

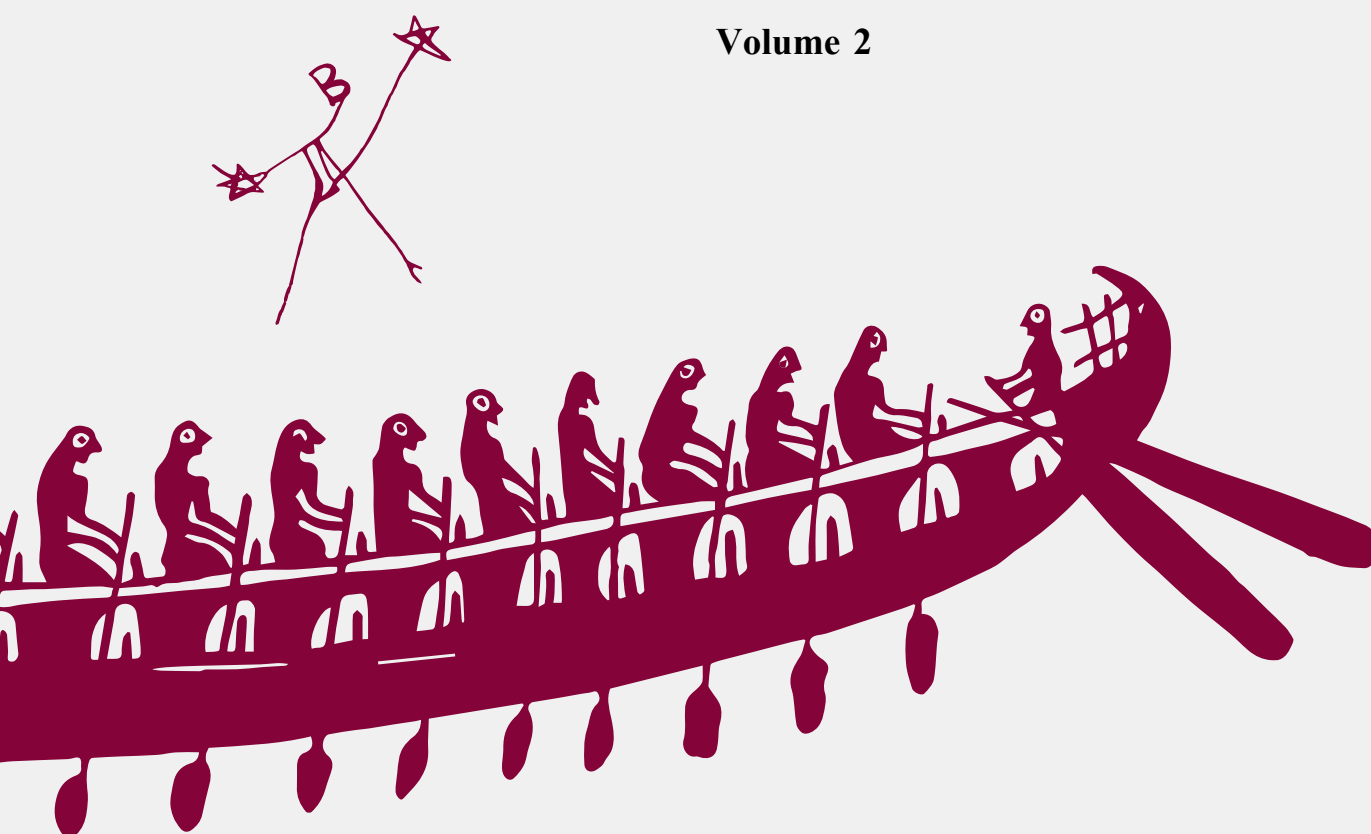
# EUBOICA II

## *Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West*

**Proceedings of the Conference  
Lacco Ameno (Ischia, Naples), 14-17 May 2018**

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro, Matteo D'Acunto and Federica Iannone

**Volume 2**



**Napoli 2021**

UNIVERSITÀ DI NAPOLI L'ORIENTALE  
DIPARTIMENTO DI ASIA AFRICA E MEDITERRANEO



# AION

ANNALI DI ARCHEOLOGIA  
E STORIA ANTICA

Nuova Serie | 28



2021 | Napoli

ANNALI  
DI ARCHEOLOGIA  
E STORIA ANTICA

Nuova Serie 28





UNIVERSITÀ DI NAPOLI L'ORIENTALE  
DIPARTIMENTO ASIA AFRICA E MEDITERRANEO

# ANNALI DI ARCHEOLOGIA E STORIA ANTICA

Nuova Serie 28

## EUBOICA II

### Pithekoussai and Euboea between East and West

Proceedings of the Conference, Lacco Ameno (Ischia, Naples), 14-17 May 2018

Teresa E. Cinquantaquattro, Matteo D'Acunto and Federica Iannone (eds.)

Volume 2



UniorPress  
Napoli 2021

ISSN 1127-7130

Abbreviazione della rivista: *AIONArchStAnt*

Quarta di copertina: Pithekoussai (Ischia), T. 500, sigillo del Lyre Player Group  
(rielaborazione grafica UniorPress)

Sovracopertina: nave dipinta sul cratere corinzio del LG nel Royal Ontario Museum di Toronto,  
inv. C.199 (disegno S. Verdan); e costellazione incisa su un cratere del LG di fabbrica pitecusana,  
trovato nell'area di S. Restituta a Pithekoussai, Ischia  
(rielaborazione grafica M. Cibelli)

### *Comitato di Redazione*

Angela Bosco, Matteo D'Acunto, Andrea D'Andrea, Anna Maria D'Onofrio,  
Luigi Gallo, Marco Giglio, Valentino Nizzo, Ignazio Tantillo

### *Segretari di Redazione*

Matteo D'Acunto, Angela Bosco

### *Direttore Responsabile*

Matteo D'Acunto

### *Comitato Scientifico*

Carmine Ampolo (Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa), Vincenzo Bellelli (Parco Archeologico di Cerveteri e Tarquinia, MIC), Luca Cerchiai (Università degli Studi di Salerno), Teresa Elena Cinquantaquattro (Segretariato Regionale per la Campania, MIC), Mariassunta Cuozzo (Università degli Studi del Molise), Cecilia D'Ercole (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Parigi), Stefano De Caro (Associazione Internazionale Amici di Pompei), Riccardo Di Cesare (Università di Foggia), Werner Eck (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei), Arianna Esposito (Université de Bourgogne, Dijon), Maurizio Giangiulio (Università degli Studi di Trento), Michel Gras (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei), Gianluca Grassigli (Università degli Studi di Perugia), Michael Kerschner (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna), Valentin Kockel (Universität Augsburg), Nota Kourou (University of Athens), Xavier Lafon (Aix-Marseille Université), Maria Letizia Lazzarini (Sapienza Università di Roma), Irene Lemos (University of Oxford), Alexandros Mazarakis Ainian (University of Thessaly, Volos), Mauro Menichetti (Università degli Studi di Salerno), Dieter Mertens (Istituto Archeologico Germanico, Roma), Claudia Montepaone (Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II), Alessandro Naso (Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II), Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Atene), Emanuele Papi (Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene), Nicola Parise (Istituto Italiano di Numismatica), Athanasios Rizakis (National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute of Greek and Roman Antiquity, Grecia), Agnès Rouveret (Université Paris Ouest Nanterre), José Uroz Sáez (Universidad de Alicante), Alain Schnapp (Université Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne), William Van Andringa (École Pratique des Hautes Études)

### *Comitato d'Onore*

Ida Baldassarre, Irene Bragantini, Luciano Camilli, Giuseppe Camodeca,  
Bruno d'Agostino, Patrizia Gastaldi, Emanuele Greco, Giulia Sacco

I contributi sono sottoposti a *double blind peer review* da parte di due esperti,  
esterni al Comitato di Redazione

I contributi di questo volume sono stati sottoposti a *peer review* da parte di:

Ida Baldassarre, Laura Ficuciello, Fausto Longo, Eliana Mugione,  
Giacomo Pardini, Carmine Pellegrino, Alfonso Santoriello, Michele Scafuro

## ABBREVIATIONS

Above sea-level: above s.l.; Anno Domini: AD; and so forth: etc.; Before Christ: BC; bibliography: bibl.; catalogue: cat.; centimeter/s: cm; century/ies: cent.; chap./chaps.: chapter/chapters; circa/ approximately: ca.; column/s: col./cols.; compare: cf.; *et alii*/and other people: *et al.*; diameter: diam.; dimensions: dim.; Doctor: Dr; especially: esp.; exterior: ext.; fascicule: fasc.; figure/s: fig./figs.; following/s: f./ff.; fragment/s: fr./frs.; for example: e.g.; gram/s: gm; height: h.; in other words: i.e.; interior: int.; inventory: inv.; kilometer/s: km; length: ln.; line/s: l./ll.; maximum: max.; meter/s: m; millimeter/s: mm; mini- mum: min.; namely: viz.; new series/nuova serie etc.: n.s.; number/s: no./nos.; original edition: orig. ed.; plate/s: pl./pls.; preserved: pres.; Professor: Prof.; reprint: repr.; series/serie: s.; sub voce: s.v.; supplement: suppl.; thick: th.; tomb/s: T./TT.; English/Italian translation: Eng./It. tr.; volume/s: vol./vols.; weight: wt.; which means: scil.; width: wd.

Abbreviations of periodicals and works of reference are those recommended for use in the *American Journal of Archaeology* with supplements in the *Année Philologique*.



