Competing Narratives of Identity in Central and Southern Italy, 750 BCE – 300 BCE

by

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For Pa.
I doubt you would be surprised that I ended up with the eggheads.

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Abstract

This study aims to understand holistically the emergence and articulation of civic identity in southern and south-central Italy (roughly the modern regions of Campania, Calabria, Basilicata and Apulia) from the 8th – 3rd centuries BCE. The emergence of cities in this large part of Italy has recently been reconsidered based on a mass of new evidence that points to a concurrent development and integration of groups traditionally referred to as "native Italians" and "Greek colonists." New archaeological evidence, especially from the Iron Age, helps shed light on the creation of a cultural koine in the area in which figures from Greek mythology were used by both Greek settlements and native communities (in combination and separately) to articulate local civic and ethnic identities. I argue that these origin stories were constructed at particular moments in a community's socio-economic history, often developed for the purpose of creating linkages in networks of kinship diplomacy.

Using the examples of Locri, Croton, the native peoples of Calabria, Daunia and the Serdaioi, I show how mythology functions to underpin both collective identity and diplomatic relationships. Kinship diplomacy, where alliances and other forms of interstate relationships are supported by claims of relatedness, was a frequent occurrence in the Greek world. The Greek (and non-Greek) inhabitants of Italy were deeply immersed in this political world, and this is demonstrated through the ways they develop, change, and promote their mythological credentials. The goals of this dissertation are to demonstrate how this process worked on the peninsula, give more agency to the indigenous Italians who bought into this system of belief and diplomacy, and finally better integrate the history of Greek and native Italic peoples into broader trends and the larger narrative of the history of the ancient Mediterranean.

Introduction

> Denique multae urbes adhuc post tantam uetustatem uestigia Graeci moris ostentant. Namque et Tuscorum populi, qui oram Inferi maris possident, a Lydia uenerunt, et Venetos, quos incolas Superi maris uidemus, capta et expugnata Troia Antenore duce misit, Adria quoque Illyrico mari proxima, quae et Adriatico mari nomen dedit, Graeca urbs est; Arpos Diomedes exciso Ilio naufragio in ea loca delatus condidit. Sed et Pisae in Liguribus Graecos auctores habent; et in Tuscis Tarquinii a Thessalis, et Spina in Vmbris; Perusini quoque originem ab Achaeis ducunt. Quid Caeren urbem dicam? quid Latinos populos qui ab Aenea conditi uidentur? Iam Falisci, Nolani, Abellani nonne Chalcidensium coloni sunt? Quid tractus omnis Campaniae? quid Bruttii Sabinique? quid Samnites? Quid Tarentini, quos a Lacedaemone profectos spuriosque uocatos accepimus? Thurinorum urbem condidisse Philocteten ferunt; ibique adhuc monumentum eius uisitur, et Herculis sagittae in Apollinis templo, quae fatum Troiae fuere. Metapontini quoque in templo Mineruae ferramenta, quibus Epeos, a quo conditi sunt, equum Troianum fabricauit ostentant. Propter quod omnis illa pars Italiae Maior Graecia appellata est.
>
> Finally, many cities, even now after such a long existence, show traces of Greek mores. For even the Etrsucans, who possess the shore of the Tuscan sea, came from Lydia, and the Veneti, whom we see as residents on the Adriatic. Troy, captured and overthrown, sent with Antenor as a leader, also Adria, close to the Illyrian sea, and which also gave its name to the Adriatic Sea, is a Greek city. Diomedes, after the fall of Troy, having been driven by a shipwreck, founded Arpi in that area. And even Pisa in Liguria has Greek founders, and in Etruria, Tarquinia was founded by Thessalians, as well as Spina in Umbria; Perugia was also founded by Achaeans. What should I say about the city Caere? Or the Latin peoples who seem to have been founded by Aeneas? Are not the Faliscans, the Nolani, the Abellani colonies of the Chalcidians? What about the whole territory of Campania? What about the Bruttians and the Sabines? What about the Tarentines, who we accept came from Lacaedemonia and we call bastards? They say that Philocetes founded the city of Thurii; and there even now his monument is seen, and the arrows of Heracles in the temple of Apollo, the arrows which were the fate of Troy. The Metapontians also, in the temple of Minerva, show the tools with which Epeos, who was their founder, built the Trojan horse. On account of this, this entire area of Italy was called Magna Graecia. (Justin 20.1-2).[1]

Justin, writing centuries after the first Greek settlers came to Italy on a permanent basis, is still struck by the Greek characteristics exhibited by many Italian cities and groups. In his questioning, Greek mores are quickly assimilated with Greek founders in his list of peoples and cities with origins

[1] Unless stated, all translations are my own.

from across the Mediterranean. While some of his attributions seem straightforward to us, for example that the Tarentines are Spartan, I am struck by the some of the unanswered questions. Who are the Bruttians and the Sabines? The Samnites? Some of the Italic peoples listed in these questions Justin poses have Greek founders, while others do not. Some of these stories about Greek ancestry of Italic peoples are deeply rooted in our ancient sources, but many of these cities and groups, which continued in the time of Justin (or at least of his source, Pompeius Trogus) to demonstrate Greek mores, have no evidence of a Greek foundation. These questions asked two thousand years ago are at the heart of this study, but I also add my own. Why do these places, peoples, tribes have Greek mores to begin with? Why would certain foundation legends that attribute a foreign power to the origin of Italic groups take hold? How do these stories allow us to better understand the historical, political and social development of Italy?

It is impossible to escape presentism when writing about the past, and the 21st century, characterized by migration crises and identity politics, is clearly embedded into this work. In many ways scholars today are beginning to see an ancient Mediterranean world, and especially an archaic Mediterranean world, characterized by mobility and the negotiations of identity, difference and sameness that come with increased cultural contacts. Today's focus on fluidity has underlined the fact that identities are not inherent or natural, but something that is performed and needs to be actively reproduced time and time again on different scales. Our modern re-interpretations of identity are mirrored in views of the ancient world, where we can think critically about how people chose to self-identify on a myriad of levels and the roles that language, religion, status, gender, occupation, and so on can have in this process.

Classical scholars continually debate what ethnicity is and how collective identities are constructed. Recognized aspects of what "makes" identity include a common language, a sense of a shared territory, shared customs, and, as I argue here following many others, a sense of a shared history,

usually created through putative founders. Nevertheless, as Jonathan Hall has demonstrated in his influential Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity, there was no reason why this Greek way of self-definition had to migrate along with Greeks across the Mediterranean, and the question of what it meant to be Greek at any moment of time is still open. One strategy typical of people from Greece is the use of genealogical myths not just to define particular peoples, but to define peoples with respect to one another and, most importantly, to build connections between them and among themselves. This is best exemplified by stories of Hellenes, Dorians, Achaeans, Ionians, or Heracleidae, but also existed at local levels, such as at Athens or Thebes. It is this strategy that helps us understand how mythology and fictive kinship can form the basis of relationships between Greeks and non-Greeks.

The ideas of fictive kinship and kinship diplomacy loom large in my work, where I consider the role of these identities in the political, social and economic spheres in which they are applied. Kinship diplomacy allows settlements to build upon foundation legends, which not only give a city a coherent internal identity but one that can be advertised to other and then can be used to form connections through genealogical ties. This idea of fictive relatedness can provide an important underpinning of diplomacy in the Greek world, and this study will show that this tendency is not limited to Greek speaking polities but includes relationships both between Greeks and Italic peoples, and among Italic groups themselves.

Chapter 1 provides an introduction to previous scholarly approaches to answering these questions and an overview of the ancient sources available for historians of early Italy. The available evidence is obviously scanty, and the use of both literary and material evidence must be undertaken with caution. This wariness is compounded by the fact that our literary sources almost always provide an outsider's perspective on the non-Greek and non-Roman peoples of Italy, as well as are generally composed centuries after the events they describe. Material culture, while offering

precious insights into life in particular locations, has its own pitfalls, especially when ideas of ethnicity and identity are attached to archaeological artifacts. As we move past the equation of pots to people, it becomes necessary to consider how we use material culture to theorize about the composition of groups and their self-definition over time. Modern archaeologists are also concerned not only with how humans use material culture to advertise their identities, but how material culture can create, rather than simply reflect, identities.

This study mostly makes use of an instrumentalist view of ethnicity, one which is created in order to further the interests (whether political, military, economic) of a group.[2] In this view, identities are always in flux as both specific goals and the relevant actors change. While ethnic and group identity is at the root of this study, these other layers of identity must have impacted ones sense of belonging to a larger community and their role within it; this is especially the case for status and gender, both of which play into many of the origin stories in this study. Unfortunately, the resolution of our data rarely allows us to see identities at such a fine-grained level, leaving us with the collective identity rather than the multi-layered individual.

In outlining the source materials for southern Italy in this period, both textual and material, it is important once again to recognize that these two types of data are not always compatible and can often present entirely different narratives. The answer is not to use one to confirm the other, but to understand what questions can be asked about each type of evidence. Textual sources are often written much later than the events at hand, and thus present us with a Roman or Greek perspective which can be quite skewed towards contemporary concerns. Nevertheless, it represents a viewpoint on a topic at a certain moment in time, and especially for southern Italy, our sources rely on contemporary or nearly contemporary earlier historians. At times, stories which one group

[2] The creation of this approach is generally attributed to Frederik Barth (1969). A clear discussion of the evolution of the study of identities in classical scholarship can be found in Siapkas 2014.

uses to characterize another can tell us both about the culture of the origin and the one being described.[3] Material culture, on the other hand, is just as lacunose, and, although it can highlight social practice and communal decision making, it does not by itself demonstrate identity or ideology. Despite these caveats, when taken together these two narratives, one textual and one material, can present a new and in many ways more complete picture of southern Italy and the peoples who populated it.

In Chapter 2, I focus on Locri Epizephyrii and apply these theories and ideas to the variety of foundation stories and historical legends associated with the city. While it was not one of the most famous cities of Magna Graecia, Locri's stories show how deeply engaged the city was with a complex network of alliances with cities and groups across the Mediterranean, making it an excellent initial case study. Shifting from stories based on the Locrian hero Ajax to its saviors in the battle of the Sagra, the Dioscuri, Locri's allies are reflected in the evolution of these foundational stories. Various moments in Locrian history serve as mementos of its foundation legends, or that of its "mother-city," mainland Locris, especially in connections to maiden rituals. At the same time, Locrian culture and the story of the miraculous epiphany of the Dioscuri in battle resurface in order to form a relationship with Sparta, a connection underscored in the 4th century when Locri fell under the control of the Syracusan tyrants. While Locri has previously been viewed as a city outside of politics, or at least a small player in the game of Mediterranean inter-state alliances, its myths show that it was integrated into many key leagues and alliances in Italy and also maintained connections to mainland Greece using its civic mythology.

Chapter 3 moves to the city of Croton, a better-known city on the Mediterranean stage. This chapter also traces the historical development of the city alongside its foundation legends.

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[3] For example, Herodotus' description of the Scythians gives us more reliable information about how the Greeks thought about themselves than about the Scythians.

Through Croton we can see how myths develop over time, and especially how civic mythology can directly reflect the changing economic and military rivalries of the city. Unique to Croton is the way historical actors take on these legends, such as the athlete Milo taking on the role (and literal clothing) of the city's founder Heracles in an important battle. Croton's reputation as a city of athletes, philosophers and doctors is tied back into the stories of its historical foundation and the consultation of the Delphic oracle. In Croton's origin story who is consults the oracle and how the Pythia replies changes over time as Croton's rivalries evolve. The oracular response reflects the rivalries Croton has with at first, Sybaris, and later Syracuse. After the the destruction of Sybaris at the hands of Croton and its allies in 510 BCE, the story itself begins this shift. The newly elaborated foundation narrative not only contains changes in the stories surrounding the Delphic oracle that fortold the establish establishment of Croton but also appropriates foundational heroes of Sybaris and the cities it previously controlled, especially the Homeric hero Philoctetes. Finally, at the end of the 5th century BCE, Croton's mythology begins to emphasize the figure of Heracles, who is labeled as its founder publicly on coinage. This version demonstrates Croton's attempt to form new alliances based on panhellenic, or even panitalic, identities rather than those previously based on ideas of Greek regional ethnicities.

Heracles as figure who appeals to a broad spectrum of Greeks and non-Greeks brings us to the fourth chapter, where I pick up the thread of the formation of the so-called Italiote League in the late 5th century BCE. The league is originally centered at Croton, and the prevalence of the worship of Heracles in Calabria, and especially in settlements neighboring Croton, lends credence to the idea that Croton was deliberately using this hero to appeal to its indigenous neighbors. Heracles has a long history as a hero in Italy and his adoption as a possible "national" figure in southern Italy connects the area to other groups in central and northern Italy where Heracles has an outsized prominence.

This chapter also looks broadly at some of the Greek heroes associated with non-Greek groups during this period. Next to Heracles, two of the more common Greek foundational figures in southern Italy are Diomedes and Dionysus. In order to show how these types of alliances could form between Greek and non-Greek settlements, I explore a 6th century BCE inscription found at Olympia which outlines an alliance between Sybaris and the Serdaioi, an unknown Italic group. While the location of this group is debated, numismatic evidence can be reasonably associated with them which consistently depicts the god Dionysus and wine-related imagery. It is not possible to show any kinship relations or manipulation of myth by the Serdaioi, but their adoption of the god and their place as a key ally of the Sybarites demonstrate the kind of relationships that must have existed between various Greek and Italic peoples and the ways in which Greek ideas and imagery could be adopted without wholesale "Hellenization." Finally, while there have already been studies of the role that Diomedes plays as a founder in Daunia, I not only focus on his role as a mediator between Greek and non-Greek but posit that he had become an important intra-Daunian hero who helped form the identity of that ethnos in Adriatic Italy at a time when elites and cities were jockeying for power. This chapter lays out a framework for further studies of Italic peoples, an often-overlooked entity on the peninsula.

From the 9th – 3rd centuries, from the beginning of the establishment of permanent apoikiai to the Roman conquest, southern Italy was a vibrant place, both politically and culturally. The environment composed of both Greek settlers and indigenous Italians created spaces of exclusion, but also of connection and hybridity. The Greek gods and heroes followed (or pre-dated) actual settlers, and these figures became embedded into the social construction of identity and politics. Spaces of interaction are always complex and southern Italy is no exception. This study aims to bring to light the complexity hidden behind ideas such as "hellenization" or "acculturation" to the process of state formation and the emergence of identities across the Italian peninsula. Ultimately,

this study aims to return agency to the stories and identities created throughout Italy during this period. It provides a new lens for studying myth-making and interactions between people of different backgrounds and ideas about how societies should function. This is critical for understanding state formation in Italy, a constantly debated topic, but also the development of complex societies throughout the ancient world. Fictive kinship is a topic more widely studied in the world outside of the ancient Mediterranean, and I hope that this study will provide both a way to think about other interactions and myth-making across time and space. The ability to see how these stories grew between cultures at a moment of increasing social change and complexity allows us to re-think the traditional narratives about the formation of cities and societies across the Mediterranean. The formation of a community is inextricable from the ways the people who are both included and excluded think about what constitutes membership in the community. Myths of identity and origin are a critical part of the information we have available to consider these questions.

Chapter 1 : Theoretical Approaches to Understanding Identity in Southern Italy

Introduction

In this chapter, I explore some of the key theoretical underpinnings of this dissertation, while providing a survey of important previous scholarship and the most important ancient sources. The first section describes two important concepts and debates in the field, the nature of urbanization in Italy and especially the impact of new Greek settlements on the trajectory of the development of cities across the peninsula. This leads into another key idea – what did these new settlements in Greece look like? Why did Greeks migrate in general, and then why specifically to southern Italy and Sicily? New theories, such as Middle Ground theory, and other ideas based on recent archaeological work in these areas, have begun to call into question the traditional paradigms of "colonization." This allows us to ask new questions about what motivated the establishment of Greek settlements in Italy, what Italy looked like before and after the Greeks arrived, and what kind of impact these new arrivals had on existing notions of village structures and societies.

Other work on ethnicity and identity that has proliferated in Classical studies in the last twenty years helps to answer some of these questions and presents some tools useful to this analysis. Recent emphasis on the constructed nature of collective identities demonstrates the key role that myth and especially myths of origin play in the development and reinforcement of group identities. While these stories are often inward facing, meant to bond a group together – they can also be outward facing, and demonstrate how a society aims to present itself to others. I argue throughout

this dissertation that these myths, and especially places where we have multiple versions of foundation or legendary stories, are reflections of key moments in a societies self-representation. Through the use of kinship diplomacy, in which usually common ancestors or sometimes simply commonalities, myths provide the basis for diplomatic connections between polities. The many stories of Rome's foundation serve as an example for how these stories change over time as they are deployed in forging connections to other cities and states across the Mediterranean.

Next, the sources that underpin this study are laid out, including an approach to material culture that seeks to provide another lens to studying both Greeks and non-Greeks in Italy without being entirely dependent on literary sources. Recent focus on the excavation of native Italic settlements has broadened (and complicated) our views of the interactions between these groups. While it is difficult to know for certain that a myth related in our Greek and Roman sources was accepted or produced by Italians, echoes of these stories on material culture in the form of statuettes and painted pottery can show that there was an awareness or focus on certain stories. Our literary sources themselves are exclusively Greek and Roman and many date to far after the founding of settlements on Italian shores. Despite this gap, many rely on earlier 5th and 4th century Greek historians, who both wrote about and often were from the western Mediterranean. In this chapter I lay out my methodology for dealing with authors such as Strabo, Justin, Diodorus Siculus and Lycophron.

Finally, I explore the mythological and political connections between the Samnites and the Greek city of Taras (later Tarentum) as an example of kinship diplomacy at work. Stories about Samnites as descendants of Spartans served as the basis for a documented alliance between the Italic group and the Taras, a Spartan colony. This origin story for the Samnites is present in Strabo but also seems to have been reinforced through local coinage. This provides an example of methodology for the case-studies used in the rest of this dissertation – a combination of literary and

material culture in an analysis of changing or varied foundation stories. These layers of stories form a foundation discourse, a term I borrow from Naiose Mac Sweeney, who defines the idea as "the sum total of several different myths together and the various relationships between the stories and variants."[4] Foundation myths almost invariably have variants and the decision to emphasize one version or another demonstrates a conscious choice on behalf of a city and thus a moment of the articulation of identity. An analysis of these stories demonstrates how Greek city-states in Italy made use of constantly evolving mythological histories in order to animate Mediterranean-wide political and diplomatic networks, taking advantage not only of "traditional" kinship ties like the metropolis but also the concept of cultural affinity to gain an advantage for their city.

"Colonization" and Urbanization: Italy between Greece and Rome

Studies of the 8th-4th century Mediterranean world have left south-central and southern Italy in an isolated place. Archaic Greek history tends to focus on the mainland and the development from the so-called dark ages to the classical polis, with major centers such as Athens playing the lead roles. In these works, the wave of "colonization," especially in the west, serves mostly as an interesting side note.[5] When it is mentioned, western colonization tends to focus on the cities of Sicily, which there exists a much richer archaeological, epigraphic and literary record.[6] Broad studies of archaic Italy, on the other hand, tend to focus on central Italy, partially because there is an abundant, if unreliable, amount of literary evidence for Rome and Latium and because archaeological evidence points to the early development of urban structures in Etruria.[7] These

[4] Mac Sweeney 2014, 2.

[5] See the introduction to Ceserani 2012 for a "history of the history of Magna Graecia."

[6] While this study will primarily focus on the Italian mainland, the city-states of Sicily are often key players in the political and military alliances of this period and will therefore come into the picture when relevant.

[7] Another relevant debate is the relationship between state formation and urbanism. Many of the groups identified in this study have a group identity and state-level organization without settlements that could be defined as cities. See discussions in Herring and Lomas 2000 and for the Samnite example in particular, Scopacasa 2015.

artificial disciplinary divisions have placed manufactured a kind of marginality for southern Italy which this study will aim to dispel. Far from being a side note to archaic Mediterranean history, we need to look more closely at these places where cultures interacted at high levels to understand the processes that led to societal change.

The assumption that the Greeks, clearly more developed and sophisticated, imported their ideas of civic structure along with their pottery and people into Italy and Sicily beginning in the 8th c. BCE is prevalent in 20th century scholarship.[8] The main monographs in English on Magna Graecia in Italy are still Boardman (1964) and Dunbabin (1948), and even more recent works such as Ridgway (1992) tend to subscribe to this theory.[9] Until recently, the rationale behind cultural shifts in southern Italy and the evolving relationships between different groups were not intensely theorized, since the impetus behind exchange and adoption of Greek practices could be explained by the cultural superiority of the Greeks. For example, Boardman describes the relationship between the Sicels, the local inhabitants of Sicily, and the Greeks, in this framework, claiming,

> At any rate it is clear that in most places the Greeks and Sicels got on well enough, even if only in the relationship of master and slave (there was a Sicel slave-woman in Homer's Ithaca). The natives weighed their new prosperity, brought by the Greeks, against the sites and land they had lost to them, and were generally satisfied – or at least had short memories. In the mid fifth century there was a nationalist Sicel movement, but by then the natives had been almost completely Hellenized… In the west the Greeks had nothing to learn, much to teach.[10]

Many of the formative works on the Western Greeks were also written in a modern European context where colonialism had the positive overtones of a civilizing force over underdeveloped

[8] These studies tend to ignore the (admittedly small but increasing) amounts of Italic pottery and metal objects found in Bronze and Iron Age contexts in Greece and on Crete. See Naso 2000 for a survey.

[9] Boardman 1964, Dunbabin 1948, Ridgway 1992. A foundational work in French, Bérard 1941 argued that the Greek presence and especially awareness of Greek mythology resulted from distant memories of Bronze Age and Mycenaean interaction in Italy.

[10] Boardman 1964, 190.

barbarians.[11] This is clear in the passage above from Boardman, who conceives of a good relationship between Greeks and non-Greeks as that of a master and a slave and uses Homeric evidence to bolster this perception. The idea that the southern Italians whom the Greeks encountered were backward and archaic also reflects contemporary stereotypes about the south stemming from the period of Italian unification.[12]

The ancient literary sources dominated these reconstructions of the process of colonization and of the relationship between the Greeks and indigenous Italians, most of which betray the influence of Athenian constructions of the barbarian during and after the Persian war. The fullest sources for the typical process of Greek colonization, mainly Thucydides and Herodotus, portray it as a structured procedure, with a founder, involvement of the oracle at Delphi, and state-level organization from the metropolis. These settlements are generally referred to in Greek as apoikiai and are characterized as fully formed poleis as soon as the settlers set foot in their new lands.

While a high level of structure and organization is clear for 5th- and 4th-century enterprises in the Mediterranean, this should not be retrojected to the earliest phases of settlement in the West. Herodotus and Thucydides were writing centuries after the first wave of colonization in the 8th century, and, therefore, the works of Homer and Hesiod, while they do not directly discuss colonization, are more helpful than our later sources in broadly considering movement and urban development in this period. These poems demonstrate an individual or a community's ability to move and to take in others, as well as the political atmosphere of archaic Greece. As an example, the account of the Phaeacians in the Odyssey is often taken as an early description of colonization, and the low-level political organization might represent how small city-states were organized in the

[11] See Yntema 2000 for an overview, as well as Hall 1989, Malkin 2009.
[12] Ceserani 2012, 4-5 discusses the Southern Question and the idea of the south's marginality and backwardness in 19th and 20th century scholarship of Magna Graecia.

8th century.[13] In Homer, the city founder, Nausithous, described as godlike, engages in some of the activities that we would assume would be integral to setting up a new settlement, creating a city wall, building houses and temples, and dividing farm land. It is possible that this passage, as Domínguez argues, "may arise from real experiences, because at the time of the 'composition' of the poems, actual foundations had already begun to take place."[14] While these are key activities, the actual process must have been more drawn out and we should consider these as idealized, especially considering the building materials and manpower available.

Even so, it is clear that there are many difficulties with using the literary evidence to trace the development and understanding of the earliest, and of even the later phases of Greek colonization in Italy. The literary sources are rarely interested in the local peoples of Italy, and stories of cooperation between the local populations and Greeks are rare despite the fact that local support and trade must have been necessary for the initial success of a colony. Even in settlements where there is evidence for initial violence, the newcomers must have been reliant on trade after battles or with other groups to survive the initial stages of setting up a city. With this kind of evidence lacking, the natural place to look for hints into these early interactions (both peaceful and not) is in the archaeological record.

Archaeological exploration in southern Italy has seen an explosion of interest in indigenous archaeology over the past few years. This movement is welcome, as early excavation in the area, even up until the last few decades, focused almost exclusively on Greek colonial sites. When "native" loci were excavated in the past, especially necropoleis, the presence of Greek pottery had traditionally been interpreted as "Hellenization" and therefore confirmed the idea of the cultural

[13] Hom. *Od.* 6.4-12, noted in Osborne 1998, 256-7. See Yntema 2000, 39 for an insightful comparison between the view of unknown lands in Homer as occupied by monsters and that of Archilochus, who can envisage fertile lands full of Greek settlers, as evidence that Greek perceptions of the West had changed by end of the 7th c. BCE.

[14] Domínguez 2001, 196.

superiority and influence of Greek settlers on all aspects of native Italian life and culture. This paradigm has recently been turned on its head, and, especially in Italian scholarship, the independent indigenous moves towards complexity have been highlighted. The presence of Greek pottery in native sites is balanced by indigenous artifacts in Greek settlements.[15] Archaeological evidence indicates Italian urbanism has its roots in the 10th and 9th centuries in both central and southern Italy, earlier than any systematic settlement of Greek traders and indeed significantly earlier than any move towards urbanism on the Greek mainland. Greek and Near Eastern artifacts show up in Bronze Age deposits throughout Italy; however, these materials are now interpreted to attest to the early evidence for trans-Mediterranean trading networks rather than indicating the presence of permanently settled Greeks. Even in the 8th and 7th centuries, when there are more systematic trade networks and settlement in southern Italy, Greek objects in indigenous settlements indicate that these foreign items were highly prized by the elite simply because they were foreign or unusual, not because they were specifically Greek. They do not necessarily indicate the political dominance of Greeks over native peoples or the inherent superiority of their craftsmanship.[16] They reflect the social sophistication of the emerging Italian elite who were trying to distinguish themselves and compete amongst their peers in displays of wealth and power.[17]

While these new studies of urbanism in Italy are based on archaeological evidence, especially survey archaeology, the role of Greek colonization on urban development in the Mediterranean in general has also recently been approached from a more traditional historical viewpoint. In his 2011 book, A Small Greek World, Irad Malkin argues for an inversion of the

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[15] See Handberg and Jacobsen 2011 on using this evidence to move past the idea that pots equal people.

[16] Yntema 2000, 33.

[17] This is, of course, not limited to southern Italy. Similar ideas about elite competition have been proposed for the "Orientalizing" periods in Etruria and Latium, see Riva 2010. Malkin 1997, and Morris 2016 have emphasized that along with pottery and material culture come ideas, "such as writing, the Homeric myths, the symposium and new technologies" (Morris 2016, 142).

typically assumed route for the processes of urbanization; it was the spread of Greeks throughout the Mediterranean and the act of creating settlements from scratch or from rudimentary trading posts which gave rise to ideas about urbanism in the Greek mainland. These ideas, along with a firmer sense of Greek identity, came from the periphery back to the mainland as the settlers developed relationships with those around them and their societal and governmental structures.[18] His approach applies network theory, with each new polis as a new node in a larger net; this idea of the Mediterranean as a vast and busy network is certainly correct and useful in the ways it eschews ideas of center and periphery and allows for the analysis of other methods of interconnectivity. Although Malkin's use of network theory has been criticized as insufficiently technical and entirely qualitative, the paradigm is useful to think with and builds on his early work on colonization, myth and identity explored later in this chapter.[19]

Another new approach to key the development of Greek colonies has been promoted forcefully by Osborne, who, in a short article in 1998, articulated his thesis that "Greek colonization" is an entirely useless descriptive term since it either has anachronistic colonial overtones or is stripped of any meaning by an author's qualifications. He instead points to the preponderance of private enterprise around the Mediterranean in the archaic period and to settlements as the result of these trade networks.[20] Especially since, as Malkin argues well, the polis did not yet exist in a crystallized form in the mainland, it is difficult to understand how the establishment of new settlements could have been institutional actions from the metropolis, especially for the earliest "colonies." For Malkin, the colony and the mother-city evolve at the same time as reciprocal members of the same network; Osborne instead emphasizes the lack of urbanism

[18] Malkin 2011. This idea of identity formation and the speed of urbanization still takes a hellenocentric viewpoint – focusing on how the Greeks conceived of themselves vis-à-vis the "other" (relegating the non-Greeks to a foil) and is more interested in how urbanism developed on the mainland rather than across Italy.
[19] Many reviewers of the book mention this, see e.g. Ruffini 2012, Brughmans 2013.
[20] Osborne 1998, 268; for this idea see also Horden & Purcell 2000.

and Greek identity on the mainland until later. He claims that the make-up of these early settlements appears, at least from the archaeological record, to have been ethnically diverse, and therefore at the moment of occupation they lacked both a communal identity and the characteristics associated with a Greek city-state.[21] Despite these arguments, Malkin and others continue to emphasize the role of the metropolis and the organization involved in the foundation of colonies, arguing that no Greek colony is able to pretend to have a different mother city, and that the names of founders are not "sufficiently prestigious as to stimulate invention."[22] In this dissertation, associations with a metropolis will only be emphasized when or if the settlement in Italy uses this connection actively in its own self-identification. For example, Taras and Sparta, where Sparta actively aids its colony by sending generals several times over centuries. Even for those cities which claim a distinct relationship with a specific city in mainland Greece, we do not have to believe that the metropolis was entirely responsible for setting up an apoikia. It is more likely that these were gradual processes, with settlers from many cities, even if the foundation is only attributed to one man from one place in the origin story.

Debate about the original purpose and nature of the early settlements have continued to turn towards the idea that they developed slowly and that both Greeks and non-Greeks played a role.[23] Because of these new theories, the terms "colony" and the idea of "colonization" have become harshly debated in the study of the 8th- to the 6th- century Mediterranean.[24] The English

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[21] Malkin's response 2016, 32, is that the call to abolish the term colonization is "the expression of a mood, not a presentation of research and argument."
[22] Malkin 2016, 36.
[23] The debate of the 1970s and 1980s about the impetus for colonization, whether overpopulation, lack of land, social strife or political stasis is no longer as important. It is likely that all of these factors contributed to the movement of people throughout the Mediterranean.
[24] Osborne 1998, 252 has stated the argument well: "Most ancient historians used the term Greek colony as if Greek colony were a technical term where the epithet 'Greek' removed all unwanted overtones from the word 'colony'…[but] ancient historians cannot expect to communicate if they insist on communicating in private code: colony is a real live word with real life associations, and if we do not intend the associations we are better off not using the word."

term "colony", from Latin colonia, describes a very different process of settlement and ideology, rooted not only in the Roman model but now deeply in European imperialism.[25] While it is possible to use caveats such as defining colonization "weakly" or claiming to use a definition that avoids ideas of the nation-state or cultural superiority, I prefer to use the term settlement, especially for the 8th-6th centuries in the western Mediterranean. Thinking about this period not as one characterized by large-scale, state-organized colonizing missions but instead by migrations, mobility and small-scale settlement helps escape the anachronisms associated with the terms colonization and city state in anglophone scholarship.[26]

Settlement has also not escaped critique as a useful term. Malkin claims that "settlement" is not a specific enough tern, since it "may relate to either a mixed bag of people gradually arriving at some place and eventually evolving into a settlement, or to a well-organized, tightly led, deliberate foundation, settled and organized "all entire in a day."[27] While this is meant as a critique, I think it demonstrates the strength of the term for the whole period of Greek migration to Italy, since the term can include all types of places and methods of emplacement without the problematic separation into phases of pre-settlement and settlement.

A similar line of thinking applies to "colonialism" – a term which also implies domination and a sense of cultural superiority. There is no clear evidence and certainly no consistent evidence for either in the interactions between Greeks and indigenous peoples in Italy, especially at the moment of settlement, and on account of this, scholars such as Franco de Angelis have suggested

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[25] Greco 2011, 233, has noted that the root of colonia is *colere,* and this again demonstrates the difference between the Roman concept and purpose of colonization as bound up with agriculture and the division of land, whereas the Greek colonies seem more focused on trade and do not usually have large *chorai.*

[26] Donnellan, Nizzo, and Burgers 2016. The introduction to the volume provides a good summary of the history of the debate concerning terminology and anachronism.

[27] Malkin 2016. He also notes (29) that while early European scholars such as Bérard (1960) and Lepore (1989) had misgivings about the term, Dutch, French and Italian scholars are much less concerned about the semantics.

the "bland and less politically charged phrase 'culture contact.'"[28] A concern is whether or not we can apply postcolonial approaches to this period if it is not truly "colonial" in the first place. I would say that because colonial thinking has permeated the study of these settlements and especially the relationships between Greeks and non-Greeks in the area a postcolonial approach is imperative to remove these preconceived notions and better understand the development of indigenous Italians.

This broad vocabulary is useful because mobility and settlement can refer not only to more traditional "colonization" style movement of people who are re-locating permanently, but also the movement of more transient humans such as mercenaries, craftsmen, exiles, etc. This study avoids the term colony whenever possible and takes inspiration from postcolonial approaches, especially when considering interactions between Greeks and indigenous populations. While these groups were never subjugated in the manner of European imperialism, their accomplishments and relationship with Greeks has been interpreted in this colonial lens, whether or not the evidence suggests it.[29] Especially with increasing study of indigenous material culture, there are more productive ways to look at these culture contacts.[30] This approach runs parallel to debates about other problematic "-izations" especially Romanization and the role of Roman colonies in that process.[31] Again, in this field an astounding number of terms have been suggested to replace "Romanization" including acculturation, hybridization, creolization, metissage – and none have gained wide acceptance and will thus be avoided here.[32]

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[28] de Angelis 2010, 20. This is in contrast to the North American example, where colonialism is more applicable term.
[29] An excellent historiographic summary is in de Angelis 2010.
[30] Hodos 2006 is an example of a text that focuses more on the local impact of Greeks settlement, mostly in Syria, Sicily and North Africa and from an archaeological perspective.
[31] For a recent take on the "Romanization" of Italy see Roselaar 2019.
[32] Van Oyen 2015, Terrenato 2005 for discussions of terminology, postcolonialism and Romanization.

The postcolonial approach has benefited the study of southern Italy in encouraging excavation of "subaltern" spaces, namely the countryside and indigenous settlements.[33] This has, in turn, allowed for historical interpretations which give more agency to the native Italians. In many ways, material culture is our only avenue for understanding these peoples on their own terms.[34] More detailed archaeological evidence from southern Italy has begun to point to the independent development of socially stratified and nucleated settlements in the 9th-6th centuries.[35] In a survey of sites and evidence comparing the Salento peninsula and the Pontine plains, Attema, Burgers, and van Leusen have demonstrated that indigenous settlements such as Oria, Cavallino, and Castello di San Vito dei Normanni display urban features such as elite residences, formalization of religious spaces, and a relationship with regularly sized settlements in the hinterland by the 6th century BCE.[36] It is quickly becoming apparent that the narrative in surviving Greek sources, which claims that Taras controlled most of the surrounding area is not supported by the archaeological evidence. According to Attema et al., "processes such as urbanization and socio-economic differentiation were not confined to the polis of Taras, with minor side effects in its supposed hinterland. Rather, the indigenous Salento communities played a prominent and decisive role in effecting changes in all parts of the peninsula in the Archaic period, just as they did in the Iron Age."[37] Lomas has shown that similar processes are visible in northern Apulia, where settled hilltops moved towards large centers with fortification walls, street plans and separate

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[33] Zuchtriegel 2017 represents one of the few texts to fully take up this postcolonial term, focusing on Heraclea and its hinterland.

[34] Van Dommelen 2006 surveys the history of postcolonial approaches to material culture and points towards its potential to "help redress the literary bias in studying colonial situations while nicely complementing the present trend to examine colonial practices" (120).

[35] Pollini 2017 contains excellent case studies, both in Southern Italy (Sybaris) and South America demonstrating the value of postcolonial theory and Historical Archaeology to these spaces of contact.

[36] Attema, Burgers, and van Leusen 2014, 140.

[37] Attema et al. 2014, 145. They argue this is also true for Latium Vetus, where modest 'city-states' emerged and rapidly urbanized without the influence of Rome or Roman colonies.

religious spaces. Many of these early settlements, such as Arpi, Teanum, and Asculum had a clear internal organization and continued to the dominate the area until the Roman period.[38] While these areas demonstrate a high level of sophistication, they do not always conform to the polis-model of a city, and therefore both their urban status and independent development have been marginalized in modern scholarship.

The cumulation of this evidence suggest that, as the Greeks encountered the Italian peninsula, the people resident there were already undertaking their own versions of the processes of state formation. To what extent had these groups already developed distinct cultural identities? How did the arrival of the "Greeks" change this?[39] What kind of cultural identities did these new settlers have? What impact did the local people have on the structure of Greek settlements? Herring and Lomas have argued that "in a period of state formation, group identities would be likely to be subject to change, as social forms and power structures were altered and the relationship between the individual and society was re-negotiated."[40] In trying to understand this connection between state formation and identity, studies on pre-Roman Italy have tended to focus exclusively on an individual ethnic group (despite dubious evidence that these are even real groups), rather than on urban structures or civic identity: Samnites (Salmon 1967, Dench 1995, Scopacasa 2016), the Bruttians, (Sangineto 2013) or the Lucanians (Isayev 2007), and Apulians (Carpenter, Lynch, and Robinson 2014).[41] These studies, while invaluable for the specific focus on these groups, fail truly to engage with the relationships between individual ethne or cities with other groups, especially the Greeks of southern Italy.

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[38] Lomas 2000, 82-84.

[39] Herring 2000, 63 cites a series of more recent ethnographic studies "which suggests that culture contact can be an important factor in the (re)formulation of ethnic identities."

[40] Herring and Lomas 2000, 1.

[41] The use of these ethnic names as real categories is reinforced in the *The Peoples of Ancient Italy* (ed. Farney and Bradley, 2017) with chapters focusing on a single group (with the exception of Yntema "The Pre-Roman Peoples of Apulia").

A key issue with the study of the non-Greek peoples of Italy is that these cultural names are probably not native constructions, and it is not clear just who constitutes the "Lucanians" (or especially the "Oenotrians" and "Iapygians") in archaic Italy. Even more problematic is when the territorial and cultural descriptions from our much later Greek and Roman sources are uncritically applied to "archaeological cultures," which may not reflect actual human differences or similarities, let alone a clear and articulated identity.[42] As Herring has put it, the difficulty is that our written sources identify groups which are "political entities" while the "groupings we recognize archaeologically are cultural entities."[43] Further, even within archaeological materials it is not clear if the groupings that we can detect are ethnically significant. Recent works have attempted to avoid these pitfalls, such as Isayev's use of Italo-Lucanians to imply a broader group of people, but it is difficult to escape these categories.[44]

Studies that focus on a single group or settlement, in my opinion, obscure the larger picture of the network of southern Italy. When looking at the early phases of and the development of cities into the Classical and Hellenistic periods, the development of identity must be viewed simultaneously across cities and regions, not as parallel phenomena but as the result of constant communication and negotiation. While the evidence for non-Greeks is more difficult to recognize, it is most likely that similar process occurred among native communities, sometimes the creation of an exclusive and oppositional identity vis-à-vis the Greeks, but also cohabitation and assimilation of both types.[45]

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[42] This concept, and how the Greeks and Romans gave names to the people who surrounded them, is explored in Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989.

[43] Herring 2000, 47.

[44] I am not sure if there is any benefit to "local" or "indigenous" or "native" and use them interchangeably. Whitehouse & Wilkins 1989, 124 settled on "native" as the "least evil" despite its colonialist overtones.

[45] Herring 2000 dates the emergence of regional identities to the late 9th early 8th c. BCE based on regional styles of Matt-Painted pottery.

Middle Ground Theory

Because of the lack of a distinct ethnic make-up of Greek and "native" settlements in Archaic Italy, scholars have increasingly turned to Middle Ground theory as a way of conceptualizing this interaction. This theory was developed by Richard White in his 1991 book focused on the interaction among the indigenous communities in North America with French and English colonists. His Middle Ground was both spatial, the pays d'en haut of Upper French Canada, and cultural, the process of interaction between these groups. In a 2011 introduction to a new edition of the book, White lists the required elements for a Middle Ground space, "a confrontation between imperial and state regimes and non-state forms of social organization, a rough balance of power, a mutual need or a desire for what the other possesses, and an inability of one side to commandeer enough force to compel the other to do what is desired."[46] White argues that a "middle ground" is more than a space of compromise and interaction, but that a "middle ground is the creation, in part through creative misunderstanding, of a set of practices, rituals, offices, and beliefs that, although comprised of elements of the group in contact is as a whole separate from the practices and beliefs of all of those groups."[47] In his model, new practices and ideas were not only taken on by groups but themselves evolved as they were adopted and put to new uses, creating a Middle Ground as a new space where these changes were understood and accommodated by all. There is much here that has ready application to the Italian peninsula from the archaic period to the Roman conquest, especially the difficult negotiation between multiple cultural groups.

This theory has been utilized by Irad Malkin, most notably in A Small Greek World, where he argues for its usefulness throughout the archaic Mediterranean, especially since it helps break

[46] White 2011 [1991], xii.
[47] White 2011 [1991], xiii.

down the dichotomy between Greek and "other" so prevalent throughout classical scholarship.[48] While White himself has critiqued the unscrupulous application of the theory to other groups, it is useful in a southern Italian context as a metaphor if not a paradigm.[49] The world of southern Italy involved an endless series of negotiations between individuals and cities, both Greek and Italian. To what extent these cities remained "Greek" has been debated since antiquity, as is demonstrated by Strabo's famous statement that Poseidonia and other cities in Campania had become barbarized.[50] This, and the cultural change related to the Roman conquest, can be seen as the collapse of the delicately balanced Middle Ground, especially in Campania. The Middle Ground theory also provides space for both peaceful interaction (based on mutual understanding, rather than misunderstanding) and violence between the same groups at different times. The Middle Ground theory also gives agency to the non-Greek actors, both as individuals or ethnic groups. Yet, ultimately, there is not the level of evidence in the Archaic Mediterranean as White had for colonial North America, making it difficult to understand the motivations behind actors and label them as accommodating or misunderstanding.[51]

Malkin has argued that there is a Middle Ground in many Greek settlements around the Mediterranean and has studied the cultural interaction between Greeks and natives through myth and especially the Homeric nostoi. His 1998 book The Returns of Odysseus remains influential in the ways it used myth to understand the process and impacts of Greek settlement, and it clearly led into his work on Mediterranean networks. He focuses mainly on the figure of Odysseus but also

[48] Malkin 2011, 46. I also agree with his rejection of terms such as "hybridization" and "creolization" based on biological and linguistic metaphors which are not helpful in this context. I will also try to avoid terms like "Hellenization" and "Romanization" which, as many have argued, imply a cultural dominance that is not necessarily present in the sources.

[49] White, 2011 *Preface*.

[50] Strabo 6.1.3.

[51] Antonaccio 2013, 241 suggests that the Middle Ground model is more applicable to 8th or 7th century Campania but should not be applied wholesale to all Greek settlements.

looks towards Heracles as a proto-colonizer along with some other figures from the epic cycle, such as Philoctetes and Diomedes. One of the more valuable arguments that Malkin makes is that myth can be an object that has value and is traded among peoples. The idea of trade implies that the Greeks receive something in return for their figures and stories and that this is not a process of pure acculturation. Rome's adoption of the story of its Trojan origins has normalized the idea that these myths and Greek origins were inherently attractive to non-Greek cities and peoples; however, this is not the case for other places where the Greeks attempted to write their history onto other cultures, such as in India, Egpyt and Persia.[52] Malkin's work considers these heroes as "mediators," but what the myths do for non-Greeks, or how this mediation is happening in practice, is not clear.[53] For example, he makes the argument that Odysseus was a figure known to the Etruscans very early on, and he seems to have been used as a founding hero in Etruria. Malkin claims that the Etruscans naturally latched on to these "great epics, sung, alluded to and represented in paintings" because "they were something that no Etruscan could match."[54] This is based on the Anthony Smith's work on cultural identity and the idea that an inferior group will take on the opinion of themselves from another.[55] While we lack primary literary evidence for the religion and myth of the Etruscans, it is clear that their culture was just as rich as that of the Greeks and Phoenicians whom they encountered in the Iron Age.

This version of a middle ground is focused on mediation and mutual understanding (through shared myths and practices, such as xenia or the symposium), rather than White's focus on misunderstanding.[56] Malkin's main argument is that these nostoi were used by Greek and native cities in order to give them a sense of antiquity equaling the rest of the Greek world.

