were at the centre of interest of the emerging sovereigns, Cassander, Agatholes, Pyrrhus and Demetrius, but also warlords looking for their own space and role, like the Spartan Cleonymus, who contended for control, with the aim of guaranteeing themselves a privileged point of observation over Greece and on the western Mediterranean, taking control of the searoutes and areas of increasing economic importance. In analysing the Corcyran response to hegemonic attempts of Cassander, this essay examines the hypothesis of an attempt, which was only partially successful, by a part of the islanders to give value to the syngenic links with other Corinthian and Corinthian-Corcyran colonies of the area and with the Syracuse of Agathocles in an extreme effort to defend their own autonomy.

Keywords: Corcyra – Ionian Islands – Cassander – Agathocles – Pyrrhus

Adele D'Alessandro, Giovanna De Sensi Sestito

**KINEAS OF THESSALY AND PYRRHUS' STRATEGY
IN GREECE AND IN THE WEST**

The aim of this contribution is to focalise the specific contribution of Cineas to the definition and to the realisation of the diplomatic strategies of Pyrrhus, starting from the construction of his image. Through an examination of the only two fragments coming down from the Thessalian minister one may, in fact, discover how, in myth and more distant placenames, Cineas had transposed the very close link between the Aeacidae dynasty and the oracle of Dodona with the Achaea Phthiotis and pre-Doric Thessaly. A careful rereading of the direct and indirect references in the ancient tradition of the diplomatic activity carried out by Cineas on behalf of Pyrrhus during the preparations and the activity of the expedition to Italy and Sicily, may also allow identification of the propaganda derived reasons created and/or used by Cineas to procure advantages and successes for the king, and evaluation, in particular, of those used in the complex and controversial peace meetings with Rome.

Keywords: Kineas – Pyrrhus – Rome – propaganda – rhetoric

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Bruno d'Agostino

THE ADVENTURES OF ANTIKLEIA

The author examines one of Plutarch's *Questiones Graecae* where it is asked why the city of the Ithakesians is called Alalkomenai. The name is traced back to the homonymous site of Boeotia and to the shrine of Athena Alalkomene: according to an ancient tradition, here Antikleia was raped by Sisyphos and Odysseus was born from this act of violence. This tradition, unknown to Homer, was popular in the theatre and, in general, in the Greek and Latin literature. The Author discusses the antiquity and the meaning of this tradition, suggesting to set it in the earliest times, when Ithaca might have been interested in creating a myth which allowed it to compete with the great Corinth.

Keywords: Antikleia's rape – genealogy – Odysseus – Sisyphos – Alalkomenai

Ugo Fantasia

HERACLES AT AMBRACIA AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

While the legends about deeds of Heracles in Epirus are relatively ancient (their earliest witness is Hecataeus, *FGrHist* 1 F 26), two texts expressly associated the hero with a pre-Corinthian origin of Ambracia and asserted his lordship on this *polis*: Speusippus' letter to Philip II (*Socr. Ep.* 28, 7), that through the Heraclid descent of the king meant to justify his designs on Ambracia, and the late mythographer Antoninus Liberalis (*Met.* 4, 6-7), whose ultimate source is reported by the headings of his one manuscript to be the local historian Athanadas (who wrote most probably at the beginning of the 3th century BC). The connection between these two pieces of evidence shows that this tradition is not merely the invention of a Greek mid-4th century pro-Macedonian faction or a nice aition aimed at explaining the popularity of the hero's cult at Ambracia, but a local, deep-seated one, that may preserve a core of historical memories about a pre-Cypselid Corinthian presence in this region.