## CONTENTS

TERESA E. CINQUANTAQUATTRO, MATTEO D'ACUNTO, <i>Preface to Volume II</i>	p.	ix
--	----	----

### Colonial Memories and Models

MAURIZIO GIANGIULIO, <i>Euboean Colonial Memories. Mediterranean Mobility, Literary Traditions and Social Memory</i>	»	19
LUCA CERCHIAI, <i>Interpretative Models of Euboean Colonization and Impacts on the Indigenous World</i>	»	29

### Pithekoussai

TERESA E. CINQUANTAQUATTRO, <i>Pithekoussai, Necropolis of San Montano (Excavations 1965-1967). Stratigraphy, Funerary Representation and Intercultural Dynamics</i>	»	49
MELANIA GIGANTE, ALESSANDRA SPERDUTI, IVANA FIORE, FRANCESCA ALHAIQUE, LUCA BONDIOLI, <i>Euboean, Eastern and Indigenous People: A Bioarchaeological Investigation of Ancient Pithekoussai (8<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> Century BC, Ischia Island, Campania)</i>	»	87
VALENTINO NIZZO, <i>Ritual Landscapes and Ritual Codes in the Pithekoussai Cemetery</i>	»	107
COSTANZA GIALANELLA, PIER GIOVANNI GUZZO, <i>The Manufacturing District in Mazzola and its Metal Production</i>	»	125
LUCIA A. SCATOZZA HÖRICH, <i>Pithecusan Gold: Anatolian Connections</i>	»	147
GLORIA OLCESE (with a contribution by GILBERTO ARTIOLI), <i>Natural Resources and Raw Materials at Ischia in Antiquity: Some Data and Preliminary Reports from an Ongoing, Interdisciplinary Project</i>	»	161
NADIN BURKHARDT, STEPHAN FAUST, <i>First Results of the Excavations at Pithekoussai from 2016-2018 (Villa Arbusto, Lacco Ameno, Ischia)</i>	»	183
MARIASSUNTA CUOZZO, <i>Pithekoussai. Pottery from the Mazzola Area</i>	»	201
FRANCESCA MERMATI, <i>Parerga and Paralipomena to the Study of Pithecusan-Cumaeae Ceramic Production in the Light of New Research. Twenty Years after Euboica</i>	»	221
TERESA E. CINQUANTAQUATTRO, BRUNO D'AGOSTINO, <i>The Context of "Nestor's Cup": New Considerations in the Light of Recent Anthropological Studies</i>	»	267
MAREK WĘCOWSKI, <i>The "Cup of Nestor" in Context. The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Culture</i>	»	275

## Cumae and Parthenope

ALFONSO MELE, <i>Kyme, Apollo and the Sybil</i>	»	281
MATTEO D'ACUNTO, MARIANGELA BARBATO, MARTINA D'ONOFRIO, MARCO GIGLIO, CHIARA IMPROTA, CRISTIANA MERLUZZO, FRANCESCO NITTI, FRANCESCA SOMMA, <i>Cumae in Opicia in the Light of the Recent Archaeological Excavations by the University of Napoli L'Orientale: from the Pre-Hellenic (LBA-EIA) to the earliest phase of the apoikia (LG I)</i>	»	305
ALBIO CESARE CASSIO, <i>Earlier and Earlier: The Rise of the Greek Alphabet and a Greek Letter on an Euboean Skyphos Found in Pre-Hellenic Cumae, ca. 760-750 BC</i>	»	451
MASSIMO BOTTO, <i>Phoenician Trade in the Lower Tyrrhenian Sea between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> Centuries BC: the Case of Cumae</i>	»	461
GIOVANNA GRECO, <i>Structures and Materials of Archaic Cumae: Research of the Federico II University in the Area of the Forum</i>	»	501
DANIELA GIAMPAOLA, <i>New Discoveries from Parthenope (Naples)</i>	»	523

## Magna Graecia and Sicily

JAN KINDBERG JACOBSEN, GLORIA MITTICA, <i>Oinotrian-Euboean Pottery from Timpone della Motta – Francavilla Marittima (CS)</i>	»	563
MARIA COSTANZA LENTINI, <i>Naxos between the Eighth and Seventh Centuries BC Revisited</i>	»	575
GIOVANNA MARIA BACCI, <i>Zancle: Latest Findings on the Urban Settlement and Sanctuaries</i>	»	589

## Conclusions

CATHERINE MORGAN, <i>Conclusions. From Euboica to Euboica II: Changes in Knowledge and Scholarly Approaches</i>	»	605
<i>Abstracts</i>	»	617

# KYME, APOLLO AND THE SIBYL

Alfonso Mele

## 1. KYMAIAN APOLLO

Among the most significant results obtained with the new excavations in Kyme (Campania), of great importance are those relating to the temple of Apollo on the Acropolis, in particular the two votive bronzes of the Archaic age found in the votive deposit<sup>1</sup>, studied by Teresa Cinquantaquattro and Carlo Rescigno<sup>2</sup>, and the votive deposit with the remains of ritual meals and a large number of mouse bones in the *pronaos* of the temple<sup>3</sup>.

This evidence demonstrates two fundamental points: the upper temple is Apollo's temple and the chronology of the two votive objects (end of the 8<sup>th</sup>/beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. BC) testifies to the antiquity of the cult.

These findings stimulate discussion on some crucial topics: the antiquity of the cult of the Apollo *Archegetes* and its relationship with the *Smintheus* Apollo; the relationship between Trojan and Cumaean Sibyl; the sibylline prophecy and the foundation of the colony; the meaning of the two votive offerings. I will try to consider the relative traditions in the following pages, trying to decode the message hidden by archaeological evidence<sup>4</sup>.

## 2. APOLLO *ARCHEGETES* IN KYME

The city of Kyme assigns the function of *archegetes* to the god: it is thanks to Apollo that the colonists choose the area<sup>5</sup> in which to establish the settlement and organize the urban space<sup>6</sup>.

Its worship dates back to the origin of the colony: the temple is built at the top of the acropolis hill, due to Apollo's preference for peaks with wide views (σκοπιά) and for heights (πρώονες ἄκροι)<sup>7</sup>: Virgil mentions the *arces*, *quibus altus Apollo presidet* and his commentator Servius specifies *cum ubique arx Jovi detur; apud Cumas in arce Apollinis templum est*<sup>8</sup>.

An identical model can be found in Naxos<sup>9</sup>, the first foundation of the Chalkidians in Sicily, as well as the first Chalkidian foundation in Campania, Kyme; Naxos was founded by Theokles as was Kyme by a *theòs patròs*<sup>10</sup>: the creation of the famous altar gives a leading role to the *archegetes* Apollo<sup>11</sup>, as does the location of the temple at Kyme; Naxos receives the poleonym from the Naxians of the Cyclades area, to whom the main cult belongs<sup>12</sup>, just as in Kyme the poleonym is given by the component coming from the Aeolis of Asia, the area from where the *xoanon* came<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> RESCIGNO *et al.* 2016, 7-66.

<sup>2</sup> CINQUANTAQUATTRO – RESCIGNO 2017, 217 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Their latest excavations, not yet edited, have confirmed the ancient evidence, for the identification of the site with the temple of Apollo, as well for its chronology.

<sup>4</sup> In my opinion the starting points are the works on the Aeolic colonies and world published in MELE *et al.* 2005, the preceding results of my studies on Campanian Kyme that came together in MELE 2014b, 41-140, and the following research in MELE *et al.* 2019.

<sup>5</sup> HOM., *Hymn. Ap.*, 528-531; CALLIM., *Hymn.*, II, 65-58.

<sup>6</sup> HOM., *Hymn. Ap.*, 245-288; CALLIM., *Hymn.*, II, 55-59. Cf. DETIENNE 1990, 301 ff.

<sup>7</sup> HOM., *Hymn. Ap.*, 22 f.; 144 f.

<sup>8</sup> VERG., *Aen.*, VI, 9, and SERVIUS *ad loc.*

<sup>9</sup> Cf. THUC. VI, 3, 1, with STRABO, V, 4, 4, 243 (Ephorus).

<sup>10</sup> IG XIV 715 = IN 2.

<sup>11</sup> THUC., VI, 3, 1. Cf. EPHOR., F 137.

<sup>12</sup> APPIAN., *Civ.* V, 109.

<sup>13</sup> AUG., *de civ. Dei*, 11; JUL. OBS., 28; DIO. CASS., XXIV, F 84, 2. Cf. RAGONE 2003, 77 ff.

The identification of Apollo as *archegetes* emerges clearly in authors linked to Campania as Velleius Paterculus et Papinius Statius. According to the former<sup>14</sup>, the Chalkidian fleet was led to Kyme by the flight of a dove that preceded it (*columbae antecedentis volatu*). Statius makes the foundation of the colony an accomplished achievement *auguriis magnis*: the poet indicates Apollo as the *duoctor populi longe migrantis*; Eumelus, the *theòs patròos* of the Eumelidai – a *phratry* which went from Cumae to Neapolis – is depicted gazing at the bird on the god's left shoulder because Apollo himself indicated the destination to the colonists by means of a dove (*ipse Dionaea monstravit Apollo columba*)<sup>15</sup>. He is echoed by his contemporary Silius Italicus who defines the walls of Naples *Pheretiadum muros*: «walls of the descendants of Pheres», that is of Eumelus and his father Admetus<sup>16</sup>. A direct line connects *Eumelus* with the homonymous hero dear to Achilles<sup>17</sup>, who in Troy had the best mares raised by Apollo, and therefore excelled for *hipposyne*. According to a similar logic, Hippokles, the historical *oikistes* of the Aeolic group who came to Cumae, was *famous for horses*<sup>18</sup>.