[52] Malkin 1998, 9.
[53] Malkin 1998, 30.
[54] Malkin 1998, 171.
[55] Malkin 1998, 173, citing Smith 1986, 178.
[56] Summarized well at Antonaccio 2013, 239-243.

Adopting a Trojan or Herculean origin could even give a native settlement an advantage in its antique legitimacy over some of the Greek settlements in Italy, which had historical founders and dates (even if they also claimed earlier heroic foundations).[57] Malkin's work has paved the way for a more sophisticated use of myth and foundation stories in the history of Magna Graecia, and the abundance of new archaeological evidence from the area since 1997 calls for a new approach to the way cities developed both physically and ideologically. In the following discussion, I look back to the Iron Age from an archaeological perspective better to understand how Greeks and native populations developed in response to one another; however, in the chapters that follow I will primarily focus on later periods in order to contextualize the myths and foundation legends within the shifting alliances and politics of the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

Myth, Ethnicity & Identity in the Ancient World

Studies of Greek and to a lesser extent, Roman and Italian identities have proliferated since Jonathan Hall's 2007 book Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity. This work built on previous scholarship which aimed to put to rest old ideas about race and identity in antiquity as well as the idea of any kind of ancient Greek "national" identity.[58] Hall's claim that ethne are a constructed category has been key for understanding the mythology, history and collective consciousness of these groups such as the Dorians, Ionians or Achaeans. What is missing at times is a focus on the polis level, linguistic differences, and the role of local myth and history, which can work in a similar way to the models Hall put forth for ethne.[59]

[57] Malkin 1998, 173. He suggests but does not explore that "the association with the Nostoi ennobled non-Greeks on Greek terms without involving submission to Greek political rule and may have smoothed the way for political alliances."
[58] Luraghi 2014 contains an excellent summary of the historiography.
[59] Vlassopoulos 2015.

While the written evidence for the actual development of cities and urban structures throughout Italy is meager, there is comparatively abundant evidence, both literary and archaeological, for the mythical and heroic foundation stories of cities and ethnic groups.[60] These are valuable for my study since ancient identity is often more reliant on the idea of shared ancestry, which is often articulated in myth, rather than aspects such as territory and shared language.[61] The focus on a shared ancestry and myth also implies that ethnicity and identity are not static but can be altered with every retelling of a story. They are not rooted in any natural or biological essentialism but should be considered dynamic, multi-layered and subjective.

Myth as a concept is difficult to define, but this study will take into account that literary versions of these stories are only part of the narrative. People in the ancient Mediterranean did not only read and hear their myths; they were featured on coins, on pottery, on architecture and performed through religious rituals.[62] The many layers of foundation stories for various cities indicates that there was rarely one single origin story, and most ancient peoples were comfortable with the ability to emphasize different aspects of their foundations and identities at different times. This flexibility is key for understanding how myth, identity, and politics can intersect in the ancient world – these moments of change are places where we can see the way myth can be put to use by a community, whether consciously or not.

The abundance of Greek myth in Italy and the fact that Italians (including Romans and others) took other's stories about their own identities and origins as their own is not a new observation. In a 2005 article, Andrew Erskine argued that native cities on the periphery of Greek civilization, such as those in Italy, on the Black Sea and in Asia Minor, took Greek heroes and

[60] Clarke 1999, 266 notes that especially the "southern part of Italy was more prone than areas further north to the visits of heroes wandering around the Mediterranean. No such heroic foundations were established in, for example, Gaul or Britain." This is true of the archaic period though much later "national heroes" emerged in these places.

[61] Hall 1997 and 2002.

[62] Malkin 1998, 33.

figures into their local myth since it allows both parties to talk to each other," and these figures can act as an "intermediary between their world and the Greeks."[63] But then why do the Greeks themselves not adopt others' stories about them? It is possible that we simply lack the sources, but Erskine argues that because being Greek was defined against others, incorporating these others' attributions would "give up something of what it is to be Greek, whereas to attribute descent from figures of Greek myth to non-Greek peoples does nothing to undermine their mythological core."[64] I mostly agree with Erskine, especially on the practical purposes to which myth can be used by non-Greeks on the periphery. The Greeks themselves were spread throughout the Mediterranean, and southern and central Italy form a unique area where we can understand better both the reasons behind the adoption of Greek figures and mythology and also the process through which these exchanges happen. It does seem, however, at least to a small extent, that the Greeks in Italy were willing to fit themselves into genealogies or incorporate founding heroes who were more associated with the Italian ethnic groups or landscape. These heroes were often associated with pre-foundation Greek figures, but there are some signs of influence and adaptation on both sides.

One example of this phenomenon is the various layers of founding heroes which both Greek and Italian cities seem to have. These founders generally operate on different timelines, with most Greek settlements having both a mythological founder, often one of the "wandering heroes" such as Odysseus, Hercules, Diomedes, or any number of Trojans, as well as an historical founder who is often worshiped as hero with a cult at his tomb in the agora.[65] The mythological founder often provides the excuse or the justification for the takeover of land at the new settlement, arguing

[63] Erskine 2005, 125-126.
[64] Erskine 2005, 132.
[65] The Western colonies were often associated with the *nostoi* of the Trojan war, since those often went West in the Greek imagination. Eastern colonies looked towards Argonauts and other early heroic figures for mythological founders.

that these places had always belonged to the Greeks.[66] The cult of the founder, however, as Malkin has argued, "emphasized his protection of the community and expressed the link of the community with the new land. In political terms his cult, celebrated annually and publicly, focused the polis-identity of the citizens on the figure of the founder."[67] This polis-identity was distinct from that of the mother-city and therefore emphasized the new identity of the settlement and the official beginning of the polis. Some colonies were founded by settlers from a specific city, such as the Spartan settlers of Taras, but others as missions by larger ethnic or regional groups, such as the Achaeans or the Dorians.[68] It appears that some non-Greek cities take up these stories for themselves, most notably at Rome but also in Cortona, where Odysseus is seen as a heroic founder, and throughout the Adriatic coast, where there are cults to Diomedes. A key question when considering the role of what we traditionally call "Greek myth" is how Greek is it? The polytheistic nature of Greek religion allowed the introduction of foreign gods, and the Greeks themselves were the ones who considered the migrations of others both human, hero and God in their own foundation stories.

On account of this ambiguity in identity for the early period of this study, I will try to avoid some of the larger categories of "Greeks" and "Romans" and "Italians" but instead focus on the individual city-state or settlement, while acknowledging that none of these are monolithic, homogenous groups.[69] While there are commonalities among the "Greeks" such as a shared

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[66] Wilson 2000, 38.

[67] Malkin 1994, 127.

[68] Wilson 2000, 36, has argued that in the 8th century the salient distinction would have been between Greek and non-Greek. The intra-Hellenic distinctions may have later evolved into actual differences between the settlements in Italy. He notes (33), however, that the Trojans have a unique role, and that while Homer's Trojans are non-Greek, they "are not clearly differentiated from the Akhaians in terms of their attitudes, their customs, their rituals and so forth." See also Hall 1989, 21-33.

[69] This is important for "Italians" since many of the ethnic names for groups given by Greek and Roman sources are extremely vague and our authors are not very careful about their application. It also applies to the Greeks and Romans, categories which can be taken for granted, but actually obfuscate the wide variety of identities within those categories. See Dougherty and Kurke 2003 for an exploration of the diversity of identity possible within "Greek Culture."

language and shared religion, there are also strong linguistic and regional variations among them, such as Doric, Ionian and Achaean identities as well as the strength of polis-specific identities. Especially for the Archaic period, Hall has argued that identity was not "oppositional" in the sense of Greeks vs. barbarians, but instead "aggregate."[70] Archaeological evidence from southern and central Italy, especially of burial patterns, has demonstrated that Greek settlements were often integrated with the local population from nearly the moment of foundation, and therefore the ideas of Greek and "other" or "barbarian" are also not very useful for the Italian context.[71] While we often think of Greek identity as exclusive, this is wrapped up in (mostly Athenian) ideas about citizenship, which is anachronistic for the cities in Italy from the 8th – 4th centuries where there is a high degree of integration between Greek and non-Greek.[72]

Indeed, Erskine has pointed out this contradiction, that while "Greek cities may have been exclusive and assertive of their identity…they were also prepared to share in a complex web of kinship that could be made to link one end of the Greek world with the other.[73]" Regardless of the ethnic make-up of these settlements, aspects of myth and the spread of Greek heroes and figures take firm root throughout the Italian peninsula and provide one of the major components of a sense of collective identity for many settlements. The Italian peninsula, as noted above, is a key "contact zone" between cultures, and this contact occurred at a key moment in the formation of identities of both the new arrivals and the indigenous peoples. These spaces of interaction are ideal places to be critical of these notions of essentialized identity and allow us to examine, on multiple

[70] Malkin 1998, 18, Hall 1989.

[71] Most famous is Pithecussae, where significant portions of the population appear to be "Levantine" while many of the women are Etruscan. Other sites with evidence of "mixed cultures" in the burial record are Tor Pisana, Canale, Gioia Taura; see Wilson 2000, 37.

[72] As noted by Antonaccio 2013, the theory also has appealed to post-colonial studies in general and resembles the "thirdspace" of Homi Bhabha and Edward Soja, although these theories involve the idea of hybridity and were initially connected to language use.

[73] Erskine 2003, 205.

levels, the ways in which a collective identity can grow. This is another area where postcolonial theory is relevant – studies of social interaction at "borderlands" allow for comparative examples of how this interaction (despite perhaps differences in power dynamics or the intent of the new settlers) spurred the creation of societies and of "hybrid" identities.

Kinship Diplomacy

The use of myth as a focal point for constructing identity and fitting within the larger Mediterranean world is seen at Rome, where there are various versions of the foundation of the city by Romulus and Aeneas and the scholarship on how and when these myths evolved is massive.[74] Many scholars have dated the Roman promotion of its Trojan origins to the Hellenistic age, when Rome wanted to present itself to the Greek world as an insider.[75] The Trojans gave Rome a unique place in the Greek mythic world. As Trojans, the Romans became just as ancient as other Greek polities, but with an advantage of the flexibility given by being Greek-adjacent. The use of kinship as a method for asserting identity and creating connections between city states is a well-documented Greek phenomenon; however, this connection is often lost or understated in studies of Magna Graecia.

Malkin's key study in The Returns of Odysseus questions why Greek city states (or non-Greek city states) in Italy create these mythic histories which often go back to Homeric heroes. He argues that these would enhance a city's prestige and give them a place within a panhellenic mythical landscape on par with older city-states.[76] While this is accurate, it is only a part of a larger picture. The need to be simply a part of the mythic history of the Mediterranean does not explain

[74] Cornell 1975 (Aeneas), Bremmer and Horsfall 1987, Wiseman 1995 (Remus). Grandazzi 1997 contains an excellent historiographic study of the development of the myths and their place in secondary scholarship.
[75] E.g. Gruen 1992, Elwyn 1993, Erskine 1997, Jones 1999, Battistoni 2008.
[76] Malkin 1998, 65, using the example of Croton, which, while having a technical founder, Myscellus, mints coins with the image of Hercules and the legend *Herakles ktistēs*. Another example is from Herodotus, who describes Apollo visiting Metapontum (4.15).

the layers of myth present in these cities and the abundance of competing narratives. Any discussion of a group's identification must be considered in its historical context, even when the stories and ancestors are considered primordial.[77] It is much more likely that they are using myth in a similar way to other city states throughout the Mediterranean, not only to assert their own antiquity but also to emphasize or underscore their relationships with each other, a process generally called kinship diplomacy. Evidence for the role of kinship in Greek diplomacy stretches far back in our Greek historians: Thucydides and Herodotus use it to describe large-scale alliances.[78] However, it seems to change in the Hellenistic period, or at least our increasing epigraphic in this period evidence indicates that these alliances become more local and available for small cities.[79] Does this change reach the rest of Italy? Does it operate in the same way? What kind of kinship is acceptable? Was it effective?

Kinship diplomacy brings the study of myth and identity into the relevant socio-political context. The connections which cities and states in the ancient world use are often based on a shared relationship to a distinct figure of myth or the heroic ages, although the relationship of mother city to apoikia is also an important connection. The foundational research for studies of kinship diplomacy was done by Louis Robert, who in his lifetime studying the epigraphy and political history of Asia Minor, noted the tendency to call upon shared ancestry or relatedness in diplomatic exchanges.[80] He never published a final study of the material, but the inscriptions which mentioned the term συγγένεια were compiled by Olivier Curty, who argues that the term refers to

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[77] Malkin 1998, 56.
[78] Jones 1999 24-26 (for Herodotus), 27-35 (Thucydides), the connection between Athens and the Milesians as an example. Fragoulaki 2013 explores kinship in general in Thucydides.
[79] Erskine 2003, 209.
[80] Robert 1953, 1960; Musti 1963 mentions a forthcoming work by Robert on the topic.

consanguinity through mythological kinship.[81] These inscriptions date from the 4th century BCE to the 4th century CE and even if not all of Curty's analyses are currently accepted, it demonstrates the widespread use of kinship (whether consanguinity, or marriage, or another type of relatedness) as a tool in forming political connections. Another epigraphically informed work by Angelos Chaniotis provides evidence for the use of local history and especially ones that celebrate mythological origins as a political tool within Greek cities. These inscriptions would be publicly displayed and aimed to remind the community of their shared history (albeit in a way that was politically expedient for the polis at that moment in time).[82]

A key work by Christopher Jones, Kinship Diplomacy in the Ancient World, traces this phenomenon from the Persian Wars to the end of the Roman empire, pointing to the Hellenistic period as the high point of this method of creating alliances.[83] It is also important to keep in mind that in some of the sources, especially epigraphic ones, the main goal of appeals to kinship is not necessarily military or political aid, but loans and other privileges. An assumption behind Jones's approach to kinship diplomacy is that the ancients truly believed in these myths and that these connections were legitimate, and although there is a place for modern cynicism towards the manipulation and invention of myth for personal benefit (the example of heroic founders of Roman families comes to mind), in general it seems as if the state actors involved believed in the validity of their mythic ancestry.[84] Although early Greek historians claimed to be distancing themselves from the accounts of the poets and myth, it is clear that they embraced rationalized versions of myth

[81] Curty 1995, see critiques in Hamon 1998, and Hall 1997, who argues that the term must be more flexible than Curty accounts for based on the evidence Curty himself provides. Many of his arguments were already present in Musti 1963.

[82] Chaniotis 1998.

[83] Jones 1999, 2.

[84] Jones 1999, 4-6, refuses to use the term fictive kinship because it was not fictive to the actors involved. He notes that there are "degrees of credulity" and that the more educated might have submitted myth to scrutiny while still recognizing its value in accommodating certain realities (or creating desired realities). See Carsten 2000 for several studies that take different approaches to the idea of fictive kinship in anthropology.

and heroes as their earliest history, such as Thucydides' use of King Minos or Herodotus' stories of Io and Europa.[85] Jones, therefore, does not distinguish the differences between kinship based on a figure such as Hercules or a historically documented relationship of metropolis and apoikia.

Jones's approach stands in contrast to a more recent study of kinship diplomacy, Patterson's 2010 book, Kinship Myth in Ancient Greece. Patterson differentiates his study from Jones in this specific area, arguing that his book is very much about myth and "the construction and articulation of identity by means of a putative ancestor, to whom a community might turn for an account of its origins, its relationship with other communities and its place in the panhellenic world (or some region within it)."[86] While the present study is indebted to Jones and Patterson for their theorizing of kinship diplomacy and its use in the Greek world, they both limit their studies to the Greek mainland, Asia Minor and occasionally Rome. The major centers of Magna Graecia get a passing mention, and the relationship with Italians outside of Rome is not present. Jones in particular utilizes Rome as an example of a state that uses the dominant (in this case, Greek) mythical world as a way to communicate and build an alliance as a weaker state to one more powerful.[87] While this is a valid explanation for some of his case studies, especially Lycia and Magnesia on the Maeander, for which there is a relative abundance of epigraphic evidence, it is not a universal explanation.

The case of Magnesia is worth exploring in a bit of detail since it is so paradigmatic for studies of kinship diplomacy.[88] The city attempted to have a festival to honor their main civic deity and founder, Artemis, in 221 BCE, prompted by an epiphany of the goddess. It appears however, that the festival and accompanying games were very poorly attended and did not help Magnesia

[85] Jones 1999, 24; Hdt. 1.1-3; Thuc. 1.4.
[86] Patterson 2010a, 12.
[87] Other key studies include: Musti 1963, Curty 1995, Will 1995, Lücke 2000, nearly all of which focus on the Greek mainland and Asia Minor and use epigraphic material.
[88] What follows is based on Patterson 2010a, 1-3, who is following Robert 1969a.

with its main goal: increasing its standing and fame on the panhellenic stage. The city attempted again in 208 to have similar games and festivals, but this time they sent out the invitations much more widely and, it seems, with personal appeals to kinship to many cities and rulers throughout the Greek world. They later inscribed these responses on the walls of their agora. One of the successful appeals was to the city of Same on Cephallenia, with whom they allegedly have a connection through the hero Aeolus, since their founders, Magnes and Cephalus, were his grandsons through Deion. In addition to support for the festival at Magnesia, the Cephallenians included an invitation to their own festival in honor of Cephalus.[89] Despite the arguments of Patterson and Jones, this type of diplomacy is not limited to the dynamics between weaker and more powerful states, and certainly not only from non-Greek to Greek states. Additionally, there is far more epigraphic evidence in the Greek East, where dedications and descriptions of diplomatic missions can easily be identified.[90] Also, many inscriptions, while they can inform us which city-states were attempting to form alliances, rarely state the story or myth that underpins this appeal to kinship.

Epigraphic studies, again focused on Asia Minor, have pointed to differences in vocabulary between states declaring a kinship relationship, the terms sungenia and oikeiotes. Curty has argued that oikeiotes is the broader term, indicating any of kind of connection, not limited to kinship, while sungeneia points explicitly to mythical connections.[91] Patterson has rightly diminished the importance of the debate on the distinct meanings of these terms, which either way indicate mythical kinship, and has brought in literary evidence to complement the ever-increasing focus on

[89] Jones 1999, 59.

[90] All of these studies are based on the work of Louis Robert, whose epigraphic and numismatic work in Asia Minor demonstrated many examples of kinship diplomacy (Patterson 2010a, 14).

[91] Curty 1995, 231; Patterson 2010b, 110. Both words are used in the correspondence between Magnesia and Same, see Jones 1999, 59.

epigraphy.[92] There are two prevailing ideas about what the appeal to a common kinship achieves within a diplomatic mission. Erskine paints a picture of a diplomatic mission in a very Hellenistic manner, with ambassadors and official speeches and democratic assemblies. In his model, the appeal to mythic and heroic ancestors legitimizes the initial request and allows for a relationship to exist where before there was none. Jones' model argues that the aim of highlighting sungenia is to appeal to the moral dimension, the requirement to help kinsmen in need. I do not see these goals as being mutually exclusive. It is clear in the famous example with the Xanthians that these appeals are not always effective, perhaps indicating that the moral imperative is not always the strongest. In this case, we have an appeal from a Greek city to another which is technically non-Greek. The Cytenians on Doris were suffering after an earthquake and sought financial support to help rebuild their city walls.[93] They appealed to the city of Xanthus in Lycia based on a kinship connection and the Xanthian reply is preserved on a stele from the sanctuary of Leto in Xanthus.[94] The myths cited range from connections to Leto and Asclepius, as well as Aeolus and Dorus, and the Heracleidae. Despite these firm ties the Xanthians only sent five hundred silver drachmae to help the Cytenians with their rebuilding project.[95] This layering of myths and the inclusion of various and outlying versions is part of the process and therefore we should not interpret it as duplicitous.

The examples from Magnesia and Xanthus are fascinating case studies, but the attitude towards Greeks in the Hellenistic East is very different than what the Greeks encountered in Italy. While the Lycians adopted the Greek language and wanted, as Erskine argues, to promote their "Greek pedigree," that level of so-called self-Hellenization is not clear in southern Italy. Indeed, in Campania it often appears in that the opposite took place, and our authors complain of the

[92] Patterson 2010a, 16-17.
[93] *SEG* XXXVIII.1476
[94] Patterson 2010a, 118-123 has a full explanation of the relevant myths, family trees and a partial translation of the inscription.
[95] Patterson 2010a, 118.

"barbarization" of once Greek cities. The establishment of the Greek colonies in the West is one of the more striking and obvious moments of myth-making in the ancient world. The Greeks perceived themselves not in the more modern view of a New World colonizer, coming into an unknown, untouched land, but actually following in the footsteps of their mythic predecessors. Considering themselves the followers of Hercules or Diomedes fulfilled many roles in their diplomatic and cultural spheres. As Malkin has noted, it helped maintain colonies in a relationship with a mother city on the other side of the Aegean, keeping colonies on the same level mythically as older Greek cities. Yet there is an entire peninsula-worth of interactions that have yet to be fully explored; these myths helped create diplomatic relationships between Greek colonies in Italy, especially in forming alliances such as the Italiote league, and both the creation and dissolution of these alliances tell us something about the evolving relationships of the period in which they took place. Recent work on kinship myth and diplomacy tends to focus on either Greek colonies in the East or the relationships between Rome and various Hellenistic kingdoms. Neither Patterson nor Jones engage with the Western Greek world, and the relationship between Greeks and non-Roman Italians, with whom they must have been in constant negotiation since the 8th century BCE.

Kinship Diplomacy at Rome

The Trojan legends of Rome are one area where scholars have considered the role of kinship diplomacy in Italy, and it offers a model for its application elsewhere. The development of the story of Aeneas at Rome has a long bibliography, both ancient and modern. Recent studies focus on the value of the myth for the Romans and their goals in promoting this story of origin to the Greek world. Were they trying to present themselves as somehow Greek, or at least as a city with a pedigree as old as any in the mainland? Or were they presenting themselves as the enemy of Greece, as the Trojans were an ancient foe?

A recent article by Federico Russo has turned this debate in a fruitful direction by looking at the Roman-Trojan myth within an Italian context and considering how it was used between Italians and Latins. Russo demonstrates that appeals to kinship between Rome and the Latins in particular were present as early as the Gracchan period. Appian's account of Gaius and Tiberius' speeches demonstrate their (alleged) use of the idea of sungenia in their philo-Italian approach.[96] This consanguinitas is later emphasized by Appian as well as Velleius Paterculus in accounts of the Social War.[97] Notably, in both instances, the appeal to kinship did not sway the Senate into having much empathy for their Italian kinsmen.

Two other moments of Roman alliance built through fictive kinship which have been extensively studied involve the Mamertines and the Sicilian cities of Centuripae and Segesta. The Mamertines appealed to both Rome and Carthage in 265 BCE and, according to Polybius, cited their homophylia with Rome. Leaving behind the debate on whether this term is synonymous with syngeneia, Russo has argued that the Mamertines' argument was based on a mutual connection to Troy. One version of the story given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus claims that Aeneas' son Rhomos founded Capua and named it after a Trojan hero, Capys, and this was the myth that the Mamertines, as a Campanian group, latched onto.[98] Russo has also argued that the connection was simply shared Italic identity in the face of the Greek and Carthaginian enemy.[99] This is one possibility, but another option stems from the name Mamertine, related to the Sabellic god Mamers, the equivalent of Latin Mars. Both states being "sons of Mars" could have helped ground their alliance at this moment, though this connection is clearly not something that overrides political expediency, as seen in the lack of support for the Mamertines (or the Mamertines' lack of

[96] Russo 2012, 234; Appian *BC* 1.1.9
[97] Russo 2012, 231-235, Appian. *Samn.* 5, Vel. Pat. 2.15.2
[98] Russo 2012, 238.
[99] Russo 2012, 243, Prag 2010, 67.

support for Rome) during the siege of Rhegium. As Prag has noted, the fact that these appeals to kinship are not part of the debate recorded in Polybius does not negate the claim or indicate that it was not part of the ultimate decision of the Romans to aid the Mamertines.[100] The multiplicity of myths and connections is probably not an accident, but part of the process of these types of appeals.[101]

Kinship diplomacy based on Trojan connections also underlies the alliance between Rome and the two Sicilian cities, Segesta and Centuripae. Although the earliest reference to Rome's alliance with Segesta is from Cicero (Ver. 4.72, 2.5.83), the proper moment for the connection to have been established is 263 BCE. (as stated by Zon. 8.9). Segesta's Trojan origin was not an expedient creation for the purpose of this alliance, since it is mentioned in Thucydides' Sicilian archaeology.[102] Segesta's tendency to appeal to foreign powers for help in Sicilian affairs is clear throughout its history, and the Trojan mythology probably helped form its connection with Rome. The connection between Rome and Centuripae is less secure, but a fragmentary inscription from Lanuvium hints that it might have been based on a connection to Latin culture and the Aeneas legend.[103]

What these examples demonstrate, and what Prag has argued in a recent article, is that none of the identities of these cities are static. The Romans can simultaneously be Trojan and Italian when making alliances with the Mamertines and Segesta but Greek when appealing to Syracuse against Carthage. What is missing from these studies is the complexity that must have been present in Italy on account of the multitude of different ethnic groups and shifting alliances.

[100] Prag 2011, 185.

[101] Herring 2000, 69-71 argues they are likely a mixed people of both Greek and Italians, given that they use the Oscan language but Greek script, and Oscan magistracies. The "Campanian/Samnite" identity was likely constructed for this purpose of appealing to Rome, or at least as a methodology of setting themselves up against the Greeks.

[102] Thuc. 6.2.3; Prag 2010, 68, Zevi 1999, 317-318.

[103] Prag 2010, 70. A full text and analysis of the inscription is in Battistoni 2010, 147-65.

Rome was not the only city manipulating her identity and using kinship diplomacy. Our Romano-centric approaches make the Roman alliance with the Mamertines and Syracuse seem natural and logical as Rome spreads her hegemony over the Italian peninsula, but this was not an inevitable outcome of Roman military action in the 4th and 3rd centuries. With these studies as models, it becomes clear that the origin stories for both Greek and native settlements in our written sources should be seen as stories created in the Classical and Hellenistic periods and reflecting the particular concerns of that time, however they often have roots much earlier. While foundation legends cannot be taken as evidence for 8th-and 7th-century development, they do "conform to specific contemporary socio-political circumstances and agendas."[104] These agendas are not just those of the Greek settlers, but of a larger network of emerging city-states in Italy. The 6th – 3rd centuries in Magna Graecia are dizzying with accounts of alliance, leagues, cities being destroyed among dozens of city-states competing for power. The emergence of identity based on myth for these city-states must be incorporated into this socio-political context.

Sources & Methodology

The question remains: how can we access these specific moments in time? The nature of our primary textual sources is certainly a challenge with this approach. Many accounts exist only in fragments, and the affairs of Italy are often not integral in the larger narrative that the ancient author is trying to tell. An added difficulty in understanding how this process works between Greek and indigenous communities is that the voice of the native populations is often non-existent or muted. The etic nature of our sources is a serious difficulty when trying to understand the identity of a group for which we have only outside sources. Because no historical sources remain from non-Greco-Roman authors, the best way to attempt to recover a whisper of the voices of the Italians is

[104] Attema et al. 2014, 132.

through archaeology. This study will consider material remains, including locally produced pottery, architectural and temple decoration as well as coinage in order to try to approach the question of civic and ethnic identity from a local perspective. This is not to say that there is always a clear match between archaeological remains and the ethnic groups mentioned in our literary sources; indeed, the opposite is usually the case.

Nevertheless, the literary evidence will remain vital, particularly since, as stated above, Magna Graecia lacks the broad epigraphic evidence common in other parts of the Hellenistic world. Patterson has demonstrated how many of these attempts at creating fictive kinship are based on local versions of myth, often associated with foundation legends. Unlike Rome, Magna Graecia has an early historiographic tradition, with local histories dating to the 5th century. These historians seem to have been interested in the mythical past of Italy, especially the surrounding groups, as well as in the local wars and rivalries between the Greek city states of Magna Graecia. While the earliest of these historians, the 5th-century Hippys of Rhegium, is an obscure figure, there are substantial fragments of Antiochus of Syracuse (late 5th century) and Timaeus of Tauromenium (4th century).[105] These fragments of early authors who come from the Greek west can demonstrate how the versions change over time, or which myth was common for a given city at the time of writing, precious information for understanding how cities manipulated and changed the emphasis on these stories over time.

Other Greek historians also have a role to play. There is a tradition that Herodotus spent several years at Thurii, an Athenian colony in southern Italy. Although his narrative is most often focused on events further east, Herodotus can give us perspective on the cities of southern Italy, internal politics, and the process of colonization from the 5th century. Thucydides also mentions

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[105] For an outline of Timaeus' work and his predecessors see Pearson 1987, who argues that Hippys is likely fictional, contra Giangiulio 1994.

some cities on the Italian peninsula in addition to his "archaeology" of Sicily. This section forms the basis of many of the foundation dates for all colonies in the western Mediterranean. South Italian cities and peoples also appear as actors Thucydides' account of the Peloponnesian war, and while the story is focused on Sicily, the war had a large impact on many of the cities presented here, especially Locri and Rhegium.

These historians, including many who only survive in fragments, were probably the sources of the 1st century geographer, Strabo, whose work is critical for this study.[106] In Books 5 and 6 of his Geography, Strabo presents a tour of Italy, often dwelling on foundation stories and key moments in a city's political history, and giving a disproportionate amount of space to southern Italy and Sicily.[107] Strabo often cites his sources and at several times presents competing accounts, giving us a sense of the way that he engaged with these earlier historians. There are places in Strabo's Geography when he is clearly using several much earlier sources and his own account becomes confused in the time-scale.[108] A concern with all of these authors, however, is their obvious position as outsiders and their lack of precision or knowledge when describing native groups. While Strabo must be read in the context of the Augustan age and with the perspective of a Greek living under the Roman empire, his use of these early sources gives us an earlier perspective on the process of self-identification of cities and peoples throughout Italy.

A generally neglected source for southern Italy is the 3rd century poet, Lycophron, and his complex poem, the Alexandra. The poem is in the voice of Cassandra (sometimes called Alexandra, hence the title), mostly a prophecy spoken by the title character in her characteristically difficult way. The poem makes use of and follows in the tradition of Hellenistic ktisis literature and

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[106] Recent major work on Strabo includes Roller 2018, Dueck 2017, Roller 2014, Dueck, Lindsay and Pothecary 2005, Dueck 2000, as well as an updated textual addition and German translation, Radt 2002-2011.
[107] Migliario 2017, 79.
[108] See Clarke 1999, 250-251. For example, his description of levies in Cisalpine Gaul which seems to date to a pre-Marian system (Strabo 5.1.1).

describes many local cults and rituals, with a particular focus on the Western Mediterranean. The date of the poem is difficult and often connected to the interpretation of the final part of the prophecy, the prediction of Roman power. The author and text have been the subject of several studies in the last few decades.[109] As noted by Hornblower in his recent commentary and translation, Lycophron's use of epithets and obscure myths, while frustrating for the modern reader, simultaneously preserves some of these local traditions.[110] While it is difficult to attempt source analysis in general, the lack of a confirmed date for the poem makes this even more challenging, though a reliance on Timaeus is clear in several areas. The Suda connects to the poem to a Lycophron of Chalcis, resident in Alexandria, and living in the early 3rd century.[111] While this is the standard view, most cogently argued by Momigliano (1945), two recent considerations (Hornblower 2015, McNelis & Sens 2016) have argued for a later date in the early/mid 2nd century. The 3rd-century date, in addition to the ancient testimonia, relies on the argument that there are no references in the text to the First Punic War. Hornblower sees a reference to the war with the emphasis on the ancestry of the Dasii (a family from Arpi who feature in the Second Punic War) and argues that the prophecies which detail the rise of Rome are not suitable for a 3rd-century context, especially for someone writing in Alexandria.[112] A third solution is that the predictions about the power of Rome are later interpolations into the text.[113] I am more inclined towards a date in the 3rd century, seeing Rome's defeat of Pyrrhus as a sufficient moment for knowledge of Rome's power throughout the Hellenistic world. The Greeks were aware of Latium as early as Hesiod, and Rome is mentioned in the 5th-century works of Hellanicus of Lesbos; therefore it is

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[109] Major texts, commentaries, and monographs include Gigante Lanzara 2000, Hurst and Kolde 2008, McNelis and Sens 2016, Hornblower 2015, Hornblower 2018, along with many articles on sections of the poem.
[110] Hornblower 2015, 48.
[111] Suda 827, McNelis and Sens 2016, 11
[112] Hornblower 2018, 19-20.
[113] West 1983, McNelis and Sens 2016, 11.

not entirely teleological to consider that the city would remain in the sights of Greek writers as Rome continued to expand its power. The Dasii were also clearly powerful in Arpi before the Second Punic War, as is indicated by their status as moneyers, and Lycophron clearly has very detailed knowledge of these people and places and his awareness of the family before the Second Punic War (especially if they, at this early date, were claiming a connection to Diomedes) should not be surprising.[114] An earlier date is more in line with the image of the Italian peninsula described in his work, where Rome is a clear threat, but not the only threat. This date makes him a key source for the mythological landscape of southern Italy and can give us precious insight into the stories and myths that were circulating in the Hellenistic period.

Regardless of the specific date of the Alexandra, it is clear that Lycophron was using the works of the Sicilian historian and mythographer Timaeus who wrote around 300 BCE and whose works focused on cult and myth in the western Mediterranean. Lycophron's knowledge of Italian cult places and local myths can, at times, be attributed to Timaeus and their (probably) mutual sources, but his focus and the details about obscure epithets has even led some scholars to give him an Italian home, perhaps Locri.[115] While autopsy of sites or inscriptions is not necessary for the details present in Lycophron's poem, it does demonstrate his vast and meticulous research and engagement with the local traditions of historiography taking place in Magna Grecia in the 4th and 3rd centuries. Lycophron's poem is also clearly in tune with the practices of kinship diplomacy, and the speaker, Cassandra, promotes and predicts the eventual dominance of her kinsmen, the Trojans, over the Mediterranean.[116] The difficult prophecy connected to the dating of the poem directly refers to an individual kinsman of Cassandra who will bring together east and west:

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[114] Hornblower 2018, 20-21.
[115] Hornblower 2015, 47, 72. McNelis and Sens 2016 note that many of our fragments of Timaeus come from the scholiast on Lycophron, Tzetzes.
[116] Jones 1999, 48 – 49.

πολλοὶ δ᾽ ἀγῶνες καὶ φόνοι μεταίχμιοι 1435
λύσουσιν ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν Αἰγαίαις πάλας
δίναισιν ἀρχῆς ἀμφιδηριωμένων,
οἱ δ᾽ ἐν μεταφρένοισι βουστρόφοις χθονός,
ἕως ἂν αἴθων εὐνάσῃ βαρὺν κλόνον
ἀπ᾽ Αἰακοῦ τε κἀπὸ Δαρδάνου γεγὼς 1440
Θεσπρωτὸς ἄμφω καὶ Χαλαστραῖος λέων
πρηνῆ θ᾽ ὁμαίμων πάντα κυπώσας δόμον
ἀναγκάσῃ πτήξαντας Ἀργείων πρόμους
σῆναι Γαλάδρας τὸν στρατηλάτην λύκον
καὶ σκῆπτρ᾽ ὀρέξαι τῆς πάλαι μοναρχίας. 1445
ᾧ δὴ μεθ᾽ ἕκτην γένναν αὐθαίμων ἐμὸς
εἷς τις παλαιστής, συμβαλὼν ἀλκὴν δορὸς
πόντου τε καὶ γῆς κεἰς διαλλαγὰς μολών,
πρέσβιστος ἐν φίλοισιν ὑμνηθήσεται,
σκύλων ἀπαρχὰς τὰς δορικτήτους λαβών. 1450

Many struggles, and much slaughter in the interval,
shall loosen the wrestling-hold of those who compete for hegemony,
both on the eddying waves of the Aegean
and on the ox-turned ridges of the land,
until a fierce lion put to sleep the grave conflict–
one born from Aiakos and from Dardanos,
both a Thresprotian and a Chalastraian.
He will overturn and lay low the house of his brothers,
and force the trembling Argive leaders
to fawn on the wolf-commander of Galadra,
and hand over the sceptre of the ancient kingship.
With him, after six generations, my kinsman,
a unique wrestler, after joining in a spear fight,
shall come to an agreement of reconciliation about sea and land,
and be celebrated as the greatest among his friends,
taking the first offerings of the spear-won spoils. (Trans. Hornblower)

This kinsman has been interpreted as T. Flamininus by Hornblower (following Beloch 1927), the Roman conquer of Greece. Holzinger, a previous commentator on the text, makes the lion of line 1439 Pyrrhus and the kinsmen wrestler his opponent, C. Fabricius.[117] Hornblower rejects this suggestion based on his later date of the text and the argument that Fabricius is not sufficiently

[117] Hornblower 2015.

"famous, flamboyant, and outstandingly charismatic."[118] Other identifications for the kinsmen wrestler have been P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus and L. Aemilius Paullus.

Both Lycophron and Strabo situate their world in the context of the Homeric poems and the epic cycle. Strabo considers Homer the first geographer and sees himself as following Homer's lead with his massive Geography. As Patterson has argued, Strabo "joins the ranks of Hecateus, Thucydides, Aristotle and Diodorus in embracing heroic myth as ancient history and recognizes a basic continuity in the history of many cities going back to heroic times, where many putative foundations took place."[119] Strabo's concept of geography and the Augustan world he inhabits is focused on the polis as a universal method of structuring space and people.[120] He is interested in the foundations, re-foundations, re-namings and repopulating of cities, especially those which he can tie to Homer. However, in his accounts of Sicily, Campania, and southern Italy he had to account for peoples without cities such as the Lucanians and Bruttians.[121] His approach to the development of ethne mirrors the ways in which he considers the development of cities. Many of these groups are also given Trojan or other Greek migrants as founders. Rome, as a Greco-Roman city, is the center of his conception of the world, but Strabo's own outlook is much more complicated. While he writes in Greek and within a Greek intellectual tradition, his hometown, Amasia was technically in the kingdom of Pontus, and he was probably a Roman citizen or at least also considered himself a part of the Roman empire. Perhaps because of this, Strabo is able to see and describe a sliding scale in his conception of Greek and barbarian, especially as he considers

[118] Hornblower 2015, 492.
[119] Patterson 2010b, 113; an idea also explored in Clarke 1999, 250 and Dueck 2000, 73-74.
[120] Clarke 1999, 205.
[121] Van der Vliet 2003, 267 has noted that while Strabo generally puts the ethnic and kinship relationships from a founder into the background of his geography, he does note that for cities in Italy this has a role in defining their identity. His analysis then shifts to Rome, leaving behind the question of how Strabo uses these kinship relations.

the role of the Romans in that dichotomy.[122] It is also important to recall that Strabo was probably first and foremost a historian, although his 47 book Histories only remains in scanty fragments.[123] Diodorus Siculus' Bibliotheke, a universal history written during the Late Republic is another critical source for Magna Graecia. While we only have fifteen books fully extant, the work spanned chronologically from the Trojan War to 60 BCE. Generally, Diodorus has been dismissed as a subpar historian, only valuable because he unthinkingly copied his sources, and therefore the search for these sources has dominated studies of the text.[124] More recent reassessments have emphasized the literary quality of his work, including moralistic undertones and ideas about the rise and fall of empires. Diodorus' status as a "western Greek" from Sicily helps bolster the idea that he had access to earlier Sicilian authors mentioned above and despite recent arguments in favor of his inventiveness, was likely quite faithful to the content of his sources.[125]

Another key source for this dissertation, and one which is modeled in some ways on Diodorus' work is Justin's epitome of the Historiae Philippicae of Pompeius Trogus. Justin's work is typically dated to around 200 C.E., while the origin text, a universal history beginning with the Assyrian empire, dates to the Augustan period.[126] The debate still centers on the extent to which the text reflects the work of Justin as an author or simply a faithful abridgement of Trogus' history.[127] While the primary subject of the text, as deduced from the name, is the Hellenistic age

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[122] Van der Vliet 2003, 263, 270.

[123] Clarke 1999, 194.

[124] The best introduction to Diodorus as an author is in the extensive Introduction in Stylianou 1998, a commentary on Book 15. Other works, such as Sacks 1990, Muntz 2017 aim to consider Diodorus in his literary context and rehabilitate his status as an innovative historian.

[125] Stylianou 1998, 49: "The 'traditional' position is that Diodorus generally relied on one main authority at a time…the principle rests securely on the simple fact that whenever he can be checked, that is, by comparing his text against those of surviving sources, it can easily be demonstrated that Diodorus tended to follow closely one source for as long as possible." These sources are generally Ephorus and Timaeus.

[126] Yardley 2003, contra Syme 1988 who supported a date in the 4th century CE.

[127] Yardley 2003 aims to do this through a careful linguistic study – attributing some sections to one or the other author. Alonso-Núñez 1987, 62 suggests that anthology is a better term than epitome, but epitome remains the standard term.

and the impact of Macedon, the text as it comes down to us, naturally reaches far and wide in its contents and seems generally interested in the idea of empire. Although written in Latin, Rome is not the center of his narrative, and thus we find many pieces of information not present in Romano-centric histories.[128] The abridged nature of our text also makes it difficult to know Trogus' sources, but we can guess that they would be the same as our other Augustan age authors. As with any ancient source, caution is necessary, especially for early time periods.

This assortment of sources helps piece together both the mythological stories the cities and groups at the center of this study told about themselves, but also the political and social history of southern Italy. Understanding the context in which myths were elaborated and disseminated is critical for studies of how these societies began to conceive of themselves and how these stories could be related to their political goals. While these are the main literary sources, many others will come into the story, and all need to be considered individually for their reliability. Of course, especially for myths and origin stories, written sources are not our only pieces of evidence, and other ways of communicating identity and mythology, especially coins, temple decoration and painted pottery, help put together a more complete picture.

Tarentines and Samnites: Spartan Siblings

As an introductory case study of how this process of mythmaking and kinship diplomacy could work between Greeks and non-Greeks, the relationship between the Samnites and the Tarentines can serve as an example. A variant of their foundation story connects the Samnites with Sparta, and scholars have noted that this is a rather blunt attempt to underscore an alliance between this Italic group and the Spartan colony, Taras. Much of this information comes from

[128] Alonso-Núñez 1987, 59. In contrast to his near-contemporary, Livy. Perhaps his audience was not Italians, but others like himself who came from the western provinces of the Roman empire.

Strabo, and it provides one of our clearest examples of a Greek colony actively attempting to create a relationship based on kinship with a native group. He claims that the Tarentines, in order to flatter the Samnites and bring them in as allies (and probably mercenaries), invented a Spartan origin for them as well.[129]

> τινὲς δὲ καὶ Λάκωνας συνοίκους αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι φασὶ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ φιλέλληνας ὑπάρξαι, τινὰς δὲ καὶ Πιτανάτας καλεῖσθαι. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ Ταραντίνων πλάσμα τοῦτ' εἶναι, κολακευόντων ὁμόρους καὶ μέγα δυναμένους ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἅμα ἐξοικειουμένων, οἵ γε καὶ ὀκτὼ μυριάδας ἔστελλόν ποτε τῆς πεζῆς στρατιᾶς, ἱππέας δ' ὀκτακισχιλίους.
>
> Some even say that Laconians came to dwell among them, and that this is the beginning of their philhellenism, and some are even called Pitanatae. But this seems to be a fiction of the Tarentines, for the purpose of flattering these neighboring and very powerful people, and at the same time to appropriate for themselves, since the Samnites had eighty thousand footsoldiers and eight thousand cavalry.

This version also appears in Cato's account of the city's origin, but our sources for this story present it differently, declaring that the eponymous founder of the Sabellic peoples, Sabus, was himself a Spartan.[130] Still other accounts have Sabus as a local deity.[131] It is likely that Cato told both versions as alternatives in his account of their foundation. The association with the Spartans would also probably flatter the Samnites by connecting them to the Spartan stereotypes of frugality and ferocity. The Samnites' ability as soldiers was probably already known to the Tarentines. Several helmets of Tarentine design have been found at Samnite sanctuary at Pietrabbondante, dating to the 5th-mid 4th centuries BCE and are plausibly identified as spoils of war.[132] This passage from Strabo, along with the helmets indicates that the relationship between the Samnites and Tarentines must have changed in the 4th century, perhaps reacting to the encroachment of Rome.

[129] Strabo 5.4.12.
[130] Dench 1995, 86-87; Serv. Auct. *Ad Verg. Aen*. 8. 638; Cato *FRH* F9, F50.
[131] Dench 1995, 86-87. Gell. *NA* 3.7.1-19.
[132] Dench 1995, 55. Clearly from a period of time when these groups were not allied.

