The Mythology and Iconography of Colonization: a Special Themed Issue of Electronic Antiquity

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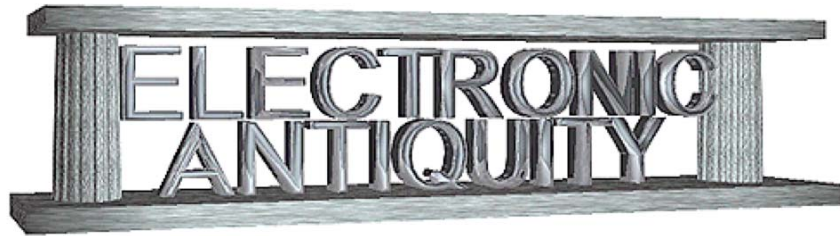Università degli studi di Napoli Federico II, Naples, Italy
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ELECTRONIC ANTIQUITY

Introduction: The Mythology and Iconography of Colonization: An International Conference

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The papers in this issue of *Electronic Antiquity* come from a conference titled *The Mythology and Iconography of Colonization: An International Conference*, held in October 2006 at the Villa Vergiliana in Cuma, Italy. The conference was co-sponsored by Virginia Tech (Blacksburg VA, USA) and the Università degli Studi di Napoli Frederico II (Naples, Italy). Ann-Marie Knoblauch (Art & Art History) and Terry Papillon (Classical Studies) were the Virginia Tech organizing faculty; Gioia Rispoli, Rossana Valenti and Raffaele Grisolia were from Naples. Professor Alfonso Mele of Naples kindly joined us as sponsor and key note speaker.

The project was a result of Virginia Tech's first International Faculty Development Program in 2005. Twelve faculty members (two each from six colleges) traveled to Virginia Tech's Center for European Studies and Architecture in Riva san Vitale, Switzerland to develop and promote individual international research projects, as well as consider ways to

enhance the University's mission on an international stage. We were fortunate to be members of that 2005 class as a representative from the College of Architecture and Urban Studies, School of Visual Arts, and the College of Liberal Arts and Human Sciences, Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures. Collaboration between us made sense since we both do research on the classical world. As a result, we spent the spring of 2005 exploring a project that would allow us to pursue mutual research interests in an international setting. We developed the idea to hold an international conference, the topic of which would treat the rhetoric and iconography of colonization.

We created a connection with the three professors in Naples, and during our time in Switzerland, we traveled to Naples to meet with them and learn about the Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi per la Magna Grecia and the work of Professor Mele. This visit resulted in our plans for the conference, to be held in October 2006 at the Villa Vergiliana in Cuma, Italy. Our choice of location was twofold: first, Cuma, near the Bay of Naples, is in a part of the world in which ancient Greek colonization had early and strong roots; and second, the intimate setting of the Villa Vergiliana invited a level of collegiality that could extend well past the formal paper sessions.

An excerpt from our call for papers expresses our goals for the conference:

> *The process of colonization affects most world cultures and by definition includes the colonizer, the colonized, and the resulting hybrid community that communicates what its new values are. But the reasons for and impact of colonization differ dramatically in different situations. This conference encourages discussion of the rhetoric of the hybrid community that colonization produces. Furthermore, the concept of colonization appears in many different contexts, including military occupation, political posturing, economic planning, and modern academic discourse, such as post-colonial studies. This conference uses ancient Mediterranean colonization as the starting point for broader discussions of the impact of colonization.*

We were excited and intrigued by the abstracts we received and the conference that followed. We spent five days at the Villa Vergiliana, where we welcomed speakers from Italy, Greece, Israel, Russia, Spain, Portugal, Norway, and the United States. Our conference on the hybridity of colonization became a metaphor for the conversation and collegiality of an international group of scholars working on diverse topics within diverse periods and parts of the world. The setting of the Villa Vergiliana allowed for on-going conversations about the nuances of colonial contact and impact, as well as site visits to Cuma, Pompeii, Paestum, and the Naples Archaeological Museum.

Colonization

Colonization in one form or another has been a consistent theme throughout much of human history, up to and including the present day. Current political, military and commercial activities allow us to witness at a rapid pace the ever-changing ways in which cultures compete and coalesce on a global stage. Different actors are often able to manipulate the assimilation process in ways that suit their interests, and the results are often met with ambivalence by the world audience. Whether discussing the spread of Coca-Cola or democracy, most of us recognize that when something is gained, something else is lost. Can such trends be observed and analyzed in other periods, and if so, how can they be measured?

The theme of colonization interested us both and we recognized that it could be fruitful for bringing together different disciplines to discuss the topic from different methodological approaches. Ann-Marie works with archaeology and iconography while Terry works with rhetoric and oratory; thus we could already see many possible approaches to colonization just from our own perspectives. Ann-Marie's disciplines (particularly archaeology) tend to identify colonization through the material remains by pinpointing those elements that are an enduring and transportable part of a group's cultural identity (burial practices, the manifestation of religious beliefs, etc.) and document them in the archaeological record, charting the local and non-local trends to separate the colonized from the colonizers. Terry's research field of rhetoric often looks at the way discourse meshes and distinguishes colonizers and colonized. Through our project, we aimed to investigate ways that multiple voices could lead to more robust commentary about the ways in

which cultures take an active or passive role in the evolution of a hybrid culture.

The notion of colonization is a complicated one, both in antiquity as today. What does it mean when a foreign group descends onto a place, and how do we measure the impact on both the colonized and the colonizer? Is assimilation of culture an automatic outcome of colonization? If so, how can we (de)construct this process of assimilation in order to determine the roles played by the two (or more) cultures involved? While in some contexts (for example political, military and economic power) the colonizer might be dominant by default, when it comes to cultural assimilation in a non-local (and sometimes non-familiar) region, does the colonized have a visible and/or lasting advantage? Is it possible to move beyond biased official and/or historical reports of "successes" or "failures" of colonies to understand the consequences on every day people? Finally, is there an "expiration date" on these questions? In other words, after the physical act of colonization occurs, at what point (if ever) do two cease to talk of colonizer and colonized, and instead address the assimilated culture?

We did not intend for our conference to provide explicit answers to these questions. In fact, it goes without saying that every region, every period and every culture creates its own algorithm that produces uniquely local results when cultures come together through force or convenience. The opportunities to advance the conversations provided by a conference such as ours, however, enabled interdisciplinary engagement and a broader view of history and humankind.

The Conference Papers

We intentionally wanted the conference to cover a broad range of topics, starting with the classical world, of course, but allowing other areas and time periods to inform and enlighten our inquiry. The papers thus cover a wide array of times and places. This created an invigorating environment for conversation.

For this issue, we give pride of place to the keynote paper by Professor Mele, where he argues for a reconsideration of the inorganic colonization through close attention to Homer, Hesiod, and Greek lyric poetry focusing on the Rhodian example of Tlepolemus.

We have set the rest of the papers out more or less geographically, beginning in the East and traveling to the West. This was not meant to prioritize the West, or imply a dominance of that West as a colonizer. It came about more from the papers treating the East being chronologically earlier.

Thus we begin in Anatolia, with Itamar Singer's paper on Hittite influences in Anatolia, focusing on the charter myth of the Queen of Kanesh and the additional possibilities of a return myth. Anastasia Leriou continues with a discussion of the rhetorical nature of archaeological discussion, using the example of descriptions of the Mycenean colonizastion of Cyprus. Dobrinka Chiekova then treats Greek and Thracian interaction on the coast of the Black Sea. She clarifies how religious cultic choices shows an interaction between Greek and original Thracian thought. Sandra Blakely concludes the section dealing with eastern Mediterranean topics with a discussion of Kadmos and Jason on Samothrace, using the myth of initiation to highlight the interaction.

In the central Mediterranan region, Rebecca Schindler takes us to Locri Epizephyrii in southern Italy to look at how the presentation of Aphrodite represents connection. In a jointly authored paper, Yolanda Gamboa and Noemi Marin take us up the west coast of Italy and upward in time to look at Naples in the 17th century. They analyze the notions of Naples as a rhetorical and colonial concept in Spain. Angela Ziskowski looks at evidence for women in Sicily and southern Italy and their role in informing us about colonial patterns; the Greek colonists took local women as wives. Antonella Carfora analyzes a specific example of colonial mythmaking with the example of Archias of Syracuse. Next, Kristoffer Momrak contributes a more theoretical piece dealing with the idea of colonization and metropolis, or mother city, using examples from Sicily and North Africa. He argues that the narratives of the historians hide the multiplicity of motives for colonization during the Archaic period. Finally, we reach Spain and the west with Domingo Plácido's paper on the colonization of the northwest Iberian peninsula by Phoenicians and Greeks.

We are glad to offer this collection of papers that will show the variety of perspectives and the variety of topics that come from some deceptively simple questions.
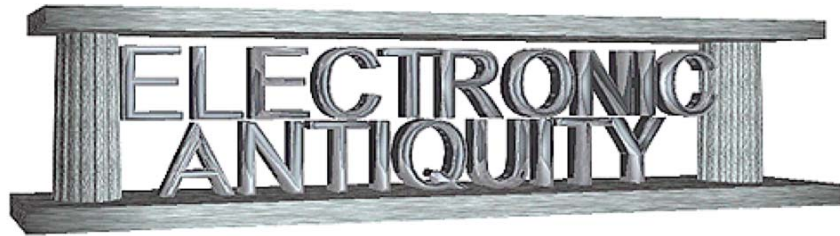
HOW ARCHAIC GREEK COLONIZATION DEVELOPED AND WHAT FORMS IT TOOK

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Premises for colonisation.

A lively debate has developed in recent years around the nature and development of archaic Greek colonisation. This debate tends to prove that the model based on the oecist–metropolis–date of foundation relation that has been passed on to us through the ancient tradition in fact results from a later normalisation process, which did not occur earlier than the mid-7th century. For the most ancient period, archaeological evidence would suggest a different model, made up of heterogeneous colonial contributions and settlements following each other gradually[1]. In the light of this, the chapters of our books of history concerning Greek colonisation ought to be deleted and re-written. Colonists of different origin flow towards the earliest settlements, as is confirmed by the different origins of pottery; a consequence of this were settlements without a well-defined plan and expanding gradually, a fact which finds evidence in field studies. In the same perspective, Greek metropolitan *poleis* must be primitivistically conceived as communities similar to

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[1] Cf. Purcel, Osborne, and Braund.

either those of the Polynesian big men[2] or to the stateless communities of Black Africa[3].

It is a wave of primitivism that beats down on the way in which the archaic Greek society is perceived. Such a perception neglects the existence of Homer's poems (and all the lost works that accompanied it), Hesiod's poems and the whole world of which they were part; it neglects the existence of lyric poetry and what it tells us about its contemporary world. This view also seems to ignore the nature of the ancient *emporia*, which does not make for a mechanical identification between the origin of products and their users–think, for example of the ubiquitous spreading of Corinth ceramics and the presence of the archaic colonies of Kerkyra and Syracuse. And it also seems to forget the characteristics of the archaic *poleis*, developed following the two clashing models of the *katà komas* polis, Sparta[4], and of the synoecistic polis, Athens[5].

I am not going to examine the issue in a comprehensive way; I have already discussed this topic elsewhere.[6] Here I will limit my analysis to a criticism of the inorganic colonisation model.

It should be remembered that there are references to the colonisation dating from the time of the most ancient settlements in the 8th-7th centuries BCE These references are included in what E. Havelock defines as the Greek tribal encyclopaedia, that is Homer and Hesiod. Alongside these works are the specific evidence and the colonial models found in archaic Greek lyrical production: Callinus, Archilocus, Simonides, Mimnermus and Alcaeus. In particular, Callinus was able to recall a colonial movement from the past of the Troad region[7]; some poets, then, were directly involved in colonial enterprises: Archilocus, for example, took part in the colonial endeavour of Paros in Thasos[8], and described the foundation of Syracuse[9] and how the Ionians were fascinated by the site of Siris; Simonides of Samos, instead, founded Minoas on the island of Amorgos[10]. Past colonial enterprises had their

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[2] Quiller. Contra: Carlier.
[3] Berent. Contra: Hansen 162.
[4] Thuc. I, 10.
[5] Thuc. II, 15.
[6] Mele 2007
[7] F 7 West.
[8] FF 102.21.22.116.
[9] F 293 West.
[10] Sud., s.v. Simonides.

own bards: Samos had Simonides[11]; Colophon had Mimnermus, who, from his homeland also sang the war against Gyges[12]. Alongside them came Xenophanes, who sang the origin of Colophon and the recent foundation of Elea[13]. All these accounts must be taken into consideration when evaluating the complex phenomenon of the archaic Greek colonisation.

This is what we are going to attempt, starting from the archaic Greek encyclopaedia, the Homeric poems, to comment on what they say about colonisation. Homeric poems present the whole picture of the phenomenon of colonisation. First, they present the preconditions for the establishment of a colony, through an excerpt of the Odyssey about Goat Island, located in front of the Cyclops' land (IX 116-141). It is a wooded, uninhabited island, showing no sign of the presence of humans–no hunters, or shepherds, or ploughers–but grazing land for a multitude of goats. The island shows a good potential: its land is suitable for grazing and for growing vines and cereals. It has a safe harbour and water resources. But it has remained uninhabited because the Cyclops are not sailors and do not build ships to travel to other people's cities nor carry out the typical activities which men undertake when they cross the seas and meet with other men.

The meaning of this is clear. Colonies are born if some preconditions are met: a prior knowledge of the places (which only a community of origin that owns ships and is used to travelling and trading can obtain); an attractive destination with good resources for farming (for the growing of cereals and vines and for breeding); the possibility to moor and stop in a safe harbour; and feasibility of the enterprise, which in this case means the lack of any inhabitants. An implicit precondition is the presence, in the community interested in the colony, of people who do not benefit from these resources in their homeland and are therefore willing to move to the new settlement. All these preconditions should be seen in the perspective of the world in which Homeric *aedes* work, in the paradigmatic forms of the tribal encyclopaedia that express the typical premises for the foundation of a colony.

The fact that the chronological level at which this paradigm is formulated is that of the earliest colonial settlements finds further support in a number of other sources. When Hesiod, the other component of the

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[11] ibid.
[12] FF 9.10.13.14.
[13] D.L. IX.20.

Greek encyclopaedia, tells of his father's migration from the Aeolic Cyme to Ascra, he points out that his father had been involved in maritime trade and was urged to move to a place which turned out to be less attractive than it had seemed. In Cyme he had not been able to overcome his difficult economic conditions through his work[14]. We are in the second half of the 8th century.

Archilocus further supports the model for the first half of the 7th century. The territory to colonise must be attractive. This is not the case for Thasos, that is likened to a donkey's back covered with woods, while it is true for the area through which flows the river Siris, which is beautiful, desirable and pleasant[15]. It is misery that drives colonists from all over towards the island of Thasos[16], and it is poverty that urges him to do the same, leaving the island of Paros and a diet of figs and fish[17]. Towards the end of the same century, Mimnermus confirms Archilocus' auspice, recalling that his fellow citizens went to sea heading for "the desirable Asia and the pleasant Colophon"[18]. Even Apollo elects as his temple a pleasant place, which ensures crops and has nice meadows[19].

The premises and developments of the earliest contemporary Greek foundations in Italy correspond to this model. Sea journeys by *prospectors* since the late 9th century left a trace in the spreading of Cycladic cups and cups with chevrons in Apulia, Lucania, western Sicily, Campania and Etruria, followed by the late-geometrical colonial settlements[20]. The most relevant situation is that of Pithecusae, the island facing the mainland, which offered water and harbours, *eukarpia* and trading opportunities. Discovered by *prospectors*, it later became an agricultural-commercial settlement[21]. Zancles has a similar story: it was discovered as a harbour with an indigenous name[22] and exploited for the opportunities of maritime control and *tele* it offered, something which the victims of this exploitation viewed as piracy[23]; later it became a

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[14] Hesiod Op 618; 631-640.

[15] FF 21.22 West.

[16] F 102 West.

[17] F 116.Cf.P.,Py. 2,54-57; Critias 88 F 44 DK.

[18] F 9 West.

[19] H.Ap.,529-30.

[20] E.Greco, Archeologia della Magna Grecia, Rome-Bari,1992,pp. 3 ss.

[21] Cf. Mele 2003.

[22] Thuc.,VI.4,5; Strabo,VI.2,3,268; Paus.,IV.23,7.

[23] Strabo, IX,3,4,418-9, talking of Krisa, helps understand the link between the imposition of *tele* and the judgement given by those who were obliged to pay

colony owning a territory that was appreciated for its *eukarpia*, or *euoinia*, and excellent wine production[24].

The second of the Homeric data, that is the agricultural resources as a reason for settlements across the sea, appears again in the colonial settlements of southern Italy. The Delphian Oracle assigned a wealthy territory between the Satyrion harbour and the river Taras to the Parthenii[25]. Metaponto exhibits the ear of wheat on its coin and, thanks to its abundant crops of cereals, it offers Delphian Apollo a gold harvest[26]. We have seen what Archilocus thought of Siris. Sibari occupied a vast, fertile land between two rivers and thus enjoyed great prosperity[27]. Delphian Apollo assigned to Miscellus a great Kroton among the beautiful lands to plough[28]. Cuma was founded thanks to a Demetrian cereal rite, following the sound of cymbals that prepared Kore's return[29] and built its prosperity thanks to the *eukarpia* of the Campanian-Phlegraean plain[30]. Pithecusae owed its wealth to goldsmiths, but also, again, to its *eukarpia*[31]. In conclusion, the written texts of the Homeric encyclopaedia, other literary evidence and contemporary colonial realities in the West correspond very closely to what is passed on by the excerpt of the Odyssey mentioned above.

How and why the colonisation took place: the case of Rhodes.

Rhodes provides a typical example of colonisation (Iliad 2.661-670). Tlepolemos, being the son of Herakles, was a brave and gallant hero, a famous spear-user, and head of the tripartite Rhodians in Troy. A grown-up man, he once happened to kill old Licymnius, his father's uncle on the part of his mother. Herakles' other children and grandchildren then

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them. On this interpretation of organised piracy, see the reaction of Etruscans and Campanians to the Phocean attempt to transform Alalia into a polis with its own exclusive territorial and maritime space: Hdt. I.166,1.

[24] Strabo,VI.2,3,268

[25] Antioch.555 .F 13.

[26] Strabo, VI.1,15,264.

[27] Tim. 50; Diod-,XII.9,1; Varro,RR,I,44,2.

[28] Diod., VIII,17.

[29] V.P.,I,4,1.

[30] D:H., VII.3,2; Strabo,V.4,2-3,242.

[31] Strabo, V,4,9,247.

convinced him to flee. He immediately started building ships and gathering great support. So he left, and not without suffering, he reached Rhodes. Here his comrades settled in three different places, one for each of the tribes and, being much loved by Zeus, obtained great wealth. This division into three groups recalls the first lines of the excerpt, 652-656, where the Rhodians are said to keep the island divided into three, between Lindus, Ialysus and Camirus.

The foundation of the colony is conceived as a unitary act, in which the role of the oecist appears essential. He is the military leader of the colonists; he is the one who builds ships and gathers colonists, chooses the place, organises the colony assigning different areas of the new territory to different tribes. A fundamental aspect is he is backed by a community in which he plays a leading role: he is a descendent of Herakles and can therefore build ships and gather followers. As for the reasons for leaving, for the oecist it is means accepting the consequences of a fault that keeps him isolated from his relatives; for his followers the colony will mean obtaining the land and the wealth they do not have in their homeland. In the light of these considerations the function of the colony becomes clear: is restoring the leader's lost prestige, and restoring the colonists' lost land and wealth.

The same tradition is found in Pindar's Olympian VII, which he composed in 464 BCE in honour of the pugilist Diagoras, an authoritative member of the Rhodian aristocracy. The poem chronicles the entire mythical history of Rhodes, the rising of the island from water, the relationship with Helios and his children including Camirus, Ialysus and Lindus, the worship of Athena and the arrival of Tlepolemos–and the Rhodians wanted to have it written in gold letters in the temple dedicated to Athena Lindia[32]. It is thus a poem in which the island's ruling class recognised itself. The tradition on Tlepolemos keeps the essential traits of the Homeric tale intact.[33] Tlepolemos was a very strong Heraklides, *oikistés* and *archagetas*, hence founder as well as religious and military leader: in the definition of the Rhetra, the *archagetai* were the Heraklides kings of the Spartans[34]. The colonists find themselves divided between the three cities on the island. The metropolis, implicit in Homer, is clearly the Argolides and Tiryns. The reason for the departure is the killing of Alcmena's brother Lycimnius. The colonists find an island rich in men

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[32] Gorgon di Rodi 515 F 18.
[33] Ol.,VII.,19-33; 64;77-81.
[34] Paus.,Lyc.,VI.8.

and animals, with a potential for great wealth. The function of the colony is to provide him with redemption from misfortune (lines 77-81) and the colonists with great prosperity (line 64).

There are some variations: the hero's mother was the Thessalian and Phtiotic Astydameia, the daughter of Ormenos[35], eponym of Ormenion near the gulf of Pagases[36], instead of Astyocheia of Ephyra; the murder was unintentional; Tlepolemos consulted Apollo's Oracle. All this is declared by the poet himself, who points out he has introduced a correction compared to the ξυνὸς λόγος, the universally widespread tradition, that is the Homeric tale. When he writes this, it is not the mere local tradition of Rhodes, but in Herodotus's words[37], it is the ξυνὸς Ἑλλήνων λόγος.

The paradigmatic version offered by the Greek encyclopaedia is thus that of a colony that is born out of a crisis within the ruling class: a Heracklides has done something wrong and must leave his land; a colony that is born thanks to the initiative of its future oecist, who uses his leading position to secure ships and partners, chooses the destination and assigns each of the three tribes to a different place. As has long been recognised, this tradition is backed by the memory of an early Achaean presence in the area[38] on the one hand, and on the other the anticipation of the future Doric presence on the island[39]. However, following the approach we have taken so far, it is not this point we should insist on, but rather the underlying model, which integrates the process with the data produced by the model we have examined earlier. The colony is born thanks to the action of the ruling class in the homeland, where the oecist, the means, the men, the resources come from.

Tlepolemos and Archias.

The archaic nature and soundness of this model is clearly shown by the comparison between Tlepolemos and Archias, the founder of Syracuse. He is a Bacchiad, and thus member of the ruling class in his homeland Corinth, and as such he is a Heraklides[40]. He, too, has to leave

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[35] Hes.,F 232 M.-W.= schol.P.O.VII 42. Simon., F 554 Page.

[36] Strabo, IX.5,7,432; 5,15,436; 5,18,438; e,21,442 etc.

[37] IV.2,3.

[38] Marazzi, 1 ff.

[39] Musti, pp. ,39 f,.48,56,58,66 n.11.

[40] Thuc., VI,.3,2.

because he has killed someone unintentionally[41]. As the military leader of the colonists, he drives the Sikels out of Ortygia[42]. He, too, makes a *dasmòs* of lands, *kleroi*, among his fellow colonists, who therefore appear to have followed him to this purpose[43]. He, too, is the object of an annual worship as oecist: this is inferred from Callimacus, who started the list of the colonies where the nominal worship of the oecist was the rule with Syracuse[44].

What is particularly important in this case is the account of Archilocus, F 293 West, a poet who lived in the first half of the 7th century, around the time of the foundation of Syracuse. The poet told an exemplary story about love for pleasures and incontinence that had led a friend of Archias' who was going to found Syracuse, a certain Aithiops, to exchange the *kleros* he was going to receive in Syracuse for a honey cake. Some important facts follow: the well-known exemplary story, which involved Archias as the oecist, and the distribution of land among colonists once they had reached their destination. The tradition linked to Archias and the foundation of the colony was thus archaic when Archilocus wrote of a well-known fact, a ξυνὸς Ἑλλήνων λόγος, to which he could refer for a fact that was somehow exemplary. The mythical elements, which are present in the tradition about Archias as we will see shortly, cannot thus lead to discredit his work on the historical level, but are rather the counter evidence of the very ancient origin of this figure.

For more elements to judge the value of these oecist traditions it is possible to look at the way in which tradition has dealt with the problem of Archias' fault. Melissus Argivus, son of Habron, bound to Corinthian Dexandros by ties of hospitality, and thus a friend of the Corinthians, informs Dexandros of Phidon's intention to kill a thousand young men and, by doing so, actually saves their lives. For this reason he is exiled to Corinth where, on his way back from a *komos*, he involuntarily tears his son Actaeon, whom Archias loved, to shreds during an attempted kidnapping. Melissus does not obtain to see Archias punished by the Corinthians, so during the celebrations for Poseidon he kills himself, cursing those who were responsible for this. A plague strikes Corinth, and the oracle tells Archias that he is responsible for all this. So Archias

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[41] Alex.Etol. 3,7 Powell= Schol. AR IV,1212; Diod., VII,10; Plut.,Mor.,772 D-773 B.
[42] Thuc., VI.3,2.
[43] Archiloch., F 293 W.
[44] Callim., F 43 28-30 Pf. E scholl.ad loc.

organises the colony for Syracuse, where, after accomplishing the task and generating two daughters–Ortygia and Syracuse–he is killed by his previous *eromenos*, Telephos, who had followed him commanding a ship[45]. In the same period, another Bacchiad, Chersicrates, deprived of his political rights, *atimos*, has to abandon Corinth to found Kerkyra, so that the departure of two important members of the ruling aristocracy appears as a moment of crisis in the history of Corinth under the Bacchiads[46].

The story is well-known at the end of the 4th century, when Alexander Aetolus on the one hand and Callimachus and Apollonius Rhodius on the other refer to it, without feeling the need for a complete account. It may be proved, however, that it is an ancient tradition inspired by the Bacchiads. To start with, it confuses the departure of the two Bacchiads around 733 with the final expulsion of the Bacchiads by Cypselus in the mid-7th century–a typical example of the merging tendencies of oral traditions. On the other hand, in history there is a trace of solidarity between Phidon and the Bacchiads, which appears through a series of parallel, yet not identical, accounts. Nicolaos Damascenus knows that Phidon's death occurred in Corinth, where the tyrant had come to the rescue of the faction supporting him[47]. In the Bacchiad colony of Syracuse an argive *basileus* named Pollis was active.[48] Among the Bacchiads Phidon's name was one of the most ancient legislators.[49] The name of Actaeon, brought by the young son of Melissus, recalls connections with Boeotia and the homonymous figure who, too, was torn to shreds[50]: the relationship with Boeotia reappears at the time of the Bacchiads with the Corinthian and Bacchiad Philolaus, who was an exile in Thebes where he, too, was a legislator[51]. The same story, in the figures of Philolaus and Diocles, respectively *erastès* and *eromenos*, confirms the ordinariness of homoerotic practices among the Bacchiad aristocracy. Finally, from the Bacchiad point of view, the story provides the motivation for the departure of Archias and Chersicrates. The whole story appears thus to draw inspiration from the Bacchiads and preserves the

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[45] Al.Aet. 3,7 Powell;schol.AR., IV,1212; Diod.,VIII,10; Plut.,Mor.,772 D-773 B.

[46] Callim.,F 12,1-6 Pfeiffer; AR,IV,1210-16; Tim.,F 80..

[47] 90 F 35.

[48] Hippys F 4; Aristot.,F 585 R. = 602 Gigon.

[49] Pol.,1265 B 8-16.

[50]Diod.,VII,10; Max. Tyr., XVIII,1 Hoben.Cf. Hes.Cat.F 112 Colonna = Apd.,III.4,4; Cat.,113,Colonna= P.Oxy. 2509 ed.Lobel 1964.,

[51] Aristot.,Pol.,1274 A 21 –B 6.

memory of an archaic reality of which only isolated, yet consistent, fragments have reached us.

It is therefore interesting to analyse the texture of the whole story: what emerges from it is the heroic stature attributed to Archias, whereas the argive Dexandros, whose name exalts his role of host, appears as a functional hero. Likewise, his Corinthian guest Habron recalls the positive nature which the habrosyne had in archaic aristocracies and the close connection between practices of luxury and hospitality[52]. Melissus and Actaeon, instead, recall mythical heroes: Actaeon, homonym of the Boeotian hero who was torn to pieces by his dogs[53], and Melissus, the male of the bee, who recalls Aristeus, the god of honey and father of Actaeon[54]. Melissus' suicide takes place during the festival of Poseidon by *kremnismòs* in the *adyton* of Melicertes[55], another figure whose name was connected to honey. Ortygia and Syracuse are eponymous heroines. His murderer's name, Telephos, also has a heroic-mythical origin: like the Corinthian hero who joins Archias in commanding his ship, he leads the Achaeans towards their destination, Troy[56]. Archias therefore enjoys the status of hero.

But this is not all: Archias is involved in ritual practices of transition. The story of the relations with Actaeon is clarified in the light of the juvenile *nomima* περὶ τὰς ἐρωτὰς typical of archaic aristocracies. Through Ephorus[57] we learn that these existed in the Doric world, in particular in Crete and, in the light of what he says, we can describe the story of Archias and Actaeon. Actaeon is the *pais* who, because of his handsomeness, his valour and composure, is chosen as *eromenos* by a noble *erastès* like Archias. Archias wants to make him the object of *harpagé,* after a *komos*, aided by his *synetheis*. The young man's father, following the logic of hostility towards the Bacchiads and Phidon, considers him as *anaxios* and resists, thanks to the aid of his *philoi*. All this causes the death of the *pais-eromenos*, following which Archias founds Syracuse and is killed by his own *eromenos*, who is now an adult. The logic of the tale seems clear. The foundation of a colony is experienced as a rite of transition in which the colonists, *paides* (thanks to the oecist, *erastes*), die like Actaeon, to be able, as eromenoi who are now

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[52] Diod.,XIII.83,1. Cf.Emped., B 112 DK.
[53] Cf.n.39.
[54] Diod.,IV.81,4; Apd.,III,4,4 (30)
[55] Will 184.
[56] Cypr. Arg. 42 B; F 22 B.
[57] F 149.

adults and citizens, to embody Telephos, and get rid of the old oecist-erastes and therefore alter their status of subordination. It is the view of the colony as *lutron tes sumphoràs*, already experienced in Rhodes, which comes back with the full extent of its implications.

The two stories of Tlepolemus and Archias develop the same model. Is it a mere superstructure? Let us consider a few facts. Archias is a Bacchiad, who lived at the time when the Greek encyclopaedia was put down in writing. He is Eumelus' *syngenés*, he himself a Bacchiad and associated to him by a chronographical tradition that constructed its chronological associations starting from the work of the poets concerned: Archilocus, Simonides, Callinus. Eumelus is an epic poet who works under the influence of Hesiod[58], competes with Arctinus[59], draws on the theme of the *Nostoi*[60], develops the *archaiologia* of Corinth in the light of the Aeolic[61], Argonautic[62], Boeotian and Theban[63] traditions. This is the environment in which Archias is educated and works, the one which provides him with models: the fact that his story repeats that of Tlepolemus Heraklides of Argo, presented as exemplary in the Greek encyclopaedia, is not a mere coincidence, but rather the very way in which a colony at the time could become reality.

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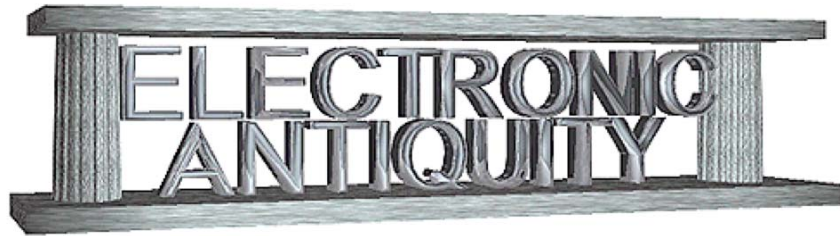
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[58] T 6 B.

[59] T 9.10 B.

[60] T 13 B.

[61] FF 6.7 B.

[62] F 5 B.

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MYTHOLOGICAL ASPECTS IN THE HITTITE COLONIZATION OF ANATOLIA

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Because this is a Hittite paper in a predominantly classical context, I should perhaps begin with a brief introduction on the Hittites before we get to their mythology.

Hittite is the oldest recorded Indo-European language, attested in cuneiform script in the second millennium BCE. When we first meet them in texts, the Hittites already inhabit large parts of central Anatolia, but we do not have clear evidence regarding how much earlier they entered Asia Minor and from where. There is a long-standing debate among linguists and archaeologists about the chronology and genealogy of the IE Anatolian languages, and the current trend is to date the migrations of the Hittites and their "cousins", the Luwians and the Palaians, at least a thousand years, probably more, before the first written documents, i.e. somewhere in the 3rd or possibly the 4th mill. BCE. This situation, among other things, may account for the fact that the Hittites did not leave behind any explicit traditions about their origins, unlike the Romans, the Greeks, or the Israelites. Still, scholars have repeatedly scrutinized the Hittite texts and the archaeological record for some distant echoes and reflections about their origins and their migrations into Asia Minor.

In north-central Anatolia the Hittites encountered the highly advanced culture of the Hattians, an autochtonous people whose

language is perhaps distantly related to some western Caucasian dialects. The encounter between the IE Hittites and the local Hattians resulted in a remarkable fusion between two entirely different cultures. The dominant Hittites adopted completely the cultural assets of their predecessors, especially in the domains of religion and mythology. However, this cultural fusion between Hittites and Hattians, not unlike the one between Romans and Etruscans, must have been preceded by fierce encounters of which we have very little information, most of it embedded in cryptic mythological descriptions. This laconic characterization should supply in a nutshell the background for the following myth and its decipherment.

Let me add a short note on ethno-geography. In the early 2nd millennium BCE the Hattians controlled the Land of Hatti, comprising the area within the large bend of the Halys River, Hittite Marassanta. Their major kingdoms were Hattush, the future capital of the Hittites, and Zalpa on the Black Sea. To the southeast lay the predominantly Hittite kingdom of Kanish or Nesha. In the mid-18th century Anitta, king of Nesha, conquered in a sweeping campaign the entire Land of Hatti, as well as other parts of central Anatolia, thus founding the first Hittite empire, which lasted, with ups and downs, for more than 500 years. It is from the name of this city of Kanish/Nesha that the Hittites took the self-designation of their own language, Neshili, which has erroneously come to be known in modern scholarship as "Hittite" (Singer 1984).

One of the earliest myths in Hittite literature is the tale about "The Queen of Kanesh, her thirty sons and thirty daughters" (Otten 1973). The mythical time of this origin legend is set before Anitta's takeover of central Anatolia, but the text was actually written down in Old Hittite script in the mid-17th century. You may find several English translations and numerous discussions of this intriguing text. The translation below follows that of Watkins(2004):

The Queen of Kanesh bore thirty sons in a single year. She said, 'What a monster is this which I have borne?' She filled baskets with fat, put her sons in them, and launched them in the river. The river carried them to the sea to the land of Zalp(uw)a. But the gods took them up out of the sea and reared them.

When the years had passed the Queen again gave birth, (this time) to thirty daughters. And she herself reared them. The sons are making their way back to Kanesh, driving a donkey. When they reached the city of Tamarmara, they are saying: 'Here you have heated up the bedroom so that the donkey *tries to copulate*.' The men of the city replied: 'As far as we have seen, a donkey *tries to copulate* anyway.' The boys countered:

'As far as we have seen, a woman bears [only one] son [a year], but one gave birth to us (all) at once.' The men of the city retorted: 'Once our queen of Kanesh gave birth to thirty daughters at once, but the sons have disappeared.' The boys said to themselves: 'Whom are we seeking? We have found our mother there. Come, let us go to Kanesh.' When they went to Kanesh the gods put another appearance on them so their mother does not recognize them, and she gave her own daughters to her own sons. The older sons did not recognize their own sisters. But the youngest [said]: '... should we take our own sisters in marriage? Do not stain yourselves [with] impiety. [It is not] right.' But they sle[pt] with them. [...

As it happens, at this dramatic point the tablet breaks off. On the other side of the tablet the narrative continues after a brief gap. It recounts the struggle that broke out between Zalpa, where the boys were raised, and Hattusha, the future capital of the Hittites. Of course, Hattusha has the upper hand after three generations of hostilities and the city of Zalpa is destroyed. This part of the story is no longer in mythical time, but rather it portrays the early history of the Hittite kingdom. For the sake of precision I should add that the connection between the two parts of the legend (on two sides of the tablet) is conjectural, and some scholars would even doubt that they belong to the same text. For me, however, the two sides represent "the sin and its punishment", an aetiological justification for the domination of Hattusha and its ruling dynasty (Singer 1984; 1995; for another interpretation see Gilan 2007).

You have probably recognized in this concise tale plenty of mythologems familiar from other parts of the world, including Greek and Vedic Indian mythology. The baby in the basket floating in the river recalls of course Moses and Sargon of Akkad. More specifically, the motif of exposing boy babies and keeping the girl babies recurs in the legend of the Amazons, who according to Greek tradition lived in Anatolia, more or less in the same region on the southern shore of the Black Sea where Zalpa must be located.

The prodigious multiple birth has been compared by Cal Watkins to the Asvamedha ritual in the Rigveda (RV 10.86.23) and to the Greek legend of the Danaids, all three reflecting a common IE heritage. The Greek tale of origins, as recounted by Aeschylus in "The Suppliants", recounts the endogamic marriage of parallel cousins, the fifty sons of Aigyptos with the fifty daughters of Danaos. As forcefully argued by Emile Benveniste in his 1949 'La légende des Danaïdes', the central issue of "The Suppliants" was the conflict of Greek exogamy (including cross-cousin marriage) and Egyptian endogamy (including parallel-

cousin marriage). In his horror of the imminent incest, Danaus orders his daughters to slay their husbands on the wedding night, but one of them, Hypermestra, spares her husband, Lynceus, who becomes the founder of the royal house of Argos and of the Danaoi. Following Benveniste, Watkins also justifies the search for traces of hidden Indo-European themes in Classical Greek authors, even if they were no longer valid in fifth-century Athenian society.

Returning to the Hittite tale of the Queen of Kanesh, the incest of brothers and sisters is probably the primeval cause for the downfall of both Zalpa and Kanesh, though the latter is not explicitly mentioned in the second part of the text. According to Hittite law and custom, brother-sister incest was considered a severely punishable abomination. This was apparently not the case among the indigenous populations of Anatolia, as demonstrated by the treaty between Huqqana and the Hittite king Shuppiluliuma.

Huqqana was the king or tribal chief of Hayasha, a small land in the mountains east of Hatti. In order to guarantee his political cooperation against the Hurrians, he was given in marriage a sister of the Hittite king, thus joining the extended royal family of Hatti. But since his behavior was expected to be "uncivilized", the treaty formulated for him included several sexual prohibitions to be avoided at all price (Cohen 2002: 79 ff.). Let me quote a couple of the good "counsels" offered to Huqqana (Beckman 1999: 31 f.):

> (§ 25) The sister whom I, My Majesty, have given to you as your wife has many sisters from her own family as well as from her extended family. They belong to your extended family because you have taken their sister. But for Hatti it is an important custom that a brother does not take (sexually) his sister or female cousin. It is not permitted.

> In Hatti whoever commits such an act does not remain alive but is put to death. Because your land is ignorant ("barbarian") it is in conflict (with Hittite custom). (There,) one quite regularly takes his sister or female cousin. But in Hatti it is not permitted.

> (§ 26) And if on occasion a sister of your wife, or the wife of a brother, or a female cousin comes to you, give her to eat and to drink and make merry! But you shall not desire

> to take her (sexually). It is not permitted, and people are put
> to death as a result of that act. ...

We have no further information whether Huqqana abided by these strict Hittite mores or whether he carried on his frivolous ways.

The hidden message of the Queen of Kanesh tale could be a similar clash between the social customs of the Hattian and the Neshite (=Hittite) population groups, which resulted in the downfall of those who engaged in abominable sexual practices. It may perhaps seem strange that the ultimate beneficiary from the downfall of Zalpa and Kanesh is the originally Hattian city of Hattush, but then, the myth had to take into account the political realities as well. Hattush, modern-day Boghazköy, became the new Hittite capital in the 17th c. BCE. In his volume of translated "Hittite Myths" (1998), Hoffner has nicknamed the Queen of Kanesh story as "A Tale of Two Cities", borrowing from Dickens. Actually, a more appropriate nickname would be "A Tale of Three Cities" (Kanesh, Zalpa, and Hattusha), or perhaps "The Kanesh Outrage", which I borrowed from the story of "The Gibeah Outrage" in Judges 19-21. This story, which recounts a horrendous sexual aggression committed by the men of Gibeah, explicates how Gibeah, the seat of Saul, the first king of Israel, lost its political supremacy, leaving the stage open for the ascent of Jerusalem as the new capital of Israel.

And what about the role of the Donkey in the Queen of Kanesh myth? You remember the conversation between the thirty sons who are heading back home and the people of a little town where they spend a night. According to Watkins's translation the donkey 'tries to copulate' in the heated room, but in fact, the rendering of the verbal form *ark-* is less obvious.
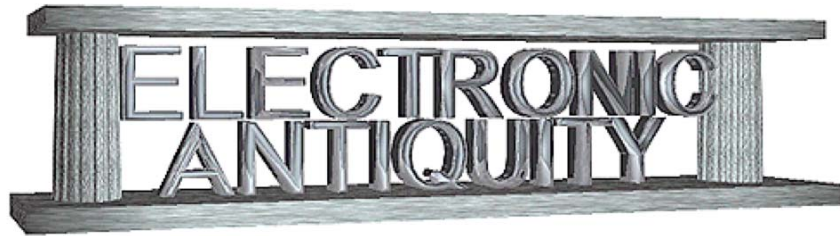
It may refer to "climbing", or "mounting" in a general sense, but also to sexually "mounting" an animal (Melchert 2001). In Hoffner's translation the donkey "climbs up (the staircase)" to the second floor where people are supposed to sleep but not donkeys. Watkins takes his sexual interpretation of the passage quite far, comparing it to the ceremonial sacrifice of an aroused horse in the Indian Asvamedha ritual and to the implied sacrifice of an aroused donkey in Pindar's 'Hyperborean digression' of Perseus. Other commentators, including myself, would stop short with a less pregnant interpretation of the 'donkey episode'. It may simply serve as a literary device to trigger the mutual recounting of strange episodes: a donkey that sleeps with his owners and a queen who gives birth to thirty babies in a single year.

To sum up, it would seem that from the various interpretations given to the Queen of Kanesh myth, the one explicating it as a charter myth establishing a taboo against inadmissible sexual practices is the most plausible. One may perhaps also find in it a distant echo for a Hittite immigration into central Anatolia, or actually, a re-immigration or "return narrative", if we take into account the brothers' to-and-fro wanderings from Zalpa to Kanesh and back (Oettinger 2004: 363). "Return narratives", as best exemplified by the Greek Nostoi, are often used to justify a conquest or a colonization. For example, the return of the Heraclids to the Peloponnessus, which may reflect a Dorian migration. From a much later period, one may compare the Ostrogoths, who justified their invasion of Italy through a myth according to which their king Theodoric merely "returned" to Italy after being expulsed from there by King Otoaker ("Hildebrandlied"). Obviously, some of these "return narratives" may have had some factual background, for instance, if one assumes that the 8th century BCE Greek colonization of Pithekoussai and Kyme is related in any way to the Mycenaean presence in Ischia itself and in the nearby island of Vivara. And with this happy landing in the Bay of Naples, I conclude my concise presentation.