In this way, the Chalkidian Kyme in Campania became Aeolian, like a duplicate of the homonymous Asian city. Eumelus is Aeolian by birth: Pheres, his grandfather, is the son of Kretheus<sup>19</sup>, son of Aiolos<sup>20</sup>. Both Admetus and Eumelus are connected to the Aeolian Asia: Admetus founded the Aeolian Magnesia on the Maeander<sup>21</sup> with a group of Pheraioi consecrated as a tithe to Apollo, who was his *hippoboukolos*<sup>22</sup>; Eumelidai founded Aeolian Cumae and Smyrne<sup>23</sup>. Apollo served as a *hippoboukolos* Admetus, father of Eumelus, near the river Amphryso in Phtyotis<sup>24</sup>: for Virgil the god is *pastor ab Amphryso*<sup>25</sup>, and the Cumaean Sibyl as

an *Amphrysia vates* is linked to him<sup>26</sup>. Assigning a role of *oikistes* to Eumelus through Apollo *archegetes*, means recognizing a founding role to the local *Eumelidai*: Kyme in Campania is homologous to the one in Aeolis, receiving traditions of the Asian colony, which, according to Ephorus and Pseudo Scymnus, was its motherland<sup>27</sup>.

The Aeolian origin of Kyme is further confirmed in literary sources: we can remember the tears of Apollo for the Aeolis, whence he had come<sup>28</sup>, and the role assigned to Eumelus in the testimonies of Virgil, Velleius, Statius and Silius, all connected to Campania: the first and the last moved there and, after death were buried there, while the others were of Campanian origin.

The tradition that made Euboea of Aeolian origin<sup>29</sup>, takes into consideration the Eretrian temple of Apollo at Tamynae founded by Admetus, father of Eumelus and, meaningfully, transferred the service performed by Apollo as a shepherd of Admetus to Tamynae<sup>30</sup>. Still, according to this tradition, a part of the colony of Penthilus directed to Aeolis remained in Euboea<sup>31</sup>: Eretria is the “queen” of the Cyclades<sup>32</sup>; Andros is placed next to the Chalkidians<sup>33</sup>; Naxos in Tunisia<sup>34</sup> and Sicily<sup>35</sup>. The Hyperborean Virgins arrive in Delos<sup>36</sup> at the time of the birth of Apollo and Artemis: among them, Achaia, *hypostasis* of Demeter, is destined to be ritually celebrated in the songs of Olenus; the others, *Opi/Oupis* and *Arge/Ekaerge*, both *hypostasis* of Artemis<sup>37</sup>, in the songs of Kymaean Melanopus, ancestor of Homer and Hesiod, who were connected, through Argive Kleanax, to the *Kleuadai* of Aeolic Kyme<sup>38</sup>.

Kyme is inserted in a coherent epic-mythical structure: the *apoikia* was founded where Kirke

<sup>14</sup> VELL. PAT., I, 4, 1.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. STAT., *Silvae*, IV, 8, 45-49, with III, 5, 79-80.

<sup>16</sup> II. II, 711-715; 763; XXIII 376; 391; 532; HES. F 54 c. d.

<sup>17</sup> II. XXIV, 332-340; 558-565.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. II II, 763-767; XXIII, 288, with STRABO, V, 4, 4, 243.

<sup>19</sup> HES. F 10,2; F 38; OD. XI, 259.

<sup>20</sup> HES., F 10 MW.

<sup>21</sup> IVM, 17; HERMESIANAX, F 5 Powell = PARTH., *Am. Narr.*, 5, 6.

<sup>22</sup> HES., F 54 bc; CALLIM., *Hymn. Ap.*, 49-50; HERMESIANAX *apud* PARTH., *Am. Narr.*, 5, 6; APD., I, 9, 15.

<sup>23</sup> *Vita Hom. Her.*, 2, 19-23.

<sup>24</sup> APD., II, 6, 2 (129).

<sup>25</sup> CALLIM., *Hymn. Ap.*, 48; VERG., *Geo.*, III, 2; OV., *Met.*, I, 580; 7, 129.

<sup>26</sup> VERG., *Aen.*, VI, 398.

<sup>27</sup> EPHORUS, F 134 b; STRABO, V, 4, 4, 243.

<sup>28</sup> AUG., *de civ. Dei*, III, 11; JUL. OBS., 28; DIO. CASS., XXIV, F 84, 2.

<sup>29</sup> STRABO, X, 1, 10,447; PLUT., *QG*, 22, 296 d-e.

<sup>30</sup> *Euboika* 427 F 1 = STRABO, X, 1, 10, 447.

<sup>31</sup> STRABO, X, 1, 8,447.

<sup>32</sup> STRABO, X, 1, 10, 417.

<sup>33</sup> PLUT., *Mor.*, 298 Ab.

<sup>34</sup> PS. SCYL., 111.

<sup>35</sup> HELL., 4 F 82; EPHOR., 70 F 137.

<sup>36</sup> *Hom. Hymn. Ap.*, 91 ff.; HDT., IV, 35.

<sup>37</sup> CALLIM., *Hymn. Artem.*, 204, 240.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Vita Hom. Her.*, I, 5-10, with STRABO, XIII.1, 13.

and the *Cimmerii* had been<sup>39</sup>, between Latins generated by Odysseus and Kirke<sup>40</sup>, and Ausonians generated by Odysseus and Kirke in Latium<sup>41</sup> or by Odysseus and Calypso in Campania<sup>42</sup>. The Greek colonists followed these traditions, drank the wine as the *philoinos* Nestor<sup>43</sup>, and buried their leaders following the ritual performed by the Achaeans for their heroes, Achilles, Patroclus and Hector<sup>44</sup>. They founded their city and took over the Campanian Plain, borrowing from the *apogonoi* of Agamemnon<sup>45</sup>, Apollo Smintheus guardian of the crops<sup>46</sup>, next to which stood the Sibyl, whose prophecies ensured the salvation of the cities.

The choice of the Chalkidians, moreover, is perfectly consistent with Euboea, daughter of Makareus<sup>47</sup>, and the original Aeolian nature of Euboea<sup>48</sup>; with the foundation by Admetus, father of Eumelus, of the temple of Apollo at Tamynae<sup>49</sup>; with Agamemnon's stop in Eretria, where he founded the local Thesmophoriae<sup>50</sup> and especially with the settlement in Euboea of part of the Penthius expedition directed to the Aeolis<sup>51</sup>, which included Euboea in the context of Aeolian migration.

### 3. APOLLO SMINTHEUS AS ARCHEGETES

Let us now examine the traditions regarding Aeolian Apollo in the Chalkidian colonies. The Phokaians, at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, moved to Gaul, the land of their *emporion*<sup>52</sup>; they acquired from Ephesus, a city founded by a Lydian *kapelos*<sup>53</sup>, the priestess and the *amphidruma* of Artemis Ephesia as

*hegemon*. The goddess was the protagonist of worship open to the indigenous world, and the Phokaians, starting with the most important Emporion, spread her cult throughout all their foundations<sup>54</sup>. In a similar way, the altar of Apollo, the main Chalkidian cult in Sicily, was erected by the Naxians<sup>55</sup>.

At the same time, the *xoanon* of the god was brought by the Aeolians to Campania where, according to Velleius, Statius, Silius Italicus, Apollo, with a prophetic dove<sup>56</sup> (and not with a crow, like Apollo Delphic for Cyrene)<sup>57</sup> led the settlers who left in the wake of the Aeolian Eumelus<sup>58</sup>. The latter was *theòs patròos* of the *Eumelidai*, Cumae-an-Neapolitans, of Thessalian origin<sup>59</sup> but who went on to find the Aeolian Kyme and Smyrne<sup>60</sup>.

The Aeolians made their own ancient local cults<sup>61</sup>, including that of Smintheus Apollo<sup>62</sup>; according to an Archaic pre-Olympic tradition<sup>63</sup>, attested by Pherecydes<sup>64</sup>, Theopompus<sup>65</sup>, and Anticlidides<sup>66</sup>, Oenomaus had been king of Lesbos<sup>67</sup> and father of Mytilene, eponymous of the city<sup>68</sup>. A tragic chariot race took place on the island and the winner, Pelops, became king of Lesbos, whence he brought the golden lamb, which had been at the center of the conflict between Atreus and Thyestes<sup>69</sup>. Smintheus Apollo is also known, in the Troad<sup>70</sup> as in Mytilene<sup>71</sup>, with the *epiklesis* of *Killeus*. In his temple the tomb of the Sibyl was next to one of Killeus, charioteer of Pelops and founder of Killa in the Aeolis<sup>72</sup>; Pelops killed Myrtilos, the

<sup>39</sup> EPHOR., 70 F 134.

<sup>40</sup> HES., *Theog.*, 1011-1016.

<sup>41</sup> PS. SCYMN. 230; SERV., *ad Aen.* III 171; *Schol. AR* IV 553 Wendel; FEST. s.v. Αὐσονία; *Suid.*, s.v. Αὐσόνιον; *EM*, s.v.; cf. EUSTATH., *DP* 78.

<sup>42</sup> PSEUD. SCYMN. 226-230.

<sup>43</sup> I M-L; ATHEN., X, 433 bc; XI, 461 d; 487 f.; 781 d.

<sup>44</sup> CERCIAI 1995, 74-76; CERCIAI 1998, 117-124; CRIELAARD 2016, 43 ff.

<sup>45</sup> STRABO, XIII, 1, 1,3,582.

<sup>46</sup> *Schol. Il.* I, 39; EUSTATH. *Il.*, V, I, 55, 34-56, 16.

<sup>47</sup> HES., F 184 M-W e.

<sup>48</sup> PLUT., *QG*, 22.

<sup>49</sup> STRABO, X, 1, 10, 448.

<sup>50</sup> PLUT., *QG*, 31.

<sup>51</sup> STRABO, X, 1, 7, 447.

<sup>52</sup> ARISTOT. F 549 R = TROG.-JUSTIN., XLIII, 3, 5-13.

