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THE “IONIAN SPACE” IN THE GREEK INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS: FROM THE ANCIENT TO THE MODERN

The paper deals with the role of the Ionian sea in the framework of the Greek international relations and tries to highlight its economic and strategic importance. A corridor for invasions between East and West, the Ionian sea had also a balance function, as a marker of spheres' influence. The latter is perhaps the most original function of the Ionian space, *horos* intended to ensure non-interference relations between Athens and Syracuse, as it is revealed by the peace of Gela in 424, a final point of an intense political and diplomatic confrontation. The Ionian sea is a centre of a geopolitical vision that enhances its different functions and makes it a sea no less important than the Aegean in the Greek international relations.

Keywords: Athens, International relations, Ionian sea, Ionian space, Syracuse.

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SIRENS IN LYCOPHRON BETWEEN CULT
AND CONCEPTUALIZATION

Part of Lycophron's *Alexandra* focuses on Odysseus' difficult return to Ithaca. The encounter with the Sirens is among the events narrated

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(Al. 712-737). This episode closely relates to the poem's prologue and epilogue through specific parallels that interconnect these three parts of the poem. It seems no coincidence that Lycophron has placed the description of the death of the Sirens half way through the poem, so giving it a particular importance. The verses that describes Cassandra at the beginning and the end of *Alexandra* and those in which Cassandra refers to the Sirens share references to specific key points of the poem. This overlapping of themes emphasises their importance in giving unity to the poem and its multifaceted narrative matter.

Keywords: Cassandra, Lycophron, Odyssey, Odysseus, Sirens.

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THE MYTHIC IMAGERY OF EUGAMMON OF CYRENE *TELEGONY*

According to Clement of Alexandria, Eugammon of Cyrene had copied a fair part of his work *Telegony* from a poem by Musaeus regarding Thesprotia. The work presented here attempts, on the basis of surviving fragments, the testimony of Proclus and the epitome of Ps. Apollodorus, to reconstruct the older poem and to show how both the traditions contained in it, and other evidence derived from oral sources, allowed Eugammon to present the last events of the *Odyssey* as performed in an area "at the end of the world" where both, Elis and Thesprotia, are the realm of divinities connected to the setting sun (Augeas) or of ctonic oracles and the border lands with barbaric populations.

Keywords: Elis, Eugammon of Cyrene, Telegony, Thesprotia, Odyssey.

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THE "DODONEAN BRONZE" AND THE "MOLOSSIAN BULL" PAREMIOGRAPHIC OBSERVATIONS REGARDING EPIRUS

Ancient Greek civilization offers an extensive repertory of proverbs and proverbial expressions, which are interesting from many points of view. At the end of the 4th century BC, Greek scholars started to collect

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proverbial material in anthologies, possibly organized by theme or by formal analogy. Later on, around the 1st century, grammarian Didymus gathered a monumental collection that was subsequently reworked through syntheses and epitomes in late Antique and Byzantine collections, structured in alphabetical order. Focusing on these collections, especially Zenobius' and Diogenianus' ones, the main purpose of the paper is to analyse the proverbs relating to Epirus and Molossia. Through the analysis of the proverbs, especially the "Dodonean Bronze" and the "Molossian Bull" many aspects of cults and culture, as well as of the political habits of Molossians can be enlightened.

Keywords: Dodona, Epirus, Molossians, Oaths, Proverbs.

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TRADE BETWEEN THE AEGEAN AND IONIAN SEA IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD: THE *INSTRUMENTUM*

In the absence of information from literary sources, economic activities of the *poleis* can be studied from epigraphic documentation *instrumentum*. In the Hellenistic period, Rhegion was an important centre for production of clay material (bricks, tiles, etc.), destined not only for domestic market but also for export to the opposite shores of the Strait of Messina and the Aeolian archipelago. The conspicuous presence of loops of Rodian *amphorae* between the third and second centuries BC, coeval to those found in Syracuse, suggests that direct flow of trade from Rhodes to Syracuse for the purchase of grain found in Rhegion a forced landing. Rhegion worked as a distribution centre of Rodian *amphorae* towards the Tyrrhenian coastal towns of Bruttium.