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DISCUSSING COLONIZATION IN ARCHAEOLOGY: THE CASE OF HELLENISED CYPRUS (ONCE MORE)

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Introduction: colonisation, archaeological theory and terminology

Regardless of their theoretical background, archaeologists have always considered colonisations to be cultural developments of immense importance; this is also the case for migrations and invasions.[1] On the other hand, the ways in which archaeological material may be employed, in order to substantiate such movements, frequently already known through written sources, have been the subject of great debate that has followed the development of archaeological thought throughout the course of the 20th century. This debate is closely connected to the on-going epistemological argument regarding the complicated relationship between the archaeological record and past cultural groups.[2]

Although the archaeological interest in ethnic studies might seem relatively fresh, the earliest attempts to employ ancient remains in the identification of past peoples date from as early as the Renaissance period. This phenomenon was generalised during the 19th century as a

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[1] Chapman and Hamerow 1997; Van Domellen 1997; Burmeister et al 2000; Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002 and Gosden 2004.

[2] Shennan 1994; Hall 1995; Banks 1996; Jones 1997; Hall 1997: 111-42; Malkin 1998; Malkin 2001 and Orser 2001.

result of the growing nationalism and emphasis on ethnic identity promoted by the developing European nation-states and lead to the development of culture-historical archaeology or, more simply, the direct equation between artefacts—usually pots—and peoples. Culture-historical archaeologists regarded archaeological cultures as the material manifestations of ancient groups of people with a distinctive ethnic identity. Thus, the determination of the geographic distribution of a particular archaeological culture would equal the identification of the area that was occupied by the corresponding population. Furthermore, the presence of foreign cultural elements within the specified area is generally viewed as the result of colonisation, invasion or migration.[3]

Culture-historical archaeology determined European and North American archaeological thought during the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. It was dismissed during the 1950s-60s partly as a result of its systematic exploitation by Nazi ideology[4] and most importantly due to the development of *processual archaeology*, commonly known as New Archaeology, which shifted the discipline's focus from the description (when and where) of ancient cultures and their movements to the explanation (how and why) of cultural change.[5]

Since the descriptive identification of archaeological cultures and their distribution through time and space was considered a totally inadequate means of explaining the archaeological record, the reconstruction of past peoples and, consequently, ancient migrations, invasions and colonisation was somehow marginalised. Cultures and ethnic groups were identified with the empirical/ descriptive level, while other aspects of society were thought to contribute to the constitution of a dynamic cultural system. Prehistoric archaeologists avoided alluding to past peoples, while their colleagues researching historical archaeology could not follow accordingly due to references to specific ethnic groups and their movements in ancient written sources. The association between archaeological cultures and specific populations, although severely criticised, was not altogether abandoned. Some processual archaeologists

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[3] Trigger 1989: 148-50; 161-86; 1995: 266-70; Sherratt 1992: 316-17; Shennan 1994: 5-11; Diaz-Andreu 1996; Diaz-Andreu and Champion 1996; Hides 1996; Jones 1997: 15-26; Jones and Graves-Brown 1996 and Hall 1997: 1, 128-31.
[4] Trigger 1989: 163-67; Jones and Graves-Brown 1996: 2-4; Jones 1997: 2-5 and Hall 1997: 1-2, 129.
[5] Rowlands 1982; Trigger 1989: 294-312; Renfrew and Bahn 1991: 411-13 and Bahn 1996: 67-70.

believed that, although ethnic/cultural groups should not be included in the functional aspects of material culture, style, that is to say the non-functional aspects, was thought to include important information regarding the ethnic identity of past peoples. Thus, it could be somehow be employed in the reconstruction of past peoples' movements. Moreover, many researchers regarded the normative concept of archaeological culture (description, typology) as an indispensable tool for the necessary preliminary stage of classifying the events (simple narration) prior to the process of explaining them.[6]

The principles, methods and goals of New Archaeology have been challenged during the last thirty years by *post-processual* archaeologists, who rejected the potential of developing explanatory models on the basis of the uniqueness and diversity that characterises each and every society. Moreover they declared that objective explanation is totally impossible as there is no single way of interpreting material culture.[7] Furthermore, while criticising the processual distinction between empirical description (style) and social explanation (function), the great majority of post-processualists focused on symbolic and ideological systems and neglected a reconsideration of the interpretation of ethnicity in archaeology.[8]

The complicated relationship between past material cultures and ethnic identities would have remained poorly theorised if it were not for a small group of social anthropology-inspired archaeologists, who maintained that the ethnic identities should not be viewed as a *passive* reflection of cultural norms but as an *active* social process involving the development and maintenance of cultural boundaries as a result of *interaction* between groups of people. This approach towards ethnicity in the past instigated research focusing either on its role in the construction of economic and political relationships or the association between material culture and ethnic symbolism.[9]

In the following discussion, I do not intend to further explore the above issues, since the main point of the present paper is how archaeologists speak about colonisation, migration and invasion, in other words the terminology they employ to describe the cultural phenomena they identify within the theoretical frameworks discussed above. In

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[6] Binford 1965; Renfrew 1972; 1979 and Jones 1997: 26-28, 110-112.
[7] Hodder 1986; Shanks and Tilley 1992; Renfrew and Bahn 1991: 426-434 and Bahn 1996: 70.
[8] Jones 1997: 27-28.
[9] Hodder 1982; Shennan 1994; Hall 1995; 1997 and Jones 1997: 28-29.

contrast to science, the vocabulary employed in humanistic disciplines such as archaeology, history and sociology has a highly subjective character and a dynamic, ever-evolving nature. Thus, it can create fixed images, cause inconsistency and misconception and provoke theoretical discussions and reassessments. This is due to the rhetorical nature of humanities.

Adorno maintains: "in philosophy, rhetoric represents that which cannot be thought except in language".[10] Archaeology depends largely on texts. After having uncovered, recorded, classified and studied their material, archaeologists are expected to produce texts about it. Publishing excavated material is an essential task that facilitates its communication to an audience, as well as data recording and storage. As such, it is quite technical in nature.[11] Consequently, the terminology employed in it has resulted from a consensus reached among researchers and may be described as more or less objective. Indeed, plenty of archaeological discussion has been devoted to terminological issues in association with certain classes of material, mostly ceramics. Besides publication, this type of standardised terminology is generally utilised in classificatory studies and stylistic analyses.

In contrast to archaeological publications and other classificatory-stylistic discussions, the choice of vocabulary that one employs in texts aiming at the archaeological record's interpretation and the reconstruction of the past is much more complex. This is so since putting together an archaeological narrative constitutes the object of a procedure incorporating social, political, ideological, cultural and emotional parameters reflecting the context in which it took place.[12] As such, it may be approached by means of narrative analysis drawn from literary theory, philosophy and sociology.[13] In their editorial to the proceeding of the conference entitled *Narrative Pasts/Past Narratives*, which took place at Stanford during February of 2001, Jackman and Witmore refer to the philosophical perceptions of Ricoer and White[14] and maintain that archaeological narrative may be viewed as a:

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[10] Adorno 1973: 55 cited in Shanks and Tilley 1992: 17.
[11] Shanks and Tilley 1992: 16.
[12] Shanks and Tilley 1992: 16-22; Shanks 1996: 93-97; see also Shanks 1992 and Hodder et al 1995.
[13] Burmeister et al 2000.
[14] Ricoeur 1984-1986; Ricoeur 1991 and White 1987.

disursive index through which, and by which, historical events are mediated. Beyond simply delineating events, narrative actually simulates that which it refers to, because it is an outcome of the same type of occurrences as those that lie behind the events and experiences that are accorded a place in history. The way in which archaeologists go about writing up the objects and events of archaeology is caught up within this same process. In dealing with a past that is absent, archaeologists constitute the material worthy of representation.

Moreover, they claim that "the narrative act, which we take as the process of discursive mediation, is that of interpretation, manipulation, and construction."[15]

In the light of these observations, the construction of narratives of past colonisations, migrations and invasions seems a highly complicated process due to their radical, rather dramatic character. The endeavour becomes much more intricate if the archaeologists engaged in the narrative's production originate from a geographical region that has received migration waves or been invaded or colonised in the past, recent or more distant; this is particularly so when the narrative under construction concerns that very same region. An analogous, though not identical, situation may be observed with regard to researchers originating from areas that have acted as initiators of processes such as those mentioned above.[16]

I propose to illuminate the decisive role ascribed to the terminology employed in the narration of extreme processes such as colonisations, migrations and invasions within the framework of the widely established archaeological narrative of the *Mycenaean colonisation of Cyprus*. I chose this narrative as a case study, as its earliest appearance goes back to the middle of the 19th century. Consequently, its development through the last sixteen decades reflects all major stages in the development of theoretical archaeological thought.[17] Moreover, the turbulent political situation of Cyprus during the second half of the 19th and throughout the 20th century has allowed plenty of space for manipulation, subjectivism

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[15] Available at http://archaeology.stanford.edu/journal/newdraft/editorial.html.
[16] Trigger 1984; Trigger 1995; Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Meskell 1998; Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002; Given 2004.
[17] Leriou 2002.

and, consequently, misunderstanding and inconsistency.[18] Besides proposing an alternative set of terms for the archaeological narrative in question, the ultimate purpose of this paper is to contribute to the development of a certain level of attentiveness regarding the choice of words describing cultural phenomena of diachronic value.

Setting the stage: the archaeological narrative of the Mycenaean colonisation of Cyprus

It has already been mentioned that the earliest version of the narrative generally known as the *Mycenaean colonisation of Cyprus* goes back to the first half of the 19th century. Since then, it has been gradually developed, modified and refined in the light of new archaeological discoveries and as a result of novel research methods and theoretical approaches.[19] The currently available version, a brief overview of which follows, was consolidated during the 1990s. Despite the objections and criticism expressed by many scholars lately,[20] this narrative remains widely accepted, while only a limited number of researchers have produced differentiated versions.[21] As these have not made it to the handbooks, popular or academic, on Cypriot[22] and Greek ancient history,[23] they will not be included in the present discussion. Before continuing with the narrative's brief overview,[24] it should be stressed that, when referring to it, the term *colonisation* does not reflect my actual opinion regarding the character of the Aegean movement to Cyprus. It is used in a purely conventional manner, as it constitutes the earliest and most widely used term employed by historians and archaeologists in order to define the cultural phenomenon in question.

The current, 'official' version of the archaeological narrative of the *Mycenaean colonisation of Cyprus* advocates two successive

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[18] Hunt 1990a; Hunt 1990b; Hunt 1990c and Knapp and Antoniadou 1998: 29-32.

[19] Leriou 2002: 8-18.

[20] Leriou 2002: 6-7 and Leriou 2005: 563-64.

[21] Rupp 1985; Rupp 1987; Rupp 1988; Rupp 1998 and Leriou 2002: 5-7.

[22] Karageorghis 1990a: 35-46; Karageorghis 1990b; Coldstream 1990: 47-51; Kyrris 1996: 44-71; Karageorghis 1997: 255-85; Mantzourani 2001: 152-55 and Karageorghis 2002b: 71-141.

[23] Osborne 1996: 22 and Bournia-Simantoni 1997: 16-17, 18-19.

[24] For a more detailed summary see Leriou 2002: 3-6.

influxes of Aegeans in Cyprus. The first one occurred immediately after the fall of the Mycenaean palaces during the 12th century and is substantiated by considerably large quantities of locally produced MycIIIc:1b style pots. The second, definitely more extensive Aegean wave took place during the first half of the 11th century and is thought to be attested by:

  a.   The introduction of a new tomb-type bearing close affinities to Mycenaean graves.

  b.   Many Mycenaean elements in the shape- and decoration-repertory of the of the Proto-White Painted ceramic style, that appeared at the beginning of 11th century (Late Cypriot IIIb).

  c.   Various artefacts/architectural features of Aegean origin or inspiration (figurines of the goddess with uplifted arms, D-shaped fibulae etc).

  d.   The introduction of the Greek language.

The first wave of newcomers has been associated with the activity of the Sea Peoples, which is thought to be substantiated by a series of destructions in almost all Late Bronze Age centres. Furthermore the newcomers are held responsible for the subsequent establishment of new sites during the 11th century. These coincide more or less with the capitals of the ancient kingdoms of Cyprus, which according to a set of foundation myths were founded by Greek heroes that came to Cyprus after the Trojan War. Consequently, the 11th century has been regarded as the beginning of a long and extremely significant procedure: the hellenisation of Cyprus.[25]

Colonisation versus migration

The archaeological narrative in question is characterised by remarkable terminological inconsistency, which has caused much confusion concerning the character of the alleged movement of Aegean peoples to Cyprus around the end of the Late Bronze Age. Some scholars

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[25] This summary is based on Karageorghis 1990a; Karageorghis 1990b; Karageorghis 1992; 1997: 255-85; Karageorghis 2000b; Karageorghis 2002a; 2002b: 71-141; Iacovou 1989; Iacovou 1994; Iacovou 1995; Iacovou 1998; Iacovou 1999a; Iacovou 1999b; Iacovou 2001 and Iacovou 2003.

refer to it as *colonisation*[26] while Greek-speaking archaeologists use
αποικισμός.[27] *Migration* and *immigration* (French: *migration*, German:
Einwanderung) appear quite frequently[28] although the Modern Greek
equivalent *μετανάστευση* is not at all used. The Mycenaeans are usually
called *immigrants*[29] but never *μετανάστες*. On the other hand, the term
colonists is not very popular,[30] while its Greek equivalent *άποικοι* is
widely used.[31]

The establishment of the term *colonisation* goes back to the 19th
century when historical writing, lacking support from the
underdeveloped discipline of archaeology, was almost exclusively based
on ancient literary sources. The earliest reference to the Mycenaean
colonisation of the island dates as early as Herodotus' *Historiae*: in book
V it is mentioned that the kingdom of Kourion was founded by people
from the Argolid (5.113). Some seven centuries later Pausanias reported
that Paphos was established by Agapenor, the legendary king of Tegea,
who was driven to the western coast of Cyprus by a storm while on his
way home after the sack of Troy (8.5.2-3). Several similar references
describing the foundation of the Cypriot kingdoms by Greek heroes after
the Trojan War may be found in the texts of various Greek and Roman
authors the latest being Stephanos Byzantios.[32] Both the ancient authors
as well as their ancient and medieval commentators regarded the
movement of Aegean peoples to Cyprus as analogous to the organised
Greek colonisation of the Archaic period and consequently employed the
same terminology in the narration of both historical phenomena. Thus
the Greek heroes, who established (οἴκισαν, ἀποίκισαν[33] or ἔκτισαν[34])

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[26] Dikaios 1967: 19; Cadogan 1993: 94-95; Karageorghis 1968: 63;
Karageorghis 1990: 39 and Karageorghis 1998a: 39.
[27] Dikaios 1962; Marinatos 1961; Karageorghis 1971a: 352; Karageorghis
1971b: 29 and Iacovides 1992.
[28] Nicolaou 1973: 59; Coldstream 1985: 47; Coldstream 1990: 48; Coldstream
1998: 6-7; Yon 1973: 301; Pouilloux 1992; Deger-Jalkotzy 1994: 17, 20, 23 and
Iacovou 1999a: 1.
[29] Iacovou 1995: 335, 340 and Karageorghis 2001: 271.
[30] Karageorghis 1999: 62.
[31] Karageorghis 1976b: 153 and Karageorghis 1985: 433.
[32] Gjerstad 1944a; Hadjiioannou 1971: 46-67 and Leriou 2002: 8.
[33] Casevitz 1985: 90-100, 130-33 and Hadjiioannou 1971: 46 no.20, 20.2, 54
nos.20.13, 20.14, 58-60 nos.21.2, 22, 62 nos.23.1, 23.3,
[34] Casevitz 1985: 21-44 and Hadjiioannou 1971: 54 nos.20.10, 20.11, 60
no.21.4.

the Cypriot city-kingdoms are called οἰκισταί or ἄποικοι[35] and their establishments κτίσματα.[36] Moreover the colonists' place of origin is usually referred to as their *metropolis*.[37] Mythological information was corroborated by linguistics, as soon as the existence of Greek dialect in Classical Cyprus was detected by means of epigraphic evidence. Thus, 19th century historians described the Aegean movement as a colonising one and the cities established by the newcomers as colonies.[38] These scholars had been born and educated during a period characterised by the strong and ever-growing European fascination by Greek antiquity. Thus, they viewed ancient Greeks as superior, highly civilised humans, who would be more than able to "visit" less sophisticated peoples in remote places like Cyprus and establish colonies.[39]

These terms became popular among early researchers of Cypriot Archaeology, e.g. sir John L. Myres and Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, undertaking excavations on the island during the final decades of the 19th century.[40] As they located plenty of material bearing strong Aegean stylistic influences, they established that the mythological information outlined above reflected actual historical events.[41] The terms in question were established more firmly through the publications of the members of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, who thoroughly investigated Cyprus by means of excavation during the late 1920s.[42] One cannot avoid considering that the colonising activity of Great Britain, which had reached its peak during the course of the 19th century, must have provided plenty of inspiration and possibly motive for the use and establishment of such terminology. It is the very same activity that had

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[35] Casevitz 1985: 101-107, 116-19 and Hadjiioannou 1971: 48 no.20.5, 58 no.21.1, 66 no.25.

[36] Casevitz 1985: 58 and Hadjiioannou 1971: 60 no.21.3, 62 no.23.2, 64 no.24.1, 66 no.25.1.

[37] Hadjiioannou 1971: 48 no. 20.4, 20.5.

[38] Engel 1841: 210-29; Hoffmann 1841: 1271-300; Enmann 1886; Enmann 1887; Meister 1889: 125-31; Busolt 1893: 320-22 and Beloch 1893: 50-52.

[39] Shanks 1996; 53-74 and Leriou 2002: 8-9.

[40] Goring 1988: 7-35.

[41] Cesnola 1878: 199, 219-220, 234, 298-99; Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899: 40; Myres 1914: xxx; Casson 1937: 41-71 and Hill 1949: 82-94 and Leriou 2002: 9-14.

[42] Gjerstad 1933: 267-68; 1944a; 1944b: 87; 1948: 428-29; Furumark 1944: 265; Sjöqvist 1940: 209; Rysted 1994; Åström 1994; Edbury 2001; Steel 2001; Fitton and Leriou 2002: 14-16.

seriously affected both the political conditions and the development of the archaeological discipline in Cyprus during the final decades of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. After all, most of the excavators of Cyprus during the last quarter of the 19th century were of British nationality.[43] Moreover, the Germans, the British and the Swedes had been receivers of analogous hellenocentric education, which constituted one of the most fundamental characteristics of the Western world, during the second half of the 19th and the first decades of the 20th century. As a result, these researchers believed deeply in the superiority of the Greeks, which would have made the colonisation of Cyprus a simple venture. Consequently, they paid special emphasis on the Aegeanising material, the presence of which was attributed to the Mycenaean colonisation of the island, by that time a widely established historical fact. Einar Gjerstad, the head of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition has outlined the basic characteristic of the post-colonisation society as follows:

> The Mycenaean *colonists* and conquerors were the *lords* of the country, but the descendants of the Late Bronze Age inhabitants, whom we may call the Eteocyprians, formed the majority of the population, and for some time parts of the island still remained entirely Eteocyprian. No foundation legends refer to cities in the interior of the island or to places on the south coast between Kourion in the West and Salamis in the East. In the interior of the island there were "*barbarian*", i.e. Eteocyprian cities at least down to the Classical period.[44]

Further discoveries in Cyprus, as well as Greek finds associated with the fall of the Mycenaean palaces at about 1200 BC and the subsequent Dark Age in the Aegean during the 1950s and 1960s challenged considerably the concept of the domination of the newcomers over the native population that the Swedes had proposed.[45] Nevertheless, the large amounts of Aegeanising material could not be ignored: the Aegeans had

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[43] Goring 1988: 7-35; Given 1998; Leriou 2002: 10-14 and Seretis 2005.

[44] Gjerstad 1948: 429, italics mine. For the Eteocypriots see Leriou 2002: 15-16 and Given 1998; moreover, see the various comments and responses to Given 1998 by Y. Hamilakis, P. Van Dommelen, N.A. Silberman and P. Saint-Cassia in *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 11(1): 107-24.

[45] Desborough 1964: 199-200; Furumark 1965; Dikaios 1971: 509-31; Karageorghis 1990b: 29; Karageorghis 1990a: 39; Karageorghis 2000a: 12; Catling 1994 and Leriou 2002: 16-17.

definitely arrived. As they could not have possibly been mighty conquerors, they must had come as refugees fleeing the disasters in the Aegean. Thus, the term *immigration* was introduced.[46] Subsequently, archaeologists started developing a strong interest in the interaction between the newcomers and the native population. This was evident in the appearance of many studies investigating classes of material characterised by a fusion of Aegean and LBA Cypriot stylistic elements.[47]

Nevertheless both *colonisation* and *immigration* carry plenty of ancient as well as modern political connotation and thus attribute very specific meanings to the Aegean movement. Many researchers, therefore, tend to use more neutral terms like *occupation*, *settlement/εγκατάσταση* [48] or the even more general *arrival*.[49] Consequently the newcomers are called *settlers* [50] and lately *refugees* fleeing the disasters in Mainland Greece[51] although very rarely *πρόσφυγες*. [52]

It has already been argued that no term can be neutral enough. This is particularly so, as almost none of the researchers discussing the Aegean presence in Cyprus has so far explained the reasons for choosing any term over the others and subsequently defined this particular term in an exact and clear way before dealing with the actual narrative.[53] Meanings are taken for granted and sometimes overlooked as two different terms may appear in the works of a single researcher, even in the very same text.[54] Associations between scholars' social, political and academic preconceptions with their preference for a particular term are called for. Greek-speaking archaeologists, for example, favour terms like *αποικισμός* and *άποικοι*. On the other hand, they seem to avoid the somehow demeaning *μετανάστευση*, *μετανάστες* and *πρόσφυγες*.

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[46] Vanschoonwinkel 1994: 124-26.

[47] Some typical examples are: Karageorghis 1977-78; Pieridou 1973; Iacovou 1988; Kling 1989 and Pilides 1994.

[48] Catling 1964: 301; Catling 1973; Catling 1980; Catling 1994: 133; Desborough 1964: 198; 1973; Hood 1973; Karageorghis 1976b: 144; 1978: 59 and Hooker 1985.

[49] Desborough 1964: 198, 199 and Snodgrass 1988: 109, 112.

[50] Karageorghis 1984: 22 and Nicolaou 1973: 60

[51] Catling 1980: 24; Deger-Jalkotzy 1998: 117; Karageorghis 1992: 83; 1998b: 127.

[52] Karageorghis 1997: 260.

[53] Catling 1973: 34-35; Iacovou 1999a: 1.

[54] Karageorghis 1999: 62.

The strongly political *hellenisation/ Hellenisirung/ εξελληνισμός* is used by most Western European as well as Greek and Cypriot researchers when referring to the whole procedure of the settlement of the Aegean peoples on the island.[55] Similarly, the newcomers are often called *Greeks/Ἕλληνες*. The use of this characterisation has been more systematic since the early 1980s, when an 11th century inscription in Greek was discovered at Palaepaphos;[56] it constitutes the earliest example of the Greek language on the island.[57] The introduction of *hellenisation* goes back to 19th century historical writing and the age of classicism and idealisation of ancient Greece.[58] It was re-introduced during the 1970s by Vassos Karageorghis, a Greek Cypriot with a strong hellenocentric identity and the most vehement supporter of the Mycenaean colonisation hypothesis.[59]

Other terminological inconsistencies

The "colonisation" of Cyprus is usually described as *Mycenaean/ Μυκηναϊκός,*[60] although the characterisations *Achaean/Αχαϊκός* are also very common.[61] Researchers seem to treat these characterisations as completely synonymous and use them in order to describe anything

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[55] Karageorghis 1971b: 29; Karageorghis 1994; Karageorghis 2001; Karageorghis 2002a; Iacovou 1988: 84; 1989: 57; Baurain 1989; Deger-Jalkotzy 1994: 24; 1998: 117; Vanschwoonwinkel 1994: 109.

[56] Gjerstad 1948: 433; Hill 1949: 82; Marinatos 1961; Fortin 1980; 1984; Karageorghis 1985; Demetriou 1987; Vanschwoonwinkel 1994; Maier 1996; Iacovou 1999a; Reyes 1994: 11-13. Demetriou (2001) has gone as far as stretching this term to describe the cultural assimilation of the Phoenicians by the supposedly fully hellenised population of EIA Cyprus!

[57] Karageorghis 1980: 135-36; Masson and Masson 1983; Maier and Karageorghis 1984: 134 and Sakellariou 1988.

[58] Engel 1841: 203.

[59] Leriou 2002: 17-18.

[60] Evans 1900; Gjerstad 1948: 429, 432; Dikaios 1962; Spyridakis 1963; Desborough 1964: 196-205; Desborough 1973; Hood 1973; Nicolaou 1973; Maier 1973; Karageorghis 1971b; Karageorghis 1973; Karageorghis 1976a; Hooker 1985; Kilian 1990; Pouilloux 1992 and Deger-Jalkotzy 1998.

[61] Daniel 1940; Gjerstad 1948: 428; Catling 1973; Sakellariou 1988; Karageorghis 1978: 59, 61-62; Karageorghis 1990a: 39; Pavlides 1991: 67-72 and Iacovides 1992.

associated with "the Late Bronze Age peoples of eastern and southern Greece and related areas, who shared the same *culture* and *language*."[62]

This is a more or less standard definition for the archaeologically constructed cultural group of the *Mycenaeans*.[63] The term *Achaeans*, on the other hand, has not been invented by archaeologists. It is the name that Homer gave to the Greeks in his epics and is thus considered to be the name, by which "the Greeks of heroic times (i.e. the inhabitants of Mainland Greece during LBA) spoke of themselves."[64]

Some Aegean prehistorians consider the Achaeans as a Greek-speaking population who established themselves in Mainland Greece at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age. Their interaction with the native population resulted in the development of the Mycenaean civilisation.[65] Consequently, the mythological term *Achaean* should not be confused with the purely technical *Mycenaean*. Moreover, the former's Homeric origin has ascribed it with strong ethnic connotations, on the basis of which Catling has described it as "emotive".[66] Furthermore it should be emphasised that the term *Achaeans* does not appear anywhere in the ancient sources that report the foundation of the Cypriot kingdoms by Greek heroes and their people, who are generally mentioned there by their toponyms, i.e. Salaminians, Arcadians, Argives.[67] Thus, other researchers have adopted the geographic *people from the Aegean*, which is more neutral and allows the inclusion of people from the island of Crete.[68]

The main reason, however, for the terminological inconsistency outlined above is the insufficiency of the archaeological material. Excavated remains from the 12th-10th centuries are fragmentary and rather limited, thus allowing ample space for assumptions and hypotheses.[69] Furthermore, the invalidation of the direct association between material evidence and peoples undermines the establishment of

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[62] Bray and Trump 1982: 166; italics mine.

[63] Mylonas 1966; Vasilikou 1995; Wardle and Wardle 1997; Sherratt 1992: 317-18; and Sherratt 2005: .

[64] Bray and Trump 1982: 10, parenthesis mine; see also Mylonas 1966: 212; Hood 1974: 118, 128; Taylour 1983: 9, 158; Finlay 1999: 17-18.

[65] Mylonas 1966: 4; Chadwick 1976: 2-3 and Ramou-Hapsiadi 1982: 23-24.

[66] Catling 1973: 34.

[67] Hadjiioannou 1971: 48-49 no 20.5, 58-59 no 21.1, 60-61 no 21.7, 66-67 nos 25-25.1.

[68] Coldstream 1990: 47, 48 and Coldstream 1994.

[69] Leriou 2002: 6-7.

archaeological labels such as *colonists* and *immigrants*. This is particularly true for the terms *ethnicity*, *ethnic identity* and *ethnic group/element*, which have entered the discussion about the Mycenaean colonisation of Cyprus during the last decades of the 20th century.[70]

Sherratt has recently summarised the difficulties that lie in both the general and the archaeological usage of these terms. She maintains that *ethnicity* is employed by most researchers to describe a certain level of group identity, which is usually vaguely defined and therefore unclear. Furthermore when archaeologists or anthropologists do attempt to define these terms, their definitions slide into the essentially political concepts and preoccupations of relatively recent history. Sherratt's arguments are supported by a brief outline of the semantic history of the terms *ἔθνος* and *εθνικός* from the age of Homer until the present day that

> reveals the kinds of earlier contexts in which successive Greek and later Europaean notions of 'ethnic' definition and distinction were formed, and brings out the gradual crystallisation of the essentially political principle of 'otherness' which still informs much of their modern usage.[71]

Epilogue: an alternative set of terms and other suggestions

The above discussion has illustrated how the terminology employed in archaeological narratives of colonisations, migrations and invasions constitutes the result of the very same theoretical considerations and socio-political conditions that generated them. At the same time, however, terminology seems to actively contribute to the narratives' modification and development through the creation of preconceptions and ideas. As a result, I would like to conclude this paper by stressing the need to take some time and clarify our terminology, before starting to use it, and most importantly, before putting any of it in print. Moreover, a combined and systematic effort to establish a widely-accepted set of terms in regard to the discussion of peoples' movements such as colonisations and migrations would by all means benefit research, despite the fact that it would remain essentially fruitless. As objectivity is

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[70] Iacovou 1989: 53; Iacovou 2005; Catling 1994: 136-37; Karageorghis 1994; Karageorghis 1998a: 276; Karageorghis 2000a: 13 and Karageorghis 2001: 265.
[71] Sherratt 2005: 30-31.

practically impossible to obtain within the field of a humanistic discipline (made *by* people, *for* people) like archaeology, providing a clear definition for each of the proposed terms will (I hope) leave no space for confusion and misunderstanding.

In regard to the *Mycenaean colonisation of Cyprus*, my attempt to produce and utilise a well-defined set of terms enabled me to work through the complex semantic web that was outlined in the previous sections; moreover, it allowed me to adopt an alternative, much wider point of view. My ideas concerning the nature and extent of the Aegean movement to Cyprus at the end of the Late Bronze Age have been presented elsewhere.[72] Suffice here to say that they are in full agreement with none of the hypotheses discussed in the previous sections.

As far as the actual terms are concerned, I believe that *colonisation* and *immigration/migration* should be replaced with *movement* or *arrival* that are meant to describe the mere physical transference of groups of people from the Aegean to Cyprus. On the other hand, politically charged terms such as *occupation*, or the even more explicit *hellenisation* have to be altogether abandoned. Furthermore the use of *settlement* should be strictly confined to the designation of the establishment of people as resident at a particular place and not extend as far as processes like community or colony formation after migration. Consequently, characterisations such as *colonists*, *immigrants*, *refugees* may not be used when referring to the people, who are generally thought to have *moved* to the island of Cyprus around the end of the Late Bronze Age, while the use of the term *settlers* should be in accordance with the above definition for *settlement*. Moreover, terms such as *newcomers*, *incomers* or *arrivals* are by all means preferable.

When it comes to determining the origin of the *incomers* the ethnic characterisations *Greek/Hellenic* should be totally avoided, due to their close connection with contemporary politics and complicating effect when mentioned in contexts associated with Aegean Prehistory.[73] Similarly, the mythological name *Achaeans* is quite confusing because it has a Homeric origin and consequently multiple interpretations. Therefore the geographic *Aegean people*, where *Aegean* includes the Aegean archipelago and the surrounding lands, namely mainland Greece, Crete and the western coast of Turkey[74], seems more appropriate. Finally,

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[72] Leriou 2005.

[73] Ramou-Hapsiadi 1982: 11; Dihle 1998: 19-20, note 12 and Preziosi and Hitchcock 1999: 3-4.

[74] Treuil et al. 1996: 89-108 and Preziosi and Hitchcock 1999: 4-7.

the archaeologically constructed term *Mycenaeans*, whenever used, should be meant to designate the bearers of the material culture which was typical in Mainland Greece during the period 1600-1050.[75] Last but not least, the highly perplexing *ethnic group* may be replaced with *cultural group*, which is thought to define the producers and/or consumers of a particular archaeological culture.

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[75] Mylonas 1966; Vasilikou 1995; Treuil et al. 1996: 89-108; 403-592 and Wardle and Wardle 1997.

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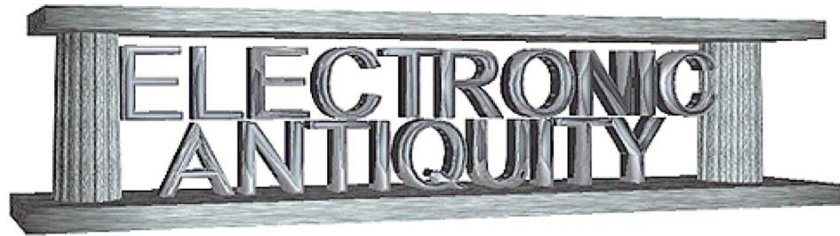Lyons, Claire and John Papadopoulos. 2002. *The archaeology of colonialism*. Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute

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CULTS OF THE GREEK CITIES *EN ARISTERA TOU PONTOU*: INTERACTION OF GREEK AND THRACIAN TRADITIONS

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The cities on the Western Black Sea Coast, or as the Greeks refer to *en aristera tou Pontou*, are from north to south Tyras, Istros, Tomis, Callatis, Bizone, Dionysopolis, Odessos, Mesambria and Apollonia. The Ancient Greeks call the western Black Sea Coast "the left side of the Pontos", *en aristera tou Pontou*, because it is situated on the left side to the navigators sailing from Aegean to Pontos Euxeinos via the Straits. It is a complicated task to draw geographical boundaries in the domain of religious and cultural interrelations: the model of a "regional pantheon" is a modern construct and not historical reality. Nevertheless, in my opinion, this model is a valuable methodological approach for depiction of regional cultural traits. The cults of the colony were connected with the pantheon of its *metropolis* and the contacts with the local tradition influence the religious sphere. These two aspects enable us to isolate several common characteristics.

Ovid describes in bitter verses the place of his exile Tomis, frozen by eternal winter, wild, and inhabited by ferocious people. He complaints that Greek and Barbarian tongue were mixed; he had even composed a poem in honor of Augustus in Getian language and recited it in public (*Ex Ponto*, IV, 13). That very characteristic deplored by Ovid, engaged my interest: the existence of a bi-lingual, bi-cultural area on the Thracian coast of Black Sea between 7th and 1st centuries BCE.

Istros is the first settlement on the "left side" of the Pontos Euxeinos, established around 650 BCE. Apollonia Pontica follows, around 610 BCE and Odessos, at the beginning of 6th century BCE. Tyras is founded at the beginning of 6th or at the end of 7th century BCE. All four cities are *apoikiai* of Miletus. The foundation date of Tomis is subject of controversy, but it was certainly a Milesian settlement. The two Dorian western Pontic colonies are Kallatis and Mesambria. Colonists from Heraclea Pontica, a Megarian colony, founded Kallatis in the second half of the 6th century. According to one version, Kalchedonians and Megarians founded Mesambria at the end of 6th century BCE (513 BCE), or, according to another, the *apoikoi* came from the Megarian cities Byzantion and Kalchedon at the beginning of 5th century BCE (493 BCE). Dionysopolis and Bizone were late establishments, 3rd and 2nd BCE respectively, and the origin of the colonists is uncertain.

The relations—economical, political, demographical, and cultural–between the colonists and the local population represent an important and complex aspect of the phenomenon of the colonization. The names of most of these cities are of Thracian origin: Istros, Tomis, Kallatis, Bizone, Odessos, Mesambria. Thracian settlements existed before the foundation of some of them and a significant stratum of pre-colonial occupation was discovered at Mesambria. The archaeological and epigraphic evidence supports the conclusion that since the foundation of the Greek colonies on the western Black Sea Coast, the peace and the concept of mutual interest prevails in the political relations between the colonists and the Thracians versus the hostilities attested for certain periods. An eloquent example is provided by the excavations of two Thracian necropoleis near Odessos with vestiges of non-interrupted occupation from 7th through 4th century BCE.[1] The foundation of Odessos about 10 km away didn't disrupt the existence of the local settlement. The discoveries of Greek ceramics there suggest the presence of commercial relations between the Thracians and the colonists. We don't yet have an exhaustive study concerning the Thracian presence in these cities. It is important to note that a reliable documentation is still lacking and the archeological data, including the onomastic evidence, rarely provide unquestionable proofs as to the "ethnic identity" of the persons.

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[1] Cf. Isaac, B., *The Greek Settlements in Thrace until the Macedonian Conquest*, Leiden 1986, p. 256 et n. 272 et 273.

In the present study I will discuss specifics for the region's religious choices and will argue that the preference for particular cults was a consequence of an interaction with the Thracian cultural traditions. This feature, in my opinion, is evidenced in two ways: through direct "loans" of local gods and heroes, albeit in a Hellenized form, and through the predominance and the popularity of certain cults versus others.

Θεὸς Μέγας ᾿Οδησιτῶν

The most important deity in Odessos, at least since the Hellenistic period, *Theos Megas*, the Great god is known to us through the coins of the city. In the Roman period the Great God bears the Thracian name Derzalas/Darzalas and his portrait was the dominant type on the coins.

Silver tetradrachms of Odessos from 2nd century BCE present the portrait of a bearded god, with a ribbon in the hair, on the reverse–the God is standing, clad in a long chiton, turned to the left, holding a patera in his folded right hand and a cornucopia in his left hand. On his right side is the legend: ΘΕΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ and on his left side, the *ethnikon*: ΟΔΗΣΙΤΩΝ, under him is the name of the magistrate responsible for the coinage, ΚΥΡΣΑ.[2]

A different image of the God appears on bronze coins of Odessos from 4th century BCE: on the obverse is present a portrait identified by some numismatists as Apollo and by others as an anonymous Goddess, peer of the Great god; on the reverse the Great God is half-laying on a *kline*, with naked torso, holding a *cornucopia* in his folded left hand.[3]

On coins of Gordian the portrait of the god is facing the portrait of the emperor, on the obverse is presented a *corona donatica* with the name of the penteteric festival consecrated to Darzalas: *Darzaleia*.[4] The

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[2] Pick, B., Regling, K., *Die antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien* II, Berlin 1910, n° 2141-2144, Pl. IV, 3; *cf*. L. Robert, "Les inscriptions grecques de Bulgarie", *RPhil* 33, 1959, pp. 165-236, p. 228, n. 8.

[3] Pick, B., Regling, K., *op.cit. supra* n. 2, pp. 522-523 et n° 2177-2184, IV, 4-7; *Sylloge nummorum Graecorum*, vol. IX, The British Museum, Part I, The Black Sea, red. by M. J. Price, London 1993, Pl. XI, 294-300; *Sylloge nummorum Graecorum*, vol. XI, The William Stancomb Collection of Coins of the Black Sea region, Oxford, New York 2000, Pl. XII, 253-257.

[4] Pick, B., Regling, K., *op.cit. supra* n. 2, n° 2370-2372, Pl. V, 3.

Great God Darzalas had at Odessos a temple for which a *neokoros,* elected by the *Boule* and the *Demos* of the city, was taking care.[5]

Among the monuments related to the cult of the Great God, a group of reliefs comes from sites more than 100 km away from the Black Sea Coast, the territory included between Nicopolis ad Istrum and Markianopolis in Moesia Inferior. On a marble plaque with dedication to God Darzalas, is engraved an image closely resembling the one on the coins of Odessos: a bearded God standing and clad in a long chiton, holding in his right hand a *patera* over a blazing altar, and in his left hand, a cornucopia:[6]

[Κ]υρίῳ Δαρζαλᾳ Τούρβων
βου(λευτὴς) εὐχαριστήριν ἀνέθ-
[ε]κεν.

To Lord Darzalas, Tourbo, *bouleutes*, dedicated as thank-offering.

Another relief with the Thracian Horseman bears the following dedication:[7]

Θεῷ ἐπηκόῳ Δερζει Αἴλιος Διογέ-
νης ἱππικὸς εὐξάμενος ἀνέθηκα.

To god Derzis who gives ear (to prayers), I, the *eques* Aelius Diogenes, offered while making a vow.

A bearded Horseman with a cornucopia is figured on a third relief from the same region: his horse is charging against an altar and his dog is chasing a boar.[8]

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[5] *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae* I, Ed. by G. Mihailov, Sofia 1970², 230 bis*: ..εω....(.)/ ἀγοραν[ομή]- / σας καὶ ἄρ- / ξας πιστῶς / καὶ γενόμε- / νος Θεοῦ Με- / γάλου Δερ-/ ζαλα νεωκό-/ ρος ὑπὸ βου- / λῆς καὶ δή-/ μου τειμῆς/ [χάριν- - -].

[6] *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae* II, ed. by G. Mihailov, Sofia 1958, 768.

[7] *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae* II, 770 = Gocheva, Z., Oppermann, M., *Corpus Cultus Equitus Thracii* Leiden 1981, II, 2, 444.

[8] Gocheva, Z. und Oppermann, M. (*op. cit. supra* n. 7), 1, 379 (3rd century AD).

The specific figure of *Theos Megas* in Odessos is subject to many interpretations. There is however an aspect on which the different interpretations agree: the chthonic character of the deity, as expressed by the iconographic type of its images.[9]

In the heart of the debate remains the question of the origin–Greek, Thracian or product of syncretism–of this chthonic cult.

Pick supposes that the designation *Theos Megas* is a euphemic name given to the "Herrscher der Unterwelt", the Greek Pluto. This supposition is supported by the iconographical type known from coins of Odessos, presenting the divinity laying on a *kline,* position typical for the representations of chthonic divinities, while his attribute, the cornucopia, characterizes these divinities as givers of fertility. Pick associates *Theos Megas* with the anonymous Theos from Eleusis and identifies the portrait of the Goddess on the 4th century bronze coins of Odessos with the Eleusinian Thea, whose image we see on the relief of Lysimachides discovered at the *Plutonion* in Eleusis.[10] On the right side of the relief of Lysimachides (4th century BCE) are represented, within the iconographic pattern of funerary banquet, Theos and Thea as identified by inscriptions.

Hemberg supposes that Theos Megas in Odessos was one of *Theoi Megaloi* from Samothrace.[11] This hypothesis however is weakened by the fact that the Great Gods of Samothrace possess their own important worship in Odessos and in most of the western Pontic cities. J. Zelazowski sees Theos Megas as a deity created in the Hellenistic period, similar to Sarapis.[12]

In my view, the dominating position of *Theos Megas* in the pantheon of Odessos suggests ancient roots, although any attestation before 4th century BCE is lacking, which provides the strongest argument in favor of late creation of his cult. It is plausible that *Theos Megas* is a god with chthonic functions and this explains the analogy with Pluto, Sarapis and the Thracian Horseman. On the other hand, the anonymity expressed by the name *Theos Megas*, too common and widespread, suggest identification with the Gods of Samothrace. In my opinion, *Theos Megas*

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[9] A more detailed discussion on the subject will offer the chapter *Theos Megas* in Chiekova, D., *Cultes et vie religieuse des cites grecques du Pont Gauche* (VIIe–Ier s. av. J.-C.), Peter Lang, 2008.

[10] Pick B., "Trakische Münzbilder", *JDAI* 13, 1898, pp. 158-162.

[11] Hemberg, B., *Die Kabiren*, Uppsala 1950, pp. 224-231.

[12] Zelazowski, J., "Le culte et l'iconographie de *Theos Megas* sur les territoires pontiques", *Archeologia* Warszawa, 43, 1992, pp. 35-51.

was by origin a local divinity, adopted by the Greeks at their arrival. He probably occupied a secondary position in the pantheon of the city in the Classic period when the patron deity, likewise the other Milesian colonies, was most likely Apollo. Then only in the Hellenistic period Theos Megas became the City God. At that moment, at latest, this local divinity will be worshipped as Theos Megas and will adopt the iconographical traits of the Greek chthonic divinities. Nonetheless, I would not assume that only at that time Theos Megas was created or introduced. The presence of the *ethnikon*, *Odessitôn*, next to his image on the silver tetradrachms of Odessos portrays Theos Megas as the patron deity of Odessos and a similar importance points toward a cult with ancient roots. Similar emissions consecrated to a divinity and with *ethnikon* are known for Illion–to Athena Illias, for Maroneia–to Dionysus, for Thasos–to Heracles Soter, all ancestral cults in these cities.[13]

It is more difficult to explain why in the course of the Hellenistic period this cult became important. I am inclined to believe that it was at the outcome of a military crisis. With use of little imagination, I would even see in this "apparition" of the Great God in Odessos a story of theophania similar to the story of Phosphoros'*epiphania* at Byzantium during the siege of the city by Phillip II.[14]

The Thracian Horseman

The western Black Sea cities and mainly their *chora* have provided a considerable number of monuments of the Thracian Horseman: around 300 to date. The majority of these monuments are dated to the Roman period, and only few to Hellenistic times (3rd-2nd centuries BCE). The vestiges of at least 10 sanctuaries of the Thracian Horseman have been identified in the region.