<sup>53</sup> *Et.M.*, s.v. Ἐφεσος Δαίτις.

<sup>54</sup> STRABO, IV, 1, 4, 179; III, 4, 6, 159; 4, 8, 160.

<sup>55</sup> ARRIAN., BC, V, 12, 109. Cf. HELLAN., 4 F 82; EPHOR., 70 F 137 b.

<sup>56</sup> STAT., *Silvae*, III, 5, 79-80; IV, 8, 47-49; VELL. PAT., I, 4, 1.

<sup>57</sup> CALLIM., *Hymn. Ap.*, 65-68.

<sup>58</sup> STAT., *Silvae*, III, 5, 79-80.

<sup>59</sup> IG XIV 715 = IN 2.

<sup>60</sup> *Vita. Hom. Her.*, 2, 19-23.

<sup>61</sup> DEMON 327 F 17.

<sup>62</sup> STRABO, XII, 2, 5, 518; 1, 62-63, 612-613; AEL. ARIST., *Ars Rhet.*, v.1, 14, 1 subs., 1; STEPH. BYZ., s.v. Ἐκατόννησοι.

<sup>63</sup> CASSOLA 1957, 123 f.; cf. F. JACOBY - KOMM. I, 403 *ad Pherec.* 3 F 37.

<sup>64</sup> PHEREC. 3 F 37 b.

<sup>65</sup> THEOP. 115 F 350.

<sup>66</sup> ANTICL. 140 F 8.

<sup>67</sup> *Schol. EUR. Or.*, 990.

<sup>68</sup> HEC. 1 F 140.

<sup>69</sup> ANTICLID. 140 F 8.

<sup>70</sup> STRABO, 613.

<sup>71</sup> IG XII, 2, 74, 1.14.

<sup>72</sup> THEOP. 115 F 350.



unfaithful charioteer, who after winning the race and before moving to the Peloponnese, had betrayed Oenomaus<sup>73</sup>.

Smintheus Apollo played a leading role in legitimizing through an oracle the settlement on Mount Ida of the Teucrians from Crete<sup>74</sup>: in Knossos, Smintheus is already documented as an anthroponym in the Mycenaean age<sup>75</sup>. In Lesbos, where his cult is attested<sup>76</sup>, among the Penthilides *archegetai* of the colony who accompanied Archelaos and Gras, a similar leading role is played by the basileus *Smintheus* and the ritual is connected to him<sup>77</sup>. In Lesbos, an oracle ordered the newly arrived colonists to perform a human sacrifice to Poseidon and Amphitrite: the victim had to be thrown into the sea. When they arrived in a place called *Mesogeion*, the Fate chooses as a victim a *παρθένος* who was Smintheus' daughter; Enalos, one of the *hegemones*, οὐκ ἀγεννῆς ὥς ἔοικε νεανίας, in love with the girl, dived in with her and when they reappeared, he said that they were saved by dolphins. According to Athenian Anticlides, they passed to a new divine life at sea: the girl among the Nereids and Enalos taking care of the mares of Poseidon<sup>78</sup>. According to Myrsilos of Methymna, on the other hand, they had a human life and fate in Lesbos<sup>79</sup>.

Anticlides and Myrsilos also report another tradition regarding Enalos: the former recounts that he had once recovered a gold cup when diving, the latter a stone carried by octopuses, later deposited in the temple of Poseidon. All these elements demonstrate transition rituals that began with a symbolic marriage leading to the birth of the colony. Firstly, the arrival in a land of passage, a *mesogeion*, and the intervention of a specific age group, a *parthenos* and a *neanias*; then a ritual passage<sup>80</sup>, a dive followed by resurfacing, with the intervention of amphibian dolphins, connected in this role to the youths.<sup>81</sup> Poseidon, who had be-

come the *kyrios* of the *parthenos*, offers a golden cup to Enalos, a sign of consent to the union, as in the marriage ritual recalled by Pindar<sup>82</sup>. The stone, given when the colony was founded, alludes to the role of guarantor of buildings with solid foundations (*themeliouchos* and *asphaleios*) evoked by the Poseidon *petraios*<sup>83</sup>.

In the Troad, Apollo as Smintheus indicated, through the *sminthoi*, the site of the new colony, and for this reason, his cult was born. In Lesbos, the life of the colony ritually started with the marriage of the daughter of the god: consequently, Apollo *Smintheus* is worshipped in Chryse-Arisbe<sup>84</sup> and a prophet of Apollo Smintheus is attested in Methymna<sup>85</sup>, the place of the reappearance of Enalos and his companion.

So, it is not surprising that in Kyme, where the Aeolian Apollo led the settlers, mice appear in Cumaeian coins in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. In the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, a colony of mice appears in the Cumaeian temple of the god, and in the Samnitic Capua, there were the Sminthii who are a gens of Etruscan origin<sup>86</sup>.

The cult was very ancient in Aeolis: the Teucrians, as well as the Aeolian settlers referred to it. The word *Sminthos* is documented in Phrygia and Crete, the homeland of the Teucrians, where it is an anthroponym attested in Knossos since the Bronze Age<sup>87</sup>; *sminthoi* were the country mice for the Aeolians and the Trojans, μύες ἀπουραῖοι<sup>88</sup>.

The Apollo Smintheus or Sminthios had a large area of veneration in the Troad<sup>89</sup>, which interested Parion and Tenedo, as well as Chryse, Larisa, Sminthe, Killa, and Gergite, areas that merged first in the city of Hamaxitus, and subsequently, at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, in Alexandria Troas. Apollo Smintheus is mentioned by Homer as the lord of Tenedos, Chryse and Killa: the god, after the offense made by Agamemnon against his priest,

<sup>73</sup> PHEREC. F 37 b.

<sup>74</sup> CALLIN. F 7 W; EUSTATH., II. I, 39, V.1, 56, 26-57, 38.

<sup>75</sup> KN AM 827 + 7032+6618; V 1583+7747+7887(*si-mi-te-u*).

<sup>76</sup> IG XII 2, 519; IMT SuedlTroas 556.

<sup>77</sup> PLUT., *Mor.*, 163 C-D, 984 E; ATHEN., XI, 466 d.

<sup>78</sup> ANTIKLEID. 140 F 4.

<sup>79</sup> MYRSILOS 477 F 14.

<sup>80</sup> D'AGOSTINO – CERCHIAI 1999, 64 ff., 81 ff.

<sup>81</sup> ARISTOT., *H.A.* IX, 48, 631 b; PLIN., *N.H.*, IX, 24-33; AEL., *N.A.* VI, 15.

<sup>82</sup> PIND., *O.* VII, 1-11 and *schol.* 1b.

<sup>83</sup> CORNUTUS, *De nat. deor.*, 44, 22.

<sup>84</sup> ST. BYZ., s.v. Χρύση. Cf. TUMPEL 1890, 97 ff.

<sup>85</sup> IG XII, 2, 19. Cf. XII, 2, 589 e 611 (theophoric name Σμίνθιος).

<sup>86</sup> RIX Cp 4; Cp 5.

<sup>87</sup> KN Am 827, 1; V 1583 A.

<sup>88</sup> AEL., *N.A.* XII, 5; *schol.* LYC., 1303; HESYCH., s.v.; SERV., *Aen.* III, 108.

<sup>89</sup> STRABO, XIII, 604-605.

sends a plague to the Achaean camp<sup>90</sup>. The episode is the starting point of the so-called Achilleid and dates back to the oldest nucleus of the poem.

The god played a dual role in that area. The first is evidenced by the *aition* of the cult in Chryse<sup>91</sup> and by the later interpretation of his statue as of an Apollo crushing a mouse (μυοκτόνος)<sup>92</sup>: the god eliminated the mice that devoured the crop, after having sent them as punishment. The second is illustrated by the *aition* of the cult of Hamaxitos: the god made the *sminthos* the instrument of his oracles (*mantikòtaton zoon*)<sup>93</sup> and his statue was interpreted as one of the gods who had a (*myopia*) white mouse nest at his foot for good luck; the mice were raised in the temple and sacred to him<sup>94</sup>.

The antiquity of the cult in the Troad is witnessed in the 7<sup>th</sup> century by Callinus of Ephesus<sup>95</sup>. The poet told the *aition* of the foundation of Hamaxitos and Gergite, on Mount Ida in Troad, by the Teucrians of Cretan origin. They stopped there because the god had ordered the Cretans to find the colony where the earth-born (*gege-neis*) had attacked them and, precisely on Mount Ida, a multitude of local rats (*sminthoi*) devoured all edible parts of their weapons, rendering them useless.

It is through mice that the god manifests his will (διὰ σμίνθων χρήσαντα)<sup>96</sup>: so, the Teucrians recognized the mice as sacred<sup>97</sup> and endowed with a mantic power, and dedicated a temple to Apollo, calling it Smintheus or Sminthios. The reproduction of a mouse is placed next to the god's tripod in the temple and white mice, as a good omen<sup>98</sup>, are domesticated and fed at public expense: their nest (*pholeos*) is under the altar. Skopas took due account of this in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, representing the god with one foot resting on a mouse<sup>99</sup>.

If we evaluate the main places of worship and the importance assigned to mice as mantic ani-

mals, Apollo Smintheus was a philo-Trojan god: this data is important for Cumae where a votive deposit of the Campanian age, from the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century BC, highlighted the conspicuous role of a colony of mice in the religious life of the temple.

The significance of this operation becomes clear in the context of 4<sup>th</sup>-century relations between the Campanians and Rome after the *deditio* of Capua in 343 BC, an act sanctioned by a *foedus*<sup>100</sup> and accompanied by *conubia vetusta*<sup>101</sup> and citizenship<sup>102</sup>.