Keywords: Instrumentum, Rhegion, Rodian amphorae, Syracuse, Trade.

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PYRRHOS AND THE ITALIOTE CITIES

The analysis of stratified surviving traditions regarding the Roman-Tarentine war, which I propose in this paper, focuses on the investigation of the

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role that different Italiote cities, from Taras to Rhegion, played in the conflict. The goal is to bring out the reasons that, each time, underlie political choices of consent, support or defection for or against Pyrrhos and/or Rome. While war *topoi*, duplications and inconsistencies in the sources are usually attributed to the self-absorption of the pro-Roman historiography, I propose to connect the rewriting of some events of Pyrrhos' expedition in Italy, made by the early Annalists, to the projection on them of direct experiences, situations and episodes of Hannibal's war in the South.

Keywords: Hannibalic war, Italiote cities, Pyrrhos, Roman-Tarentine war, Rome.

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THE KING AGATHOCLES IN THE IONIC AREA: PROJECTS AND MODELS

In 306 BC Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, proclaims himself *basileus* imitating the *Diadochoi* of Alexander: a date that marks his political life and the definition of autocratic power in Syracuse and in Sicily. Agathocles was above all a great *strategos*; according Diodorus he based his *basileia* on army, territory and military enterprises. Before 306, his most prominent and famous enterprise was the military expedition to Libya; after becoming king Agathocles turns back to Italy and to Ionian area. In this strategic plan, he resumes some aspects of Dionysius' the Elder political project: in fact, Dionysius and Alexander the Great were his most important models. At the same time, Agathocles was seeking for himself a stronger role in the Mediterranean balance of power. Unfortunately this period is poorly documented in literary and historiographic sources, but it's evident that he sought a meaningful relationship not only with Ptolemy of Egypt, but with Macedonia and the Macedonians. The focus of this political relationship was the island of Corcyra, besieged by Cassander and freed by Agathocles. The Syracusan king gave it as dowry to his daughter Lanassa, who married first Pyrrhus in 295 and then, in 291, Demetrius Poliorketes. The latter probably intended to enlarge his power towards the West and particularly towards Sicily. At that moment, Corcyra was at the core of a network of relationships among the new Hellenistic kings.

Keywords: Agathocles, Corcyra, Demetrius Poliorketes, Dionysius the Elder, Lanassa.

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HADES AND ATLAS IN THE EAST IN HERODOROS
OF HERAKLEIA-ON-PONTOS

This paper focuses on two fragments by Herodorus, the mythographer of Herakleia-on-Pontos. In the first fragment (FGrHist 31 F 31), his localization of the entrance to the Underworld near Herakleia, as well as being local tradition, invites a broader discussion of mythical cosmological concepts underlying Homeric geography and the early Argonautic epic. The second (F 13) concerns the Atlas episode, located by Herodorus in Phrygia. Atlas, for the first time, is presented allegorically as Herakles' astronomy teacher. The paper discusses the possibility that the allegorical interpretation of Atlas' myth is related, on the one hand, to the Tanagrans participation in the foundation of Herakleia and, on the other, to Herakles' deeds performed, on behalf of Daskylos, in the land of the Marianynoi, site of the future Herakleia.

Keywords: Argonautic epic, Atlas, Herakles, Herodorus, Homeric geography.