Spartan heritage was useful to the Samnites, not only to secure Tarentum as an ally but also to push against Roman characterizations of the Samnites as backward. Having the Tarentines as allies would obviously have been beneficial to the Samnites as they continued to face Rome, and perhaps had already been defeated by Alexander of Epirus (the Molossian), called in by the Tarentines to help against their Italian enemies in 332 BCE. The willingness of the Samnites to engage in Greek style diplomacy is clear in an account by Dionysius of Halicarnassus of a debate that took place at Naples in 327 BCE.[133] According to Dionysius, the Romans and Samnites were sparring over who had better "Greek credentials" and therefore could be a better ally to Naples. This was another obvious place for the Samnites to promote their Greek heritage, especially if it emphasized positive Spartan characteristics. That the Samnites won indicates that these connections were strong.[134]

Some enigmatic coins also point towards the idea that the Tarentines and Samnites were negotiating through forms of kinship diplomacy. Coins with the legends ΠΕΡΙΠΟΛΩΝ ΠΙΤΑΝΑΤΑΝ and ΣΑΥΝΙΤΑΝ dating from the 4th century BCE, have been found in a hoard in Campania.[135] The allusion is probably to the Pitanate guard, a section of the Spartan military which, although rejected as inauthentic by Thucydides, is assumed to be historical.[136] Additionally, as Mommsen and Salmon have noted, these do not come from Samnium but "perhaps they were minted at Tarentum to flatter the Samnites."[137] Another likely explanation is

[133] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 15.5-8. It is possible that Dionysius may be overstating the case for the Greek status of the Samnites, especially since Greek origins for Italic peoples (especially the Romans) is a key theme of his work. The debate is not present in Livy's discussion of the outbreak of the Second Samnite War (8.22-23), but his account does indicate that there was an alliance between the Samnites and Neapolitans.
[134] Scopacasa 2015, 134.
[135] Scopacasa 2015, 31. Dench 1995, 63. *HN* 3, 445, 446; as noted by Rutter, the Doric dialect of the Saunitan coinage also points towards a connection with Taras.
[136] See Lupi 2006, for the debate. Thuc. 1.20.3
[137] Salmon 1967, 70.

that they were minted to pay Samnite mercenaries.[138] This points to the shifting nature of the relationship between the Tarentines and the inland Italians. The Tarentines were obviously concerned about the growing power of Rome in the 4th and 3rd centuries and forming an alliance with a formidable foe was to their political and military benefit; the most logical way to accomplish this was to present themselves as related to an Italic group through kinship, and, possibly for pragmatic reasons, the Samnites accepted this claim. As Scopacasa has recently stated, following Dench, "the 'Tarentine fiction' is more likely to indicate a convergence of Samnites and Tarentine interests in constructing a mutually beneficial relationship in the late fourth century, rather than a one-sided move on the part of Tarentum."[139]

This is the clearest example of kinship diplomacy we can see in Italy between Greeks and non-Greeks, but it has rarely been defined in these terms. The Spartan foundation story for the Samnites is probably a 4th or 5th century invention, but it still held enough currency for the Samnites to tout their Greek status in the debate at Naples and created a lasting connection to Tarentum. Of course, this only lasted as long as it was mutually beneficial and never eclipsed other foundation legends of the Samnites.

The following examples will not be as clear-cut, but the methodology and mentality behind the kinship claims is the same. In the Tarentine-Samnite relationship, Strabo gives a one-sided view of the alliance and the Spartan mythology – that the story is created by the Tarentines for their own benefit. Throughout this dissertation the Greek and Roman bias of our sources will be at the forefront, but as this example shows, it is possible to see when other Italic groups may have appropriated or fabricated Greek origins for their own gain. The shifting of foundation legends is

[138] Followed by Scopacasa 2015, 39.
[139] Scopacasa 2015, 49.

also constant among the Greek cities themselves and shows how they formed alliances in Italy and across the Mediterranean.

Chapter 2 : Locri Epizephyrii: Myths, Allies and Enemies from the 8th – 4th c. BCE

Introduction

The initial development of localized identities in the Greek city-states of southern Italy goes hand-in-hand with their foundations in the 8th and 7th centuries BCE. The traditional view of this process, outlined in Chapter 1, gives little thought to how these identities arose, instead simply assuming that the migrants were already Greeks and that the same inter-ethnic dynamics that existed on mainland Greece continued in Italy and Sicily.[140] A second view, most recently articulated by Malkin, argues that these city-states and their inhabitants "became Greek" in opposition to the local inhabitants of Italy they encountered.[141] This is seen as roughly parallel to the typical narrative of the development of Greek cultural identity in the 5th century BCE, where a consciousness of cultural difference grew in opposition to the Persian "other." While each of these theories decentralizes the formation process of Greek identity and seeks to find early evidence for its emergence, both focus on the creation of identity through opposition in Italy. This chapter takes issue with the broad application of these previous arguments and looks more closely at identity development on a local level. In contrast to previous models, it is important to emphasize that, although Greeks and indigenous Italians were at least initially separated by a language barrier,

[140] This is apparent even in the titles of the seminal works in English on this area, e.g. Dunbabin *The Western Greeks* (1948) or Boardman *The Greeks Overseas* (1999).

[141] Malkin, 2001, 38. "The colonial experience made commonalities come to the foreground, rendering them "Greek" in the making."

other cultural differences may not have been very pronounced, and in many cases the two groups co-existed peacefully or even were integrated into each other's settlements.[142] It is, therefore, less likely that local identities formed on the strict division of Greek/"barbarian" in the early years of settlement in southern Italy.

This chapter builds on the idea presented in Ch.1 that identity should be viewed on many levels and scales. While there has been a flurry of case studies focused on ethnic and regional identities in Greece, Asia Minor, and the Black Sea since the publication of Hall 2007, very few of these have considered the impact of migration on collective identities in Italy. If, as Hall argues, a shared territory is part of what makes an ethnic identity, what happens when new communities are established far away? Is shared ancestry and shared mythology enough to maintain a trans-regional ethnic identity? The picture is, of course, much more complicated, and like the foundation discourse produced centuries later, the emergent identities of settlements in Italy have many layers.[143] Scholars have pointed to the formation of the Italiote league as an indication of a collective identity of Italian Greeks; however, this is an anachronistic retrojection of an alliance that did not exist until the 5th century at the earliest.[144] Using a combination of literary and archaeological evidence, I argue that the first attempts at creating civic identities in Italy were more concerned with defining difference among the migrant settlements themselves, rather than against the "Lucanians" or "Iapgyians," which are also problematic and anachronistic terms as I discussed in the introduction.[145] However, indigenous Italian groups do not seem (on our limited evidence)

[142] As argued recently for Metapontum and Siris by Yntema 2011. An oft-cited example is the tombs of Gioia Tauro which demonstrates a mixed necropolis of Greeks and local Italians based on the variety of grave assemblages. See Skinner 2012, 182-4, Wilson 2000.

[143] Vlassopoulos 2015 contains a critique of Hall that problematizes the elision between civic, regional and trans-regional identity in his work, all of which seem at times to fall under the category of "ethnicity."

[144] Wonder 2012.

[145] The formation of distinct local identities within Italic groups had also not yet occurred at the onset of Greek migration to Italy. The development of these groups will be the subject of Ch.4 of this dissertation.

to have coherent ethnic identities until the late 5th or early 4th centuries BCE, a development that changes the nature of politics and identity-based alliances throughout Italy until the rise of Rome. The later organization of and military threat from these Italic groups is why their identities and relationships with Greek settlements figure so prominently in our sources, and this intensification of conflict with native Italians will be the focus of Chapter 4.

This chapter considers the city of Locri Epizephyrii (hereafter Locri, or Italian Locri) as a case study for the development of civic identity in a Greek settlement in southern Italy by considering the foundation discourse of the city and how it relates to the network of alliances the Locrians cultivated. Locri is an ideal case study because later literary sources often commented upon its foundation legend, but the relative obscurity of the city means that they have been largely ignored in modern scholarship. Despite this obscurity, the city of Locri had deep political, military, and economic connections with cities throughout southern Italy, especially Taras and Siris, eventually with Syracuse, and on mainland Greece, with Sparta and the two areas called Locris. The foundation discourses and political narratives of these cities will be explored as they relate to the bonds of kinship diplomacy with Locri. This chapter also highlights the malleability of identities, with a regional ethnic identity in Greece, Locris, changing into a localized civic identity among the migrants in Italy. For the sake of clarity, I will use Locris when referring to the regions on mainland Greece and Locri for the Italian city.

Tracing the political developments and military engagements in southern Italy from the 8th to the 5th c. can help explain how and why the Locrians chose to self-fashion in the way they did. The Locrians did not develop their stories in isolation; their foundation discourse reflects interactions with the major players in southern Italy, especially the cities which eventually organized themselves into the "Achaean League" in the 6th century. Furthermore, while most city-states in Italy harked back to Homeric or at least heroic Bronze Age founders, Locri lacks one of

these pre-colonization figures.[146] The city's foundation tale, however, still provided it with a tool for engaging with other city states through the process of kinship diplomacy. The other cities in southern Italy which lack heroic pre-colonization figures (Taras, Rhegium and Siris) are all listed as military and political allies of Locri in the battles and rivalries among Greek settlements in the 7th and 6th centuries BCE, demonstrating the value of having a more malleable origin story.

The differing foundation stories of Locri presented by our literary sources can be partially mapped onto changes in Locri's political history. The most obvious kinship connection for any Greek migrant settlement is with its metropolis; however, the relationship between Italian Locri and the two regions called Locris on the Greek mainland is not at all clear. Despite the confusion about which Locris was responsible for settling Italian Locri, by the 5th century the Italian city-state was actively engaging in the creation of a pan-Locrian identity. The following section explores a constant motif in the stories about both Greek Locrides and Italian Locri: the powerful role of women as seen in the maiden rituals attested in both areas. Locri developed its own poliadic cults and rituals that reflected common perceptions of what it meant to be Locrian on both sides of the Adriatic. A key figure in both these maiden rituals and a sense of pan-Locrian identity was Ajax son of Oileus, who was allegedly from Locris. The expiation of his rape of Cassandra provided the basis of a long-term religious practice in Locris and, I argue, is the inspiration for similar rituals in Italian Locri. Legends surrounding the appearance of Ajax as an ally in battle for the Locrians in the 6th century underscores this connection.

The prominence of women in the foundation of Locri Epizephrii is mirrored in the foundation legend of Taras; I argue that the Locrians actively cultivated the political link with both Taras and its mother-city Sparta by emphasizing the maiden theme in its foundation stories. Next,

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[146] However, see Hall 2005 for a chart of southern Italian foundation stories that demonstrates that we rarely have the entire typical foundation sequence (heroic founder-Delphic oracle-eponymous founder) for each colony.

I consider the parallel development of Italiote "Achaean" cities, which, under the leadership of Sybaris, formed not only their own civic identities but a shared collective identity based on Homeric genealogies. Locri purposely avoided the model provided by these city-states, and with a more flexible identity not bound by Homeric founder, Locri instead situated itself in the political orbit of other cities who could provide military and economic aid in times of need. The use of kinship connections provided a way for Locri to underscore these appeals not just as a random far-away city but as one with deep cultural connections to the cities from which they were requesting aid.

In the mid-6th c. BCE we can recognize the value to Locri of these connections. When faced with a difficult war against Croton, which culminated with an unexpected Locrian victory at the Battle of the Sagra River, Locri appealed to both the Spartans and the Greek Locrians for political and military aid. I argue that Locri used kinship diplomacy in order to make specific requests to these states. The Locrians did not invent wholesale traditions that linked it genealogically and culturally with Sparta (and its colony, Taras), but had cultivated these connections for an extended period before calling in the favors. While neither Sparta nor Locris seem to have given direct military assistance, the diplomatic request is preserved in the textual tradition, and the cities allegedly gave divine aid by lending their patron heroes and gods to the Locrian cause. After their unexpected victory over Croton, the Locrians maintained these connections and honored the help they received in dedications and commemorative sculpture. While the Battle of the Sagra is our best example, throughout its history Locri constantly engaged in changing alliances and often used tools such as its coinage and civic iconography to reinforce the city's connections to its potential allies.

Who are the Locrians? Myth and History in Italy and Greece

There are very few certain facts about the foundation of Locri Epizephyrii. The city is located in the modern Italian province of Calabria, by the toe of Italy, and has been the object of excavation since the beginning of the 19th century.[147] Dates for the foundation of the city in our ancient textual sources are generally in the early 7th c. BCE but range from "a little after the foundation of Croton" (traditionally dated to 710) until 673.[148] Field survey has also dated the original occupation of the city by Greek settlers to the early 7th c. BCE.[149] The sources describe a first attempt at settlement at Cape Zephyrion, but no earlier settlement at this location been confirmed archaeologically.[150]

Figure 1: Map of Greek Cities of Southern Italy and Sicily (Wikipedia Commons).

There is, however, evidence of an indigenous settlement in the area of Locri that had previous (8th c.) contact and trade with Greeks, suggesting there may have been peaceful cooperation between the two groups during the early phases of the city's foundation.[151] The identity of the "mother-city" of the settlement is also unclear. The name, Locri Epizephyrii, implies

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[147] See Costamagna and Sabbione 1990 for a summary of the history of excavation on the site.

[148] Strabo 6.1.7: μικρὸν ὕστερον τῆς Κρότωνος καὶ Συρακουσσῶν κτίσεως. The later date is from Eusebius; for a full discussion of dates and sources see *IACP* 273-278. Polybius' foundation date (12.6b.9) during the First Messenian War will be explored later in the chapter. The date of 710 for Croton is explored in Ch. 3, but is roughly based on Strabo 6.2.4 and 6.1.12 and the association of the foundation with that of Syracuse as indicated by Antiochus of Syracuse (*FGrHist* 555 F10). All the sources for the foundation are in *IACP* 267.

[149] Sabbione 1982.

[150] Ephorus (*FGrHist* 138 F70), Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 19. 4.

[151] Sabbione 1982; Foti 1976.

the involvement of Locris, a region on the Greek mainland, but there are two different, though geographically close, areas called Locris, separated by Phocis. While Locris is often used as an ethnos on the mainland, in Italy it is the name of the city itself. The Western Locrians, also known as the Ozolian Locrians or Epiknemidioi (those who live near Mt. Knemis), dwell facing the Corinthian Gulf. The Eastern Locrians, often called the Opuntian Locrians, or Hypoknemidioi (living below Mt. Knemis), dwell facing Euboea.

Locris is mentioned as a region in the Iliad, in the catalog of ships, which lists the cities

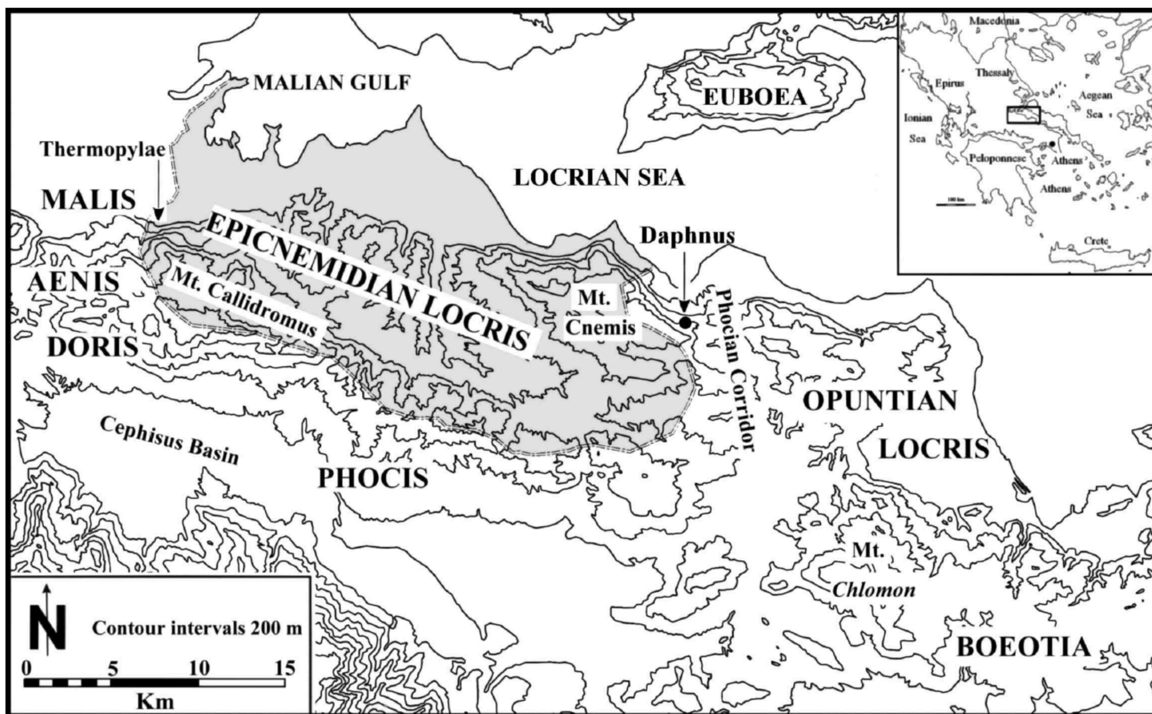

Figure 2: Map of Locris, from Pascual 2013, 4.

located in Locris commanded by its most famous inhabitant, Ajax (the lesser), all of which are in Eastern Locris.[152] The emphasis on regional identity in the Iliad and the fact that Ajax is not given a hometown within Locris in the text shows the importance of Locrian identity rather than local identities based on individual city-states. This could explain why the Italian city is named after the

[152] Hom. *Il.* 2.527-535. See Kramer-Hajos 2012 for an analysis of Ajax in the *Iliad* and his relationship to Locris.

region in general and provides some evidence for a pan-Locrian initiative behind the settlement of Locri Epizephyrii.[153]

Both Eastern and the Western Locris are cited as the "mother-city" of Locri Epizephyrii at different points, and some sources even claim that other groups, often the Tarentines or Spartans, were involved in the foundation.[154] For example, Pausanias claims the city was a Spartan foundation with support from Taras,[155] while Strabo asserts that the founders were the Ozolian Locrians and cites the name of the oikist, Evanthes, about whom nothing else is known.[156] Strabo goes on to criticize Ephorus, who attributes the foundation to the Opuntian Locrians.

As is typical, all the mainland Greek Locrians claim their ethnos dates back to an eponymous founder, Locros, who was supposedly the originator of both the Western and Eastern Locrians.[157] The Phocians, meanwhile, are depicted as intruders in many stories, dividing a previously unified group.[158] Another story claims that Eastern Locrians migrated west in order to explain the two territories.[159] In our sources, especially Thucydides, Ozolian Locris is characterized as backward and old-fashioned, a place where people still walk around wearing their weapons.[160]

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[153] Kramer-Hajos 2012, 97n.61.

[154] Strabo 6.1.7 supports the Western Locrians as the founders, censuring Ephorus (*FGrH* 70 F 138a) for the incorrect identification: εἶθ' ἡ πόλις οἱ Λοκροὶ οἱ 'Επιζεφύριοι, Λοκρῶν ἄποικοι τῶν ἐν τῷ Κρισαίῳ κόλπῳ, μικρὸν ὕστερον τῆς Κρότωνος καὶ Συρακουσσῶν κτίσεως ἀποικισθέντες ὑπὸ Εὐάνθους · Ἔφορος δ' οὐκ εὖ τῶν 'Οπουντίων Λοκρῶν ἀποίκους φήσας. ἔτη μὲν οὖν τρία ἢ τέτταρα ᾤκουν ἐπὶ τῷ Ζεφυρίῳ · καὶ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ κρήνη Λοκρία, ὅπου οἱ Λοκροὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο. εἶτα μετήνεγκαν τὴν πόλιν συμπραξάντων καὶ Συρακουσσίων. ἅμα γὰρ οὗτοι ἐν οἷς ... εἰσὶ δ' ἀπὸ 'Ρηγίου μέχρι Λοκρῶν ἑξακόσιοι στάδιοι. ἵδρυται δ' ἡ πόλις ἐπ' ὀφρύος ἣν 'Επῶπιν καλοῦσι. Unfortunately, because the text is lacunose just after ἐν οἷς it is possible that Strabo also claims the involvement of Syracuse or Tarentum in the foundation. Strabo does not seem to know Polybius' version that includes the Hundred Houses and the Locrian Maidens (although he discusses that ritual at 13.1.40 and mentions the behavior of Dionysius II with the women of the city at 6.1.8). Mother-city is in quotation marks since Locris is a region, not a polis.

[155] Paus. 3.3.1.

[156] Importantly, he is neither a heroic nor a Homeric figure and should perhaps be seen as analogous to Phalanthus, the founder of Taras, who is also distinctly mortal.

[157] A fragment of the story seems to be contained in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women,* fr. 234. For an interpretation of the story and fragments see D'Alessio 2008, 225-227. Another version is at Plut. *Mor.* 294E.

[158] McInerney 1999. A detailed account of the topography is in Pascual 2003, 66 – 133. See Strabo 9.3.1, 9.4.1 for the geography of Phocis and Locris, respectively.

[159] Domínguez 2019, 28. Strabo 9.4.9, Ps.-Scymn.480-482.

[160] Thuc. 1.5.1-1.5.3.

However the Locrians may have dressed, it is clear that there was a sense of a unified political and economic identity by at least the 5th century when the koinon composed of both Western and Eastern Locris minted joint coinage bearing ΛΟΚΡ as a legend and an image of Ajax.[161] Although Ajax is most famous in classical literature for his rape of Cassandra (despite her supplication at the altar of Athena), according to Giovanna Daverio Rocchi the mainland Locrians seemed to rehabilitate his reputation and used him as a unifying figure of a united Locris. The presence of Ajax as a national hero can be dated to the early 5th c. based on a reference in Pindar (Ol. 9.62) to a cult of Ajax in Opus. This heroic Ajax of Locris, a man to be celebrated and emphasized as a founder, stands in contrast to his usual depiction in art and literature as a "brutal and sacrilegious man of war."[162] This attempt at a unified ethnic identity for the Locrians in mainland Greece seems to be later than the foundation of the Locrian colony in southern Italy, and the conflation of the two groups could account for the confusion about the true "mother-city" of Locri. Another explanation is that the founding expedition was sponsored communally by the region.[163] In any case, the connection to mainland Greece is established through these stories and the name of the city in Italy.

While Locri was certainly not the most important or most powerful city in Magna Graecia, it was at times a major player in the political and economic spheres and is mentioned fairly frequently in our ancient sources. The city was well-known in antiquity for having the earliest written law code in the Greek world, established by Zaleucus, a figure shrouded in his own

[161] Daverio Rocchi 2015, 148.

[162] Daverio Rocchi 2015, 149; Domínguez 2007, 414.

[163] Domínguez 2019, 29, tentatively suggests this based on pre-existing connections to western trade ((indicated by imported goods in Geometric necropoleis) through relationships with the Corinthians and Euboeans, the first Greek groups to set up settlements in the western Mediterranean. In addition, a 7th century BCE inscription indicates a relationship of *proxenia* between Corcyra and a city in Ozolian Locris (Menekrates), showing Locrian interests in overseas contacts (*IG*, IX, 1, 867; Meiggs and Lewis 1989, 4-5).

legendary history.[164] For this reason, Locri often has the epithet eunomos, with good laws. Pindar claimed that "Strict Justice" (Ἀτρέκεια) ruled the city.[165] Several studies have demonstrated how the archaic law code became a central aspect of Locrian identity and this perhaps explains why the state appeared to be so conservative, still using these same laws in the 2nd c. BCE.[166] This also explains the joke in Plutarch, who tells us that a Locrian who asked "is there anything new?" would immediately be fined.[167] Pindar claims that like fiery foxes and roaring lions, the western Locrians cannot change their inborn nature.[168] Archaizing habits seem to be a pan-Locrian characteristic, as is clear from Thucydides' description of the mainlanders cited above, and perhaps in this way the Locrians actively signaled their kinship with mainland Locris. The Italian Locrians further emphasized this cultural connection with the mainland by associating themselves with the "national hero" Ajax and by undertaking parallel maiden rituals associated with the archaic past, subjects which I explore in the following sections.

Foundation Discourse of Locri Epizephyrii

In order to understand the role of women and maiden rituals in the society of the Italian Locrians, it is necessary to turn to their foundation discourse, which is, of course, composed of several different legends and variants of these legends. Fortunately, the many origin stories of Locri are a common topic in our ancient sources, the fullest account of which is included in Polybius' fragmentary Book 12 as part of his polemic against Timaeus. The general story, which seems to have been Aristotle's account, is that in the second half of the 7th c. BCE the Greek Locrians were

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164 The legends surrounding Zaleucus are very similar to those about Lycurgus, the Spartan lawgiver. See, for example, Arist. *Pol* 1274a, just one of many moments of similarity between Locri and Sparta.

165 Pind. *Ol.* 10.13

166 See Redfield 2003, 257- 263. For an Athenian perspective on Locrian law, see Dem. 24. 139-141 with Domínguez 2007, 419.

167 Plut. *Mor.* 519B, see also Diod. Sic. 8.23.4.

168 Pind. *Ol.* 11.19. τὸ γὰρ ἐμφυὲς οὔτ' αἴθων ἀλώπηξ οὔτ' ἐρίβρομοι λέοντες διαλλάξαντο ἦθος. He also praises the wisdom and war-like nature of the Locrians in this poem in honor of a Locrian victor.

fighting in the first Messenian War as allies of the Spartans.[169] With the men of Locris away at war, the elite women entered into relationships with slaves, and, after the end of the war, both the elite women and slaves were rejected and sent to establish a colony.[170] Ultimately, they made their way to Italy and founded the city of Locri. In Polybius' critique, it is not always easy to disentangle what Timaeus' original argument truly was, and Timaeus' version of the Locrian foundation is not fully preserved.[171] Timaeus does seem to have critiqued the story told above, particularly that Aristotle did not understand mainland Locrian customs because at the time of the Messenian War the mainland Locrians did not have slaves, and therefore the founders of Italian Locri could not have been slaves and noble women. Nevertheless, Polybius, being personally instrumental in getting the Locrians a favorable treaty with the Romans, claims to have spoken to the inhabitants himself and found that they preferred the version told by Aristotle (who perhaps wrote a Constitution of the Locrians, or at least somewhere discussed their government and laws).[172]

Polybius prefaces his account by emphasizing the favors he did the Locrians and that he is therefore inclined to speak well of them (διόπερ ὀφείλω μᾶλλον εὐλογεῖν Λοκροὺς ἢ τοὐναντίον). This does not, however, prevent him from giving the version of their foundation he finds more accurate:

> σύνοιδα γὰρ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὁμολογοῦσιν ὅτι παραδόσιμος αὐτοῖς ἐστιν αὕτη περὶ τῆς ἀποικίας ἡ φήμη παρὰ πατέρων, ἣν Ἀριστοτέλης εἴρηκεν, οὐ Τίμαιος. καὶ τούτων γε τοιαύτας ἔφερον ἀποδείξεις. πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι πάντα τὰ διὰ προγόνων ἔνδοξα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐστιν, οἷον εὐθέως εὐγενεῖς παρὰ σφίσι νομίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀπὸ

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[169] As posited by Walbank 1967, 330-331. This is the same timeline as the foundation story of Taras, where the Partheniae are the result of the First Messenian War. The obvious connections between these foundation stories will be explored on p.90.

[170] Polyb. 12.5. This idea of "pollution" is a typical cause of exile and colony foundation.

[171] *FrGrHist* 556, fragments 11a, 11b, 12 provide the evidence for Timaeus' argument. See Walbank 1962, 5-7, who hesitantly argues that Aristotle was wrong and that Timaeus was probably correct in arguing that the Locrians at this point did not have slaves and thus the story cannot be accurate.

[172] Walbank 1976, 330: "Aristotle's account of the origins of Epizephyrian Locri was probably contained in his *Constitutions*, which may well have dealt with foundations too, for Plutarch (*Mor.* 1093 c) refers to them as κτίσεις καί πολιτεῖαι."

τῶν ἑκατὸν οἰκιῶν λεγομένους · ταύτας δ' εἶναι τὰς ἑκατὸν οἰκίας τὰς προκριθείσας ὑπὸ τῶν Λοκρῶν πρὶν ἢ τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐξελθεῖν, ἐξ ὧν ἔμελλον οἱ Λοκροὶ κατὰ τὸν χρησμὸν κληροῦν τὰς ἀποσταλησομένας παρθένους εἰς Ἴλιον. τούτων δή τινας τῶν γυναικῶν συνεξᾶραι μετὰ τῆς ἀποικίας, ὧν τοὺς ἀπογόνους ἔτι νῦν εὐγενεῖς νομίζεσθαι καὶ καλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκατὸν οἰκιῶν.

For I know that the men [of Locri] themselves say that there is that the story transmitted to them by their fathers concerning the apoikia is the one mentioned by Aristotle and not by Timaeus. And they give these proofs of this: first, that among the Locrians, all nobility which stems from ancestors comes from women, not from the men, such as that those who are held in honor among them are called "of the hundred houses." These "hundred houses" were the most eminent of Locri before the apoikia was sent forth, out of which the Locrians were required, according to the oracle, to choose the maidens who are sent to Troy. Some women of these families went out along with the apoikia, the descendants of whom are now considered noble and called those "of the hundred houses." (Plb., 12.5)

Polybius argues that the inhabitants of Locri would obviously want to emphasize the non-servile aspects of their origin and therefore named the city Locri after the women because they were free citizens. This story is used to explain the matrilineal nature of Locrian society and the presence of the idea of the Hundred Houses in both Greek Locris and Italian Locri.

Polybius' account has several important facets. First, we can tell which account of the foundation story was current during the 2nd c. BCE, at least according to Polybius and his sources. We also know that there were multiple accounts of the foundation story and that the version with the slaves and women establishing the Hundred Houses dates back at least to Aristotle and probably earlier. On account of the negative aspects in this foundation myth, especially the behavior of the women, some modern scholars have suggested it was negative propaganda created by Locri's political enemies.[173] I agree with Sourvinou-Inwood that this argument is not convincing. There are many

[173] Sourvinou-Inwood 1974, 197-198 addresses this issue. Walbank 1967,188 attributes the negative propaganda to the democratic faction at Locri during the tyranny of Dionysius II in the mid 4th c. BCE, in that the story would have painted the elite women and the Hundred Houses in a negative light. Another option for a political enemy

examples of cities embracing foundation stories where the oikists or early inhabitants are not just rulers nor examples of moral behavior.[174] An obvious proof is that the similar foundation legend of Taras is not used against them as slander but instead is something the citizens continue to tell about themselves with pride.[175]

In a 2003 book that is still the most detailed account of Locrian history and material culture in English, James Redfield argued that Locri was unique in the Greek world for its attention to, and treatment of, women. According to Redfield, we should consider Locri as an alternative example of "how to be Greek," in many aspects of life, distinct from the typical paradigm of Greekness given by Athens and Sparta. Maidens and marriage permeate stories about Locri and are prominent in Locrian art, which Redfield takes to mean that "the women were the bearers of legitimacy, vehicles of status, objects of unique value; that they were objects of competition suggested to the Greek mind that they could take control of their sexuality for pleasure or profit."[176] The first two items on this list seem to me to be accurate – without needing to buy into the objectification that Redfield suggests. If the foundation stories and legendary history truly reflect some aspects of Locrian culture, we see over and over the ties between legitimacy, the safety of the state, and the status and sexual purity of the elite women of the city.[177]

This idea of the feminization of the city also causes Redfield to argue that Locri was not involved in politics, ultimately, he argues for Locri as a closed city of inhabitants who

> thought themselves culturally autarkēs, self-sufficient…Obviously there was conflict at Locri, crime and misery and injustice, nor was the city free from war – even with

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would be the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War since both Taras and Locri supported Syracuse against the Athenian invasion. Polybius (12.6) argues that Athenian hostility should be expected, given the connections between mainland Locris and Sparta.

[174] Sourvinou-Inwood 1974, appendix. An obvious example is that of Rome itself and the fratricidal Romulus.

[175] Sourvinou-Inwood 1974, 198.

[176] Redfield 2003, 307.

[177] This is not necessarily an idea unique to Locri. As is clear in the legends of early Rome with the cases of Verginia and Lucretia, their rapes become a metaphor for the lack of purity and discipline within the leading men of the state, see Joshel 1992.

> her Locrian neighbors who shared her mode of life. Yet paradoxically enough this city deserves our respect precisely because she took so little care to obtain it. When all the other great Greek cities were deeply engaged in making history – which is to say, in the struggle for power – the Locrians seem to have been content to settle for happiness.[178]

While this is an idyllic characterization of the city-state, the evidence for Locrian politics simply does not support the hypothesis that Locri chose and actively attempted to be apolitical; the very evidence that Redfield uses to make this argument, especially the foundation stories, demonstrate that Locri engaged in the larger Mediterranean political world. While the state might have been conservative, especially unwilling to change its famous laws, and late to mint its own coinage, these quirks do not mean that Locri had removed itself from the struggles for political power that constantly shaped southern Italy.[179] It is clear that Locri often attempted to expand its territory, supported and created settlements in strategic locations, and forged alliances with larger powers throughout the Mediterranean. By the 6th c. BCE, Locri had incorporated Hipponium, Medma, and Metaurus as its own "sub-colonies," providing access to trade routes and a power base against the growing threats of her neighbors, Rhegium and Croton.[180] Locri made an alliance with Siris fought major battles, especially the Battle at the Sagra River in the mid 6th century. A century later, Locri chose a side (and then later switched sides) in the Peloponnesian War and actively aided

[178] Redfield 2003, 409-410. At another point (207) Redfield argues that when Locri later makes an alliance with Syracuse, it "can be seen as a peaceable strategy, a kind of Finlandization: Locri found protection at the cost of abandoning an independent foreign policy. In so doing, Locri, warriors and all, adopted a feminine role, precious and in need of protection, precisely symbolized by Pindar's apprehensive maiden. Historical insignificance is a 'Locrian' trait and links the western Locrians with their putative homeland, old-world Locris: backcountry, backward and in the background. In the old world, however, where the Locrians were a prepolitical *ethnos,* this insignificance had been dictated by geography and social organization; in the West, where the Locrians had built a great *polis,* it appears as the result of a conscious choice."

[179] Indeed, these are all accusations that could be leveled against Rome, which minted coinage late, began writing its own history late and is obsessed with being conservative in political and social issues, but no one would argue that Rome was consciously choosing to remain outside of history and politics.

[180] See Fronda 2010, 168-170 for Locri's "clear and long-standing hegemonic aspirations in Bruttium." The relationship between Locri, Hipponion and Medma is attested in an inscription found at Olympia (*SEG* 11, 1211) that details the spoils taken from Croton by these three settlements.

Syracuse against the Athenians.[181] These are not the activities of a state which actively avoids being political; instead, Locri's engagement with these various states demonstrates a conscious political identity. Locri, despite being fickle in its alliances at times, was reliant on its relationships to Greek Locris, Sparta and Taras, relationships which were reinforced through the constant reformation and retelling of its foundation and legendary stories of its early history.

Another strand of the foundation story picks up when the Locrians arrive in Italy. According to Polybius, the land they found was already occupied, but the native peoples, who Polybius calls Sicels (Σικελοί), agreed to make a treaty with the new arrivals. They agreed to "be their friends and share the country with them as long as they trod on this earth and wore heads on their shoulders/ ὁμολογίας ποιήσαιντο τοιαύτας, ἦ μὴν εὐνοήσειν αὐτοῖς καὶ κοινῇ τὴν χώραν ἕξειν, ἕως ἂν ἐπιβαίνωσι τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὤμοις φορῶσι."[182] However, the Locrians had put soil in their shoes and garlic on their shoulders, and once they had removed both, no longer bound to the oath, expelled the Sicels from their land. The term Sicel seems to be a generic term for any native Italic/Sicilian people. Polybius assures us that this is a story the Locrians of his time accept, despite the fact that it shows them as untrustworthy and not abiding by their oaths.

Polybius also has another story about the first contact between the Locrians and Sicels.[183] Before the story about the garlic he tells us about a peculiar ritual the Locrians have with a "cup-bearing priestess" (φιαληφόρος), a ritual which they copied from the Sicels after they ejected them from their own lands, since they did not have any tradition of their own for this purpose (διὰ τὸ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς πάτριον ὑπάρχειν). However, in true Locrian fashion, they replaced the

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[181] Thuc. 4.1; Thuc. 5.5 not only mentions that the Locrians concluded a treaty with the Athenians (despite a longstanding alliance with Syracuse), but also that they had previously been in control of Messina, as well as its relationship with Medma and Hipponium.

[182] Polyb. 12.6. The story is also in Polyaenus, *Strat.* 6.22.

[183] Polyb. 12.5. His account makes it clear that these (like the origin story of the women and slaves) is the one that the Locrians of his day still tell.

typical boy with a maiden as the cup-bearer (αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο διορθώσαιντο, τὸ μὴ παῖδα ποιεῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸν φιαληφόρον, ἀλλὰ παρθένον, διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν εὐγένειαν). These accounts seem to be contradictory. How could the Locrians have adopted the rituals of the local peoples if they had immediately expelled them from their lands? Do these stories give us any reliable information about the relationship between the Locrians and the indigenous inhabitants of the area?

In a recent article, Domínguez has re-examined the archaeological evidence for the local peoples in the land occupied by Locri.[184] Earlier studies of local necropoleis had interpreted the finds as supporting the account in the ancient sources, especially Canale-Ianchina, located to the northwest of Locri Epizephyrii, which shows signs of Greek influence in forms and decoration of locally produced pottery, but falls out of use in the 7th century.[185] However, there are other necropoleis, especially at Santo Stefano di Grotteria and Stefanelli di Gerace, where Greek pottery begins to appear in the 8th century BCE and which remain in use until at least the 6th century.[186] As with many other re-studies of local pottery, burials, and where available, settlement evidence, new interpretations lean towards co-habitation, or at least continued peaceful relationships between the new settlements and the indigenous peoples.[187] The contradictory stories about the relationship between the Locrians and the native peoples are clearly not accurate reflections of the actual interactions between the original settlers and local inhabitants, but instead are probably the

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[184] Domínguez 2019.

[185] Originally excavated by Paolo Orsi, see Piergrossi 2004 for a catalog of important finds and a summary of the materials.

[186] Some have suggested that group using the necropolis at Canale-Ianchina migrated to the settlement by Santo Stefano in Grotteria (approx. 20 km away) after the foundation of Locri, see Piergrossi 2004, 90.

[187] One hypothesis is that the local peoples were enslaved by the Locrians, however, Domínguez points to the wealth present in local burials as an argument against this. See Domínguez 2019, 35, with Sabbione 1988, 366-367 and Sabbione 1982, 293-295 for the archaeological evidence.

result of changing negotiations and relationships with the local peoples and a justification for the adoption of local religious practices.

The reality of Locrian occupation and expansion across Calabria would require good relationships with the local peoples, and likely more mixing and intermarriage between the groups than our sources indicate.[188] The tradition taken from the locals, of a cup-bearer who instead of a young boy is a young woman, exemplifies many different aspects of archaic Locri. A theme which runs through these stories is legitimacy – of the Locrians who came to Italy, of their right to the land which the occupy, of the antiquity of their religious practices. As is clear with the substitution in the ritual taken from the locals, for the Locrians, a means of legitimizing a new religious practice is the use of a female body, since the women have become a symbol of the true lineage coming from the noble families of their Greek homeland. It is also clear that the female bloodline is a key part of Locrian aristocracy and confers status – this is very different from many other Greek societies and helps explain the Locrian fixation on virginity and policing the actions of women in these critical moments in the city's history. We also see this in subsequent rituals which take place at Locri, explored below, where women are given the role as saviors of the state, but their purity and virginity is protected.

The Locrian Maidens in Italy and the Mainland

To return to Polybius' other version of Locri's foundation with the women and slaves, it is possible to tease apart some of the political machinations of the citizens of Locri and to provide a larger context for the development of various versions of the myths. It is not clear to which Greek Locris Timaeus attributed its foundation, but he does claim to have seen an inscription where the

[188] Domínguez 2019 ties this to Locrian expansion to the Tyrrhenian sea and in settling the new cities of Medma and Hipponion.

relationship between Italian Locri and a Greek Locris was compared to that of child and parent.[189] Timaeus allegedly saw this inscription in Greek Locris, which helps us recall that the benefits of kinship diplomacy must have gone both ways and that the Greek Locrians received tangible economic or cultural benefits by being associated with a flourishing city in Italy. Despite the confusion about the identity of the city responsible for Italian Locri's foundation, Polybius' focus on the Hundred Houses emphasizes the connection with Eastern Locris, thought to be the homeland of the Homeric hero Oilean Ajax.[190] As compensation for his behavior against Cassandra, the Greek Locrians (probably together) annually sent maidens to the temple of Athena at Troy (Athena Ilias) who could be killed by Trojan men if spotted on their way to the temple. Our most detailed source for this ritual is from Lycophron (again, perhaps indicating his interest in Locri or status as a Locrian).[191] In a particularly poignant section of the poem, Cassandra herself recounts the ritual of the Locrian Maidens. Scholarly debate concerning the ritual of the Locrian Maidens has focused on the origin and timeline of the ritual, its relationship to sacred prostitution, and the connection between the ritual and the dating of Lycophron's poem.[192] These debates will not be explored in detail but will be touched upon briefly where they are relevant to the overall argument of this chapter.

The concept of the ritual of the maidens and the role of women in expiating the crime of the city's founder was clearly an integral part of Locrian ethnic identity on the Greek mainland. Our earliest literary evidence for the ritual is quite early. Aeneas Tacticus, a 4th century BCE

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[189] Walbank 1962, 7. Poly. 12.9.3, citing Timaeus, who is using his own autopsy of the inscription beginning with ὡς γονεῦσι προς τέκνα.

[190] See Graham 1964, cf. Malkin 1994b for discussions of the relationship between metropolis and colony in Italy.

[191] Lyc. *Alex.,* 1142-1174. See Hornblower 2015, 47-48 for a tentative suggestion that the author of the *Alexandra* is a south Italian from Locri.

[192] The debate is detailed in Hornblower 2015. For the argument linking the Locrian maidens to an early (3rd c. BCE) date of the poem see Momigliano 1945. For an argument against the historicity of sacred prostitution in general see Boudin 2008, and for an analysis of the literary sources concerning sacred prostitution at Locri see Budin 2008, 212-228 and my analysis at p.82-85.

military author, claims that, despite the fact that this ritual has been going on for a long time and that the men of Troy should be prepared, every year a few men succeed in bringing maidens safely to the temple.[193] In addition to the version in Lycophron mentioned above, we have an inscription, often known as the Mädcheninschrift, that was found in the late 19th century in Eastern Locris and seems to be a discussion of precisely this ritual.[194] The text opens with the Aianteioi (the supposed descendants of Ajax) and the Locrian polis of Naryx, Ajax's hometown, agreeing to conditions for sending off the maidens. It appears as though the Aianteioi and Naryx negotiated for privileges in exchange for taking on the responsibility of sending away the girls, including giving money to the parents of the girls.[195] The family and city seem to have taken on the burden of producing girls for the ritual, rather than the entire community of the East Locrians. The inscription probably dates to the 3rd century BCE, indicating the lasting impact of the myth over the course of the Hellenistic period.[196] Importantly for the next section, it is not clear what the role of these maidens would be once they arrived (if they did so safely) at the temple of Athena Ilias. While the impetus for the ritual is the expiation of a sexual crime, it appears as if the Locrian women were in the service of the temple in the role of typical servants, and there is no evidence that this ritual involved

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[193] Aen. Tact. 31.24

[194] *IG* IX² 1 706; *SEG* 42 481. The few lines give us enough information to place the subject of the inscription, even with damage on the right side.

ἐπὶ τοῖσδε Αἰάντειοι καὶ ἁ πόλις Ναρυκαίων Λοκροῖς ἀνεδέξαντο τὰς κόρα[ς πέμψειν· εἶμεν Αἰαντείους ἀσύλους]
[κ]αὶ ἀρυσίους καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνας καὶ ἐφ' αἵματι μὴ ἐπικωλύειν καὶ προδικία[ν αὐτοῖς διδόμεν, αἴ τί κα ἀδικέωνται]
αἰ αὐτâι τâι πόλει·

The inscription was originally published by Wilhelm in 1911 and given the name of the Mädcheninschrift and dated, based on the associations with Delphi, to c. 275-240 BCE. Another part of the dating is the supposed break in the sending of tribute, see Hughes 1991, 171-278.

[195] Hughes 1991, 171 has a good summary of the contents and analysis of the rites in general. The text is broken at a critical moment which might have given more information about the ritual itself.