In the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the founding traditions of Capua were used, in which Romulus and Remus appear as direct descendants of Aeneas<sup>103</sup>; in Kyme the *equites* received Roman citizenship<sup>104</sup>.

When Rome intervened in Campania in 340 BC, the *consul*, a member of the Decii, a family of Italic origin, used the *cognomen Mus*, a Latin translation of *sminthos*<sup>105</sup>, revealing all its value. This surname was linked to a city of Trojan origin, such as Rome and to a cult, specific to the Troad, for the protection of harvests. This cult was common to both a colony founded by people coming from the Troad and from the Aeolis, like Cumae and to a city boasting Trojan origins, like Capua<sup>106</sup> where some Sminthii lived<sup>107</sup>. Both cities are connected to the Campanian Plain and interested in the protection of wineries and cereals, and in the defence against the onslaught of the *mures agrestes*, enemies of crops as well as vines<sup>108</sup>.

The political use of these cultural traditions appears as a constant in the Cumaean sphere. In 208 BC, before the victory of Metaurus, it was an ill omen that the mice gnawed on the gold in the temple of Jupiter, on the lower terrace of the acropolis of Cumae<sup>109</sup>. In 130 BC, the *senes* of Cumae opposed the Roman decision to destroy the image of the god which was seen to shed tears as a tribute to

<sup>90</sup> HOM., *Il.*, I, 36-39.

<sup>91</sup> SCHOL. *Il.* I, 39; EUSTATH. *Il.*, V, I, 55, 34-56, 16.

<sup>92</sup> APD., 244 F 99 = Cram. AP III, 112, 31; EUSTATH. *Il.*, V.1, 56, 14.

<sup>93</sup> AEL., *N.A.* I, 11.

<sup>94</sup> HERAC. PONT., F 154 W; STRABO, XIII, 1, 48, 604; AEL., *N.A.* XII, 5; HESYCH, s.v. *Smintheus*.

<sup>95</sup> CALLIN., F 7 W.

<sup>96</sup> EUSTATH. *Il.* V.1, 56, 6.

<sup>97</sup> HERAC. PONT., F 154 W.

<sup>98</sup> PLIN., *N.H.* VIII, 223.

<sup>99</sup> AEL., *N.A.* XII, 5.

<sup>100</sup> LIV., XXXI, 10.

<sup>101</sup> LIV., XXIII, 4, 7; 7, 6; XXVI, 33, 3; XXXI, 31, 10-11.

<sup>102</sup> LIV., VIII, 11, 15-16.

<sup>103</sup> CEPHALON. GERGITH., 45 FF 8-9; D.H., I, 73, 3; cf. ALCIM., 560 F 4; CALLIAS, 564 F 5a.

<sup>104</sup> LIV., VIII, 14, 10.

<sup>105</sup> SERV., *Aen.* III, 108. Cf. HEURGON 1950, 683 ff.=1951, 105-109.

<sup>106</sup> D.H., I, 73, 3.

<sup>107</sup> RIX ch. 4; ch. 5.

<sup>108</sup> STRABO, V, 4, 3, 242.

<sup>109</sup> LIV., XXVII, 23, 2.

its origins, thus showing solidarity to the Aeolian rebels led by Aristonicus and Blossius, the stoic Cumaean philosopher linked to the Gracchi, who took refuge as an exile with Aristonicus<sup>110</sup>. The *senes* emphasized that Apollo had already demonstrated his favor towards Rome on other occasions: even this last manifestation had, therefore, to be interpreted in the same perspective.

The Sibylline Oracles cited by Phlegon of Tralles are along the same lines: the poem relating to the Ludi Saeculares starts from a period of Rome's difficult relations with the Latins (before 338 BC), foreseeing the overcoming of contrasts<sup>111</sup>, while the oracles connected to the birth of an androgyne in 125 BC, end with the prediction of the victory of Sulla<sup>112</sup>.

It is not a coincidence, therefore, that the Campanian Velleius recognizes in *Cumae* the *eximia semper in Romanos fides* and the permanence of the *ritus patrii custodia*, despite the introduction of the Oscan culture, even though in a lesser way than in Neapolis<sup>113</sup>. Also, Strabo agrees that the advent of the Campanians had not led to solutions of continuity, in terms of traditions and cults<sup>114</sup>.

This continuity is manifested in the cult of Apollo Smintheus. The cult appears as early as the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century in the city's coinage, where the mouse appears as a symbol in three mintages<sup>115</sup>; between the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, the epiklesis is present in the Etruscan and Campanian onomastic *corpus*<sup>116</sup>.

The two occurrences of the Oscan *gentilicium* *Sminthiis* in a family tomb of Capua<sup>117</sup> are flanked by nine Etruscan ones: five relating to the *praenomen* *Sminthie*<sup>118</sup>, three referring to the *gentilicium* *Sminthinei*, one with an adjective of pertinence

(*Sminthians*), attribute of an agricultural Mars<sup>119</sup>. Among those of ascertained origin, two *praenomina* come from Adria, one from *Volsinii*, three *gentilicia* from Perugia, and the adjective comes from Bolsena.

The area of Perugia and *Volsinii* is, therefore, a privileged one, as known from the documentation, as it is connected through the Valle Umbra with the Po area<sup>120</sup> and through the Ager Faliscus and Capenas with Capua and Campania<sup>121</sup>.

The Oscan testimonies of Capua date back to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>122</sup>; the Etruscan attestations are the most numerous and oldest: the reflections of the cult in Etruria anticipate those in the Capua area, which appear as an Etruscan legacy to the Campanian city<sup>123</sup>.

As Carlo de Simone pointed out<sup>124</sup>, the anthroponym *Sminthie*<sup>125</sup> in Adria presupposes the transmission of the name at the latest between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC before the Celtic invasion of the Po Valley. This evidence can only be the result of a loan from the Greeks as the Italic world called mice *sorices* or *mures*. The Etruscans are responsible for its arrival in Campania.

In Greece, the *mures agrestes* were called μῦες ἀρουραῖοι, but σμίνθοι in Aeolian and Trojan areas<sup>126</sup>. The name owed its fame to its connection with the cult of Apollo, and with the Sibyl as his priest. Sminthios was transmitted as an aristocratic anthroponym in the Archaic period to the Etruscan-Campanian sector in contact with Cumae, the colony founded by Khalkidians and Aeolians, where an Apollo of Aeolian-Trojan origin was worshipped with his Sibyl.

The name Sminthios cannot be explained other than by recognizing it as a derivation from this city and a theophoric meaning, particularly indicated in a territory such as *Campania felix* characterized

<sup>110</sup> AUG., *de civ. Dei*, III, 11; JUL.OBS., 28; DIO. CASS., XXIV F 84, 2; CIC., *Lae.*, XI, 36-37; PLUT., *Tib.Gra.*, 20.5-7; RAGONE 2003, 77 ff.

<sup>111</sup> PHLEG. TRALL. 257 F 37. Cf. BREGLIA 1983, 337 ff.; COARELLI 1993, 227 f.

<sup>112</sup> PHLEG. TRALL. 257 F 36 X B 53-54.

<sup>113</sup> VELL. PAT., I.4, 2.

<sup>114</sup> STRABO, V, 4, 4, 243.

<sup>115</sup> RUTTER 1979, 129, nos. 67-69.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. DE SIMONE 2019.

<sup>117</sup> RIX ch. 4., ch. 5. Cf. BENASSAI 2002, 1-10.

<sup>118</sup> ET Ad 6, 1; ET Ad 2, 42; ET Vs 1, 307; ET OB 2, 21; ET OI 2, 10.

<sup>119</sup> ET Vs S 14.

<sup>120</sup> Felsina and Mantua, Perugian foundations: VERG. X, 198-203; SERV., *Aen.* X 198, 201.

<sup>121</sup> VERR. FLACC. *apud* FEST., 464 L; SERV., *Aen.* VII 697. Cf. COLONNA 1992, 36 ff.

<sup>122</sup> BENASSAI 2002, 9.

<sup>123</sup> POLYB., II, 17, 1-3; STRABO, V, 4, 3, 242; PLUT., *Cam.*, 16.

<sup>124</sup> DE SIMONE 2019.

<sup>125</sup> AD 6, 1.

<sup>126</sup> VERG., *Aen.* XII, 5; SERV., *Aen.* III, 108.



by the flourishing of the cereal<sup>127</sup> and viticulture<sup>128</sup> activities protected by this Apollo<sup>129</sup>.

*Sminthios*, on the other hand, is a variant of *Smintheus*<sup>130</sup>, which, as observed by Maass, is not conceivable without the corresponding cult: it is through this mediation that such an anthroponym must have been accepted in the Greek and Italic world.

#### 4. MOUNT IDA'S SIBYL

The Sibyl was νεωκόρος of Apollo Smintheus: she is called *Gergithia*<sup>131</sup> from Gergithe on the Hellespont and was born on the Mount Ida, in an *insula* between rivers that took the name of *Neso*.

The Sibyl boasted as her homeland the red Marpesso (πατρις δέ μοί ἐστιν ἐρυθρή Μάρπησος) and the river Aidoneo. She proclaimed herself the true spokesperson of Apollo and was buried near the Nymphs and Hermes (ἐν τῷ ἄλσει τοῦ Σμινθέως), in the sacred forest at Apollo Smintheus, at Hamaxitos, on the Hellespont, which, like the other two, had been incorporated into Alexandria Troas<sup>132</sup>.

The Kymaian Sibyl has claimed that place as her own in a cultic system shared with the Trojan Sibyl. These names refer to the Teucroi, the Cretans who settled on Mount Ida in Troas<sup>133</sup>: *Amaltheia*<sup>134</sup> as the goat that fed Zeus on Cretan Ida<sup>135</sup>; *Melan-*

*kraira*, daughter of Neso and the Cretan Teukros<sup>136</sup>; *Taraxandra*, another name for Cassandra<sup>137</sup>. Varro calls Neso the *erythraea insula* where the Sibyl gives her oracles<sup>138</sup>.