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LYCOPHRON AND THE DAUNIAN DESCENDANTS
OF DIOMEDES

The subject of this paper is the Italian aspect of the Greek myth of Diomedes, in particular the tradition which made him, and his Aetolian descendants, colonisers of Daunia, modern N. Puglia. The offshore Tremiti islands have long been identified with the 'islands of Diomedes' known from literary sources; but recent archaeological finds have revealed that there was also cult of Diomedes on a more distant Adriatic island, Palagruza. The paper discusses two extracts from the *Alexandra*, a Hellenistic poem attributed to the tragic poet Lycophron of Chalcis. Most of it is a pseudo-prophecy delivered by Priam's daughter Cassandra or Alexandra. The poem's date is disputed as between the early third and the early second centuries BC. The main aim of this paper is to argue

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that one important detail of the Diomedes narrative provides further support for a low (second-century BC) dating for the whole poem. That detail is a prophecy by Cassandra about Diomedes' own Aetolian descendants. These descendants were a local elite of Argyrippa/Arpi, the Dasii, whose occupation of Daunia will end Diomedes' curse of infertility against it. This prophecy alludes obliquely to a significant episode in the Hannibalic (Second Punic) War at the end of the third century. The Dasii are attested earlier in a small way, but are noticeably prominent at precisely that period. This points towards a late (early second cent.) date for the poem.

Keywords: Arpi, Dasii, Diomedes, Hannibalic War, Lycophron's Alexandra.

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ASPECTS OF CORCYREAN SOCIAL ORDER

Through an analytical reading of the literary tradition and of other evidence, this paper aims at offer a contribution to a better knowledge of the Corcyrean social order. Characterized by a strong aristocratic presence at the beginning of its history, in the last quarter of the V century BC, Corcyra presents a social and economic stratification more complex than the one of the opposition between *oligoi* and *demos* presented in the thucydidean narrative of the 427 BC civil strife. The exploitation of natural resources and a thoughtful economic management of its central position in the sea routes connecting Greece to Italy and to the Adriatic area might have allowed a certain degree of social mobility resulting in the extension of the original body of citizens and in a probable, gradual, transition from a genetic to a timocratic order, and then to a substantial political integration of the *demos* as part of a moderate democracy.

Keywords: Aristocracy, Corcyra, Demos, Society, Thucydides.

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WESTERN GREECE IN THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY
OF THE XVII CENTURY.
THOMAS HOBBS AND THE
EIGHT BOOKES OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WARRE

Since its first reappearance in Europe during the last decades of the 14th century, Ptolemy's *Geographia* became an essential reference for the historical geography of ancient Greece. Nevertheless, pressed by different reasons, some 16th and early 17th century scholars rejected Ptolemy's authority and drew new maps of *vetus Graecia* relying on innovative methods. Among them, Thomas Hobbes gave birth to a most ingenious and learned piece of work, tracing a beautiful *Mappe of Ancient Greece* and compiling a toponymic index of over 600 lemmas, which were both appended to his own translation of Thucydides (London 1628/9). Despite being so far neglected, Hobbes's cartographical work shows a creative and careful mixing of geographical data taken from Greek and Latin authors, modern atlases, *dictionaries* of classical *toponyms* and *other reference books*. So, focusing on the treatment of Western Greece, we can appreciate Hobbes's intention to make Mercator's renowned *Graecia* interact with ancient sources (Thucydides, Pausanias, Strabo, Herodotus, etc.) and modern tools, such as Abraham Ortelius's *Thesaurus Geographicus* and Isaac Casaubon's *Commentarius* to Strabo. This multifaceted approach to ancient geography, as well as the number of exegetical difficulties experienced in drawing his map, lead us to consider Hobbes's work not only as a intriguing chapter in the studies on Western Greece, but also as a valuable help to scrutinize some historical issues still open.

Keywords: Historical Geography, Ptolemy, Thomas Hobbes, Thucydides, Western Greece.

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POLITICAL-CULTURAL ASPECTS OF THE ACHAEAN
COLONIES: THE EPIGRAPHIC DOCUMENTS

This paper provides a synthetic examination of the epigraphic documents related to political and administrative aspects of the Achaean colonies Sybaris and Kroton and their territories. Specifically, the date of the treaty between *Sybaritai* and *Serdaioi* is reconsidered, in the light of a new inscription from Poseidonia. As regards Kroton, the problem of civic eponymy is reviewed, as the compared examination of the documents reveals a change in the course of the III century BC from the *damiorgos*, attested in the V and IV centuries, to the *hiereus*. Finally, the problem of civic organization in the two territories is reviewed through the analysis of new texts containing proper names preceded by literal sigla.