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[13] *Cf.* Robert, L., *Monnaies antiques en Troade*, Genève, Paris 1966, p. 44, regarding the coinage of Thasos, Maronea et Odessos: "le dieu principal est ainsi mis à l'honneur dans la légende".

[14] *Cf.* Robert, L. in: N. Firatli, *Les stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine*. Avec l'édition et l'index commenté des épitaphes par L. Robert, Paris 1964, p. 155.

I will not discuss in the following pages the complex problem of the origin and the nature of the Horseman, which would require a thorough examination of vast material. I will summarize the iconographic particularities of his monuments.

The reliefs of the Horseman can be divided in two functional groups, votive and funerary, which are united by an iconographic pattern embracing several variants. The main elements are: the Horseman is hunting or coming back from hunt; usually he carries a spear in his hand; he is accompanied sometimes by a dog and the hunted animal is generally a boar. The representation is limited on the right side by a tree with an intertwined snake and/or by an altar. On several monuments the Horseman is moving toward a female figure, whose hand is raised in a gesture of benediction or salutation, or she is holding a *patera*. Sometimes the female figures are three–the three Nymphs.[15]

In the dedications on some monuments, the divinity is referred to as Ἥρως (latin *Heron*), or Θεὸς Ἥρως or Κύριος. Sometimes the deity is identified with Greek divinities, like Apollo, Zeus, Sarapis, etc. Often the Horseman is worshipped with Thracian epithets: Karabasmos, Perko, Karsenos, Mursine, Manimadzos, etc.

It is very likely that the cult of the Horseman is related to the status and the ideology of the Thracian kingship. The Thracian dynasts appear as horsemen on numerous monuments of Thracian toreutics and on monetary emissions of the Odryssian kings.[16]

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[15] Cf. Kazarow, G., *RE Suppl*. III, 1918, col. 1137-1140, *s.v.* Heros (Thrakischer Reiter). Darstellung des Reiters; *Id*., *Die Denkmäler des Thrakischen Reitergottes in Bulgarien*, Budapest 1938, pp. 5-10; I. Venedikov, "Der Thrakische Reiter", in: Gocheva, Z., Oppermann, M., *Corpus Cultus Equitis Thracii* I, Monumenta orae Ponti Euxini Bulgariae, Leiden 1979, pp. 1-6; Oppermann, M., "Heros equitans", *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, VI, 1, Zürich, München pp. 1073-1077 (*ibid*., p. 1074: from the Bulgarian territory only originate more than 2000 monuments).

[16] Fol, A., *Politika i cultura v drevna Trakija*, Sofia 1990, p. 154, for the coins cf. J. Juroukova in: *Izkustvo* Sofia, 3-4, 1975, pp. 39-45; *cf.* aussi Fol, A., "La colonisation grecque en Thrace–croisement de deux cultures", *Thracia Pontica* 4, 1991, pp. 3-14: "c'est le héros mythologique (le roi-prêtre) qui devient la figure centrale, surtout dans les deux scènes fondamentales dont l'une est la 'chasse royale' où l'épreuve axiologique du héros contre les basses valeurs éthiques. Le fait de terrasser la bête (de passer l'épreuve axiologique) permet au héros d'atteindre la perfection, dont l'hiérogamie marque le sommet doctrinal."; *cf.* Hocart, A. M., *Kings and Councillors: An Essay in the Comparative Anatomy of Human Society*, Chicago, London 1970[2], p. 86 sq.

The eponymous hero Melsas

In Mesambria was worshipped a hero Melsas, who was in all probability of local origin. The evidence of his worship is mainly numismatic: a portrait of a hero with a Corinthian helmet appears on the earliest coins of the city in 5th century BCE. The helmet appears separately on coins and on reliefs. The origin of the city's name is found in Strabo and in lexicographic texts as well as in an epitaph from 2nd century AD:

> εἶτα Μεσημβρία Μεγαρέων ἄποικος· πρότερον δὲ Μενεβρία, οἷον Μένα πόλις, τοῦ κτίσαντος Μένα καλουμένου, τῆς δὲ πόλεως βρίας καλουμένης θρακιστί.

> Then Mesembria, a colony of the Megarians, formerly called 'Menembria' that is, "city of Menas", because the name of its founder was Menas, while 'bria' is the word for city in the Thracian language. (Strabo 7, 6, 1)

> Μεσημβρία· πόλις ποντική. Νικόλαος πέμπτῳ· ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ Μέλσου· βρίαν γὰρ τὴν πόλιν φασὶ Θρᾷκες. ὡς οὖν Σηλυμβρία ἡ τοῦ Σήλυος πόλις, Πολτυμβρία ἡ Πόλτυος [πόλις], οὕτω Μεσημβρία ἡ Μέλσου πόλις, καὶ διὰ τὸ εὐφωνότερον λέγεται Μεσημβρία.

> Mesembria: pontic city. Nicolaus (Damascenus) in book fifth (says): it is named after Melsa, for Thracians call the city 'bria'. As Selymbria is 'city of Selys', Poltymbria is 'city of Poltys', thus Mesembria is 'city of Melsas', and for better resonance is pronounced Mesembria. (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* (= *FGrHist* 2 A 90 F 43 [45]))

> Ἐνθάδε ἐγὼ κεῖμε Ἑκάτη θεὸς ὡς ἐσορᾷς.
> ἤμην τὸ πάλαι βροτός, νῦν δὲ ἀθάνατος καί ἀγήρως·

Ἰουλία Νεικίου θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος ἀνδρός,
Μεσεμβρία (*sic*) δέ μυ (*sic*) πατρὶς ἀπὸ [Μ?]έλσα
καὶ βρία·
ζήσασα ἔτη ὅσα μοι στήλη κατέχει·
τρὶς πέντε δὲ [ε]ἴκοσι καὶ δέκα πέντε.
Εὐτυχεῖτε, παροδῖται.

I rest here, Hecate the goddess, as you see. Before I was
mortal, now I am immortal and undecaying, Ioulia, daughter
of Nikios, the greathearted man; my fatherland is
Mesembria, name formed from Melsa and bria. I lived as
many years as the stele shows: 3 times 25 and 15. May you
prosper, passers-by. (*Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria
repertae* I², 345)

A marble relief from Mesambria presents a scene of sacrifice led by
the main magistrates of Mesambria, the six *strategoi*, end of 2nd-
beginning of 3rd centuries B.C.: on a second plan, on the left edge is
depicted an altar on which is positioned a Corinthian helmet; another
helmet is depicted right to the small *naiskos*. The helmet on the altar is
the symbol of the eponymous hero Melsas and emblem of the city.[17]

The adoption of local hero cults can be seen in terms of
appropriation or adaptation to the sacred heritage of the new homeland.

Apollo and Dionysus

Another mode of interaction with the local religious traditions is
perceptible in the popularity of certain cults versus other, although the
latter were central to the metropolis. In the pantheons of the Greek cities
on the Thracian coast of Pontos Euxeinos two divinities occupy a
noticeably dominant position: Apollo and Dionysus.

The various epithets with which Apollo was invoked and
worshipped in these cities are eloquent for the Milesian and the
Megarian heritage respectively. On the other hand, the cult of Dionysus
was brought along from the mother cities by the first colonists. In this
my opinion diverges from the view of Bilabel expressed in his *Die*

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[17] *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae* V, ed. by G. Mihailov, Sofia
1997, 5102.

ionische Kolonisation, who believes that Dionysus was a Thracian deity worshipped in the Pontic colonies.[18] However, I interpret the importance and the popularity of Apollo and Dionysus in the pantheon of the western Black sea cities also as a consequence of interaction with local religious values.

The existence of solar cult among the Thracians is related by various ancient sources and is discussed by scholars of the Thracian religion.[19]

Jordanes, the 6th century AD author of a History of the Goths reports that Philip II had undertaken a siege of Odessos, during which the priests of the city, referred to as the "priests Goths", opened the gates and came out clad in white dresses and, with citharas in the hands, with music accompany the prayers to their gods. Astounded and fascinated, the Macedonian army had stopped before those unarmed people.[20]

The historical method of Jordanes is marked by an archaizing tendency and he incorrectly assimilates the Goths with the former inhabitants north and west of the Black Sea, with the Thracian tribe Getae in particular. His objective is to add glare and ancientness to the history of Goths and the name by which his work is known is *Getica* instead of *Gothica*. Taking into account this aspect doesn't make the story on the Priests of Odessos easier to interpret. I refer to this narrative preserved in a rather late source, not as an authentic report of a real

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[18] Bilabel, F., *Die ionische Kolonisation. Untersuchungen über die Gründungen der Ionier, deren staatliche und kultische Organisation und Beziehungen zu den Mutterstädten*, Leipzig 1920, p. 115.

[19] *Cf. e.g.* Soph. *Tereus*, frg. 582 Lloyd-Jones: Ἥλιε, φιλίπποις Θρῃξὶ πρέσβιστον σέλας.

"O Sun, light highly honored by the horse-loving Thracians"; Kazarow, G., *RE* VIa, 1937 *s.v.* "Thrake (Religion)", col. 500-504 and col. 504-505; Fol, A. "Kotys, Son of Apollo", in: *Studia in honorem Georguii Mihailov*, Sofia 1995, pp. 183-185; Werner, R., "Aspekte der thrakischen Kultur", *Chiron* 29, 1999, p. 90.

[20] Iord. *Get*. X 65:"-qua tempestate Dio storico dicente Philippus inopia pecuniae passus, Odyssitanum Moesiae civitatem instructis copiis vastare deliberat, quae tunc propter vicinam Thomes Gothis erat subiecta. unde et sacerdotes Gothorum illi qui pii vocabantur subito patefactis portis cum citharis et vestibus candidis obviam egressi patriis diis, ut sibi propitii Macedonas repellerent, voce supplici modulantes. quos Macedones sic fiducialiter sibi occurrere contuentes stupiscent et, si dici fas est, ab inermibus terrentur armati. nec mora soluta acie quam ad bellandum construxerant, non tantum ab urbis excidio abstinuerunt, verum etiam et quos foris fuerant iure belli adepti, reddiderunt, foedusque inito ad sua reversi sunt.".

incident but in order to evoke ideas and motifs associating it with the Apollonian mythological cycle: with the Apollonian bard Amphion who builds the walls of Thebes by the music of his flute and the magic power of Orpheus, also an Apollonian devotee, to subordinate with his songs the whole nature. Moreover, the existence of music of 'Apollonian' type among the Getae is mentioned by Theopompos in a fragment, quoted by Athenaeus.[21] The uncertainties surrounding the passage of Jordanes are abundant, but its overall message is in perfect conformity with the evidence of the importance of Apollo in the western Black Sea cities. The reference to the Getae confirms the existence of synergy between the traditions brought along by the colonists and the religious context in the new homeland.

Another important testimony for my argument comes from Anchialos, a *phrourion* of the Milesian Apollonia. Apollonios son of Eptaikenthios, *strategos* of Anchialos, dedicates an altar to Apollo Karsenos in the reign of the Thracian king Rhoemetalkas II (19 BCE-26 BCE):

Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae I^2, 378:

['Ἀπόλλω]νι Καρσηνωι θε-
[ῶι μεγά]λωι εὐξάμενος
[καὶ ἐπιτ]υχὼν τὸν βωμὸν
[ἀνέθηκ]ε ᾿Απολλώνιος
[Επταικ]ενθου Βιζυηνὸς
[στρατη]γὸς ᾿Αγχιάλου
[καὶ Σελ]λητικῆς καὶ ῾Ρυσι-
[κῆς ὑπέ]ρ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ
[γυναικ]ὸς Λεοντοῦς καὶ
[τέκνω]ν ἐπὶ Ροιμηταλκου
[Θρᾳκῶ]ν βασιλέως.

Apollonios son of Heptaikenthos, from Bizye, *strategos* of Anchialos and of *Selletica*, and of *Rysica*, dedicated the altar to the great god Apollo *Karsenos*, since his prayer was

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[21] Theop. *FGrHist* 2 B 115 F 216 (244) (= Athen. XIV 24, p. 627 D-E): Θεόπομπος δ᾿ἐν τεσσαρακοστῇ ἕκτῃ τῶν ῾Ιστοριῶν "Γέται, φησί, κιθάρας ἔχοντες καὶ κιθαρίζοντες τὰς ἐπικηρυκείας ποιοῦνται. "Theopompus, in the forty-sixth book of his *Histories*, says: "The Getae carry out diplomatic negotiations holding citharas and playing on them.".

> heard, for him, his wife Leonto and his kids, during the reign
> of Rhoemetalkas, the Thracian king.

Apollonios son of Eptaikenthos, a Thracian by origin, according to his patronymic, *strategos* of Anchialos, is known from two other monuments: one comes from Byzie and bears a dedication to Apollo *Paktyenos* and a second is a statue of Apollo Kitharedes.[22]

I would like to draw attention to the local epithets Karsenos and Pactyenos and to the fact that the statue of Apollo Citharedes was dedicated in a sanctuary of the Thracian Horseman. It is obvious in my view that Apollonios has been a devotee to a Thracian solar deity identified with Apollo.

The importance of the worship of Apollo in the western Pontic cities is evidenced as well through the fact that the most popular divinity in Thrace, the Thracian Horseman, usually named in different regions of the country after various Greek deities, in the monuments from the Black Sea shore was almost exclusively named (assimilated to) Apollo; a Thracian epithet accompanies sometimes the God's name. On one relief, the Horseman is holding the attribute of Apollo, the lyre.[23]

As a last observation, which seems to support my argument, I will evoke the central position of Apollo in the Megarian colonies on the Thracian coast of Black Sea, Kallatis and Mesambria, versus much lesser importance in the Megarian cities on the northern and southern shore, that is Chersonesos Taurikos and Heraclea Pontica.

It is important to emphasize that the current documentation, epigraphic and numismatic, illustrates in a significant way that Dionysus and especially Dionysus Bacchos was worshiped in all cities *en aristera tou Pontou*.

Lucian, in his treatise *On the Dance* presents eloquently the prevalence of the bachic cult in the Ionian and Pontic cities.

> ἡ μέν γε Βακχικὴ ὄρχησις ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ μάλιστα καὶ ἐν
> Πόντῳ σπουδαζομένη, καίτοι σατυρικὴ οὖσα, οὕτω
> κεχείρωται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐκεῖ ὥστε κατὰ τὸν
> τεταγμένον ἕκαστοι καιρόν, ἁπάντων ἐπιλαθόμενοι

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[22] *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae* I², 374 (*cf. Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae* V, 5132); Kja√kina, P. in: *Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej*, Varna 3, 2000, pp. 106-115.

[23] Goᵃeva, Z., Oppermann, M., *Corpus Cultus Equitis Thracii* I, Monumenta orae Ponti Euxini Bulgariae, Leiden 1979, 173.

τῶν ἄλλων, κάθηνται δι᾽ ἡμέρας τιτᾶνας καὶ
κορύβαντας καὶ σατύρους καὶ βουκόλους ὁρῶντες.
καὶ ὀρχοῦνταί γε ταῦτα οἱ εὐγενέστατοι καὶ
πρωτεύοντες ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῶν πόλεων, οὐχ ὅπως
αἰδούμενοι ἀλλὰ καὶ μέγα φρονοῦντες ἐπὶ τῷ
πράγματι μᾶλλον ἤπερ ἐπ᾽ εὐγενείας καὶ λειτουργίας
καὶ ἀξιώμασι προγονικοῖς. (Lucian, *De saltat*. 79
Macleod)

"Bacchic dance, which is especially favored in Ionia and
in Pontus, though bawdy (*satyrike*), has so engrossed the
people there that all of them at the appointed time forget
everything else and sit watching Titans, Corybants, Satyrs
and ox herds (*boukoloi*) all day long. And those who perform
these dances are the best born and the first people in each of
the cities. So far from feeling embarrassment, they take great
pride in the matter, more even than in their high birth, public
services, and their ancestral reputations."[24]

This passage raises the question what did Lucian meant by the
geographical term "Pontos"?

C. P. Jones illustrated convincingly the rapport between the
description by Lucian of the Dionysiac celebrations and an epitaph of
155 BCE for a Dionysiac dancer at Amastris. Jones points out similarity
regarding several aspects: the extract of Lucian and the inscription evoke
a dance of a specific type, a 'bacchic dance', carried out not by
professional dancers but by people of noble origin like the late young
man Aemilianus, member probably of a Dionysiac association:

Ἔτος μὲν ἦν τριακοστὸν ἤδη μοι τόδε,
ἔθηκε δ Αἰμιλιανὸν ὄνομά μοι πατήρ,
ὃν ἔθρεψε Γέμινος, εἷς ἀνὴρ τῶν εὐγενῶν·
παρ᾽ ἐμπύροις δὲ κῶμον Εὐίῳ θεῷ
τριετῆρι τελετὴν μυστικῶς ἀνήγαγον. κτλ.
(*SEG* XXXV, 1327)

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[24] transl. C. P. Jones, "Lucian and the Bacchants of Pontus", *Echos du monde
classique* 34, n.s. 9, 1990, pp. 53-63.

> This was now my thirtieth year, and my father gave me the name Aemilianus, and Geminus brought me up, a man of noble birth. Amid incense-vessels (?) I led the revel for the biennial god Euhios, (and led) the rite in mystic fashion, etc.

Regarding the term "Pontos" used by Lucian, Jones supposes that it initially refers to the Roman province of the same name, but could include cities of Paphlagonia like Amastris as well. It seems to me, however, considering the epigraphic data revealing the range of Bacchic celebrations and the presence of Dionysiac associations in the Greek cities on the western and northern coasts of the Pontos Euxeinos, that the term Pontos employed by Lucian covers all areas surrounding the Black Sea.

I would like to draw attention in particular to the term *empyra*. Jones proposes to translate *empyra* in the epitaph of Aemilianus as "incense-vessels", since the meaning of offerings, intended to be burned, is not likely. Jones evokes the occurrence of the same term in a 2nd century BCE inscription from Sardis transmitting a prohibition from 4th century BCE to the priests of Ahura Mazda to take part in the mysteries of Sabazios, Angdistis and Ma.[25] F. Sokolowski interprets *empyra* of Sardis as "recipients of incense", while L. Robert proposes "victims intended to be burned."[26] A. Fol saw in *empyra* "different sacred objects carried around in fire". The author evokes a parallel with the modern folk festival of St Constantin and St Helene in Agia Eleni in Thrace and the dance on ember, where the participants carry various sacred objects.[27] This last interpretation is most convincing for me.

In connection with Dionysus and the fire rites, an epigram from Tomis reveals the epiclesis *Pyribromos* of Dionysus and suggests in particular that rituals related to fire have been performed in this western pontic city. The dedication presents the devotees of Dionysus organized in a *thiasos* named after a woman Paso, its founder or priestess:

> Ἁγνὸν ὑπὲρ θιάσοιο πυρίβρομέ σοι τὸ [δ ἄγαλμα]
> δῶρον ὑπὸ σφετέρας πασεν ἐργ[ασίας]
> [μ]υστικὸν ἐμ βακχοῖσι λαχὼν στέφος. . . .

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[25] *SEG* XXIX, 1205, l. 8-10.
[26] Sokolowski, F., *ZPE* 34, 1979, pp. 65-69; Robert, L., *CRAI* 1975, p. 325.
[27] Fol, A., Trakijskijat Dionis, Book II *Sabazios*, Sofia 1994, p. 77 et pp. 250-252.

Πάρμιδος, ἀρχαίην δεικνύμενος τ[ελετήν]
    Ἀλλὰ σύ, ταυρόκερως, Ἑρμαγένεος χε[ρὸς] ἔργον
    [δέ]ξαι καὶ Πασοῦς σῶζε ἱερὸν θίασον.
(*Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris* II (ed I. Stoian, 120)

> In the name of the hallowed *thiasos*, to you, *Roaring with fire*, he offered from his own atelier, after obtaining the wreath of *mystes* among the bacchants, Someone son of Parmis, performing an ancient ritual. And you, *Bull-horned*, receive the oeuvre of Hermagenes' hand and grant salvation to the sacred *thiasos* of Paso.

In my view, the epiclesis *Puribomos* 'Roaring with fire' echoes the fact that rites related to fire formed part of the Dionysiac celebrations in Tomis. This indication offers a link with the term *empyra* in the epitaph from Amastris and with the passage of Lucian and seems to complement my interpretation that the term Pontos Lucian includes the western Pontic shore as well.

The worship of Dionysus incontestably formed part of the heritage of Miletus and Megara. However, it seems to me that local religious traditions were particularly favorable to the prominence in these colonies of the bacchic Greek worship, closely related to them.

The popularity of Kybele

Another indication of contact with the Thracian religion I would see in the popularity of Kybele in the western Pontic cities attested to since the Archaic period. Again, this importance can be explained at least on two levels. On the one hand, it is a sign of the place occupied by the Anatolian traditions in the religious sphere of these cities. On the other hand, I am inclined to assign the popularity of the Great Anatolian Mother to the worship of a Great Goddess Mother by the Thracians.[28]
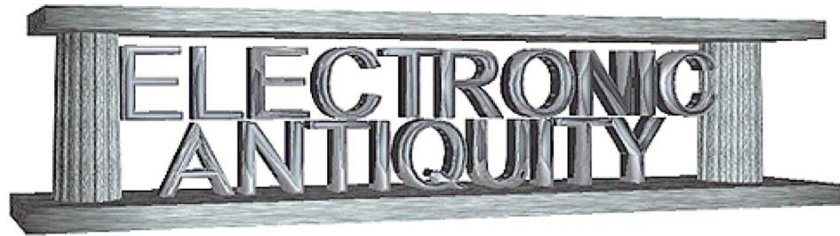
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[28] On the Great Thracian Goddess *cf. e.g.* Fol, A., Trakijskijat orfism, Sofia 1986, *passim*; Rostovtzeff, M. I., *Rozpis Kerchenskoij grobnitzy otkryty v 1891 godu*, St-Petersbourg 1911*, passim*; *Id*. "Le culte de la Grande déesse dans Russie méridionale", *REG*, 31, 1919, pp. 462-481; I. Marazov, "The identity of the Triballian Great Goddess", *Talanta* 20-21, 1988-89, pp. 41-51; Werner, R., „Aspekte der thrakischen Kultur", *Chiron* 29, 1999, p. 87 sq. On the importance

A group of monuments with the Thracian Horseman offers support to this suggestion, where the goddess in front of the hero resembles Kybele but must be interpreted, most likely, as the Thracian Goddess which representation adopts the iconographic type of Kybele.[29]

There are without a doubt numerous features and aspects in the religious tradition of these cities, which I didn't include in the present discussion. My goal was not to exhaust the subject but to call attention to the richness of their cultural legacy. In my view, the Greek inhabitants of the cities *en aristera tou Pontou*, remaining faithful to the ancestral *nomoi* inherited by the metropolis, were in the same time able to embrace religious values of their "Barbarian" neighbors.

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of Kybele, Demeter and Artemis-Hekate-Phosphoros in the western pontic cities cf. Chiekova, D., *Cultes et vie religieuse des cités grecques du Pont Gauche* (VIIe-ler siècle av. J.-C.) Bern 2008), ch. 3,4 and 7.

[29] Tacheva-Hitova, M., *Eastern cults in Moesia Inferior and Thracia* (5th century B.C.-4th century AD), Leiden 1983: n° 39, 40, 55 a, 56, 74, 75, 82.

KADMOS, JASON, AND THE GREAT GODS OF SAMOTHRACE: INITIATION AS MEDIATION IN A NORTHERN AEGEAN CONTEXT[1]

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Samothrace abounds in traditions of heroes who come to the island for initiation into the mysteries of the great gods. Far more numerous than in other cults, these legendary figures crowd into the island's imagination of itself as the recipients of its greatest ritual treasure – divine protection for travel at sea. Their number seems, at the simplest level, a reflection of the cult's most singular promise for its initiates, and one naturally suited to the needs of a hero. That promise emerges naturally as well from the island's location and geology – set in characteristically rough seas, and possessing but one poor harbor, Samothrace nevertheless offered the highest beacon of the northern Aegean – Mt. Phengari, at 5,459 feet, visible from 100 miles away. This would be significant aid for navigators, who relied on easily visible landmarks.[2] The promise, and the heroes, may thus be easily accounted

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[2] Morton 2001: 144 n. 4, 185-189; Horden and Purcell 2000: 442; Pliny *NH* 4.73; Lehmann 1998: 15-17.

for as a response to the cult's location and the tendencies of Greek heroic legend.

These hero initiates offer more intricate insight, however, into the nature of the cult and the gods than this simple explanation suggests. The prevailing critical approach to the legends identified elements of historical fact buried in the narrative – to read through the myths to the history hidden behind them. The myths are themselves, however, historical artifacts – cultural creations which impose pattern on the past. Such patterns, Appadurai has argued, constitute cultural commodities, which may be used to support groups and institutions.[3] Both the historical elements the myths select, and the patterns into which they set them, are determined by the institutions they support. The myths thus reflect the structures, as well as the simple existence, of the institutions significant enough to trade in the market of cultural memory. The mysteries were Samothrace's single greatest commodity. Travelers flocked to the island for initiation for centuries after the 6th century BCE floruit of the town was long past. The patterns of these heroic legends reflect the particular needs of an initiatory ritual based on the type of the Greek mysteries located in the far northeastern reach of the Greek Aegean. The narrative dynamics of these heroes offer the background against which the elements that distinguish Samothrace from other cults appear not as a collection of hapaxes, but an articulate response to the historical demands of habitation and commerce in a region that was the boundaryland of Greek and non-Greek. These concerns reflect a patten never irrelevant in Mediterranean history, and suggest a factor contributing to the cult's longevity beyond its history of wealthy patronage.

The heroes who guide this exploration are Kadmos and Jason. Both men have an intimate connection with the island's rites and gods: Kadmos figures in the liturgy itself, while Jason articulates its most famous promise. The pattern they share is the type of the protocolonial, a hero of first contact who must achieve mediation between his culture and the indigenous inhabitants of the country to which he travels. We will consider the heroes individually first, and then set their shared pattern against the background of Samothracian hapaxes, including the pre-Greek gods, the ritual installations on the site, its boundaryland location, and the language of the liturgy. We will finally consider how the ritual

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[3] Appadurai 1981.

dynamics particular to the Greek mysteries shape the functional relationship of these elements to each other.

KADMOS

Kadmos the Phoenician appears in the traditions of Samothrace as early as the fifth century BCE.[4] Early sources mention only his marriage to Harmonia; the island's mysteries appear first in the fourth century, when Ephoros notes that Kadmos caught his first glimpse of his bride while she was being initiated, carried her off, and so established the custom of searching for the girl in the island's festivals. The hero has unusually strong ties to the rites. Beyond the commemoration of his marriage in the annual festival, he is cited as one of the gods of the cult, in the guise of Kadmilos, and he shares iconographic and narrative elements with Hermes, whose importance to the cult is attested in both textual and epigraphical sources.[5] The hero also has an earlier connection with the mysteries on neighboring Lemnos, where Akusilaos, writing in the fifth century, identified Kadmilos as the father of the Kabeiroi, and a son of Hephaistos and the nymph Kabeiro.[6] And on Imbros, an inscription from the 2nd or 3rd century CE (*IG* XII 8 n. 74) lists Kasmeilos along with Theoi Megaloi and five Titans; Hemberg has argued that this represents a much older tradition.[7] Strabo identified these three islands as the places most famous for the celebration of the Kabeiroi (10.3.7) It is on Samothrace alone, however, that the rites rose to international prominence, the identity of the gods became contested, and Kadmos' visit summoned to provide an explanation.

These gods resist easy identification. Despite their patronage of one of the most prestigious cults in the ancient world, their character remains

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[4] Sources for Kadmos' legend prior to the end of the fifth century suggest that the story was already well-known by that time: Edwards 1979: 18-20; West 1985: 83; Schachter 1985; Tourraix 2000: 75-105.

[5] Beekes 2004a; Cole 1984: 66-67; Hemberg 1950: 38-43, 92-96, 137, 165-66, 217-218, 316; Collini 1990: 257; Collart and Devambez 1931; Fraser 1960: p. 118-119, no. 63; Lehmann 1960: p. 121, no. 296; p. 124, no. 306a; Lehmann 1969: 232, no. 148; Astour 1967: 156; Vian 1963: 153-154.

[6] Akusilaos *FGH* 2 no. 20; Hemberg 1950: 165-66 observes (n. 6) that Pherekydes, *FGH* I 406, may have considered Kadmilos the brother of the Kabeiroi and the nymphs.

[7] Hemberg 1950: 293 disagrees with Pohlenz (Pohlenz, *Neue Jahrbueher fuer das classische Altertum* 37 (1916), 556), who argued for a late date.

obscure. The literary evidence is lacunous and fragmentary; Kabeiroi are daimones rather than Olympians, and their distinction from other divine groups, the Kouretes, Korybantes, Daktyloi and Telchines was not clear even for ancient authors.[8] Indeed it is in connection with Samothrace that Strabo claims these groups are essentially identical, as he attempted to resolve why it was that some said the gods were Kouretes, others Korybantes, even Daktyloi or Telchines (10.3.7). None of the daimones, moreover, appear in inscriptions from the site itself. These refer only to Theoi Megaloi – a euphemism which has occasioned two very different hypotheses. Hemberg cited this lack of epigraphical evidence to claim that the gods of Samothrace were not Kabeiroi at all.[9] Those working in Indo European linguistics, however, have seen another route through this term to unlock the identity of the gods. Kadmos' Phoenician origins, and his intimate connection with the rites, recommended reading Kabeiroi in terms of Semitic *kbr*, meaning 'great.' The term Theoi Megaloi, 'great gods,' thus became a Greek calque on a Semitic term – and the legend of Kadmos a signal of the derivation of the gods, and the cult, from the Levant.

The argument has proved remarkably resilient. First proposed by Scaliger in the 16th century, it continues to fuel debate.[10] It appealed to the model of civilization moving *ex oriente*, and the sensibility for scientific proof that accompanied the emergence of historical linguistics. There are limits, however, to how well the model accords with the other ancient data on the Kabeiroi, the site and the mysteries. When ancient texts suggest an ethnicity for the Kabeiroi, they are Phrygian, Pelasgian, or born from the earth in the places of their celebration, e.g. at Thebes or

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[8] Blakely 2006: 17-52; Hemberg 1950: 303-311, 330-354.

[9] Hemberg 1950: 74-81; he has been followed by Cole 1984: 1-4, inter alia. See Graham 2002: 49 for a critique of the argument. Epigraphical evidence from sites beyond Samothrace include the name of the Kabeiroi: from the sanctuary of the Samothracian gods at Delos, *IG* XI 2 n. 144 A, 90f , 314-166 BCE, Hemberg 1950: 142: Chapouthier 1935: 181-182 cites in addition a round offering table from 159/8, dedicated by a priest of the Great Gods and Dioskouroi and Kabeiroi; in 158/7 BCE, an Athenian held the priesthood of the Great Gods Dioskouroi Kabeiroi; in 101, a ship in honor of Mithridates was consecrated to the Great Gods of Samothrace Dioskouroi Kabeiroi. A late Hellenistic epitaph, possibly from Amphipolis, describes the deceased as an initiate who saw the doubly sacred light of Kabiros in Samothrace, and the pure rites of Demeter in Eleusis; see Karadima-Matsa and Dimitrova 2003.

[10] Hemberg 1950: 318-325; Beekes 2004a; Goceva 2002; Collini 1990; Burkert 1985: 457 n. 23; Musti 2002, Mari 2002.

on Lemnos. This is the same pattern for the other daimones to whom they are equated– Kouretes, Korybantes, and Daktyloi.[11] None of these divinities have compelling parallels in Near Eastern tradition, or narratives of advent from the east. Herodotus compared the Kabeiroi iconographically to Pataiki or pygmies, and claimed to have entered their temple at Memphis (3.37). He stopped short, however, of suggesting that they came from Phoenicia, Africa or Egypt into the Greek world – and as a matter of authorial style, is not shy of claiming derivation directly when he wishes to affirm it.[12] The site at Samothrace, in addition, shows no material or linguistic signs of Phoenician presence: toponymns, theophoric names, temple architecture, or cult images.[13] Excavations place the earliest ritual activity at the 7th century BCE, at which time the ceramic evidence points to the Thracian mainland rather than the Levant.[14] Kadmos also behaves differently on Samothrace than he does where legends of his advent coincide with evidence of Phoenician activity. At those sites, his establishment of the cult is clearly articulated, and he may leave crew members to serve as priests for the gods.[15] On Samothrace, however, he stumbles onto a ceremony already in progress; he becomes an initiate, but not a founder. Attempts to use the hero to connect the Samothracian site with the Theban Kabeirion run similarly aground. There is far less evidence for the hero's connection to the cult at Thebes than there is at Samothrace, and nothing at all to suggest a role as a bringer of the cult, despite abundant traditions that he established cults in the city of Thebes itself.[16]

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[11] Blakely 2006: 17-52.

[12] Harrison 2000: 208-222.

[13] Thasos, with a marked literary tradition of Phoenician founding activities, has yielded limited material corroboration: Bunnens 1979: 358-366; Morris 1992: 144-146; Edwards 1979: 183; Pouilloux 1954; Vian 1963: 66.

[14] Graham 1982: 116-117; 2002: 248-249; Lehmann 1998: 15; Matsas, Karadima, and Koutsoumanis 1993; cf. Prinz 1978: 187-205.

[15] Vian 1963: 134-157; Edwards 1979: 32, 80-82, for cults on Thasos, Rhodes, Thera, Seriphos, Melos, Crete and Miletos. These stories, Vian notes, may reflect Theban rather than Phoenician contact. Cf. Bunnens 1986.

[16] Vian 1963: 134, 146 n. 5; Schachter 1981: 89; 1985: 150-151; Hemberg 1950: 129. Pausanias attributes the foundation of the Theban cult to Prometheus and his fellow Kabeiroi, who received the rites as a gift from Demeter; Methapos reformed the mysteries, and the clan of Pelarge seems to have been involved in their re-establishment after an exile. There are no legends of Kadmos' initiation at Thebes, nor evidence that any of his life's events figured in the liturgy. Only one mutilated inscription, KASMIN, suggests a role for him on-site (*IG* 7.4126;

Kadmos' ethnicity itself, in fact, is less consistent a portion of his semiotic package than an essentialist reading of his myth would suggest. The etymological arguments for a Levantine origin have long been challenged, and caution advanced regarding arguments which rely on etymological evidence to the exclusion of other categories.[17] The category in which Kadmos participates, in the broader world of Greek mythology, is that of foreign-born culture heroes, such as Danaos and Pelops. While not foreign in archaic texts, these heroes became so by the fifth century, as authors responded to the nationalism, racism and eastern aggression of the late Archaic and Classical periods. Thus Kadmos acquires both Egyptian and Phoenician origins by the fifth century; West proposes that this could have begun in the sixth century, contemporary with the Hesiodic catalog and the activities of the Ionian logographers, seeking to forge a new relationship with the cultures to their east.[18] These textual traditions are not matched, however, in the hero's iconography. Miller notes that even as the texts focus increasingly on Kadmos' foreign origin, fifth and fourth centuries vase painters depict the hero without any sign of Orientalized dress, attendants or equipment. The most popular episode from his life, particularly on South Italian and Sicilian vases, is his slaying of the Theban dragon, a triumph over autochthonous forces which suggests a mythological character most essentially that of a founding hero.[19] His ethnicity may shift, in texts, with the rhetorical purposes of the various authors who make use of his narrative. Thus Pindar, possibly because of his Boiotian patriotism, makes no reference to Kadmos' foreign origins; Athenian dramatists, in contrast, found in those origins a means to impugn the character of the Thebans who

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cf. IG 7.3698), along with dubious information from Tzetzes (schol.to Lycophon 162) referring to Kadmos as the Boiotian Hermes.

[17] Challenges began as early as 1807; see Edwards 1979: 51-64 for an overview of the history; see Beekes 2004b for a recent objection. On the dangers of using etymological evidence alone, Schachter 1985, Puhvel 1987: 19-20.

[18] Miller 2005: 68-69; Gomme 1913; West 1985: 144-154; Kuehr 2006: 91-106; Beekes 2004b; Vian 1963: 62-68; cf. Edwards 1979: 65-86.

[19] Miller 2005: 83. The only depiction of Kadmos and the Spartoi comes from Sicily, and he plays a significant role in Etruscan art as well, both of which recommend his role as a founding hero for Greeks overseas. Krauskopf 1974: 51-52 suggests that his popularity in Etruscan art may reflect traditions of founding heroes in the West who were among his descendants.

Medized in the Persian wars, as Demand has noted.[20] The visual evidence signals the extent to which the legend's semantic potential, even after the fifth century, continued to extend beyond Levantine origins. And indeed, a Phoenician origin for Kadmos, or the Kabeiroi, has never been brought into relationship with the other factors in the Samothracian site and cult that make it distinctive among the Greek mysteries.

JASON

Among these distinct characteristics is the unusual prevalence of heroic initiates. Kadmos was but one of many; their numbers included Odysseus, Agamemnon, and other Trojan heroes, Herakles, and the earliest group of Greek heroes rumored to have set sail to foreign lands, Jason and the Argonauts. Jason, like Kadmos, has particularly close connections to the Samothracian cult. His name has possible etymological connections to one of the Samothracian gods, Iasion or Iason, who appears variously as one of Harmonia's brothers, the lover of Demeter, struck by lightning for insulting Demeter's image, or one of the Kabeiroi.[21] Jason's initiation, along with his crew, was a well-known event. Apollonios of Rhodes, Valerius Flaccus and the Orphic Argonautica all suggest that the Argonauts were initiated on their way to Colchis, putting in at the island by Orpheus' request that they all learn the rites and so sail with greater safety.[22] Diodorus Siculus seems to draw on two traditions: he lists (5.50) Jason and the Dioskouroi among the heroes

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[20] Demand 1983: 53

[21] Iasos, Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.61.2-4; Iason, Conon *Narrationes* 21 = *FGH* 26 F 1, 21; Stephanus Byzantius s.v. 'Dardanos'; Theocritus 3.50-51 (though the scholiast claims this refers to Crete); Scholia Parisina to Apollonius Rhodius Argonautica 1.917. Iasion, Diodorus Siculus 5.47.1-48.3; Apollodorus Bibliotheca 3.12.1; Scymnus Periegesis 676-95 (*GGM* I 222-23); Strabo 7 fr. 49 = *FGH* 548 F 2a; scholia Laurentiana to Apollonius Rhodius Argonautica 1.916 = *FGH* 546 F 1a; scholia Parisina to Apollonius Rhodius Argonautica 1.915-916; Diodorus Siculus 5.48.4-50.1; Arrian in Eustathius *in Odysseam e* 12 = *FGH* 156 F 107; Mnaseas in Scholia Laurentiana to Apollonius Rhodius Argonautica 1917 = *FGH* 546 F 1b. Hemberg 1950: 105 n. 7 notes that Iasion Iasos, Iasios and Iason are common names for heroes or daimones throughout the Aegean, and would have been at home on the islands of the Thracian sea; see also Weicker 1916; Usener 1948: 156.

[22] Valerius Flaccus 2.431-42; Apollonius of Rhodes *Argonautic*a I.915-21; 467-72, ed. Dottin p 465-70 = Kern *Orphicorum Fragmenta Testimonium*.

who were initiated on the island, but elsewhere (4.43.1) writes that Orpheus was the only Argonaut to be initiated, and twice describes his success in calling on the Samothracian gods to deliver the men from danger on the sea (4.43.1-2, and 4.48.5-7). The Argonauts, in gratitude for this salvation, dedicated altars to the Samothracian gods in the land of King Byzas, and bowls at the Samothracian sanctuary itself on their way home (4.49.8). Cole suggests that some dedications in the sanctuary may have borne inscriptions claiming to be set up by the Argonauts.[23]

The tradition of Argonauts on Samothrace does not enter the literary record until the Hellenistic period, even though the legend itself is known as early as Pherekydes.[24] An encounter between the Argonauts and the Lemnian Kabeiroi, however, appears in the fragments of Aeschylus' Lemnian trilogy (*TGF* fr. 95-97). These suggest a meeting between the Argonauts and a chorus, presumably of the Kabeiroi for whom the play was named; either the sailors or the chorus members are drunk. Lemnos is the site of Jason's marriage to Hypsipyle, a tradition established by the time of the *Iliad*; one of the plays in Aeschylus' trilogy bore that title. The drunken encounter in these fragments of the *Kabeiroi* may reflect a satiric parallel to Kadmos' sacred wedding on Samothrace. It reflects, at the least, the Athenian awareness of the daimones of the region, and their encounter with traveling heroes, by the end of the sixth century BCE.[25]

Jason's voyage also bears the strong Samothracian imprint of having two of the gods of the cult travel with him – the Dioskouroi. The Dioskouroi are equated to the Kabeiroi in numerous literary sources, including Aristophanes, Pausanias, Philo of Byblos, Damascius, Polemon, and an Orphic hymn; they are also said to be the same as Korybantes and Kouretes.[26] They are part of the voyage of the Argo

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[23] Cole 1984: 68-69, 129 n. 563. Cole notes that no archaeological evidence from Byzantion has supported Diodorus' claim for dedications there.

[24] Scherer 2006: 9-42 for all the ancient sources. For Agamemnon on a Samothracian relief, dated at the time of publication to the sixth century, see Lehmann 1943: 130-134 and 1951: 6, n. 17.

[25] Hunter 1989: 15 notes evidence that the Lemnian episode was the subject of a much earlier epic poem, based on Homeric references to the son of Jason and Hypsipyle in *Iliad* 7.468-9, 21.40-1, *Odyssey* 11.235-59, *Odyssey* 12.69-72; Strabo1.2.38 suggested that Homer's Circe was modeled on the Argonautic Medea.

[26] Hemberg 1950: 215-16, 330, 334-335; Chapouthier 1931: 181-183; Burkert 1985: 212-213. Aristophanes *Pax* 276-87; cf. Euripides *Orestes* 1635-37; Pausanias 10.38.7; Philo in Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 1.10 (*FHG* III

already in the sixth century BCE, when they appear with the ship on the metopes of the Sicyonian building at Delphi.[27] They are also associated with safety in sea travel at an early date, in presocratic fragments that antedate the Argonautica. Xenophanes in the 6th century and Metrodoros in the 4th describe the electrical phenomenon that plays about the masts of ships, known today as St. Elmo's fire, as their manifestation.[28] Diodorus Siculus suggests that they acquired this divine power in the course of the voyage itself (4.43.1-2). Samothracian power to ensure safe passage is also in evidence by the fifth century BCE. Cicero writes that Diagoras of Melos, upon seeing the votives at Samothrace, remarked that there would have been many more had not so many perished at sea (*de Natura Deorum* 3.37); Diogenes Laertius ascribes the comment to Diogenes of Sinope (6.2.59).[29] Cicero's Diagoras would place this event in the fifth century. Safety at sea was a concern with many ritual expressions, ranging from magical gems and shipboard shrines to the establishment of sacred sites on headlands.[30] The shared participation of the heroes and the rites in this category reflects a more substantial resonance between them than the lateness of the testimonia suggests.