The Kymaian Sibyl received longevity from Apollo<sup>139</sup>, but not the prolongation of youth, so she was reduced to extreme old age purely as a voice and had ended up closed in an urn, placed in the temple of the god<sup>140</sup>. This story reaffirms its Trojan origins because it is similar to that of Tithonus, son of Laomedon and brother of Priam, for whom Aurora asked for immortality but had forgotten to ask for youth: he, after aging and being reduced purely to voice, had ended up locked in a room, where, transformed into a cicada, survived inside a wicker cage<sup>141</sup>.

As Apollo had predicted, the Sibyl died the moment she regained contact with her land, receiving a letter sealed with the clay of the *insula* (Neso) from which she had left<sup>142</sup>.

The tradition concerning this Sibyl, as *Gergithia*<sup>143</sup>, must have been well known in Aeolian Kyme if the Aeolians had founded on Mount Ida's Kebren<sup>144</sup>, and if the surviving Trojans of Teukros<sup>145</sup> had founded both the Gergithe on Ida and in the territory of Cumae.

#### 5. THE PRIMACY OF HEROPHILE

The name of Herophile, attributed to the Cumaeian Sibyl<sup>146</sup>, is not associated with a place, but with a goddess. It is also associated with the Marpessian<sup>147</sup> and Erythraean<sup>148</sup> Sibyls, with the first

<sup>127</sup> AELIAN., *V.H.*, XII, 5; EUSTATH., *ad Il.* I, 39, V.1, 55, 31-56, 20.

<sup>128</sup> APOLL. SOPH., *Lex.Hom.*, 143, 9.

<sup>129</sup> PLIN., *N.H.* III, 60, III, 40-41. Cf. STRABO, V, 4, 3, 242-243.

<sup>130</sup> STRABO, XIII, 1, 48, 604; AEL., *N.A.* XII, 5; CLEM.ALEX., *Protrep.*, 2, 39, 7; *Schol. Il.* and EUSTATH., *ad Il.* I, 39, V.1, 57, 18-20; STEPH. BYZ., s.v. Σμίνθιον.

<sup>131</sup> PHLEGON 257 F 2; JO.LYD., *de mens.*, 4, 47; STEPH. BYZ., s.v. Γέργις; *Suid.*, s.v. Σίβυλλα.

<sup>132</sup> We give here all the sequence: Nesò nymph Nereid: HES., *Theog.* 261; Nesò *insula* between rivers: Boetia, HDT., IX, 51, 1; Arcadia, D.H., I, 49, 1, 2, but connected with Aeneas; Nesò *insula* on Ida, seat of Sibyl: VARRO *apud* SERV., *Aen.* VI, 37; VI, 321; D.H., I 55, 4; Nesò mother of Sibyl of Ida: LYC. 1465 e *schol.*; ARRIAN, 156 F 95; EUSTATH., *ad Il.* v.1, 551, 2; nymph of Ida, mother of the Sibyl: PAUS. X, 12, 3 e 6.

<sup>133</sup> APD., 3, 139; ST.BYZ., s.v. Τευκροί; PHOT. 186, 137 Bekker; EUSTATH., *ad Il.* V.1., 56, 3.

<sup>134</sup> VARRO *apud* LACT., *Div. Inst.*, I, 6, 10; TIB., II, 5, 67; JO.LYD., *de mens.*, 4, 47, 32; ISID., *Etym.*, VIII, 8, 4.

<sup>135</sup> MUS. 2 B 8 D-K; DIOD., V, 70, 3; APD., I, 5, 7; CALLIM., H I, 46; *Schol. Theoc. Syrinx*, etc.

<sup>136</sup> ARIST., *Mir.*, 95 a; LYCOPHR., 1464 e *schol.* 1465. Cf. ARRIAN. 156 F 95.

<sup>137</sup> *Schol. PLAT., Phaedr.*, 244 B; CLEM. ALEX., *Strom.*, I, 21, 132; *Orac.Sibyll.*, P 45, 21, 35; *Suid.* s.v. Φρυγία, Χαλδαία.

<sup>138</sup> VARRO *apud* D.H., I, 55, 4; SERV., *ad Aen.* VI, 27, 36; 321.

<sup>139</sup> ARISTOT., *Mir.*, 95 a; PHLEG. TRALL. 257 F 37, 94-95; OV., *Met.*, XIV, 144-145; VERG., *Aen.*, VI 321; MARTIAL., IX, 29, 3.

<sup>140</sup> PETRON., *Sat.* XLVIII.

<sup>141</sup> *Hymn. Ven.*, 218, 140. Cf. PARKE 1988, 73 ff.

<sup>142</sup> SERV., *ad Aen.* 321.

<sup>143</sup> PHLEG. TRALL., 257

<sup>144</sup> EPHOR. 70 F 10; *Vita Hom.Herod.* 20.

<sup>145</sup> HDT., V, 122; VII, 43; CLEARCH., F 19 W = ATHEN., VI.256 b-c; STRABO, XIII, 1, 19, 589.

<sup>146</sup> JO. LYD., *de mens.*, 4, 43, 32; *Orac Sibyll.*, P 45.

<sup>147</sup> PAUS., X, 12, 1-2 e 5.

<sup>148</sup> HERAC. PONT. F 130 W and the above-mentioned sources that depend on it.

two in rivalry between them<sup>149</sup>. According to Plutarch, Herophile had been the name of the Delphic Sibyl<sup>150</sup>; according to Pausanias it was the name of the Marpessian – then adopted by the Samian, Colophonian, Delian and Delphic Sibyl<sup>151</sup>. For other authors, her name was Erythraea<sup>152</sup>; behind these differences, as Pausanias says, there was a debate on the primacy between the Trojan Sibyl and Erythraea<sup>153</sup>.

Local authors, such as Apollodorus of Erythrai<sup>154</sup> and, in the age of Alexander the Great, Callisthenes<sup>155</sup> and Heraklides Ponticus<sup>156</sup>, upheld the identity of Herophile with the Ionian Sibyl and her absolute primacy. Heraklides, who had been a pupil of Plato and Aristotle and who, with Callisthenes, accompanied and exalted Alexander in the expedition to Asia, was not well disposed towards the Aeolians, because they were arrogant and haughty, and boastfully exalted their poetic and musical skills. For this reason, he rejected Sappho's assertion of the supremacy of Aeolian poetry and, consequently, the primacy of Terpander<sup>157</sup>, who at Lesbos was considered to be Orpheus' heir<sup>158</sup>.

Heraclides had proclaimed the divine origin of Alexander, who had concluded the Trojan War; *ad maiorem gloriam* of the king of the Macedonians, he elaborated his own history of the Sibyls<sup>159</sup>, reducing them to three: Phrygia, Erythraea and Marpessia. He affirmed the primacy of Phrygia, daughter of Lamia. Older than Orpheus, she inspired the poets of Lesbos and strengthened the authority of Athenais, an ancient local prophetess, identifying her with the Herophile, Sibyl of Erythrai, who had given prophecies to the Greeks at the time of Troy. On the contrary, Heraklides dated to the time of Croesus (6<sup>th</sup> century BC) her Trojan rival,

Marpessia or Gergithia<sup>160</sup>. Herophile's profile is given by Pausanias and Erythrai's inscriptions in Hadrian's age, which celebrate her relationship with Apollo, her descent from a Naiad and a shepherd Theodorus, her birth on the local Mount Koriko or Kissota, the prophetic abilities shown from the beginning, her longevity and, finally, the return to her homeland<sup>161</sup>.

This thesis was not shared by Nicolaus Damascenus: according to him, the Sibyl of Croesus arrives from Ephesus<sup>162</sup>, the city of Heraclitus, the first authoritative witness of sibylline prophecy<sup>163</sup>.

A supporter of the Trojan primacy was Pausanias, who considers the arguments of Erythrai as an invention with respect to the pre-existing tradition of Marpessa: the title of Ἐρυθραία related exclusively to Erythrai<sup>164</sup>; the status of Ἰδογενής, referred not to Mount Ida but to a wooded area; Bateia was not the name of Nesò's sister and the place of Ida, but the name of the ancient site of Erythrai. He considered the two verses with the names of the red Marpesso and the Aidoneo river in Sibylla's self-presentation to be simply not authentic<sup>165</sup>.

Those who do not believe in the origin of Sibyl from Erythrai, pointed out the red color of the earth of Marpessus (*erythrà*), to claim the origin of the *carmina* attributed to the Erythraea Sibyl. In this way an integrated tradition was achieved, whose traces will continue to the Roman age: after the loss of the original collection in the fire of *Capitolium* in 83 BC, the prophetic *corpus* was reconstituted in Rome<sup>166</sup>, collecting prophecies *cuiuscumque Sibyllae*<sup>167</sup> and, in particular, from Ilium as well as from Erythrai<sup>168</sup>.

Cicero speaks of numerous forgeries: the presence of acrostics was then assumed as a distinctive criterion of authenticity, but not before the *Pagnia* of Aratus in the Hellenistic age (3<sup>rd</sup> century BC)<sup>169</sup>.

<sup>149</sup> HERAC. PONT. F 130 W; PAUS., X, 12, 7.

<sup>150</sup> PLUT., *Mor.*, 401 C.

<sup>151</sup> PAUS., X 12, 5.

<sup>152</sup> HERAC. PONT. F 130 W; PAUS., X, 12, 7.

<sup>153</sup> PAUS., X, 12, 7.