[196] Momigliano 1945. Graf 2000 has an excellent survey of the literary sources for the ritual throughout time, ranging from Timaeus to Plutarch. The end date for the ritual is cited by both the epitome of Apollodorus 6.22 and by Tzetzes, the scholiast on Lycophron, *ad* 1141, who cites Timaeus (*FGrHist* 566 F146b), though perhaps incorrectly.

sacred prostitution at all (except for a parallel with the problematic south Italian example explored below).[197]

Polybius directly relates this mainland Greek maiden ritual to the foundation story of Italian Locri through the women of the Hundred Houses. Women from this elite group were both the founders of Locri Epizephyrii and the group from whom the maidens were chosen to be sent to Troy in the ritual in Greek Locris. Domínguez has suggested that this connection explains the need to exile the women who had relationships with slaves from Locris, that they were no longer pure enough to be sent to Athena Ilias and that their transgressions might endanger the community as a whole.[198] Whether or not we can trust the reality of the ritual or the actual story of the exile of the women in the 7th century, it is clear that the 5th century inhabitants of Locri Epizephyrii were keenly aware of the tradition in Greek Locris and actively sought to connect through the myths of maidens. The source material is extremely tendentious and will be explored in detail below, but our sources claim that in 477 the Locrians of Italy appear to have made a vow to Aphrodite, offering their women as temple prostitutes in exchange for the safety of the city.[199] The most detailed source for this vow, Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus, will be explored below, but the historicity of some kind of vow is bolstered by reference to a Locrian maiden in Pindar's second Pythian ode. This poem was dedicated to Hieron for his victory in a chariot race and refers to Hieron's intervention on behalf of the Locrians in the 5th century.

> σὲ δ', ὦ Δεινομένειε παῖ, Ζεφυρία πρὸ δόμων
> Λοκρὶς παρθένος ἀπύει, πολεμίων καμάτων ἐξ ἀμαχάνων
> διὰ τεὰν δύναμιν δρακεῖσ' ἀσφαλές.
>
> And you, son of Deinomedes, the maiden of Locri Epizephyrii

[197] Domínguez 2007, 413-414. He notes that Tzetzes uses the word (ἐδούλευον) in the scholia to Lycophron.
[198] Domínguez 2007, 415: "Seen in this context, perhaps the crime of the Locrian women and the *oiketai* with whom they formed attachments was considered so terrible because it could endanger the performance of their obligation, provoking serious damage to the community; for this reason, the best solution was to expel them and send them far away from Locris to establish a colony."
[199] The scholia to the lines of Pindar cited above help give the precise date; see Amantini 1984, 42 for the text.

> invokes you in front of the home. She looks out in safety
> from the impossible toils of war on account of your power.
> (Pind. Pyth 2.18-20)

The use of a woman outside her home as the image of thanks is probably a reference to this vow made to Aphrodite in 477/6, as is noted by the various scholiasts on the passage, who provide more (through sometimes contradictory) details about Hieron's campaign.[200] Its presence in Pindar provides contemporary evidence that the vow and the intervention of Hieron was widely publicized and not something which the Locrians hid, especially since, I argue, the audience was far away Greek Locris. These stories and the vow of 477/6 provide a link to Greek Locris through the ritual of the Locrian maidens, and there is evidence that this link was maintained throughout their history. Even though the vow was not enacted it was clearly well-known, since a century later Dionysius the Younger was able to take advantage of the unfulfilled vow for his own benefit. According to Justin,

> Dein cum rapinae occasio deesset, uniuersam ciuitatem callido commento circumuenit. Cum Reginorum tyranni Leophronis bello Locrenses premerentur, uouerant, si uictores forent, ut die festo Veneris uirgines suas prostituerent. Quo uoto intermisso cum aduersa bella cum Lucanis gererent, in contionem eos Dionysius uocat; hortatur ut uxores filiasque suas in templum Veneris quam possint ornatissimas mittant, ex quibus sorte ductae centum uoto publico fungantur religionisque gratia uno stent in lupanari mense omnibus ante iuratis uiris, ne quis ullam adtaminet. Quae res ne uirginibus uoto ciuitatem soluentibus fraudi esset, decretum facerent ne qua uirgo nuberet priusquam illae maritis traderentur. Probato consilio, quo et superstitioni et pudicitiae uirginum consulebatur, certatim omnes feminae inpensius exornatae in templum Veneris conueniunt, quas omnes Dionysius inmissis militibus spoliat ornamentaque matronarum in praedam suam uertit.

[200] While Sourvinou-Inwood 1974, 186-7 argues against this passage being an allusion to the vow, since the women would be freed from the vow not by Hieron himself but simply because the Locrians themselves decided not to enact the vow, Woodbury 1978, 290-291 is ultimately more convincing, arguing that the successful end to the war removed the need to enact the vow. He adds another overlooked aspect, the location of the woman as "πρὸ δόμων" not only as a typical location for a statement of thanks that transcends public and private issues but also as an allusion to the concept of the "Hundred Houses" a concept that is important to both the Italian and mainland Locrians and from which these women would have been taken (293-299).

> The, when he [Dionysius II] needed an excuse for plunder, he deceived the entire city with a clever trick. When the Locrians were being pressed in war by Leophron, the tyrant of Rhegium, they had vowed that if they should be victorious, then they would prostitute their maidens on the feast-day of Venus. With this vow left unfulfilled, when they were waging war unsuccessfully against the Lucanians, Dionysius called them to an assembly, he urged them to send their wives and daughters into the temple of Venus as richly dressed as possible, out of whom, one hundred, chosen by lot, would discharge the public vow and for the sake of religion, they would stand for a month in a brothel, but before all of this, the men would swear an oath that no one would lay a hand on them. In order that this affair would not be a detriment to the women who were freeing the state from this vow, they made a decree that no maiden should be married before these women were given over to husbands. With the plan having been approved, which was mindful of the superstition and the modesty of the maidens, they gathered, heavily adorned, in the temple of Venus. Dionysius sent in his soldiers, despoiled all of them, and turned the jewelry of the matrons into his own booty. (Just. Epit. 21.3)

The chronology of the passage is complicated. Dionysius II was in exile in Locri (his mother's city) from 357-346 BCE and used an unfulfilled vow from a century earlier to take advantage of the citizens.[201] While Justin's version only has him rob the women of their wealth, other versions, have him act more inappropriately, in alignment with the host of tyrannical attributes often ascribed to him. [202] In Aelian's account, Dionysius II does indeed have sex with the women, and in Strabo's

[201] The historicity of both his tyranny at Locri and this earlier vow have been called into question, but what is relevant here is the initial vow, prompted by military aggression from Leophron, the tyrant of Rhegium. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 20.7) also refers to Leophron as a ruler of Rhegium, and the son of Anaxilas. Previous scholars seem to have ignored the contradiction that Leophron could be responsible for this aggression while simultaneously being too young to rule with the consequence that a regent, Micythus, was appointed until he grew up. This event has been dated convincingly by Woodbury (1978) to just before the death of Anaxilas in 476 BCE by connecting the story in Justin with the reference in Pindar, with Leophron probably serving as the military commander under his father. See also Strabo 6.1.8, Diod. Sic. 20.48, 66, and 76 for references to the unnamed "sons of Anaxilas."

[202] Redfield 2003, 288 lists some of his other misadventures.

he watches them prance about naked.[203] These two alternate sources should cause us to question the validity of Justin's account.

However, the ritual does begin to make more sense when connected with the rituals conducted by the mainland Locrians at Troy. Domínguez has argued that this vow "represents a re-enactment of an old ritual in a colonial environment…the delivery of maidens to Troy and the votum of 477 in Epizephyrian Locri were the means used by the Locrians to protect a certain social order against internal as well as external threats."[204] The fact that the vow was initially left unfulfilled does not demonstrate, as has been argued, that there was a common practice of sacred prostitution at Locri Epizephyrii.[205] In fact, it shows the opposite, that (if we take Justin at face value) the vow was a change from the typical behavior of the Italian Locrians and thus worthy of note. Indeed, the vow was intermisso, indicating that the Locrians, upon their eventual success in the war against Rhegium, ultimately did not prostitute the maidens.

A contradictory interpretation of the passage is offered by Stephanie Budin, who argues that sacred prostitution was never practiced in the ancient Mediterranean.[206] In this passage in Justin in particular, she notes that the narrative itself is not coherent – it shifts from an 100-year old vow of prostituting maidens into the rape and robbery of the matrons of the city. She argues that not only Justin, but also Strabo misunderstood a passage of Clearchus where he claims that the Locrians were in the practice of "expiating their own girls by 'companionship.' In truth, it appears to be a reminder of and revenge for some ancient outrage."[207] She attributes this confusion

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[203] Ael. *VH* 9.8, Strabo 6.1.8.
[204] Domínguez 2007, 417.
[205] The architecture of the worship of Aphrodite is often brought into this argument, especially the so-called U-shaped stoa, located just outside of the walls of the city. The stoa has been associated with Aphrodite based on inscribed dedications and the odd structure, a U shape of small rooms approximately the size of small bedrooms or dining rooms has caused scholars to link the space with the practice of sacred prostitution. See Losehand 2008, Schindler 2007 for the interpretation, Barra Bagnasco 1999 for the archaeology of the space and dedications.
[206] Budin 2008.
[207] Budin 2008, 215, translation hers. Clearchus *apud* Athenaeus 12.541c-2 (Wehrli F47).

to the term translated as companionship (ἑταιρισμός) which although related to the term hetaira, does not necessarily require that connotation, since in its masculine form it simply means companion.[208] Having negated this piece of evidence, Budin then argues that the above passage is an anecdote inserted by Justin (based on Yardley's linguistic analysis) and that he read too much into both the Clearchus passage and the Pindar lines quoted above.[209] I think this is a step too far – it is possible to see some historical kernel in the 5th century vow, even without sacred prostitution, which was later (perhaps clumsily) connected to stereotypical stories about Dionysius' tyrannical behavior at Locri, or inferred from the sexual nature of Ajax's crime with analogy to the Locrian maiden rituals between mainland Locris and the temple of Athena Ilias.

The Locrian reaction to Dionysius' actions may also have influenced the account of the earlier vow. According to Strabo, Dionysius, after sleeping with the unmarried women of Locri, humiliated them by having them run around naked in public. However, the Locrians took their vengeance when Dionysius returned to Syracuse, leaving behind his wife and children, the Locrians took them captive and prostituted them, later killing them and throwing them into the sea.[210] As Budin has pointed out, both of these stories again show how the Locrians defaulted to "the expiation of anger through sexual violence."[211] While these stories, as mentioned above, portray Dionysius as the quintessential tyrant, they also demonstrate the value of the purity of the unmarried girls to the Locrians. Dionysius's wife, Doris, was a high-ranking Locrian woman, but that did not spare her from the anger of her people. The later references to prostitution of Dionysius' wife and daughters might have caused the idea of prostitution to be read into the earlier part of the story and the vow in 477. Another reason for the assumption that the original vow

[208] Budin 2008, 49-50.
[209] Budin 2008, 228. I find it difficult to believe that Justin was reading Clearchus himself. It is more likely that the story originated in Trogus and some of the chronological leaps were made by Justin.
[210] Strabo 6.1.8, a similar version is in Ael. *VH* 9.8.
[211] Budin 2008, 218.

concerned prostitution is the repeated references to the women as wearing fine jewelry (in many versions so that Dionysius can steal it), according to the laws of Zaleucus, only prostitutes were permitted to wear elaborate golden jewelry.[212] If Justin (or Trogus, or his sources) were aware of this law, the assumption could be that the women were prostitutes.

Ultimately, I suspect that, faced with the military pressure from Rhegium in 477, the Locrians looked to their mythical past for a solution that reflected their larger identity as Locrians.[213] This vow, rather than dedicating the women to the temple of Athena as prostitutes, dedicated them as servants to the goddess. The Italian Locrians probably also used this as a pretext to appeal to their "mother city" for aid, playing on the common themes of the value of women in their societies and the concept of the relationship between female purity and the safety of the state. Graf has argued that we should assume that there was "a background of pan-Locrian female initiation rites…dated to earlier than the foundation of Locri Epizephyrii."[214] This is likely and can explain why the Locrians chose a maiden ritual as an ad hoc decision against a threat. The rituals that required the Greek Locrians to send maidens to Troy do not mention sacred prostitution, and while we know little about the ritual, the consensus is that the Locrian maidens became temple servants of some sort. It is likely that something similar happened at Locri Epizephyrii in the 5th century, where they relied on their women and their poliadic goddess to preserve their polis.

One more story connects the Locrians with the idea of maidens as guardians of the health of the state. According to Pausanias (though Strabo and Aelian contain different versions), a companion of Odysseus, when they were in Italy, drunkenly raped a local woman and was stoned to death by men of the town, Temesa.[215] The spirit of this man proceeded to haunt the town by

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[212] Diod. Sic. 12.21

[213] Graf 2000, 264.

[214] Graf 2000, 264.

[215] Paus. 6.6.7-10. In Strabo's (6.1.5) and Aelian's (*VH* 8.18) version they do not appease him with women, but tribute of some sort. The legend is also interpreted, much like the story of the Locrians and the garlic and soil, as

killing its inhabitants, until finally they consulted the Pythia about leaving. In response, the Pythia advised them to build a temple for the spirit (often referred to as the "hero" of Temesa, being of the heroic age) and, every year bring to him the most beautiful maiden in Temesa as his wife (διδόναι δὲ κατὰ ἔτος αὐτῷ γυναῖκα τῶν ἐν Τεμέσῃ παρθένων τὴν καλλίστην).[216] As Pausanias continues, the women of Temesa, however, are saved by a famous Locrian athlete, Euthymus, who walks into the temple while the maiden is being prepared for the ritual and fell in love with her. She promises to marry Euthymus if he saves her and he defeats the spirit and the story ends happily with a wedding and liberation from the spirit. In a recent analysis of these stories Nicholson argues that Pausanias' version is likely the oldest, since it is the most "folkloric" and connects to what we know about 5th and 4th century Locri.[217] Euythmus is known to us as an Olympic victor, famous in 476 for defeating Theogenes of Thasos in boxing.[218] He was so famous that he received cult offerings during his lifetime, as Pliny, citing Callimachus, tells us.[219] In addition, clay herms with a man-faced bull found at Grotta Caruso, a sanctuary associated with nymphs in Locri, are inscribed with Εὐθύμου [ἱ]ε[ρά], generally translated as "the sacred object of Euthymus," and date to the second half of the 4th century.[220] Strabo connects the story to the Locrian conquest of Temesa in the mid 5th century.[221] The story is more complicated, and has much to teach us about heroization and athletics in Italy, but the key point here is that we have more evidence for Locrian involvement

one that reflects the act of colonization and relations between Greeks and local Italians. See Currie 2002, 25. This has been interpreted more as a human sacrifice rather than sacred prostitution, see Hughes 1991, 78-79.
[216] Paus. 6.6.8.
[217] Nicholson 2016, 104-105.
[218] Currie 2002 lists his *CV*. His Olympic victories are in Paus. 6.6.5-6 and there is a statue base with his name at Olympia (*CEG* 1.399) among other attestations.
[219] Pliny *NH* 7.152 = Callimachus *Aetia* 202. Nicholson (2019, 106) notes that these were likely immediately after his great victory "at the moment when Euthymus seemed most imbued by an otherworldly or talismanic power."
[220] Costabile 1991, 195-238. Currie (2002, 29-30) notes that the association with nymphs makes sense based on the story that Euthymos would be associated with prenuptial rites.
[221] Strabo 6.1.5.

in maiden rituals, in this case, with a Locrian athlete as savior, and perhaps we can see this story as part of a political maneuver in the Locrian conquest of a neighboring city.

Nicholson has recently argued that this story should be read as an intertext with Pindar's Olympian 10, a poem celebrating Hagesidamos, a Locrian who won the boys wrestling competition in 476 (the same year Euthymus won the boxing and the same year as the original vow described by Justin). As noted above, Pindar seems to attribute Locri's safety to the intervention of Hieron in the conflicts against Anaxilas and this poem also underscores that idea. Just the simple act of commissioning a poem from Pindar seems be a move by Hagesidamos' father, named in the poem as Archestratus, to ally himself with Syracuse and the Deinomenid dynasty.[222] It is likely that he was part of a faction within Locri which favored Syracusan involvement in Locrian affairs, both as an economic boon for the city, and for their military protection.[223] The poem itself, famous because it attributes the founding of the Olympic games to Heracles, rather than the traditional story of Pelops, seems to be an odd subject for a poem celebrating an Italiote. While Pindar praises Locri in the poem, he does not delve into any specific Locrian stories. The focus on Heracles and the games in general however, help situate this Italiote victory into the larger narrative of panhellenic athletics and politics.[224] Nicholson stresses that this panhellenic athlete narrative stands in contrast to the likely contemporary story about Euthymus, which is heroic and local.[225] His story then represents a different faction within Locri in the 5th century – one that turned more towards their traditional allies, the mainland Locrians.[226]

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[222] Nicholson 2016, 123, 140.
[223] This argument and the evidence supporting Syracusan interests in Locri in the 5th century are detailed at Nicholson 2016 with a close reading of *Olympian* 10 and *Pythian* 2 in comparison to the oral athletic hero narrative of Euthymus.
[224] Nicholson 2016, 121.
[225] Nicholson 2016, 122.
[226] Euthymus should also be viewed in contrast with Milo of Croton and his hero narrative, explored more in the next chapter.

The value of this connection to mainland Locris through the emphasis on shared religious practices will become clear in the last section of the chapter on the battle of the Sagra; however, we must assume that there were other benefits, not recorded in our sources, that the Greek Locrians could have bestowed upon the Italian Locrians, such as loans, more settlers or military aid in other, unrecorded, wars against neighbors in Italy. The myths also seem to have structured Locrian society in many ways and helped underline their status as "Locrians" in general despite close relationships and probably intermarriage between them and local peoples.

Locri, Taras & Sparta

In addition to Greek ties, Locri also made an effort to forge alliances with city-states in Italy at various moments of its history, especially useful on account of their geographic distance from mainland Locris. While high status of women plays into pan-Locrian identity, the foundation legend detailed in Polybius has an almost exact parallel in that of Taras, a Spartan colony located in the modern region of Apulia.[227] The source material for the Tarentine foundation legend is even more fraught than that for Locri; however, we do have a lengthy fragment of Antiochus of Syracuse, a 5th century historian of the Greek west from Sicily, preserved in Strabo. Antiochus, our earliest extant source, claimed that the Partheniae (the name given to the founders of Taras) were the offspring of helots and Spartan women left behind when the Spartan men departed for what is usually thought to be the First Messenian War. One interpretation is that these men were specifically enslaved and became the first helots because they refused to take part in the war. Another hypothesis derives from the word parthenia itself: the boys were raised exclusively by women since the men were at war.[228] Aristotle claims that the Partheniae were Spartan citizens

[227] *IACP* no.70 has an outline of the territory of Taras.
[228] For both suggestions see Castelnuovo 1991.

but were exiled after an attempt at revolution at Sparta.[229] In any case, in all of these theories the men were in some way considered outside of the typical Spartan social system and, therefore, were sent off to found a colony.[230] A second version, from Ephorus but also preserved by Strabo, has more parallels with the foundation legend of Locri. Here, the Spartan women complain that the men have not returned home in many years while fighting in Messenia; so the Spartans send home the youngest men in order to procreate. However, because these children were born out of wedlock, they were treated as second-class citizens when the war was over. Their planned revolt was found out, and the decision was made that, in order to protect the state, the Partheniae would be sent away to found a colony.[231]

While the connection between the stories of Taras and Locri is easy to make, the reasoning behind the parallel foundation stories is not as clear. No sources indicate an alliance between the two states, but they both seem to have cultivated connections to Sparta. Domenico Musti famously called Locri the "Sparta of the west" on account of their conservatism and legal systems.[232] The value of the Spartan connection and the need to create alliances in Italy will become clear as we trace the political history of Magna Graecia. The value of the alliance with Taras can be recognized in both cultural and geographical terms. Taras and Locri were both physically on the outskirts of the alliance of the Achaean city-states that developed during the 7th and 6th centuries BCE. They reflected this physical separation from this league with their mythology, in which they both emphasized foundation myths that did not fit the "Achaean" model. The formation of the so-called Achaean league is the subject of the following section, and this will help situate the mytho-history of Locri and Taras, as well as another outlier in Italy, Siris.

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[229] Arist. *Pol.* 1306b31.
[230] See Redfield 2003, 292-295 for an argument that the Partheniae are the young men who were too young to fight. Trotta 2005 for an overview of Strabo's methodology in this section.
[231] The bibliography on these stories is enormous, see Nafissi 1999 and Malkin 1994a for overviews.
[232] Redfield 2003, 25; Musti 1979, 9.

Leagues and Achaean Identity in Italy

The earliest alliances, or leagues, that formed in southern Italy were based on perceptions of shared ethnic identity. Later leagues, such as the Italiote League, transcended these but still had their roots in former ideas of "Achaean" or "Doric" identity. In studies based on the fragmentary and late evidence from Justin and Diodorus, scholars have postulated the existence of an early "Achaean League" made up of cities claiming Achaean origins in Southern Italy.[233] The leaders of this league were Sybaris and Croton, but other Achaean cities such as Caulonia, Metapontum and Poseidonia were also clearly part of the alliance. Morgan and Hall have asked what it means for colonies to be "Achaean" in Italy when Achaea was not a polis nor even a cultural entity by the 8th century BCE.[234]

These so-called Achaean cities of southern Italy have foundation legends falling into both categories described in Ch. 1. Most have "historical" foundations, with a named (sometimes eponymous) founder, the approval of the Delphic oracle, and associated dates and events. They also have "mythical" stories, in which heroes (often Homeric) are responsible for the foundation of the city. For these cities, the historical founder is often from the northern Peloponnese, and the Homeric founder is inherently an "Achaean," one of the generic words Homer uses for the Greeks. For example, Sybaris, at its height the most prominent Italiote Achaean city, was founded, according to Strabo, by Is of Helike, a city later considered the cultural center of Achaea.[235] However, the city also has a second story where the original founder was Sagaris, the son of Oilean Ajax.[236] Kowalzig has noted that, while there are various myths associated with Homeric nostoi

[233] Wonder 2012 for the debate.
[234] Morgan and Hall 1996.
[235] Strabo 6.1.13, although the passage is corrupt, and there is debate about the identity and existence of Is. Morgan and Hall 1996, 204. Arist. *Pol.* 5.1303a indicates that there was Troizen involvement as well.
[236] Solinus 2.10.

and other heroic age founders throughout Italy, "they cluster in what was to become western Akhaia, and it seems that this area knew how to capitalize on the set of heroes for a shared identity."[237] While it has previously been suggested that these mythical stories were much later developments, especially since most of our sources are Roman or later, archaeological evidence and the works of earlier writers, such as Bacchylides and Pindar, indicate that these stories were commonplace at an earlier date.[238] While they may not be accurate or contemporaneous with the foundation of the city, it is not necessary to assume that these stories must date significantly later. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that the settlers of these cities came over with a firm sense of collective ethnic identity, and the original settlers probably coming from many different areas rather than a single settlement.[239] Therefore, these stories about a city's foundation in Italy were probably early constructs in the Italian environment. The distinction is important because it makes it clear that the inhabitants of these cities did not just inherit or import their shared identity, but actively created it in a new environment. These stories served to link together inhabitants from different places and backgrounds as they formed new societies in Italy.

A key piece of evidence for the articulation of shared identity (and perhaps even an early league or federation) is the minting of coinage. Coins are an aspect of the Greek settlement in southern Italy that has often been ignored by historians, especially at the level of their imagery and iconography. The Achaean colonies in Italy began minting their own coinage well before their counterparts on the Peloponnese, perhaps as early as the 6th century BCE.[240] The earliest coins were made in the incuse method, and the coins of Sybaris, Croton, Caulonia and Metapontum

[237] Kowalzig 2007, 302.
[238] According to Kowalzig 2007, the first literary evidence that argues for an Achaean foundation of a city in Italy is Bacchylides' Ode 11, which describes the journey of Artemis to Metapontum.
[239] Kowalzig 2007, 299.
[240] Papadopoulos 2002, 2, Rutter 1997, 22-33.

were on the same standard, probably dating to around 550 BCE.[241] In terms of iconography, the most prevalent image is the Sybarite bull, which is later adopted by other cities, raising the possibility that Strabo's assertion that Sybaris held some kind of control over neighboring peoples could be accurate.[242] After the destruction of Sybaris in 510, Croton issued joint coinage with Sybaris, indicating their superiority over the settlement.[243] The other common image on early Achaean coins is a tripod, a clear reference to the sanctuary at Delphi and its role in the foundation of the cities, most importantly Croton. Simply on the evidence of a shared weight standard and technology for making coins, numismatists have argued for at least an economic league of Achaean cities.[244] The images, weight and style of these coins demonstrate the organization and power dynamics between the Achaean cities of Magna Graecia, a topic I return to below.

A second method for creating and reinforcing identity which will come into play in my discussion of poliadic cults is shared religious practice. Hall points to connections in worship among Italian cities that do not have parallels in the northern Peloponnese, especially the widespread worship of Hera in southern Italy. It has recently been argued that the dominance of Hera is a key aspect of the formation of Achaean identity in Italy.[245] The prominence of "Argive Hera" in Poseidonia indicates an early connection to the Argive plain in Greece; the goddess is associated with the Homeric Achaeans. The temple excavated at Foce de Sele, outside of Poseidonia, appears to have been dedicated to Hera, and at Metapontum there are two large temples to Hera, one at Tavole Palatine in the outskirts and one in the city center. The most important center, and the one

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[241] Papadopoulos 2002, 28. There is a *terminus ante quem* of 510 when Sybaris is destroyed: see Rutter 1997, 22-26.
[242] Rutter 1997, 24.
[243] Papadopoulos 2002, 30 argues (unconvincingly) that the image of the bull calls to mind the Mycenean use of bulls simply as a token of exchange and (more likely) that a life-size silver bull found at Delphi could have been a Sybarite dedication with a kind of play on the silver bull of coinage.
[244] Rutter 1997, Papadopoulos 2002, Skinner 2012, 196.
[245] Kowalzig 2007, 286 argues for Artemis as the preeminent goddess of the northern Peloponnese and that this is reflected in the worship of Artemis at Metapontum (with the cult foundation myth in Bacchylides Odes 11).

for which we have the most evidence, is the cult of Hera Lacinia at Croton, related to Hera Argeia and intrinsic to the identity of Croton and eventually to the Italiote Achaean League itself. The earliest activity at these sanctuaries of Hera indicates that cult practices began around the late 6th or early 5th centuries BCE, although temples were built later. It is notable that there is currently no evidence for temples dedicated to Hera outside of the Achaean cities in Italy, such as at Taras or Locri where the preeminent goddesses are Aphrodite and Persephone.[246]

Place names derived from counterparts in the Peloponnese and the use of the Achaean script offer two other key pieces of evidence for some kind of collective Achaean identity in southern Italy.[247] Although there is scant evidence for early use of the Achaean script (and indeed the number of inscriptions in both Achaea and the colonies for the 8th-6th centuries is quite small), Morgan argues that the "use of the Achaian script in Achaian colonies is indeed evidence for a strong connection with the northern Peloponnese which predates our earliest literary sources."[248] While ethnicity was being formed in separate processes on different sides of the Mediterranean, it is clear that a sense of being from the northern Peloponnese (reinforced by language, foundation stories, coinage, place names, etc.) was a strategy that several cities in Italy were using in order to form community.

Various explanations have been put forward to explain both why Achaean cities needed to band together and what might have prompted the creation of this identity. Morgan and Hall cite this phase of worship and temple construction in Italy centered on Hera as the cities "playing the Achaean card" and argue that we should see this construction of Achaean identity as a response to the growing power of Taras:

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[246] Schindler 2007, 120 makes a clear argument for Locri actively cultivating worship of Aphrodite "conscious of the fact that they were not Achaean."
[247] Morgan 2002, 101; She cites the Krathis river (noted at Hdt. 1.145).
[248] Morgan 2002, 102.

> by promoting their Achaian origins, the Achaian colonies could lay claim to a glorious heroic past in which the Dorian ancestors of the Tarentine colonists had not participated. They could also, however, employ their Achaian identity to pass themselves off as the direct descendants of those heroes whose nostoi first brought them to the shores of Italy, establishing a prior legitimation for settlement which was aimed not only at their Tarentine neighbors but also at the indigenous populations of South Italy.[249]

In another article, however, Hall instead argues that this collective identity formed not in response to threats to Taras or from local native populations but in opposition to the recently founded Ionian city of Siris. Hall claims that "the confrontation with the Ionians of Siris, then, provides a far more compelling context for the crystallization of an ethnic Akhaian consciousness in South Italy than anything we can adduce from our meagre knowledge of the early history of Peloponnesian Akhaia."[250] Neither argument is entirely convincing and all could simultaneously be true. While it is true that in the 6th c. BCE, the Achaean cities of Metapontum, Sybaris, and Croton formed an alliance against Siris that resulted in the destruction of the city, this was not necessarily the catalyst for the formation of the Achaean league. It is possible that the ethnic descriptor of Achaean was not an internal definition, but one created by those outside as a descriptor of the people who lived in the area, whether the outsiders are other Greek settlers or indigenous Italians. It is also clear that the alliance or group identity of being Achaean was secondary to more local identities in southern Italy. It was also short-lived, since there is plenty of evidence for rivalry and conflict between the so-called Achaean colonies.

To return to Locri Epizephyrii, it is clear that a similar process, in dialogue with the identity formation happening at Metapontum, Croton and Sybaris, was occurring at Locri. The Locrian foundation narrative, while complex, does not have any of the epic associations of the Homeric

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[249] Morgan and Hall 1996, 213.
[250] Hall 2002, 65.

nostoi, and the city had a very different process of identity formation from the Achaean cities. While Locri could not rely upon famous figures (or did not want to create stories with them), it instead focused on the aspects of the existing story that related it to mainland Locris as well as to Taras, another powerful city without an Achaean pedigree (of either the historical or the mythical variety). While modern scholars have claimed that the Locrians "found themselves de facto part of the Doric ethnos," it is clear that they were not committed to that connection.[251] Being simply Locrian (and Tarentine) allowed both states to be outside of the Achaean league but also not necessarily bound to any other league or ethnos. We should consider Siris another of these non-Homeric (and therefore non-Achaean) "others" in Southern Italy. I argue for this point of view below, and that the Locrians also realized this and attempted use their mythology to forge a connection with Siris. In the following section I look at the myths of Siris and how, as in to Locri's relationship with Taras, the Locrians and Sirians found common ground in their differences from others.

City Foundations: Siris

Siris is a city most famous for its destruction and was the first casualty of the growth and consolidation of the Achaean colonies. The ancient site is typically located near modern Policoro, just south of the later ancient city of Heraclea.[252] Siris has many levels of foundation stories, and it is valuable to look at them in depth in order to better understand the relationship of the city to both the developing Achaean league and the other cities outside of the league, especially Locri and

[251] Sourvinou-Inwood 1974, 192; another argument in favor of Locri ascribing itself to the Doric ethnos is in the conscious choice of architectural style. Skinner 2012, 198 has argued that the use of a specific order is "one (highly visible) means by which material identities might plausibly have been formulated or expressed." This is seen in the construction of the Marasà temple in Doric style.

[252] The precise date of the destruction of the city cannot be identified but it was clearly before the destruction of Sybaris in 510 and probably before the battle of the Sagra River tentatively dated to the middle of the 6th c. BCE. Typical studies put it in the range of 560-550 BCE.

Taras. In the version told by Strabo, there was an early Trojan settlement at Siris, which he corroborates with a story of an existing cult statue of Athena Ilias, a goddess we have already encountered in mainland Locris,

> τῆς δὲ τῶν Τρώων κατοικίας τεκμήριον ποιοῦνται τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἰλιάδος ξόανον ἱδρυμένον αὐτόθι, ὅπερ καταμῦσαι μυθεύουσιν ἀποσπωμένων τῶν ἱκετῶν ὑπὸ Ἰώνων τῶν ἑλόντων τὴν πόλιν · τούτους γὰρ ἐπελθεῖν οἰκήτορας φεύγοντας τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχήν, καὶ βίᾳ λαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν Χώνων οὖσαν, καλέσαι δὲ αὐτὴν Πολίειον: δείκνυσθαι δὲ καὶ νῦν καταμῦον τὸ ξόανον.
>
> Writers produce as proof of its settlement by the Trojans the wooden image of Athena Ilias which is set up there — the image that closed its eyes, the fable goes, when the suppliants were dragged away by the Ionians who captured the city; for these Ionians came there as colonists when in flight from the dominion of the Lydians, and by force took the city, which belonged to the Chones, and called it Polieium; and the image even now can be seen closing its eyes. (Strabo, 6.1.14)

There are many characters and groups in play in this story, the refugee Trojans, unspecified Ionians, and the Italic Chones, whom Strabo introduces along with the Oenotrians earlier in Book 6.[253] The Ionians are specifically identified as Colophonians by Timaeus, and this foundation story has been accepted as historically true in modern scholarship, based on the evidence from Herodotus that Gyges conquered Colophon in the mid-7th century, resulting in the need for the Colophonians to resettle in Italy.[254] In various versions and reconstructions the settlement is also called Polieion, perhaps the name given to the city occupied by the Chones. Strabo preserves another version, attributed to Antiochus of Syracuse, in which the ethnicities of the various settlements are highlighted. In this version, the Achaeans of Sybaris tell the people of Metapontum to settle the future city of Siris with fellow Achaeans, so that the Tarentines would not lay their

[253] Strabo 6.1.2.
[254] See *IACP* 293 for the summary of scholarship on the topic. They note that despite the synchronization with Gyges, the archaeological evidence points to an earlier foundation in the late 8th c. or early 7th c. BCE. A loom weight found with an inscription in the Ionian dialect and script is often considered evidence for Ionian presence in the area, see Jefferey 1990, 288, no.1, Hall 2002, 64.

own claim to the fertile area.[255] According to most chronologies, Siris was settled before Metapontum, making it unlikely that the two settlements vied for the same land.[256] What can be gathered from these complicated stories is that, early on in the history of Siris, it was already considered different from the cities which defined themselves as Achaean. Lycophron also indicates the early history of the city and its Trojan status, who refers to Siris as πόλιν δ' ὁμοίαν Ἰλίῳ; he then tells a story similar to Strabo's in lines 978-992, in which suppliants were dragged away from the cult statue of Athena Ilias.[257] The story is especially poignant because of the thematic and verbal similarities to the rape of Cassandra by Ajax, in Lycophron's account where Athena herself has to avert her eyes.[258]

A final version of the story exists in Justin's epitome of Trogus,

> Sed principio originum Metapontini cum Sybaritanis et Crotoniensibus pellere ceteros Graecos Italia statuerunt. Cum primum urbem Sirim cepissent, in expugnatione eius L iuuenes amplexos Mineruae simulacrum sacerdotemque deae uelatum ornamentis inter ipsa altaria trucidauerunt… Recuperata sanitate non diu Crotonienses quieuere. Itaque indignantes in oppugnatione Siris auxilium contra se a Locrensibus latum, bellum his intulerunt.
>
> But, at the beginning of their foundation, the Metapontines, with the Sybarites and the Crotonians, decided to drive the other Greeks out of Italy. While they were capturing the first city, Siris, during the assault they slaughtered fifty young men who were holding the statue of Minerva and the priest of the goddess, wearing his robes, between the altars themselves… having recovered their health, the Crotonians were not quiet for long. Accordingly, indignant that during the siege of Siris, the Locrians had sent help against them, they waged war against them. (Justin 20.2.1)

[255] For the Samnites and Metapontum, see Musti 1988 and Maddoli 1974. Strabo 6.1.15, *FrGHist* 555 F 12.

[256] As noted in *IACP* 293, Metapontum "could hardly have participated in the war that provided the preconditions for its own foundation"

[257] It is worth noting that in the *Alexandra* (968-977) the city mentioned before this excursus on Siris and other Greek settlements on the bay of Taras is Egesta, which the narrator also explicitly links to Troy.

[258] The same word for eyes is used at line 362 in Lycophron for Cassandra's description of her own violation, as noted by Hornblower 2015, 368.

Each of these versions, while consistent with respect to the central story about the statue of Athena and a sacrilege in her temple, differ on the crucial question of the identity of the inhabitants of the city. In Strabo's version we have Ionians conquering a local population, which is somehow related to a previous Trojan foundation. In Justin, we have the Achaean league (although not named as such) against Siris and Locri. Finally, in Lycophron, we have essentially a Greek civil war (ἔμφυλον) between Ionians and Achaeans. Hall considers Lycophron's version to be the remnants of rivalry between Siris and Metapontum, "suggesting, perhaps, a climate of claims and counter-claims during the relatively short period (ca. 630-550 B.C.) in which both cities co-existed."[259] I find it difficult to reconcile the idea that Achaean identity had to be created in Italy and was just coming into being in the 6th century BCE with the idea that the single city of Siris could already be Ionian without qualification.

This brings us to the origin of Siris' Ionian identity.[260] While Hall claims that the Trojan origins of the city are not relevant, I do not think this variant should be disregarded so quickly as simply a "Hellenistic invention based on an etiology of the cult of Athena Ilias."[261] The assertion of Trojan ancestry at Rome is taken as evidence that the Romans fully understood the value of heroic foundation myths and wanted to present themselves as just as ancient and powerful as those cities in Italy that were founded by Greek heroes, but at the same time as something different. The Sirians, I argue, had exactly the same idea in mind, and the Trojan pre-foundation mentioned in Strabo serves this purpose in relation to the other Achaean cities of Italy. Siris has the antiquity of these cities - settled by Homeric heroes on the Greek side - but is pointedly not one of them. It is

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[259] Hall 2008, 394. The claims focus on the Pylian origins of Colophon, as asserted in a fragment of Mimnermos of Colophon (fr.9 West). Metapontum traced its Pylian origins through the *nostos* of Nestor and his companions.

[260] Perhaps the result of Athenian propaganda in the later disputes over the territory using the Ionian presence as a justification for their role in the founding of Heraclea. Ultimately, Heraclea was established as a joint foundation between Taras and Thurii (Strabo 6.1.14 = Antiochos *FGrHist* 555 F 11, Diod. Sic. 12.36.4).

[261] Hall 2002, 65.

also an ideal pre-foundational myth for an Ionian Greek settlement, linking both east and west in the even farther west. It is even possible that this version could have been promoted by Achaean colonies as a justification for their attacks on Siris. Ultimately, in contrast to Hall, I do not think it is possible to determine whether the Ionian identity at Siris was articulated before or after the individual identities of the Achaean league, nor do I believe that is a particularly useful question. These processes are more likely simultaneous and constantly reacting to one another.

From this viewpoint, it is therefore not surprising that Siris is linked with the other non-Achaean cities named in textual sources, namely Taras and Locri. These three city-states actively pursued identities outside of the typical Achaean story, lacking Homeric heroes (or even other typical heroes such as Hercules) and revolving around women and cults. Siris existed for scarcely a century, but the story of Athena Ilias and the sacrilege at her temple is still prominent in Lycophron's text two centuries later. To reemphasize an earlier statement, the rituals of the Locrian maidens and the crimes of Ajax clearly link Siris with Locri, a connection further reinforced by Justin. While Justin's version could be his own invention or that of his source, Trogus, the thematic connection with Athena Ilias indicates that these two cities were indeed allies in the 6th century, when these stories were current.

While, as I explored above, the Locrian foundation story and the women of the Hundred Houses linked the city to both mainland Locris and Taras, the connection to the cult of Athena Ilias would have clearly also played well at Siris. It is also likely that the Locrians themselves retold the story of the Achaean sacrilege in the temple of Athena Ilias, in order to justify their vengeance on Croton and its allies at the battle of the Sagra. The link to mainland Locris and her traditions would have been an easy connection in this case, and the Italian Locrians could have presented themselves to Siris as the custodians of the rites of Athena Ilias. The verbal parallels in the Alexandra demonstrate that the author saw this connection, and the ubiquity of the story and

connection to Cassandra herself probably resonated with the audience in Italy. This link therefore could have provided the basis for their diplomatic relationship.

Battle at the Sagra: Alliances, Identities & Helper Gods

As Justin claims, the destruction of Siris led quickly to one of the most famous events in the early history of Magna Graecia, the Battle at the Sagra River. While there must have been several battles and skirmishes between the Locrians and the Crotoniates in the 6th c. BCE, the sources only discuss the Battle at the Sagra River. The location of the river itself is debated, but it seems to have been the northern border of the territory that Locri controlled over in the 6th century BCE, therefore forming the border between the areas controlled by Locri from those of Croton (a very recent study of the landscape convincingly locates it at the modern Allaro River).[262] This century saw several large-scale battles between the Greek city states of southern Italy, including the destruction of Siris around 570 BCE and the destruction of Sybaris in 510 BCE, both at the hands of Croton and its allies. The rivalry between Croton and Locri that led to the battle at the Sagra River was likely related to Locrian intervention on behalf of Siris as well as Locrian territorial expansion in the form of settlements on the Tyrrhenian coast of Calabria, especially Medma and Hipponium. There may also have been Locrian incursions into the territory of Kaulonia, generally considered a sub-colony or at least a city dependent on Croton.[263] A key article by Bicknell wades through the sources, in order to pinpoint the date for the battle, which is still debated but must be after the destruction of Siris and before the destruction of Sybaris: sometime in the mid 6th

[262] Visonà and Jansson 2017, 147.
[263] As argued in Just. 20.2.1. A good summary of the political climate is in Nicholson 2016, 135-138.

century.[264] The most recent study of the topography of the area and the relationship to the build-up of hilltop fortifications in the area dates the battle to approximately 560 BCE.[265]

Sources as late as Cicero discuss the event, and Strabo claims that in his time the battle had become proverbial for something obvious (ἀληθέστερα τῶν ἐπὶ Σάγρᾳ/ truer than [the result] at Sagra).[266] Sources claim that the victory of the Locrians against a much larger force of Crotoniates was heard across the Mediterranean on the very day it occurred. According to Strabo,

> μετὰ δὲ Λοκροὺς Σάγρα, ὃν θηλυκῶς ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐφ' οὗ βωμοὶ Διοσκούρων, περὶ οὓς Λοκροὶ μύριοι μετὰ Ῥηγίνων πρὸς δεκατρεῖς μυριάδας Κροτωνιατῶν συμβαλόντες ἐνίκησαν · ἀφ' οὗ τὴν παροιμίαν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπιστοῦντας ἐκπεσεῖν φασιν 'ἀληθέστερα τῶν ἐπὶ Σάγρᾳ.' προσμεμυθεύκασι δ' ἔνιοι καὶ διότι αὐθημερὸν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐνεστῶτος Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀπαγγελθείη τοῖς ἐκεῖ τὸ συμβάν, καὶ εὑρεθείη τὸ τάχος τῆς ἀγγελίας ἀληθές. ταύτην δὲ τὴν συμφορὰν αἰτίαν τοῖς Κροτωνιάταις φασὶ τοῦ μὴ πολὺν ἔτι συμμεῖναι χρόνον διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν τότε πεσόντων ἀνδρῶν.
>
> After Locri comes the Sagra, a river which has a feminine name. Next to it there are altars of the Dioscuri, near which ten thousand Locrians, along with the Rhegians, conquered in battle one hundred and thirty thousand Crotoniates and won, concerning which the saying arose, which is said to doubting people, "truer than the result at Sagra." And some have added further fictions that the result of the battle was reported on the same day to those at Olympia when the games were in progress, and the speed of the announcement was later found true. This misfortune of the Crotoniates is said to be reason why the city did not continue much longer, because so many men were lost. (Strabo 6.1.10)

This battle, and the actions of Locri leading up it can help shed light on the political aspirations and machinations of the city. There are many sources which mention the battle, and each brings another legendary figure into the story. The most prominent appearances are those of the Dioscuri, but Ajax son of Oileus, and the Crotoniate generals Phormion, Leonymus and Autoleon appear

[264] Bicknell 1966.
[265] Visonà and Jansson 2017, 131.
[266] Cic. *Nat D.* 2.2.6; Strabo 6.1.10.

in various versions. In addition to Strabo, our other main sources are Diodorus and Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus, which also preserves the version of Timaeus. The use of kinship diplomacy can be seen in action in multiple levels of this story; the archaic cultural connections between Locris and Sparta, outlined above, probably constituted the basis of the Locrians' original request for military aid. The subsequent emphasis on the help from the Spartan Dioscuri provides a basis for a continuing alliance after the battle took place.