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567); Damascius *Vita Isidori* 302; Polemon *FHG* II 137, fr. 76 a, Scholia to Euripides *Orestes* 1637; Orphic Hymn 38; Ampelius, *Liber memorialis* 2.3, Scholia to Germanicus Caesar *Aratea* 146, Varro *de Lingua Latina* 5.10.57-58.

[27] Hermary 1986: 586, no. 218.

[28] Xenophanes, Diehls *VS* 21 A 39; Metrodoros, *VS* 70 A 10; see also Homeric Hymn 33, Alcman Fr. 34, Euripides *Helen* 1495-1505, 1664-5; Jaisle 1907: 58-72.

[29] Hemberg 1950: 101 n. 3 for discussion, also Burkert 1993: 183 and 189 n. 32. Hemberg notes in addition that, given the natural concern for safe travel to which the island's location would give rise, it is difficult to imagine that this promise was ever not a part of the cult. The bulk of the evidence for this promise lies in the Helenistic period – see Hemberg 100 n. 1, Lewis 1958: 102-111. Burkert 1993: 183 notes that Aristophanes Pax 277-78 confirms the association in that period: in this passage, Trygaeus expresses hope that the Samothracian initiates will pray for the failure of Hubbub's journey – when Hubbub returns empty-handed, Trygaeus praises the Dioskouroi for their intervention. Given the centrality of the Dioskouroi at Sparta, to which Hubbub traveled, other scholars hesitate to declare this a firm identification; Olson 1998: 128 considers that this makes "a nice match."

[30] Wachsmuth 1967: Morton 2001: 192-206; Halleux and Schamp 1985: 182.

This is particularly so because of the mythical status of the Argonautica as the first long distance voyage.[31] As such, it represents the advent of the maritime technology that shaped Greek economic, political and military history, and made the dangers of sea travel immediately relevant. First inventions of this sort have a prominent role in mystery initiations; the invention of agriculture at Eleusis is the most familiar example.[32] A long scholarly tradition proposed that Samothrace celebrated metallurgy, perhaps evolving from the initiatory rituals of prehistoric metallurgical guilds.[33] This argument was based on the associations of the Kabeiroi with Hephaistos, and the appearance of various degrees of metal working skills among the daimones to whom the Kabeiroi are assimilated. Samothracian Kabeiroi, however, follow Hermes in their form, not Hephaistos as they do on Lemnos, and there is no evidence that the cult was of particular concern for smiths or miners, or evoked their craft as a key metaphor for the celebrants.[34] Sailing, on the other hand, seems a very likely first invention to be celebrated in the Samothracian cult. The clarity with which it figures in the cult's promises recommends it; so too does its significance, as a technology as fundamental and perennial in the ancient Mediterranean economy as agriculture. Unlike agriculture, it was deemed a hazardous occupation, and its dangers constituted a literary topos from at least the sixth century BCE onward.[35] Jason's status as the captain of the first ship ever made would suit the semantics of the cult, both providing a new technology and articulating the promise unique to the cult.

As Jason embodies the first voyage, he also embodies the first contact in the region beyond Samothrace, on whose route Lemnos and Imbros were key ports of call – the Black Sea. Local historians of the Black Sea, including Hecataeus of Miletus, Pherecydes, Hellanikos, Herodoros of Heraklea, Timee of Tauromenion, Timonax, and others, referred to the voyage to recite the foundations of their cities and their colonies; most of the South Pontic coast was populated by the mythical

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[31] Herter 1942: 244-249; Couchoud and Svoronos 1921; Apollonios of Rhodes *Argonautica* I.915-921.

[32] Kleingunther 1976: 33-37.

[33] Rossignol 1863; Gernet and Boulanger 1932: 73-82: Burkert 1985: 281.

[34] Herodotus 2.51; Kern 1890.

[35] Romm 1996: 127; Philo of Byblos (*FHG* 3.567.11) credits the Kabeiroi with the invention of sailing.

wave of Greek Argonauts.[36] These traditions responded to a range of historical needs and circumstances. They provided a medium for Greeks to speculate on the reasons for colonization in the region; they also articulated the ties between various Greek colonies, as well as between the colonies and their mother cities.[37] Braund has traced the dynamics enabled by the tradition of the Dioskouroi as founders. Memorialized in the city names Dioscurias, Tyndaris, and Cygnus, the twin heroes aided trade with other colonies located in the Black Sea, and political relations as far afield as Sparta. The legends also reached across the cultural divide, helping the Greeks incorporate their new neighbors into their own narratological traditions, and providing great interest for local non-Greek aristocrats. Malkin has explored the mediating function of these narratives.[38] The myths serve not simply as an imposition of Greek culture, but arenas for dialog, integration and re-invention. These processes were ongoing, as responses to new developments demanded new resolutions between the Greeks and indigenes. The legends reveal a range of indigenous behaviors consonant with the variety of historically attested phenomena, which extend from cooperative alliance to perpetually re-erupting hostilities. Jason's encounters at a single site often reflect both extremes. At Kyzikos he finds both a pitched battle with hostile 50-armed autochthones and a hyperbolically ideal host in the local prince. And at Colchis, acquiring the object of his journey, he must battle the earth-born children of the dragon's teeth, aided by the supernatural skills of the indigenous princess Medea.

The children of the dragon's teeth figure as well in the myth of Kadmos who must, at Thebes, slay a dragon, sow its teeth, and fight the earthborn warriors who emerge. The episode reflects a pattern which is fundamental to both figures. Both Kadmos and Jason are heroes of first contact – Jason as the protocolonial voyager in the Black Sea, Kadmos as the founder at Boiotian Thebes. This aspect of their narratives most shaped the use of their legends in the Greek world, in numerous Black Sea foundation legends, and the visual tradition of Kadmos. It casts a more essential light on the dynamics of the Samothracian cult than do the heroes' specific connections to the liturgy and the promises of the rites. Samothrace is positioned, both geographically and mythologically, at the

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[36] Valerius Flaccus Argonautica I.1-4; Lordkipanidze and Lévêque 1996, *passim*; Braund 1996; Lordkipanidze 1996; Lévêque 1996; Tsetskhladze and De Angelis 1994; Delage 1930: 60-67; Grammenos and Petropoulos 2003.
[37] Strabo 1.2.39; Braund 1996; 2002; Grammenos and Petropoulos 2003.
[38] Malkin 2005.

boundary of the Greek and non-Greek worlds. Greek, Anatolian, and Thracian cultures converge on the island and its neighbors, Imbros and Lemnos; together with Samothrace, these are the sites Strabo identified as the three most important places for the celebration of these gods (10.3.7). The daimones of the rites embody the autochthonous, pre-Greek, non-Hellenic spirits of the place. This is the natural frame of action for heroes whose task it is to provide first contact with a new ethnicity. It is also, however, the framework for a ritual of initiation, sealed by secrecy. The mysteries, positioned in this setting, suggest a combination of ritual and symbol responsive to the need for mediation which enabled the Mediterranean economic network.

SAMOTHRACE AS A BOUNDARYLAND

Several factors signal Samothrace's geographical status as the far northeastern boundary of the Greek world. The island lies just 29 nautical miles south of the southern coast of Thrace; to the east, on a clear day, Troy is visible from the top of Mt. Phengari. Thracian settlers populated the island at least as early as the 9th century BCE: Iron age settlements on Vrythos and at Mandal Panagia show Thracian mainland styles, and Zerynthos and Mt. Saos reflect pre-Greek constructions and tribal names.[39] The Greek settlers arrived in the sixth century, and by the fifth had established settlements on the Thracian mainland opposite, in the coastal strip of the eastern part of the peraia. The settlements seem to have been vital for their survival: Antiphon notes the scanty resources of the island itself (*Oratio* 15, fr. 50), and the fertility of the mainland was advantageous for the settlers.[40] The settlements seem also to provide key advantages in terms of trading networks, positioning the Greeks at the intersection of maritime and overland routes.[41] Appian wrote that the Thracians, fearful of pirates and unfamiliar with the sea, had shown little interest in the area, but the Greeks and Chalcideans made it a commercial success, providing the Thracians with welcomed access to maritime trade

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[39] Graham 2002: Hemberg 1950: 120-126; Brixhe 2006: 1-2 notes that the pre-Greek tribes of Samothrace came from the Thracian mainland in the area which subsequently became the Samothracian peraia.

[40] Isaac 1986: 125-158; Funke 1999: 55-75. Part of the peraia was considered a gift to the Great Gods: see *IG* XII (8), p 40 nr. 102, McCredie 1968: 220-222.

[41] Isaac 1986: 136-137; for discussion of the region as an interface in the Bronze Age, Privitera 2005, Mountjoy 1998.

(*BCE* IV 13, 102). Ships sailing along the coast would have, in the Greek settlements, nodes of access into the Odryssian trading routes of the interior. Archibald characterizes the Samothracian peraia as a 'chain of fortlets', east of which lay the estuary of the Hebros, the major access route for trade with interior Thrace. While an integrated regional study is needed, both the history and cults suggest fluid relations between incoming Greeks and indigenous Thracians. Casson referred confidently to the Samothracian merchants as "the pioneers of Odryssian trade": the mainland data confirm the potential for commerce to play a formative role in their character and economies.[42] Imbros and Lemnos are also characterized, in Greek history, as the loci on which the Greeks encountered indigenous cultures, and in so doing gained access to significant long distance routes.[43]

It is not remarkable that non-Greek populations held the island before the Greeks arrived; the extent to which the Samothracian Greeks enrolled that fact in the historical memory of myth, and in the institutions of the mysteries, is. Strabo, focused on the classification of ritual behaviors among the various communities within the *oikumene*, describes the various daimones of the rites – Kouretes, Korybantes, Daktyloi, Telchines or Kabeiroi – as essentially identical on the basis of their performances: armed, ecstatic dance in attendance on the Great Mother (10.3.7). In myth, for which he had little interest, a more essential commonality is their association with an earlier historical stratum. This association is articulated through assimilation to earlier generations of gods, an assertion of autochthony, and equation to ethnicities who owned territory prior to the arrival of the Greeks. Photios describes the Lemnian Kabeiroi as Titans; the Theoi Megaloi of Imbros are cited alongside Titans in a 2nd or 3rd century CE inscription from Imbros; and at Thebes, Pausanias includes Prometheus and his son among the Kabeiroi, and describes them as the first generation of inhabitants. A sherd from the Theban Kabeirion depicts the emergence of Pratolaos from the soil, facing a man and a woman named Mitos and Krateia, e.g. seed and force; the Kabeiros observes the scene, reclining in Dionysiac form on a sympotic couch. The mysteries on Lemnos celebrated "the beautiful child Kabeiros, born in unspeakable rites," and recognized the daimones as chthonic creatures. A lyric fragment names

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[42] Archibald 1998: 146-147; Isaac 1986: 127; Casson 1926: 92-93.
[43] Beschi 2000; Papageorghiou 1997; Conze 1860: 77-121; Collini 1990: 272-273; Stroud 1998; Papageorghiou 1997.

Kabeiroi together with Kouretes, Korybantes and Daktyloi as examples of the first men, who emerged from the earth at the dawn of civilization; Hippolytus wrote that the mysteries celebrated the primal man, Adam.[44] Mythologically, this autochthony was often connected to the daimones' emergence from the ground at the birth of Zeus; the legendary-historical counterpart took the form of pre-Greek tribes who did battle with Greeks over the territory from which they were eventually expelled. Thus the Aetolian Kouretes and the Telchines on Rhodes offer striking repetition of the pattern of pre-Greek indigenes who fail to maintain ownership of their territory, and are either expelled to wander in search of new land, or remain as invidious, destructive forces to vex the next inhabitants.[45] Strabo chides his contemporaries for their inability to distinguish these historical ethnicities from the mythological daimones (10.3.7); while only the daimones dance around Zeus, however, both mortals and daimones are chronologically lodged in the generation prior to Greek arrivals.

If the daimones are chronologically pre-Greek, they are also ethnically non-Hellenic. They remain beyond the edge of the cultural boundary: Herodotus deemed the Kabeiroi Pelasgian, Pausanias and Aristides, Pergamene, and numerous authors, Phrygian. Nikolaos of Damaskos described the Kaberoi emerging from the Anatolian hinterland to aid the inhabitants of Assessos (*FHG* 3.388 fr. 54); Byzantine lexicographers derived their name from Mt. Kabiros in Phrygia.[46] Mnaseas offers names for the Samothracian gods which begin with the prefix Axio-; Hemberg notes that this is the name of a Thracian river god. Philo alone claims they are Levantine, enrolling them in the genealogy of Sydyk in Beirut (*FHG* III 569; Eusebius *PE* 1.10). The daimones to whom the Kabeiroi are equated, and who are also attested for the site, repeat this plethora of identities: Kouretes may be Phrygian, Arcadian, Cretan, or simply earth-born; Korybantes, attending on Kybele, come from Anatolia, but at the birth of Zeus, spring from

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[44] Photios s.v. *Kabeiroi*; *IG* XII 8 n. 74, see Hemberg 1950: 293; Pausanias 9.25.6; Wolters and Bruns 1940: 96, taf. 5; Hippolytos *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium* 5.7.3, 5.8.9-10; *PMG* 985; Hemberg 1950: 292-294.

[45] Blakely 2006: 27, 353-373.

[46] Herodotus 2.51; Pausanias 1.4; Aristides *Panegyric* 2.469; for Phrygians, Scholia to Aristophanes *Pax* 177-178; Scholia to Apollonios of Rhodes 1.197; Nonnos 3.7., 3.194, 43.307-13, Scholia to Libanius *Oratio* 14.64; Etymologicum Gudianum, Etymologicum Magnum, and Zonaras lexicon s.v. *Kabeiroi*; Beekes 2004a.

whatever ground hosts the event. [47] Daktyloi originate from either Trojan or Cretan Ida – but in a manifestation of their need to come from elsewhere, they travel from Crete when they come to the Argonaut's aid on Mount Dindymene on the Black Sea, rather than from the much closer Ida of Troy (Ap. Rh. *Argonautica* I.1123-31).

In the daimones of the island, chronological and ethnographic boundaries thus coincide. Entrants into the sanctuary experienced reflections of this in the installations at the site, and the language of the liturgy itself. The sanctuary is unusually full of escharai, bothroi, and rocks used as ritual objects. Rock altars have been identified at several dates and loci. A gigantic stone, set into the Cyclopean wall which runs beneath the Arsinoeion, has a leveled off surface, and indications of a channel for pouring libations. [48] A second stone, located in the paved area immediately outside the Arsinoeion, is separated by a narrow channel from the tufa flooring which surrounded it. Lehmann proposed that this space allowed libations to be poured by a person standing on a proximal stone, which was leveled off for the purpose. [49] Facilities for libations into the earth have been identified in four of the sanctuary's structures, and often seem to incorporate a stone as the object of attention. A pit 2.5 meters deep, shaped like a tall beehive, occupied the central position in the south precinct of the Orthostate structure which preceded the Arsinoeion; its top was level with the floor of the structure. [50] A stone at the bottom seems the object of libations poured into the shaft; animal bones were found nearby. Lehmann dated this to the 7th century; McCredie corrected the date to the 4th. The other installations are clearly Hellenistic. [51] A raised bothros, located in the far southeast corner of the Anaktoron, held a stone; a shaft located near the doorway of the Arsinoeion, contemporary with the 3rd century BCE date of the building, runs down to the bedrock. It yielded a considerable quantity of sheep bones, suggesting sacrificing and feasting nearby. [52] A bothros, used for liquid libations, and an eschara, for burning, were located inside the open air Hall of Choral Dancers; both were originally constructed in the 7th century, and re-installed in the 4th. The eschara held a fire-resistant stone,

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[47] Blakely 2006: 17-52.
[48] Lehmann 1950: 7-8; 1951: 2-3.
[49] Lehmann 1951:3-5.
[50] Lehmann 1950: 11-12.
[51] Lehman 1950: 11-12; McCredie 1979: 28-32.
[52] For Anactoron, Lehmann 1940:334 and figure 11; for Arsinoeion, 1951: 9-10; Roux and Lehmann 1992:239-242.

whose signs of burning suggest its position there during the rites. An eschara has also been identified in the marble floor of the center of the Hieron.[53] Liquid libations are argued to have taken place in the apse. In the Roman period, a hole cut into the marble floor occupied the place customarily taken by a cult statue. The apse-shaped hole is dated to the Roman period, and positioned over a large piece of red porphyry which emerged from the bedrock; Lehmann proposed a receptacle for libations in the Hellenistic period as well.

These installations have clear chthonic force, possible Thracian analogies, and arguable suggestions of archaism. Archibald notes that Thracian ritual has a prominent role for pits, nameless gods and Hermes, whose combined force reinforces the linguistic evidence for an orientation to the cultures of the peraia.[54] A long scholarly tradition has associated aniconic cult objects with the most primitive stage of religious celebration. Donohue demonstrates that this evolutionary model is based exclusively on literary sources, and contradicts archaeological and iconographic evidence. The latter show aniconic and anthropomorphic divinities together, suggesting that the supposedly archaic form may be a deliberate choice rather than a survival from an earlier period. The authors who gave rise to the archaic theory, however, were themselves Greeks, antiquarians such as Callimachus, Plutarch and Pausanias, as well as the Christian authors, Clement and Themistius.[55] These authors reflected concepts that suited their interests, and were acceptable to their audience: the aniconic could be associated with the archaic, even if incorrectly. This sense of the past is appropriate for the pre-Greek character of the daimones, and takes architectural form on the site as well. The frieze of the fourth-century Propylon of the Temenos bears the earliest example of the archaistic style in Greek sculpture. Dancing maidens parade across its surface with the features, proportions and gait of figures appropriate to their date, but stylized folds in their garments,

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[53] For Hall of Choral Dancers, see Lehmann and Spittle 1982: 17-19, 27, 44, 271 and plates LVI-LIX; for Hieron eschara, see K. Lehmann 1969: 30-31; Lehmann 1950: 5-6; 1951: 20-27; for apse, K. Lehmann 1969: 36-38. Lehmann notes that escharai of this type, with frames to support a metal grille, are well known, found at Lato, Perachora, Dreros, Lesbos, Thasos - all of them from the archaic age.

[54] Archibald 1999: 459.

[55] Donohue 1988: 121-150; 177-194; 219-231.

and swallow-tailed mantles, which allude to the remote past.[56] And on the western hill of the sanctuary, a retaining wall supporting Hellenistic room 10, built at the end of the 3rd century, includes a faux doorway built in a distinctly Mycenaean style. The door is a trilithon, with the relieving triangle characteristic of Mycenaean engineering; it leads nowhere, but evokes the distant Bronze Age past of the mainland Greeks.[57] The structure exemplifies the sanctuary's capacity to trade in the past as a commodity, even to the point of importing prehistoric forms otherwise unknown on the island.

The language of the rites constitutes the third index of archaising experience of the ritual, with manifestation in the Hellenistic period of the cult's floruit. Diodorus Siculus, writing in the first century BCE, wrote that the autochthonous inhabitants of the island used an ancient language which was peculiar to them, many words of which were preserved to his day in their rites. (5.47.14-16) Archaeological evidence for this language has been found in the form of one 5th/4th century inscription on stone, and over 70 ceramic inscriptions from the 6th to the 4th centuries. These inscriptions are all written in Greek letters, but incomprehensible as Greek; the ceramic graffiti are highly abbreviated, as are the Greek ceramic inscriptions as well.[58] The Greek ceramics, Lehmann noted, are characteristically inscribed simply with the name of the god to whom the object is dedicated; the non-Greek inscriptions are believed to do the same. Five of the 62 found have the whole word, DINTOLE, or DEN TO LE. 'Din' is known from proper and place-names in Thracian and Thracian-Phrygian, such as Mt. Dindymene, where the Argonauts celebrated the rites of the Great Goddess. Bonfante identified the language as Thracian; Brixhe affirms this conclusion, based on the analysis of a substantial corpus of ceramic graffiti from the temple of Apollo in Mesembria, ancient Zone, on the Samothracian peraia.[59] The sacred language of the rites thus seems to correspond to the

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[56] Lehmann and Spittle 1982: 3-12; Hadzi 1982: 172-220; Lehmann 1951: 16-18.

[57] Lehmann 1998: 115; McCredie 1974; Alcock 1997: 21-22, 29. The site of Mikro Vouni has yielded evidence of contact with Minoan Crete: see Matsas 1991.

[58] Graham 2002: 250-255; Lehmann 1960: 29, 45-64; while abbreviations on ceramic inscriptions are common in the period, the proportion of extreme abbreviation is higher on Samothrace than known from other sites. For the stone inscription, see Fraser 1960 no. 64.

[59] Lehmann 1960: 45; Bonfante 1955; Brixhe 2006.

historical language of the pre-Greek ethnicity – as Diodorus suggested it did.

Diodorus described the use of the indigenous language some 3 centuries after the latest of these inscriptions was made. This extraordinarily long use has been explained as a survival from pre-Greek times, possibly an indication that the priesthoods of the sanctuary were held by ancient local families.[60] The dynamics of the ritual, however, encourage more intricate questions about the linguistic encounter which awaited the initiates. Analogous cases from other ritual settings offer several hypotheses, including an increase in secrecy, an articulation of political power, and a guarantee of divine cooperation. Lehmann compares the Samothracian case to the use of Egyptian in the cult of Isis at Rome, and notes that Pausanias observed an incomprehensible foreign tongue in sanctuary rituals at Hierocaesarea and Hypaepa in Lydia (Paus. 5.27.5-6). Lehmann suggested the languages would heighten the secrecy of the experience, and the sense of the sacred.[61] Eteocretan inscriptions at Praisos on Crete offer a different investigative model, relevant to the notion that Samothracian elites controlled the priesthoods. Viviers proposes that the Eteocretan inscriptions were all of an official character, either political or religious. The language was a mechanism for supporting an ideology of autochthony that developed among the elites, rather than simply the preservation of an intact ethnic identity from the distant past.[62] This hypothesis is difficult to investigate for Samothrace, given the lack of detailed information about the families and political events inside the town itself.

A third possibility comes from the world of magic. Secrecy played a significant role in magic, as in mystery cults; the magical papyri employ the imagery of mystery initiations, referring to magic as a mystery, the magicians as initiates or mystagogues, and to outsiders as uninitiated. Betz notes the magical elements in the mystery cults as well, in the form of fire rituals for Demophon and Triptolemos, oaths of secrecy, symbols,

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[60] Lehmann 1960: 18-19; Graham 2002: 254.

[61] Lehmann 1960: 18-19. See also Hatzfeld 1920: 85 no. 18, pp 84-87, an inscription from the sanctuary of Hekate at Lagina; the local Artemis, with her surname of Carian nature, is comparable to other Olympian deities and Hekate who appear in the area as the local adaptation to Hellenic type; the inscription refers to the Meter Thesmophoro, suggesting the capacity for a Greek festival with characteristics of the mysteries to become attached to the local gods.

[62] Viviers 1996.

formulae, and quotations on the Orphic gold tablets.[63] The languages of the papyri themselves are a melange of genuine Greek, Egyptian and other contemporary languages, imitations of these invented by the magicians, and languages which lie beyond human. These include the speech of sacred animals, e.g. baboonic or falconic, and the language of the daimones themselves. The latter is an imagination and imitation of "non-human language that exists prior to human articulation and comprehension," expressed in the secret names of the gods, the *voces magicae*, or 'authentic names.'[64] The practitioner's use of the language marks his intimacy with the divine, ensures his success, and is part of a larger pattern whereby the magical specialist impersonates the gods.[65] These ritual dynamics resonate with the Samothracian cult – with modifications – at several levels. First, if the graffiti on the sherds and the language described by Diodorus are understood as the language of the Samothracian gods, then the Thracian identification of those inscriptions marks the coincidence of divine and ethnographic categories. This is appropriate for a cult whose gods, as Strabo noted, were often confused with non-Greek ethnic groups. Second, participants in the cult would understand the speech if they were conversant with contemporary Thracian, as they may be if they were among those doing commerce in the region. The language of the gods, impermeable in the world of magic, was thus potentially transparent in the Samothracian cult. Third, the use of the divine language would signal on Samothrace, as in the magical papyri, an intimacy between the celebrant and the divine. In magic this intimacy takes the form of a divine epiphany, manifested as favors granted to an individual. The island suggests a very different dynamic – the assimilation of the initiate into the community of the gods. This responds in the first place to the fact that the gods of Samothrace are consistently understood as a group, even in those texts which provide individual names, in opposition to the individual Kabeiros on the Theban sherd, or the sacred child Kabeiro born in the Lemnian rites.[66] It is

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[63] Betz 1990a: 219-229.

[64] Betz 1995: 164 cites I.226; IV.1812; XII.153, and refers to Hopfner 1921: para. 687.

[65] Betz 1995: 164 on the ensurance of success; for impersonation of the god, see examples in Bourghouts 178, including no.'s 2, 13, 19, 36, 91, 98, 126, 145.

[66] See Karadima-Matsa – Dimitrova 2003: 340: Thebes, Hemberg 1950: 184-86; a single Kabeiros is known as well at Pergamon, Hemberg 1950: 176-78, Thessalonike, 1950: 205-210. The only indications of a single Kabeiros at Samothrace is the Hellenistic epitaph in Karadima-Matsa – Dimitrova, and an

resonant as well with the phenomenon of adoption into the divine which appears in widely distinct mystery cults. An Orphic tablet promises the bearer that he has become a god instead of a man; an initiate claims to have become the son of earth and starry heaven; an inscription from the sanctuary of Meter at Phaistos offers a miracle to those who guarantee their lineage, but divine hostility to those who force themselves into the race of the gods.[67] Visual evidence of masking in the context of mysteries, such as the donkey headed figures of Arcadian mysteries, further substantiate an altered identity.[68] Language, as Hall has demonstrated, is a powerful marker of ethnicity.[69] By participating in the language of the gods, the initiate becomes, if momentarily, one of their race – an adoption for which the mysteries have demonstrated ritual authority.

It is here that the function of the mysteries overlaps with the function of heroic myths in an evocative way. Malkin, Hall and others have noted the capacity of foundation myths to manipulate genealogy as well as ethnography, allowing new settlers to carve out identities for themselves and achieve mediation, if not assimilation, with other groups.[70] The heroic initiates of Samothrace suggest an alternative route to this kind of genealogical manipulation. The implicit narrative of Jason and Kadmos on the island is that of first encounters between prototypical new arrivals and the local indigenes. The mystery cult, as the frame of this encounter, offers a ritual means of achieving the mediation otherwise expressed through myths of descent from the heroes' line. While genealogy suited the needs of those settling in a given area, Samothracian initiation constituted an obtainable token of mediation – tied not to the city of one's origin but only to one's ability to travel to the rites. The blessings of initiation then travelled with the initiate—quite literally—in ensuring safe passage. The island's location, language, chthonic installations, archaic style, heroic initiates, traveling promises and flexible gods combine in a narrative which is responsive to a demonstrated need – the mediation between Greeks and non-Hellenes. The need was hardly limited to the northeastern Aegean, any more than were Samothrace's

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early coin, whose image W. Schwabacher interpreted as a Kabeiros – see *ANSMN* 5, 1952, 49-51.

[67] Orphic tablets, Burkert 1985: 293-295; Burkert 1987: 20; 76-77; *IC* I xxiii 3; Ghidini 2000: 13-40.

[68] Jost 2003: 160; cf. Seaford 1981.

[69] Hall 1995.

[70] Hall 1997; Malkin 2001.

initiates. But the island drew on the images and narratives of its setting – and made them paradigmatic of patterns that defined the process of interactions in the Mediterranean network.

CONCLUSIONS

The Samothracian rites were simultaneously transcendent and pragmatic. At a symbolic level, heroes and travelers encountered, in the mysteries, the daimonic hypostases of the pre- and non-Greek people they would encounter in Thrace, Phrygia, and Thebes. The encounter took the form of an idealized mediation: a distinctly Greek ritual form – a mystery cult – in a sanctuary marked by installations at once chthonic, archaic, and evocative of Thracian ethnicity. The Thracian elements served the purpose of the rites – they were not simply an accident of place and survival. They were maintained, cultivated, even accentuated by the Greeks who employed legend, architecture, and mythic type to turn the past into a paradigm, ritually repeatable and accessible to all comers. The prehistoric past and the ethnographic other collapse in the ritual context; the rites insert the question of divinity into that juncture. The mystery religions had particular power to bridge the gap between human and divine, including the vocabulary of adoption and new identity. Samothracian initiation ensured not merely the passage between mortal and immortal realms, typical of Greek mysteries, but coordinated that movement with the passage across the ethnic boundary between the Greek and non-Hellenic worlds.[71]

The scholarly impulse to investigate Kadmos' ethnicity is acute in its recognition that ethnicity and origins were potent cultural tokens in the ancient Mediterranean, infused by networks of exchange in which cultural difference did not dissolve into a Hellenized whole. Kadmos, however, represents cultural categories beyond ethnicity. With Jason, he represents the type of the protocolonial, a hero of first contact. Combined with the geographical location, archaeological evidence, and ritual powers of the mysteries, the heroic narratives provide a pattern in which the autochthonous identity of the daimones was of greater semantic weight than the heroes' countries of origin. For both heroes and daimones, however, ethnicity is less valuable as historical memory than

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[71] Bremmer 1999: 82 notes that two recently published Orphic gold leaves, symbola, were described as "passports": *SEG* xliv. 750.

as a pattern of interaction. Samothrace provided the ritual matrix through which the adventures that defined the protocolonial heroes, both Levantine and Thessalian, became paradigms for the interactions that defined economic and political life in periods long after the great age of colonization. The responsiveness of this symbolic package to these practical needs is one factor to be added to studies of the cult's long prosperity – which extended far beyond the island's own floruit, or its narrow northern Aegean corridor.

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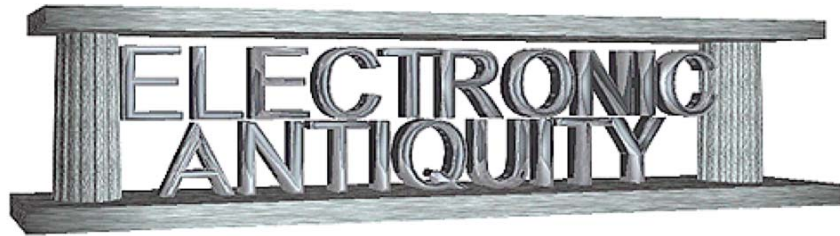
APHRODITE AND THE COLONIZATION OF LOCRI EPIZEPHYRII

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Introduction

The Greek colonial foundations along the Ionian Sea coast of southern Italy may generally be divided into Achaian and non-Achaian cities (fig. 1). Of the Achaian cities, Sybaris and Croton were founded first, towards the end of the 8th century BC, followed by Caulonia to the south and Metapontum to the north. These latter cities were settled by Croton and Sybaris in order to create a buffer with the non-Achaian settlements of Locri Epizephyrii (south), and Siris and Taras (north).[1] The shared identity of the Achaian colonies can be seen in both their cultural assemblages (the ceramics and architecture) and their foundation legends, which associate each of the western settlements with cities in Achaia.[2] Moreover in the middle of the 6th century Metapontum, Sybaris,

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[1] Antiochos of Syracuse [(*FGrHist 555*] fr. 12) records the enmity in particular between Sybaris and Taras. For a discussion of Antiochos' comments, see Morgan and Hall 1996, 210-211.

[2] For a review of this evidence see Morgan and Hall 1996. Morgan and Hall conclude that at the time the colonies were founded there is almost no material culture that would connect them with mainland Achaia, despite the fact that the colonies "have a great deal in common" with one another (p. 213).

Figure 1: Map of Southern Italy showing the colonies established by the 7th century BC.

and Croton formed a monetary and commercial alliance that was designed to extend Achaian influence along the coast. Indeed this policy of expansion resulted in the destruction of Siris, an Ionian colony.[3] The Achaian alliance, however, did not last and Croton destroyed Sybaris in 510 BC. The economic and military pressure that Taras and Locri Epizephyrii felt from the Achaian colonies led those two non-Achaian settlements to 'bond' with one another, despite their own distinct backgrounds: Taras was a Spartan foundation and Locri Epizephyrii was

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[3] See Mele 1984 for a discussion of Croton's history in relation to the surrounding Greek *poleis*. For the topography and some history of the entire region see Strabo VI.1.7-15.

founded by colonists from mainland Locris.[4] In response to the Achaian threat, however, both cities promote an association with Sparta.[5]

One means of establishing cultural and ethnic affinity is through the foundation and development of cults. Hera and Apollo are the deities most often associated with the Achaian colonies. Indeed Hera has been considered the preeminent goddess of southern Italy.[6] Within the Achaian colonies she had temples at Metapontum (both urban and extra-urban), literary evidence suggests she had a temple at Sybaris, and her most famous sanctuary, the temple of Hera Lacinia, was in the territory of Croton. When the Achaians established a new city at Poseidonia on the Tyrhennian coast, major urban and sub-urban sanctuaries were established for Hera. Her significance for the Achaian colonies probably derives from the northeast Peloponnese, rather than any cult in Achaia itself.[7] Morgan and Hall have argued that the cult of Hera Lacinia served as a nexus for Achaian identity in Southern Italy, an identity that gains strength from its distinction with the Dorian identity of Taras.[8] It is notable, therefore, that cults of Hera are absent at Taras and Locri Epizephyrii. In those cities, Aphrodite emerges as a prominent deity and takes on characteristics usually ascribed to other gods and goddess, including Hera. In this paper I will focus on Aphrodite's character at Locri Epizephyrii, where we have a rich assemblage of iconographical and archaeological evidence for her cult.

Aphrodite's presence at Locri Epizephyrii has not gone unnoticed. However, discussions of her character there have generally focused on her appearance on the famous *pinakes* from the Mannella sanctuary, a site primarily dedicated to the worship of Persephone.[9] The rich iconography of the *pinakes* makes them a valuable and unique resource

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[4] Locri was probably founded by colonists from Ozolian Locris (Strabo VI.1.7). Later myths about Locri's foundation suggest that the Italian city was founded by elite women from Locris and their male slaves. This is similar to Taras' foundation myth. For a discussion of the sources on Locri's foundation and the significance of the myth see Van Compernolle 1976.

[5] See Sourvinou-Inwood 1974 for discussion of the Spartan associations. She argues that the Locrians latched on to Taras's more defined ethnos.

[6] See Giangiulio 2002.

[7] Lévêque 1997.

[8] Morgan and Hall 1996, 213.

[9] Zancani-Montuoro 1938 and 1964, Sourvinou-Inwood 1978. Mannella was Persephone's most famous sanctuary in Magna Graecia (see Livy XXIX.18.3-18).

for examining cult activity, myth, and women's lives in this Greek colony. In seeking to explain the presence of Aphrodite at this sanctuary, previous scholars have tended to define Aphrodite's role there in relation to Persephone.[10] There is no doubt that the two goddesses complemented each other in some way. However, it is also clear that Aphrodite's presence at Locri extended beyond the Mannella sanctuary, and that her role there may have been related to and even dependent upon her other cult functions at Locri. In order to understand more fully the Locrian character of Aphrodite, it is necessary to take in to account all the evidence for her worship in this western Greek city.

Aphrodite's Cults at Locri Epizephyrii

Numerous sanctuaries, both urban and extra-urban, have been excavated at Locri. In the Archaic and early Classical periods, Aphrodite may have received worship at three of those sites: the extra-mural sanctuary at Centocamere/Marasà Sud on the seaward side of the city (which includes the Stoa ad Ù and the Casa dei Leoni); the temple at Marasà, just inside the city gates on the east; and at the extra-mural sanctuary of Mannella on the *chora* side of the city (fig. 2). In the 4th century BC there is also evidence for her worship at the Grotta Caruso outside the city wall on the north. At the other three sites the earliest evidence for cult activity, although not necessarily for Aphrodite, dates to the 7th century BC. Locri was founded in the late 8th century BC, probably between 720 and 715 BC. Thus, we would expect evidence of the earliest cults soon after that. All three sanctuaries have a different architectural character and assemblage of dedications, reflecting the different ritual activities that took place at each and, hence, the different aspects of the deity or deities worshipped there.

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[10] Prückner 1968 is an exception to this. He argued, based on limited access to only certain types of *pinakes*, that Aphrodite was the principle deity at the Mannella sanctuary. This conclusion has not been widely accepted.
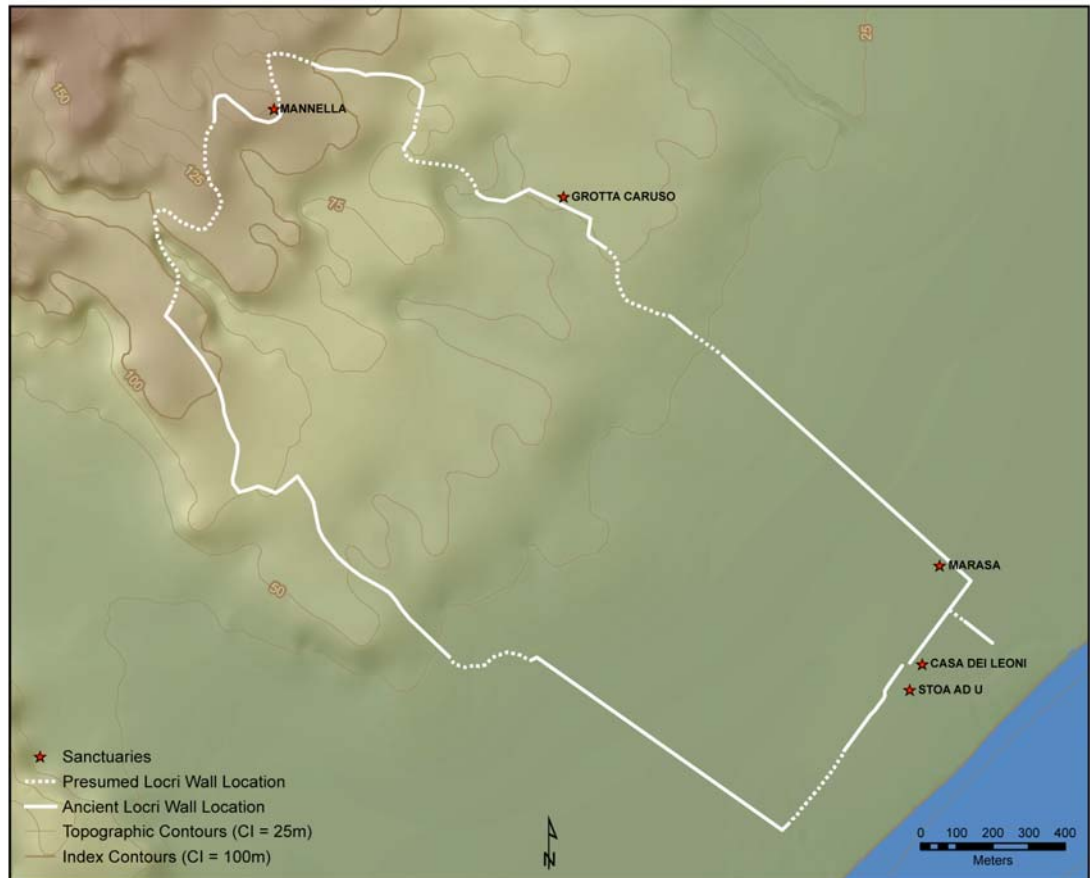
Figure 2: Topographic map of Locri Epizephyrii showing the city walls and the locations of the sanctuaries where Aphrodite was worshipped.

Centocamere/Marasà Sud

We will start with the two sites from which we have secure evidence of Aphrodite's worship at Locri: Centocamere/Marasà Sud and Mannella. The extra-mural sanctuary of Centocamere/Marasà Sud consists of a large U-shaped stoa (The Stoa ad Ù) and a small shrine to the northeast (fig. 3).
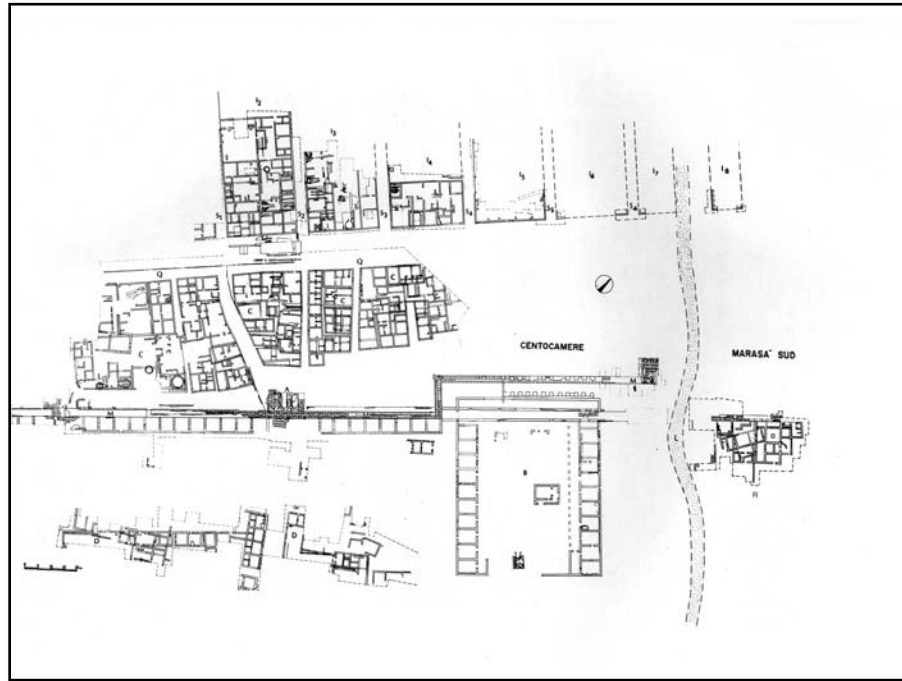
Figure 3: Plan of the Centocamere region of Locri Epizephyrii. (From Barra Bagnasco 1992, reprinted with permission.)

The earliest phase of both the shrine and the stoa date to the 7th century BC. In the 6th century the stoa was reconstructed and enlarged. Also in the 6th century the city wall was constructed and the stoa was intentionally left outside, as evidenced by the jog in the wall. Each of the rooms in the stoa is the appropriate size for a Greek dining room. Three-hundred and seventy-one bothroi excavated in the center of the stoa attest to the sacred nature of this building. The bothroi contained remains of meals, as well as votive cups and terracotta figurines. An inscription from the late 7th or early 6th century BC, suggests that Kybele may have been the initial patron of that sanctuary.[11] However, votives from the 6th century onward include dedicatory inscriptions to Aphrodite on drinking cups (fig. 4) and terracotta figurines of men reclining on *kline* (fig. 5).[12]

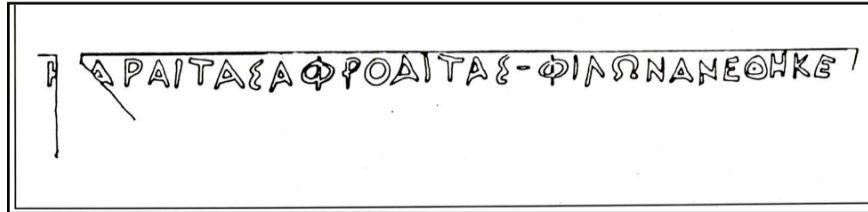[11] Guarducci 1970.
[12] Lissi 1961.