<sup>154</sup> APOLLOD. 462 F1. Cf. PARKE 1988, 130 ff.; SUÁREZ DE LA TORRE 2000, 61 ff.

<sup>155</sup> CALLISTHENES 124 F 14.

<sup>156</sup> HERAC. PONT. F 130-131 W.

<sup>157</sup> SAPPH. F 106 LP; ARISTOT. F 545 R.

<sup>158</sup> TERPANDR. TT 32; 46; 53 B; 60 a Gostoli.

<sup>159</sup> STRABO, XVII 1, 43, 814 = CALLISTHENES 124 F14; PLUT., *Alex.* 33, 1 = CALLISTHENES 124 F 36; PLUT., *Alex.*, 26 = HERACL. PONT. F 140. Cf. AMIOTTI 1984, 77 ff.

<sup>160</sup> HERACL. PONT. FF 130; 131 a.b-c W.

<sup>161</sup> IVE nos. 224, 226, 228 Engelmann-Merkelbach.

<sup>162</sup> NIC. DAMASC., 90 F 68.

<sup>163</sup> HERACL. 22 B 92 DK.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. ENGELMANN – MERKELBACH 1972-1973, 224 ff. (Sibyl of Erythrai daughter of a Naiad and an herdsman Theodorus). Cf. PAUS. X, 12, 7.

<sup>165</sup> Cf. PAUS. X, 12, 7 con 12, 2.

<sup>166</sup> HYPEROCH., 576 F 2; VARRO *apud* LACT., *Div. Inst.*, I, 6.

<sup>167</sup> VARRO *apud* LACT., *Div. Inst.* I, 6, 13; D.H., IV, 62; TAC., *Ann.* VI, 12.

<sup>168</sup> TAC., *Ann.* VI, 12.

<sup>169</sup> CIC., *de div.*, 2, 112; D.H., IV, 62, 6.

The case of the oracles of Phlegon is emblematic: the first two are totally acrostic and the one on the *Ludi Saeculares*<sup>170</sup> is placed under the name of Erythraea. Even the motif of the cave of the Sibyl, incorporated into the Cumaean tradition, is witnessed only for the Erythraea<sup>171</sup>. The name is well suited to the Aeolic context.

The link with Hera is very clear, the goddess is Ἀργεῖη<sup>172</sup> in Argos, Αἰολήνια and πάντων γενέθλα in Lesbos where she is at the center of a common cult, founded by the Atrides<sup>173</sup>. Hera is worshipped as a poliadic goddess in the Achaean colonies of the West (Sybaris, Croton, Metapontion and Poseidonia) because of her relationship with Agamemnon and with Argos<sup>174</sup>.

The sibylline oracle that recalls the foundation of Cumae<sup>175</sup> gives the goddess the greatest importance: it underlines her bond with armed men and, therefore, her nature as the mother of Ares<sup>176</sup> and Hoplosmia, as in Argos and in Achaean Croton<sup>177</sup>.

Hera is defined by the Sibyl as *basileis*: this connection with royalty relates her to Argos, where in the *Phoronis Kallithoe/IO*<sup>178</sup> is κλειδοῦχος Ὀλυμπιάδος βασιλείης Ἡρης Ἀργεῖης<sup>179</sup>; and in the same way Thessalian Hera Pelasgis, protector of Jason<sup>180</sup>, has the attributes of παντογένεθλα and παμβασιλεία.

The name of Herophile appears to be connected to a Sibyl related to the Pelasgic and Aeolian world, without having to resort to a hypothetical Samian influence<sup>181</sup>.

Even Samian historians such as Aethlius and Menodotus recognized the Argive primacy: the former maintained that the statue had come from Argos with the *oikistes* Procles<sup>182</sup>; the latter claimed

that the *xoanon* of the goddess worshipped in the Tonaia ritual had been stolen by a daughter of Eurystheus from Argos; Pausanias reports that it had been brought from Argos<sup>183</sup> by the Argonauts<sup>184</sup>.

Pausanias identified the Samian Sibyl with the Marpessian and admitted only that she had moved and remained for a long time in Samos<sup>185</sup>; but it cannot be assumed that the name Herophile was acquired by the more ancient Trojan and Erythraean Sibyls because of the prestige that the Samian enjoyed.

It was in fact Eratosthenes<sup>186</sup> who rediscovered the memory of the Samian Sibyl in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, a fact which does not reconcile with the idea of her original prestige. The Samian Sibyl, on the other hand, had the name of Phytò according to Eratosthenes himself<sup>187</sup> or Phe-monoe according to Isidorus<sup>188</sup>. This name, however, was considered by the rest of the tradition to be that of the first Pythia, daughter of Apollo and Delphi<sup>189</sup>, the discoverer of the hexameter<sup>190</sup>.

## 6. BETWEEN CAMPANIANS AND ROMANS: THE CIMMERIAN SIBYL

This is the only Cumaean Sibyl to be considered here: for the Herophile, neither in the Idaean nor in the Erythraean version, any connection with a *nekyomanteion* is attested; the Trojan Sibyl mentions the river Aidoneus only to specify that her birthplace on Mount Ida is the one where Marpesos is; the river, according to Pausanias, is given this name due to its karstic nature. The information about the river is judged false by the supporters of the Erythraea since they place the birth of their Sibyl in a cave on their mount Koriko<sup>191</sup>. The same goes for the Trojan Apollo: if the god, Smintheus and Killaos, is even Hekatos<sup>192</sup>, this does not im-

<sup>170</sup> 257 F 36 X A-B *contra* F 37. Only verses 25-30 highlight an acrostic: ΔΑΠΕΔΟ. Cf. BREGLIA 1983, 333.

<sup>171</sup> PAUS., X, 12, 7; IvE 228.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. *Il.* IV, 51-2 with IV,8; V 908; *Theog.* 12; *Phoronis* F 4 Be.

<sup>173</sup> SAPPH. F 17; ALC. F 129, 2-3.

<sup>174</sup> *Il.*, II, 569-579 (the entire Aigialos, the land of origin of the *oikistai* of the various colonies).

<sup>175</sup> PHLEG. 257 F 36 X B, 50-70.

<sup>176</sup> *Il.* V, 892-896.

<sup>177</sup> LYCOPHR., 856-858 (because of the connection to Achilles); 610-614 (for the link with Diomedes).

<sup>178</sup> HESYCH., s.v. τὸ καλλιθέσσα.

<sup>179</sup> *Phoronis* F 4 Be.

<sup>180</sup> AR., I, 14; IV,382. Cf. *Hymn. Orph.*, XVI,2 e 4.

<sup>181</sup> PARKE 1988, 71-79, *contra* VALENZA MELE 1991-1992, 54 ff.

<sup>182</sup> AETHL. 526 F 3.

<sup>183</sup> MENOD. 541 F 1.

<sup>184</sup> PAUS. VII,4,4.

<sup>185</sup> PAUS., X,12,5.

<sup>186</sup> 241 F 26= 544 F 4.

<sup>187</sup> *Suid.*, s.v. Σιβυλλαι; JO.LYD., *de mens.* 4, 47; *Orac. Sib.*, Sect. P 43.

<sup>188</sup> ISID., *Orig.*, VIII, 4, 1.

<sup>189</sup> PAUS., X, 5, 7; *Schol. Eur. Or.*, 1094; PLIN., *N.H.*, X, 7.

<sup>190</sup> STRABO, IX,419; STOB., *Floril.*, 21,3 6; CLEM.ALEX., *Strom.*, I, 283.

<sup>191</sup> PAUS., X, 12, 3-4; 12,7.

<sup>192</sup> STRABO, XIII, 2,5.

ply a relationship with Hekate: related epithets such as ἐκάεργος<sup>193</sup>, ἐκηβόλος, ἐκατηβόλος<sup>194</sup>, ἐκατηβελέτης<sup>195</sup>, refer to the ἐκηβολία of the arrows that start from afar (ἐκάς, μακρόθεν, πόρρω).

The Kimmerian Sibyl is not connected to Kyme, but to an oppidum (*oppidum Cimmerium*)<sup>196</sup> and to the Avernus; the Sibyl's relationship with the Avernus may be considered as a late innovation of Campanian and Roman origin. The Homeric tradition, which did not include any Sibyl, still remains intact at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century in Ephorus of Aeolian Cumae, who simply indicates an oracle of the dead in Campania among the Cimmerians<sup>197</sup>. There is no trace in Lycophron either, who adopts, probably through Timaeus a unitary vision of the coasts of Latium and Campania from Circeo to Avernus<sup>198</sup>. According to him, the Sibyl's cave is annexed to the temple of Apollo<sup>199</sup> and clearly distinct from the Avernus where the dead are evoked<sup>200</sup>. The Cimmerian Sibyl was introduced at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC: this marks a strong Campanian and Roman influence, which shifted the center of gravity of the area from Cumae to Avernus.

This is the same Sibyl that Aeneas consults on his future<sup>201</sup> in the *Bellum Poenicum* of Campanian Nevius<sup>202</sup>, a poet who was full of *campana superbia* for his mastery in the use of the Latin language<sup>203</sup>. She lives in a *cimmerium oppidum*<sup>204</sup>, in *cymmerias domos*<sup>205</sup>, and will support, without replacing, the ancient Cumaean Sibyl in Varro's catalog and in the sources that depend on it<sup>206</sup>. The Cimmerian Sibyl will then find space only in Calpurnius Piso's *Annales*: the consul is an enemy of

Tiberius Gracchus<sup>207</sup> and, therefore, of the Cumaean milieu favorable to his tutor Blossius, who later took refuge with Aristonicus<sup>208</sup>. This political environment will be accused of complicity with him for the episode of Apollo's tears<sup>209</sup>.