The passage from Strabo, quoted above, shows one main reason why the battle became the object of such mythmaking: a small number of Locrians (with help from Rhegium) managed to overpower significantly more Crotoniates. The numbers fluctuate, with Strabo giving the 10,000 Locrians to (clearly hyperbolic) 130,000 Crotoniates, while Justin claims 15,000 Locrians and 120,000 Crotoniates.[267] While this is quite impressive, the most important aspect of the narrative is the lead-up to the battle. Locri probably anticipated that the war was going to be difficult and reached out to its allies throughout the Mediterranean. A fragment from book eight of Diodorus Siculus preserves the story that the Locrians appealed to Sparta for military assistance.[268] The Spartans were somewhat cagey in their response, offering not soldiers but divine assistance in the form of the Dioscuri:

> Ὅτι οἱ Λοκροὶ ἔπεμψαν εἰς Σπάρτην περὶ συμμαχίας δεόμενοι. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς Κροτωνιατῶν δυνάμεως ἀκούοντες, ὥσπερ ἀφοσιούμενοι καὶ μόνως ἂν οὕτω σωθέντων Λοκρῶν, ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτοῖς συμμάχους διδόναι τοὺς Τυνδαρίδας. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις εἴτε προνοίᾳ θεοῦ εἴτε τὸ ῥηθὲν οἰωνισάμενοι προσεδέξαντο τὴν βοήθειαν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ καλλιερήσαντες ἔστρωσαν τοῖς Διοσκόροις κλίνην ἐπὶ τῆς νηὸς καὶ ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα.
>
> The Locrians sent to Sparta asking for help in war. The Lacedaemonians, however, hearing of the great military power of Croton, thus responded for form's sake and as though it was the only way in which the Locrians could be saved. They replied that they were giving the Locrians as allies the sons

[267] Just. *Epit.* 20.2
[268] Diod. Sic. 8.32

> of Tyndareus [the Dioscuri]. And the ambassadors, whether with the foresight of the gods or because they considered the reply an omen, accepted the aid, and after they had received favourable signs in a sacrifice, they prepared a couch on their ship for the Dioscouri and sailed back to their homeland. (D.S. 8.32).

Diodorus' account ends here, but we can imagine it ended similarly to Justin's version, where the Dioscuri appear aiding the Locrian flanks. Justin indicates that while the Locrians had the advantage of fighting desperately to save their own lives, they also had the added advantage of that "two young men seen on the wings, fighting in armor different from that of the rest, of an extraordinary stature, on white horses and in scarlet cloaks; nor were they visible longer than the battle lasted."[269] Justin adds another reason for the underdog success of the Locrians, namely the favor of the temple at Delphi. He claims that the Locrians secretly undercut Croton's vow to offer a tenth of their booty to the god at the conclusion of the war by swearing a ninth of their own.[270] This is a clear attempt to not only gain the favor of the temple at Delphi but to destabilize Croton's own foundation myth where the favor of the oracle is central.[271]

However, in Pausanias's description of the battle the saviors of the Locrians are not the Dioscuri but Ajax, the hero of the Greek Locrians. As discussed above, the Homeric hero most famous for his violation of Cassandra would seem to be an odd national hero, but, despite his reputation, the mainland Locrians used Ajax as a unifying figure. One source claims that the Locrians always left a space in the front ranks for Ajax.[272] Cults to Ajax and Athena Ilias were a common part of both western and eastern Locrian civic religion, and in the 4th c. BCE the Locrians on the Greek mainland mint joint coinage featuring Ajax.[273] According to Daverio Rocchi, the

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[269]Just. *Epit.* 20.2: *duo iuuenes diuerso a ceteris armorum habitu, eximia magnitudine et albis equis et coccineis paludamentis pugnare uisi sunt nec ultra apparuerunt quam pugnatum est.*
[270] Just. *Epit.* 20.2.
[271] See, e.g. the coinage of Croton, which consistently includes the Delphic tripod (Rutter 1997).
[272] Conon (*FGrHist* 26 F1), with analysis in Hornblower 2018, 64.
[273] Daverio Rocchi 2013, 156.

religious nature of the cults in the colony, both of Athena Ilias and of Ajax, "preserve the common memory of a pan-Locrian aition that constituted the umbilical cord between the Locrians of Greece and those of Southern Italy." Thus, the presence of Ajax, so strongly associated with pan-Locrian identity, reflects the basis of kinship diplomacy between the Locrians on different sides of the Mediterranean. [274]

To summarize briefly before going into greater detail, for Locri in this battle their most obvious ally is their metropolis, Locris, where we see a very straightforward type of genealogical kinship diplomacy. The ability of the Italian Locrians to call upon both mainland Locris and their hero Ajax is logically the result of the kinship ties of colony and homeland. The existing relationship between Locri Epizephyrii and Sparta, which would facilitate an alliance and the presence of the Dioscuri, is less easy to attribute to a mutual ancestor. Here, I see the Locrians engaging in another type of kinship diplomacy, an appeal to homophylia. In this instance, the similarities in how Sparta and Locri constructed their identities forms the basis of the diplomatic relationship we see leading up the battle of the Sagra River and in the commemoration afterwards.

The version where the hero Ajax appears is probably the earliest version, as it is connected with the original foundation story of Locri and the mainland Locrians and dates to the period of the battle or shortly thereafter. However, in the 5th c. BCE changes in political dynamics caused Locri's network of alliances to shift. The emphasis on the intervention of the Dioscuri, both in the textual tradition and in artwork from the city dated to this moment in time, demonstrates agency on the part of Locri to strengthen their connections with Sparta, which had become a more powerful city than Locris. These two cities—Taras and Sparta—provided an added benefit to

[274] Daverio Rocchi 2013, 156.

Locri in that they were not considered Achaean, which was the ethnic identity actively claimed by the enemy city of Croton in this period.[275]

Figure 3: Museo Archeologico della Magna Grecia, Reggio Calabria. Gruppo statuario dei Dioscuri, 420-380 a.C., da Locri Epizephyrii (RC), Tempio di Contrada Marasà.

This shift is clearly demonstrated by the ways in which the Locrians promoted the story of Spartan help through their art and architecture. The famous Locrian pinakes, terracotta tablets with detailed scenes in relief, date to 490-470 BCE and contain depictions of the Dioscuri.[276] The purpose of these objects and the role of the Dioscuri in any rituals are difficult to determine; however, there are other more concrete references to the twin gods in Locrian art. When a Locrian temple at Marasà was renovated in the 5th century BCE, the marble pediment contained images

Figure 4: "Il Cavaliere di Marafioti" al Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Locri.

[275] Hall 2007, 103. Ancient sources for the Achaean foundation include Antiochus (*FGrH* 555 F 10); Strabo 8.7.5.

[276] Guzzo, 1994, 28. These tablets were found in the sanctuary of the Manella district likely dedicated to Persephone. It is possible that the connection with the twin gods was in their place as figures between life and death, similar to the goddess. See Lippolis 2009 for the Dioscuri on art, especially pinakes, from Taras and their connection to Sparta.

of the Dioscuri on horseback, almost certainly as the central figures.[277] A study of the iconography suggests that the unknown central female figure in the pediment flanked by the horsemen is a personification of the Sagra itself, an argument strengthened by Strabo's comment that the river has a feminine name.[278] Strabo also tells us that the Locrians set up a temple to the Dioscuri at the site of the battle, along the river, which might explain the sea-creatures that support the horsemen in the pediment from the Doric temple at Marasà, or perhaps it is an illusion to the sea journey the gods took from Sparta. Another figure, also found at Locri, this time at the temple at Marafioti and also dated to the early 5th c. BCE, might also be a depiction of one of the Dioscuri, with a horseman being supported by a sphinx. In this version, de la Genière has argued that the Locrians not only imported the gods from Sparta, but also a particularly Spartan representation of the gods by including the sphinx, which is how they are shown on the famous throne at Amyclae.[279] She claims that these objects functioned not just as a reminder of the Locrian victory but as an acknowledgement of the help from Sparta.[280] These objects demonstrate how Locri maintained an emphasis on its connection to Sparta well after the battle at the Sagra River. In their contemporary context, they play into the historical accounts of the 5th century BCE when Locri was allied with Syracuse and therefore with Sparta during the Peloponnesian War.[281]

The elaboration of the stories about the Dioscuri at the battle could easily date to this period, but the origin of the connections between the cities and the heroic intervention of the Dioscuri probably dates earlier in order to have been used successfully and legitimately for this form of kinship diplomacy based on homophylia. The aspects of affinity towards Sparta, especially

[277] Guzzo, 1994, 27-29.
[278] Pesando 2001, 96.
[279] de la Genière 1985, 697-698. See also Redfield 2003, 252.
[280] de la Genière, 1985, 697-698. The statue at Amyclae is described by Pausanias at 3.18.14.
[281] The connection to Syracuse is also reflected in art. The so-called Francavilla pinakes, discovered at a sanctuary controlled by Syracuse in the 5th century, contain iconographic and thematic similarities as those from Locri and some are even from the same molds, see Ferruzza 2016, 431-434.

in the Locrian foundation legends and cultural similarities described above, would have been useful tools for the Locrian ambassador who was sent to Sparta before the Battle at the Sagra River. In order for to Sparta to feel the need to send help, or for the Locrians to be able to promote this help from Sparta and the Dioscuri in the 5th century, they must have had a longstanding relationship already. Although the aid from both Sparta and Locris was mythical rather than lending generals, soldiers, or money, the stories gave Locri the mythical capital they needed. One can imagine the story was constantly retold and embellished at festivals and rituals taking place around the commemorative sculptures at these temples. There must have also been many other moments where the Locrians reminded the world about their victory, if the memory of the battle persisted into the time of Cicero. While the Battle of the Sagra is our best example, throughout its history Locri constantly engaged in changing alliances and often used tools such as its coinage and civic iconography to reinforce the city's connections with its potential allies.

This battle and the evidence for the appeal to Sparta provide one more explanation of Italian Locri's emphasis on the mainland Locrians' fidelity to Sparta and the kinship between Locri and Taras, Sparta's only colony in Italy. Malkin has suggested that Croton also sent a request to Sparta for help, and perhaps both cities tried to claim Sparta as a mother-city.[282] Either way, the stories demonstrate that Locri had been reaching out to both Taras and Sparta before the mid-6th century using a strategy of kinship diplomacy. As noted above, these diplomatic connections must have overlapped or coincided with the appeals to mainland Locris and the other side of Locrian identity. This Locrian identity was maintained through the heroization of Ajax as their military savior, on the one hand, but also through a communal focus on maiden rituals, likely continuing the mainland Locrian obligation to expiate for his crimes. The competing stories about the Sagra

[282] Malkin 1994b, 62-63, implied again by Paus. 3.3.1 where Sparta is listed as the founder of both Locri and Croton.

River may represent both different moments in the ways the Locrians told their own mytho-history, or perhaps different factions within the city, some who wished to throw their support towards the Spartans/Tarantines and others towards the Locrians.

Conclusion

Despite the paucity of literary material, the politics, rivalries, and alliances of 6th century BCE Magna Graecia shine through in their complexity when viewed through the lens of Locri Epizephyrii. From its foundation in the 8th c. to the Battle of the Sagra in the mid 6th c to the domination of the city by the Syracusans in the 4th c., the inhabitants of Locri identified key allies and used their mythology and religion to enhance their connections to them.

The stories that Locri told about its own foundation helped create a link through kinship diplomacy to Taras and from there to Sparta, allowing the Locrians to petition for help in the face of the developing (and hostile) Achaean League. The Italian Locrians also kept in mind the most famous resident of mainland Greek Locris, Ajax, and the potential for aid from mainland Locris. They actively continued to behave in ways similar to mainland Locris and to imitate their mother city in their rituals, such as the vow of 477 BCE and the story of the maiden ritual with the hero of Temesa. Other cities, such as Siris, played the same game, promoting stories that forged connections with practical political and military allies. The Syracusans put pressure of the people of Locri both through deliberate military action, but also intermarriage into the elite and the manipulation of stories through epinician poetry and sacred construction. The cities of Locri, Taras, and Siris (as well as Rhegium, which will figure in a future chapter) actively promoted an identity at odds with that of the "Achaean" cities of Metapontum, Croton and Sybaris.

This Achaean League was short lived, and quickly evolved into what is called the Italiote League, a federal alliance that contained non-Achaean cities. While it is tempting to see this Italiote

League as promoting a unified Greek ethnos in Italy, this unified identity took many centuries to develop. Before there was any sense of being Italiote, each city developed its own civic identity, and these were often in play with one another. Locri provides a clear example of the development of myth and identity in 7th-5th c. southern Italy in relationship to other Greek settlements. As these cities developed, however, a threat emerged from newly organized groups of Italians, such as the Lucanians and the Bruttians. In the following chapter I trace the ways that these groups formed their identities in dialogue and in competition with the Greek settlements of southern Italy, which was the catalyst for the creation of the more unified Italiote league.

Chapter 3 : Oracles, Athletes, and Adventurers: The Foundation Stories of Croton in Context

Introduction

The city of Croton, modern Crotone, is located in the province of Calabria. The city is well-placed, on the coast of the Ionian Sea approximately six miles north of the promontory named Lacinian in antiquity after the sanctuary to Hera Lacinia there. The city is hemmed in by the Sila mountains and is at the mouth of the river Aesarus, creating a relatively fertile chora.[283] The closest Greek foundation is Sybaris, approximately 100km north; the river Hylias (probably modern Fiumenica) was the border between the territories. It is likely that the area where the city was established was originally inhabited by native Italic peoples,

*Figure 5: Map of Southern Italy and Sicily with key cities and generalized dialect zones (*Wikipedia Commons)

[283] Dunbabin 1948, 27.

but the presence of the modern city of Croton makes excavation difficult, especially at any pre-Greek level.[284]

Figure 6: Temple of Hera Lacinia (photo by the author).

Allegedly founded in 710 BCE, Croton's most famous archaeological remains are the traces of a Doric temple at Capo Colonna, the ancient sanctuary of Hera Lacinia, where a single column still stands against a backdrop of the Ionian Sea.[285] Due to the a relatively robust surviving textual tradition, Croton's foundation narratives are commonly used as an exemplum of the typical pattern for Greek settlements in Italy; however, in reality, the picture is much more complicated.[286] It has at least one pre-foundational hero, who sets the stage for Greek development in the region, as well as an "historical" founder, who consulted the oracle at Delphi and led the actual settling expedition. While these individuals, as I shall discuss below, are present in the majority of our surviving sources, many versions of the foundation of Croton include a greater variety of actors with their own parts to play who are often overlooked or left out for the sake of simplicity. Moreover, the development of these foundation stories both over time and in relation to one another is not initially transparent and has not been fully considered.

[284] Giangiulio 1989 is still the authoritative text for the history of Croton in the archaic period.
[285] The date is supplied at Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.59.3.
[286] E.g. Berman 2017, 42-46; Malkin 2011, 119-69; Hall 2008.

In total, Croton has three "pre-foundational" figures: a man named Croton (who gives his name to the city), the hero Heracles, and the Homeric figure Philoctetes.[287] These are joined by a historical founder, reported as Myscellus of Rhype (a city in Achaea). Further, while not directly associated with Croton itself, there are also stories of Trojans wandering about the region and founding cities, and Strabo reports that, weary of so much travel, Trojan women burned their ships in the territory in order to settle down. As with the foundation legends of Locri discussed in Chapter 2, Pausanias presents an outlier version, attributing the foundation of Croton to Sparta. The "historical" foundation story (that of Myscellus of Rhype) follows the common pattern of the leader of the exhibition having obtained the blessing of the Delphic oracle, and, as was noted in Chapter 2, the symbols of Delphi, especially the tripod, feature prominently on Croton's coinage. In addition, other figures in the early history of Croton take on mythical qualities and became part of the legendary history of the city. The most prominent of these are the philosopher Pythagoras, who made Croton his Italian home, as well as its most famous athlete, Milo of Croton, who is still compared to modern Olympic greats today.[288] When taking these stories all together, what emerges from this array of characters is the complex negotiation of identity in Croton over centuries.

I have divided these foundation myths generally into five versions, which can be roughly situated in Croton's evolving socio-political role in the Mediterranean world. The earliest version consists of the oikist, Myscellus, and a colonizing mission given by the Delphic oracle whose pronouncements reflect a political rivalry with Sybaris, another Greek settlement in Italy founded at approximately the same time. A later addition to this story presents a different oracle, where

[287] Sources for all of these stories are collected in Guzzo 2011, 227-244; Giangiulio 1989, 134-148; Braccesi and Nocita 2017, 61-66, and *IACP* 266-267 and will be considered individually in the following sections.

[288] For a comparison of his Olympic feats with Michael Phelps see https://blog.oup.com/2012/08/olympic-greatness-ancient-greek-london-2012/,

Myscellus is paired with Archias, the founder of Syracuse, and the foundation of these cities is synchronized. This second version likely developed out of the rivalry between these two cities which flourished over the course of the 6th and 5th centuries BCE, in large part due to the leaders of Syracuse at that time, the Deinomenid dynasty. In this case, the political rivalry between the two poleis was inseparable from the athletic rivalry which played out across the Panhellenic Games and especially at the Olympics, both of which are reflected in foundational stories and legendary accounts of the early city. Another (third) version, less well known, involves Philoctetes, who came to Italy due to stasis in his native city after his homecoming from Troy and who is associated with founding several sanctuaries and smaller settlements in territories of Sybaris, Metapontum, and Croton. I will argue that this story originally served as a foundational tale for Sybaris but was appropriated by Croton after it conquered Sybaris and its dependent settlements in 510 BCE. The fourth version of the foundation narrative centers on Heracles, who slays the eponymous Croton and his companion Lacinius after crossing over to Italy in pursuit of the cattle of Geryon, his tenth labor. This version reflects the changing political/social agenda of Croton in the late 5th and 4th centuries BCE when it found itself at the head of a league of multi-ethnic Greek cities and native Italians in Italy.

Heracles not only provides another connection to the Olympics and athletics for Croton but also provides a foundational hero who is more broadly accessible to other Greek and non-Greek peoples living throughout southern Italy. This stands in stark contrast to the original oikist, Myscellus, who represented Croton's place as a distinctly Achaean city with those connections back to Achaea in mainland Greece. The Heracles version could also connect with the Italic peoples, since Heracles was worshipped by non-Greeks throughout southern Italy. In this case, Croton's promotion of the story could be seen in the context of an appeal for the support of nearby settlements. The Heracles narrative also has the hero in a "civilizing" mode, establishing Greek

authority over local peoples (Croton) and the local landscape (Lacinius), reflecting perhaps the multifaceted nature of this relationship or a changing view of the relationship between Croton and its Italic neighbors. The emphasis on Heracles as conqueror rather than as a mediator can probably be dated to the late 4th and early 3rd centuries, when Croton and other Italiote cities found themselves at war with several native Italic groups.[289]

A fifth version revolves around the figure of Philoctetes, another Homeric hero who winds up in Italy. These stories also concern Croton's relationship with Sybaris and its appropriation of Sybaris' power (and perhaps its network of allied cities, both Greek and non-Greek) after its destruction. Philoctetes is also closely associated with Heracles since he carries his bow, and because of this stories about the dedication of Heracles' bow proliferate throughout this area. The associations with Philoctetes remerge in later periods, when Croton seeks an alliance with Segesta, a non-Greek city in Sicily, which also regarded Philoctetes as a founder.[290]

Although I am tracing this development of these foundation stories, none of these myths existed in a vacuum and, indeed, they could co-exist and often depend on one another. While I argue that the Heracles myth developed in the 5th and 4th centuries, in the mythological timeline it is the earliest and presents a justification for the very presence of the Greek settlement at Croton. Together these versions make up an interrelated foundational discourse, and, while I will paint a general evolution, the stories overlapped and were all organically elaborated over time; what is

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[289] In a recent article, Berman 2017, has argued for the role of Heracles and even human Croton (the eponymous founder) as a 'prefoundational' myth. He claims (43) that the city "turned towards Croton (a native hero) *and* Heracles (a panhellenic one) as catalysts for expressing a broader identity, associating its earliest days with both the native south Italian population (via Croton) and the great mythic cycles of the mainland (via Heracles)." Berman attributes these new stories to political goals but does not go into detail about what these goals must have been and especially who the audience was for these pre-foundational and foundational narratives.

[290] The kinship diplomacy between Croton and Segesta through the figure of Philoctetes has been noted by Castelnuovo 1995. While Segesta is usually considered a Trojan foundation, the Segestans seemed particularly attuned to the value of their founders and pleas of kinship to making political connections and obtaining military aid.

most important here is that the decision to emphasize a certain myth at a particular time was a choice based on the shifting concerns, priorities, and goals of the city's inhabitants.

Along with a consideration of the literary sources, which should be recognized as the products of the time in which they were created and often illustrate contemporary rather than historical views or issues, the evolving coinage of Croton and other material evidence from the site offers additional sources of evidence for my analysis. The coinage of Croton is representative of a specific moment in time, and one often earlier than our written sources; the coins and the images on them minted by Croton and other cities in this period provide another narrative that can be fruitfully read against and alongside the literary tradition. Other evidence, such as votive deposits at sites like the temple of Hera Lacinia can not only tell us about when the sanctuary was in use, but also the types of offerings can shed light on the mentality behind the worship. Archaeological evidence can also point to the deities being worshipped at a given site, who can often be attached to a certain version of a foundation story or are central to a city's identity. The little evidence from the city of Croton itself (excavation is challenging because the modern city exists atop the ancient) can help us understand the pace of urbanization and the creation of structures such as poliadic temples and city walls can indicate when ideas of a community were crystallizing in the city.

Textual evidence for these myths comes from sources throughout Greek and Roman literature, from Antiochus of Syracuse and Timaeus to imperial authors, especially Strabo, Justin, Diodorus, and, the Roman poet Ovid, whose discourse represents, in my view, the culmination of these accounts. In his Metamorphoses, Ovid artfully combines many of the city's heroes, Heracles, Croton, Myscellus, and even the philosopher Pythagoras and the legendary Roman king Numa into one tale. The presence of the city's foundation legend in this 1st c. CE poem shows both that these stories remained compelling to a Roman audience and suggests that this layered construction of foundation and identity was then commonplace in the Roman social imaginary. How do we get

to a place where a Roman poet can not only use the foundation story of a south Italian Greek settlement to develop the character of a Roman king, but combine so many aspects of centuries of stories? This chapter will trace the development of the foundation narrative of Croton, looking at the evidence and sources for the variants demonstrated in Ovid's 1st c. CE account, some of which date back to our earliest sources from the 5th c. BCE. It attempts to identify when certain versions were circulating, and especially when the city of Croton made clear choices to promote certain myths, with its coinage or public architecture, and to use this historical context to make sense of the political goals of the stories.

Figure 7: Timeline of Croton's History (after Cerchiai 2004, with additions, all dates BCE and are approximations)

End of 8th c: City founded by Myscellus
570: Coalition of Croton, Metapontum and Sybaris destroys Siris
530: Battle of the Sagra, defeat of Croton by Locri
530: Arrival of Pythagoras at Croton
510: Destruction of Sybaris by Croton
Late 6th c.: Pythagoras flees to Metapontum
Mid 5th c.: Pythagorian discord, buildings burnt
Late 5th c.: Formation of Italiote League (Polybius)
430: Formation of Italiote League (Diodorus)
378: Battle between Croton and Dionysius I, temple of Hera Lacinia sacked
4th c.: Ongoing struggle against the Bruttians, control of Italiote League transferred to Taras
296: Croton sacked by Agathocles (tyrant of Syracuse)
280 – 270: Croton involved in war between Pyrrhus and Rome
215: Croton conquered by the Bruttians (allies of the Carthaginians) in the midst of the Second Punic War
204: Hannibal transfers inhabitants of Thurii to Croton
194: Croton is made a Roman colony

Sources for Croton's Myth

Despite its 1st c. date, Strabo's account of the foundation of Croton is a useful starting point, as he actively cites our earliest authors. His account begins at 6.1.12 with the geography of the area, which itself has mythical origins; for example, he connects the name of a nearby river, the Neaethus, to the Greek ναῦς αἴθειν (to burn ships), a reference to the location where the travel-weary Trojan women burned their ships. Strabo does not mention any specific cities founded by these Trojans but claims that after this moment of rebellion other Trojans followed and continued

to settle in the area κατὰ τὸ ὁμόφυλον, on account of their kinship.[291] He uses the prominence of Trojan names in the area to support this connection. Although this story is not directly focused on the city of Croton, it serves as a first level of pre-foundational narrative, indicating that the landscape, especially the river and surrounding areas, was already under the control of non-Italians at the time when Myscellus arrived from Rhype and, therefore, justified the later Greek presence.[292] Strabo's narrative does not, however, contain either of the other two pre-foundational stories, those involving Heracles and Croton. This omission aligns with one of Strabo's general goals for his Geographica, the connection of the Italian landscape with the Homeric stories in particular, so it should perhaps not be surprising that these non-Iliadic heroes go unmentioned and that he instead stresses the presence of the Trojan women.[293]

When Strabo takes up the foundation of Croton, instead of including the versions of the foundation dealing with Heracles or the man Croton, Strabo focuses on the historical founder, Myscellus of Rhype, and his relationship with the Delphic oracle,

> φησὶ δ᾽ Ἀντίοχος, τοῦ θεοῦ χρήσαντος Ἀχαιοῖς Κρότωνα κτίζειν, ἀπελθεῖν Μύσκελλον κατασκεψόμενον τὸν τόπον, ἰδόντα δ᾽ ἐκτισμένην ἤδη Σύβαριν ποταμῷ τῷ πλησίον ὁμώνυμον κρῖναι ταύτην ἀμείνω: ἐπανερέσθαι δ᾽ οὖν ἀπιόντα τὸν θεὸν εἰ λῷον εἴη ταύτην ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνης κτίζειν, τὸν δὲ ἀνειπεῖν (ἐτύγχανε δὲ ὑπόκυφος ὢν ὁ Μύσκελλος) "Μύσκελλε βραχύνωτε, παρὲκ θεὸν ἄλλο ματεύων κλάσματα θηρεύεις: δῶρον δ᾽ ὅ τι δῷ τις ἐπαινεῖν."ἐπανελθόντα δὲ κτίσαι τὸν Κρότωνα συμπράξαντος καὶ Ἀρχίου τοῦ τὰς Συρακούσσας οἰκίσαντος, προσπλεύσαντος κατὰ τύχην ἡνίκα ὥρμητο ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Συρακουσσῶν οἰκισμόν. ᾤκουν δὲ Ἰάπυγες τὸν Κρότωνα πρότερον, ὡς Ἔφορός φησι.
>
> But Antiochos says that, when the god had told the Achaeans to found Croton, Myscellus departed in order to examine the region, and seeing that Sybaris was already founded near the river with the same name, he decided that the latter was better. So then having returned he asked the god again if it would be better to found this place instead of that one, and [the god]

[291] The burning of the Trojan ships is a common trope and this story is variously located throughout Italy and Sicily, e.g. Ver. *Aen.* 5.604-663, Lyc. *Alex.* 1075 – 82 (another story, or another version of this story located by the river Crathis); see Scheer 2018 for a full account of the various versions and the role of women in *nostos* stories.

[292] Malkin 1998, esp. 3-5 argues for the role of prefoundational or protocolonial myth.

[293] See Dandrow 2014 for Strabo's Homeric view of the Mediterranean.

> replied (it happened that Myscellus was hunchbacked), "Myscellus, short-backed one, you, searching for something else, apart from the god [i.e. the pronouncement] hunt for morsels, whatever is given, that gift should be approved." Having returned, he settled Croton with Archias the founder of Syracuse joining him, who, by a stroke of fortune, was sailing in that direction, beginning the foundation of Syracuse. The Iapgyians previously lived at Croton, as Ephorus says. (Strabo 6.1.12)

In this paragraph alone, we have several versions of the foundation story and two early sources, Antiochus of Syracuse and Ephorus. A firm date for Ephorus is difficult, but based on clues in the text and the tradition that he was a student of Isocrates (436-338), he was probably writing in the late 4th c. BCE, a time of increased hostility with the Italic populations throughout central and southern Italy; it seems likely he retrojected these ideas into the distant past. He seems to be the source for Strabo's final sentence, that the Iapgyians occupied the territory before the foundation of the city, indicating that the struggles between Croton and the native Italic inhabitants at the moment of the city's founding was probably a part of his narrative.[294]

Antiochus of Syracuse is clearly the source for the oracle itself and probably for the synchronization of the foundation of Croton and Syracuse, a subject he would have been well-versed in as a resident of Syracuse. Traditionally, Antiochus' writings are dated to the 5th c. BCE, with the last datable event in any fragment taking place in 433/2 BCE, and he is often our most reliable source as the first Greek historian of the west.[295] Nino Luraghi has noted that Antiochus' accounts of city foundations in both Sicily and southern Italy tend to focus more on the "historical"

[294] See Ch.4 for the Iapygians and the history of this ethnic name, which dates back as early as Hecataeus. According to Parker (*BNJ* 70 F140) Strabo included this statement, citing Ephorus as "a sort of addendum" to the version of the foundation given by Antiochus, since his account did not include any information about the pre-Greek inhabitants of the site. The statement recalls the oracle given to the founder of Taras to be a "scourge to the Iapygians." A point in Ephorus' favor on previous occupation before the Greek settlement is the archeological evidence at Osanna 1992, 168 of native pottery in layers below archaic houses at Croton. There is also evidence for native objects below the temple of Hera Lacinia, see Spadea 1997, 244. See also Kleibrink 2001.

[295] Luraghi 2002. See also his commentary for *BNJ* 555 (Antiochus of Syracuse).

founders than their mythical counterparts.[296] It is, of course, possible that the lack of other versions of the foundation story in our fragments of Antiochus is due to the biases of the quoting authors; we can at least say that the version of the foundation of Croton that considered Myscellus as a founder sanctioned by Delphi and containing associations with Sybaris and Syracuse dates to at least the 5th c. BCE. Strabo later mentions the oracle again as given to both Myscellus and Archias at 6.2.4 in the context of the history of Syracuse; however, he does not give a source this time but simply introduces the section with an impersonal φασιν (they say). The story is also given nearly identically by Hippys of Rhegium (FGrHist 544 F 1), probably writing in the late 5th century BCE, as cited by Zenobius,[297] and again by Diodorus Siculus, though only Myscellus receives the oracle here.[298] It is striking that no other versions of the foundation are mentioned by Strabo. I would hesitantly argue that he was therefore looking directly at Antiochus or another very early source that did not record any of the other, later, variants.

It is valuable to look at the fuller version presented by Diodorus Siculus (8.17) where the oracle recorded by Strabo is actually the third oracle Myscellus received from the priestess. Myscellus originally went to Delphi to ask about having children, but the oracle instead instructed him to first found Croton and then worry about his family:

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[296] This is perhaps what he meant by τὰ πιστότατα καὶ σαφέστατα in the introduction quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Rom. Ant.* 1.12.3; *FGrHist* 555 F2): Ἀντίοχος Ξενοφάνεος τάδε συνέγραψε περὶ Ἰταλίης ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων λόγων τὰ πιστότατα καὶ σαφέστατα· τὴν γῆν ταύτην, ἥτις νῦν Ἰταλίη καλεῖται, τὸ παλαιὸν εἶχον Οἴνωτροι. *Antiochus the son of Xenophanes wrote these things concerning Italy, the most trustworthy and the most clear from the ancient accounts. This land which is now called Italia, in previous times the Oinotrians held.* See Vattuone 2007 for a concise description of his context and writings.

[297] Zen. 3.42 (*FGrHist* 554 F1); Whether or not Hippys of Rhegium actually existed, and if so, when, has been extensively debated. If the date in the Suda is correct, Hippys deserves the title of the first western Greek historian, however, Vattuone 2007, 189 has noted that for the Suda entry, "everything in it is controversial." Debate centers around the use of Olympiad dating which was supposedly invented by Timaeus, therefore Hippys could not have been using them in the 5th c BCE when other sources claim he lived. While Jacoby decided that he was a creation of a Pythagorean historian in the 4th c. BCE, counter claims stress that he seemed interested in chronology and perhaps simply used the Olympic dates as "a yardstick for establishing the chronology of events in the west" (Vattuone 2007, 190) and not as a full system, as in Timaeus. I tend to agree with Vattuone and others (esp. Giangiulio 1992), that Hippys probably also dates to the late 5th century and should be considered contemporary with or perhaps slightly earlier than Antiochus.

[298] Diod. Sic. 8.17

Μύσκελλε βραχύνωτε, φιλεῖ σ' ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων,
καὶ γενεὰν δώσει· τόδε δὲ πρότερόν σε κελεύει,
οἰκῆσαί σε Κρότωνα μέγαν καλαῖς ἐν ἀρούραις.

Myscellus, short of back, you are dear to Apollo, who works from afar
And he will give you children, but first he commands this of you
You will found great Croton in beautiful fields. (Diod. Sic. 8.17)

Myscellus was apparently confused by this response, perhaps understandably wondering what Croton was (τοῦ δὲ Κρότωνα ἀγνοοῦντος, being ignorant concerning Croton). Apollo himself gives a clearer command in a second oracle,

αὐτός σοι φράζει ἑκατηβόλος· ἀλλὰ συνίει.
οὗτος μὲν Τάφιός τοι ἀνήροτος, ἥδε δὲ Χαλκίς,
ἥδε δὲ Κουρήτων . . . ἡ ἱερὰ χθών,
αἵδε δ' Ἐχινάδες εἰσί· πολὺς δ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ πόντος.
οὕτω σ' οὐκ ἂν φημι Λακινίου ἄκρου ἁμαρτεῖν
οὐδ' ἱεράς Κριμίσης οὐδ' Αἰσάρου ποταμοῖο.

The far shooter himself speaks to you. Take note of these things
Here is the unploughed Taphian land, and there Chalcis,
And there the Curetes, and there the sacred land,
And there are the Echinades, the mighty sea on the left.
Thus I say to you that you will not miss the Lacinian peak
Nor sacred Crimisa, nor the river Aesarus. (Diod. Sic. 8.17)

While this seems like a typical oracle in that it gives literal geographic directions for how to find the site of Croton, it is also probably a later creation influenced by local knowledge and cult, especially with the reference to the mysterious Curetes and the significant ritual locations at the Lacininan promontory and at Crimisa, which implies detailed local knowledge.[299] Diodorus follows this second oracle with the same story found in Strabo, that Myscellus desired instead to found a city at the site of Sybaris and returned for a third time to the oracle.[300] We are clearly

[299] Parke and Wormell 1956, 70 claim that "The directions to find Croton may have originally been introduced by some formula which showed that this was an answer to an enquiry about a colony. These first lines would easily be omitted or modified to accord with the growth of the legend and the supposition that Myscellus' original enquiry had been for children…but the list of place-names looks an improbable invention for a forger; something more picturesque or more significant would be what one would have expected."
[300] The oracle is almost exactly the same as in Strabo 6.12: Μύσκελλε βραχύνωτε, παρὲκ θεοῦ ἄλλα ματεύων κλαύματα μαστεύεις· δῶρον δ' ὃ διδῷ θεὸς αἴνει.

dealing with two traditions here, one which set up Croton as a rival to Sybaris and another, later version, which reflected the rivalry between Croton and Syracuse.

The version with Myscellus' oracle and the desire to found the city at the location of Sybaris appears to be the earliest extant version of the foundation myth of Croton, since it is present in our earliest sources and would not be as potent of a foundation story for Croton after the destruction of Sybaris. It is possible, however, that even the Sybaritic element is a later addition to an even earlier version, especially since Croton and Sybaris appeared to have been friendly and at least joined by some sense of Achaean identity in the late 8th and 7th centuries.[301] This had clearly dissolved by the late 6th c. when Croton destroys Sybaris, an event usually dated to 510 BCE.[302] Highlighting this rivalry as fundamental to the existence of Croton would only have had traction in the years surrounding the battle. The changing relationship between Croton and Sybaris will be explored in depth later in this chapter, but this version of the foundation myth must predate or date to around the time of the destruction of Sybaris. In the years following 510, the myth likely evolved to reflect Croton's new rival, Syracuse.

This version emphasizing the rivalry between Croton and Syracuse (mentioned above at Strabo 6.2.4) depicts Myscellus and Archias, the founder of Syracuse, not only sailing together but consulting the oracle at the same time.

> τὰς δὲ Συρακούσσας Ἀρχίας μὲν ἔκτισεν ἐκ Κορίνθου πλεύσας περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους οἷς ᾠκίσθησαν ἥ τε Νάξος καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα. ἅμα δὲ Μύσκελλόν τέ φασιν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐλθεῖν καὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν: χρηστηριαζομένων δ᾽ ἐρέσθαι τὸν θεόν, πότερον αἱροῦνται πλοῦτον ἢ ὑγίειαν: τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀρχίαν ἑλέσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον, Μύσκελλον δὲ τὴν ὑγίειαν: τῷ μὲν δὴ Συρακούσσας δοῦναι κτίζειν τῷ δὲ Κρότωνα. καὶ δὴ συμβῆναι Κροτωνιάτας μὲν οὕτως ὑγιεινὴν οἰκῆσαι πόλιν ὥσπερ εἰρήκαμεν, Συρακούσσας δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐκπεσεῖν πλοῦτον ὥστε καὶ

[301] See articles in Greco 2002, *Gli Achei e l'Identità etnica degli Achei d'Occidente,* esp. Gallo (p.133-143), Osanna (p.271-282), Giangiulio (p.283-314), Mertens (p.315-322), and Croissant (p.397-424).

[302] While the date is not necessarily reliable, the historicity of the destruction of Sybaris by Croton is rarely called into question, especially because of the later foundation of Thurii in more or less the same location. Herodotus records the conflict and spent the later years of his life at Thurii.

> αὐτοὺς ἐν παροιμίᾳ διαδοθῆναι, λεγόντων πρὸς τοὺς ἄγαν πολυτελεῖς ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐξικνοῖτο αὐτοῖς ἡ Συρακουσσίων δεκάτη.
>
> Archias founded Syracuse, sailing from Corinth around the time in which Naxos and Megara were founded. They say that at the same as Myscellus went to Delphi, Archias also went: and when they were consulting the oracle, the god asked them whether they chose wealth or health: Archias, on the one hand, chose wealth, and Myscellus on the other, chose health. Thus, to the former the god gave to found Syracuse, and the latter to found Croton. And it happened that the Crotoniates thus lived in a healthy city, as I have explained, and the Syracusans fell into so much wealth that they are known in a maxim, that is said about those who are extremely extravagant, that a tithe of the Syracusans would not be sufficient for them. (Strabo 6.2.4)

This oracle sets up the stark dichotomy and rivalry not between Croton and Sybaris but instead between Croton and Syracuse. It plays on the reputation of Croton as a place that nurtured philosophers and athletes while Syracuse was famous for its wealth. The oracle itself seems suspect, however, for Sybaris was also proverbial for its wealth and luxury; it almost seems as if Strabo simply replaced the proper noun "Sybaris" with "Syracuse" and left it at that.[303] Dunbabin notes that, when Antiochus of Syracuse was writing, Syracuse was the most powerful colony on Sicily while Croton was the "chief of the Italian colonies" and therefore "the two were brought into relation by the means of a joint Delphic oracle to their founders."[304] I would argue that they were not only "brought into relation" but that the original foundation myth containing Sybaris was co-opted in order to reflect the changing political nature in western Greece in the 5th century BCE, with Croton as a leader among the Greek city states in Italy, and Syracuse in Sicily. In this way, the foundation narrative has been organically changed to reflect the political situation of the period.

While Croton and Syracuse are not unique in having foundation stories that stress the role of the Delphic oracle, the joint pronouncement is a unique addition. The authenticity of these

[303] Famously giving us English "sybaritic." See Dunbabin 1948, 75-83, as well as Rutter 1970 for the literary evidence for Sybaris' wealth and its citizens' inclination towards luxury, e.g. Hdt. 5.45.1, Strabo 6.1.13.

[304] Dunbabin 1948, 444. In this section on the synchronization of the foundation dates he also hypothesizes that since Syracuse and Corcyra were supposedly founded on the same day, the association between Syracuse, Corcyra and Croton might be a simple scribal error.

pronouncements, often recorded in our sources in verse, has been questioned since antiquity. At times, the specific geographic information encoded in these riddle-like pronouncements can be seen as evidence for their authenticity and for the role of Delphi not only as a religious sanctuary but also as a center for the dispersal of knowledge in the Greek world. Foundation stories, however, are a hyper-local genre, created, developed, and embellished to fit the group that uses them to self-identify and could therefore easily contain authentic geography simply because they were produced locally. Despite this claim of hyper-locality, the sanctuary at Delphi was a panhellenic institution and the interactions with the oracle and the pronouncements of the oracle were part of a larger network and discourse. In looking closely at Croton, the historicity of the oracle is easy to question given the supposed date of the foundation of the city in the late 8th c. BCE, a very early time in the development of the sanctuary.[305] While it is possible that a narrative tradition emerged to explain an oracle, it is much more likely that the text of the oracle has been invented and incorporated into local, collective stories about foundations to give them further legitimacy. In terms of the oracle linking Archias and Myscellus, Fontenrose immediately rejects its historicity: "This response is disqualified at once, since Croton was founded a quarter-century after Syracuse; it belongs to a kind of fable, meant to explicate a proverbial expression."[306]

This is not to undermine the role played by Delphi; indeed, the prominence of the oracle in Croton's foundation legend increases the importance of the sanctuary in the historical consciousness of the Greeks. As argued by Maurizio Giangiulio, "in the archaic cultural context it appears to have been vitally important for the Mediterranean communities to have Delphi inserted into an intentional elaboration of their own past, so that they could impact a divine dimension to

[305] Malkin 1987, 44, rejects the oracle as authentic "mainly because of its *motif* from folklore of the oikist who consults the oracle on a personal matter and is entrusted with a public mission instead."
[306] Fontenrose 1978, 138.

it.[307]” A small piece of evidence for the invention of these oracles is how the oracle addresses Myscellus, as βραχύνωτε, implying that he was hunchbacked and perhaps modeled on the founder of Cyrene, Battos, whose stutter is the alleged reason for consulting the Delphic oracle and is related to his name (from βατταρίζειν, to stammer).[308] The sanctuary possibly did play a key role in the early history of the city, perhaps even the initial voyage across the Mediterranean; however, the precise contents of the various pronouncements of the oracle are almost certainly the products of local construction and propaganda.

Croton's coinage confirms that Delphi played an integral part in the city's early collective identity. As was noted in Ch.2 the earliest coinage of Croton, likely minted from 550 – 510 BCE, depict the Delphic tripod occasionally accompanied by other more enigmatic signs such as a crab, eagle or a heron.[309] These coins predate our earliest written sources and indicate that the foundation legends including the consultation of the Delphic oracle are probably the oldest, or at least the most important to Croton in the 6th century. The coins clearly display the city's local identity with the earliest versions simply bearing a koppa (Ϙ) as the first letter instead of the later kappa. Still others display a ϘPO or a ϘPO – TON on the obverse and reverse respectively.[310] The tripod would be a symbol recognizable throughout the Greek world, and Croton's use of it actively promotes the city's status

Figure 8: Silver stater from Croton, 530-500 BCE, HN Italy *2075.*

[307] Giangiulio 2001, 133.
[308] Malkin 1987, 44.
[309] Rutter 1997, 29.
[310] Rutter 1997, 29.

as a member of this network and as a locality sanctioned by Apollo. It also could be seen as reinforcing Croton's reputation for producing world-class athletes, since many Crotoniates found success at the Pythian games that took place at Delphi from 582 onward. In any case, this foundation arc involving Delphi and Myscellus and either Sybaris or Syracuse seems to be sufficient for meeting the needs of Croton for the first few centuries of its existence.

The founding figure of Myscellus, who was the one who consulted the oracle and was a native of Rhype, also cements Croton's status as an Achaean city. In a section about the Battle of Salamis, Herodotus names Croton as the only "far away" city which sent men and ships to the Greek side and then concludes the section with a simple statement that they are Achaean, clearly as an explanation for their willingness to join the fight.[311]

> τῶν δὲ ἐκτὸς τοῦτον οἰκημένων Κροτωνιῆται μοῦνοι ἦσαν οἳ ἐβοήθησαν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνευούσῃ μιῇ νηί, τῆς ἦρχε ἀνὴρ τρὶς πυθιονίκης Φάυλλος· Κροτωνιῆται δὲ γένος εἰσὶ Ἀχαιοί.
>
> Of those who live beyond these, the Crotonitates were the only ones who the men of Croton alone came to aid Greece when it was in peril, with one ship, the leader of the ship was Phayllus, three times a victor in the Pythian games. The Crotoniates are an Achaean genos. (Hdt. 8.47)

Unsurprisingly, the leader of these men, Phayllus, is also a famous athlete, another typically Crotonian quality. As argued in Ch. 2, Croton was at the head of a coalition of "Achaean" cities, notably including Sybaris and Metapontum, which together destroyed the city of Siris (perhaps around 570 BCE), and although Strabo argues that Croton's demise began at its defeat by Locri at the Battle of the Sagra River in the mid-6th century BCE, the city flourished in the following centuries.

[311] Kowalzig 2007, 320, notes how unusual this statement is, "Herodotus' single mention of Kroton as 'Akhaian', cited above, stands alone amongst a flurry of tales in the Histories involving southern Italian cities without that *ethnikon*, as indeed Thucydides does not once apply the term in the ethnic sense."