Figure 4: Inscription painted on a black-glaze kotyle from the Centocamere sanctuary at Locri Epizephyrii dated to first quarter of the 4ᵗʰ century BC: H[Ι]ΑΡΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΑΣ-ΦΙΛΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ. (From Lattanzi 1996, 30; reprinted by permission.)
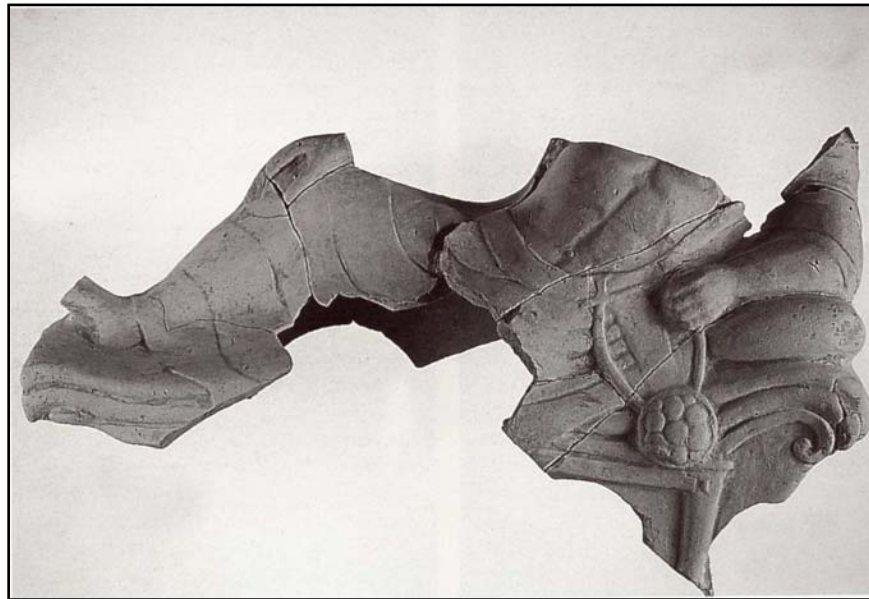

Figure 5: Terracotta figurine of a banqueter reclining on a *kline* from the Centocamere sanctuary dated to the first half of the 5ᵗʰ century BC. (From Lattanzi 1996, 30; reprinted by permission.)

In addition, a limestone inscription on a square block from the small shrine also attests to the worship of Aphrodite.[13] The votives from the

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[13] Barra Bagnasco and Pugliese Carratelli 1990. The inscription reads: Παντά[ϱης] ἀνέθ[κε] ᾿Αφϱοδί[ται] (Pantares dedicated this to Aphrodite). Based on the epigraphic characteristics, Pugliese Carratelli dates this inscription to the first half of the 5ᵗʰ century BC.

stoa range in date from the middle of the 6th to the 4th century. The stoa went out of use in the 4th century. At the same time the small shrine was destroyed and then rebuilt in the form of a *pastas* style house. Called the "Casa dei Leoni" by the excavators, this building was not a private residence. It continued to be associated with the worship of Aphrodite, as well as the cult of Adonis.

The Aphrodite sanctuary in the Centocamere/Marasà Sud region of Locri thus consists of a shrine and associated *hestiatorion*. The sanctuary is located outside the city wall along the seacoast. Between the Stoa ad Ù and the small shrine is the 'Porta di Afrodite' and to the north of the shrine (about 200 m) is another entrance to the city, the 'Porta "portuense"', leading to the Marasà sanctuary inside the city, which was also likely to have been dedicated to Aphrodite (see below). The area between the two gates is most certainly the 'port' of Locri.[14]

To the south of the Aphrodite sanctuary, also outside of the city wall, is a series of shops. Thus, the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Centocamere/Marasà Sud is intricately connected with maritime activity as well as commerce. Merchants arriving from the sea would have had to pass by, or possibly through the sanctuary in order to reach the shops. On entering the city visitors would have had to pass through the extra-mural sanctuary to reach the 'Porta di Afrodite', or, if entering through the 'Porta "porteunse"', they would have arrived almost immediately at the Marasà sanctuary.

The cups, terracotta figurines, and dining remains from the *bothroi* indicate that the patrons of this cult were primarily men. Lacking a complete study of the material from the *bothroi*, it is difficult to make any assessment regarding the identity of the patrons, that is, whether they were primarily local Greeks, non-local Greeks, non-Greeks, or some combination of the three. The location of the sanctuary would suggest that the Locrians made an effort to attract visitors engaged in trade. Aphrodite cults are regularly found at ports, or close to or within sight of the sea. Such sites include her famous sanctuaries at Paphos, Kythera, and Corinth (both on Acrocorinth and at the port of Kenchreai), as well as Eryx in Sicily. At some of those sanctuaries her temples could have served as beacons for approaching ships. Aphrodite also has less well-known sanctuaries associated with ports, for example at Patras[15] and

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[14] On the port of Locri and the excavations between the 'Porta di Afrodite' and the 'Porta "portuense"', see Barra Bagnasco 1999.

[15] Pausanias VII. 21. 10-11.

Satyrion (Taras).[16] In the Greek East, Aphrodite's Milesian cults are also often connected to the sea.[17] A number of Aphrodite's cult epithets connect her to the sea and maritime trade, for example, *Kypria*, *Kytheria*, and *Euploia*.

Parallels for the particular form (a small shrine with a facility for ritual dining) of Aphrodite's seaside sanctuary at Locri are harder to come by. The Stoa-ad-Ù has no precise parallels, especially given its early foundation date. A parallel for its function, however, may be found just to the north of Locri at the Achaian colony of Croton. In the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia at Capo Colonna (about 12 km from the city of Croton) there is a building within the *temenos* identified as a *hestiatorion*. It was built in the 4th century BC and has been reconstructed with fourteen rooms that held seven couches each, which would allow for 98 banqueters.[18] The overall character of the Hera Lacinia sanctuary is different than that of the Centocamere/Marasà Sud sanctuary at Locri. Hera Lacinia boasts a large Doric temple and a treasury that contained rich dedications attesting to an international set of patrons.[19]

It should also be noted that the Stoa-ad-Ù has also been associated with the practice of ritual prostitution within Aphrodite's cult at Locri.[20] The question of whether ritual prostitution was a regular practice at Locri has been much debated and it is not my intention here to rehash those arguments. However, I believe that it is reasonable to suggest that if men were banqueting in the Stoa-ad-Ù and engaging in drinking and music (as evidenced by the votive dedications) that they would have been accompanied by *hetairai*, as elsewhere in the Greek world, and that these women would have fallen under the protection of Aphrodite.

Taken together these factors connect Aphrodite's worship on the eastern side of Locri with the sea and mercantile activity, perhaps to attract outside business to the area. The fact that the Locrians went to some length to keep the business of this sanctuary outside the walls of the city suggests that its patrons were not all citizens of Locri and that the function of this sanctuary may have been to attract outside business to

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[16] Lippolis, et al. 1995, 84-86.

[17] Greaves 2004.

[18] Seiler 1996, 253 and Spadea 1997, 239.

[19] Spadea 1996.

[20] For the arguments regarding prostitution within the cult of Aphrodite at Locri see Torelli 1988, 599.

the city; analogous, but on a smaller scale, to the extra-urban sanctuary of Hera Lacinia at Croton.

Mannella

The sanctuary in Contrada Mannella is another extra-mural shrine located just outside a city gate, in this case on the northwest side of the city in one of the low ravines that characterize the topography of Locri (fig. 2). Paolo Orsi excavated the site in 1908-1909.[21] He uncovered a small rectangular building and a single large bothros. The bothros contained thousands of pinax fragments as well as other votives. The material in the bothros dates from the late 7th or early 6th century BC to the 4th century BC (although the deposit itself was not stratified). However, the *pinakes*, a series of terracotta relief plaques, were only produced from the end of the 6th century down to ca. 470 BC. The majority of these terracotta plaques depict scenes of Persephone: her abduction and rape by Hades, preparations for her marriage, and the enthroned king and queen of the underworld. A small group of plaques from the deposit depict episodes from Aphrodite's mythic history, some of which is obscure to us, and scenes relevant to her cultic sphere. There are also numerous plaques for which the figures cannot be securely identified and various arguments have been made in support of Persephone or Aphrodite or even mortal women participating in ritual activities. Here we shall consider only those plaques that either clearly show Aphrodite or may be associated with her divine realm.[22]

1. Aphrodite's Birth from the Sea

In the first example (type 10/3), we see a young, or at least small, female figure standing on waves flanked by two larger women, one of whom stretches out her arms to greet the central figure, the other holds a cloth, suggesting she is about to wrap the young woman in the garment

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[21] Orsi 1909.
[22] On identifying plaques that are associated with Aphrodite, but do not necessarily show the goddess, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1978.

(fig. 6).[23] The plaque is similar, although by no means identical, to Aphrodite's birth on the Ludovisi Throne, which was probably produced at Locri around the same time as the *pinakes*.[24] The scene suggests Aphrodite's Hesiodic birth myth – the foam-born Aphrodite, offspring of Ouranos' castrated genitals and hence Aphrodite *Ourania*. This story, of course, connects Aphrodite with the sea and with the islands of Kythera and Cyprus. It also recalls her divine aspect as the goddess of heavenly love, the love necessary for marriage, and hence with the fertility and stability of society.

2. Aphrodite and Hermes

In a more mundane version of her character, a number of the *pinax* types depict Aphrodite in association with Hermes. Mythologically Aphrodite and Hermes may be connected as the parents of the Hermaphrodite. However, we know little else about them as a divine couple. Although, they rarely appear together in Greek art, they do share a number of cults around the Mediterranean, most notably within the Heraion on Samos[25] and at Kato Syme on Crete.[26] They may also have shared a cult at Locri. Indeed, on two *pinax* types they appear together as cult statues.

In one example of this type (10/1), Aphrodite stands facing Hermes, extending the offering of what appears to be a lotus blossom (fig. 7).[27]

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[23] Pinax type 10/3. Zancani-Montuoro (1938) originally grouped the *pinakes* thematically (the first number) and then by individual scenes (the second number). Subsequent studies have tended to follow her numbering system even when disagreeing with her groupings.

[24] On the Ludovisi Throne and its connection to Locri see Gullini 1982.

[25] See Buschor 1957.

[26] See Lebessi 1985.

[27] The type of flower is difficult to identify. Prückner says that it is a rose (Prückner 1968, 15–17) but others have identified it as a lotus blossom (Oldfather 1912, 323).
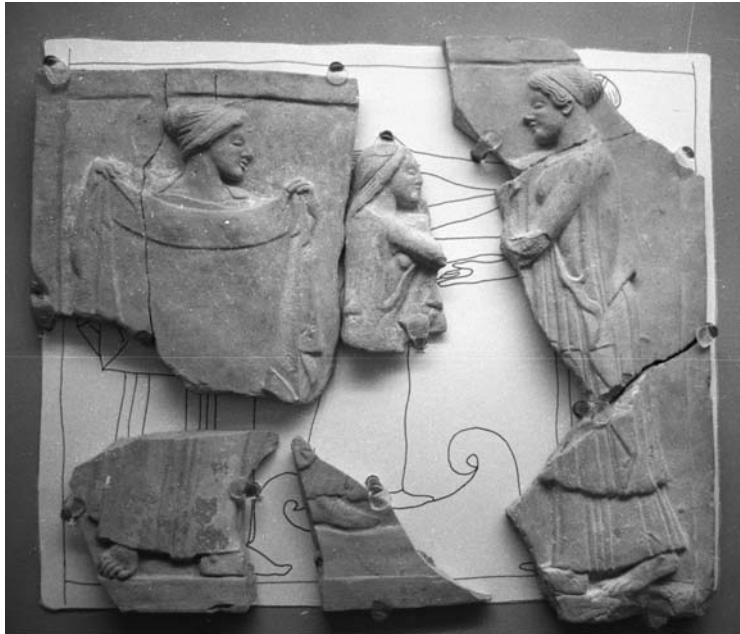
Figure 6: The Birth of Aphrodite. Pinax type 10/3. (Photo by the author; printed with permission.)

Figure 7: Aphrodite offering a blossom to Hermes. Pinax type 10/1. (Photo by the author; printed with permission.)

Eros stands on her outstretched right forearm, mimicking her gesture with his own extended right arm; he holds a tortoise shell lyre in his left hand. Hermes holds the *kerkyreion* in his right hand and there is a *thymiaterion* between the divine pair. The scene appears to represent a meeting between the two divine lovers but we have no mythological context in which to place the scene. The figures' posture, as well as the presence of a *thymiaterion*, indicates that this is taking place within a cultic setting. Indeed is has been suggested they are meant to represent cult statues.[28] Even if this is the case, the goddess' attributes – the flower blossom, the lyre, and her son as an agent of her power – recall Aphrodite's powers of seduction. This charming and peaceful scene belies the erotic nature of Aphrodite and Hermes' relationship. They are not a married couple and Aphrodite appears here as *Pandemos*, the common and erotic side of her sexual powers.

On the next example (type 3/6), Aphrodite and Hermes are clearly shown as cult statues inside a temple of mixed Ionic and Doric orders (fig. 8). The statue of Hermes is nude except for a *chlamys* draped over his shoulders and his *petasos*, travelling hat. He holds a *patera* in his right hand. Aphrodite is clothed in a *peplos* and her hair is worn down with a filet at the top.[29] She appears to be holding a dove in her right hand but most of the remaining examples are badly damaged at this point.[30] In front of the temple, a bare-foot young woman and young man are pouring a libation on an altar.

The plaque is iconographically rich and suggestive of Aphrodite and Hermes' cultic "personality" at Locri. The seemingly somber libation being performed by the mortal couple is subtly undermined by the erotic relief on the altar — a satyr copulating with a hind. This complicates the interpretation of the plaque. In the overall context of the *pinakes* the mortal couple would seem to be either betrothed or married. However, they are pouring a libation to an unwed divine couple on an altar

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[28] Prückner 1968, 16–17. Prückner also notes that Hermes is not looking directly at Aphrodite. However, the details were probably painted and it is possible that he could have been shyly glancing at her. I see this interpretation as unlikely given Aphrodite's gesture.

[29] Aphrodite is always shown in the *pinakes* with her hair down, as an unwed maiden.

[30] Zancani-Montuoro (1938, 212) suggests that it could also be the legs of a cock, but this is likely based on analogy with the numerous examples of Persephone holding a cock on other *pinakes* and is not necessarily appropriate in the context of Aphrodite.

depicting an erotic sexual act that stands outside the bounds of the civic intercourse necessary for reproduction. I would argue, therefore, that this *pinax* type would have been a dedication made by worshippers of Aphrodite who fall outside the bounds of 'civic society' but who also recognize the overall power of the Mannella sanctuary to protect all women within Locrian society.

Figure 8: Aphrodite and Hermes as Cult Statues. Pinax type 3/6. (Photo by the author; printed with permission.)

The depiction of Aphrodite and Hermes in an architectural and cultic setting also implies more than an abstract association in myth and suggests that the two shared a temple at Locri. The temple in the plaque has Ionic columns and a Doric frieze. At the pediment's peak, a gorgoneion sits over a *sima* decorated with palmettes. The Ionic order is rare in the West, known only at Locri, in the Marasà sanctuary (see below), at Hipponion, a sub-colony of Locri, and at Syracuse for the

Temple of Artemis. The coroplast's use of the Ionic order in this *pinax* type would be unusual if he was not making reference to a specific monument. A careful examination of the triglyphs in the Doric frieze shows that they are actually *tetraglyphs*, a detail that would create technical difficulties for the coroplast, and unnecessary unless based on an actual monument.[31]

Another plaque showing an architectural setting with mixed Ionic and Doric elements (type 3/5) also appears to relate to the sphere of Aphrodite (fig. 9).[32] The type is fragmentary, but we can identify two female figures, one playing an *aulos* with her hair tied up in a *sakos* and the other with her hair down. We cannot see whether the second figure is holding any attributes. In the pediment, two doves flank a central metope. The oddity of the central metope aside, similarities with the pinax depicting Aphrodite and Hermes as cult statues and the doves, suggest that we are within Aphrodite's sphere.

The final example (type 10/2) moves away from the cultic sphere and into mythological narrative. It shows Aphrodite in a chariot being pulled by two winged genii, one male and one female (fig. 10). One holds an *alabastron*, the other a dove – both symbols of Aphrodite's powers. Behind Aphrodite, Hermes is attempting to step into the rear of the chariot as it is lifting off the ground; however, his rear foot is still firmly planted on the ground. Aphrodite is turning around to look Hermes as he mounts the chariot. Zancani-Montuoro, trying to link this scene with the *pinakes* as a whole, identified Aphrodite and Hermes as a divine couple travelling to the wedding celebration of Persephone and Hades.[33] G. Zuntz also connects the scene with the overall theme of the *pinakes,* suggesting that Aphrodite, as the goddess of love, was a necessary attendant at Persephone's wedding and that Hermes, as *psychopompos*, had to show Aphrodite the way.[34]

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[31] Zancani-Montuoro 1938, 214 and Prückner 1968, 28. Zancani-Montuoro argued that the temple in the plaque represented the cult building of the Mannella sanctuary and that the cult statues are those of Persephone and Hades. Prückner, on the other hand, associated the temple in the pinax with the Marasà temple at Locri. No elements from the frieze of the Doric phase of that temple survivie. However, another temple at Locri, Casa Marafioti, had *pentaglyphs* (see Gullini 1988, 367).

[32] Prückner 1968, 66–67, pl. 11, figs. 2 and 4; Orsi 1909, fig. 13; Quagliati 1908, fig. 81.

[33] Zancani-Montuoro 1964, 395.
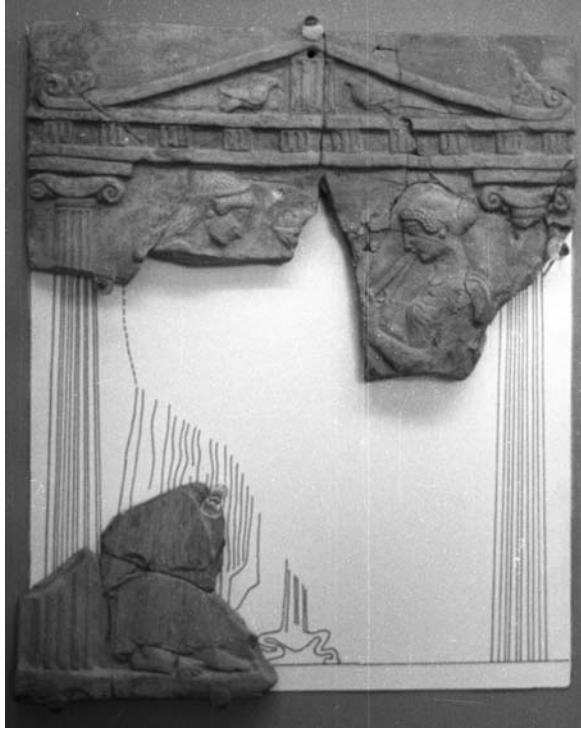
[34] Zuntz 1971, 165–166.

Figure 9: Temple of Aphrodite (?). Pinax type 3/5. (Photo by the author; printed with permission.)

Erika Simon, however, suggested that the scene is not related to Persephone at all, but rather shows the birth of Aphrodite. Her conclusion is based on a similar scene depicted in relief on two Tarantine altars. These show Aphrodite in a chariot being pulled out of, or perhaps over, the sea by two winged figures, a male and a female.[35] Although the composition of the Locrian *pinax* is similar to the Tarantine altars, there are a number of reasons why an identification of the birth of Aphrodite does not fit.[36] First, Hermes has no place in Aphrodite's Hesiodic birth myth. Moreover, Hermes is not an innocent bystander, but an integral part of the scene. There is also no indication that they are rising up out of

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[35] Simon 1959, 28–31, figs. 13 and 14. One of these altars (now in Trieste) is published by Wuilleuimier (1939, 4334, pl. XLI, 5), who identifies the winged male figure as Eros and Aphrodite as a young bride; the opposite long panel of the altar shows the goddess assisting in a bridal chamber (pl. XLI, 6).

[36] For objections to Simon see Prückner 1968, 23–4.

the water.[37] While, it is possible that such a detail could have been added in paint this would be awkward considering the location of Hermes' feet.

Figure 10: Aphrodite and Hermes in a chariot. Pinax type 10/2. (Photo by the author; printed with permission.)

Finally, as we have seen, another *pinax* type, (type 10/3) clearly depicts Aphrodite's birth from the sea.

This *pinax* appears to represent a narrative scene from Aphrodite's mythic history, but one that is now lost to us. In addition to the Tarantine altars, the best parallels for this scene are wedding processions on Greek vases of the 5th century BC. In such example, it is not uncommon to see a bride in her chariot with the groom, who is holding the reins, stepping in behind her.[38] In this case, however, Aphrodite is clearly in control as she is the one holding the reins, and rather than heading for the house of the groom, the chariot is headed up towards Aphrodite's heavenly house. Whether this is a true marriage procession, and therefore a big gap in our

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[37] Waves are prominently indicated on the Tarantine reliefs.

[38] See, for example, a red-figure pyxis by the Marlay Painter (London, British Museum: 1920.12-21.1), Beazley Archive #216210, illustrated by Boardman 1989, fig. 243.

knowledge of Aphrodite and Hermes' mythic history, is perhaps not as important as the fact that this was a votive dedication made by Locrians who had a good reason to propitiate Aphrodite and Hermes together for powers that they represent as a couple. Nevertheless we are left with the sense that there are particulars of Aphrodite's (and Hermes') mythic history that are not preserved to us but that were of particular importance to the colonists at Locri Epizephyrii.

There are also a number of *pinax* types that refer to Aphrodite's role with in the context of the wedding and marriage but which do not depict the goddess herself. We have already mentioned the two female figures within the temple. Other *pinakes* include those which show a woman preparing for her wedding (*kosmesis*) (type 6/1-9) and scenes of young women picking fruits in a garden setting (type 4/3), which has been related to Aphrodite's connections with gardens (particularly at Athens) but which could also relate to Persephone. One difficult *pinax* type to interpret (9/1-7) depicts a young woman lifting the lid of a basket that contains a male child. The identity of the child has been much disputed.[39] I would argue that the child in the basket represents Adonis, whom Aphrodite gave to Persephone for safe keeping and over whom the two goddesses later fought. We should recall that Adonis himself receives worship at Locri in the 4th century sanctuary at Centocamere/Marasà Sud.[40] The *pinax* may be an early indication of his place within Locrian cult. Moreover, he serves to forge a connection between Aphrodite and Persephone at the Mannella sanctuary. It is less clear, however, who would be offering such *pinakes* at the sanctuary.

Taken together the *pinakes* reflect a number of different aspects of Aphrodite's Locrian cult. She is a goddess of love and sexuality, both pure (for marriage) and erotic (for other needs). Together Aphrodite and Hermes may also represent the protection of travelers and merchants, a role that fits with Aphrodite's sanctuary on the seaward side of the city. They may also be seen as gods of initiation – Aphrodite for girls entering womanhood and Hermes for boys entering manhood.[41] At the Mannella sanctuary, a cult that seems exclusive to women, Aphrodite may have received worship from a variety of patrons, and when she appears with

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[39] Suggestions include Dionysus, Iakchos, and Erichthonios. See Sourvinou-Inwood 1978, 116, n. 113 for a complete bibliography on the identity of the child. Sourvinou-Inwood herself believed that the child was not divine but a symbolic dedication to Persephone to place the child under her protection.

[40] Barra Bagnasco 1994.

[41] On Aphrodite and Hermes as gods of initiation see Marinatos 2003.

Hermes he adds another dimension to her cultic personality there. The depiction of the two of them within a temple as cult statues, however, suggests that they received worship at Locri independent of Persephone's cult

One other find from Mannella deserves some attention. Among the numerous terracotta figurines from the *bothros* the bust of an armed female figure stands out. It was identified by the excavators as an Armed Aphrodite (Aphrodite *Armata*).[42] Although unusual, the type is not unheard of in Greek art, nor is the association of Aphrodite with military affairs.[43] This supports the idea that Aphrodite served as much a military role at Locri as a civic one. It also suggests a connection with Sparta, where Pausanias (III.15.10) describes another Aphrodite *Armata*.

Marasà

Just inside Locri's northeast city gate, only 250 meters from the shrine at Marasà Sud, is the Marasà temple (fig. 2). The earliest building here dates to the end of the 7th century BC. This so-called "Primitive Oikos" was a rectangular building with a short pronaos and cella.[44] Large terracotta plaques painted with geometric designs covered the outside of the building. This phase is contemporary with the earliest shrine constructed at Marasà Sud and it is possible that the two structures were conceived and built together. In the 6th century the building was enlarged with a peripteros. And then, in the second quarter of the 5th century, it was rebuilt as an Ionic temple.

No inscriptions and few votive materials were found in association with this temple. Despite this lack of information, a number of scholars have associated the Marasà temple with the worship of Aphrodite. Paolo Orsi first made this suggestion in the late 19th century. In 1890 he claims to have found a deposit of terracottas in close proximity to the temple that included female figures holding either a dove or a pomegranate. Orsi identified these figures with Aphrodite.[45] Unfortunately, both the finds

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[42] Museo Nazionale di Reggio Calabria inv. #6034.

[43] See Osanna 1990.

[44] The sanctuary was originally excavated by P. Orsi in 1889–90 (Orsi 1890, 248–62) and subsequently by A. de Franciscis in the 1950's, see various entries in the *Fasti Archeologici* and De Franciscis 1979. The phases of the temple were reconstructed by G. Gullini. For a full discussion and plans see Gullini 1980, 11–110, pls. 3–15.

[45] Orsi 1890, 262.

from the deposit and its location are now lost. Another noteworthy find from the area is a terracotta statuette of a female figure holding two geese by their necks, dated to the 6th century.[46] Geese are sacred to Aphrodite and this "potnia theron" type may be further evidence of Marasà's association with the goddess.[47]

Two scholars, G. Gullini and M. Guarducci, have argued that the Ludovisi Throne came from the Marasà temple and that the temple was dedicated to Aphrodite.[48] The 'throne' has sculpted figural reliefs on three sides: the one long side shows the birth of Aphrodite from the sea, one short side shows a *hetaira* playing double flutes, and the other depicts a veiled matron burning incense. It has been dated to 460-450 BC, contemporary with the Ionic phase of the Marasà temple. Gullini argued that the Ludovisi Throne would have been on the southern end of the large altar at the east side of the Ionic temple and that the Boston throne would have been on the northern end.[49] This theory is problematic; not least because the measurements of the two pieces do not match the width of the altar and the marble of the throne does not show signs of having been exposed to the elements for a long period of time.[50]

Guarducci also believed that the Ludovisi and Boston Thrones came from the Marasà temple. However, she placed them inside the temple as a parapet for the stone-built *bothros* in the cella.[51] Based on the dimensions of the *bothros* reported by D. Mertens, Guarducci demonstrated that the 'Thrones' could have fit on top of this feature. The pit created by the stone feature was not, in fact, a *bothros*. No votive objects or sacrificial remains were found inside of it and its true function remains obscure.

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[46] See Costabile 1991, 137. The piece is unpublished but on display in the Museo Nazionale di Reggio Calabria.

[47] Bodson 1978, 97. For representations of Aphrodite riding a goose see *LIMC* s.v. Aphrodite 903–46. See also Simon 1959, who associates this imagery with the birth of Aphrodite; and Dessenne 1949.

[48] The authenticity of the Ludovisi Throne, and its supposed companion piece the Boston, has at various times in the past century been called into question. For a recent review of the problem see R. Newman and J.J. Herrmann 1993. 103-112.

[49] Gullini 1982.

[50] For objections to Gullini's hypothesis see Guarducci 1985, 5.

[51] See Guarducci 1985 and Costamagna and Sabbione 1990, 196–210. This is not a novel suggestion. Prückner (1968, 90) suggested that the squared feature in the center of the temple at Marasà was a base for the Ludovisi Throne and the Boston Throne, and that this served to protect some sort of sacrificial pit.

The only other indication for the identity of Marasà's patron deity is the pedimental sculpture. Costabile has reconstructed the find-spots of these pieces and hypothesizes that the eastern pediment would have displayed a scene with a central draped female figure alighting and the Dioskouroi on either side.[52] The Dioskouroi figure prominently in Locri's military history. During the war against Croton in 540 BC, the Dioskouroi are said to have appeared at the battle of Sagra, saving the day for the Locrians.[53] This pedimental group may commemorate the Locrians' victory at the battle. The female figure in the pediment has no identifying characteristics and Aphrodite does not appear to have played a role at Sagra. However, as we have seen from the evidence at Mannella, Aphrodite at Locri may have been considered a *polis* deity with military functions. Moreover, she does figure prominently in another military engagement.

In 477/6 BC, when the Locrians were under attack from Rhegion, they swore an oath to Aphrodite, invoking her to save them. The oath is reported by Justin (21.3.2-5), based on Pompeius Trogus, as an example of the Locrians immorality because they promise to prostitute their daughters in the sanctuary of Aphrodite in return for redemption from the attack. The practice of prostitution within the cult of Aphrodite at Locri is controversial and the meaning of the reference to such acts in the oath has been debated. However, the oath itself may be taken as evidence that the Locrians considered Aphrodite a *polis* deity with military powers. In the moment of their greatest need, she was the deity to whom they turned. Ultimately, the Locrians were saved from Region's attack by Hieron of Syracuse. Gullini, has suggested that the Locrians built an Ionic temple to Aphrodite as a substitution for the vow of prostitution. This is, of course, entirely speculative.[54] However, the Marasà temple shows certain architectural affiliations with the Ionic temple of Artemis on the island of Ortygia in Syracuse and it appears that it served as a place to commemorate Locri's military victories. Although not conclusive, there is also some compelling evidence to suggest that Aphrodite was its patron deity. If this is the case, then Marasà would have been the urban seat of Aphrodite's cult at Locri Epizephyrii.

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[52] Costabile 1995.
[53] Strabo IV.1.10.
[54] Gullini 1996. On the possible connections between the Marasà temple, Aphrodite, and the *pinakes* from the Mannella sanctuary, see also Torelli 1988.

Aphrodite and Colonization in Southern Italy

From the evidence presented here we may conclude that Aphrodite served a variety of functions within the Locrian *polis*. She was a protectress of sailors, travelers and thus a patron of commercial activity; she is a *potnia theron*, as well as military goddesses; and she was protectress of marriage, as well as women who may have fallen outside the traditional roles of family and marriage. While individually these aspects of Aphrodite's cultic personality are found elsewhere in the Greek world, they are not often found altogether in one *polis*. It is thus necessary to attempt an explanation for the way variety of ways in which the Locrian colonist chose to worship Aphrodite.

It is typical when looking for the origins of a particular cult among the Greek colonies to turn to the mother city. However, it rarely holds true that Greek colonists adopt wholesale the cults of their mother cities. In the case of Locri, we know too little about the cults of mainland Locris to draw any comparisons, but it is doubtful that Aphrodite's cult at Locri was based on some homeland version. It more likely grew out of the immediate needs of the Locrian colonizers in response to their particular western circumstances. On the Ionian Sea coast, Taras, the other non-Achaean colony, also has affinities with Aphrodite. The original colony was established there at the site of Satyrion, just to the east of the later town. A sanctuary dating to the 7th century BC at Satyrion has been identified with Aphrodite. A 6th century BC inscription, on a vase by Exekias, is dedicated to '*Basilis*'. Osanna argues convincingly that this is the same *Basilis*, i.e., Aphrodite *Basilis*, reported by Pausanias on the acropolis of Sparta. This conclusion is not surprising as Taras was a Spartan colony.[55]

Taras and Locri, however, share more than an interest in Aphrodite as a *polis* deity. According to her foundation legend, Taras was founded by Spartan women and their male slaves, possibly helots, who had gotten together when the Spartan men were off fighting the Messenians. The Locrians have a similar foundation legend. Their city, too, was founded by women who had fled with their male slaves while their husbands were off helping the Spartans against the Messenians.[56] For the Locrians, the adoption of this foundation legend may have been a way of both

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[55] Osanna 1990.

[56] For a discussion of both these legends see Pembroke 1970.

strengthening ties with Sparta, while at the same time distancing herself from her Achaian neighbors, in particular Croton.

That Locri and Croton were in competition with one another in the second half of the 6th century BC is indicated by descriptions of the Battle of the Sagra River. Although the date of the battle is uncertain, several sources recount the event in more or less detail, including Strabo (VI.1.10), Timaeus (preserved in Justin 20.2.10-3.9), and Diodorus (8.32). Strabo tells us that 10,000 Locrians, with help from Rhegion, fought against 130,000 Crotoniates and that the Locrians miraculously won. Other sources attribute Locri's victory to the Dioscouroi, who were sent to assist by Sparta. We have already seen that the Disocouroi appear on the pediment of the Marasà temple at Locri. The suggested date for the battle ranges from the early 6th century to ca. 510 BC.[57] Timaeus connects this battle to the joint attack of the Achaian colonies Metapontum, Sybaris, and Croton against Siris, an Ionian colony. He suggests that Croton turned around and attacked Locri as well, perhaps because they had tried to assist Siris. But it is also possible that the Locrians were the agressors, taking advantage of Croton while she was occupied by the war with Siris. Strabo concludes that the loss of life suffered by Croton led to a serious decrease in her population (VI.1.12). Whatever provoked this battle, and whenever it occurred, it is a clear example of animosity that existed between Locri and Croton.

It is not hard to understand then that the Locrians would attempt to distinguish themselves from Croton, as well as the other Achaian colonies, through their cults, in particular by promoting Aphrodite as a significant *polis* deity. Many of Aphrodite's functions at Locri overlap with those traditionally associated with Hera. For example, her role in marriage at the Mannella sanctuary. Moreover there are some structural similarities between the Crotoniate sanctuary of Hera Lacinia at Capo Colonna and Aphrodite's Locrian sanctuary at Centocamere/Marasà Sud. They are both outside the boundaries of the *polis* and they are both situated on the sea, probably to attract merchants. Although the architecture at Capo Colonna was carried out on a much grander scale, both sanctuaries have a temple building with subsidiary structures for ritual dining. Studies of Hera's cultic personality at Croton attribute to her many of the same characteristics as Aphrodite at Locri: *potnia theron* and *hoplosmia*, a protectress of women and children (*kourotrophos*), and

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[57] On the date of the battle see Bicknell 1966.

a goddess of manumission.[58] Like Aphrodite at Locri, Hera at Croton appears to have taken on aspects of several other goddesses.[59]

In conclusion, the colonists of Locri Epizephyrii were conscientious of the fact that they were not 'Achaian'. The richness and complexity of Aphrodite's cult at Locri may be seen as a direct result of the role that this particular cult played in establishing Locrian identity on the Ionian Sea coast.

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[58] Maddoli 1984, 313-319.

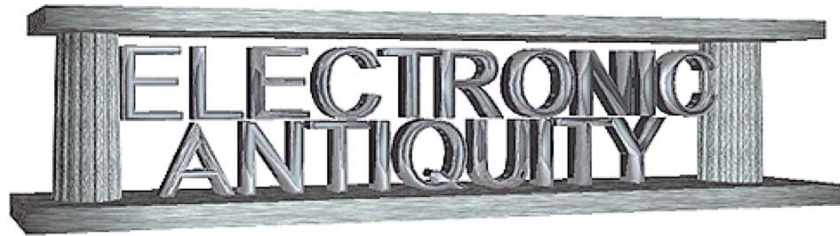[59] Maddoli (1984, 321) suggests that, in addition, to Aphrodite, Hera at Croton has aspects of Artemis and Athena.

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COLONIZING NAPLES: RHETORIC OF ALLURE AND THE 17TH CENTURY SPANISH IMAGINARY

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After some years of French and Aragonese rule, Naples became part of the Spanish Empire with its annexation in 1503, during the reign of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castille. From that time until 1707 Naples functioned as viceroyalty, where the viceroy governed the province in the name of and as representative of the Spanish monarch. Naples, thus, was to become one of the most desirable political assignments for Spanish governors but also the site of political controversy. By the seventeenth-century this viceroyalty (and its palace) was the post of Spanish grandees such as the Count of Lemos, a patron of the arts. The succession of the Count of Lemos by the polemical Duke of Osuna, and subsequently by two family members of the Count Duke of Olivares, who lived lavishly, were some of the reasons that angered Spain's grandees and brought the conspiracy and subsequent downfall of the Count Duke of Olivares, minister to king Philip IV, as well as the Neapolitan revolt of 1647.[1]

The Neapolitan court became famous throughout Italy for its refined chivalric habits, as well as a center of studies and culture, even though

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[1] The political intrigues of this time are well documented in John Elliot's biography of the Count Duke of Olivares.

Naples' social problems were great from the start of the viceroyalty due to the exploitation of Neapolitan finances that Florentine and Catalan bankers caused, its closer links to the Vatican, and the subsequent taxation imposed by the Spanish viceroys. With the passing of centuries, Naples as a city experienced population growth, changes, becomes a center for creative arts, and revolted in 1647 against what was perceived as a foreign, oppressive rule. A site of military support, contributing to the Spanish grandeur and an indicator of prestige (Brancaforte 151), Naples remained the epitome of the Empire's glory and an alluring place in the Spanish Imaginary.[2]

In fact, the different place occupied by the American colonies and by Naples in the Spanish 17th century Imaginary points to a colonizing process that is by no means homogeneous and that relies on the rhetorical construction of a locus of otherness, an inviting locus open to new participation for its possible subjects. If "the key to reconstructing Neapolitan past could only be found by tracing the Spanish heritage," as Benedetto Croce realized, (Brancaforte 327), likewise, a reconstruction of the Spanish past is to be found in the city of Naples as a place for a new colonizing narrative.

How then do the Spanish writers engage with Imaginary Naples and create a powerful and alluring place outside of Spain, yet engaged fully with Spanish life and national identity? By looking at some literary examples, the paper examines some rhetorical strategies used by Spanish writers of the 17th century to invoke Naples as a discursive place of allure, a place where narratives of the outside join the Imaginary ethos to create the political and social life in the viceroyalty of the time. Viewing rhetoric as a contextual art where social and culturally-recognized meanings illuminate how writers negotiate in literary texts' rhetorical space, the paper explores Burke's perspective on identification and myth as image as related to Naples and its place in the Spanish Imaginary of the 17th century.

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[2] Although this article is based on references to Naples encountered in selected Spanish literary pieces of the 17th century, Naples remained a location of allure in later centuries as in the Spanish "zarzuela," musical plays written in the 19th century. We thank Domingo Plácido for his comment as well as for his indication regarding the emerging field of Italo-Spanish relations among current historians.

Naples: Between Political Entity and Imaginary Colony

References to the elegant vice royal Neapolitan court abound in the literary works written in Spain in the 16th and 17th centuries, also known as the Spanish Golden Age. Represented by means of lavish settings, parties, and refined courtesans, Naples is not only a locus of historical importance or a mere "literary topos." Naples of the 17th century Spanish literature becomes an alluring and complexly constructed commonplace for the critique of the excesses of the colonial enterprise as we can see in works by Lope de Vega, Leonor de la Cueva y Silva, Tirso de Molina, and María de Zayas.

Spain being a colonizing power, Naples is constructed in most literary works as an "Other to be desired," a locus encouraging those wishing to progress or 'deseosos de medro" (in José Antonio Maravall's words), as a place of allure and a political space, a literary and rhetorically persuasive image for cultural development, economic progress, and flourishing arts.

Naples is the setting of Lope de Vega's *El perro del hortelano* [The Dog In The Manger] (1618). The title of the play, which literally translates as "The Peasant's Dog" alludes to a Spanish saying "the peasant's dog neither eats nor lets you eat" which is also referred to within the play (l.3071). Both title and plot allude to the attitude of the protagonist, beautiful Neapolitan Countess Diana of Belflor who plays with the emotions of the suitors she rejects and particularly her servant, Teodoro, whom she desires and eventually ends up marrying. Whereas on the one hand, it points at the idleness of the Neapolitan courtiers embodied in the countess, on the other hand it also points at the possibility of love despite class differences. Note that both Neapolitan idleness and love free of class constraints happen in Naples as the setting removed from the Spanish Court and where "the exotic spatial axis provides the possibility of a paradigmatic difference" (Yoon 417). In other words, locating the play on a place on the outside allows for a critique of the Spanish mores.

Naples is not only an idyllic place, full of beauty and grandeur, as one character says "Tiene hermosura y grandeza/Nápoles" (l 2775-6), it is also the place where you can find a hit man for a price "Que hay en Nápoles quien vive/de eso y en oro recibe/lo que en sangre ha de volver" (l.2405-7) [There are people in Naples who live/of that and receive in gold/what in blood they will turn]. As it is customary with this popular playwright, whose plays were the entertainment of the masses, very

much in the way Hollywood movies function today, his critique is subtle, his message doubtful, and the greatness of Naples is tempered with its inherent conflicts.

Less subtle than Lope de Vega, Leonor de la Cueva y Silva depicts the lavish Naples in her play *La firmeza en la ausencia* (c.1647) [Faithful Despite Absence] as the place for a sensual and alluring action, a site of promises of luxury and critical insight into the court of the Neapolitan Viceroyalty.[3]

> A los dichosos años que cumplía
> El rey ordena Justas y torneos
> Donde Nápoles muestra en bizarría
> Su belleza, su amor y sus deseos;
> Aquí suena la dórica armonía
> Allí canciones que, afrentando Orfeos,
> Eran dulce recreo a los sentidos,
> En tantas variedades suspendidos.
>
> On the occasion of his birthday
> the king orders jousts and tournaments
> whereby Naples shows its youth,
> its beauty, its love, and its desires;
> Here the Doric harmony plays
> there, songs competing with Orpheus
> are heard, sweet solace to the senses,
> in so many delights suspended.

The description of this scene, a festive setting ordered by the king, is followed by the description of different participants in the joust (the king, Armesinda, and other nobles), paying attention to the detail and color of the dress. Tarantos's prince wears an outfit "de tela verdegay vestido airoso/sobre nácar," [of green silk and mother of pearl](l. 67-8) Visiniano's "con recamos de plata" [with silver thread] (l.82), and Salerno's "todo de fina plata guarnecido" [adorned in fine silver] (l.92), in fact, all of the outfits are embroidered either in silver or precious stones like "nácar" [mother of pearl]. These descriptions are not to be

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[3] Unless otherwise noted the translations in the text are our own. To our knowledge, there is no English translation available of *La firmeza en la ausencia*.

taken as a reflection of the customary clothing of the time but rather as symbolical, as several women writers contemporary to De la Cueva y Silva use clothing as a rhetorical device. If colors may be employed to represent the emotions of the characters, as Amy Kaminsky argues, the excessive richness and details in the clothing described may be pointing to a critique of the Neapolitan courtiers. They represent the lavish Neapolitan court where expenditure in festivities appears to be affordable and condoned by the viceroy. However, underlying this opening scene and in relation to the plot (where the king of Naples, in love with Armesinda, a lady from the Court, sends her lover to war, only to have her prove her faithfulness) is a critique of the licentiousness of a class who believes to have power over the Others. Written by a woman after the Neapolitan revolt of 1647, this play may be a political allegory echoing the sentiment present in a certain group of nobles in Spain who saw the excesses of the Neapolitan viceroyalty and brought the downfall of Count Duke of Olivares.[4] Richness and excess in the descriptions of Naples function thus as a critique of political mores.

Another writer whose complex critique relies on the world of allusion is Tirso de Molina. In his trilogy commanded by the Pizarro family to glorify its members and the colonial enterprise, he includes a subtle critique by means of his references to "chocolate," a term alluding to the excesses of the aristocracy as well as to the "consumption" of the colonies by means of the cocoa trade.[5] While references to the colonial enterprise may be present in this trilogy, Tirso de Molina's use of the Naples viceroyalty as a locus for social and cultural critique is to be found both in *El condenado por desconfiado* [Mistrusting and Condemned] (1635) and *El burlador de Sevilla* [The Trickster of Seville and The Stone Guest] (c.1630), the work that initiates the legend of Don Juan.