Keywords: Ambracia – Heracles – Corinth – Speusippus – Mythography

Claudio Biagetti

BETWEEN EVENUS AND TAPHIASSUS:
LEGENDS, TERRITORY AND HISTORY AT AITOLIA'S BOUNDARIES

The aim of this paper is to examine two myths, which are related to the South-eastern part of Aitolia and, more precisely, to the territory around the

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mouth of the river Evenus. These myths recount the vicissitudes of Ida and Marpessa, daughter of Evenus, and the killing of Nessus by Heracles. The river helps to give a context to both legends because it defines their geographic frame. As for the killing of Nessus, is devoted special attention to a late tradition, which locates the burial of the Centaur near Mount Taphiassus, lying not far from the Evenus. At the end of the paper, the possible historical implications of both legends are assessed.

Keywords: Aitolia – Euenus – Lokris – Nessus – Western Peloponnese

Damiana Baldassarra

THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE ALPHEIUS IN THE EPIC POETRY SET IN THE WESTERN PELOPONNESE

Three traits mark the Alpheius river in epic poetry: it is fordable, it is deep, and it serves as boundary line. In the historical description of the river such peculiarities become distinctive and identity-bearers: in the Homeric poems – and in the Nestoris in particular – the Alpheius river constitutes the remote *limen* of a specific mythic area, the kingdom of Pylos, whereas already in the Homeric Hymns the river identifies with the land it crosses, Elis – there it serves as boundary line between regional districts, it is fordable (especially near its outlet and in the Olympia area) and deep. During the Classical period the Alpheius river and Olympia matter-of-factly identify with one-another; starting from the Hellenistic age, and particularly in imperial times, we notice a recovery of the Homeric setting, mainly thanks to the identification of the Nestoris' locations within the Elean territory: the Homeric river Minyeius, that runs along Arene, can therefore be identified with the historical Anigrus, which, Strabo says, shares healing properties with the Alpheius. The Minyeius can also be integrated beside the Alpheius river in the most ancient version of the myth, "Heracles and the cleansing of King Augias' stables", as conveyed by the XXV Idyll of the Corpus Theocriteum: by identifying the Acidon river, tributary of the Anigrus, with the Homeric Iardanus, Strabo establishes the real-world boundaries of the Nestoris, definitely set in Elis.

Keywords: Alpheius – Pylos – Anigrus – Minyeius – Iardanus

Maria Letizia Lazzarini

NOTES ON THE HIPPONION TABLET

The orphic lamina of Hipponion is the only epigraphic document from the Lokri's sub-colonies which has been studied continuously since its first edition. However,

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there are still some disputed issues concerning its reading and interpretation: some of them, at lines 1-2, 4, 9, 13, are discussed in this article.

Keywords: Cultural background – textual problems – refreshment – darkness – phylakes' duties

Pierre Ellinger

THE MASTER AND HIS FAITHFUL SLAVE :
ARTEMIS LIMNATIS AND THE IDENTITY OF THE CITY OF PATRAS

In the myth narrated by Pausanias, the city of Patras was founded under the guidance of the Spartan Artemis Limnatis. After the Dorians conquered Sparta, the goddess ordered the last representative of Achaian legitimacy to steal her statue with the help of his son, still a child, and of his most faithful slave, and to take it to Achaia. The Patraian myth, ritual and commemorative representation focus on a double theme: the theft of the sacred statue and the good relationship between master and slave. Opposing its South Peloponnesian rival and its traditionalism, Graeco-Roman Patras, refounded by Augustus, proud of its many cults of the goddess, claims to be the true city of Artemis, and offers a harmonious integration model between various generations and social categories.

Keywords: Artemis Limnatis – Patras – Hellenistic and roman period – Foundation – mythSparta

Paola Grandinetti

‘FEMALE SPECULATION?’:
CONTRACTS BETWEEN WOMEN IN CORFU
AND IN OTHERS AREAS OF THE GREEK WORLD

This article will present some texts of economic acts involving sale or mortgage loans concluded between women. The analysis of some technical aspects in these documents and a comparison between them, allow to continue the study of women's legal capacity and develop considerations proposed in the previous conference of Cosenza.

Keywords: economy – women – women's legal capacity – contracts – transactions