Keywords: Civic eponymy, Achaean Inscriptions, Institutions, Kroton, Sybaris.

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A CLOSED SEA?
ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR MOBILITY
IN THE CENTRAL IONIAN ISLANDS

This chapter examines mobility and complexity in the central Ionian Islands – a region which, by virtue of its location, was forced to balance sometimes conflicting local interests with demands imposed by political allies, and the larger interests of external powers seeking access to and through it. It teases out some of the interests (of various scales and intensities) operative in this regional network, and traces their impact in terms of settlement location, material culture, and economic development. It is argued that a middle-range context of this kind, in which local systems drew on larger connections while influencing their operation, has a distinctive place in the larger picture of expanding Classical-Hellenistic connections in and beyond the Adriatic, and the southwards penetration of Rome.

Keywords: Adriatic, Ionian Islands, Mobility, Rome, Western Greece.

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IN THE SIGN OF HERACLES:
PHILOCTETES AND THE BOW IN THE WEST

This paper focuses on the main influences in the construction of the literary tradition relating to *Philoctetes* in the West, especially those related to the intervention of Sybaris and Sybarites, and of other communities interested in the recovery and reworking of *Philoctetean* mitopoiesis. In the reassertion of the model, it's possible to detect a clear Doric viewpoint, in addition to the evidence of the Aeolian-Thessalian background, consistent with archaic Achaean-colonial traditions. This viewpoint links the Achaean hero, Heraclid by adoption and coadjutor of Thlepolemos' Rhodians, with Sybarite milieu interested in the revival and reformation of the ancient community countered by Kroton. Primary pole of action of Western *Philoctetes* is the *Sybaritis* on the Sybaris river, in tension between Siris and Southern lands: a territorial sphere claimed by the Sybarites themselves against Kroton after the destruction of Sybaris. A fuller vision is represented by Sybaris-Thurii, Petelia, and by the Campanian viewpoint of Euphorion.

Keywords: Kroton, Philoctetes, Petelia, Siris, Sybaris.

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TARANTINOI IN THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

The concern of this short paper is the resettlement of people from *Taras* to the East, by which I mean Greece, the Aegean islands, Asia Minor and Egypt. The present study aims at examining the provenance of settlers in the 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. The Greek inscriptions, which are by far the most numerous, and the Greek literary material give us a good picture of the pattern of settlement: interesting details of the activities of the settlers emerge, enabling us to follow the story of their relations with the native communities. In addition to their provenance, this work also deals with the settlers' occupations and social status, and their relation-

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ships with the Greeks. The literary and epigraphical evidence shows that the first *Tarantinoi* visitors in the Eastern lands were for the most part ambassadors and athletes as they appear in the victory lists compiled by the Greek sanctuaries (VI-IV centuries BC). The inscriptions from the third to the first century record a large number of *technitai*, soldiers in Egypt, merchants and financiers specialized in money management, such as banking and moneylending, trade and agriculture.

Keywords: Aegean islands, Asia Minor, Egypt, Greek sanctuaries, Tarantinoi.

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IMAGES OF KINGS AND PARADIGMS OF REGALITY. MITHRIDATES BASILEUS BETWEEN ASIA AND EUROPE

In order to affirm that Mithridates was an 'Hellenistic king', a *basileus*, it is not enough to point out that he used this title in his coinage, and in many epigraphic documents from inside and outside his kingdom. It is much more significant that he made the Hellenistic *basileia* a model for his own kinship and self-representation. His 'Iranian' features, and the remembrance of his Achaemenid descent were positively part of his propaganda. At the same time, as the names of his relatives could suggest, especially those of his sisters, and of his elder sons and daughters, Mithridates strongly emphasized the fusion of Achaemenid heritage with that of Alexander. We can also detect a development in his self-representation, starting with a strong emphasis on the Seleucid and Alexander's heritage, in a close dialogue with Asian and 'European' Greeks, to end up with a progressive shift of attention to the Iranian lineage: a shift due as well to the Roman sources' perspective on the Mithridatic Wars'. Despite these transformations, the Hellenistic model of *basileia* remain crucial to the understanding of Mithridates' identity and conduct throughout his life.