Despite this emphasis on the Achaean nature of Croton, in another spin-off of the foundation story, Pausanias' assertion that Croton was a Spartan city, can also probably be tied to this battle.[312] As was noted in Ch 2, both Locri and Croton appealed to Sparta for help in this battle, and that the Spartans sent Locri the Dioscuri as help likely dissuaded Croton from trying to maintain a connection with Sparta. An attempt at renewing a connection with Sparta might have been behind Milo's decision to dress as Heracles in the battle against Sybaris, or at least be behind the story that he did, as an allusion to the role of Heracles in the foundation of the Spartan kingly line. Perhaps having Heracles himself join the battlefield was too much (though this didn't stop the two gods and one Homeric hero at the Battle of the Sagra), but Milo dressed as Heracles could provide a link to Sparta in the future.[313] Another option for the origins of this connection between Croton and Sparta will be presented later in the chapter.

In the next century, Croton expanded its territory, taking over many of the sub-colonies and territories controlled by Sybaris, especially towards the Tyrrhenian sea. Again, the coinage of Croton is extremely illustrative of its ambitions and self-representation. After 510, the city begins to mint staters with its typical tripod and ϘPO on the obverse but with a new image on the incuse reverse: the Sybarite bull (their typical image on

Figure 9: Silver nomos c. 500 BCE; QRO and tripod, reverse incuse bull; HN Italy 2098.

[312] Paus. 3.3.1

[313] Diod. Sic. 12.9.6. Nicholson 2016, 135 argues that we should also consider the heroic story of Euthymus in this context and that this "hero of Temesa" story "should also be understood within the context of the way that the battle of the river Sagra was constructed so as to trump the battle of the river Traeis." For the links between Sparta and Croton see Nicholson 2016, 138 and Giangiulio 1989, 182-184.

coins) with the legend MY.[314] The prominence of the Crotoniate symbol on the primary side indicates "not so much of an 'alliance' between the two states, as it has often been termed, but of the dependency of Sybaris on Croton."[315] Other Crotonian coins demonstrate a similar dominance over smaller settlements with the adoption of their images with the tripod and legend, such as at Laus, Temesa and Pandosia.[316]

Figure 10: Stater, Alliance coinage between Croton and Temesa. HN Italy 2122.

Recent scholarship on these representations have deemed them "cooperative coinages," which demonstrate not necessarily alliance or dominance but instead "economic collaboration."[317] Mackil and Van Alfen have emphasized the amount of communication and organization required to mint a joint coinage and argue that in ascribing political motivations to these coinages we elide the economic role. They claim that "allowing another city's symbols on the coin implies that the "dominant" partner approached the negotiating table in a spirit of bilateralism, rather than dictating its will. Economic needs can trump unilateral politics."[318] While there was certainly an economic need behind the joint issues, perhaps related to taxation or levying troops, the choices of images and the placement of the Crotoniate tripod on the obverse in every case, especially with incuse coinage showing the reverse in relief, makes the coins themselves a powerful political message. As Nicholson has noted, by taking over not only Sybaris' dependencies, but also their economic system in a similar way (Sybaris previously had joint coinage with these

[314] Rutter 1997, 36.
[315] Rutter 1997, 36.
[316] Pandosia might have been a mixed or entirely indigenous settlement. Strabo 6.1.5 only notes that it is where Alexander the Molossian died.
[317] Mackil and van Alfen 2006, 209-210; Nicholson 2016, 90.
[318] Mackil and van Alfen 2006, 210.

cities), Croton "declared not only that it was the regional hegemon in the toe of Italy, but also that it had replaced Sybaris in that role."[319]

This replacement of Sybaris as a hegemon in Italy is also reflected in the stories surrounding Philoctetes in Italy. These will be explored in depth at the end of the chapter, but it is important to note that he appears in stories that concern Sybaris, but also the cities and sanctuaries in the hinterland of Croton. Scholars have suggested that he represents either Croton's attempts to control the cities and peoples previously controlled by Sybaris, or a separate attempt to control indigenous Italian settlements in its hinterlands.[320]

The coinage from this period demonstrates that Croton has effectively taken over as the new hegemon in southern Italy and was actively incorporating the cities which were dependent on Sybaris into its new coalition. It was thus time to address a new rival, Syracuse, and I would argue that this moment is a likely candidate for the development of the second version of the foundation legend and its double oracle to Myscellus and Archias. This new rivalry would continue through centuries, and in this case Croton fares less well, with several later Syracusan tyrants sacking and controlling the city. Rutter notes that the coinage of Croton declines in the last 30 years of the 5th c. BCE, coinciding with literary evidence of political crisis and factionalism and with a supposed destruction of the houses and gathering places of the followers of Pythagoras in the 430s BCE.[321]

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[319] Nicholson 2016, 90.

[320] For the Sybaris theory see Mele 1983, 36-39. Giangiulio 1991 for the control of the indigenous societies. The more recent theory of Genovese 2018, that these stories represent a memory of real indigenous-Greek interactions at the moments of foundation is discussed in the final section.

[321] For the *stasis* and Pythagorean factionalism at Croton see Polyb. 2.39. The sources are collected in Fritz 1940, who dates the destruction of Milo's house and other Pythagorean meeting places to between 450 and 440 BCE. See Rowett 2014 for a recent study of Pythagoreanism in southern Italy.

Heracles Oikistas

The 5th century BCE was a period of political change throughout Magna Graecia, and it is in precisely this period when there appears to be another change in the emphasis of Croton's foundation story. Again, the city's coinage demonstrates this most clearly. In a series dated to 420 BCE, Croton does not abandon its typical symbol of the Delphic tripod, but it is now on the reverse, and the tripod is surrounded by Apollo and the snake monster Pytho. On the obverse, the more prominent side, there is a new symbol—Heracles sitting on a rock where he is named as oikistas, founder. According to Rutter, Heracles with many of his typical symbols but also with objects, such as a laurel branch and an altar, "evokes a sacrifice performed by the hero to secure the prosperity of the city and its people."[322] His presence represents a shift in focus for the city of Croton, away from a sense of Achaean-ness towards a greater focus on appealing to a wider group of Greeks and non-Greeks.

Figure 11: Silver Stater of Croton, 425-350 BCE, (obverse) Young Herakles seated left, holding filleted branch and club; at left, altar; in right field, bow and quiver; in exergue, two fish. From the British Museum.

Heracles is a common figure throughout Italy and seems to have broadly appealed to both Greeks and Italians. His travels in Italy are usually focused on his tenth labor, stealing the cattle of Geryon which he followed from Sicily to Italy. According to Diodorus (4.24), Heracles, bearing the cattle of Geryon, encountered two figures when he arrived on the Italian mainland, one named Lacininus and another, Croton.

> ὁ δ' Ἡρακλῆς μετὰ τῶν βοῶν περαιωθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν προῆγε διὰ τῆς παραλίας, καὶ Λακίνιον μὲν κλέπτοντα τῶν βοῶν ἀνεῖλε, Κρότωνα δὲ ἀκουσίως ἀποκτείνας ἔθαψε μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ τάφον αὐτοῦ κατεσκεύασε:

[322] Rutter 1997, 39.

> προεῖπε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ὅτι καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ὕστερον χρόνους ἔσται πόλις ἐπίσημος ὁμώνυμος τῷ τετελευτηκότι.
>
> Then Heracles, with the cattle, crossed over to Italy and continued along the shore, and he exacted vengeance on Lacinius, who was stealing the cattle. Croton, however, he killed involuntarily and Heracles honored him with a funeral befitting a great man and built his tomb. He proclaimed to the inhabitants that after some time there would be a remarkable city with the same name as the one who had died.

Both of these figures give their names to the landscape, Croton obviously to the city itself and Lacinius to the cult area later dedicated to Hera Lacinia, which has been identified with the sacred area at Capo Colonna through inscriptions and votive deposits. In some versions Lacinius is said to be the son of Croton.[323] Lycophron has a unique version of the history of the promontory, claiming that Thetis gave the land to Hera and Croton in exchange for establishing a cult to Achilles. According to de Polignac, this etiology was necessary for Croton since the sanctuary was on the edge of its territory.[324] The story is probably also present in the poet Steischoros' Geryoneis, which, while fragmentary seems to position the Heracles tradition in southern Italy and Sicily.[325] Although he does not cite this passage, Bernan notes the importance of the topography to the story of Lacinius "since it allows a connection to a space even before its identity is developed (in some sense or another) as a particular polis—the space that become Thebes, or Croton, or 'Athens'—while establishing the identity of place through cult presence."[326]

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[323] Claimed at Hornblower 2015, 330 (also at Servius on Ver. *Aen.* 3.552).

[324] de Polignac 1994, 103.

[325] Franzen 2009, 55 argues that the poem "helps make sense out of the violent, disorienting act of colonization and establishes a collective cultural memory that is both distinct from and loyal to Greek literary history." While Franzen ties the story back to Steisichoros' hometown of Himera, it is likely that the poem described Heracles' movements around the Italian peninsula and that centuries after its publication in the 6th c. BCE the themes could be picked up by other city-states looking to establish their own "collective cultural memory" Others place Heracles at Rome and in Etruria.

[326] Berman 2017, 50.

Malkin has argued that Heracles functions as a "terrestrial" instead of a "maritime" founder and, therefore, stories concerning him date to a later period in the colony's history. This seems to be case not only on Sicily, where he argues for this distinction, but also for Croton. Malkin asks why Heracles was considered a founder at Croton since the city already had Myscellus; his own response is that "Greek cities in the western Mediterranean of Classical times began to appropriate mythic origins in response to the challenge of their national youthfulness, apparently wishing to have ancestries as venerable and as ancient as those of their mother cities. An association with Herakles, a hero whose time preceded even the Trojan War, could serve this purpose."[327] This is probably the case in terms of Croton's relationship with the larger Greek world and especially with mainland Greece. Malkin also emphasizes that Heracles in particular "could be turned to face the 'natives,'" sometimes as their own ancestor or founder, as was Odysseus for the Etruscans (Utuzde).[328] While foundation might imply conflict, a hero who preceded the historical date of foundation and was somehow "shared" by Greeks and non-Greeks could thus mediate relationships."[329] The myths surrounding Heracles at Croton certainly imply conflict, in the murder of Croton, and, as I will argue in the following section, not only serve these two purposes, but also create connections within the even smaller Greek world of the Italiote cities themselves. We might also ask why Croton needed Heracles if it already had Philoctetes as a figure who also served the pre-foundational purpose of justifying its presence and providing a link to which non-Greeks could attach themselves. I would say that for Philoctetes, Croton did not have a strong enough claim to the hero, who at this point was still somewhat associated with Sybaris. The relationship of both Heracles and Philoctetes to Croton changes as its relationship to Sybaris and

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[327] Malkin 2001, 120-121.
[328] Malkin 2011, 121.
[329] Malkin 2011, 121.

the other Greek city-states in Italy evolves, an evolution which can be identified in the increased promotion of these characters in its foundation narrative.

The Destruction of Sybaris & the Formation of The Italiote League

Despite Strabo's claims about Croton's lack of power following the 6th-century battle of the Sagra and the Pythagorean uprisings, politically Croton seems to be as powerful as ever at the end of the 5th c. At this time it becomes the de facto leader of the more formal Italiote league, a coalition of Greek settlements who were prompted towards unity in the face of expanding Italian groups. The evidence for this league (as well as the less formal "Achaean" league in Italy described in the previous chapter) is sketchy, and there is debate about the nature of the league and even when it was founded.[330] Our main sources are Polybius and Diodorus Siculus, who give not only alternative dates for the foundation of the league, but even different core members. Another complicating factor is the patriotism of Polybius, a proud Achaean of Greece, who attributes much of the Italiote league to conscious imitation of the Greek Achaean League of which he was a member before it was defeated and disbanded by the Romans in 146. According to Polybius, the Italiote league emerged in the 5th century, with help from mainland Greek Achaeans who came to Italy after the upheaval following the destruction of Pythagorean meeting places, but then fell apart when Dionysius of Syracuse began encroaching into southern Italy.[331] Diodorus in contrast claims that

[330] Fronda 2015 argues that a 5th c. league consisting of Croton, a re-founded Sybaris and Caulonia existed in the 5th c. BCE, modeled in some way on an Achaean League in Greece, as argued by Polybius (2.39.1-7). In this phase the league probably had a central meeting place at a sanctuary to Zeus Homarios, again a center of Achaean identity in the mainland, reproduced in Italy as a method of emphasizing cultural connections between member states. The nature of the league changed as the needs of the constituent states changed, and as more Italiote city-states were brought into the alliance. In the 4th c. it appears as though the central deity was replaced by Hera Lacinia, in the territory of Croton, and appealing to a larger Italiote identity. The role of Hera Lacinina will be explored later in this chapter. Wonder 2012 makes a somewhat similar argument, that Polybius and Diodorus are describing different alliances, made at different times, with different goals.

[331] Poly. 2.38-29; see also Strabo 8.7.1 seems to follow the Polybian timeline and also highlights the Achaean influence on the Italiote league

the alliance was formed in 393 BCE precisely for resisting Dionysius of Syracuse and against the threat of native Italian groups, mostly the Lucanians and Brettii.[332]

A typical argument that attempts to reconcile these accounts is that the league described by Diodorus is simply an expansion of the existing league described by Polybius.[333] Diodorus is our main source for this time in Magna Graecia and, as a western Greek himself, likely had access to source materials such as Timaeus and other, earlier accounts of southern Italy and Sicily.[334] Ultimately, the continuity or discontinuity is not so important, as both the nature of the league and the members of the alliance changed over time. It is even possible that the 5th century league described by Polybius was a formalization of the alliance between the Achaean city-states seen as early as the 6th c. BCE, as shown in Ch.2. Obviously, there was a rupture in that alliance in 510 BCE when Croton attacked and allegedly utterly destroyed Sybaris. It is important to understand the changes in the relationship between Croton and Sybaris in order to understand the variations in the mythology and how Croton ultimately became the leader of the Italiote league. While the aggressions against Siris and Locri in the 6th century BCE are described by the sources as a matter of fact and lack any justification other than supposed ethnic differences, the war between Croton and Sybaris has a convoluted rationale, indicating that the Crotoniates clearly needed a reason to fight a city which had previously been an ally.[335] According to Diodorus and Herodotus, the cause was Telys, a tyrant who came to power in Sybaris and then exiled and confiscated the property of

[332] Diod. Sic. 14.91

[333] In both Fronda 2015 and Wonder 2012.

[334] Despite a recent claim by Dudziński 2016 that Diodorus sometimes veers from the account in Timaeus that we know from other sources, the author must have provided a broad outline for Diodorus among other sources. Diodorus has previously been treated as simply a vessel for *Quellenforschung*, a historian who so slavishly and shoddily copied other historians that it was easy to find and reconstruct his source materials. His own merits as a historian are now emphasized but it is indeed possible at times to identify his source material, still an important pursuit.

[335] Aristotle mentions Sybaris at *Politics* V. 1303a, in the context of how crisis can be caused in cities with multiple founders or settlers from disparate cities, claiming that once Sybaris became powerful it expelled its co-founders, the Troezenians, ultimately leading to their downfall.

five hundred of the leading citizens of the city.[336] These citizens took refuge at Croton, and Telys demanded that they either send back the exiles or he would wage war upon Croton. On accepting the request of Pythagoras that they honor the suppliants, Croton accepted war with Sybaris.[337]

That the war in 510 BCE was due to a single moment and a single man instead of a long simmering conflict helps explain how and why Croton was able to ally once again with a re-founded Sybaris (usually referred to as Sybaris-on-the-Traeis by modern scholars) in the mid-5th century; they could paint themselves as their saviors rather than the aggressors in the previous war, despite the supposed violence with which they treated not only the physical city of Sybaris but any prisoners, who were all killed.[338] Strabo's claim that the Crotoniates rerouted the river Crathis and completely destroyed the city by flooding is clearly an exaggeration, and the archaeological evidence from Sybaris does not confirm this statement.[339] The stories associated with Croton's allies in this war, preserved in Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, indicate the factionalism at play within the cities. The Crotoniate story in Diodorus attributes their success, despite Sybaris' larger numbers and proverbial wealth, to the appearance in battle of the local hero Milo, dressed as Heracles. The combination of his outfit, which also included his six Olympic crowns, made Milo the "αἴτιον δὲ γενόμενον τῆς νίκης θαυμασθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις. the cause of the victory as an object of wonder for the citizens."[340] This type of superhuman feat is typical of the stories surrounding Milo and would serve the double purpose of highlighting Milo's own victories and thus Croton's reputation for excellent athletes and warriors, which I will return to later in this chapter.

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336 Diod. Sic. 12.9-10; Hdt. 5.44.
337 Hdt. 6.21; Diod. Sic. 12.10.
338 Diod. Sic. 12.10.
339 Strabo 6.1.13; Kleibrink 2001 for a history of archaeological exploration at the site. The evidence from the residential quarter at Strombi, which seems to have been established in the 6th century, with some fragments from the late 8th c. indicates that this was one of the original places of settlement. These houses show signs of abandonment (or looting) but not of complete destruction, see Cerchiai 2004, 118.
340 Diod. Sic. 12.9; see also Foster 2018, Kurke 1993 for an analysis of this passage in light of epinician literature and the role of the physical victory crowns as embodiments of the physical power of an athlete.

Herodotus was aware of Milo as a figure (3.37), but the athlete does not feature in his account of this battle. In Herodotus' version, the Sybarites claim that a Spartan aristocrat, Dorieus, fought on the side of Croton, while the Crotoniates claim they only had help from Callias of Elea.[341] Herodotus, characteristically, gives both sides of the story and leaves it to his reader to make a judgement on which is the most convincing,

> τὸν χρόνον δὲ τοῦτον, ὡς λέγουσι Συβαρῖται, σφέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ Τῆλυν τὸν ἑωυτῶν βασιλέα ἐπὶ Κρότωνα μέλλειν στρατεύεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ Κροτωνιήτας περιδεέας γενομένους δεηθῆναι Δωριέος σφίσι τιμωρῆσαι καὶ τυχεῖν δεηθέντας: συστρατεύεσθαί τε δὴ ἐπὶ Σύβαριν Δωριέα καὶ συνελεῖν τὴν Σύβαριν. ταῦτα μέν νυν Συβαρῖται λέγουσι ποιῆσαι Δωριέα τε καὶ τοὺς μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ, Κροτωνιῆται δὲ οὐδένα σφίσι φασὶ ξεῖνον προσεπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Συβαρίτας πολέμου εἰ μὴ Καλλίην τῶν Ἰαμιδέων μάντιν Ἠλεῖον μοῦνον, καὶ τοῦτον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε: παρὰ Τήλυος τοῦ Συβαριτέων τυράννου ἀποδράντα ἀπικέσθαι παρὰ σφέας, ἐπείτε οἱ τὰ ἱρὰ οὐ προεχώρεε χρηστὰ θυομένῳ ἐπὶ Κρότωνα. (Hdt. 5.44)
>
> At the same time, as the Sybarites say, they themselves and their king, Telys, were preparing to wage war against Croton, and Crotoniates, being very much fearful, begged Dorieus to seek vengeance against them [the Sybarites] and he happened to agree. And Dorieus joined them against Sybaris and helped them to conquer Sybaris. So now this is what the Sybarites say that Dorieus and those with him did, but the Crotoniates say that no foreigner took part in the war against Sybaris with them, except Kallias of the Iamideans, alone a seer from Elea, and [the story about] this man [goes] in this way, from Telys, having escaped from the tyrant of Sybaris, came to them [Croton], since he was not successful with respect to favorable omens towards making war on Croton. (Hdt. 5.44)

This battle, dated to 510 BCE, took place approximately seventy years before Herodotus himself was resident at Thurii, a city refounded atop the ruins of Sybaris. It is likely that the cause of the strife between the two cities was still discussed at Thurii and that Herodotus would have spoken to people in both Thurii and Croton about the destruction of Sybaris and the perhaps

[341] In an analysis of these stories, Foster 2018, 48-50 has argued that we should consider each figure as a different type of "talismanic figure" who brought victory and that as a victor, oikist and seer (Milo, Dorieus and Callias) are interchangeable "because of their analogous forms of talismanic power."

already legendary battle. Indeed, the passage above continues with each city's evidence for their version of the story. The Sybarites claim that there is a temple to Athena of Crathis, which Dorieus himself dedicated and that his death upon reaching Sicily is an indication that he overstepped the commands of the oracle (to found a colony at Eryx). Croton had their own rebuttal, claiming that they bestowed large tracts of land on Callias and his family (who allegedly still lived there in Herodotus' time), but there is no evidence for a similar gift to Dorieus, which he would have certainly merited had he helped the city take Sybaris.[342] This type of elaboration concerning a particularly important battle already had a model in the stories about the sixth century battle at the Sagra, and it is likely that Croton would try and highlight this victory in contrast to that embarrassing defeat. Many of the aspects are similar, such as the vastly outnumbered underdog side gaining the victory, and the appearances of heroes on the battlefield.[343]

Some have tied the brief statement in Pausanias (3.3.1) that the Spartans took part in the foundation of Croton to this period and to the aid of the Spartan Dorieus.[344] It is certainly possible that the city, acting within the typical parameters of kinship diplomacy, claimed some sort of Spartan heritage in order to encourage Dorieus to come to their aid; it is also possible that the story emerged after the fact, that Spartan involvement in the foundation of the city was later alleged in order to explain the involvement of Dorieus in Croton's affairs. I would tentatively argue for the latter, especially because the evidence from Herodotus indicates that the version told in his time at

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[342] Hdt 5.45; Evidence at 5.47 describes Philippus of Croton, son of Butacides, who was apparently engaged to the daughter of Telys and sailed away with Dorieus after the war. He was killed in the same battle as Dorieus but on account of his Olympic victories the people of Egesta honored him as hero. This story gives insight into the internal turmoil at Croton before the war with Sybaris. It provides evidence that there were certainly some within in the city who favored maintaining the alliance with Sybaris and saw the Telys not as a brutal tyrant but someone worthy of making a marriage alliance with. For the power of individual elite agendas in foreign policy in southern Italy during the Second Punic War see Fronda 2010; for their power in Archaic and early Republican Italy see Terrenato 2019.

[343] See Ch. 2 for the Battle at the Sagra. Diod. Sic. 12.9 has 300,000 Sybarites fight against 100,000 Crotoniates, an obvious exaggeration.

[344] *IACP* 267, "Spartan participation (Paus. 3.3.1) is a tradition probably no older than the victory over Sybaris and the expedition of Dorieus (C6l)." Nicholson 2016, 138-139.

Croton denied the intervention of Dorieus. It is possible that this version was promoted by Sybaris in order to discredit Croton's victory, or perhaps by those within Croton who desired Dorieus' aid and were hawkish in the war against Sybaris. Again, as stated earlier, another option for the origin of the narrative in which Sparta participated in the foundation of Croton comes from the appeal for Spartan aid in the battle of the Sagra, and the later performance of Milo-Heracles at the battle against the Sybarites.[345]

The destruction of Sybaris decisively shifted the power dynamics of Magna Graecia towards Croton, which, despite Strabo's statement that the city began to decline after its defeat by Locri in the mid-6th century, was now able to take over the territory and dependent cities once under the sway of Sybaris.[346] This, once again, appears to be a turning point in both the political and mythical landscape of Magna Graecia. According to Strabo, Sybaris controlled four different ethnic groups and at least twenty five other poleis in southern Italy.[347] While this number is certainly exaggerated, it does seem that Sybaris had a large chora and was responsible for the foundation of a number of "subcolonies," most notably Poseidonia and Laos.[348] There is also the 6th-century treaty between Sybaris and the Serdaioi, indicating some kind of relationship with this enigmatic Italic group.[349]

Although there were multiple attempts to refound Sybaris before the establishment of Thurii, our sources claim that Croton opposed all of these. One reestablishment of the city appears to have been somewhat successful, the so-called Sybaris-on-the-Traies mentioned most explicitly by Diodorus Siculus (12.9) in a compact explanation of the enmity between Croton and Sybaris.

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[345] Nicholson 2016, 137 interprets these stories of Milo as Heracles in battle and the general legendary aura surrounding this battle as Croton's response to Locri and their stress on the Battle at the Sagra.
[346] Strabo 6.1.12; and demonstrated by the coinage as described above.
[347] Strabo 6.1.13.
[348] *IACP* 296.
[349] This treaty and the identity of the Serdaioi will be explored in Ch. 4.

Τῶν δὲ Κροτωνιατῶν διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν ζωγρεῖν μὲν μηδένα βουληθέντων πάντας δὲ κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν τοὺς ὑποπεσόντας ἀποκτεινόντων, οἱ πλείους κατεκόπησαν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν διήρπασαν καὶ παντελῶς ἔρημον ἐποίησαν. ὕστερον δὲ ἔτεσιν ὀκτὼ πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα Θετταλοὶ συνῴκισαν, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ὑπὸ Κροτωνιατῶν ἐξέπεσον κατὰ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καιρούς. καὶ μετὰ βραχὺ μετασταθεῖσα εἰς ἕτερον τόπον προσηγορίας ἑτέρας ἔτυχε, κτιστῶν γενομένων Λάμπωνος καὶ Ξενοκρίτου τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. (Dio. Sic. 12.10)

The Crotonians, on the one hand, on account of their anger were not willing to take any captives, but instead killed everyone who, fleeing, came into their hands. They killed the majority, and they plundered the city and they made it entirely desolate. Fifty-eight years later Thessalians joined in settling the city, but after some time they were they were driven out by the Crotonians, in the current context. And soon after the city was moved to another location and happened upon a new name, the city's founders being Lampon and Xenocritus, in these circumstances.

The passage begins with the destruction of Sybaris in 510 but indicates that the second foundation of Sybaris was also destroyed by Croton. The city which was moved and founded by Lampon and Xenocritus is Thurii, and this settlement was spearheaded by Athens in 444/443, indicative of that city's increasing interest in the west.[350] The chronology is difficult, and several chapters later Diodorus seems to imply that there were still Sybarites who call themselves this, despite the name change mentioned above.[351] Strabo also mentions a second foundation of Sybaris, which is not Thurii, on a river named the Teuthras and that was supported by the Rhodians. Most modern scholars have emended Teuthras to Traeis; however, the river Teuthras is mentioned by Silius Italicus and Propertius, and this new city is often referred to as Sybaris-on-the-Traeis.[352]

[350] Although Diod. Sic. 12.7-9 gives 446, most authors agree on 444/3.

[351] Diod. Sic. 12.22 seems to say that within Thurii there were factions of settlers, the original Sybarites and the new settlers from Athens (and other cities) which were arguing over privileges and status within the new city. Diodorus claimed that the Sybarites left the city and founded Sybaris on the Traeis, which was destroyed by the Bretii. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων διαφεύγοντες τὸν ἐν τῇ στάσει κίνδυνον Συβαρῖται περὶ τὸν Τράεντα ποταμὸν κατῴκησαν. καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα διέμειναν, ἔπειθ' ὑπὸ Βρεττίων ἐκβληθέντες ἀνῃρέθησαν. *In this same year, fleeing from the danger in the stasis, the Sybarites settled by the River Traeis. And they remained there for some time, until they were expelled by the Bruttians and destroyed.*

[352] Diod. Sic. 12.22 also claims these refugees were helped by Taras. See Napolitano 1994 for the dispute on the emendation of the text of Strabo.

This new city seems to have been an ally of Croton, as is indicated by Polybius, who includes Sybaris as a member of his version of the Italiote league supposedly founded around 430 BCE.[353] As stated above, this stands in contrast to Diodorus' description of an Italiote League which was founded in the late 390's. Debate concerning the league has focused both on these disparate dates as well as the purpose of the group – what threat were these cities banding together against? The typical assumption is a native Italic threat, but another strong option is the growing power of Thurii, or Locri or even Taras. There does not need to be a single impetus for the foundation of the Italiote League; these cities could each have their own reason for joining. In this vein, with Croton as the leader of the league, I would also highlight rivalry with Syracuse as an important part of this league. The name itself immediately sets up this dichotomy, Italiotoi are often juxtaposed not only with the barbaroi of southern Italy, but the Siceletoi across the straits of Messina. The situation is summarized well in a recent article by John Wonder:

> Thus, in the second half of the fifth century, the Achaean states of Croton, Caulonia, and Sybaris on the Traeis were feeling increasingly isolated. The growing powers of Thurii on one side (supported by Athens) as well as the campaigns of their old nemesis Locri on the other (supported by Syracuse, Sparta, and Taras) was the stimulus that forced these Achaean states to band together for more support and form their confederacy based on policies of the Achaean League in mainland Greece.[354]

Especially since Caulonia and Sybaris-on-the-Traeis were not powerful cities, the nature of the league centered on Croton.

According to Polybius, the Italiote league emerged in the 5th century, with help from mainland Greek Achaeans who came to Italy because of the destruction of Pythagorean meeting places throughout Magna Graecia and subsequent unrest, usually dated to the middle of the 5th

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353 Polyb. 2.39.

354 Wonder 2012, 141. Contra Fronda 2015, who claims that the Polybius said Sybaris when really referring to Thurii. This argument is less convincing, because it does not explain the transformation in the identity of Croton, which seems at this time to be moving away from its Achaean identity, not emphasizing it, as would be expected if this early league was centered on Achaean identity, as Fronda argues.

century BCE. However, the league fell apart when Dionysius I of Syracuse began encroaching into southern Italy in the early 4th century.[355] A few difficulties arise in Polybius' description of the league. Polybius was a proud Achaean of Greece and therefore attributes much of the Italiote league to conscious imitation of the Greek Achaean League of which he was a member before it was defeated and disbanded by the Romans in 146 BCE. Many of the aspects of the league as he describes it are likely inaccurate or retrojected, especially the inclusion of Sybaris as a member and the "common temple" of Zeus Homorios, for which there is no evidence in Croton.

Diodorus, on the other hand, claims that the alliance was formed in 393 BCE precisely for resisting Dionysius I of Syracuse and protecting against the Lucanians.[356] This disparity in dating is our first major issue. A standard interpretation is that the league described by Diodorus is simply an expansion of the existing league described by Polybius. Diodorus is our main source for this time period in Magna Graecia and as a western Greek himself likely had access to source materials such as Timaeus and other, earlier accounts of southern Italy and Sicily. It is odd that he does not describe this as an earlier league, and therefore I argue that this is an entirely new alliance, with new members and new goals, namely resisting Dionysius I, and therefore it was not relevant to mention an earlier, completely different alliance at this moment in his history.

If these are two different alliances, the second disparity – who was a member of the league- is easier to resolve. Polybius claims Sybaris is part of the first, 5th-century alliance, which is impossible since the city was destroyed by Croton in 510 BCE. Two solutions have been proposed by scholars. One that this Sybaris is Sybaris-on-the-Traies, a new city founded by those who survived the destruction of Sybaris. Another argues that Polybius is really referring to Thurii, which

[355] Poly. 2.38-39; Strabo 8.7.1 seems to follow the Polybian timeline and also highlights the Achaean influence on the Italiote league.
[356] Diod. Sic. 14.91.

was settled on the ruins of Sybaris in 433 BCE. That Thurii would be part of the 5th century alliance headed by Croton is unlikely, as Croton clearly did not want a city on the ruins of Sybaris, having already destroyed a previous attempt to rebuild the city. Because of this, I find the identification of this Sybaris as the city of refugees on the river Traies more convincing. These refugees were probably part of a pro-Croton faction and reliant on Croton for their protection. And this brings us to the last disparity, the purpose of the leagues. Rather than Thurii being a member of the 5th century alliance described by Polybius, I follow John Wonder's recent argument that the purpose of the league was likely mutual protection against Thurii, which quickly began to attempt to expand its territory and influence after its foundation and 433.[357] The second league, as Diodorus claims, is then a new alliance which sprung up for the purpose of defending against Dionysius I. Scholars have argued that this earlier league described by Polybius was based on a shared "Achaean" identity among the members, Croton, Caulonia, and the re-founded Sybaris. While this shared identity could have formed part of the connection between these cities, it did not protect the original Sybaris from Croton in 510 BCE.

A strong piece of evidence in favor of a mid 5th century league (Polybius' date) centered on Croton returns us to our hero Heracles. With cities like Caulonia and Sybaris-on-the Traeis probably interested in the alliance to defend themselves from Thurii, Heracles becomes a mediating figure between Croton and these other groups, especially when contrasted with the recent foundation of the enemy, Thurii. While Thurii also had named founders, as Diodorus explains, as well as the support of the Delphic oracle, the Heracles myth provides a way to emphasize the antiquity of Croton and a justification for its existence against this very new foundation. The fact that Heracles was a contested figure in the mid 5th century is also

[357] Wonder 2012.

demonstrated by the foundation of Heraclea, a joint foundation between Thurii and Taras which obviously connected itself to Heracles, and actively promoted this identity on its coinage as well.[358] This choice may have been a not-so-subtle way to counteract Croton's self-promotion as a Heraclean foundation.

The adoption of the Heracles myth allowed Croton to appeal to other cities outside the confines of Achaean identity and enhanced the associations not only with Croton itself but also with the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia. While Polybius claims that the meeting place for the Italiote league was a temple of Zeus Homarios (just like its Achaean model), no sanctuary attributed to this god has been identified in either the literary or archaeological record.[359] It is possible, as Fronda argues, that Polybius is accurate in attributing Zeus Homarios as the central cult site for the league and that the early stages of the alliance were focused on "Achaean" identity rather than a large sense of Italiote identity.[360] Yet another piece of ancient evidence, the pseudo-Aristotelian de Mirabilibus Auscultationibus, cites the temple of Hera at Croton as a place where all the Italiotes gather, suggesting its place as a federal cult site.[361] Fronda argues that Hera Lacinia became the cult site for the entire Italiote League at a later date, indicating a shift in the league from one based on Achaean identity to another based on Italiote in the early 4th century BCE (the date given by Diodorus). There is not enough evidence to be certain either way, but the renewed emphasis on

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[358] Stafford 2012, 158: "The new city's name may well be a compromise between the Spartan and panhellenic identities of its founders"

[359] While scholars have tied themselves in knots trying to place a shrine to Zeus Homarios within the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia, there is not enough evidence for this. See Fronda 2015, de Sensi Sestito 1984. Spadea 2014 contains the most recent studies of the archaeological data. Osanna 1992 identified the temple of Zeus Homarios as one outside of ancient Kaulonia, at the site of Punta Stila (*IACP* 265), which was probably constructed around 425 BCE. The temple seems to have a treasury and a connected theater, making it an ideal candidate for some kind of meeting space, though there is no reason why it couldn't be simply a treasury and meeting space for the inhabitants of Caulonia.

[360] Fronda 2015, 127-128.

[361] [Arist] *Mir. Ausc.* 96: ὥστε προτίθεσθαι αὐτὸ ἐπὶ Λακινίῳ τῇ πανηγύρει τῆς Ἥρας, εἰς ἣν συμπορεύονται πάντες Ἰταλιῶται/ so that it [a fancy cloak] is brought forward at the sanctuary of Lacinia, on the festival of Hera, to which all of the Italiotes come.

Heracles in the late 5th century at Croton suggests that the city was attempting to appeal to cities outside of its previous Achaean allies, an idea which will be explored in more detail in Ch.4.

Whether Hera Lacinia was the original cult site or not, it clearly became an important pan-Italiote sanctuary. The foundation myth of Croton in which Heracles founds the city and the sanctuary at the same time, would reinforce this connection between the city itself and an aspect of a larger Italiote identity. In the 4th century BCE many Italiote cities minted coins with images of Hera, which may also be a subtle way of showing their participation in this alliance.[362] The Italiote league certainly developed and incorporated more city-states in the 4th century before its power ultimately shifted to Taras and its battles against rising Italic groups. Croton used its own mythology to cement its place as the leader of the league, through the figure of Heracles to whom many Greek cities could attach their own stories or feel kinship towards as Greeks. The myth will be explored in more detail later in the chapter, but the emphasis on Heracles at this time also provides links to two other critical aspects of Croton's culture, the Olympics and Philoctetes. After the destruction of Sybaris, Croton seems to absorb the stories of Philoctetes, and the presence of Heracles as a figure in that story through the dedication of his bow probably made the synthesis of the stories easier.

Healthy Croton & Wealthy Syracuse: A Rivalry of Olympic Proportions

In some versions of the first games at Olympia, Heracles is given the role of the founder of games themselves.[363] A renewed enthusiasm for the Olympics on account of Croton's place as a city of successful athletes certainly played into the increased focus on foundation narratives centered on Heracles. In addition, the other foundation narratives also shed light on the athletic

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[362] Though not necessarily Hera Lacinia. See Fronda 2015, 128.
[363] Pind. *Ol.* 10, Strabo 8.3.30. However, Diod. Sic. 5.64 claims that this is a conflation of the hero with Dactyl Heracles, explained further by Paus. 5.7.6-10. See Stafford 2012, 161 -163.

reputation of Croton. As discussed above in the source material for the foundation stories of Croton, several sources record a joint consultation of the oracle at Delphi by Myscellus and Archias, the founder of Syracuse, and thus a synchronization of the foundations of the two cities. The founders were given the choice between wealth and health, with Myscellus and therefore Croton choosing health and Archias choosing wealth. In his 1987 study on colonization and religion, Irad Malkin claims that this oracle "has been properly refuted and need not concern us here," citing both Dunbabin's seminal work on colonization and Parke and Wormell's work on the Delphic oracle.[364] However, if our question is not the authenticity of the oracle itself, but the political and cultural self-presentation of Croton, there is certainly more to explore in this story. I agree with Malkin that the story "is an obvious anachronism reflecting the later fame of Kroton's doctors and its profusion of athletes."[365] The question is how, when and why did this part of Croton's later reputation get folded into its foundation story?

The Greek city-states of Italy and Sicily have an outsized presence in the panhellenic games in the 6th – 4th centuries BCE. As is the case today, these games were always about more than athletic skills. The games provided a stage in front of the elite of the Greek world, and for the western Greek cities fielding athletes they helped establish their pedigree and sense of belonging in this larger community of poleis, despite their distance from the major athletic games and their status as more recent foundations. Indeed, according to a fragment of Timaeus (FGrHist 566 F 45), Croton attempted to set up their own rival Olympics, offering such large prizes, it seems, to try to eclipse the original games. Athenaeus adds that others claim that this was actually attempted

[364] Malkin 1987, 43. See Parke and Wormell 1956, no. 229 and Dunbabin 1948, 27, 444.
[365] Malkin 1987, 43.

by Sybaris.[366] Both are possible and demonstrate the importance of athletics to the cities of southern Italy.

According to Nicholson, "athletic competition was a major vehicle of political expression and competition in Sicily and Italy. Indeed, athletics was such a major political vehicle in the western cities that we can coin the term 'athlopolitics' to refer to this kind of political action."[367] He goes on to define athlopolitics as not only the competition but the memorialization and promotion of athletic success encompassing "odes, oral narratives, dedications, pottery, or coinage."[368] Despite Croton's overwhelming success at these games, its victors did not take full advantage of these media, especially with respect to epinician narratives. The surviving odes of the most famous epinician poet, Pindar, disproportionately celebrate Sicilians, and of those Syracusans dominate, especially Hieron, a tyrant of Syracuse. We have no epinician poetry dedicated to an athlete from Croton, which therefore probably turned to other media to promote its athletic achievements.

Milo of Croton, who won his victories at Olympia in the mid-6th century, was a larger than life character in the Greek mind. This reputation dates back as early as Aristotle, who portrays him as a Hercules-like figure.[369] Herodotus also highlights the fame of Milo in book 3, when he recounts the story of the Crotoniate physician Democedes. Many worlds collide in Herodotus' story about Democedes, a physician who served first Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, and then after both Democedes and Polycrates were captured in 522 BCE, was brought into the court of the Persian

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[366] Ath. 12.22.522C**:** ὕστερον δὲ καὶ οἱ Κροτωνιᾶται, φησὶν ὁ Τίμαιος, ἐπεχείρησαν τὴν ᾽Ολυμπικὴν πανήγυριν καταλῦσαι, τῶι αὐτῶι χρόνωι προθέντες ἀργυρικὸν σφόδρα πλούσιον ἀγῶνα. οἳ δὲ Συβαρίτας τοῦτο ποιῆσαι λέγουσιν. *And after this, the Crotoniates, as Timaeus says, they attempted to break up the Olympic festival, setting up at the same time games with exceptionally rich prizes. But others say the Sybarites did this.* See Prandi 2011 for an analysis of the stories about Sybaris founding its own version of the Olympics.
[367] Nicholson 2016, 79.
[368] Nicholson 2016, 79.
[369] Arist. *Eth. Nic.* II, 6 = 1106b. This is perhaps the inspiration for (or the result) of his depiction in the battle against Sybaris.

king, Darius I. While Democedes was accompanying some Persians around the Mediterranean on a mapping mission, they reached Taras in southern Italy, and with the help of Aristophilides, the king of Taras, he managed to flee back to Croton. The Persians chased him to his homeland but could not recapture him, and Herodotus claims that he taunted his Persian pursuers:

> τοσόνδε μέντοι ἐνετείλατό σφι Δημοκήδης ἀναγομένοισι, κελεύων εἰπεῖν σφεας Δαρείῳ ὅτι ἅρμοσται τὴν Μίλωνος θυγατέρα Δημοκήδης γυναῖκα. τοῦ γὰρ δὴ παλαιστέω Μίλωνος ἦν οὔνομα πολλὸν παρὰ βασιλέι: κατὰ δὲ τοῦτό μοι δοκέει σπεῦσαι τὸν γάμον τοῦτον τελέσας χρήματα μεγάλα Δημοκήδης, ἵνα φανῇ πρὸς Δαρείου ἐὼν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑωυτοῦ δόκιμος.
>
> And then Democedes gave them a command as they were departing, ordering them to tell Darius that Democedes was engaged to the daughter of Milo. For the name of the wrestler Milo was highly regarded by the king, and on account of this, it seems to me that Democedes eagerly sought this marriage and expended a large amount of money, so that he would seem to Darius to be famous also in his own country. (Hdt 3.137.5)

Clearly, Milo did not need epinician poetry in order to be known across the world. His superhuman strength and feats are recorded in various sources, as is his legendary role in his garb as Heracles at the battle against Sybaris.[370] Milo was also associated with Pythagoras and became part of Croton's reputation as a place of "health" since the Greeks considered athleticism and physical health to be interrelated ideas.

After Milo, the city of Croton produced a consistent stream of Olympic victors. Nicholson notes that for the sprint from 588 to 488 (the only event we of which have a full record), an athlete from Croton won 41% of the races, probably the source for Strabo's proverb that "the last of the Crotoniates is the first of the Greeks."[371] Croton also fielded the first Olympic victor from a western

[370] A famous story about Milo is at Strabo 6.1.12, where he saved Pythagoras and some companions from a falling column. This mythical heroism did not continue to Milo's death, which Strabo (6.1.12) also says Milo, while walking through the woods, came across a large log with wedges and while he was strong enough to remove the wedges, the log snapped back and he was trapped and subsequently eaten by wild animals.

[371] Nicholson 2016, 80; Strabo 6.1.12**.** See Mann 2001 for the Olympic records.

Greek city, Daippos, who allegedly won the boxing in 672 BCE.[372] These victories along with Milo's legacy helped cement the reputation of Croton as it is represented in the oracle given to Myscellus and Archias explored at the beginning of this chapter, where Croton would be a city of "health" and Syracuse of "wealth." Croton was also famous in antiquity for its medical school, which was probably related to its training of athletes.[373] This athletic rivalry between Syracuse and Croton came to a head in the early 5th century BCE when a Crotoniate athlete named Astylus decided to move to Syracuse. He is often considered the first "free agent."[374] Pausanias gives the story,

> Ἀστύλος δὲ Κροτωνιάτης Πυθαγόρου μέν ἐστιν ἔργον, τρεῖς δὲ ἐφεξῆς ᾿Ολυμπίασι σταδίου τε καὶ διαύλου νίκας ἔσχεν. ὅτι δὲ ἐν δύο ταῖς ὑστέραις ἐς χάριν τὴν ῾Ιέρωνος τοῦ Δεινομένους ἀνηγόρευσεν αὑτὸν Συρακούσιον, τούτων ἕνεκα οἱ Κροτωνιᾶται τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ δεσμωτήριον εἶναι κατέγνωσαν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα καθεῖλον παρὰ τῇ Ἥρᾳ τῇ Λακινίᾳ κειμένην.
>
> The [statue] of Astylos the Crotoniate is the work of Pythagoras, [Astylos] was the victor three times in a row at Olympia in the stadion and the diaulos [the short race and longer race]. Because in his last two victories, as a way to earn the gratitude of Hieron, son of Deinomenes, he was publicly called a Syracusan, on account of these things, the Crotoniates decreed that his house become a prison and they tore down his statue which had been put up by the temple of Hera Lacinia. (Paus. 6.13.1)

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[372] Though see Shaw 2003, 160-162 for discrepancies in the dating.