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[4] Teresa Soufas indicates that the play was probably written around the midpoint of the playwright's life and that it is set in the 16th C, the time of the French invasion contained by the Spanish troops, a moment of Spain's strength, in order to offer contrast with the time of the revolt of Naples.

[5] See Yolanda Gamboa's article regarding the colonization of Mexico in terms of the consumption of the Other. Note that Mexico becomes an alluring place as well in the Spanish imaginary. Besides the allusion to colonizing the palate, an important aspect of the "civilizing process" carried out by the Spaniards, it is also a promise of continued riches for those involved in the colonial enterprise, very much like Naples.

El condenado por desconfiado is a play about redemption, organized around the lack of trust in the word of God, falling prey to evil, and free will. It centers around the conflicts of Paulo, a hermit, who in a moment of weakness is tempted by the devil who asks him to go to the city of Naples by following sinner Enrico. Notable in this construction is that the setting for falling into evil is Naples, a city that, as we saw previously in Lope's play, is known both for its beauty and its danger. As an imaginary place of the outside, its "exoticism" is a double -edged sword. A tempting location for the Spanish aristocracy, the richness it promises leads to licentiousness and abuse of the colonized Others.

Tirso's well-known *El burlador de Sevilla* presents Naples in a more lighthearted way but still as a critique of the licentiousness of the Neapolitan court. It opens up with a scene in which Don Juan has a sexual encounter in the dark with Duchess Isabella of Naples under the pretense of being her lover. The setting is where Don Juan resides at the beginning of the play, and where he is exempt from punishment due to his aristocratic lineage and his uncle's position in the court as ambassador and king's guard. Don Juan will flee from Naples and will continue his amorous exploits in different locations and with women of different social status.

A very poignant passage of this play is what is known as the Loa of Lisbon (1.721-857), a long alluring description of the natural and created riches of Lisbon which Don Gonzalo de Ulloa, "comendador mayor," reports to the king of Naples after returning from his embassy. The hyperbolic and delightful language used by don Gonzalo leads the king to say "Más estimo, don Gonzalo,/ escuchar de vuestra lengua/esa relación sucinta,/que haber visto su grandeza" (1.858-61) [I rather, don Gonzalo/listen in your own words/this brief relation/that see its greatness]. This passage has given the critics much to think about, though mostly it is agreed that the description of the greatness of Lisbon contrasts with the corruption of Seville and, I will add, to that of Naples. Don Juan's presence in Naples points to his social and political mobility, which is possible only for a small sector of the Spanish population at the time.

Contemporary of Lope de Vega, and a popular, well-known writer, Maria de Zayas y Sotomayor wrote two collections of framed short novels containing ten novels each, namely, *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares* (1637) [The Enchantments of Love: Amorous and Exemplary Novels], and *Desengaños amorosos* (1647) [The Disenchantments of

Love].[6] Multiple references to Naples, together with those to the Count of Lemos in her novels are likely to be direct references to her stay in Naples and not mere literary topos. However, as Zayas' researchers have noted, these two collections differ in tone, especially regarding the position of women, the first being more humorous and the second being more critical of her time. The same is true of her allusions to Naples, as the analysis of the references to Naples in three different novels will show. Research into the Neapolitan politics can throw light into the biographical details of María de Zayas.

Naples is the setting of the fifth novel in her first collection, namely, "La fuerza del amor" [The Power of Love]. Her description of Naples, the city where the main character is born, conforms to the alluring descriptions we have seen in the works of other contemporary writers of Zayas:

> En Nápoles, insigne y famosa ciudad de Italia por su riqueza, hermosura y agradable sitio, nobles ciudadanos y gallardos edificios, coronados de jardines y adornados de cristalinas fuentes, hermosas damas y gallardos caballeros…

> Naples, a famous city in Italy, is renowned for its wealth, noble citizens, splendid buildings, pleasant location, and great beauty. It is crowned with many gardens and adorned with crystalline fountains, lovely ladies, and elegant gentlemen. (Enchantments 159)

However, aside from a reference to the importance of witchcraft in Naples where, "como no hay el freno de la Inquisición y los demás castigos, no les amedrentan" [there's no restriction by the Inquisition or other punishment sufficient to frighten them] (*Enchantments* 173), which contributes to the common place of Naples as place where evil lurs, the rest of the references allude to the entertainment at the rich and idle Neapolitan court: "es uso y costumbre en Nápoles ir las doncellas a los saraos y festines que en los palacios del virrey y casas particulares de caballeros se hacen" [It was the custom in Naples for maidens to attend parties and soirees given in the viceroy's palace and in other private homes of the nobility](Enchantments 160)]; "úsase en Nápoles llevar a

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[6] Both of Zayas's collections are available in English translation by Patsy Boyer. The translations included here are Boyer's.

los festines un maestro de ceremonias, el cual saca a danzar a las damas y las da al caballero que le parece" [Another custom in Naples was that at the parties there was a master of ceremonies who would lead the ladies out to dance and give them to a gentleman chosen by him] (Enchantments 161); "tomó un arpa en que las señoras italianas son tan diestras" [She took up her harp, which Italian women play very well] (*Enchantments* 168).

References to Naples in the Zayas' second collection are not merely descriptive but include a veiled political critique of the Spanish colonial enterprise, as they tend to become more specific. For instance, in the first novel, "La esclava de su amante" [Slave To Her Own Lover], Manuel, the character with whom the heroine is in love, departs to Naples in the service of Castille's Admiral, who, according to Alicia Yllera, the editor of the collection, seems to be Juan Alfonso Enríquez de Cabrera. He uses his relationship with a servant friend of his to get a position as a "gentilhombre de su cámara" (150), however pompous it may sound, a man-servant position. Naples is a desirable post, even as a servant. The other reference is in the eighth novel, "El traidor contra su sangre" [Traitor To His Own Blood], where Alonso, the main character, departs for Naples after having brutally killed his sister. Naples seems to be a place where a well-off Spaniard can escape with impunity, because the character's father writes letters in his favor to don Pedro Fernández de Castro, Count of Lemos and Naples viceroy to grant him a place as soldier (385-6). Alonso's criminal behavior will continue in Naples, partially due to his association with a "hijo de español y napolitana, hombre perdido y vicioso" [a Neapolitan, son of a Spaniard who was a wastrel and a degenerate, debauched in every way, helped lead him more deeply into vice] (Disenchantments 289). The view of Naples changes in Zayas' novels in the ten years distance between her novels, probably due to political circumstances.

In Zayas' works other references to Naples relate to the Count of Lemos, as found in the first *Desengaño*. Zayas writes glowingly about him in the fifth of her *Novelas*:

> Don Pedro Fernández de Castro, Conde de Lemos, nobilísimo, sabio y piadoso príncipe, cuyas raras virtudes y excelencias no son para escritas en papeles, sino en láminas de bronce y en las lenguas de la fama.

Don Pedro Fernández de Castro, count of Lemos. He was a very noble, wise and devout prince whose rare virtues and outstanding qualities should be written on bronze plaques and on the tongue of fame rather than just on paper]. (Enchantments 178)

Zayas' subservient attitude in this passage, together with her admiration towards the Count seems to indicate, on the one hand, a relation of patronage, and on the other hand, the presence of Zayas within the Count's entourage. Pedro Fernández de Castro, seventh Earl of Lemos was indeed Neapolitan viceroy from 1610 to 1616. He is known to have favored the arts and letters and supported the literary academies, like "academia degli occiosi" which started in 1611. He also continued building the royal palace, spent on ceremonies, and built the university (Green 297). This aspect is of great importance because it throws light into her allegiances in a time of political intrigues since the Count of Lemos was involved in the conspiracy that brought about the downfall of the Count Duque of Olivares. Zayas' presence in the literary circles of the Count of Lemos may very well be an initial stage of her later participation in the aristocratic and political circles of opposition to the Count Duke.

In fact, literary references to the lavish Neapolitan Court are, in all likelihood, veiled political references to Olivares' relatives and their abuses at Court. That critique of nobility living in excess, in part by the oppositional aristocratic literary group, constitutes a relevant portion of the Spanish imaginary and of a world of literary (as well as political) allusion.

Rhetoric and Space as an Argument of Allure

A cultural metropolis during the Aragon rule (1442-1503) historical Naples flourishes in the 15th and 16th century as a center for urban and cultural development. However, the discovery of the New World displaced the economic center of the Spanish Empire towards the Atlantic and Naples was exploited with taxes but was no longer the center of attention. From a literary and rhetorical perspective, Naples of the 17th century remains a location of allure, yet regarded as a place for the "excessive," therefore associated with licentiousness, and even evil dangers.

The rhetorical problem underlining this research is how Spanish literature of the 17th century engages Naples as the cultural colony of choice. The Vice royal Neapolitan court is the epitome of the Empire's glory in Spanish Imaginary, where elegant and lavish settings depict primary alluring qualities for an important site of luxury outside of mainland Spain.

While the first part of the paper features Naples as a literary presence, rhetorical approaches can offer additional insight into cultural reconstitution of place as an argument of allure. Rhetorically, the Spanish writers of the Imaginary invoke the cultural legitimacy of the Spanish colonizing powers by locating Naples as a meta-narrative of Otherness. As depicted by Maria de Zayas and Leonor de La Cueva y Silva, Naples embodies Spanish promises of a most alluring Outside, a discursive setting where colonization happens with evocative force, a mythical site of legitimation for luxury, for an abundance of mores, and, of course, for culture.[7] As such, Naples embodies a literary Outside from where audiences can view the Spain of the 17th century, its history and its powers, its colonizing legitimacy and its locus for prosperity and politics.

Such a rhetorical move shares with exilic discourse relationships between outside and inside, between presence and absence of allure, between public memory arguments of past and present political power.[8] Utilizing the rhetorical space of the outside, like many writers of exile, the writers presented in this paper create a literary Naples as a favorable site for the discourse of Spanish cultural life. The significance of such reinvention of space is the negotiation of locus against and within political power. Legitimacy, however, implies a social, political, and cultural context within which space re-enacts power. This requirement proposes a notion of rhetoric that *interpellates* the rhetor to legitimize his or her culture through discourse.[9]

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[7] The use of the Outside spelled with capital letter is borrowed from Andrei Codrescu's work on poetic exile (Codrescu, 1990).

[8] Joseph Brodsky, the famous exiled poet, points out in his works on exile as a literary home the nostalgic qualities of the place, a discursive site where past and present evoke a cultural locus of pertinent participation in the public life of a city/country/space (Brodsky, 1994).

[9] Charland (140), borrowing the term from Althusser, defines "interpellation" as an active term, stating that: Interpellation occurs at the very moment one enters into a rhetorical situation, that is, as soon as an individual recognizes and acknowledges being addressed. An interpellated subject participates in the discourse that addresses him. . . . Note, however, that interpellation does not

And yet Naples is not a mere place of the Outside, (political, cultural and/or poetic) as exilic sites often are in literary works.[10] Rather, all mentioned writers construct the Neapolitan court of the 17th century as an argument of allure, legitimizing discursive, political and historical significance outside of mainland Spain. Distinct from literary works on exile where place functions as an external and alienated locus, depictions of Naples of the Imaginary vector arguments from the inside (Spain) into the outside (Neapolitan Viceroyalty) as a legitimate colonizing action.[11]

Looking at rhetorical strategies, literary authors like Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, Leonor de la Cueva y Silva, and María de Zayas engage Naples as argument of allure in order to create an evocative identity of the colonized Outside, thus interpellating both culture and context within discourse. As a locus of elegance, glory, but also a possible setting for danger and sin, Naples appeals to audiences, carrying important rhetorical force and public legitimation in relation to 17th century Spanish politics. Naples is not an Italian colony, but an extension of Spain, a legitimized court where promises of luxury, political mores, and cultural practices of 17th century aristocracy, all legitimize an alluring and alluding locus of glory for Spain of the Outside, a glorified colony.

According to Kenneth Burke, symbolic action (language) constitutes human reality by, through, and within which, humans instantiate political, social, and cultural paradigms of discursive action.[12] Viewing rhetoric within a dramatistic approach, Burke looks at language (and rhetoric) as an intricate locus of dialectical relationships for social action. Rhetoric for Burke is "*rooted in an essential function of language itself, a function that is wholly realistic and continually born anew; the use of language as symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols*" (43). Simultaneous "identification-with and division-from" that occurs when writers (rhetors) address an audience constitutes the dialectical relationship that governs a main aspect of rhetoric (46). Burke explains that identity represents one's "uniqueness as an entity" and identification constitutes in rhetoric an "acting together;

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occur through persuasion in the usual sense, for the very act of *addressing* is rhetorical.

[10] See Marin's argument (73-115) about Codrescu and poetic exile.

[11] Marin (2007) 157-169.

[12] Burke's entire work is written under the assumption of "language as symbolic action," which he articulates overtly in *The Philosophy of Literary Form* and in *Language as Symbolic Action* (Burke [1941] 1-138, 3-44). See also Foucault (1972) 215-37.

and in acting together, men have common sensations, concepts, images, ideas, attitudes that make them *consubstantial"* (21).

Burke's relationship between identity (as national Spanish identity in this case) and identification reveals a rhetorical perspective called for by an alluring cultural colonizing site such as Naples of the Imaginary Spain.[13] His perspective on identity and identification appears useful in that it reveals how the discourse of the Imaginary Outside engages with constructs of identity, with cultural dimensions of space, and with the public sphere.[14] While Burke develops much less the concept of identity in his writings on rhetoric, *identification* focuses on a dialectical process in which the speaker draws on shared interests to establish "rapport between himself [herself] and his [her] audience." Burke views identification in relation to persuasion, since "a speaker persuades an audience by the use of stylistic identifications; his act of persuasion may be for the purpose of causing the audience to identify itself with the speaker's interests; and the speaker draws on identification of interests to establish rapport between himself [herself] and his[her] audience."[15] Accordingly, Burke's emphasis on identification as a rhetorical strategy supports how the mentioned writers depict the Imaginary Naples in relation to Spanish identity and public/political voice in the land of the Outside. Depicted as alluring (in all of the writers chosen), but also as dangerous (in Lope, Tirso's *El condenado por desconfiado*, and Zayas), Naples as a colony does not carry only political and literary identity in the 17th century. Naples of the Imaginary becomes more than a colony of the Spanish Empire, transforming itself into what Burke calls "myth," since it gravitates to the side of image, invoking imagination, rather than reason to explicate political or cultural identity.[16]

All of the writers examined depict Naples of the Imaginary as a discursive site of identification, a rhetorical place to exercise, criticize and/or revisit Spanish mores of high-class society. A rhetorical nexus of identification and persuasion for writers and audiences alike, Naples expands into a critical site for audiences to reflect, view and identify the Spanish political and cultural power in the Outside. Rhetorically, the choice of Naples as the literary setting for the works mentioned assists audiences to view such Spanish viceroyalty as THE discursive and legitimate locus for all Spanish court events inside and outside the

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[13] Burke (1955) 19-29, 43-46.
[14] Burke (1955) 21-46.
[15] Burke (1955) 46.
[16] Burke (1947) 195.

country. In other words, Naples becomes a rhetorical site that legitimates colonization as a performer of genuine Spanish identity while in the Outside, a salient and legitimate colony where luxury and Spanish lavish lifestyle interact with political corruption and power.

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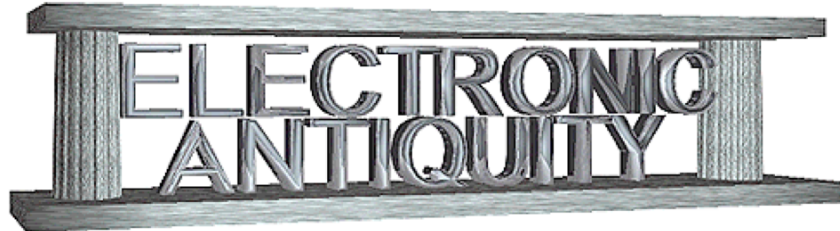
DEBATING THE ORIGINS OF COLONIAL WOMEN IN SICILY AND SOUTH ITALY

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In 1975, Giorgio Buchner proposed, on the basis of jewelry from the site of Pithekoussai, that the colony's women must have been natives of the area, rather than Greek women who made the journey to Sicily and South Italy with their husbands and families.[1] While there has yet to be a consensus on this issue, the scholars who support Buchner (and the possibility that colonizers from Greece married indigenous women from the local areas) have gained the most traction.[2] This paper discusses three separate sites from this region, each of which provides convincing material evidence that Buchner's original assertion, in favor of hybrid marriages between Greeks and local women, is correct. Mortuary evidence from the graves at Pithekoussai, Metapontum, and Morgantina, including an analysis of the morphological characteristics of human

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[1] G. Buchner, "Nuovi aspetti e problemi posti dagli scavi di Pithecusa," in *Contribution a l'étude de la société et de la colonization eubeenes* (Naples, 1975) 59-86.

[2] Discussions of Buchner's work and these fibulae can be found in J.N. Coldstream. "Mixed Marriages at the Frontiers of the Early Greek World," in *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 12.1 (1993) 89-107 and

J. Toms, "The Relative Chronology of the Villanovan Cemetery of Quattro Fontanili at Veii," in *Annali Archeologia e Storia Antica (AION)* 8 (1986) 41-97.

remains and the use of hybrid funerary architecture, lends further support to Buchner's ideas about the native origins of women at Pithekoussai. Evidence from Pithekoussai would also suggest that this was not a phenomenon unique to the site but rather that intermarriage seems to have been a regional trend.

It was the lack of comparable data from each site that led to the piecemeal structure of this discussion. Scholars have examined particular sites, but a cohesive examination spanning both geography and a wide range of archaeological evidence has up to this point been missing.[3] My approach to the material brings together disparate forms of evidence in different media and contexts from which one can see a valid argument arise. When a holistic methodology is employed, logical conclusions emerge. Each piece of evidence, standing alone, is hardly adequate proof of the indigenous origins of colonial women. However, if one examines data, both diverse and from geographically distant sites, and the information independently supports one side of the debate, then it is reasonable to believe that taken together, the culmination of evidence builds a solid argument. Such is the case with women in the western colonies. I have compiled a range of material which varies from ceramics to mortuary customs to morphological attributes. Analyzed together, they produce a solid and convincing argument. Most importantly, if we accept the native origins of the women of these colonies, we can begin a dialogue on the significance and influence of women on colonial culture.

Studying Colonial Foundations

While a number of cities sent out prospective colonies to Sicily and Italy during the archaic period, there are few historical records discussing the presence or absence of women among these enterprises. Why this was not considered an issue worthy of mention in more ancient texts is difficult to say. Although not specific to Magna Grecia, Herodotus (i.146.2-3) makes a reference to the colony of Miletus that has been used as evidence both for and against intermarriage with native women. He states, "and as for those who came from the very town hall of

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[3] A majority of the authors cited in this article analyze evidence from one site and rarely contextualize this evidence in order to examine broader trends in the western Greek colonies.

Athens…these did not bring wives with them to their settlements, but married Carian women whose parents they had put to death."[4] While a seemingly conclusive statement on the issue, A.J. Graham argues that it could simply be an aetiological story to explain the customs of the women in this colony, who neither addressed nor dined with their husbands, or that Herodotus specifies the fact that they brought no women because it was an exception and not the rule.[5] Regardless of how one interprets this passage, it provides no resolution to the issue since it is the sole instance which refers specifically to this question.

It should also be noted that the concept of intermarriage between Greeks and individuals from other cultures was not particularly unusual. There are many instances of Greeks marrying women from other societies.   For instance, Aeschines informs us that Demosthenes' grandfather, Gylon, married a woman from Scythia.[6]

Several important questions arise if the Greeks intermarried with local populations. In part, the significance of determining the identity of the women in these colonies rests on the fact that they were in fact *founding* colonies intended, among other things, to spread "Greek" culture.   If the Greeks did indeed set out to new lands with a predetermined plan to marry local non-Greek women, what does this say about their understanding of cultural identity? Did the colonizers believe that the local women would have no effect on the cultural identity of their hybrid offspring? The issue of intermarriage therefore involves more than simply clarifying local and regional customs or identifying ethnicity, it raises broader issues of self-identity of the Greeks and the role of women in the creation of this identity.

Furthermore, the colonies were not being settled by the Greeks alone in these areas. There is evidence for the presence of Phoenician burials by 750 BCE in the cemetery at Pithekoussai.[7] In addition, there seems to be evidence at this same site for cultural influence from the Levant as

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[4] Herodotus i.146.2-3 tr. A.D. Godley (London and Cambridge, 1946)

[5] A.J. Graham, "Religion, Women and Greek Colonization," *Atti* Vol. XI, N.S. 1(1980-1981) 293-314.

[6] Aeschines, iii, 171-2.

[7] M.J. Becker, "Human Skeletons from the Greek Emporium of Pithekoussai on Ischia (NA): Culture, Contact, and Biological Change in Italy after the 8th Century BC," in *Social Dynamics of the Prehistoric Central Mediterranean* (London, 1999) 217-225.

well.[8] The multicultural environment at Pithekoussai demonstrates that no society is easily divided into one, two, or more ethnic or cultural groups and this should be ever present in the reader's mind when examining the material from these sites. Moreover, the presence of foreigners could presumably raise the bar for a colonial Greek's need for a well-defined and recognizable identity within such a community.

The issues of hybridity at Greek colonial sites add fuel to the ongoing debate involving ethnicity and identity. A group of people is rarely, if ever, homogenous and well-defined. Jonathan Hall has stated that ethnicity can not be physically defined but that it is a social and subjective identifying characteristic of a group and that it needs to be actively "proclaimed and reclaimed" by the group in question.[9] It is also well known that identifying biologically distinct societies based on material culture is difficult, if not impossible.[10] Nonetheless, it is reasonable to assume that the first encounter of two groups, distant both geographically and culturally, might leave a visible mark on the archaeological record, if only temporarily during this first collision of culture. Furthermore, studying the mortuary practices at these sites can reveal an effort on the part of the colonial inhabitants to perceptibly proclaim their cultural identity. Although such material must be approached with a degree of caution, it remains worthwhile to investigate the evidence available in order to better understand the early convergences of separate cultures.

Of the three sites discussed below, Pithekoussai was the first to be founded by Greek colonists. It was established sometime in the eighth century BCE. Metaponto was founded in the second half of the seventh century BCE. Lastly, Morgantina was founded during the second quarter of the sixth century BCE.[11] Accordingly, these three sites will be discussed chronologically. It is reasonable to infer that if the earliest site, Pithekoussai, chose not to bring women to the new colony and

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[8] D. Ridgway, "Seals, Scarabs, and People in Pithekoussai I," in *Periplous. Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology Presented to John Boardman* (London, 2000) 235-243.

[9] J. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1997) 182.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Colonial foundation dates are traditionally based on the relative chronology of Thucydides (most established in reference to the battle of Himera in 480 BCE). In more recent times, archaeological evidence has substantiated the accuracy of these dates. See I. Morris, "The Absolute Chronology of the Greek Colonies," in *Acta Archeologica* 67 (1996) 51-59 for a thorough summary of this subject.

participated in the practice of intermarriage, then the later colonies too may have followed in this tradition. Thus the evidence from Pithekoussai will also hopefully aid in supporting the argument of intermarriage at the later sites as well.

Pithekoussai

Pithekoussai, situated on the north-west extremity of the volcanic island of Ischia in the Bay of Naples, was first settled by Euboean merchants prior to 770 BCE. At some point after this, additional Euboeans must have joined these merchants at this entrepreneurially-advantageous site.[12] The area of the cemetery at Pithekoussai occupies the Valle di San Montano, a valley that is located behind the natural harbor.[13] Excavations have yielded approximately 1300 graves from all its periods of occupation.[14] These tombs make up at most only 10% of the known original burials.[15] Nonetheless, the excavated graves available for study provide ample evidence to support the practice of intermarriage between the Greek colonists and the indigenous population.

Physical human traits from the occupants of these burials provide fascinating insight into the understanding of the origins of colonial women. Tooth morphology plays an important role in the evidence from Pithekoussai, as it does at Metaponto, which I will discuss below. The bifurcation of a tooth's root occurs when the root divides into two or more separate parts. It is often used to identify different populations since it can vary substantially from group to group.[16] M.J. Becker has extensively analyzed the presence of this trait at Pithekoussai. He has demonstrated that the bifurcation of the root of the maxillary first

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[12] M.J. Becker, "Human Skeletons from the Greek Emporium of Pithekoussai on Ischia (NA). Culture, Contact, and Biological Change in Italy after the 8th Century BC," in *Social Dynamics of the Prehistoric Central Mediterranean* (London, 1999) 217-225.

[13] D. Ridgway, *The First Western Greeks* (Cambridge, 1992) 45.

[14] Ibid. p. 46. The chronological range of these graves extends from the 8th century BCE to the 3rd century CE of which 493 are from the initial years of the colony's foundation (called the "Eubeoean" period by Ridgway).

[15] Ibid.

[16] I. Kovacs, "A Systematic Description of Dental Roots," in *Dental Morphology and Evolution* (Chicago and London, 1971) 211-256. This article provides a more in-depth discussion on the bifurcation of the roots of teeth.

premolars (teeth in the upper half of the mouth behind the canines and primarily used for chewing) is a dental trait commonly observed among people indigenous to central Italy.[17] It is most common during the period from ca. 900 to 600 BCE.[18] Interestingly, Becker points out that the remains of the earliest inhabitants of Pithekoussai exhibit no evidence for this trait but the later population demonstrates a low incidence of it.[19] This may suggest that the earliest burials at Pithekoussai were not local, but later burials with a low incidence reflect the result of intermarriage and the gradual assimilation of this morphological trait into their genes. While immigration of locals into the urban colony has been offered as an explanation for the presence of this trait, its later appearance can also be explained by the assimilation of the trait into the Greek colony's population from the heterogeneous offspring of marital unions with the indigenous women possessing this biological characteristic.

Giorgio Buchner's discussion of the jewelry from Pithekoussai stirred much of the original debate on this topic. He suggested that the fibulae, or garment pins, at the site were of indigenous origin and that it was only logical that women would have controlled the fashion trends of jewelry which were most often meant for them.[20] Such fibulae are found at numerous sites in Sicily and South Italy. The graves at Pithekoussai contain many variations of the most common Italic types of fibulae which include the arched bow with a "swollen leech shape," a thinner bow on which bone or shell can be threaded, and a "more elaborate type" which assumes a serpentine form.[21] An important fact is that no examples of Euboean types of fibulae have been found at Pithekoussai, nor do any of the varieties found share any resemblance with types known from Euboea or anywhere else in Greece.[22] This discounts the possibility that Greek women came to the area from the mainland and then later developed a taste for the local jewelry because presumably the

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[17] Becker 1999. p. 222.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Tomb 149 provides a specific example of this trait. M. J. Becker, "Human Skeletal Remains from the Pre-Colonial Greek Emporium of Pithekoussai on Ischia (NA): Culture Contact in Italy from the Early VIII to the II Century BC," in *Settlement and Economy in Italy. 1500 BC-AD 1500* (Oxford ,1995) 273-281.

[20] G. Buchner, "Early Orientalizing Aspects of the Euboean Connection," in D. and F. Ridgway (eds.), *Italy before the Romans* (London, 1979) pp. 29-43.

[21] J.N. Coldstream. "Mixed Marriages at the Frontiers of the Early Greek World," in *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 12.1 (1993) 89-107.

[22] Coldstream 1993. p. 91.

women would have initially arrived with their own Greek pieces of jewelry of which there is no archaeological evidence. If this were the case, we could expect to find these types in at least some of the earliest Pithekoussan tombs. Moreover, not only do the graves in question contain Italic fibulae, but the Greek foundries from the site also provide evidence for the production of such types.[23] Jewelry found at the colony's blacksmith quarter on the Mezzavia ridge indicates that the colonists (or hired members of the local population) were making Italic-style jewelry in their own foundries.[24] This implies that either the colonists were making Italic forms (and not Greek forms) for a market that demanded this (local women?) or that the indigenous population was working in the Greek foundries in which case there is additional evidence for intimate contact between the two groups. The absence of mainland Greek forms of jewelry at Pithekoussai is the strongest evidence indicating that no Greek women ever arrived at Pithekoussai. The production of Italic types of fibulae in the Greek foundries also points to a lack of need for Greek women's jewelry. One then can speculate that the women in the colony were local inhabitants of the area and not women from Greece.

An additional piece of evidence for the practice of intermarriage at Pithekoussai concerns the attribution of Greek-Etruscan names. D. Ridgway has discussed pottery found in the area that was incised with graffiti of names such as Larth Telicles and Rutile Hipucrates.[25] Proper names formed by combining Greek and Etruscan elements provide strong evidence for close, as opposed to casual, relationships between these two communities. The families chose names which identify with both cultures. Since these names do not occur any later than the seventh century BCE, one can reason that initially, as the two populations intermarried, they named their children after both parents' cultures but gradually the population and cultural differences became harder to identify.[26] Thus the two-culture names disappeared sometime in the seventh century BCE. Moreover, the fusion of Etruscan and Greek

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[23] Coldstream 1993. pp. 91-93.

[24] Ibid.

[25] D. Ridgway, "The Etruscans," in J. Boardman, N.G.L. Hammond, D.M. Lewis, M. Ostwald (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History 4, 2nd edition* (Cambridge, 1988) 634-75. While these strange inscriptions occur in the Etruscan language, they refer to Greek pottery shape names such as the askos, reinforcing the multi-cultural nature of them.

[26] Coldstream 1993, p. 101

cultures coincides relatively well with the adoption of alphabetic writing by the Etruscans around 700 BCE.[27] J.N. Coldstream has pointed out that it would have been very easy for the child of such a union to "start applying his father's recently acquired literacy to his mother's language."[28] These bicultural names provide excellent evidence to suggest that there was a cultural union between the Greek colonists and the native population and that this most likely resulted from marriages between the two.

Metapontum

Metapontum is located on the mainland of Italy on the coast of the Ionian Sea set between the rivers Basento and Bradano.[29] The colony was established by Greeks from another colony, Sybaris, sometime in the second half of the seventh century BCE.[30] Although the site has produced a wide variety of archaeological evidence, the material for this discussion comes entirely from the Pantanello necropolis where over three hundred burials were excavated.[31] These burials present striking evidence for the presence of indigenous women within the Greek colony's community.

The colony of Metapontum is exceptional in the fact that it is a secondary colony since its mother city, Sybaris, was also a Magna Grecian colony founded by Greeks at the end of the eighth century BCE. Sybaris is located approximately 50 miles south and west of Metapontum.[32] The colonial roots of Metapontum's original settlers should not drastically influence the issue at hand. If the original Sybaritic colonists had not adopted the practice of intermarriage, then Metapontum would have remained Greek in identity. Therefore one could still examine the question of Greek and indigenous intermarriage at the second site. On the other hand, if intermarriage between Greeks and natives had already occurred at Sybaris, and there is no reason to

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[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] J. Coleman Carter, *The Chora of Metaponto. The Necropoleis* (Austin, 1998) 2.

[30] Ibid. p. 7.

[31] The Pantanello necropolis is divided in two areas to the east and west. The western area yielded 276 burials while the 'Eastern Necropolis' yielded only 48.

[32] J.S. Callaway, *Sybaris* (Baltimore, 1950) 1-3

discount that it could have, then one might wish to argue that this discussion of intermarriage no longer centers on Greeks vs. natives, but that it represents a more general trend in colonization. That is to say, the possibly-intermarried population at Sybaris, which would found Metapontum approximately one hundred years later, would now be a mixed group of Greeks, natives, and their bi-cultural offspring and descendants. Intermarriage can continually be examined at Metapontum (between the mixed descendants of Sybaris and the indigenous populations at Metapontum), it is just a question of which cultures are intermarrying. Although the origin of the Sybaritic colonists questions what societies and identities we may find at Metapontum, the issue of marriage between (Greek) colonist and indigenous local is still present and important.

As at Pithekoussai, an examination of certain funerary remains from Metapontum can add some fuel to this discussion. Mortuary practices represent an important form of display and identity for most cultures. The contracted position of a burial was more commonly a feature of the indigenous, Italic populations while the supine burial was more popular among the Greek colonists. These two types of burial are found uniformly among the graves of both men and women at the necropolis of Metapontum.[33] There is also a consistent lack of evidence for children's burials among graves of contracted and supine individuals.[34] Moreover, the two forms of burial are found spread across a wide range of ages, excluding small children and infants.[35] Lastly, the supine and contracted burials appear to share a uniform modesty in their form and grave goods.[36] These facts aid in suggesting that there is no reason to believe that the supine and contracted burial forms are representative of a particular or exclusive segment of a single society. Instead, it is more likely that these two burial forms are the product of two different cultures with separate mortuary customs. This is relevant because a group of three skeletons that share physical indications of an identical infectious disease on their bones comes from the necropolis of Metapontum. J. Coleman Carter points out that two of the infected skeletons were discovered in the contracted position while the third was found in the

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[33] Carter 1998 pp. 65-66, 555.
[34] Ibid. p.64.
[35] Ibid. p. 555.
[36] Ibid. p. 66.

supine position.[37]   These three skeletons could represent two separate cultures at the site.

The disease which was discovered on the bones of the skeletons was identified as treponematosis. This is a particular type of disease which originates from the Treponema species of bacteria which is also responsible for modern syphilis infections.[38]   Not all strains of this disease necessitate venereal transmission but they do require close contact with the sores of the infected. In fact, modern versions of this disease are most often spread through mouth-to-mouth contact.[39] It is impossible to establish the exact types of contact, sexual or otherwise, necessary for the ancient strain of this disease to spread. Nevertheless, the fact that skeletons from two culturally distinct types of burial share the infectious marks of treponematosis suggests physical (probably sexual) contact among the seemingly distinct groups at Metapontum. It is highly unlikely that two populations would have suffered from an identical infectious disease with no contact between them. Moreover, since the disease is spread through close, physical contact, we can speculate that intimate unions between the colonial and local populations were being formed and responsible for the transmission of the disease between two distinct, burying populations. Although it is not necessary for this contact to result in marriage, it is logical that it could have and it did most likely result in offspring of the two distinct cultures.

In addition to the shared treponematosis between different burial types, the tooth morphology of the Metapontines also suggests that intermarriage may have occurred between the colonial and native populations. The presence of a particular odontoscopic trait at the necropolis can argue again for the gradual amalgamation of the physical traits of these two groups. J. Pinto-Cisternas argues that a concavity present on the mesio-lingual border of the crown of the tooth is a trait with a highly restricted geographic distribution.[40] He refers to it as the "Etruscan upper lateral incisor" because it is found in approximately

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[37] Ibid. p. 168.

[38] For more modern material on this disease, one can consult *Proceedings of World Forum on Syphilis and other Treponematoses* (Washington, D.C., 1962)

[39] http://www.emedicine.com/med/topic2305.htm   Medical website.

[40] J. Pinto-Cisternas, J. Moggi-Cecchi, E. Pacciani, "A Morphological Variant of the Permanent Upper Lateral Incisor in Two Tuscan Samples from Different Periods," in *Aspects of Dental Biology: Palaeontology, Anthropology and Evolution* (Florence, 1995) 333-339.

30% of Etruscans from the seventh to the first centuries BCE.[41] This number is based on two separate samples, one of forty-seven skulls from Etruscan populations and the other from seventy skulls of a Florentine population from the nineteenth century CE.[42] Interestingly, the skeletal material from the Pantanello necropolis finds this lateral incisor only to be present in 18% of the people buried there.[43] Moreover, the same study examined teeth from thirty cosmopolitan (modern) Greeks.[44] Not one of the Greeks exhibited this trait. This suggests that it would traditionally *not* be found in a Greek population. If this trait remains consistently present in 30% of the Etruscan population into the first century BCE, the very presence of it and the fact that only 18% of the population at Metapontum exhibited this trait must be due to some fact outside of natural evolution. The low (yet statistically present and significant) occurrence of this trait among the burials at Metapontum suggests an Etruscan presence within the colonial population. The integration of Etruscans, exhibiting the trait, and the colonists, who show no signs of this trait, would offer an explanation for its diminished occurrence at Metapontum. The intermarriage of colonial men to the native women would reduce the presence of such a trait, without eliminating it entirely, which is exactly what one sees in the chora of Metapontum. Such genetic and morphological attributes of the skeletal material provide very convincing evidence that the burials found in the necropolis at Metapontum were made up of a mixed population which had incorporated some of the characteristics of the (Greek) colonists and the indigenous societies already present in the area.

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[41] Carter cites that the material on this particular dental characteristic comes from an abstract presented at the Ninth International Symposium on Dental Morphology, 3-6 September 1992, Florence. It was entitled, "A Morphological Variant of Permanent Upper Lateral Incisor in Two Tuscan Samples of Different Ages," by J. Pinto-Cisternas, J. Moggi Cecchi, and E. Pacciani. The published article of this presentation is cited in the previous footnote.

[42] Pinto-Cisternas 1995. p. 333-336. The author also cites that the trait is observed in two additional Italic skeletal populations, respectively from Alfedena and Campovolano, through personal communication with A. Coppa.

[43] Carter 1998. p. 518.

[44] Pinto-Cisternas 1995. pp. 336-337.

Morgantina

A third site, Morgantina, is located east of the modern town of Aidone in east-central Sicily.[45] The site sits on the Serra Orlando ridge and the cemeteries discussed are on the hill known as the Cittadella.[46] The material available includes the burials and grave offerings of sixty-seven tombs investigated during the American excavations at the site.[47] The site was a thriving indigenous settlement and in the second quarter of the sixth century BCE a flood of Greek material culture (pottery, architecture, and mortuary structures) appears in the archaeological record.[48] It is believed that Greek settlers arrived from one of the coastal colonies, such as Katane, and integrated closely into the local population.[49] Based on the evidence from the burials at the site, it appears as if these Greeks too brought few or no women and found wives among the local Sikel population already present in the area.

Mortuary customs and burial rites are often steadfast and sacred to a group of people. Significant changes in such practices could be attributed to the overwhelming influence of a new culture; such might be the case at Morgantina. The standard form of burial for most indigenous populations in Sicily was the rock-cut chamber that entombed multiple burials. This type of burial dominates the site of Morgantina before the second half of the sixth century BCE.[50] In addition, C. Lyons points out that this type of burial is not attested as a traditional form of Greek burial, either on the mainland or in the colonies.[51] Many other forms of burial suddenly appear at this site when the Greek colonists first arrive. The new forms of burial that appear at Morgantina in the second half of the sixth century BCE include familiar types from the Greek mainland

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[45] C.L. Lyons, *Morgantina Studies. Vol. V. The Archaic Cemeteries* (Princeton, 1996) 3.

[46] Lyons 1996. p. 3.

[47] Ibid. 1996 p. 7. Many other tombs were excavated during the course of Orsi's work at the site. However, the information recorded during the excavations from 1957-1989 (a majority of the graves were excavated in 1969 and 1970) by Princeton University is the most complete.

[48] C. L. Lyons, *The Archaic Necropolis of Morgantina (Serra Orlando), Sicily* (Bryn Mawr College Diss., 1983)

[49] E. Sjöqvist, *Sicily and the Greeks. Studies in the interrelationship between the indigenous populations and the Greek colonists* (Ann Arbor, 1973)

[50] Lyons 1996. p. 15.

[51] Ibid. p. 18.

and other colonies. Among these types are fossa graves, tile-built graves, sarcophagi, wooden coffins, enchytrismos burials (child burials within vessels), urn cremations, and soil inhumations.[52] To put it generally, the rock-cut chamber tombs and multiple burials at Morgantina are specific to indigenous forms of burial and all other forms materialized with the arrival of the Greek colonists who preferred single inhumations over multiple burials.

Three major points must be made about the continuity and changes of the indigenous burial practices at Morgantina after the Greek colonists arrived. First, the use of the indigenous rock-cut chamber tomb remains the dominant form of burial in the Cittadella throughout the history of the site, well after the appearance of the Greeks, and this indicates that there was strong continuity in the native population's culture and heritage.[53] One could argue that this continuity demonstrates that the native population maintained a respected and important role among the Greeks. Nor were they forced into cultural submission and assimilation. There is no question of their consistent and continuous cultural presence and their influence on this new, Greek colony. Second, there is evidence for various types of burial which can be considered "hybrid" funerary architecture, integrating aspects of both the indigenous rock-cut chamber tombs and the numerous Greek burial forms.[54] For instance, one finds among the burials in the Cittadella forms such as chamber tombs with roof tiles and vaulted ceilings, rock-cut sarcophagi in chamber tombs, and chamber tombs containing nails around the bodies which would imply that a wooden coffin had been used.[55] These hybrid burials may belong to hybrid families, made up of Greeks and Sikels of whom neither wished to abandon their own mortuary customs. Lastly, it is also significant that the majority of the purely Greek tomb types were used for the burial of children and infants.[56] This suggests two scenarios: the first, put forth by Lyons, is that the Greek adults who had come to Morgantina adopted many of the native burial rites.[57] But this provides little explanation for the use of Greek burial forms for children and infants. A second scenario explaining this phenomenon is that the

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[52] Ibid. p. 15.
[53] Lyons dates indigenous-style chamber tombs well into the fifth century BC. Ibid. pp. 28, 135-226.
[54] Ibid. p. 28.
[55] Ibid. Catalogue, pp. 135-226.
[56] Ibid. p. 28.
[57] Ibid.

children of these proposed unions were now part of both cultures and that there might have been some cultural convention which dictated that a child ought to be buried by the heritage and customs of his or her father, who would have been a Greek. If both parents were non-natives, it would seem illogical for a family to adopt aspects of local, native mortuary rites for their own burials, while demanding a customary Greek burial for their child who actually had fewer ties to Greece than his or her parents. There must be a reason to explain why the adults in the community would change their beliefs and participate in native burial customs while the children did not. The indigenous heritage of the mother can explain part of this and the possibility that a child's burial followed the customs of the father might account for the rest. The burial customs from Morgantina demonstrate that there appears to have been a cultural fusion between the native and Greek populations at the site. The continuity of native burials, the hybrid tomb forms, and the unique presence of infant Greek burials all suggest that intermarriage might have occurred between the indigenous women and the Greek men who had settled in their territory and adopted many of the local customs.

A second form of evidence for intermarriage at Morgantina, as at Pithekoussai, is the jewelry of the indigenous women, in particular the fibulae, found in the mortuary record of these cemeteries. Once again, the types of fibulae present at this site are all varieties of those common at sites in Sicily and South Italy. What is particularly interesting here is that none of these forms predates the establishment of the Greek colonies in the area.[58] Since these Italic forms appear *after* the establishment of this colony, it is logical to believe that the Greek colonists are making them. This production of Italic types of fibulae, such as the navicella, clearly reinforces a close connection between the colony and the indigenous inhabitants of the region. As at Pithekoussai, these jewelry forms are Italic and most likely *for* Italic women.

Although the most compelling evidence for intermarriage at Morgantina is the hybrid funerary architecture, the presence of local jewelry types reinforces the idea that Greeks were marrying local women. The evidence from Morgantina points to the gradual fusion of the two populations and intermarriage is a reasonable consequence of this fusion. The mortuary evidence from Morgantina provides compelling evidence for the practice of intermarriage among the arriving Greek colonists and the established native culture.

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[58] Ibid. p. 97.