Keywords: Achaemenid heritage, Alexander the Great, Asia, Hellenistic basileia, Mithridates.

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THE NORTH-WESTERN *POLEIS* IN THE *POLITICS*
OF ARISTOTLE

North-Western Greece is, in J.K. Davies' words, "a wholly non-Aristotelian universe": the thriving of the associative structures of the *koinon*, the *ethnos*, and similar, rather than of the traditional *poleis*, sets the political experience of such regions aside in respect to the theoretical elaboration of the *koinonia politike* which Aristotle offers in his *Politics*. From this view move away, of course, those entities which, though geographically belonging to the examined area, politically and culturally escape the definition of this "non-Aristotelian universe": the Corinthian (and Corinthian-Corcyraean) colonies which, being shaped after the political tradition of their own *metropolis*, exhibit an absolutely different situation, though perhaps under-estimated as well because of their peripheral context. This is the case, in particular, with Ambrakia, Epidamnos and Leukas, mentioned here and there in parallel contexts of political transformation (the *metabole*, dear to the Stagirian philosopher), especially from oligarchic-tyrannical regimes to democracy. The marginality of the Aristotelian references to them, comparable with those to their *metropolis* Corinth, does not compromise the possibility of highlighting common trends, which may be further investigate.

Keywords: Aristotle, Corinth, Corinthian colonies, North-Western Greece, Political regimes.

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GRAIAI, HARPYIAI AND HESPERIDES IN AKOUSILAUS
OF ARGOS

It is a common opinion among scholars that, in the *Genealogiai*, Akousilaus does not show much of a geographic interest. In the fragments, only the main Greek regions are represented with in particular the Peloponnesus and the Argolis, while the West seems completely absent. However, the genealogical and mythical data which may implicitly allude to *Hesperia* should not be underestimated. The purpose of this paper is to

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analyse two Akousilaus' fragments, both quoted by Philodemus in *De Pietate*, concerning the *Graiai* (FGrHist 2 F 11) and the *Harpyiai* (FGrHist 2 F 10). The first citation is quite incomplete, but it is sufficient to excite suspicion that the mythographer puts the *Graiai* in the far West together with their father Phorkys and their sisters the Gorgons. In the second quotation, Akousilaus innovates the *Harpyiai*'s role making them replace the Hesperides as the guardians of the golden apples. Although the sources are not clear about the location of the wonderful garden, Akousilaus probably, following Hesiod, puts it in the West, near the Okeanos' springs. Moreover this innovation is linked to the recounting of the labour of Herakles and thereby it reveals a clear tendency to glorify the hero and generally the Argolic legendary past.

Keywords: Akousilaus, Graiai, Harpyiai, Herakles, Hesperia.

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MUSES AT SATURO. NEW DATA ABOUT A MUSES' CULT IN THE TARANTINE TERRITORY

In the archaeological site of Saturo (the ancient Satyrion), 10 km south of Taras, the excavation carried out by the Sapienza Università di Roma in 2011, brought to light a small pottery sherd, part of a Corinthian *pyx-is*, bearing a fragmentary inscription of a certain interest. The *graffito* - dating to the end of the VII cent. BC - reads ΜΟΙΣΑΝ, to be interpreted as the plural genitive of the Muses' name, with the characteristic Aeolic compensatory lengthening. This morphology is not expected in the Tarantine so called *doris severior*, so a sort of a poetic intention of the writer should be presumed. The paper analyses also other epigraphic examples of the Aeolic compensatory lengthening in the Doric context. This finding also allows us to assume that there was a Muses' cult on the Satyrion's Acropolis, probably related to the one dedicated to Athena: a reminder of a Spartan model of religious association.

Keywords: Cults, Doric Inscriptions, Muses, Satyrion, Taras.