[373] Hdt. 3.131 claims that ἐγένετο γὰρ ὦν τοῦτο ὅτε πρῶτοι μὲν Κροτωνιῆται ἰητροὶ ἐλέγοντο ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἶναι, δεύτεροι δὲ Κυρηναῖοι *(it happened that at this time the Crotoniates were the best doctors in all of Greece, the Cyrenians second)*. There was a medical school at Croton, the most famous student of which was Alcmaeon of Croton, likely a pupil of Pythagoras.

[374] Nicholson 2016, 161-164.

This punishment is more than a simple banishment or removal of a statue. The location of the statue by the temple of Hera indicated Astylus' role as a central figure in the political and religious life of the polis, since Hera was the chief goddess of the city, and of course, the sanctuary was linked to the foundation of the city by Heracles.[375] Pausanias depicts Astylos' decision to move to Syracuse as a bribe by the leader of Syracuse itself, Hiero (although the chronology is questionable because Gelon, not Hiero I, was ruling Syracuse when Astylos won his last crowns).[376] Astylos was an even more successful athlete than Milo, winning seven Olympic crowns to Milo's six (though not in as many Olympics). Diodorus Siculus (11.1.2) simply refers to Astylos as a Syracusan athlete who won the stadion in the seventy-fifth Olympiad. His name is also recorded as a Syracusan on a 3rd c. CE papyrus fragment with an Olympic victory list as the victor in the hoplites, the race in full armor.[377]

Figure 12: POxy *222, a fragment of a standard catalog of Olympic victors. Astylos is listed in the first column, fourth line.*

[375] Giangiulio 1989, 74: "Sono da sottolineare a tale riguardo gli aspetti 'guerrieri' della personalità locale di Era, nonché il suo legame con le figure di Milone e Astilo, le cui caratteristiche per un verso rimandano al nesso agone-guerra, tipico dell'ideologia aristocratica arcaica, e per l'altro implicano un ruolo spiccatamente politico della dea."

[376] Nicholson 2016, 161, citing Luraghi 1994, 288-304, who argues that the mistake is typical of our sources who try to attribute negative activities to Hieron.

[377] Christesen 2007 203; Potter 2012, 47-48.

The recruitment of Astylus demonstrates the keen awareness the rulers of Syracuse had about the role of athletics and especially their legendary force at Croton. The differences between the Syracusan and Crotoniate approaches to the Olympic games mirror the oracle given to Myscellus and Archias with the choice between health and wealth. The Syracusan leaders themselves competed and dominated not in the physical contests such as boxing, running or wrestling, but those which required a large outpouring of wealth, such as chariot and mule-cart races.[378] These victories were celebrated by the commissioning of epinician poetry, especially by Pindar.[379] They also continued to highlight these victories in their coinage. These victories were also commemorated at Delphi and Olympia in the form of statue groups and treasuries, all of which served to promote the power of Syracuse for the wider panhellenic audience.[380]

Figure 13: Coin minted by Gelon 480-478 BCE. Reverse: charioteer and horses being crowned or led by the winged victory goddess Nike, Obverse: Arethusa, a nymph associated with the foundation of Syracuse.

Giangiulio and Nicholson have argued that these differences in the way each city approached athletics and athletic commemoration, reflect differences in their systems of government. Oligarchic Croton favored a system in which elites competed and could accrue political power for their actions. The idea of other individuals gaining this "talismanic power" in Syracuse, however, was threatening to the autocratic system put in place after the synoecism and, therefore, the equestrian sports, which required only the money to support

[378] Gelon, while still the ruler of Gela, won the four-horse chariot race in 488 BCE (and perhaps used this moment to lobby Astylos, who won the diaulos that same year). Hieron I, who succeeded Gelon, won several chariot races at various panhellenic games and he is the dedicant of Pind. *Oly.* 1, *Pyth.* 1, 2, 3, and Bacchyl. 3, 4, 5.

[379] See Nicholson 2016 for the court of the Dienomenids as a locus for epinician poets and poetry. He argues that the genre was specifically suited to the type of leadership they exhibited, in contrast to the hero-athlete narrative exemplified by Milo.

[380] Antonaccio 2014, 202-203.

the horses and not the physical skill, were more valued in Syracuse.[381] The connection between the cities in the foundation legends must relate to this time, when the contrast between healthy Croton and wealthy Syracuse was at its peak, and likely actively constructed and disseminated by both cities.[382]

Philoctetes, Segesta & Sybaris

While Syracuse tends to dominate discussions of Archaic and Classical Sicily, it was not the only major settlement on the island and not the only option for alliances with south Italian cities. The city of Segesta (in Greek, Egesta) was a non-Greek settlement, which quickly adopted many Greek cultural trappings, such as coinage and temple building in Greek styles. The city is highlighted at two separate points in Greek and Roman history, first as the instigator of the disastrous Sicilian expedition in the Peloponnesian War, and later as an eventual ally of the Romans in the First Punic War. Vergil's Aeneid highlighted the shared Trojan ancestry of Rome and Segesta; however, another version attributes the foundation of Segesta to Philoctetes and a band of Rhodian soldiers. In an influential essay, Bowersock claimed that the myths about Philoctetes in Italy "looks very much like an effort to coopt Philoctetes for the

Figure 14: Doric Temple at Segesta

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[381] See Foster 2018 for this idea of "talismanic power" and its role at Syracuse.

[382] Nicholson 2016, 191-193 records several pieces of what he calls "oral tradition" that seem to paint Croton in a different light, often implying that Croton, having conquered the famously luxurious Sybaris, took on some its characteristics. For example, in a fragment of Timaeus (Ath. 12.22.522A, *FGrHist* 566 F44), the Syracusan historian claims that the ruler of Croton walked around the city in luxurious clothing, including a purple robe, golden crown and white boots. Timaeus seemed to be interested generally in luxury in Italy (especially at Sybaris) and Sicily (F9, F1a, F1b, F26, F47, F49, F50, F51, F148) though his comments about Croton could also be attributed to his Syracusan slant.

cause of the new Roman state."[383] This is very possible, especially in our Roman sources, but then we have to ask what Philoctetes was doing in Italy in the first place so that he could be coopted by the Romans.

In the traditions of the epic cycle, Philoctetes, who possesses the bow and arrows of Heracles because he helped light his funeral pyre, was at some point (there are various versions) wounded and left on Lemnos while the rest of the Greek fleet sailed on to Troy (allegedly mostly because his wound was unbearably malodorous). When the Greek leaders realized that a prophecy stated that they would never take Troy without the weapons of Heracles, a group of Greeks, led by Odysseus, went to Lemnos to retrieve Philoctetes. His injury had healed, and he fought for the Greeks in the war, apparently as one of the men inside the Trojan horse. In most versions, he returns safely to Greece at the conclusion of the Trojan War.[384] Philoctetes was clearly an extremely popular figure in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE at Athens; although the only extant play is Sophocles' Philoctetes, we know at least three others were written, another by Sophocles, one by Aeschylus and another by Euripides.[385] However, just like with other Homeric heroes, nostos stories concerning Philoctetes are present in several cities in southern Italy and Sicily.[386] Our earliest evidence for this strand of his legend is in a work once attributed to Aristotle, but now considered spurious, but probably written in the 4th century BCE, de Mirabilibus auscultationibus, which places Philoctetes in a complicated web of alliances in southern Italy,

> Παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Συβαρίταις λέγεται Φιλοκτήτην τιμᾶσθαι. κατοικῆσαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ Τροίας ἀνακομισθέντα τὰ καλούμενα Μύκαλλα τῆς Κροτωνιάτιδος, ἅ φασιν ἀπέχειν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι σταδίων, καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἱστοροῦσι τὰ τόξα τὰ Ἡράκλεια αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἁλίου. ἐκεῖθεν δέ φασι τοὺς Κροτωνιάτας κατὰ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν ἀναθεῖναι αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τελευτήσαντα ἐκεῖ κεῖσθαι αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Σύβαριν, βοηθήσαντα

[383] From Hornblower 2015, 343-344; Bowersock 1994, 62.
[384] Hom. *Od.* 3.190.
[385] Bowersock 1994, 56.
[386] Croton, Crimissa, Petelia, a native city called Chone, Mycalla, and Segesta in Sicily; an outlying version in Justin (20.1) claims that Philoctetes also founded Thurii and left the arrows of Heracles there in a temple of Apollo.

Ῥοδίοις τοῖς μετὰ Τληπολέμου εἰς τοὺς ἐκεῖ τόπους ἀπενεχθεῖσι καὶ μάχην συνάψασι πρὸς τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκείνην τὴν χώραν.

It is said that Philoctetes is honored among the Sybarites. For when he was brought back from Troy, he lived in a place called Mycalla in the region of Croton, which they say is a hundred and twenty stades away, and they relate that he dedicated Heracle's bow and arrows at the temple of Apollo the sun god. There they say that the Crotoniates during their supremacy dedicated them at the Apollonium in their own district. It is also said that, when he died, he was buried there by the river Sybaris, after helping the Rhodians who landed at the spot with Tlepolemus, and joined battle with the barbarians, who dwelt in that part of the country.
([Ar] mir. Ausc. 107.)

This story connects back to almost every other version of Croton's foundation already discussed. Reading between the lines, we can see traces of the rivalry between Sybaris and Croton, manifested in the location of where Philoctetes lived and dedicated the weapons. The myth obviously recalls Heracles and his earlier presence in the area, and another version, that of Lycophron includes the promontory of Crimissa, which is also mentioned as a landmark in the second oracle given to Myscellus (according to Diodorus).[387]

An explanation for the myth of Philoctetes, and related stories about Epeios, the craftsman who built the Trojan horse, has been recently put forth by Guglielmo Genovese, who argues that these nostoi relate to "pre-colonial memories" and "not only narrate the story of the Trojan War, but also seem to sanction a process of pacification at the very heart of the Oinotrian territories, whose plains and coast would be colonized by the Achaians in historic times, in symbiosis with non-Hellenic elements."[388] Genovese rightly points to many of the settlements in the areas mentioned in the stories about Philoctetes, where the archaeological evidence hints towards integration between Greek and non-Greek peoples.[389] However, his arguments based on

[387] The actual location of Crimissa is not clear, some connect it to Cirò Superiore.
[388] Genovese, 2018, 109-110.
[389] He cites, as examples, Strongoli (Petelia), Murgie of Strongoli (Makalla), Cirò Marina, Cirò, Torre Mordillo, Francavilla Maritima, Amendolara, Policoro, Termitito, Incoronata, Andrisani.

archaeological and iconographic connections to the Trojan War are less convincing. There are certainly very early depictions of scenes that can probably be identified as specific ones from the epic cycle on painted pottery found in Italy and objects such as the cup of Nestor, which Genovese cites, demonstrate knowledge of the epic cycle as soon as Greeks began settling on Italian shores. However, it is not clear that 8th or even 7th century BCE non-Greeks were as acquainted with this imagery as were the settlers at Pithecussae, and there are no images of Philoctetes or Epeios in any archaic painted pottery from sites in the area surrounding Croton. The images specifically cited (though not pictured) include winged horses and chariots, as well as an early depiction of the hero Bellerophon.[390] These images point to the value of Greek mythology in creating cultural connections and do indeed indicate that these myths can be used to translate cultural values, but their presence does not explain the value of Philoctetes and Epeios explicitly and certainly cannot be used to date the origins of these myths to the 8th and 7th centuries BCE. Genovese points to these heroes as marginal figures and pacifiers to explain why the Oinotrians would assimilate themselves with them.

When did these stories arise and what value did they have for the inhabitants of the area? Our earliest source, pseudo-Aristotle, quoted above, implies that Philoctetes was most important at Sybaris but is also associated with sanctuaries in the territory of Croton. Lycophron's Alexandra devotes several lines to this story as well, which culminates in the tomb of Philoctetes located at Macalla (whose location is unknown).[391] I prefer the suggestion of Hornblower that these stories are not symbols of peaceful integration of Greek and indigenous peoples but "a reflection of Krotoniate expansion at the expense either of Greek Sybaris or of indigenous groups."[392] I would

[390] Genovese 2018, 120-121.
[391] Lyc. *Alex.* 911 – 929; Hornblower 2015, 348.
[392] Hornblower 2015, 344.

argue that Philoctetes was originally a founding hero of Sybaris, and perhaps did help mitigate its relationship with its "empire" via the ascription of sanctuaries (some of which may have existed before the settlement of Sybaris) to this Homeric hero. The temple at Ciro Marina, dated to the mid 6th century (though with earlier votive evidence) was perhaps one of these; it is speculated that the temple was dedicated to Apollo and is the very one Lycophron mentions as having the bow of Heracles courtesy of the hero Philoctetes.[393] As Croton took over the territory and empire of Sybaris, these myths were incorporated into its own foundation discourse. Again, Hornblower notes that a figure most famous for an incurable injury could be folded into legendary stories about a city which was famous for its medical school. Sybaris has no other recorded heroic founder (Strabo records its 'historical' founder as Is of Helike), making it an outlier in the other Achaean foundations, who relied on the Homeric idea of "Achaean" to assert this ethnic identity.[394] Croton, on the other hand, now has a surplus of prefoundational heroes, and that Philoctetes was not the primary one becomes clear when the city needs to project its panhellenic status in the 5th and 4th centuries. At this moment it chooses Heracles, not the coopted Philoctetes, to play this role.

Figure 15: Temple of Apollo Alaios at Cirò Marina

However, Philoctetes does come in handy for the Crotoniates later, when it is resisting the power and influence of Syracuse. A version of the story which demonstrates several layers of the

[393] See below in section on Philoctetes.
[394] There are questions about Is of Helike, see *IACP* 295.

myth is present in Strabo 6.1.3, who also cites Apollodorus of Athens, the chronicler and Homeric scholar of the a 2nd c. BCE:

> Πετηλία μὲν οὖν μητρόπολις νομίζεται τῶν Λευκανῶν καὶ συνοικεῖται μέχρι νῦν ἱκανῶς. κτίσμα δ' ἐστὶ Φιλοκτήτου φυγόντος τὴν Μελίβοιαν κατὰ στάσιν. ἐρυμνὴ δ' ἐστίν, ὥστε καὶ Σαυνῖταί ποτε Θουρίοις ἐπετείχισαν αὐτήν. Φιλοκτήτου δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ παλαιὰ Κρίμισσα περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους. Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ νεῶν τοῦ Φιλοκτήτου μνησθεὶς λέγειν τινάς φησιν, ὡς εἰς τὴν Κροτωνιᾶτιν ἀφικόμενος Κρίμισσαν ἄκραν οἰκίσαι καὶ Χώνην πόλιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, ἀφ' ἧς οἱ ταύτῃ Χῶνες ἐκλήθησαν, παρ' αὐτοῦ δέ τινες σταλέντες εἰς Σικελίαν περὶ Ἔρυκα μετὰ Αἰγέστου τοῦ Τρωὸς Αἴγεσταν τειχίσαιεν.
>
> Petelia, then, is considered Lucanian, and has been rather populous down to the present day. It was founded by Philoctetes after he, as the result of a political quarrel, had fled from Meliboea. It has so strong a position by nature that the Samnitae once fortified it against the Thurii. And the old Crimissa, which is near the same regions, was also founded by Philoctetes. Apollodorus (FGrHist 244 F167) , in his work On Ships, in mentioning Philoctetes, says that, according to some, when Philoctetes arrived at the territory of Croton, he colonised the promontory Crimissa, and, in the interior above it, the city Chone, from which the Chonians of that district took their name, and that some of his companions whom he had sent forth with Segestes the Trojan to the region of Eryx in Sicily fortified Segesta (Strabo 6.1.3).

I began this section with a discussion of Segesta, which adopted a joint foundation between Greek Philoctetes and Trojan Aegestes. The relationship between Croton and Segesta involves several of the stories already discussed, and centers on Philippus, an Olympic victor mentioned for his role in the war against Sybaris who married the daughter of the Sybarite tyrant, Telys. Philippus also accompanied Dorieus in his failed expedition in Sicily, which partially explains his association with Segesta. Herodotus says that διὰ δὲ τὸ ἑωυτοῦ κάλλος ἠνείκατο παρὰ Ἐγεσταίων τὰ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος · ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἡρώιον ἱδρυσάμενοι θυσίῃσι αὐτὸν ἱλάσκονται/ on account of his beauty he was honored by the Segestans above all others, for they dedicated a heroon by his tomb and they appease him with sacrifices (5.47).

This moment of connection between Croton and Segesta seems to have offered the opportunity to re-emphasize Philoctetes as a Crotoniate hero, as both Croton and Segesta were

working against Syracusan expansion in Sicily.[395] Segesta was probably more worried in the aftermath of the Battle of Himera in 480 BCE, where Gelon and Theron (the ruler of Agrigentum) defeated the Carthaginians in a naval battle, and the subsequent rise in the power of Syracuse clearly threatened the native settlements in the eastern part of the island. Nicholson argues that "both narratives, those of Philoctetes and Philippus, date to Croton's efforts in the 470s to form an anti-Deinomenid block."[396] This moment of kinship diplomacy probably aided in eliding the more ancient roots of the Philoctetes myth as associated with Sybaris and the surrounding territories and brought the myth fully into the foundation discourse of Croton.[397] That Philoctetes seems to follow a similar path around southern Italy to that given to Myscellus by the oracle shows the interdependency of all of these stories, which together serve to delimit territory and imbue sacred space with the power of antiquity and the force of ancient heroes.

The Foundation of Croton in the Roman Imagination: A Conclusion

A version of the foundation story told in Ovid's Metamorphoses artfully combines many of these foundational heroes of Croton into a coherent story. In the first lines of book 15, the legendary Roman king Numa, seeking more information about the nature of things, arrives at a city which is not even initially named, but simply referred to as a city which once hosted Heracles.[398] An unnamed local gives Numa the story:

> "Dives ab Oceano bubus Iove natus Hiberis
> litora felici tenuisse Lacinia cursu
> fertur et, armento teneras errante per herbas,
> ipse domum magni nec inhospita tecta Crotonis(15)

---

[395] Nicholson 2016, 168.

[396] Nicholson 2016, 170. It is possible (but this is pure conjecture) that the Syracusan tyrants attempted to coopt this myth for themselves, a description of statues in Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* describes, in the same section (34.19), statues made by Pythagoras of Rhegium including both the statue of Astylos at Olympia and one *Syracusis autem claudicantem, cuius ulceris dolorem sentire etiam spectantes videntur /* at Syracuse moreover, a statue of a lame man, the pain of whose wounds the viewers seem to feel. Most have assumed that this a depiction of Philoctetes.

[397] See Castelnuovo 1995b about the non-Greek populations and the force of Philoctetes.

[398] Ov. *Met.* 15.7-8.

intrasse et requie longum relevasse laborem
atque ita discedens "aevo" dixisse "nepotum
hic locus urbis erit"; promissaque vera fuerunt.
Nam fuit Argolico generatus Alemone quidam
Myscelos, illius dis acceptissimus aevi.(20)
Hunc super incumbens pressum gravitate soporis
claviger adloquitur: "Lapidosas Aesaris undas
i, pete diversi! Patrias, age, desere sedes!"
et, nisi paruerit multa ac metuenda minatur;
post ea discedunt pariter somnusque deusque.(25)

….

Grates agit ille parenti
Amphitryoniadae, ventisque faventibus aequor
navigat Ionium Lacedaemoniumque Tarentum(50)
praeterit et Sybarin Sallentinumque Neretum
Thurinosque sinus Nemesenque et Iapygis arva;
vixque pererratis, quae spectant litora, terris,
invenit Aesarei fatalia fluminis ora
nec procul hinc tumulum, sub quo sacrata Crotonis(55)
ossa tegebat humus, iussaque ibi moenia terra
condidit et nomen tumulati traxit in urbem."
Talia constabat certa primordia fama
esse loci positaeque Italis in finibus urbis.

"Rich in Iberian herds, the son of Jove
turned from the ocean and with favoring wind
'Tis said he landed on Lacinian shores.
And, while the herd strayed in the tender grass,
he visited the house, the friendly home,
of far-famed Croton. There he rested from
his arduous labors. At the time of his
departure, he said, 'Here in future days
shall be a city of your numerous race.'
The passing years have proved the promise true,
for Myscellus, choosing that site, marked out
a city's walls. Argive Alemon's son,
of all men in his generation, he
was most acceptable to the heavenly gods.
Bending over him once at dawn, while he
was overwhelmed with drowsiness of sleep,
the huge club-bearer Hercules addressed
him thus: 'Come now, desert your native shores.
Go quickly to the pebbly flowing stream
of distant Aesar.' And he threatened ill
in fearful words, unless he should obey.
Sleep and the god departed instantly.
…..

Myscelus, breathing thanks to Hercules,
with favoring wind sailed on the Ionian sea,
past Sallentine Neretum, Sybaris,
Spartan Tarentum, and the Sirine Bay,
Crimisa, and on beyond the Iapygian fields.
Then, skirting shores which face these lands, he found
the place foretold the river Aesar's mouth,
and found not far away a burial mound
which covered with its soil the hallowed bones
of Croton.—There, upon the appointed land,
he built up walls—and he conferred the name
of Croton, who was there entombed, on his
new city, which has ever since been called
Crotona." By tradition it is known
such strange deeds caused that city to be built,
by men of Greece upon the Italian coast.
trans. Brookes More

In interpretations of Met. XV, scholars have tended to treat this section as a simple exposition, perhaps another moment of the change from Greek myth to Roman in this poem about changes, a prologue to the more exciting, bizarre, and four hundred lines long speech of Pythagoras.[399] There is clearly more going on here. Phillip Hardie has argued that the foundation of story of Croton should be seen as an allusion to that of Rome itself, since Ovid treats both of Rome's foundational heroes, Aeneas and Romulus, so cursorily in Book 14.[400] Ovid, as he does throughout the Metamorphoses, is synthesizing traditions while adding his own interpretation. Here, he links the myth of Myscellus with Heracles, while managing to elide the death of Croton by Heracles' hand, and the hero now becomes the savior of the oikist. The role of the oracle at Delphi is also gone from this version, and both Heracles and, just after this passage, Pythagoras take on the oracular role.

[399] E.g. Feldherr 2010, 63.
[400] Hardie 2002, 194.

The section on Croton's foundation, juxtaposed with the foundation of Rome and a Pythagorean speech about the mutability of power, allows us to reflect not only on the rise and predicted fall of Rome, but also on Croton. While Ovid is not being strictly historical (as by the 1st c. CE it was clear that Numa and Pythagoras were not contemporaries), we seem to be seeing Croton at its height. It provides us with a space to consider what else we know about Croton's foundation and the metamorphosis of the self-presentation of the city-state. The constant figure, from our earliest sources in the 5th century BCE to this Ovidian reconstruction, is Myscellus. Unlike other 'historical founders' his name continues in most versions, even when the focus shifts to the more exciting and heroic Heracles. These oracular stories reflected the political rivalries of the time, focusing first on Croton's relationship with Sybaris, and later with Syracuse.

Soon after the destruction of Sybaris in 510 BCE, Croton began to expand its empire through both political but also mythical imperialism. The central stories that the Sybarites had told about themselves and their hero, Philoctetes, began to migrate to Croton and become localized in its chora and cults. Associated with Philoctetes, his companion Heracles is the next story the Crotoniates seized upon, using his already outsized reputation in Italy to reinforce their own. Heracles helped mediate a new alliance in Italy, bringing other non-Achaean cities into Croton's sphere of influence, and perhaps helped forge connections to non-Greek populations who saw an ally in Heracles, or at least a figure they were familiar with. Croton continued to emphasize their Heraclean qualities, especially athletic prowess through the heroization of Milo. Croton continued to be famous as a city of health rather than wealth and actively worked towards this reputation against a new rival, Syracuse, in the late 5th and 4th centuries. Finally, Philoctetes resurfaces as a hero in Croton, when another Sicilian city, Segesta, begins working its own kinship diplomacy, looking for an ally against Syracusan hegemony. While this summary can appear somewhat straightforward, the behavior of the Segestans and the Ovidian passage demonstrate that while

one version may be the typical myth at one point, the others never stop existing in the background and constantly provide material for the creation of political statements and diplomatic relationships.

Chapter 4 : Italian Elites, Ethnic Identities, and Interstate Diplomacy

Introduction

The study of Italic identities in archaic and republican Italy is complicated and compromised by the lack of literary evidence from the people themselves. As outlined in the introduction, we rarely even know the name by which peoples called themselves; instead, we rely upon later, outsider terms for most groups in pre-Roman Italy. These Lucanians, Bruttians, and even the Samnites and Etruscans, had their own terms for their ethnicity and only rarely can we discover them. Even these names would go a long way in helping understand the process and roots of Italic self-identification. Therefore, this chapter is generally forced to use Greek or Roman sources for understanding these groups from a literary perspective. Some stories show traces of being elaborated on by the Romans or Greeks but may have an historical kernel that originated within an indigenous context. In this endeavor, even more so than with previous chapters, the archaeological materials are a vital source of evidence, including inscriptions in native languages, funerary assemblages, painted pottery, coinage, architecture, and architectural decorations.

This chapter will present three examples of Greek heroes and gods among Italic groups in southern Italy: Heracles among the Lucanians and Bruttians, Diomedes in Daunia, and finally the Serdaioi, their connection to Sybaris and their use of Dionysian imagery. The role of Heracles in the political developments of the late 5th and 4th centuries BCE was clearly part of Croton's emphasis on the story, but this section delves deeper into Heracles' presence among the people living in ancient

Lucania and Bruttium (roughly modern Calabria and Basilicata). Diomedes' presence in Daunia has been explored extensively by Malkin, but new archaeological evidence since his 1998 book gives us more insight into how Diomedes functioned within the political and social world of Daunia. This example shows how limiting the idea of "Hellenization" can be, since we see Diomedes operating in Daunia at a level that speaks to much more than trying to seem "Greek." The hero resonated within existing aspects of Daunian culture and was probably used as both a unifying figure and later appropriated by the elites to enhance their own prestige. Finally, the Serdaioi are one of our best examples for how the diplomatic side of relationships between Italic peoples and non-Greeks could function. Although we know very little about this group, their use of Dionysus on their coinage can give us hints to how they approached Hellenic culture. Together, these examples exemplify the various ways Greek figures could function within Italic society, both as ways to connect to Greeks through diplomacy, but also as a part of their own cultures.

Heracles among the Lucanians & Bruttians

In a previous chapter, I considered the foundation mythology of Croton through the lens of kinship diplomacy and the changing political landscape of southern Italy. The creation of the so-called Italiote league represents a fundamental change in the ways in which Greek city-states in Italy made alliances and performed their identities. In Ch.3, I argued that Croton's turn towards Heracles at this moment, in the late 5th and throughout the 4th century, represents not only a focus on panhellenic identity but also a hero and a story that could appeal to the non-Greek population in the surrounding areas. In order to better understand how Hercules could have been a mediating figure between the Greeks and Italians, it is valuable to consider the rise of the Italic peoples of

Calabria and Basilicata in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE and the role of Hercules in local pantheons.[401]

According to our later Roman sources the Lucanians and Bruttians, the Italic groups living in Lucania and Bruttium, did not emerge until the 4th century BCE and were originally migrants from central Italy.[402] Scholars have long attempted to date this migration of peoples from Samnium to southern Italy, and although there is evidence for increases in settlement in the 4th century BCE throughout the area, it is unlikely that these narratives of migration are based in reality.[403] Rather than focus on retreading this debate, it is more valuable to try and understand the material culture and settlement before and after this moment in the 4th century when the Lucanian and Bruttian ethne seem to emerge. These groups did not emerge from nowhere, and the idea of a migration is an Italian trope, similar to the idea of a ver sacrum, used to explain the movement of central Italian groups in general.

Earlier Greek sources tend to use terms like Oenotrians, Chones, and Iapagyians for the native populations of Italy, but there are some references to Lucanians as actors in the 5th century. Polyaenus (Strat. 2.10.1-5) and Frontinus (Str. 2.3.12), record Lucanians fighting against Thurii in approximately 440 BCE.[404] Another early use of the tern Lucanian is in Ps.-Scylax (now dated to approx. 338 BCE), although he does not mention the Bruttians, though in many places in his discussion of southern Italy he seems to have outdated information.[405] The Bruttians, on the other hand, are generally regarded as a sub-group of Lucanians, either a lower or even slave class which

[401] Mastrocinque 1993 includes several studies of Heracles in the West, though none specifically in this area.
[402] Strabo 6.1.2-2; Pliny *NH* 3.71.
[403] Henning 2008 lays out the discussion of Samnite migration.
[404] Wonder 2012, 370. Although some question the use of the ethnic "Lucanian" at this time, it does indicate that there were native Italians fighting against Thurii in the mid 5th century, whatever they may have called themselves.
[405] Shipley 2011, 6-8 for the date, 97 for a discussion of Lucanians and Bruttians in the text.

gained independence in 356 BCE, or simply a part that broke away.[406] In this way, the Bruttians are also somewhat connected to the larger mythology in Strabo and elsewhere that these southern Italian groups are truly Samnites.[407] The etymology of the name, Brettioi, is at the root of all of the foundation stories of the Bruttians. Diodorus claims that the word meant "fugitive slaves" in their own language, referring to the origin story where they broke away from the Lucanians. There are also two different eponymous figures associated with the Bruttians, which Farney has suggested might belong to an indigenous tradition since they are much more favorable to Bruttians than the other versions of their origins.[408] One of these figures is Brettos, who is said to be the son of Heracles and a nymph, Baletia who is related to the river Baletos. Another is Brettia/Bruttia, a woman who helped the Bruttians gain their independence from the Lucanians. We should, of course, view these stories with skepticism, and instead see the establishment of a kind of Bruttian federation or alliance in 356 as the culmination of a long process of state formation, rather than a sudden emergence of a fully formed ethnic group. We also see, despite the idea that the Bruttians are "latecomers," foundation legends that connect thematically and work within the general mythological patterns of southern Italy. The prominence of women and slaves connects not only to Locri and Taras, explored in Ch. 2, but also to the emerging power of Rome both with the connection to Heracles and the stories about low-status individuals. This is not to say that this is direct evidence of kinship diplomacy but shows how these stories evolve in communication with each other and often with direct emulation.

For the Bruttians, early evidence for the use of the term in both Antiochus and Aristophanes throws into doubt any sort of sudden ethnogenesis. Cappelletti has suggested that "it is highly

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[406] Strabo 6.1.4, Just. 23.1.4–14.
[407] Strabo 6.1.2-3.
[408] Farney 2018, 447. The idea that some versions are more favorable and therefore an indigenous version does not always hold true, as we have seen for the stories of Locri and of course, Rome.

probable, therefore, that in the fifth to sixth centuries BC the ethnic name referred to a population of Oscan stock in an inferior social position to the Lucani and it became, for the Lucani themselves and for the ancient sources, synonymous with "rebels" and "fugitive slaves" only from 356 BC, when the Bruttii won their ethnic and political independence."[409] I find the first half of this statement more convincing than the second. It is likely that some of the Oscan-speaking peoples of Italy referred to themselves as Brettioi as early as the 6th and 5th centuries BCE and what we are recognizing is the 4th century crystallization of that identity; we can believe this without taking wholesale the stories of servile origins, especially since the timeline for the ethnogenesis for the Lucani is also happening simultaneously.

As argued by Isayev, we need to let go of the idea that these ethnic groups and names actually represent ethnic realities, and especially ones that we can attach to archaeological cultures; instead, we should think about "a network of intertwining groups of independent communities."[410] Even with the emergence of more defined identities in the 4th and 3rd centuries, it is likely that the individual settlement identities were the primary grouping, as is the case for our Greek city-states as well, where being Crotoniate is more important than being Achaean, or being Italiote.

[409] Cappelletti 2018, 324.
[410] Isayev 2007, 26.

What does become clear through the material culture of these peoples is the early importance of Heracles in their cult practices and presentation of their identity. Statuettes of Heracles are found in many Lucanian and Bruttian cult sites, and he appears on Bruttian coins in the 3rd century.[411] Genovese has argued not only that Heracles was a "trait d'union" between the Greek and Italic worlds, but also that he is associated with other key aspects of life, especially the chthonic world, water, and salt.[412] Figure 15 shows a selection compiled by Genovese and dating from the 5th to 3rd centuries BCE of these bronzes of Heracles discovered throughout Calabria. Another key sanctuary is at Serra Lustrante, Armento, where both bronze figurines of the hero along with many red figure vases with depictions of Heracles have led scholars to attribute the sanctuary to Heracles.[413] Interestingly, other deities were also probably worshipped at this

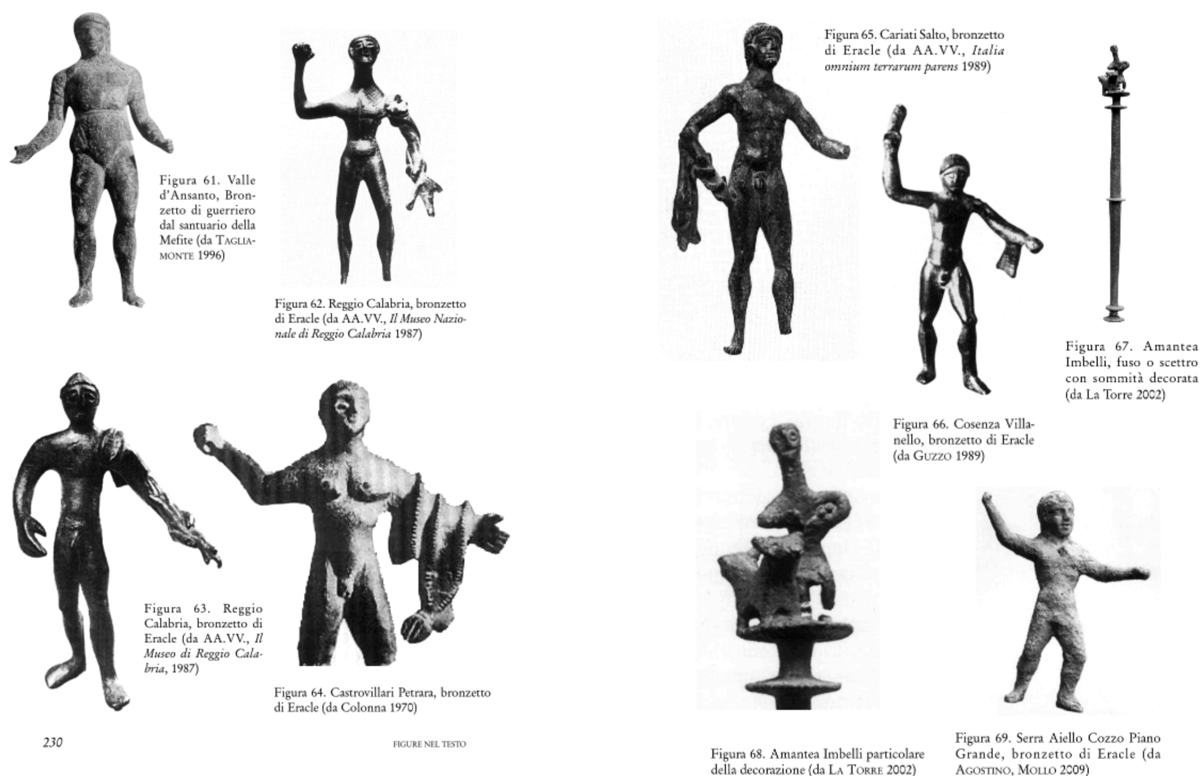

Figure 16: Bronze Figurines from Italic Sanctuaries (Many of Heracles), from Genovese 2012, 230-231.

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[411] Addante 2008.
[412] Genovese 2012, 110.
[413] Isayev 2007, 40; Already in 1989, Fracchia and Gualtieri (221-222) hypothesized that this bronze of Heracles at Serra Lustrante could reflect the general popularity of Heracles among the Italic peoples.

sanctuary, including Mefitis, who seems to be the main goddess of the Oscan speakers of Lucania. Isayev claims that Heracles seemed to be worshipped in common with Mefitis at Rossano di Vaglio, or perhaps with another female deity at Timmari.[414]

Elsewhere in Calabria there is evidence for joint Greek/Italiote worship of Heracles, especially in rural sanctuaries. A famous example is the Greek dedication to the so-called Rhegian Heracles found at Castellace di Oppido Mamertina at a border sanctuary and dated to the first half of the 5th century. The sanctuary itself and the figure of Heracles could have function as a way of communicating between Greek and non-Greek in the hinterlands.[415] The story of Heracles is localized here in literary sources as well, associated with a natural phenomenon involving cicadas, which seem to also demonstrate the attempt to create a firm border between Locri and Rhegium in this area.[416]

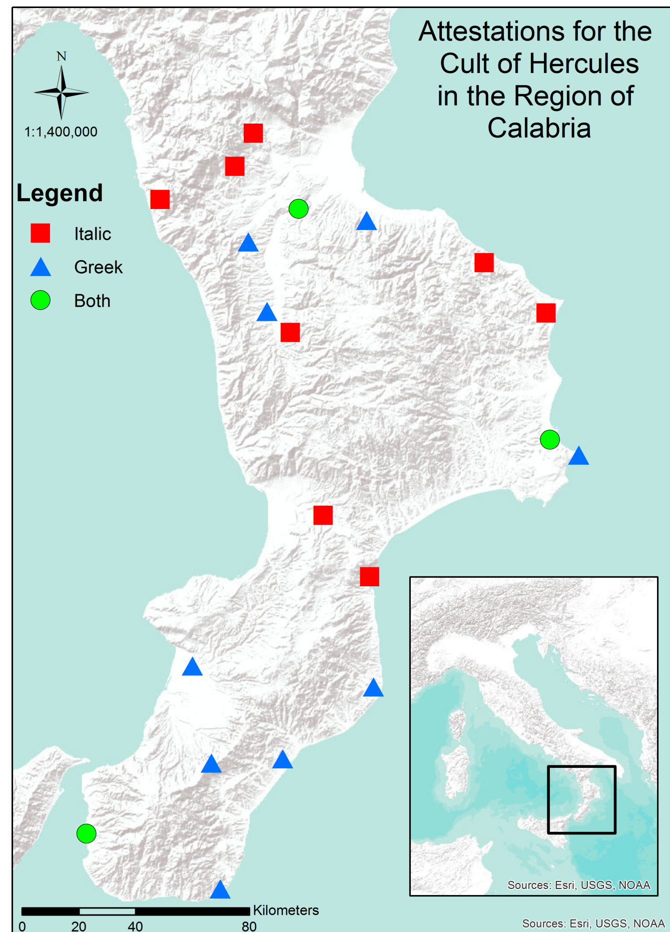

Figure 17: Attested cults of Heracles in Calabria (after Genovese 2012). Map credit: Matthew Naglak.

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[414] Isayev 2007, 40.

[415] Jefferey 1990, 248 (no.11) for the inscription; Consoli 2012 for an analysis of the document in context. Sica 2011 for the interactions between Greeks and Italians in the area.

[416] Consoli 2012, 52-54. Key sources are Antig. Car. *Hist. Mir.* 1.1 (citing Timaeus, *FGrHist* 566 F43), Strabo 6.1.9, Plin. *NH* 11.32.4. Allegedly, the cicadas only sound on the Locrian side of the river Halex, not the Rhegium side. Antigonos records the story that this is because Heracles fell asleep on the Rhegine side of the river and, annoyed at their noise, prayed that they be silent.

As has been outlined by Bradley, the myth and apparently worship of Heracles has deep roots in Italy, especially among the Etruscans, but also at Rome, with the archaic terracotta of Heracles from S. Omobono as a famous example.[417] Two pieces of pottery produced in Messapia in the 6th century BCE seem to depict scenes from the heroic exploits of Heracles, including one trozzella, a distinctively indigenous shape.[418] In the central Apennines, the number of bronze figurines of Heracles indicates that he was widely worshipped, even if these cult sites are not directly dedicated to the hero.[419] The spread of the cult of Heracles in Italy seems to follow the movement of people on well-travelled networks, not exclusively transhumance, but also trade. By the time that these groups are fully established in the mid fourth century it is clear that Heracles is a central part of their culture, if not their self-identification. Indeed, it has been argued that Heracles' "polyvalent cult was attractive to a new self-affirming aristocracy.[420]"

As argued in Ch.3, this is clearly part of the increased focus on Heracles in the mythology and self-representation at Croton, when it was attempting to form a league in the late 5th century seeking help against the rising power of Thurii.[421] The possible connections to Croton continue with the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia, of course already associated with Heracles through the original story of his labors, but also specifically at Croton through the spatial aspects of the foundation myth as well as the way in which the Crotoniates worshipped the goddess. A 6th century inscription found at the sanctuary uses the epithet eleutheria for Hera and Plutarch later refers to the sanctuary as

[417] Bradley 2005, 120-121.
[418] Bianco 2018 is an in-depth study of these two vessels.
[419] Bradley 2005 notes a sanctuary near Corfinum where over 100 figures depicting Heracles have been found. The god seems to be more popular among the people of the central Apennines and Samnium than in Umbria and Picenum.
[420] Bradley 2005, 141.
[421] Classical foundations, such as Heraclea, are obviously also playing into this widespread worship of the hero. Indigenous worship of Heracles does not seem to be localized, as we can also see with the cult of Rhegine Heracles in the hinterland of Rhegium.

an asylum.[422] Some have suggested that this was another aspect of the sanctuary which appealed to the Bruttians, who, as we have seen, according to later myths had escaped from servile origins.[423] This has to remain hypothetical, especially since the stories about the Bruttians being an enslaved underclass of the Lucanians come only from Greek sources.

Daunia

While there are many heroes who seem to have wandered westward, an unexpectedly popular Homeric figure in Italy is Diomedes. In the Iliad, Diomedes is one of the greatest Greek warriors in the Trojan War, the king of Argos, and second only to Achilles (or perhaps Ajax). Despite these early Greek origins, however, his presence in Adriatic Italy and even across to Croatia is so pronounced that some have theorized that the hero was not originally Greek but coopted from, or amalgamated with, an indigenous tradition.[424] This area of Italy, sometimes called Daunia, is the northern part of Apulia. Before the "Daunians" the local inhabitants were also called Iapygians by the Greeks, a broader term that seems to refer to all of the non-Greek peoples in Apulia.[425] The typical version of Diomedes' journey has him returning home to Argos after the war only to find his wife having an affair (a punishment from the goddess Aphrodite, whom he wounded during the Trojan War). With a happier result than his fellow Greek warrior, Agamemnon, Diomedes manages to leave behind Argos and goes west. According to some

[422] Jefferey 1990, 257, Giangiulio 1989, 58-59.
[423] This story in some ways parallels the story in Rome's early years of Romulus' asylum and Rome as a city populated by unsavory people.
[424] Malkin 1998, 235, citing Terrosi Zanco 1965 and Fantasia 1972.
[425] Lombardo 2014 has an excellent overview, including an appendix of all the ancient sources.

versions, once Diomedes landed in Italy he set up a city named Argops Hippion with his comrades (in Greek also called Argyrripa, later Arpi) and made an alliance with a local king, Daunus (sometimes Daunius).[426] Afterwards, Daunus enlisted Diomedes and his companions to help him defeat his long-standing enemies, the Messapians. After helping the king, however, Diomedes was betrayed and killed by Daunus. His companions are transformed into birds and fly off to either a sanctuary or an island, where they are friendly only to Greek travelers in the area and hostile to any Italians.[427] But, of course, this is not the only version. In some narratives Diomedes serves as a true oikist in Italy, founding the city of Arpi alongside king Daunus. Ultimately, Arpi became one of the most powerful cities in the area and played a key role in the second Punic War.[428]

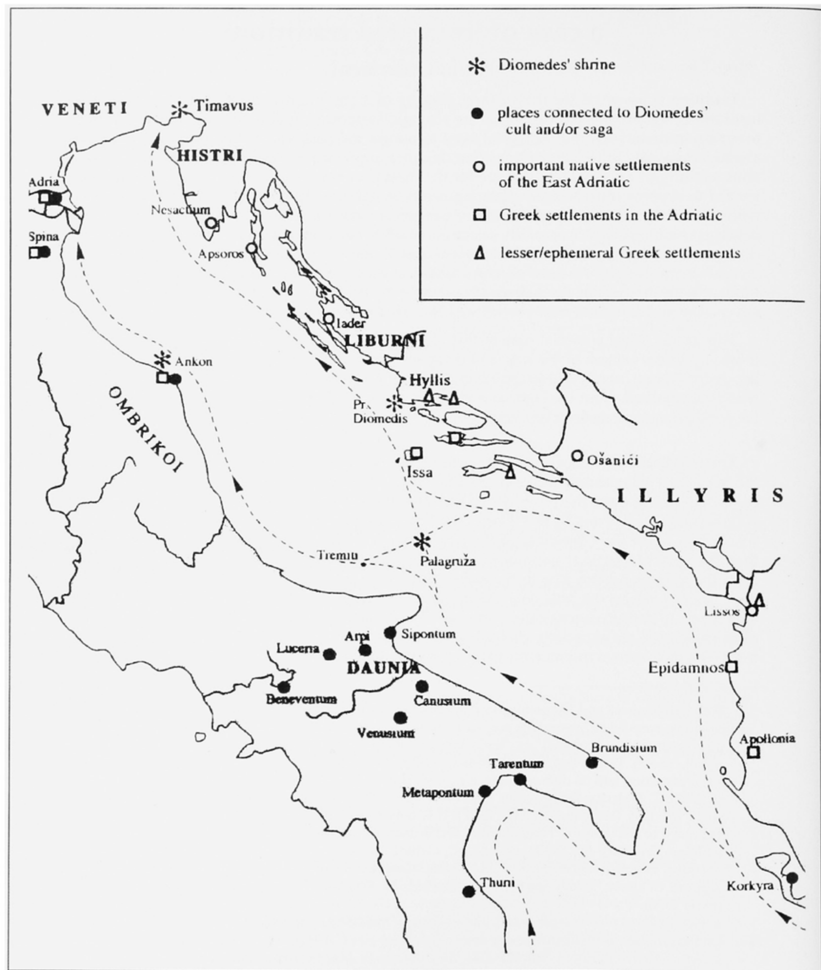

Figure 18: Map of Diomedes Sanctuaries in the Adriatic and Italy (Kirgin and Čače 1998).