Summary

The three sites of Pithekoussai, Metapontum, and Morgantina, all provide a range of archaeological evidence in favor of intermarriage between the Greek colonists and local populations. At Pithekoussai one finds a low incidence of the bifurcation of premolars, a trait common in central Italy, which suggests that the genetic traits of the local population were integrated into the Greek colony. There is no evidence of Greek jewelry forms and the Italic types are actually being produced at the Greek site, indicating a preference for this over a Greek style. The complete absence of Greek jewelry implies that Greek women never even arrived here in order to abandon their mainland taste in jewelry. Finally, there is epigraphic evidence on pottery with names containing both Greek and Etruscan components. Later, we find at Metapontum the presence of the Etruscan lateral incisor, a trait found in biological Etruscans, identified in 18% of the buried population here. The reduced presence of an Italic genetic trait in the Greek colony could result from bi-cultural descendants at the site. In addition, both contracted and supine burials, most likely representing two cultures with different burial customs, shared the markings of treponematosis on their bones suggesting that the disease was transmitted through close contact of one culture with the other. At the final site of Morgantina, one sees evidence of hybrid funerary architecture which mixed the mortuary practices of the indigenous Sikels and the Greek colonists. Here also the presence of native jewelry points to the possibility of intermarriage between these two cultures.

One might argue that the lack of comparable evidence across sites weakens the validity of the claims made here. However, it is the broad range of material presented that serves to reinforce the hypothesis that the Greek colonists may have been marrying into the local population. The evidence ranges from morphological characteristics, to epigraphic graffiti on pottery, to unique mortuary practices. The lack of comparable evidence does not come from the fact that the material is unique and unusual to each site. Rather the particular and specific agendas of each site's excavations are primarily responsible for the types of material which were recorded. By culminating these disparate forms of evidence into one cohesive argument, it is possible to see a picture forming of the

relationship which existed between Greek colonists and the locals indigenous to the areas in question.

Discussion

After presenting the evidence to suggest that the Greek colonists married indigenous women, one must ask what this implies about the ancient Greek notions of identity. One might wish to contend that this act, founding the colonies without women, was not a choice but rather a necessity, arguing that women (and children) were incapable of making the journey. But it seems that to leave behind the family of a male colonist negates the purpose of colonization. Cited as the most frequent reason for a city to found a colony is typically the lack of space and/or food in the mother city.[59] If the polis were trying to alleviate one of these problems, how would it be helpful to send off the men but to leave their families still attached to their land and with fewer means to care for it? Similarly, if famine were an issue, sending only the males would leave their kin still requiring nourishment and with even fewer providers. If colonization were necessary to alleviate strains on a city, it would make most sense for colonies to be founded by intact families who could leave behind homes and property, removing entire kin units of providers and dependents together. For this reason, it may have been a deliberate choice and not a necessity that the colonies were founded without the female component of society.

A.J. Graham proposed that women had to have come to the colonies from Greece in order to fulfill the religious roles that were exclusive to them.[60] While the archaeological evidence presented here indicates that this may not have been the case, it is still important to consider the implications of the Greeks establishing new colonies devoid of the influence and practices of their women. Were the Greeks aware that the process of assimilating women into their colony from another population would gradually change the makeup of their own society?

The choice of the Greek colonists (and most likely the polis which financed the expedition) to establish these colonies without the female portion of their population allows one to speculate if women were

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[59] A.J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (Chicago, 1983)

[60] Graham 1980. pp. 293-314.

considered replaceable by local inhabitants found near the new settlement. It is well known that it was the father's status, and not the mother's, that determined whether or not a child could attain Athenian citizenship up until the third century BCE.[61] This fact argues that the Greeks were aware of their cultural identity through heredity by the very fact that they controlled Athenian citizenship by examining the parents' lineage. Thus one can not argue that they simply were unaware of such ideas. Nonetheless, whether it was due to an ignorance of the transmission of cultural practices, or because the Greeks simply had little concern for such matters, the fact that they would have chosen to intermarry among the native populations in the areas which they settled, and not to bring their own wives and daughters, suggests that they underestimated the influential power of women on the transmission of their own culture and customs.

Although the evidence presented here contends that that the Greeks did indeed marry into the indigenous populations of Magna Grecia, it should be obvious that more work is necessary at sites in Sicily and South Italy, as well as those of other colonies established by the Greeks, in order to carefully identify and discern the societies that were present in the archaeological record. If an archaeological investigation were carried out attempting to identify the distinct societies present at a Greek colonial site, at least culturally if not biologically, one could begin an earnest dialogue regarding the Greek conceptions of self-identity. Until then, we must use the disparate miscellany of evidence available in order to speculate on the nature and intent of the earliest Greek colonial endeavors.
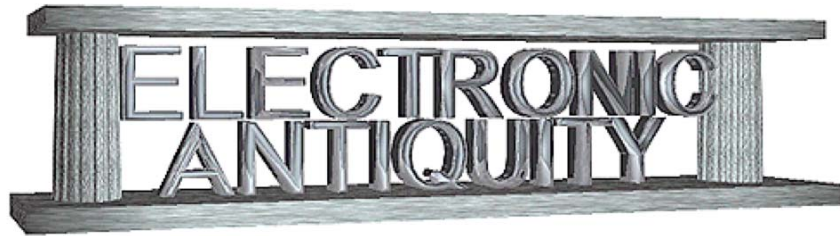
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[61] E. Cantarella, *Pandora's Daughters*. *The Role and Status of Women in Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Baltimore and London, 1987) 51.

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MYTH AND HISTORY IN OIKIST TRADITIONS: ARCHIAS OF SYRACUSE

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In this paper I shall briefly introduce an oikist tradition that grew around the foundation of Syracuse in the middle of the eighth century BCE. Through this we shall try to understand the origin and the circulation of the myth and whether we can find elements based on a historical record. We shall show the myth as it has been handed down from literary sources. The version, as it has reached us, is taken from late sources, Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus and from a scholium of Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* in a uniform way, except for some variants. We shall try to find the nucleus of this tradition based probably on a previous myth settled in Boeotia. Finally we will try, if it is possible, to recognise in it an archaic tradition.

The date of the foundation of Syracuse, following a Thucydidean chronology,[1] is about 733 BCE; another chronology reached us through the mediation of Ephorus and Philistus that advanced the *ktisis* to 756 BCE[2] According to Plutarch,[3] Archias, the founder of Syracuse, was

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[1] Thuc., VI 3-4. See T.J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks*, Oxford 1948, p. 435.

[2] Philist., *FGrHist*, 556 F 2= St. Byz. s.v. Δύμη; G. Vanotti, 'L'archaiologhia siciliana di Filisto', in *Hesperia 3. Studi sulla grecità d'Occidente*, a cura di L. Braccesi, Roma 1993, pp. 133-135. Also in Diodorus Siculus we find a non-Thucydidaean chronology that probably derives from Ephorus of Kyme: T.

forced to leave Corinth because he killed Actaeon. Archias, fallen in love with Actaeon, decided to steal him from the house of the father Melissus but during this attempt a brawl broke out which caused the death of Actaeon. Melissus, who was not able to obtain justice for his son's murder, committed suicide after invoking Poseidon's curse on the Corinthians. A plague broke out and Archias, under the order of the Delphic oracle, was forced to leave Corinth. This source gives too much weight to the Delphic oracle[4] and underlines the importance that the god had in general in the Corinthian colonisation of Syracuse. In fact antiquity has handed down two foundation oracles.

We have notice of a common prophecy given to Archias and Myscellus, the oikist of Croton. When they were consulting the oracle, the god asked them whether they chose wealth or health; Archiass chose wealth and founded Syracuse, Myscellus chose health and founded Croton.[5] Another oracle comes from Pausanias.[6] Also Diodorus Siculus[7] describes the episode of Actaeon and Archias but he stopped at the young man's death. Finally, the story is described in a scholium of Apollonius[8] in which Archias is mentioned and includes the Delphic oracle, but this source presents differences: Archias is not the main character and there is only a general reference to the Bacchiads. Then the author introduces a new element: the departure of Chersicrates, Corcyra's founder, involved in the same story of Archias. Finally, as in the other text, Pheidon of Argos is mentioned, but now he is in the same generation of Melissus and not in that of Habron, like in the Plutarchaean text.[9]

The dead boy has the name of a mythical hero of Boeotia: Actaeon, who, having surprised Artemis naked, died torn by his dogs. The story is

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Alfieri Tonini, comm. Diodoro Siculo, *Biblioteca Storica*, libri XIV-XVII, Milano 1985, pp. 35 ss.

[3] Plut., *Mor*.,772e-773b.

[4] C. Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization: From City to Text in Archaic Greece*, New York 1993, p. 179, n.1

[5] Strabo VI 2,4, C 269.

[6] Paus. V 7,3.

[7] Diod., VIII 10.

[8] Ap. Rh., IV 1212.

[9] G. Ragone, 'Riflessioni sulla documentazione storica su Fidone di Argo', in *Argo, una democrazia diversa*, a cura di C. Bearzot, F. Landucci, Milano 2006, pp. 48-49.

told by Apollodorus, in the *Library*.[10] In the text Apollodorus refers of two different versions: Actaeon, son of Autonoe and Aristaeus, according to Acusilaus, perished because Zeus was angry at him for wooing Semele; but "according to the more general opinion", he saw Artemis bathing. And they say that the goddess transformed him into a deer, and drove his fifty dogs mad, which devoured him. Almost the same version appears in Pausanias,[11] who presents the opinion of Stesichorus of Himera: Actaeon, while hunting, saw Artemis was bathing. The goddess cast a deer skin round Actaeon in such a way that his dogs would kill him, but like Stesichorus says, it is because Actaeon wanted to take Semele as wife.

Actaeon is torn by his dogs while the Corinthian hero is rent by his parents and by Archias. H. Jeamarie has observed that the first myth refers to a ritual of *diasparagmos* and of *mania* attributed to a Dionysian phase of the Greek religion.[12] This is an element that we can find also in the Corinthian Actaeon's death, establishing another similarity with the Boeotian's myth. But Actaeon's kidnapping by Archias reminds us of some traditions of archaic, aristocratic, and military Greece. Strabo, who refers to a passage of Ephorus from Cuma,[13] describes the organization of the Cretan *agela* that could be the example for the other Doric society. The tradition of the kidnapping could correspond to a custom practised in old Corinth. In the same way the tragic event of this kidnapping was a pretext in Crete and in other places to see Actaeon's myth in this way.

The ritual, described by Ephorus, gives us a chance to understand that these practices had a homosexual background. The boy perhaps between 14 and 16 is chosen by an *agelaos*, after his parents' consent and setting the day of the kidnapping. If the robber belongs to the same rank or to a higher one, his parents pretend a resistance. In this case the boy has a passive task. The fiction keeps on until the boy is dragged to the robber's house. After two months of isolation, the boy comes back home with military equipment, he makes a sacrifice to Zeus, and he

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[10] Apollod., *Bibl*., III 4,4

[11] Paus., IX 2,3.

[12] H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos: histoire du culte de Bacchus*, Paris 1951, pp. 201, 266. B. Sergent, *L'omosexualité dans la mythologie grecque*, Paris 1984, p. 264; J. Harrison, *Themis. A Study of Social Origin of Greek Religion*, New York 1962, p. 15.

[13] Ephor., *FGrHist*., 70 F 149 = Strabo, X 4,20, C 483. See Will, *Korinthiaka*, Paris 1955, p. 180 ss.; M. Broadbent, *Studies in Greek Genealogy*, Leiden 1968, pp. 50-56; Sergent 1984, pp. 38-53.

declares his loyalty to his patron: he is not passive anymore, but gives his consent. This ritual recalls rituals of initiation and the transition from youth to adult age. The story of Actaeon, son of Melissus, rent by his parents and his robber, a member of the Bacchiad dynasty, has elements in common with Cretan rituals: the leitmotif of the kidnapping and of the contrast of the parents. However the Corinthian myth does not seem modelled directly on the Cretan ritual but on the story of Actaeon, son of Aristaeus, linked to beekeeping. The foundation of Syracuse seems furthermore to be linked at the '*guilt*' to its founder Archias and it also recalls an initiatic ritual of passage to adulthood.[14]

There are a lot of similarities between Boeotia's Actaeon and the Corinthian hero. They have in common, apart their name, also the tragic end. Plutarch's description gives importance also to another element: he reports that Habron, grandfather of Actaeon, went to Corinth to avoid the revenge of Pheidon of Argos. Settled in the village named Melissus, he had a son to whom he gave the name of the village. This is the father of the Corinthian Actaeon. Boeotian Actaeon's father is Aristeus, who is linked to beekeeping. Diodorus,[15] describing the myth of Boeotian Actaeon, tells us that Aristaeus, "first taught to Man the art of coagulation of milk, the building of the beehives and the olive's cultivation." The name Melissus is the name of the town where the exiled Habron escaped but also the 'drone' that reminds us of the function of Aristaeus, the beekeeper. It is also important to linger over the name of the father of Melissus, the exiled Habron. This name derives from the word: *habrosyne*. The adjective *habròs* appeared in the archaic period with a positive connotation, but it is absent in Homer, in Hesiod and in the oldest poets like Callinus, Tyrtaeus, Archilochus and Alcman.[16] The adjective is used by Sappho, Semonides, and Alcaeus between the end of the seventh and the beginning of the sixth century BCE.[17] It is possible to establish the origin of the word in this period. The concept of *Habrosyne* comes from a Lydian Greek context of Minor Asia. *Habros* recalls the luxury, the splendour of the gold dress, the

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[14] Dougherty 1993, pp. 179-184.

[15] Diod. Sic., IV 80, 81-82.

[16] Xenoph., fr 3 Gentili –Prato; Theogn., 722; Sol. fr. 18 Gentili-Prato; Sapph., fr. 100 voigt; Semon., fr. 7, 57 sgg. See M. Lombardo, 'Habrosyne e habrà nel mondo greco arcaico' in *Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione delle società antiche*, Pisa-Roma, 1983, p. 1088, n. 41-42 and ss.

[17] Sapph., fr. 100 ; fr. 58,25; fr. 44,7; fr. 128; fr. 140 Voigt; Semon., fr. 7, 57 sgg. ; Alc., fr. 42,8 Voigt.

refinement of the ointment, and reminds us of objects like the Lydian mitre or of the use of garlands and perfumes. There are characteristics typical of Asiatic nobles. The series of Lydian products reminds us of a substantial transformation of the social-economic situation compared, for example, to the luxury of Homeric *basileis*. In the later period there is the condemnation of *habrà*. The adjective does not show in the positive way the refinement and splendour typical of the oriental world but it becomes synonymous with weakness and immoderate luxury. This contrast of values corresponds to the Ionic rebellion and the Persian wars. After the Greek victory over the Persian empire, there were new cultural models based on the contrast between the Greek world and the oriental one. *Habrosyne* is replaced by the notion of *tryphé* with a negative connotation. If Habron's name derives from the adjective *habròs*, its origin can be found in the archaic period, when the adjective had a positive connotation. Therefore this element could let us place the origin of the legend in that time.

There is also in Boeotia another legendary figure whose destiny has elements in common with the Corinthian myth, in particular with Melissus. This concerns Milicertes, son of Ino and Athamas. The name of Melissus and Milicertes have the same root *mel-* that shows the honey and reminds us of the function of Aristaeus. The legend of Milicertes is reported by different sources.[18] Athamas, father of Milicertes and brother of Sisiphus ruled in Boeotia. He provoked Hera to anger, having taken with him the young Dionysus, illegitimate son of Zeus and Semele, Ino's sister. The goddess drove Athamas mad and he killed his son Learchus, hunting him as a deer. Ino, wife of Athamas threw Melicertes into a boiling cauldron, then she sprang into the deep with the dead child. And she is called Leucothea, and Melicertes transformed into a *daimon* is called Palaemon. Sisyphus instituted the Isthmian games in honor of Melicertes. So There is a link with Corinth because the games dedicated to Milicertes-Palaemon are those of the Isthmian region. But there is a link with the myth of Archias because the suicide of Melissus happened during the celebration of the Isthminian Games, in honour of Melicertes-Palaemon. At the altar he pronounced curses against Corinthians, guilty of having left unpunished his son Actaeon's death. Melissus died like Melicertes; they threw him into an abyss during the games to honour the memory of Milicertes. They have in common the ritual of *katapontimos*

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[18] *Schol*. *Od*., V 334; Apollod., *Bibl*., III 27-29; III 4,3. Sergent 1984, p. 269 and pp.146-150.

that happens in their death. The *katapontismos* has a positive connotation: Melissus and Milicertes, thrown from a cliff, established the application of the social rules. Melissus, as is evident in Plutarch's passage that descirbes the tragic end, was thrown into an abyss situated under Poseidon's temple. According to Will, this abyss corresponds to the underground *adyon* of the Palaimonion, the temple where Melicertes-Palaemon's grave was, the temple sacred to Poseidon. In conclusion, Will said that the death of Melissus on Palaimonion was perhaps a cathartic ritual that opened the Isthmian Games remembering death of Melicertes to whom these games were dedicated. There were these ceremonies also when Poseidon became the main God. Palaimonion's rituals had to be considered as the *protymata* of ceremonies in honour of Poseidon. Just as Melicertes, so Melissus was foreign and died in the same way. The story of Melissus and his son Actaeon could be a variant of Melicertes and his cousin Actaeon's myth.[19] The two myths mix together and the Corinthian variant will be the background on which Archias' story will be based.

Another important element recurs in the legend of the foundation of Syracuse: Plutarch says that Archias will be killed in Sicily by his lover Telephos ὑπὸ τοῦ Τηλέφου δολοφονεῖται, ὃς ἐγεγόνει μὲν αὐτοῦ παιδικὰ. The name of Telephos reminds us the mythical hero, son of Herakles who, according to the tradition, led the Greeks at Troy.[20] The myth says that Telephos was breast-fed by a doe — like that of Artemis[21] — and became dumb because, after having killed his uncle in a hunt, was sent to Mysia under the order of an oracle. Here, he obtained purification.[22] We have, in this tradition, the same relation between *homicide*, *expulsion* ordered by the oracle, and *purification* like in the myth of Archias, and Heraklides himself.

Archias' myth was perhaps not all unknown by the poetry of Eumelus of Corinth, who organised the prehistory and the Corinthian myth history. We know from Pausanias[23] that Eumelus belonged to the Bacchiad's dynasty, as did Archias and his friend Chersicrates. This gives us an important chronological annotation. The Bacchiads had the power in Corinth until the seventh century BCE, when Cypselus ruled.

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[19] Will 1955, p. 172 ss. See Broadbent 1968, pp. 48 ss.

[20] Procl., Chrest., 80 Seve.; Schol. Hom. A 59. Cfr. A. Bernabe, *Poetae Melici Greci*, pars I, Stuttgart, Lipsia 1987.

[21] Apollod., *Bibl*., II 7,4; III 9,1; Diod. Sic., IV 33,11; Paus., VIII 48,7

[22] Hyg., *Fab*., 244.

[23] Paus. II 1,1= Eumel., T 1 B.

Eumelus may also be the author of several epic poems: the *Titanomachy*, based on the divine prehistory of Corinth's dynasty, a work close to Hesiod's *Theogony*; the *Korinthiakà*, the Corinthian history from Ephyra, Ocean and Teti's daughter and the first inhabitant of the region; the *Europia* a Νόστος τῶν Ἑλλήνων and the *Bougonia*. According to West, it is an epic Corinthian cycle in which every work is dated around the seventh century BCE. To him is attributed the composition of a *prosodian* that the Messenians dedicated to Apollo when Phintas was the king, in the generation before the first Messenian war in the eighth century BCE. According to Pausanias, this would be the unique original work of Eumelus. To fill the chronological differences with the other works, West recommends lowering the date to the second Messenian war and not to the first one. According to this chronology, Clemens Alexandrinus[24] says that Εὔμελος δὲ ὁ Κορίνθιος πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἐπιβεβληκέναι Ἀρχίᾳ τῷ Συρακούσας κτίσαντι. The task is related to a previous notice that gives us a relative chronology between Simonides, Archilochus and Callinus; πρεσβύτερος ὢν shows that Eumelus was the oldest of the three poets but contemporaneous to Archias.

If we go back to the foundation myth, it is important to specify that the consonance with Boeotia's mythology must not surprise us because of the links of Corinth with Euboea and Boeotia.[25] In particular, Eumelus had to know the Theban myths very well, because he was *Europia*'s author.[26]

Another element of closeness with Boeotia is given by the fact that a member of the Bacchiad dynasty, Philolaus Of Corinth was active in Thebes as a legislator. He was the main character of a legislative reform in which the number of the kleroi, even if they were different for size, was equal to the number of citizens.[27] According to this interpretation, given by Aristotle, this measure did not concern only the present, but was also for the future, for keeping constant the number of lands of the patrons. In another passage,[28] Aristotle talks about Pheidon of Corinth. It is impossible to have a date or a precise context, but it underlines that Pheidon was one of the oldest legislators of the town, and all this

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[24] Clem. Alex., Strom., I 131,8= Eumel., T 2 B.

[25] A. Debiasi, 'L'epica perduta: Eumelo, il Ciclo, l'Occidente', in *Hesperia 20. Studi sulla Grecità d'Occidente*, a cura di L. Braccasi, Roma 2004 p. 38.

[26] Eum., T 4 e fr. 11B.

[27] Arist., *Pol.*, 1274 a.

[28] Arist., *Pol.*, 1310 b.

reminds us of an archaic epoch previous to the tyranny of Cypselus. According to Will,[29] Pheidon's legislation was a conservative action. In fact, the division of lands for inherited succession brought about a breaking of the property and so too the loss of influence of the aristocratic rank composed of rich landowners. It was necessary to control the births to obtain this kind of result.

Will links Pheidon's legislation with that of Philolaus, applied in Thebes even if he was born in Corinth. The purpose of both was to avoid the breaking of the *kleroi*. The first did this through the prohibition of the division of lands, the second through controlling births. The legislation of Philolaus is transfered to Thebes in Pheidon's law and a defensive action of the landowners. Even if it was mentioned above that the *Titonmachy* could be near Hesiod's *Theogony*, it is important now to say that modern criticism recognizes in the *Europia*, as in the *Korinthiakà*, the influence of Hesiod. There are a lot of elements in common between the two poets, as was evident even to the ancients. In fact Clemens Alexandrinus perhaps referring to the edition in prose of the *Korinthiakà*, says τὰ δὲ Ἡσιόδου μετ ἤλλαξαν εἰς πεζὸν λόγον καὶ ὡς ἴδια ἐξήνεγκαν Εὐμηλός τε καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος οἱ ἱστοριογράφοι. The work of Eumelus would be the result of the presentation in prose of Hesiod's poetry.

Hesiod did not ignore the story of Actaeon and Artemis as it results from some fragments (346W) in which the name *Aktaion* appears.[30] Perhaps it is not rash to suppose that Hesiod's version is previous to Eumelus and, because of this, archaic. The first version of the myth, perhaps linked to Hesiod, could have been taken by the Corinthian Eumelos who created a 'Bacchiad version'. If Eumelos was responsible of the adaption of the myth of Actaeon, we have to ask why Pausanias, who knows its works, does not refer to this Corinthian myth. In his work he records the myth of Aktaion devoured by his dogs and, speaking about the colonization of Syracuse, makes its foundation from Archias. We may suppose that Pausanias did not know the whole poem of Eumelos but only the *syngraphè*.

The story of the foundation of Syracuse and of its oikist, the Corinthian Archias, has been formulated in myth by the ancient tradition. If we read it in these narratives, it seems to belong to the sphere of the

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[29] Will 1957, pp. 317-318. See P. De Fidio, 'Corinto e l'Occidente tra VIII e VI sec. a.C.', in *AMG*, XXXIV (1994), pp. 83-85; Salmon 1986, pp. 63-65.
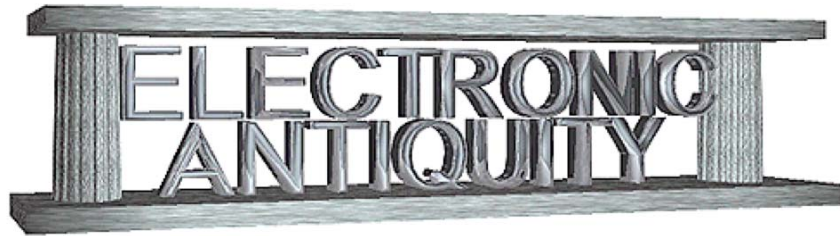
[30] Fr. 346 W; see fr. 112-113 in Esiodo, *Opere*, a cura di Aristide Colonna, Torino 1977. Cfr. p. 18.

myth without a historical connotation. The foundation is thought to be a consequence of the guilt of Archias toward Actaeon and could be a classic example of several mythic versions created around the foundation of colonies. Also, the emphasis on the task of the founder could be the reflexion of the late epoch in which there was the need to give an important origin to the colonial foundation also through the valorisation and the exaltation of the founder hero. Some recent studies[31] have tried to devalue this kind of tradition linked to the Greek colonies of the west that could be situated in the later period in relation to the colonial foundation with a clear, ideological element that could not have an objective historical value. But I am talking in particular about the strength of some traditions linked to a founder that could be late inventions, identities created for ideological or propaganda purposes. The goal of this work is revising this setting. The example of Archias in Syracuse is in this case very emblematic because he is a mythic character but remembered also by an archaic tradition linked to Archilochus. A fragment of Archilochus, handed down by *The Deipnosophistes* of Athenaeus[32] mentions the wicked *Aithiops*, member of the colonial expedition that went with Archias towards Sicily and would have given his lands received in the new colony instead of a honey bun. The text says these words, without doubts καὶ οὗτος μετ᾽ Ἀρχίου πλέων εἰς Σικελίαν ὅτ! ἔμελλεν κτίζειν Συρακούσας... 'this, going to Sicily with Archias when he had to found Syracuse'. The foundation of the colony is pertinent to Archias, who, in the seventh century, is considered the guide of the expedition.

The fragment of Archilochus is the oldest one linked to Syracuse's foundation and shows that Archias was already known in the first half of the seventh century BCE. The fact that the tradition is archaic means it is necessarily a myth even if it has had an extension into the following period and leads us to revalue the historical reliability. It gives us some elements that are surely archaic, as the name of the founder, already known from Archilochus in the seventh century BCE.

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[31] R. Osborne, 'Early Greek Colonization? The nature of Greek settlement in the West' in *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence*, ed. by N. Fisher, H. van Wees, London 1998, pp. 251-269; I. Malkin, 'Exploring the validity of the concept of 'foundation': a Visit to Megara Hyblaia', in *Oikistes. Studies in Constitutions, Colonies and Military Power in the Ancient World. Offered in Honor of A.J. Graham*, ed. by V.B. Gorman, E.W. Robinson, Brill, Leiden, Boston, Köln 2002, pp.195-223.
[32] Archiloc., fr. 293 West= Athen., *Deipn.*, I 167 d.

ELECTRONIC ANTIQUITY

THE MYTH OF THE METROPOLIS—COLONISATION, COSMOPOLITANISM, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

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Introduction

The consequences of Western Mediterranean colonisation in the Archaic period for the development of the Greek polis, in the 8th to the 6th century is a topic relevant for students both of ancient history and cultural developments in colonial situations. The consequences of colonisation for the colonised should not be overlooked, but this paper will focus on changes among the colonisers themselves, as a result of the establishment of new settlements abroad. The study of the early polis is bedevilled by uncertainties, not least because most sources are comparatively late, such as Herodotos, Thukydides and Aristotle. The impression gleaned from these indirect sources is inevitably influenced by the poleis contemporary with these writers. With few exceptions, like Homer and Archilochos, there are no early references to Greek colonisation. The earliest Greek settlements abroad are attested exclusively from archaeology. However, the available written evidence for colonial foundations will be used to investigate the dynamics of early Greek colonisation in the West, and to test some current theories on how Greek settlements abroad were established.

The early polis and Greek settlements abroad

The Greeks established apoikiai, lit. "away from home", and emporia, or trading posts, from the 8th century BCE all around the Mediterranean. How were they established? Were they state-led expeditions, private enterprises or both? A.J. Graham warned against simplifying colonial scenarios, pointing out that the foundation stories of founders banished from their mother-cities often contrast with the historically good relations between the colony and its mother-city (Graham 1964, 7). There seems to have been a fleeting distinction between different forms of colonial settlements. John Wilson argues that the difference between emporion and polis was blurred in the Archaic period (Wilson 1997, 206). Emporia sometimes evolved into poleis. Thus, the differences between emporion and apoikia, or between mother-city and colony, are not easy to establish for the early period of the polis, the 8th century onwards. These settlements will be discussed as settlements of a polis type, i.e. citizen-states and city-states.

Most Greek colonies claimed to have been founded at one moment in time as the result of an expedition from a mother-city, a metropolis, under the leadership of a named individual, the archegetes, expedition leader, also called the oikist, founder. The archegetes acted as a rule on instructions from Apollo through his oracle at Delphi. These stories are called ktisis traditions, or foundation legends. Are the foundation legends true? Was the colony established in a single, rationally planned act? Several scholars believe so. Irad Malkin claims that the oikist was responsible for organising the political and religious space of the territory. This was in part done through the establishment of cults (Malkin 1987, 183-186). Similarly, A.M. Snodgrass maintains that agricultural land in the earliest colonies was provided for the colonists in a single act (Snodgrass 2004, 9). This does not mean, however, that the colony consisted of colonists from only one mother-city, or only of Greeks. Snodgrass accepts that the Western colonies were a cosmopolitan environment, from the archaeological prominence of Phoenician artefacts and settlements at Sardinia and southern Spain (Snodgrass 2004, 2).

The colony was supposed to share the same cults to the gods as the mother-city, the metropolis. François de Polignac draws attention to the fact that the establishment of cults was part of the Greeks taking possession of foreign territory. These cults were established quite

rapidly, within the space of a single generation (Polignac 1995, 98-100). The origins of a colony were important for diplomatic relations and sympathies in conflicts between poleis. Colonies also had cults dedicated to founding heroes, and these heroes were remembered in foundation legends. The descendants of the oikist were of course interested in the maintenance of such foundation legends to strengthen their own claims of local pre-eminence.

The ktisis-traditions have recently been put into doubt by some scholars. Robin Osborne argues that the foundation legends do not fit the archaeological sources: The earliest colonies were established in stages, not all at once, as can be seen from the existence not of one overall grid plan for a colony like Megara Hyblaia, but several separate grids. This makes it doubtful that there was a single rational act behind the establishment of a colony (Osborne 1998, 252-256). The literary evidence for colonisation from the 8th century, the Homeric epics, indicates that settlements were improvised affairs by roving seafarers as well as more organised colonisation (Osborne 1998, 256-260). Instead of state-led expeditions, "settlement in the West was a product of a world in which many were constantly moving across the seas" (Osborne 1998, 268). The impression gained from the Homeric epics is corroborated by a citation from Archilochos regarding the colonisation of Thasos where he states that "the misery of All-Greeks has rushed to Thasos" (Archil. 102 [tr. Gerber]). The pull of a new place to settle precedes the push of an existing community.

Recent colonial studies focus on terms like hybridisation to describe the culture of new settlements. Peter van Dommelen argues that the archaeology of the Western Mediterranean reveals "a complex situation of mutual influencing, and creative subversion" of culture in the relationship between colonisers and natives (van Dommelen 1997, 319). Criticism has been raised at theories of acculturation that divides settler culture and indigenous culture "into separate, impermeable spheres, and positions technologically advanced societies over primitive ones" (Lyons & Papadopoulos 2002, 7). This contrasts sharply with the tradition from T.J. Dunbabin and his book *The Western Greeks* (1948), with his emphasis on the close cultural and political ties between mother-city and colony, after a model reminiscent of British colonialism (De Angelis 1998, 545-546).

The study of the Western colonies is important for any discussion about the origins of the polis and urbanism in Greece. The earliest colonies in the West where founded before several of the poleis in

Greece were urbanised. Early colonies should be discussed as part of the history of the development of the polis; they may have played a role in shaping the Greek polis as a kind of community where the citizens equal the constitution, living in an urban environment with central political and religious institutions; the polis as citizen-state and city-state.

The literature on Greek colonies is vast, and as the above short synopsis of recent scholarship shows, there are several vexed questions. How were the first colonists organised? Was there a gradual establishment of settlements, or were the colonies established as poleis at once? Did the colonists maintain contact with the society they had left? The use of the very term colony is difficult. The connection between metropolis and colony was much weaker in Archaic Greece than that between early modern colonies and their home countries. Colonies were not established mainly to exploit foreign resources in the name of a national state the colonists wished ultimately to return to. The Greek colonies were supposed to became the new permanent homes of the colonists. Moses Finley argues that the Greek colonies should be labelled settlements, not colonies, since they were poleis in their own right (Finley 1976, 174). But, as has been argued above, this distinction is not very relevant for the early polis

Greeks were not alone in their settlement of the Mediterranean. The Phoenicians also established settlements abroad. The Greeks and Phoenicians have been regarded as enemies and competitors in the Mediterranean, but this view is now discarded by most scholars. John Boardman states that "the symbiosis of the two peoples is more remarkable than their competition" (Boardman 2001, 37-38). Trade resulted in Greek contact with other peoples in the colonial environment, and led to cultural borrowings and innovation in Greece (Burkert 1995, 14-25). Whereas Greeks of the Dark Age lived on rather isolated farmsteads and in small hamlets, the Phoenician city states of the Levant thrived throughout the Early Iron Age, into the Greek Archaic period and beyond. It is during the intensification of Greek and Phoenician relations in the Mediterranean that the Greek polis emerges as a distinct form of political organisation, from the 8th to the 6th century.

The polis, politics and urbanism

The development of the Greek polis in the 8th to the 6th centuries coincides with an active period of colonial establishments. How did the

Greeks come to prefer to settle in centralized poleis rather than continuing to live in hamlets? Population pressure alone cannot explain the development of city-states in Greece: centralization and urbanization would not solve the problem of land hunger. What are the origins of the polis?

There are difficulties defining the polis. From an archaeological point of view, monumental buildings give a clue to the development of urban features. Urban features, however, are not necessarily the hallmark of a polis. The classic example is Sparta, which, according to Thukydides, would not have been recognized as a mighty polis from its material remains (Thuc. 1. 10). Not all poleis had impressive buildings or elaborate fortifications, but they were still poleis in the sense of political communities. Alkaios claims that "warlike men are a city's tower" (Alc. 112. 10 [tr. Campbell]). The community of citizens could be seen as the defining feature of the polis. On the other hand, the simile of the warriors and the tower would not be possible without the actual existence of fortifications.

The earliest written sources to the Greek polis, the epics, describe cities with towers and walls. They also refer to colonies, something which demonstrates that the earliest poleis and colonies were contemporary. In the *Odyssey*, Homer describes the society of the Phaiakians. They were forced to migrate by the oppression of their neighbours, the Cyclopes. Their king, Nausithoos, let his people move to faraway Scheria, where he erected walls, let houses be built, established temples to the gods and divided the land into lots (cf. Hom. *Od*. 6. 4-10). The foundation of their society resembles that of a colony. When Odysseus arrived, the Phaiakians were ruled by the king, or basileus Alkinoos, who ruled in concert with twelve other basileis (Hom. *Od*. 8. 390-391). There is an agora on the harbour, where foreigners are received by the community leaders, who are seated on seats of stone. The rest of the community also participates at their meetings (Hom. *Od*. 8.4-8). Public games are held there (Hom. *Od*. 8. 109-110). There is mention both of council and assembly among the Phaiakians. In several respects, the society of the Phaiakians resembles a polis. They are an antithesis to the uncivilised Cyclopes, who know neither law nor political institutions (Hom. *Od*. 9. 112). The polis is defined both through its buildings and through its political institutions.

The polis as a kind of political community precedes the polis as a monumental city. Settlements grew into cities in part for political reasons, because of the need for administration and centralized

institutions that were housed in central structures in the polis. Greek poleis soon constructed planned agoras and communal temples. James Whitley points out that "towns, after all, were the centres of poleis, and the polis was a centre of power" (Whitley 2001, 179).

The organisation and monumentalisation of the agora is an indication of the urbanised polis. The earliest known planned agora is that of Megara Hyblaia on Sicily, from the 8th century BCE. The agora was both a place for assembly and a marketplace. The dual function of the market place is also found in most Near Eastern cities, where the city gates served as market place and place for civic business, such as meetings of assemblies and councils. This is a common feature of city-states, and not restricted to Greece.

The polis is the physical extension of the political unity of the inhabitants of city and countryside. It is also a kind of political ideology, where the citizens equal the constitution. The polis in its fully developed form has the combination of an urban centre with a central sanctuary, written laws, and civic institutions involving the participation of all or some of the citizens. It usually had a restricted rural hinterland. These traits are common for several city-states in antiquity, such as the Phoenician city-states of the Levant. A common feature between Archaic Greece and the Near East of the 8th century is a concern for justice for the common man., against judges who tread on the weak and destitute at the agora or in the city-gates, i.e. in the institutions for adjudication in the city-state. The kings or basileis in Hesiod's *Works and Days* are judges, and are criticised for taking bribes and passing verdicts that benefit the mighty. Zeus is the protector of justice, Dike, and he will punish the unjust (Hes. *Op*. 201-280). This reveals a concern for justice and the proper working of central institutions in the 8th century, and is an indication of the problems of the nascent polis. The same concerns are found in the *Iliad* (Hom. *Il*. 17. 384-389). They are paralleled by the Biblical prophet Amos (Am. 5. 7 and 12-15). In all three instances, warning is given about divine punishment against such transgressions.

There have been several discussions of the typological relationship between city-state cultures, the most recent being the investigations of the Copenhagen Polis Centre under the leadership of Mogens Herman Hansen (Hansen 2000). No agreement has been reached on the question whether there are any real similarities between Greek and Phoenician city-states. James Whitley rejects any parallelism between Greece and the Levant, because the Phoenician city-states were monarchies, whereas the Greek poleis were citizen-states (Whitley 2001,

166). But there are indications that the rulers of Phoenician city-states shared power with the council and the assembly (Sommer 2000, 246-249). Their trading settlements abroad can hardly be described as monarchies, because of their small size. Conversely, Greek colonies, such as Kyrene, were ruled by basileis. The sharp divide between the Greek and Phoenician city-states seems overstated, and their structural and historical proximity should be kept in mind in discussing the early polis and Greek colonisation.

Trade and migration

The world of the 8th century Mediterranean may be glimpsed through the mythological elaborations of the Homeric epics. Odysseus does not only encounter Sirens and Cyclopes, he also meets Phoenician traders and Phaiakian colonists. Odysseus lived in a world where people traversed the seas in search of new land and new resources, people to barter with and slaves for agriculture and production. The Greek polis was formed in a time of busy activity between the established political centres of the Aegean and beyond. In this period, also, several new settlements were established. The Mediterranean Iron Age was a time when peripheral areas, such as the Levant, Greece, and Italy grew in power and importance compared to the Bronze Age, when Mesopotamia was the main centre of developments. It may seem like the pendulum had swung from the Orient to the Occident. The beginning of this rise in importance for the West was the colonisation period in Greece, which is also characterised by Orientalising art and the spread of the alphabet throughout Greece and Italy. The Greeks were not alone on their journeys. Phoenicians, Syrians, and Etruscans were also active; Phoenician traders especially have left their testimony in Greek literature as well as archaeology.

The Greeks were present quite early in the Levant, at Al Mina and further inland in Syria. There has been much debate on the nature of these settlements. They are dated to the 10th century BCE, nearly two centuries before the end of the Dark Age in Greece. However, they prove only that the connection between Greece and the Near East was never severed completely. Few would now argue that Greeks in the Near East at this early stage were any more than mercenaries or traders, and certainly not that they were colonists in autonomous polities. Jane C. Waldbaum points out that the Greeks made no lasting impression on the

culture of their neighbours at this point (Waldbaum 1997, 12). However, these international Greeks may have served an important function as bringers of foreign impulses to Greece. They were probably both elite people and more humble persons, seeking profit and adventures abroad.

The Greeks were also present in Anatolia from before the end of the Dark Age. There have been Greeks resident in Ionia since the Late Bronze Age. Mycenaean finds at Miletos point to their settlement there, as does the mention of Ahhijawa, or Achaians, in Hittite sources (Mountjoy 1998, 47-51). The Ancient Greeks themselves were convinced that the Dorian, Ionian and Aeolic cities along the coast of Western Anatolia were the result of waves of invasions in the Early Iron Age, the so-called "migrations of the Greek tribes". What have been called waves of migration are now considered to have been more prolonged and piecemeal processes involving migration of smaller groups rather than entire populations. The historicity of the migrations has been cast into doubt. Recently Jonathan Hall has pointed out that the tradition of the Dorian migration is more of a charter for alliances in 5th century Greece than a useful key to understand linguistic and material changes in Dark Age Greece (Hall 2007, 43-49). It may seem like the Greek migration myths are more of an attempt to explain the distribution of Greek dialects than real memories of ancient migrations. Not least, the ancestry of the Greek cities in Anatolia became important during the Persian Wars, when these cities were under attack from the Lydians and Persians, and appealed for help from their own kin. The myths of the tribes and their political functions should be kept in mind when considering the truthfulness of the ktisis-traditions of colonial foundations and the development of the Greek polis.

Colonisation in North Africa

Colonisation, the establishment of new, permanent Greek settlements beyond the Aegean, started in the West. The first Greek colony was Pithekoussai on the island Ischia in the Bay of Naples. It was established by Euboians in the 8th century BCE. After some time, Pithekoussai lost importance to the coastal settlements. These colonies traded with Etruscans, Phoenicians and Carthaginians. Unfortunately, there are no details about how these early colonies in the West were founded. After

Homer, Herodotos is our oldest Greek source to the establishment of settlements abroad. The most detailed account of a colony is that of Kyrene, in Libya, which is told by Herodotos. This colony was later than the 8th century colonies of Italy and Sicily, ca. 630 BCE, but the background for its establishment probably resembles the earlier colonies. The foundation stories from Sicily will be discussed below. Herodotos is a very interesting source, because he relates several stories according to different sources, some of which are in conflict with each other. The stories also include obvious folk tale motives.

The story of Kyrene began in Sparta. Theras, warden to the adolescent kings of Sparta, planned to leave Lakedaimon to establish a colony. He was of Kadmeian descent, and decided to depart for Thera, where his Phoenician kin lived already. Theras gathered colonists who faced execution in Lakedaimon and founded settlements in friendship and cooperation with the inhabitants of Thera. According to Herodotos, the island got its name Thera from Theras (Hdt. 4. 147-148).

The narrative of Herodotos continues with a new story, where a descendant of Thera goes to Delphi and is unexpectedly given instructions to form a colony in Libya. Since he did not know the whereabouts of Libya, and was of old age, the oracle was forgotten (Hdt. 4. 150). Thera suffered severe drought for seven years, and someone remembered the oracle. With the help of a Phoenician resident at Crete, the Therans learned of Libya and the offshore island of Platea. They found the island and left their guide behind. While waiting for the Therans to return, the marooned Phoenician received help from Samians who had been driven off their course. They told of their adventures in Tartessos, near the southern tip of the Iberian Peninsula, where they had traded for silver at a vast profit. Meanwhile, on Thera, the citizens drew lots between brothers to fill the roster of colonists, and they departed for Libya led by Battos (Hdt.4.151-153).

The stories of the Therans and Kyreneans agreed up to this point, according to Herodotos, but the Kyreneans had a completely different story about Battos, saying that he descended from a Cretan woman who had narrowly escaped death at the hands of her wicked father. She gave birth to Battos on Thera. Battos stuttered, and went to Delphi to get advice for his speech impediment. At Delphi, he was unexpectedly given instructions to found a colony in Libya. He refused, calamity followed, and the Therans demanded that he fulfilled the oracle. After an abortive attempt, the colonists wanted to return to Thera, but the Therans greeted them with arrows. They therefore departed again and established

themselves at Platea, off Libya (Hdt. 4. 154-156). The settlement on the island was not to the Apollo's liking, and the colonists established a new colony on the mainland, with assistance from the local Libyans. The initial good relations soured when more colonists arrived, and they waged war on the Libyans. Inner strife also threatened the colony, and a new settlement was established at Barke (Hdt. 4. 157-161).