These stories, on the surface, represent the tensions inherent in these interactions,

[426] Strabo 5. 1. 8–9; 6. 3. 9, Plut. *Rom*. 2. 2, Plin. *NH* 3.151

[427] Malkin 1998, Ch.8. See n.432 below for analysis of this Mimnermus fragment. See also Strabo 6.39 and Bérard 1941, 385–391. The myth of the birds who only greet Greek visitors, as Malkin suggests, could demonstrate the insecurity of Greeks in non-Greek places, perhaps especially non-Greek temples and religious sites.

[428] See Fronda 2010 for Arpi in the Second Punic War.

both alliance and opposition between the Greeks and the indigenous Italians. They show many of the possible outcomes of a new settlement in Italy, and probably demonstrate Greek fears about what they could be facing in a new environment. While Arpi is the main city associated with Diomedes, his story and his status as a founder "spread" throughout Daunia and even further afield. Cities that claim Diomedes as a founder include: Canusium, Brindisi, Venusia, Venafrum, Aequum Tuticum, Beneventum, Lanuvium, and even Rome.[429] While these are mainly Adriatic cities, the number of cities claiming him as a founder are remarkable not only for their magnitude, but that none of them are Greek cities. According to Briquel, there is a clear explanation for this:

> This introduction of material from Greek myth into local ethnogenesis was in many cases due to the Greeks observing the indigenous realities and searching to make sense of them. So the many variants on the theme of the origins of Rome, which have nothing to do with the national tradition of the twin founders, are clearly Hellenic creations… But, even though these legends had first been created by the Greeks, the local populations appropriated them gladly. It was a way of tying yourself to the prestigious universe of the Hellenes, of not appearing as barbarians – and so expresses a positive image of Greek culture; it could correspond just as well to a willingness among the Greeks who enjoyed good relations with these indigenous peoples, as to a desire of those concerned to have themselves noticed through their connection to a civilization felt to be superior.[430]

While the need to "make sense" of each other is likely a reason for the proliferation of Greek figures in the Adriatic world, this sense of needing to belong to the "prestigious universe of the Hellenes" presupposes the idea that the people living in these cities considered themselves inferior and were glad to appropriate this idea of their inferiority from the Greeks in Italy. Instead, there must have been a more tangible value in incorporating Diomedes into the local self-conception of these cities. Some have argued that Diomedes has in many cases been fused with a local hero, especially considering his widespread presence not only along the Adriatic coast of Italy but also in Illyria

[429] Briquel 2017, 16.
[430] Briquel 2017, 22.

and the so-called Islands of Diomedes in the Adriatic.[431] While the Homeric version of the story indicates that Diomedes travelled to Argos easily, alternative versions involve a less happy homecoming that leads to his western adventures.[432] Our literary evidence for Diomedes in Italy is one of the earliest accounts of nostoi or travelling heroes in Italy, a paraphrase of Mimnermus (who wrote in the late 7th century BCE), which is cited in Tzetzes, and in another a scholiast of Lycophron. This section of the poem gives us the most extended and earliest full explanation of Diomedes in Italy.[433]

ὁ δ' Ἀργύριππα Δαυνίων παγκληρίαν
παρ' Αὐσονίτην Φυλαμὸν δωμήσεται,
πικρὰν ἑταίρων ἐπτερωμένην ἰδὼν
οἰωνόμικτον μοῖραν, οἳ θαλασσίαν 595
δίαιταν αἰνέσουσι, πορκέων δίκην,
κύκνοισιν ἰνδαλθέντες εὐγλήνοις δομήν.
ῥάμφεσσι δ' ἀγρώσσοντες ἐλλόπων θοροὺς
φερώνυμον νησῖδα νάσσονται πρόμου,
θεατρομόρφῳ πρὸς κλίτει γεωλόφῳ600
ἀγυιοπλαστήσαντες ἐμπέδοις πομαῖς
πυκνὰς καλιάς, Ζῆθον ἐκμιμούμενοι.
ὁμοῦ δ' ἐς ἄγραν κἀπὶ κοιταίαν νάπην
νύκτωρ στελοῦνται, πάντα φεύγοντες βροτῶν
κάρβανον ὄχλον, ἐν δὲ γραικίταις πέπλοις 605
κόλπων ἰαυθμοὺς ἠθάδας διζήμενοι,
καὶ κρῖμνα χειρῶν κἀπιδόρπιον τρύφος
μάζης σπάσονται, προσφιλὲς κνυζούμενοι,
τῆς πρὶν διαίτης τλήμονες μεμνημένοι.
Τροιζηνίας δὲ πραῦμα φοιτάδος, πλάνης 610
ἔσται κακῶν τε πημάτων παραίτιον,
ὅταν θρασεῖα θουρὰς οἰστρήσῃ κύων
πρὸς λέκτρα. τύμβος δ' αὐτὸν ἐκσώσει μόρου
Ὁπλοσμίας, σφαγαῖσιν ηὐτρεπισμένον.

[431] Malkin 1998, 235. He even has early cults as far north as among the Eneti, who seem to sacrifice horses to Diomedes.
[432] Hom. *Od.* 3.180-184.
[433] Mimnermus *ap. schol.* Lycoph., 610; F 23 Allen, F 22 W, F 17 G-P. Although sometimes listed as a spurious fragment (as in the Loeb edition), Allen (1993, 137) claims that "the tradition of Diomedes' flight to Italy would have had a certain topical interest for Mimnermus and his audience." According to the fragment Diomedes is punished by Aphrodite because he wounded her during battle at Troy, who causes his wife to take lovers in his absence. He escapes an "adulterous plot" after returning home to Argos and flees to Italy soon after, only to be killed by King Daunus.

Another will build Argyrippa as a Daunian heritage
by the side of the Ausonian Phylamos,
when he sees the bitter winged fate of his companions,
turned into birds; they will welcome a maritime
way of life, like fishermen,
in shape resembling keen-sighted swans.
Catching with their beaks the spawn of fishes,
they will inhabit the island which bears the name of their leader;
on a protruding theatre-shaped mound,
with firm twigs, as if building streets, they make
their compact nests, in imitation of Zethos.
They go out together to hunt, and at night they come back
to the valley-glade to rest, avoiding every gathering
of barbarian men, but seeking, in the folds
of Greek clothes, their customary sleep;
they will eat hand-held bread and after-dinner morsels
of barley-cake, with affectionate whimpering,
as they remember in sadness their former way of life.
His wounding of the Troizenian goddess will be part-cause
of his distraught wanderings and his dire calamities,
when the bold and lustful bitch will be goaded
with a craving for sex. The altar of Hoplosmia will save him
from death, when he has been made ready for slaughter.
(Trans. Hornblower)

This section of Lycophron lays out one version of the story, where Diomedes arrives safely but his companions are turned into birds who inhabit the island of Diomedes. The bird-companions also continue this dichotomy of Greek versus. non-Greek in the powerful line 605, κάρβανον ὄχλον, ἐν δὲ γραικίταις πέπλοις.[434] Lycophron continues to tell the story of Diomedes in Italy in the following lines:

κολοσσοβάμων δ’ ἐν πτυχαῖσιν Αὐσόνων
σταθεὶς ἐρείσει κῶλα χερμάδων ἔπι
τοῦ τειχοποιοῦ γαπέδων Ἀμοιβέως,
τὸν ἑρματίτην νηὸς ἐκβαλλὼν πέτρον.
κρίσει δ’ Ἀλαίνου τοῦ κασιγνήτου σφαλεὶς
εὐχὰς ἀρούραις ἀμφ’ ἐτητύμους βαλεῖ,620
Δηοῦς ἀνεῖναι μήποτ’ ὄμπνιον στάχυν,
γύας τιθαιβώσσοντος ἀρδηθμῷ Διός,

[434] Hornblower 2015, 261 notes that the rare word κάρβανος (foreign, other) is also used to describe Kassandra herself at Aesch. *Ag.*1061.

ἣν μή τις αὐτοῦ ῥίζαν Αἰτωλῶν σπάσας
χέρσον λαχήνῃ, βουσὶν αὔλακας τεμών.
στήλαις δ' ἀκινήτοισιν ὀχμάσει πέδον,625
ἃς οὔτις ἀνδρῶν ἐκ βίας καυχήσεται
μετοχλίσας ὀλίζον. ἦ γὰρ ἀπτέρως
αὐταὶ παλιμπόρευτον ἵξονται βάσιν
ἄνδηρ' ἀπέζοις ἴχνεσιν δατούμεναι.
θεὸς δὲ πολλοῖς αἰπὺς αὐδηθήσεται,630
ὅσοι παρ' Ἰοῦς γρῶνον οἰκοῦνται πέδον,
δράκοντα τὸν φθείραντα Φαίακας κτανών.

Like a Colossus he will stand in the recesses
of Ausonia, and will place his legs on stones
taken from the acres where the Exchanger once built walls;
he will throw these ballast-rocks out of his ship.
When defeated in the arbitration by his brother Alainos,
He will utter effective curses against the soil,
that it should never produce Deo's bountiful grain,
although Zeus should irrigate the fields with showers,
unless someone deriving from his own Aitolian stock
should dig the land, cutting the furrows with oxen.
With unmovable pillars he will secure the plain
and no man shall boast that he has been able
to shift them even a little. For without wings, but speedily,
they will make a return journey,
treading the shore with footless step.
He shall be called a high god by many,
All those who live Io's hollow basin –
he who killed the dragon which harried the Phaiakians.
(Trans. Hornblower)

Lycophron's version gives the core elements of the story but fails to mention king Daunus and the reason for the companion's metamorphosis into birds. It also stresses the impact of Diomedes on the landscape by emphasizing him giving his name to the islands, the ballast-stones as landscape markers and the image of him as a colossus standing over the Adriatic. This second section also has an allusion in the final line to another version, also present in Justin's epitome of Trogus, which connects Diomedes with both Italy and Corcyra. In this version, because Daunus does not give Diomedes and his companions the land he promised them, Diomedes goes to Corcyra where he

saves the people from the dragon which previously guarded the golden fleece.[435] The Corcyreans, in gratitude, join with Diomedes to attack Brindisi, their longstanding enemy.

Justin, in the context of Alexander the Molossian's expedition to Italy, describes some of the history of the area,

> Erat namque tunc temporis urbs Apulis Brundisium, quam Aetoli secuti fama rerum in Troia gestarum clarissimum ac nobilissimum ducem Diomeden condiderant; sed pulsi ab Apulis consulentes oracula responsum acceperant, locum qui repetissent perpetuo possessuros. Hac igitur ex causa per legatos cum belli comminatione restitui sibi ab Apulis urbem postulauerant; sed ubi Apulis oraculum innotuit, interfectos legatos in urbe sepelierunt, perpetuam ibi sedem habituros. Atque ita defuncti responso diu urbem possederunt.
>
> For at that time, the main city of the Apulians was Brundisium, which the Aetolians, who were following the most famous and noble leader Diomedes on account of the fame of his deeds at Troy, founded; but having been expelled by the Apulians, after consulting an oracle they received the response that they would possess in perpetuity that place which they were seeking to recover. Thus, on account of this, through ambassadors, they demanded that the Apulians restore the city to them, with a threat of war. But when the oracle came to the attention of the Apulians, they killed the legates and buried them in the city, so that there they would have a seat in perpetuity. In this way, with the oracle fulfilled, they held the city for a long time. (Justin 12.2.7-10)

Because the Greek evidence for Diomedes in Italy comes at such an early date and there is no early corresponding Italic material it is impossible to know for sure if he has been merged with some local hero. An argument in favor is that Diomedes is not actively worshiped or venerated on the Greek mainland, and that he might have easily fallen into a local promotion of horses and warriors in funeral culture.[436]

Another valuable aspect of Diomedes as a founding hero for non-Greek peoples is that although he was the leader from Argos in the Iliad, Diomedes is not strongly associated with a

[435] Timaeus (*FGrHist* 566 F53).
[436] Malkin 1998, 252. See also Mastrocinque 1987, 79-88.

region or an ethnicity on the mainland, being both Argive and Aetolian by birth. His father, Tydeus was Aetolian, but his mother, Deipyle, was Argive.[437] This lack of emphasis on the homeland helps us understand how Diomedes could be quickly taken in as a local hero with local political and social aims, since he did not have as firm an attachment to an area of mainland Greece.

One hypothesis for the development of the version the story where Diomedes is murdered by king Daunus is that it contains the memory of a failed attempt at "colonization." The fear of a lack of welcome in Italy was certainly present for the Greeks settling new cities, and some settlements show signs of an initial war or hostilities with the indigenous inhabitants. This is impossible to prove, but could explain at least one of the versions of this myth, perhaps if the indigenous Italians themselves were the ones to maintain the version where they got the upper hand against the hero who had wounded both Aphrodite and Ares.[438] This version could also reflect the establishment of temporary trading outposts, likely the earliest contact between Greeks and local peoples. Malkin has argued that this better reflects both the early interactions between Greeks and locals in these areas, with a travelling, maritime hero who helped facilitate that economic relationship, although this version of Diomedes as mediator is not reflected in the violence of the versions examined above.

[437] D'Ercole 2006, 27.
[438] Malkin 1998, 251-255.

The evidence for the native acceptance or even promotion of this mythical connection to Diomedes is less clear. Recent excavations on islands in the Adriatic have shown that the worship of the hero in the area does indeed date to the Archaic period, with dedications to Diomedes from at least the 6th century unearthed on the Croatian island of Palagruža, probably a key stopping point for trade across the Adriatic.[439] Excavations on the island have unearthed over 13,000 sherds of Greek pottery, mostly fine wares, and probably intentionally broken.[440] While the island lies on the most navigable path across the Adriatic, the island contains no natural fresh water and has barely any arable land, making habitation unlikely. The graffiti on these fine wares also clearly point to a ritual function, with one clearly inscribed with the name of the hero Late authors, especially Pliny, refer to an Island (or Islands) of Diomedes in the area, and this pottery points to the identification of Palagruža as this sanctuary.[441] While these inscriptions are mostly on Greek pottery, mostly with alphabets from Athens or Aegina, it is possible that indigenous maritime traders from both sides of the Adriatic, along with Greeks, were part of this cult for seafarers (probably an euploia).

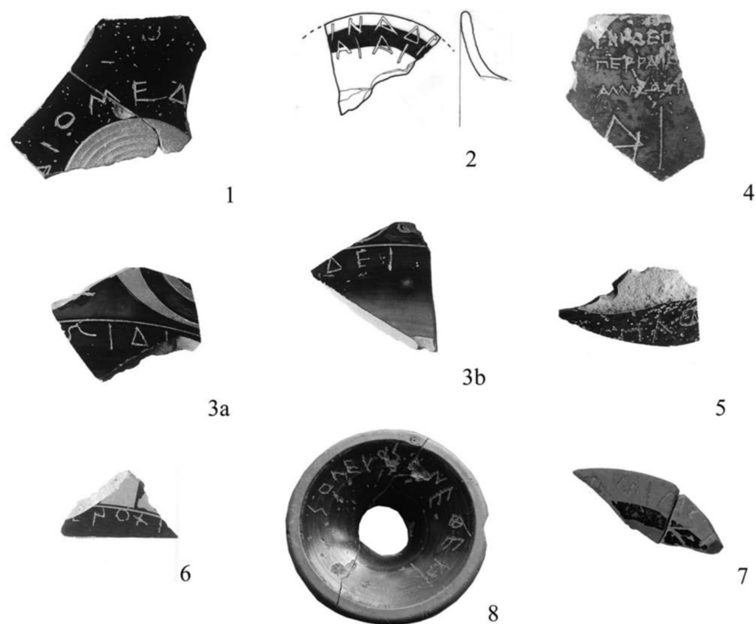

Figure 19: Ceramics from Palagruža with graffiti (Kirigin and Čače 1998)

[439] Kirigin et al. 2009.
[440] Kirigin and Čače 1998, 65.
[441] Plin. *NH* 3.141; analysis in d'Ercole 2006.

The early placement of the myth in Italy might help explain its use and value to the inhabitants of the many cities which claim him as a founder, and his placement along the coast. Malkin has argued that Diomedes is not a "terrestrial" hero; he does not help lay claim to any physical space, especially in the versions where he immediately murdered by King Daunus. While this is true, especially since he is not credited as a founder in Greek city-states, it seems that the "fields of Diomedes" provides some benefit for those inhabitants. These areas associated with Diomedes, typically called Daunia, in a recent overview by Ytemna called "northern Apulia" in order to avoid these somewhat arbitrary ethnic designations, is the one that sees the least amount of "hellenization" in the form of new ceramic imports and technologies until the 4th century BCE.[442]

The period 600-350 (archaic/classical) in the area, according to Yntema, is characterized by dispersed settlements, probably controlled by chieftains and local clans, with some larger, leading settlements, such as Canosa and Arpi. In "the later sixth and fifth centuries [the material culture] shows hardly any traces of external influence and since objects imported from other districts are rare, north Apulia displays a kind of 'cultural parochialism' that may be the result of a drastically reduced intensity of external contacts."[443] This "cultural parochialism" even persists into the 3rd century, with little evidence for changes in the landscape, settlement patterns, or ceramic assemblages. This is in contrast to the southern areas of Apulia, where more interaction with Greek settlements in Italy and Greek traders resulted in large scale societal changes in the 5th and 4th centuries, evident in both material remains and settlement patterns, and again in the late

[442] Yntema 2018, 337.
[443] Yntema 2018, 345.

4th and 3rd centuries, with large scale interventions into the landscape, and increases in settlement sizes.[444]

It is the northern Apulian settlements which claim an association with Diomedes in later periods, or have associations with Diomedes in Greek and Roman literature. Arpi seems to be the most important city associated with Diomedes, and it is useful to explore the connection between the hero and this place. Our literary sources indicate a temple to Diomedes in the city, as early as Lycophron, who is probably drawing his evidence from Timaeus. Other literary evidence points to cults or related worship of Diomedes in the area. The pseudo-Aristotelian de Mirabilibus Auscultationibus describes a temple of Achaean Athena in Daunia (already something interesting!) where Diomedes and his companions dedicated their weapons, as well as a temple to Artemis in Peucetia where Diomedes himself made a dedication.[445] While there is no known archaeological evidence for this worship on the mainland, the archaeological evidence for his cult in the Adriatic islands points to his role as a protector of the sea and the trading routes from Italy to Illyria.

While the evidence is later, the use of the myth of Diomedes by a local family in Arpi, the Dasii, can show how the hero might have been utilized on a larger scale by various Daunian cities. During the 3rd century BCE, the Dasii family claimed to be related to Diomedes in an attempt to establish their credibility.[446] The role of the Dasii also serves to remind us that the adoption and display of Greek culture was probably an almost entirely elite enterprise. The leaders of these cities had the most to gain by negotiating with foreign leaders and being a Greek leader, as we see in the case of Hannibal was not a requirement. As in Etruria and Latium, the adoption of Greek and other foreign objects, as well as fictive heritage, can serve as status symbols. For the Dasii, the

[444] Yntema 2018, 346-352.
[445] Hornnblower 2016, 58-59, [Arist.] *de mir. ausc.* 109-110, Lyc. *Alex.* 1123.
[446] Fronda 2010 has demonstrated how the Dasii led a faction of the city in Arpi during the Hannibalic War, and they are attested earlier as a powerful family in Arpi on coinage of the city. The genealogical connection between the Dasii and Diomedes is also at Sil. *Pun.* 13.30-34.

assertion of their descent from Diomedes probably reinforced the perception of the antiquity of their gens in Arpi, along with their ability to lead the people and make alliances with foreign powers.

Especially considering how this group of cities seemed more or less isolated until the 4th and 3rd century incursions by Rome and the impact of Roman colonization, some scholars have claimed that the Diomedes myth, or at least an emphasis on the myth, dates to this period. It was used, they argue, as a tool to promote or justify Roman colonization in the area. In some versions of the Roman foundation myth, Diomedes plays a role by convincing the eponymous hero of the city, named Rhomus, in some Greek versions to go to Italy.[447]

Another connection for the inhabitants of these areas associated with Diomedes is his role as a great tamer of horses. Two aspects of the myth of Diomedes are reflected in the late archaic material culture of the area, the so-called "Daunian Stele" and the iconography on these stelai. Traditionally interpreted as grave markers, and dated from the 7th – 5th centuries BCE, these stelai are unique to the area and tend to depict horses and warriors.[448]

[447] d'Ercole 2006, 32, Plut. *Rom.* 2.1.
[448] Herring 2009, 85.

Perhaps indicating the importance of horses both to the culture of the area and as a symbol of power for what appears to be a warrior elite, or at least a society with elite families indicated in the burial records.[449] Indeed, the other name for Arpi is sometimes Argos Hipponion, indicating a connection to both Diomedes and horses. Herring notes that horses are often depicted on Apulian pottery and on early issues of coins from Arpi.[450] In Lycophron's poem, he mentions another aspect of the memory and impact of Diomedes in Daunia, stones from the walls of Troy which Diomedes originally used as ballast on his ship. According to the tradition, these stones served as boundary markers in Daunia, and in the version where Diomedes is not rewarded properly for helping king Daunus in his battle with the Messapians, he apparently laid claim to the land, and cursed it as infertile until another Aetolian should come and take control of the land. The ballast stones were then used to mark the boundaries of the cursed lands. When king Daunus attempted to move the stones, they magically returned to the places where Diomedes had left them. These Daunian stelai are quite large, as tall as 1.3 meters tall, and their

Figure 20: Daunian Stele. Getty Object # 82.AA.129. 4th century BCE, Limestone, 91.5 × 33.8 × 6.4 cm

[449] Yntema 2013, 130.
[450] Herring 2007, 90-92.

placement in the landscape (although none have been found in situ) could have later been interpreted through this myth.

The Greeks in the area could have misinterpreted them, but they could also be evidence of a local commitment to the story of Diomedes and his effect on the landscape. While the name of "Daunian" is arbitrary for both the peoples and the stelai, both Arpi and Canosa developed into large poleis which must have had control over, or at least been associated with, a number of settlements in the hinterland. It is possible that the people of northern Apulia accepted this hero, probably amalgamated with another local hero, as a way of unifying their own ethnic identity. Diomedes would have had resonance with their culture through horses, and his status as a trader would have allowed them to connect with various groups that appeared on the shore and in nearby islands as early as the 5th century BCE.

Diomedes is also attributed as a founder of non- "Daunian" cities further north along the Adriatic, especially Spina and Adria, both Etruscan port cities. Spina especially was keen on inserting itself into the Hellenistic world, eventually setting up a treasury at Delphi.[451] Diomedes could have easily been a mediator between these cities, or at the very least, between merchants and traders among the cities of different ethnic origins along the Adriatic coast, and not necessarily only between Greek and "other." According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the Daunians were allied with Etruscans in the mid 6th century in an attempt to remove the Greeks from Cumae, indicating that there was communication and even common action between these geographically distant groups.[452]

To attempt to understand what role Diomedes could have had within Daunian settlements, the archaeological remains are useful. While Strabo describes Arpi as a city, this entire region of

[451] Morgan 2018, 220-221.
[452] *IACP* 332, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.3-4

northern Apulia before the fourth century cannot truly be characterized as urban. According to Herring, it lacks any public buildings, clear organization of space, divisions between domestic space, agricultural land and cemeteries.[453] Despite this lack of clear urbanization, field survey at Arpi has determined that the settlement had a clear boundary - an embankment which involved a considerable amount of manpower to erect. This embankment would apparently not have been an effective defense mechanism; therefore we have to consider other hypotheses, and a strong one is that it was a construct that helped define the community.[454] Walls of all forms indicate who is inside and who is outside, and therefore we can guess that the Iron Age inhabitants of Arpi had a sense of who they were. Evidence for any state-level organization in these settlements in northern Apulia is lacking in the archaeological record; however the manpower required for public works indicates that there could be a shared sense of local community. The use of a hero with associations in the area through the bustling Adriatic trade network could easily have been appropriated by the Daunians to help form this much needed sense of community. This is not to say that this is a passive "Hellenization" of these peoples, but that they latched onto the existing cults and awareness of a Greek hero for their own, internal political needs.

This seems more likely than the argument that these stories about Diomedes in Daunia were fabricated wholesale in the fourth century, when the Syracusan tyrant, Dionysius I, seemed to use the myth as a justification for his own imperialistic ambitions around the Adriatic.[455] The stories about Diomedes and the need for an heir to fix the barren landscape could only be effective

[453] Herring 2007, 289.

[454] Herring 2007, 288-289. Herring also compared the landscape of Arpi to other settlements in the area with and without similar embankments and argues that "the Iron Age population only built elaborated embanked boundaries when adequate topographical features to define the community space were lacking."

[455] Malkin 1998, 250: "It does, however, add to the multifaceted uses of the nostoi, both as mediating between Greeks and non-Greeks and as illustrating how a Greek nostos that had an independent and earlier presence in mostly non-Greek Apulia could be "used" by Greeks in ad hoc political circumstances. The irony consists in an apparent Greek appropriation of a Greek nostos familiar to or current among non-Greeks as an element of mediation in the fluctuating relations with such peoples." Here he is following Braccesi 1994.

in a world where the stories had already taken root. It is likely that many of the versions of the myths we have, such as the narrative in Lycophron, date from this time, but the kernel of Diomedes in Daunia is likely much earlier. The myth is later picked up by Alexander the Molossian, who at the bequest of the Tarentines, comes to Italy to defend them against incursions by Italic peoples. Several cities, especially Adria, Spina (emporia in the north of the Adriatic coast of Italy) and Ankon, claim to be founded by either the Syracusan tyrant, or by refugees fleeing from Dionysius I.[456]

Again, in the fourth century there is evidence for a cult of Diomedes in Taras and Metapontum. It appears as if the cult has spread south, from non-Greeks to the Greek cities of southern Italy. Malkin claims that the fourth century, when "Greek colonies were facing new dangers from new "Italian" populations, may have been the context in which stronger mythic associations were invoked."[457] In a strange turn of events, a Greek hero was re-introduced, or at least re-emphasized in these Greek cities as the Diomedeian cities of Apulia were rising. Ultimately, it seems as though the roots of the myth of Diomedes, even among the Italic peoples of the area, took root early in the Greek mindset, at least the 7th century. By the 5th century the hero was firmly entrenched in the shipping routes, and at this time, probably became the unifying figure for the various settlements in the area. In the 4th and 3rd centuries, various generals and leaders who came to the area, especially Dionysius I and Alexander the Molossian, attempted to use these mythical associations with Diomedes to justify their presence or win the alliance of the Daunians.

Antonaccio uses Diomedes as an example of the "middle ground theory" in Italy, suggesting that Diomedes "may have fit local circumstances better when he became established in the Adriatic where native communities claimed him as a heroic founder. It is therefore true not

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[456] Colivicchi 2008.
[457] Malkin 1998, 246.

only that non-Greek peoples heroized, rather than simply Hellenized, but also that one function of this heroizing was to emphasize relationships and hierarchies as much as to articulate prestige through participation in a 'heroic lifestyle.'"[458] This distinction between "heroization" and "Hellenization" is valuable, and Diomedes clearly demonstrates how a group can take on a hero who has resonance and value for their society without importing wholesale all of their Greek characteristics or making themselves "Greek."

This is probably also the case for the next example, the Serdaioi, an enigmatic Italic people who seem to have adopted some Greek imagery and had strong connections with Greek city-states, but maintained their own Italic identity.

Sybaris and the Serdaioi

That the Italiote and Italic peoples could not only be enemies, but also allies, is demonstrated by an inscription from Olympia which records a treaty between the Sybarites along with their allies, and the Serdaioi, an Italic group otherwise unknown, except for this inscription and potentially coinage.[459] The inscription, a bronze plaque found at Olympia in 1960, reads,

ἁρμόχθεν οἱ Συβαρῖ-
ται κοἰ σύνμαχοι κοἰ
Σερδαῖοι ἐπὶ φιλότατ-
ι πιστᾶι κ ἀδόλοι ἀε-
ίδιον· πρόξενοι ὁ Ζε-
ὺς κὀπολον κὄλλοι θ-
εοὶ καὶ πόλις Ποσειδα-
νία.

Figure 21: Treaty between Sybaris and the Serdaioi from Olympia, last quarter of the VI cent. B.C. (Image from Pugliese Carratelli 1996).

The Sybarites and their allies and the Serdaioi made an agreement for friendship

[458] Antonaccio 2013, 244.
[459] Meiggs and Lewis 1989, 18-29, *SEG* 22, 1967, no. 336.

> faithful and without guile for ever. Guarantors, Zeus, Apollo, and the other gods and the city of Poseidonia.

The inscription was probably from the treasury of the Sybarites and is dated by Meiggs and Lewis to 550-525 BCE. It is in the Achaean colonial script. That the city of Poseidonia was a guarantor of the treaty has led to speculation that the Serdaioi lived close to that city, or at least somewhere in between Poseidonia (which was itself a "sub-colony" of Sybaris) and Sybaris. This, however, is only one theory among many; other suggestions include that the Serdaioi were from Sardinia, Sicily, or the Adriatic coast of Italy, Ilyria, or even Etruscans.[460] Most scholars currently follow the theory that the Serdaioi belong in a south Italian context.[461] While we do not know where the Serdaioi lived, Genovese has suggested that they may look like the people whose remains have been excavated in San Brancato di Tortora. This settlement is considered an indigenous center dating from first half of the fifth century with a necropolis that has demonstrated connections with Attic and colonial pottery production, Lucanian pottery, as well as with production centers in Sybaris.[462]

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[460] The most recent argument in favor is Brousseau 2010. See Polosa 2000 for a summary of the previous arguments.
[461] The holdouts for Sardinia are Zancani-Montuoro 1982, 57-61 and Pugliese Carratelli 2004, 161-169.
[462] Genovese 2012, 24.

As was discussed in Ch. 2, the Sybarites, according to Strabo, had control over a vast amount of territory and many peoples in southern Italy.[463] This "empire" allegedly included four tribes and twenty-five cities. Ancient authors also give large numbers of citizens and soldiers at Sybaris. Diodorus Siculus insists that Sybaris was so exceptionally willing to give out citizenship that they had 300,000 citizens.[464] This large number and emphasis that citizenship was bestowed, rather than born into by the original inhabitants of the city, hints again that Sybaris had a different relationship with those in their hinterland, both Greek and Italian, from that which other Greek cities in Italy and Sicily had. This emphasis on φιλότης between the two groups may indicate that there were many levels of alliance that Sybaris made with other groups—some were incorporated and maybe even given citizenship, whereas others were simply allied. Our other evidence for the Serdaioi comes from a very small number of coins (16 total examples) with the legend MEP (ΣΕΡ).[465] The only coins with a clear

Figure 22: Silver diobol. O: Head of Dionysius, R: Bunch of grapes. HN III *1718.*

Figure 23: Silver stater, O: Dionysius standing, holding a vine tendril and a kantharos, R: Vine tendril and bunch of grapes. HN Italy *1717.*

[463] Strabo 6.1.13.

[464] Diod. Sic. 12.9.1-2; see analysis in Duplouy 2018, 266-269.

[465] Rutter 2001, *HN* 3 1717-1721. Brousseau has shown that another with the legend MERD (ΣΕΡΔ) is actually a coin of Poseidonia reading POSEI (ΠΟΜΕΣ).

provenance are those in the British Museum, which were found in a hoard in Calabria in 1863 and are dated to around 470 BCE.[466]

The weight system of the coinage also links it to southern Italy, being on the Achaean standard which is only used on the Italian peninsula.[467] All of the coins have similar iconography with Dionysius and MEP on one side and grape leaves on the other. This wine imagery is not unusual in southern Italy, among both Greeks and non-Greeks. This group seems to be quite "Hellenized" even in the archaic period, with Greek imagery, standards and alphabet on their coinage, alongside a political relationship with Sybaris. The imagery on the coinage is very similar to that of Poseidonia; their use of the hemiobol, quite a rare denomination in southern Italy, is one indication of their association with the city.[468] Brousseau dates the coinage, relying on these similarities as well as on certain technical aspects, to 510 – 490 BCE. The coinage might therefore demonstrate a new phase in the history of the Serdaioi. After the destruction of Sybaris, it is possible that they turned to Poseidonia, with whom they were already associated through the treaty as an ally.

Typically, the explanation for this group's coinage and association with Sybaris is to say that they have been "Hellenized." They are certainly aware enough of Greek culture to mint coins on Greek standards and understand the value of depositing the treaty with Sybaris at Olympia. While it is difficult assess fully this claim without any other evidence for the Serdaioi, it might still be better to use a term like "hybrid" rather than one as value-laden as "Hellenized.[469]" We do not know the extent to which the Greek language or Greek religious practices associated with Dionysus were integrated into the culture of the Serdaioi. It is just as possible that Dionysus took on an

[466] Brousseau 2010, 258.
[467] Brousseau 2010, 266.
[468] Brousseau 2010, 275.
[469] Though "hybrid" is also not a neutral term.

entirely different role in this group's religion and self-definition. It is likely that they had some kind of self-identification based on wine and wine consumption, but whether or not that happened in a symposiastic setting or was associated with theater is unknown.[470] It is possible that some foundational or civic hero has been syncretized with Dionysus, as has been previously suggested for Diomedes.

What the Serdaioi can do is demonstrate how limited our knowledge is of the Italic peoples of ancient Italy, especially before the 4th century BCE. They demonstrate how the diplomatic side of Greek-Italic connections could take place as we known from the tantalizing epigraphic evidence of the treaty with Sybaris. They also demonstrate how cautious we need to be when using our literary evidence, since there is no mention of this group in any of our extant sources, despite their appearance in both the epigraphic and numismatic records of the area. Despite these negatives, they also show us how the Italic peoples could selectively absorb and make use of Greek culture, religion and idioms, probably for their own political and economic benefit.

Conclusion

These brief case studies spanning Campania, Calabria and northern Apulia have attempted to demonstrate the wide variety of uses to which the Italic peoples of Italy put Greek gods and heroes. The adoption of these heroes as objects of worship or civic founders was much more nuanced than the Italic peoples simply wanting to appear Greek for the sake of being Greek. The chapter opened with the worship of Heracles by the 5th and 4th century inhabitants of Calabria. It is clear that the hero embodied various characteristics which appealed to these people, not just that he was Greek. His association with pastoralism, especially in the stories about the

[470] It is tempting to see some kind of connection to wine culture in early Italy with the etymology of Oenotria from *oinos*. It is possible that this name in our Greek sources comes from some indigenous tradition of wine consumption or aspect of collective identity focused on wine, hence the appropriation of Dionysus.

cattle of Geryon, which were prominent in Italy, was probably a key connection for the people living in these lands. It seems as if the nearby Greek populations, especially the city of Croton, took advantage of this pre-existing connection to Heracles in order to build a rapport with these people. This is clear by the increased emphasis on Heracles in Croton in the late 5th and 4th centuries, precisely when we also see this hero growing in popularity among the Lucanians and Bruttians, and possibly even being part of Bruttian self-identification. Sanctuaries such as Rhegine Heracles or the temple of Hera Lacinia were probably meeting places where these deities could be worshipped together and political and social bonds cemented.

The example of the Daunians and Diomedes is another case often cited for the adoption of Greek mythology by non-Greeks and the "Hellenization" of the Adriatic coast of Italy. A combination of the archaeological evidence for the worship of Diomedes in the area, as well as an understanding from the archaeological record of its development indicates that Diomedes could have been a useful hero for the Daunians internally.

The evidence provided by the Serdaioi indicates the type of alliance that could be created at these types of sanctuaries where Greeks and non-Greeks met. The Serdaioi show us that Italic peoples established official diplomatic relationships with Greek cities and that we can probably trust the assertion that at its height Sybaris had a huge amount of power over neighboring cities both Greek and non-Greek. The example of the Serdaioi also demonstrates the caution necessary when one is interpreting these types of relationships. They can adopt Greek models of self-representation, such as Greek deities on coinage and use the Greek language, but that does not mean we should assume they are "Hellenized."

In each of these cases the adoption of Greek figures displays the agency of the Italic peoples and the ways in which mythology underpinned relationships among different Italic peoples and between them and Greeks. Throughout Italy, the fourth century BCE sees an upsurge in the

formation of clear ethnic identities, and although this might be a sign of more detailed source material, this moment needs to be explored in more detail. An understanding of the preceding centuries is critical to know whether the 4th represents as a dramatic a departure from previous methods of self-identification as our sources claim.

Conclusion

Much like the heroic and mythical figures it follows, this study has ventured across the Mediterranean from Locris on mainland Greece, across Sicily, to the toe of Italy and up the peninsula. The case studies chosen here have demonstrated the ways in which changes in myth and cult in the cities of southern Italy can reflect and inform the constantly evolving local and regional politics, but they remain just case studies. As we continue to consider the shifting dynamics of southern Italy over the course of the archaic period to the end of the 1st century CE, more studies are necessary that take into account a greater variety of urban environments. The recent increase in the excavation of non-Greek sites in particular is a positive step forward in this direction. As these excavations continue, it is likely that the dichotomies inevitably drawn at times in this study between Greek and non-Greek will need to be softened. These excavations have shown cohabitation and collaboration between these groups, and further study will enhance the evidence presented in the final chapter of my study focused on the connections and joint worship among these peoples.

At times, a study that centers on local identities (city or settlement) without recourse to these larger ideas of ethnicity (Greek, Lucanian) seems more apt than not. This study has attempted to problematize the idea of strict identities in southern Italy; when cities such as Croton or Locri are emphasizing their status as a Greek city, it is a choice rooted in the political environment and likely not part of an intrinsic state of being. This is clear both in the ways in which these identities shift over time and in general in the nature of Greek foundation stories, whether it is by Locrian maidens, Heracles, Myscellus, or Philoctetes. Ultimately, Crotoniates might find more common

ground with the residents of Petelia, a nearby city which did not claim to be Greek, than with Locri, despite its Hellenic origin.

Ethnicity and identity function in the historical periods in which they are created and developed. Being "Greek" had benefits for cities and groups across central and southern Italy even into the Roman conquest and imperial period. Greek mythology gave these cities and ethnic groups a way to enter into and immediately have standing in the larger world of Mediterranean diplomacy. Yet the Greek apoikiai had different needs for these stories at different points in their history. At times, the stories functioned as myths that gave them equal antiquity and therefore standing in the rest of the Greek world. While this has been the most typical explanation for the stories of Homeric and other heroes in Italy, the reality is often more complex. Heracles gave this aura of antiquity to Croton as a "prefoundational" hero, but in the 5th and 4th centuries he clearly functioned as a mediator between Croton and the other members (or hopeful members) of the so-called Italiote league. This change over time should not be surprising as these groups needed to learn to work together.

Heracles' role as a mediator between cultures has been documented across the Mediterranean, and there is more room for exploration of his cults in Italy. His prevalence in the Italic groups across the peninsula demonstrates how the hero's multivalent nature and mythological repertoire allowed groups to assimilate him to their own cultures and pantheons. In this capacity it becomes clear that he could not only mediate between Greeks and non-Greeks, but just as I argue for Diomedes in Daunia, form the basis of a bond among Italic peoples.

The Greek cities of southern Italy have traditionally been a footnote in narratives of Greek history and only appear in accounts of Roman history from the 4th century onwards. Taras, Rhegium and the cities of Sicily, in contrast, tend to loom large in accounts of Magna Graecia. This study is a first step in balancing the scales and attempts to shed light on the understudied cities

of southern Italy, each of which has its own tangled and fascinating stories to tell. Locri Epizephyrii is not the biggest player in the political world of Magna Graecia, but its mythology shows us the ways in which it still had a substantial impact on Mediterranean politics. Its network of allies included Locris, Sparta, Tarentum, Rhegium, and eventually Syracuse, Rome and Carthage. The stories that created Locrian identity include its foundational mythology, but also historical legends, and both connect the city to places across the Mediterranean to give the Locrians a self of community that they were proud of. The Locrians are simultaneously part of a city founded by the elite women of Locris, and one that would not exist without the Dioscuri, Ajax and the benevolence of Aphrodite.

Croton similarly draws on a variety of heroes, all of which make up the idea of what it means to be Crotoniate. They are the result of not only Heracles, Croton, and Lacinios but also the wisdom of Myscellus, and they carry the legacy of Croton's famous early inhabitants, such as Milo and Pythagoras. At times one of these versions of what it means to be from Croton has more resonance, is more advantageous than another, but all function as part of the definition of Croton's community. The temple of Hera Lacinia, where so many of these stories are localized, demonstrate the power this sanctuary had for the inhabitants. The mythmaking of these heroes and spaces continues far after the period of this study. The temple of Hera (Juno) Lacinia in particular holds a special place in the history of the Roman conquest and influence in this area. It was (in)famously plundered by Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, who removed the marble rooftiles.[471] It is where Hannibal chose to set up a monument of his deeds in Italy.[472] According to Cicero, the temple had a column made of solid gold which Hannibal (nearly) plundered.[473]

[471] Livy 42.3. Strabo 6.1.11 seems to allude to this, saying that the temple was "at one point" rich with offerings.
[472] Livy 28.46-15-16; Polyb. 3.33.17-18. Jaeger 2006 is an excellent study of the temple in Livy's text.
[473] Cic. *Div.* 1.48

The introduction to this study discussed the role of the Aeneas myth in the alliances that Rome formed. Similar practices underpinned many other alliances that the city cemented over the centuries, especially with the Latin League. Greek heroes and stories proliferated through Latium, and not only because of its proximity to Etruria, though the northern region was probably a conduit for the transmissions of stories in some cases. The place of Aeneas (or the Dioscuri or Heracles or Odysseus) among other more local cults and rituals in the formation of Latin identity would be a beneficial avenue for continued exploration with the methodology used in this study. Other key cities for this kind of study are those which are more on the borderlands of different cultures and groups, or which had shifts in power. The cities of Campania are ideal for a continuation of this study, since they have a diversity of allies across these centuries, including Greeks, Etruscans, Samnites, Romans, and Carthaginians, and the stories can be accessed through the fragments of Cato. For example, Poseidonia/Paestum is one of our best examples for a "hybrid" city, where aspects of Greek culture seem to remain after the city is "taken over" by Oscan-speakers. The layering of the city continues as it is made into the Roman colony, and a corresponding study of its foundation narratives and cults could help shed light on the dynamics of power between the Greek, Italic, and Roman peoples in Paestum. This layer is visible in the textual sources, but most of all in the archaeological evidence from the city. While its temples are Paestum's most famous remains, the tombs and domestic spaces excavated in the city and surrounding areas have a story to tell about cultural change in the city that the temple architecture only hints at.

In Book 6, Strabo tells us that this whole area, dating to the time of the Trojan War, was so Greek it was called Magna Graecia, but it had been "barbarized" by the Lucanians, Samnites, and Campanians. He ends the section by simply stating, νῦν δ' εἰσὶ Ῥωμαῖοι. As often happens, Strabo gives us more questions than answers in his unequivocal statements of identity. These

transitions are the moments where diplomacy and mythmaking happen. The "Hellenization," "barbarization," and "Romanization" of Italy represent research opportunities that can provide us with more than unilateral statements of identity. These moments of contact are the places where we can best understand the questions of what it means to be part of a community, and how mythmaking and storytelling are central to this process.

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