The conflicting stories of the origins of the colony are quite telling. They are similar in their outline, but diverge in their details. Battos is an important person in all versions, but the account of his background varies, as well as whether it was he who received the oracle of Apollo or not. What do these stories tell about the origin of Greek colonies? The oracle of Delphi plays an important role. Emphasis is put on the negative effects of non-compliance with the oracle. Some elements, such as the drought on Thera and the division of brothers are telling of the problems with land hunger and inheritance in Greece, which may have motivated colonisation. However, the colonists do not leave home because of such problems; Apollo had already told the Therans to found a colony. The role of the oikist is emphasised, he is the main character behind the colonial venture. It should be pointed out that the descendants of Battos ruled Kyrene as kings. Irad Malkin argues that Battos was a historical figure that was honoured with a hero cult at Kyrene, something which is corroborated by several inscriptions (Malkin 1987, 204-212). However, the Kyrenean tradition of Battos contains obvious folk-tale motives, such as his wicked grandfather, or his mysterious speech impediment, and indicates that whatever historical memory was preserved about the colonial foundations was soon transformed into myth.

The stories in Herodotos emphasise the links between Lakedaimon, Crete, Thera and Kyrene, to establish the Dorian background for the colonists. This shows the need for a metropolis, a place of origin for Greeks abroad. The initial settlement of Thera by Theras and the Lakedaimonian refugees demonstrates the often amicable relations between colonists and locals, as does the assistance of the Libyans at Kyrene. Of note are the Samians who had been to Tartessos and the role of the Phoenician from Crete. It shows how information was passed by word of mouth among seafarers. It also reveals a different side to the establishment of Greek colonies, not as settlements founded by an archegetes on the order of Apollo, but as heterogeneous settlements of emigrants, traders and local people. The stories served as a charter for a predominantly Dorian polis founded from Thera. At Kyrene the purported Theran decree for the founding of the colony was inscribed in

stone in the 4th century (*SEG* 9. 3, 20. 714). This further corroborates the tradition of a state-led expedition, but it should again be pointed out that the emphasis on Battos from Thera as the founder was a tradition that strengthened the claim to power of the local dynasty.

Colonisation on Sicily

The oldest Greek colonies are found on Sicily and in Italy, the Magna Graeca. Thukydides gives much information on the founding of the colonies on Sicily as a description of the political and demographic situation on the island. His account is rather terse, and is probably a condensed version of various myths. Where Herodotos relates different and conflicting versions, Thukydides attempts to give a concise account, with relative dates for the founding of the different settlements. Thukydides' dates may be based on the counting of generations, but the sources to his account of the earliest colonies are unknown. He is unlikely to possess accurate knowledge about the foundation of the Sicilian colonies he discusses. They were founded in the 8th century, about three hundred years before his time, and his sources must have been largely stories, similar to those Herodotos used in his account of Kyrene discussed above.

Thukydides gives information on who established the Greek colonies on Sicily, and whence the colonists came. The colonists encountered indigenous island inhabitants, as well as Phoenicians and Etruscans. The Greeks were looking for land for agriculture, which is abundant on Sicily. There is, however, no direct correlation between demographic growth in the mother city of the colonists and the establishment of colonies abroad. There was no explosion in population growth in the 8th century, at least not in Attica, which is one of the best-documented areas for the Archaic period (Osborne 1996, 80). Therefore, land hunger cannot be the only explanation for colonisation. Trade, adventure and political struggles at home were also factors prompting ventures abroad.

According to the account of Thukydides, the early colonies on Sicily have a founder and a mother-city, such as Naxos, founded by the Chalkidians of Euboia led by Thukles, or Syracuse, founded by Archias of Corinth. There was also secondary colonisation, when the colonists moved on to a new place from their original colony, such as Leontinoi. A colony might choose to have a new founder as replacement of the original one, such as Katane, founded by Thukles, but regarding

Euarchos as their founder. There were colonies seeking to establish an additional colony which sent for an oikist from their mother-city, like Selinus, founded by Megara Hyblaia, led by Pamillos of Megara. A colony might have several oikists, organised as a joint venture, such as Gela. Some colonies were more disorganised, such as Zankle, founded by pirates from the Chalkidian city of Kyme. Later, when Zankle prospered, it was decided that its founders should be Perieres and Krataimenes, one from Kyme and one from Chalkis (Thuc. 6. 4).

Colonies often had inhabitants from several cities, such as Himera. Refugees from one colony might join another. Some colonies changed their founder in face of political changes. Kamarina changed its founders from the original Laskon and Menekolos, to Hippokrates of Gela, as part of a ransom for prisoners of war. When the city was later sacked, it was founded again by the Gelans (Thuc. 6. 5). The Egestans exhorted the Athenians to come to their aid against Syracuse, lest they rather join their fellow Dorian Peloponnesians against the Ionian Athenians (Thuc. 6. 6).

As can be seen, Thukydides is at pains to include the various foundation stories into a coherent history of the Greek settlement of Sicily. The variety of foundations on Sicily shows that not all colonies were established like a ready polis from a metropolis, however. In the following, it will be argued that the foundation of colonies was part of the development of the polis, and not a diffusion of the polis type of settlement abroad. The purpose of the foundation stories will be investigated, with a view to the diplomatic aspects of tribal affiliations in the Greek world of the 5th century BCE.

The myth of the Metropolis

It is not exactly known how the earliest colonies were established. The dynamics of colonial foundations remain conjecture. However, the impression gained from Thukydides is that colonial ventures were organised by poleis in Greece, which sent out expeditions led by appointed leaders. These leaders were later commemorated, even venerated, as heroes. Robin Osborne argues that the establishments of colonies in the 8th century were not state-led expeditions, since none of the establishments seem to have been planned to a higher degree than

feasible by the community of colonists themselves, on the spot (Osborne 1998, 260-261). This view implies that the colonies were not planned very much in advance, but was the result of travels for trade and booty, and expeditions of landless farmers looking for a place to start again. Thus, there was no metropolis, and no archegetes or oikist. The stories about the foundation of colonies were myths. Why were these myths created and maintained? As will be seen, there may have been several reasons for the tenacity of ktisis-traditions.

The claim that foundation stories are myths may seem refuted by the fact that Archilochos mentions a follower of Archias, founder of Syracuse, who set out from Corinth (cf. Thuc. 6. 3). The mention of Archias by Archilochos as leader of the expedition to Syracuse is preserved in Athenaeus, as an example of intemperance: one of the colonists who went with Archias supposedly bartered his allotment of land for a honey cake (Ath. 4. 167d-e).

The colony Syracuse was founded ca. 734 BCE, and Archilochos wrote approximately a hundred years later. Thus, the use of this text as evidence for the historicity of Archias is dubious. Rather, foundation stories may be understood as being deliberately created and preserved to legitimate the power of local leading families in the colonies. The descendants of the founder would emphasise the role of the archegetes over other factors contributing to the establishment of colonies, such as migration, trade and interaction with local inhabitants. As Carol Dougherty demonstrates, stories about Greek colonisation follow a narrative scheme, focusing on typical characters such as the murderer in need of absolution, with specific roles in the plot that are repeated from the story of one colony to another (Dougherty 1993, 38). This should make us wary of their purported truthfulness.

Herodotos and Thukydides present Greek colonisation as planned operations led by an appointed archegetes, the leader of the colonial expedition. He was later honoured as oikist, as the hero of the colony. The citizens who joined the colonial venture were appointed, elected or joined as volunteers, and the mother-city sent them out to establish a new city. The new city was supposed to have the same laws and cults as the mother-city, and honour its precedence. There are foundation myths and dates for several Greek colonies, some may be found in Thukydides or Herodotos, others are known in later compilations, like in the *Chronikon* of Eusebios. At closer inspection, the foundation myths seem to fill a political function rather than being a true account of the foundation of the city. Not only did the stories of the founding fathers serve their

descendants; the cult of the hero provided a civic focus and was utilised in the establishment of space in the new territory. But the very connection to a metropolis also had consequences for foreign affairs and diplomacy. During the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BCE), it became crucial whether a city was Ionian or Dorian, and to whom the colonies belonged. The Athenians, who were Ionians, fought against the Peloponnesians, who were Dorians, for supremacy in Greece. Alliances were forged with reference to ancient ancestral ties and tribal affiliations.

Marshall Sahlins points out that 5th century Athens and Sparta used the myths of the Ionians and Dorians to emphasise the differences between themselves: the Athenians were autochthonous, sprung from the soil of Attica, whereas the Dorians were immigrants from the north. The hero of the Athenians was Theseus; the Dorians venerated Herakles. Both poleis used myths to construct their own history (Sahlins 2004, 82-95). The active use of myths is also evident in Greek colonies. Evidence in Thukydides shows the importance of the tribal affiliation of a colony. The fiction was not always politically interesting, and colonies might replace their oikist and found the city again. Amphipolis decided to replace their former Ionian oikist Hagnon with the Dorian Brasidas (Thuc. 5.11).

During the Peloponnesian War, the ideal relationship between the metropolis and its colony was formulated. This is found in Thukydides' account of the fight between Corinth and Kerkyra for Epidamnos in the 5th century BCE. Epidamnos was founded in the 7th century, and its origins became politically and strategically important during the tensions leading up to the Peloponnesian war. Epidamnos lies on the way to Italy and Sicily, whence both the Peloponnesians and the Athenians might get support. According to Thukydides, it was founded as a colony by the Kerkyreans, led by Falios. Kerkyra, in its turn, had been founded by the Corinthians, and the oikist of Epidamnos, Falios, was sent for from Corinth (Thuc. 1.24). The Kerkyreans argued that a colony honoured its mother-city as long as it was treated well. Colonists were not sent out to be slaves, but to have the same rights as those they left behind in the mother city (Thuc. 1.34). The Corinthians argued that they had not established colonies to be spurned by them, but to be their leaders and to be treated with the proper respect. They claimed that their other colonists honoured them, and that they were particularly loved by their colonists (Thuc. 1. 38).

Here, it is obvious that the bond between colony and metropolis was rather loose. The colonial status of Kerkyra was used as an argument for

the annexation of Epidamnos, and it was no bad thing that this city was strategically placed on the sea route to the West. There is no clear definition of the legal status of the colonies, and Thukydides states that the factions preferred war to litigation or jurisdiction by the oracle at Delphi (Thuc. 1. 28). The distant past was used as an argument to subdue disobedience or allay hostile feelings. This shows that the traditions of colonies and founding heroes were not so much memories of ancient history as political tools to evoke sympathy from allies.

The Mothers of Political Invention

The establishment of colonies was probably not as straight forward as Thukydides wants us to believe. The image of state-led expeditions in the Archaic period is probably modeled on settlements from later periods, when the polis was well established in Greece. The early colonies were not Greek communities transplanted abroad, but represent a new form of cosmopolitan society. From excavations, it has been demonstrated that some colonies were also inhabited by local peoples, as well as other foreigners, like the Phoenicians in addition to the Greeks (Boardman 1999, 165-168; Ridgway 1992, 116-118). The polis was still in an early phase of its development in mainland Greece in the 8th century. If there were no proper poleis in Greece, how could they send out colonists to establish new poleis?

The polis as a community of citizens living in a centralised settlement with common political and religious institutions emerges in the same time period as the early colonisation of the West. It may be argued that the typical Greek polis was formed in the colonial period. This is maintained by Irad Malkin, who points out that the societies on the mainland had the chance to redefine and reorganise themselves when they sent away parts of the population. Also, the establishment of new settlements abroad encouraged rethinking political organisation (Malkin 1994, 2). This may in part explain the development of the polis phenomenon. The Greeks may also have learned from their experiences among the older city-state cultures of the Mediterranean such as the Phoenician city-states in the Levant and their western colonies.

It is beyond doubt that the establishment of city-states in the Archaic period in Greece did not take place in a vacuum. The Greeks were not alone, and this is reflected in their material and intellectual culture. They may also have had political role models in the colonisation period. It may

be objected that a city-state is the logical solution to the challenge of political organisation, and is in no need of any specific foreign influences. However, several traits of Greek political culture, like written laws and writing in general, assembly courts and popular assemblies, and monumental temples as political and ideological centre for the city, are traits of poleis held in common with the more ancient city-state culture of the Phoenicians. The Phoenicians colonised the Mediterranean in the same period as the Greeks, but belonged to a city-state culture from their mother-cities in the Levant. Their political structure was highly developed, and was most likely preserved in their colonies.

The political institutions of the Phoenicians are known indirectly, from the Egyptian 10th century story of the trader Wen-Amun and his journey to Phoenicia, the Biblical prophet Ezekiel and Aristotle. They had rulers, but also councils of elders and popular assemblies. It has been argued that the Phoenicians were traders only, and did not establish settlements for agriculture or long-term residency. Carthage is the exception that confirms the rule. Remains of agricultural activities and buildings have been excavated at Phoenician sites in Spain, although it must be admitted that Phoenicians were less interested in conquering the hinterland than were the Greeks (Moscati 2001, 50). The status of the Phoenician colonies is undecided: Hans Georg Niemeyer points out that "they were not cities in the same sense as the colonies of the Greeks in the West. They appear rather to constitute a different "model", one which is reminiscent of Karl Polanyi's "port of trade" (Niemeyer 1990, 485). As with the difference between the early polis and different types of Greek colonies, however, the distinction between port-of-trade and other forms of settlement seems overstated for the Western Mediterranean in the Archaic period.

The Phoenicians lived as neighbours to the Greeks on Sicily. Thukydides states that the Phoenicians established themselves round about Sicily on promontories and islets in order to trade with the Sikels, an indigenous people of Sicily. With the arrival of the Greeks, the Phoenicians left most of these sites and established themselves in the vicinity of the Elymians, another Sicilian people, and lived in Motya, Soloeis and Panormos (Thuc. 6. 2). Not all Phoenicians avoided the Greeks, however. During the Athenian preparations for the attack on Sicily in 414 BCE, the Egestans fooled the Athenians into believing they were rich in gold and silver, by borrowing silver and golden tableware from neighbouring towns, Greek and Phoenician, for display (Thuc. 6. 46). This indicates friendly relations, rather than hostile competition.

Rather than using a model of competitive nations to describe the dynamics of ancient colonial environments, Peter van Dommelen's (1997) concept of hybridisation, the mutual changes that occur in encounters between cultures, may be a more fruitful approach.

Conclusion

The Greek colonies in the West were cultural mingling spots and political laboratories. The political culture of the Greeks was formed during their colonial experiences. It did not emerge out of nothing, but as the result of a cosmopolitan dialogue with other cultures of the Mediterranean. The Greek myths of the metropolis as they are expressed in Herodotos and Thukydides functioned as forms of political legitimation for local ruling families, for making alliances, and as anchoring points for Greeks abroad back in something they perceived as their cities of origin. These myths overshadow the heterogeneous origins of the Greek poleis. Colonisation as a consequence of trade, adventure, land hunger, or political instability sent the Greeks out into the world, and it was there the Greeks learned to become what we know today as the Greeks of history. The Greek polis culture is a result of a cosmopolitan culture of the Iron Age, and has no one mother, but several mothers.

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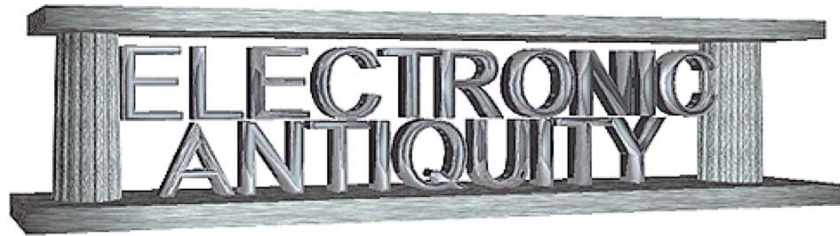
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MYTHICAL ORIGINS OF GREEK TOPONIMY IN THE NORTHWEST IBERIAN PENINSULA[1]

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The northwest area of the Iberian Peninsula is the furthest from the Mediterranean World, which means that it is that much less influenced by the colonial world, Greek and Phoenician, in the archaic age. Hence the presence of place-names interpreted as a Greek Toponymy sets out specific problems, different from that raised for the Mediterranean and meridional worlds.[2]

From the perspective of classical authors, it seems that the presence of metals in the basins of the Minius and Sil Rivers has influenced the

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[2] Adrados 2000, and 2001.

geographic configuration of territory. Thus, Strabo, in 3.2.9, where he collects information from Posidonius (F239 Edelstein-Kidd= 47 Jacoby) about Artabri, in Lusitania, underlines that their soil abounds with silver, tin and white gold, brought by the streams. Posidonius seems to have received his knowledge as a result of contacts with the Roman armies in the age of Brutus and, in his account, already mentions metals in relation to the Artabri. He may refer therefore to the region south of Galicia and north of Portugal when he describes the Artabri as "farthest on the northwest" of Lusitania; he does not consider the subsequent conquests as far as the Cantabrian coast, on the concept that Lusitania made up a projection from what in the beginning of the expedition was considered inhabited by those who were already labeled Lusitani. From the southwest the name is extended as far as the borders of the campaign. Then the knowledge of the Peninsula's far west by Roman people starts with Decimus Brutus' campaign, who, according to Velleius Paterculus' description, reached all the peoples of Hispania (*penetratis omnibus Hispaniae gentibus*), empowered many men and towns and, for the sake of extending Empire upon those hardly heard of, *aditis quae uix audita erant*, deserved the cognomen Gallaeicus (Vel. Pat. 2.5.1). Velleius' language shows him to be the leader of the campaign.

Florus (1.33.12), for his part, says that Brutus went through the River Oblivion (*flumen Obliuionis*) and he didn't go back, after covering the ocean coast, until he had contemplated the sunset and the fire extinction in the water, not without a certain fear of committing a sacrilege on the part of his troops; the river, fearful to the soldiers, is mentioned in the descriptive progression, after *Celticos Lusitanosque et omnis Gallaeciae populos*. The tradition gathered by Florus locates, thus, "all the peoples of Gallaecia", the same as Lusitanians and Celtics, before the River Oblivion, in this way constituted as earth's border before the access to the enigmatic world of the west. Orosius (5.5.12), however, separates the Gallaeci from the Lusitani, as a people who came in their support, as if the northern border of the *prouincia Lusitania* was already established, because the flight is placed *in ulteriore Hispania*.

The geographic localization of the campaign is thus enclosed from the start by a mythical reference to world's edge. Also, according to Appian (*Hisp*. 72.304-305), Brutus was the first Roman who went over the River Lethe, Oblivion, in 137 BCE, after crossing Durius. Then he advanced through Minius and fought against the Bracari, who would be settled between Oblivion, *Lethe*, and Minius. Here Gallaeci are not mentioned, surely because the presence of these ones as a people

localized in the vicinity of Durius has become diluted before the spreading out of the name as far as the conventional spaces of the *Lucenses* and the *Bracarenses*, as they are defined and localized in Pliny, 3.28, or in Ptolemy, 2.6. Tranoy[3] believes that the name *Callaeci*, in a restricted sense, would be placed in the age of the campaign, in the region of *Cales* (*ItAnt* 421.8: *Calem*), in the outlet of the river (*TIR* K29 VIf), a region where the combats of Brutus took place. Actually, near Porto was found the dedicatory (*CIL* II 2422) of *Gallaecia* to a grandson of Augustus[4], interpreted by Tranoy[5] as a sign of Roman will to define the ethnic and territorial entity *Gallaecia*, which in this way is spread out to territories that will be credited consequently to *Bracarenses* and *Lucenses*.

Plutarch (*Quaest. Rom.* 34, = *Mor.*, 272D) says that Brutus, who invaded Lusitania, was the first to cross the River Lethe with an army, from which is deduced that the idea of an extensive Lusitania remains, as far as the borders reached by Brutus. Livy (*Per.* 55) refers to the conquest of Lusitania, which he spreads likewise as far as the Ocean: *Lusitaniam ... usque ad Oceanum perdomuit;* as his men refused to go beyond the River Oblivion, he himself seized the flag in order to persuade them. What spreads up to the Ocean is indeed an unknown land identified as Lusitania. The *Periochae* from *Oxyrhinchus* states: *Obliuionis flumen planus transiit*. Strabo, in 3.3.4, when he refers to the River Lethe, says that some identify it with Limaeas and the others with Belion; he mentions Baenis or Minius, and thus he marks the border to the campaign of Brutus and thus in the same way the border to the realist perception of the territory. Strabo says that, according to Poseidonios, Minius begins in Cantabria[6]. The pass of the borders of River Oblivion toward Galaic territory, now identified, serves likewise as access to a new territory characterized by the presence of precious metals, about which there are only mythical references linked to the experiences of the colonial world. However, Minius serves as communication to the territories where the conquests of the republican age have occurred, a region in parallel with that inhabited by the Artabri. The *Cantabri* are known, through Cato's *Origenes*, 7.28.4, as a reference for the localization of the source of River Iberus. Poseidonios establishes the

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[3] Tranoy 1981: 66.

[4] Dopico and Rodríguez 1992: 395.

[5] Tranoy 1981: 150.

[6] F224 Edelstein-Kidd=49Jacoby.

link between the north of Lusitania and Cantabria across the River Minius, identified to the Sil, between the campaigns of Brutus and those of Cato.

Such experiences constitute the place from which Justin's mention of River *Chalybe* would proceed. The text of Justin is included in a longer reference (*Epit*. 44.3) that contains a description of the wealth in metals of Galicia[7]. The metals are found, then, among the factors that favour the establishments of archaic contacts, in a field where literary tradition establish a certain parallelism between east and west[8]. The presence of metals, what is identified in several authors with Galicia, would be the basis even for the extension of the name, which is defined already in the Roman Age in the moment of the campaigns of Brutus and Caepio, at the same age in which the reference to Greek tradition appears applied to the region. So, Justin says that *Gallaeci* had a Greek origin (*Gallaeci autem Graecam sibi originem adserunt*) and relates to that the River *Chalybe*, where gold is found. Justin speaks about its wealth in gold and calls the River in it Chalybus, a name used also in Black Sea. Metals are in the root of name of Gallaecia in the age of conquest of Brutus, as is mentioned by Posidonius, who first speaks about the geographical space.

It would be the place that Pliny attributes to *Helleni, Groui, Tyde*, names of peoples identified as Greeks, *Graecorum subolis omnia* in 4.112. Indeed, Pliny, in this text, after the *Cileni*, in the direction of south, begins the description of the *conuentus Bracarum* including the peoples of Greek stock: *Helleni, Groui* and the *castellum Tyde*, which would be placed to the northwest of the Minius, toward the coast. Also there is the *oppidum Abobrica*. To the north of Minius only the names that Pliny enumerates as being of Greek origin belong to the *Conuentus Bracarensis* (*Graecorum subolis omnia*), beside the *oppidum Abobrica* and the peoples *Leuni* and *Seurbi,* to which a firm localization is not attributed[9].

Ptolemy (2.6.44), mentions *Toûdai* of the *Grouii*, localized, in his coordinates, far inside the *conuentus Bracarensis*, quite in the south of Minius, while *TIR*, K29 VId, places them quite near the coast: *Tyde* in Tuy, at the outlet of Minius. *ItAnt* 429.7 goes through from Bracara and mentions Limia, Tude, Burbida, etc., in the direction of *Luco Augusti*, where such names have been integrated in Roman Geography.

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[7] Camassa 1984: 173-4. Gangutia 1989: 103-109.
[8] Plácido 1996: 55-63.
[9] *TIR* K29 V/VId; Plácido 2002: 131.

Strabo mentions also Amphilochos, who died *en Kallaikois*, among Galaici, in the tradition of burials of Trojan heroes. The Ambracian gulf, where Amphilochia is found, is a place of Hellenisation through heroes like Odysseus. Hecataeus cites Ambracia as land of Geryon. Teucer comes through Cyprus, a Phoenician place, where the cult of Astarte is placed. From the point of view of the material culture, objects from Greece are found in Phoenician places, in a koine in which Cyprus has an important place.

Strabo, 3.4.3, mentions likewise two towns, one named *Hellenes* and another *Amphilochoi*, immediately after his reference to Teucer's expedition, all according the authority of Asclepiades of Mirlea because this says that some of those who made the expedition with him set up among the Calaici, *en Kallaikois*, and explains the name of *Amphilochoi* by the fact that Anphilochos died there and his companions wandered nomadically as far as the inland. The figure of Amphilochos appears very often in traditions about origins of cities in Asia Minor, in a narrow correspondence between the myth and the heroic cults that usually are identified with burials, on several occasions with an oracular character linked to the figure of the seer Calchas (Strabo 14.1.27; 5.16). Herodotus (7.91) attributes to the Pamphilians an origin coming from the companions of Amphilochos and Calchas in the return journey from the Trojan War. Also according to Herodotus (3.91), Anphilochos founded Poseideon, in the border between Syrians and Cilicians. The features of the mythical personage would be adapted by Asclepiades to northwestern regions of the Iberian Peninsula lately known by Romans, where they found traces of the previous presence of populations, protagonists of the western colonisations, more probably Phoenicians than Greeks. According to one of the versions of the legendary traditions, Teucer himself would have gone from Troy to Cyprus, a place very related to the Phoenician travel toward the west. This is, then, a first impression about the Greek references as forms of taking on possible evidences about Phoenician travellers.

Justin, 44.3.3, also refers to *Amphilochi* as *Gallaeciae… portio*, in the same context that he deals with metals. About Amphilochi, Gangutia[10] connects the mention of their presence in Hispania to the reference of Hecataeus to Gerion, as a result of a tradition from Ambracia's gulf, whose Hellenism is linked to the same myth[11]. It looks then like an

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[10] *THA* IIA, p. 140, with n. 289.
[11] Malkin 1998: 144-145.

instrument for ethnic self-definition, as Odysseus himself in other cases, mainly among peoples that are difficult to define. From Thucydidean narrative (3.107-114) and from the way in which he refers to those peoples, Malkin deduces that the Attic historian contemplates the phenomenon as one peculiar form of being lately Hellenized[12]. In the far northwest of the Peninsula this identification would appear through the action of Roman Hellenized expeditionary people who search for precedents in the colonial world, in spaces identified with mythical Hellenic travels.

Through Archaeology, thanks to the objects of the material culture, we can claim an approach to historical phenomena that with some certainty are behind such mythical traditions and toponymic references.

The objects of Hellenic origin that are found in different points of the Western Mediterranean Sea would arrive at first through the Phoenicians, whose travels and stable establishments are documented in a systematic way at least from the 7th Century, but the Greeks themselves would frequent at least sporadically the different regions starting from the previous Century[13]. In this span of time, the role of Cyprus as a vehicle for the traffic is very illustrative, as well as the settlements in the Syrian coast, such as Al Mina, where the abundance of Greek objects reveals the existence of important contacts, at least from the origins of Archaism. They are the stages of collaborations or rivalries that define a cultural *koiné*, through which common ideas that affect the peoples known by the Phoenicians at the pre-colonization age are transmitted[14]. Herodotus (7.90) refers to Cyprus as a place of meeting for Salaminians, Athenians, Arcadians, Phoenicians, Ethiopians...[15]. In 7.195, Herodotus himself mentions the Aphrodision of Paphos, a religious centre of the island related to the cult of Phoenician Astarte.

Collaboration between Phoenicians and Greeks exists in places on the Peninsula. Strabo tells about Odysseia near Abdera, a Phoenician colony, and his citation is seen in Poseidonios, Asclepiades, and Artemidoros. Hellenic tradition chooses also Phoenician places as localisation for other heroes. Strabo speaks also about information about lotophagoi from Gadeira.

Collaboration between Phoenicians and Greeks in the colonial world was developed in places as significant as Pithecousai, where contacts and

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[12] Malkin 1998: 154.
[13] Perreault 1993: 81.
[14] Baurain 1997: 248-269.
[15] Bunnens 1979: 119.

an intensive cultural transfer take place before the Persian Wars[16]. When the Greeks arrive in Sicily, on the other hand, Phoenician colonies were already settled there (Thuc. 6.2.6). It is common, however, to accept an older date for Phoenician colonization in the west generally. There they enjoy prosperity in the 7th Century. Since that time objects of Greek pottery begin to appear in the necropolis in the Phoenician colonies of the Western Islands[17]. Also the Phoenician colonies in the Iberian Peninsula were characterized by the presence of Greek pottery at least since the 8th Century[18]. Results of archaeological research point out then the way in which the ways of cultural transfer were produced.

Strabo referred to a Phoenician foundation (3.4.3) before coming to the northwest lands, to the place called Odysseia, in Baetica, settled above Abdera, and he quotes Poseidonios[19], Asclepiades and Artemidoros as sources. The city of *Odýsseia*, placed in the south of Iberia, is linked, according to the author to a sanctuary of Athena where shields and breakwaters were deposited as records of Odysseus' travel. Greek tradition chooses places identified as Phoenician to localize the spaces linked to their heroes.

The geographer joins the foundation of a place, Opsicela, to Ocelas, Antenor's fellow, who is likewise mentioned in 3.2.13, together with other heroes, Trojans, like Aeneas, or Achaeans, like Diomedes or Menelaus, or like Odysseus himself and the city of Odysseia, with Athena's sanctuary, where his weapons are found, beside Heracles, whose expedition is linked to the Phoenicians' travels. Antenor appears likewise linked to foundations in Cyrene and in Venetus, among another places. The geographer comments that Homer knew the excellence of the West Lands throughout the Phoenicians, which allows him to transform them into a scenario for the heroes' wanderings. In 3.4.3, Strabo mentions that some, like Artemidoros, trust in the information about the Lotophagi proceeding from Gadira's merchants. To Strabo it seems to be evident that the Greek references are linked to the Phoenician presence in the Peninsula.

The relations between Greeks and Phoenicians continued active as a scenario for cultural transfer at least until the Persian Wars[20]. Gadir pursued direct contact with Greeks uninterruptedly at least until the 6th

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[16] Domínguez 2000: 247.
[17] Tusa 1995: 24.
[18] Sanmartí-Grego 1995: 72-73
[19] F247 Edelstein-Kidd= 50 Jacoby
[20] Plácido 2000: 269-270.

Century, as is shown in potteries bearing salted fish found in Greece, as in traditions that also help to shape western images among the Greeks[21].

Greek travels along the Mediterranean Sea, such as they appear reflected in the most ancient mythical traditions since the Homeric poems, are linked in the literary references themselves to Phoenician travels, placed between traditions and the new realities that incorporate them as a part of the symbolic memory. Greek travels are connected to traditions of Phoenician trips. Menelaus and Odysseus travel in Phoenician ships through Cyprus, Phoenicia, Libya. The knowledge of west by the Greeks comes from the Phoenician experiment.

Thus it appears in Menelaus' travels in *Odyssey* or in the references of fictitious travels of Odysseus. The travels of Menelaus, in *Odyssey* 4.83-85, throughout Cyprus, Phoenicia, the Egyptians, Ethiopes, Sidonians, Erembi, and Libya, are mentioned in Strabo's commentary, 1.2.31-35, who, in order to do a realistic interpretation, alludes, among another places, to Gadir and to the Columns. On this basis, Fear[22] links some fragments of *Odyssey* to the knowledge of Far West by the Greeks in the age of the poem, always on the idea that such knowledge was possible because of their contacts with the Phoenicians.

The tradition of Homeric heroes is projected throughout the Hellenistic and Roman ages, in a particular way in Strabo, worried by the geographical historicity of "the poet". However, traditions about the connection with the Phoenician world extend also down to him. Thus, in 3.4, he refers to Abdera as a Phoenician foundation that seems to be confirmed by the data that archaeological research is revealing[23]. Strabo himself links this place to the Athena sanctuary in the inland highlands. Athena is, in the epic narrative, the deity who appears as protector and guide for Odysseus and considered as a navigator along Mediterranean Sea. Strabo depends on Poseidonios, Artemidoros and Asclepiades of Mirlea, on Hellenistic tradition. In these authors general references to the *nostoi* would be found, and concretely to Teucer and his travels down to *Gallaecia*. Also Artemidoros is the author referred by Stephan of Byzantium in connection to Abdera of Iberia (*THA* IIB142a). Tradition goes back then to the world of the *nostoi*, understood as a point of reference toward the ethnic identification of the periphery populations from the Archaic period down to the Hellenistic[24]. Athena plays a

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[21] López Castro 1997: 95-105.
[22] Fear 1992: 21-23.
[23] López Castro 1995: 33.
[24] Malkin 1998.

traditional role in the mythical manifestations of heroes' ordeals, with the capacity to become also a patroness to Hellenized emporia cults. In many occasions, the mythical origins preserved in long-standing traditions had in the Hellenistic World a key moment, as a factor to assume the past in order to shape an imaginary world, solid and prestigious. It seems that Poseidonios must have been an important element in the creation by his learned mentality and his wishes to retrieve the past in the presence of the transformations that his own age experiences, between the Greek past and the establishment of the Roman hegemony. In Hispania, Poseidonios shows signs of knowing the regions of southwest, of colonial tradition, and of northwest, where mythical references here said to appear and where he emphasizes the territorial importance of River Minius, as a point for the delimitations and for the relations to the peoples settled to the west and as a point of reference in the metals' production.

Odysseus and Menestheus appear in mining regions and Ports of Trade. Olyssipo is situated on a tin route of the Atlantic. Occupation was made by Brutus in 139 BCE. A tradition of travels by North Africa appears in Colaios' story, heir of Heracles and Melkart. The translation of myth to the north is placed by Brutus. The River Oblivion is the border line. In the Rias Bajas there are remains in Vigo, perhaps a sanctuary, found in the works of Sea Museum. Brutus Galaicus was in contact with peoples of the world's edge, the names that Pliny enumerates as being of Greek origin (*Graecorum subolis omnia*), between Spain and Portugal, in Cale, Oporto. They are exotic places with memories from orientalizing ages.

In Hispania, Odysseus and Menestheus appear localized, respectively, in the mining regions inside the Baetica and in the harbour, as a reflection of colonial concerns that can go to the Phoenicians, as well as the foundation of Olysippo in the tin routes[25]. Pliny (34.156-7) and Strabo (3.2.9), refer likewise to tin in Galicia.

The occupation and fortification by Brutus in 139 resulting in the Phoenician reference becoming a Greek reference, which produces the effect of defining it as Greek in Roman ages. Odysseus' story as well as Heracles' and the Argonauts' in their travel over the west[26] develop in soils that already had been visited by the Phoenicians[27]. Odysseus grows firm in

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[25] Fabre 1981: 166
[26] Plácido 1996.
[27] Fabre 1981: 333

the myth as a pattern for colonial promotion toward the west and his figure experiences a long legacy until the Hellenistic Age.

In the literary tradition the transfer is produced from Phoenician travel along the north of Africa (Diodorus, 4.17-18) to the ordeal travel of a young citizen performed by the traveller Coleus[28], who reaches the oikoumene's limits, on the footsteps of the ordeal myth by antonomasia, Heracles' western travel, who arrives also to the limits and even marks them with columns as signs, but who follows in his turn the footsteps of Phoenician Melkart, with whom he shares cult places. Melkart's sanctuary can be prior to Gades' foundation, defined as a free place in the interchanges in the transitional period. The real presence of sanctuaries devoted to deities entrusted to guarantee civilization[29] favours the development of imaginary travels with Heracles as protagonist. In this way, many places are used as a point of contact between colonists from both origins, which makes the cultural transmission and the assimilation by the Greeks of Phoenician experiences easy, which take form in the mythical legends. The Islands of Rhodes and Cyprus, the coasts of the far east of the Mediterranean Sea, Pithecousae, and many other colonial centres work as such centres[30].

Heroic myths embody the representation of exploits and dangers, throughout which the travellers are stimulated and advised. Myths correspond frequently to cult places devoted to heroes, but also to sexual attraction sanctuaries, like those devoted to Aphrodite and Astarte. In the female are concentrated the contradictions between necessity and travels' dangers[31]. The excavations in colonial necropoleis show how much the connection to native women determined the colonies' formation, which had to cause an impact in the configuration of Greek imaginary for that purpose. The preoccupation with the female reflects the problem of reproduction in a travellers' world. Females gain a special protagonist role in the cults of the goddess Iuno, Aphrodite, Astarte, as revealed in the frequent presence of images[32]. The tradition related to the colonial world gathers the travels of other Homeric heroes, as Teucer and Anphilochos, localized in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula, in the space where Greek names of Galicia mentioned by Strabo, Pliny or Ptolemy are localized.

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[28] Plácido 1993: 81-89.
[29] Moreno 2001: 99-117.
[30] Plácido 2003: 7-18.
[31] Plácido 1991: 567-577.
[32] Blázquez 1992: 192.

In his description of the western coast, Mela, 3.10, quotes *a Durio ad flexum Groui*, the Grovi as a people differentiated from the *Celtici*, who occupied the Atlantic front, and localized where the *Minius* flow and the *Limia* River, *cui cognomen Obliuionis*, "whose surname is Oblivion". The *flexus* is that which is shaped after the western right line to the Celtic promontory (9). Sieberman[33] understands by this the aggregate of estuaries known as Rías, Vigo, Pontevedra and Arosa. The course from southwest to northwest is carried through on the basis of colonial age.

This is the space where the tradition of the river Oblivion is localized, related to Brutus by every source. Thus, Strabo, 3.3.4, as is seen above, mentions River *Lethe*, which some call Limea and other Belion; this comes from the territories of the Vaccaei and Celtiberes; he also mentions the river Benis that they call Minius. Strabo considers it the biggest among the Rivers of Lusitania, which reflects the conception derived from Brutus' conquest, as an occupation of an ample territory inside which the Galaeci are included, and this favors the use of epithet Galaicus. Also Artabri are the furthest in Lusitania. The conception derived from the expansion from the south is present in every case. Thus the peoples of Greek Lineage are linked geographically to the space of the Rivers identified to the River Oblivion. They are new and exotic places that hold a memory of the colonial orientalizing age.

They are the imagined landscapes that everybody joins until the age of the Roman conquest, perhaps the base of traditions loaned on theirs contacts with exotic peoples.

The Port of Menestheus, near Turris Caepionis, from Caepio, in the expedition of 139, constitutes the toponymy tread by Roman expeditions towards the north. He takes Via de la Plata, Cancho Roano, the way of penetration of orientalizing style. Before that, there is already a tradition from Avienus, who cites Phoenician Himilco. Philhellenic Romans assume mythical ideology, elaborated with Phoenician realities and Greek objects.

To the furthest southwestern end of Peninsula, Strabo, 3.1.9, refers to the "port called of Menestheus", perhaps connected to possible Attic interests, corroborated by the ancient presence of Attic pottery, where we find the oracle of the same hero and Caepio's tower. The description of this place makes the scholars think about a Phoenician Hellenized cult. Mela, 3.4, refers to *monumentum Caepionis*. The consul of 140, Q. Seruilius Caepio returns to the war in Baeturia, invades the Vetones'

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[33] *Ad loc.*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1988.

territory and founds camps, like *Turris Caepionis*, *Castra Cepiana,* in Setubal's estuary, and *Castra Seruilia*, near Casar de Cáceres. The treason of Viriatus in 139 contributes to forming the myth. His actions are set in the beginning of the so-called Vía de la Plata, between the Rivers Tagus and Durius. Also the pacts of Caepio with the grant of lands are placed here. In the same year 139, he undertook the expedition towards the territory of Galaeci, after having fought against Viriatus (Appian, *Hisp*., 70.300). His celebrity was characterized by his connection to philhellenic circles[34].

Concerning the northwest, it is a region well known by Phoenicians and Phoenecians (Avienus, *Ora maritima*, 114-7), where colonists from Carthage arrived and also from the people established about Heracles' columns. Avienus makes a reference to Himilco's travel, maybe before 480. Such considerations coincide with the evidence of a Phoenician presence in material culture, of orientalizing style, according to the last finds. Therefore, Avienus refers to that territory as a possible basis for a Phoenician periplus[35] or for Himilco[36]. The references (114-45; 380-89; 404-15)[37] allude frequently to tin, a fundamental preoccupation of Phoenician travellers. However, Greek toponymy also reveals contacts with possible navigators, indicative of the existence of a *koiné*[38].

All this encourages the theory, applied normally to the spaces either in the Mediterranean Sea or linked to the strait[39], where the Greek myths work themselves out through awareness of the Phoenician accounts, but leaned back on Greek experiences, that in turn lean back likewise on Phoenician precedents. The phenomenon corresponds thus to a complex frame of relations in which the chronological precedence in no way imposes its conditions. In short, Greek myth, as a privileged way of expression, specially suitable to express the human preoccupations of societies in the origins of Archaism[40] in the formation of the imaginary world, assert itself as an instrument to explain Phoenician contacts integrated in a certain way as Greek History.

Phoenician places and sanctuaries have Greek objects, which become fundamental to Greek names by philhellenic Roman generals. Greek

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[34] See Salinas 1988, *passim* and, mainly, p. 145.
[35] Alvar 1995: 21-37.
[36] Salinas 1992: 469.
[37] González-Ruibal 2006: 126.
[38] González Ponce 1995.
[39] Plácido 2002a: 123-136.
[40] Plácido 2002b: 5-19; 2004: 19-40.

myths lie on Phoenician knowledge and Greeks contacts, but not always on direct experience, like commodities. Greek people feature a mythology on Phoenician knowledge that travels, like Greek ceramics and emporoi, in Phoenician ships. Roman Philhellenic people give Greek names to place with a Phoenician real presence and metals and confuse memories of Greek knowledge.

In the territories of northwest Peninsula, obvious contacts are established, from the 5th century, with the Mediterranean peoples, throughout Gades, as a centre for the southwest settlements and for relations between the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, on the basis of former contacts documented on Atlantic coasts since the Bronze Age. The Phoenician sailors can have arrived in those regions from the 9th century, which is linked to the so-called Tartessian orientalizing world, that projected itself to the image of the Oestrimnis of Avienus. On the other hand, in the Tartessian world, Greek contacts of places like *Onuba*[41] are neat, localized in the southwestern area, perhaps a starting point for northwestern contacts. For a hypothesis has been set out that neutral sanctuaries exist in the southwest of Galicia[42], in the style of that of Melkart, as can be the case of the remains found in the Museo del Mar (Sea Museum) that is in construction in Vigo. Greek pottery appears all over the area from Vigo, in La Lanzada Beach, and towards the south, where a rectangular structure exists with a foreign aspect, of the 5-6th centuries[43]. In this way, significant also is the deposit of the Castro del Torroso in Pontevedra that gives occasion to the beginning of the First Iron Age in Galicia, that is, the Castreña Culture[44]. In Castromao, where *Coeliobriga* is localized, between the Limia and Minius Rivers, Greek vessels of 4th century have been found.

The Phoenician contacts with the regions of the northwest Peninsula are always clearer. The mythical or geographical references are found in Greek literature. Pliny's and Ptolemy's descriptions and the hero's references in Strabo represent the projection in the Roman age of mythical Greek creations that alluded to that space, where Greek presence appears secondary and subsidiary in relation to Phoenician presence. News comes from the age of the creation of a colonial Mediterranean *koiné*. Information about the northwest is doubtless

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[41] Fernández-Miranda 1979: 49; 1991: 87-96.
[42] González-Ruibal 2004.
[43] González-Ruibal, 2006, 132.
[44] Mederos and. Ruiz 2004-2005: 351-409.

subsequent to the apogee's period of colonial practice, but from then on identifications could be started when communities were influenced by orientalizing culture. This will supply the attribution of Hellenic features to the Atlantic spaces, only grown firm throughout the Roman's philhellenic arrival at the expansion's time from *Olisipo* to the River Oblivion, which was linked to diffusion of denominations as Celtics and Turduli, already applied beforehand to the southwest Peninsula. Thus, they occur as mythical traditions to ambiguous remains and records derived from the complex relations of the colonial world.

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