In the Chronicle of Hyperochus from Kyme, the Cumaean Sibyl is not called Herophile as in "the friend of Hera", but takes the unknown name of Demò, that is Demophile as in "the friend of Demeter"<sup>210</sup>, the mother of Persephone/Kore, who also refers to the Campanian plain and Avernus. The innovation is connected to a Campanian tradition which amplifies the role of Demeter in the Cumaean area: it is documented also through the Campanian Nevius and Piso introducing a Cimmerian Sibyl and the two oracles of the Cumaean Sibyl reported by Phlegon on the *remedia* regarding the birth of an androgyne.

These oracles date back to the age of Sulla, linked to the Sibyl through his cognomen (Sulla from Sibylla)<sup>211</sup>: they are connected to the reconstruction of the *Libri Sibyllini*, burned in 83 BC<sup>212</sup>, which, once paid due homage to the Hera Hippias and Hoplosmia, goddess of the Cumaean warriors, and subsequently give ample space to Demeter, Kore and Pluto<sup>213</sup>.

It is Virgil – Campanian, at least by adoption – who makes Sibyl a priestess of Apollo and Trivia and connects her to the management of the *nekyomanteion*. Velleius, also of Campanian origin, connects the foundation led by Apollo with the Demetriad version of the founders in arms in the nightly search for Kore. Finally, the Neapolitan Statius considers as the homeland deities of the colony both Apollo, who led Eumelus, and the Athenian Demeter and the Dioskouroi, knights and warriors<sup>214</sup>. The goddess is still celebrated by the colonists accompanying her in the nightly search for Kore while the statues of the Dioskouroi are welcomed by the *Eumelidai*, winners of the athletic competitions<sup>215</sup>.

<sup>193</sup> HESYCH., s.v. ἐκάεργος.

<sup>194</sup> HESYCH., s.v. ἐκατηβόλος καὶ ἐκηβόλος.

<sup>195</sup> EUSTATH., *Suid.*, s.v. ἐκατηβελέτης.

<sup>196</sup> PLIN., *N.H.* 3,51; OGR., 10,1. Cf. *Od.* XI, 14: Κιμμερίων ἀνδρῶν δῆμός τε πόλις τε.

<sup>197</sup> EPHOR. 70 F 134 a.

<sup>198</sup> LYC., 1253-1280; 684-711.

<sup>199</sup> LYC. 1279-1280.

<sup>200</sup> LYC. 684-687.

<sup>201</sup> OGR 10, 1-2.

<sup>202</sup> NAEV. F 12 Strzelecki.

<sup>203</sup> GELL., *N.A.*, I,24,2 (epitaph by the poet and comments by Gellius).

<sup>204</sup> PLIN., *N.H.* 3,61; OGR., 19,1.

<sup>205</sup> SIL. IT., XII, 132.

<sup>206</sup> VARRO apud LACT., *Div.Inst.* I,6,9; *Suid.*, s.v. Σιβυλλα; ISID., *Etym.* 8,8,4.

<sup>207</sup> CIC., *PRO FONT.*, 39; *Tusc.*, 3,20,48.

<sup>208</sup> CIC., *de am.*, XI, 36-37; PLUT., *Tib. Gracch.* 20,5-7.

<sup>209</sup> AUG., *de civ. Dei*, III,11; JUL. OBS., 28; DIO.C., XXIV F 84,2. Cf. RAGONE 2003, 77 ff.

<sup>210</sup> HYPEROCH. 576 F 2 = VARRO apud LACT., *Div.Inst.*, 1,6,9

<sup>211</sup> MACROB., *Sat.* I,17,27.

<sup>212</sup> Cf. BREGLIA 1983, 305, 308 f.

<sup>213</sup> PHLEG. TRALL., 256 F 36 X A 6—29; B 36-43.

<sup>214</sup> STAT., *Silv.*, IV, 8, 52 f.

<sup>215</sup> IGI Napoli 52.



The cultic context has to be considered with reference to the *archaiologia* of Rome traced by Hyperochus<sup>216</sup>. Rome was founded by Greeks – Athenians, Sicyonians and Thespians – who occupied the Capitoline fortress and called it Valentia<sup>217</sup>. He then expressed the same concept with the Greek name of Rhome which is ῥώμη (strength) when the same fortress occupied by Aeneas and Evander changed its name.

The Trojan origins are preserved by recalling Aeneas' foundation, which is attested by the concurrence of Odysseus at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC in Hellanicus and Damastes<sup>218</sup>. The evolution of this tradition considered Aeneas alone as the author of the foundation but referred the eponymy either to a Trojan called Rhome, married to him, as Clinias does<sup>219</sup>, or to a Rhomos, his son<sup>220</sup> or grandson<sup>221</sup>, or, finally, directly to Romulus who, according to Ennius and Naevius at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, became one of his grandsons<sup>222</sup>.

At the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century Agathocles explicitly declares Aeneas as the founder of Palatine Rome. This is the way through which Aeneas has been associated, as in Hyperochus, with Evander. The latter was mentioned, at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century in Fabius Pictor's and Cincius Alimentus' *Annales*: according to both authors, followed by the other annalist Gellius, Evander<sup>223</sup> organized the Capitoline hill as a κώμη βραχεῖα<sup>224</sup> or ἀκρόπολις<sup>225</sup>. His association with Aeneas is also found in the *Origo Gentis Romae* and in the Sibylline Oracles, for which the Cimmerian Sibyl, consulted by Aeneas, is indeed Evander's mother<sup>226</sup>.

This foundation is considered entirely Greek, clearly because Aeneas and Evander are quite similar, being both Arcadian. The former, the descendant of Dardanus, born in Phenaeus in Arcadia<sup>227</sup>,

married Chryse, daughter of Pallas, son of Lycaon<sup>228</sup>, and then moved to Asia, where he married Bateia daughter of Teucer<sup>229</sup>. The latter is connected to the Arcadian Pallantion, the name of which came from Pallantes, son of Lykaon<sup>230</sup>. Similarly, Pallantes, Evander's son, gave his name to the Palatinus.<sup>231</sup>

The Trojan contribution is reduced because Rome also has to be considered a Greek foundation, due to the concurrence of Athenians, Sicyonians and Thespians. A precedent may be recognized in the early mythical colonization of Athenians and Thespians in Sardinia<sup>232</sup>, whose protagonists were the Thespiadai led by Iolaus who had invited Daedalus to the island. Both Daedalus and Thespiadai went from Sardinia to Kyme<sup>233</sup>: the first, according to Sallustius, left the island immediately after his arrival to go to Kyme<sup>234</sup>; the others, according to Diodorus<sup>235</sup>, went later after experiencing a time of difficulty.

But there is also another issue to consider since Herophile, neither in the Idaean version nor in the Erythraean version, shows any connection with a *nekyomanteion*.

These Greeks are assimilated to the Pelasgians *profecti in exteras regiones* and *multo errore nominati Aborigenes*; they subdue *virium imperio subiecti impares*, occupying the Palatinus Mons, which they called *Valentiam*: this name comes from the "strength of a leader" (*viribus regentis*) such as Rhomos, the male of Rhome. The *Aborigenes* are the Palatini<sup>236</sup>: Arcadian Pelasgians led by Evander<sup>237</sup>, settled on the *Pallantion*<sup>238</sup> and whom Cato and Sempronius Tuditanus considered as *Aborigines*<sup>239</sup>.

According to Ephorus, the Pelasgians were Arcadians *πλανήται* who lived a *στρατιωτικὸν βίον* and reached (*ἐπάρξαι*) many places<sup>240</sup>. According

<sup>216</sup> HYPEROCH. 576 F 3.

<sup>217</sup> SOLIN., I, 1.

<sup>218</sup> HELLAN. 4 F 84; DAMAST. 5 F 3.

<sup>219</sup> SERV., *Aen.* 1, 227.

<sup>220</sup> ALKIMOS 560 F 4; D.H., I, 72, 6, I, 72, 1; 73, 3.

<sup>221</sup> D.H., I, 72, 6 (DIONYS. CHALC. 840 F 20).

<sup>222</sup> ENN. and NAEV. *apud* SERV. DAN., *Aen.*, I 273.

<sup>223</sup> FAB. PICT., 809 F 23; CINC. *Alim.*, 809 F 4; GELL. F 2/3 P.

See also AGATHOCLES CYZIC. 472 F 5.

<sup>224</sup> D.H., I, 31, 3–4.

<sup>225</sup> LYD., *de mens.*, IV, 4.

<sup>226</sup> OGR., V, 1.; *Orac. Sibyll.*, Sect P 39.

<sup>227</sup> SERV., *Aen.* 3, 167.

<sup>228</sup> D.H., I, 61, 2.

<sup>229</sup> HES., FF 177, 180 M-W; HELLAN. 4 F 129; DIOD., IV, 74; D.H., I, 61 f; 68 f.; APD., 3, 138 ff.

<sup>230</sup> HES. FF 161, 162 M-W.

<sup>231</sup> See the sources collected in LUGLI 1960, 10–16.

<sup>232</sup> APD., II, 199; DIOD., IV, 29; PAUS., IX, 23, 1.

<sup>233</sup> The bibliography on the subject is effectively set out in BULTRIGHINI – TORELLI 2017, 362 ff.

<sup>234</sup> SALLUST. *apud* SERV., *Aen.* VI, 14.

<sup>235</sup> DIOD., V, 15, 9.

<sup>236</sup> VARRO., LL, V, 53.

<sup>237</sup> TAC., *Ann.*, XI, 14.

<sup>238</sup> D.H., I, 11, 1–13, 2; 42, 3.

<sup>239</sup> D.H., I, 23, 1; 42, 3.

<sup>240</sup> EPHOR. 70 F 113; STRABO, V, 2, 4, 221.

to Plutarch, the Romans explained Rome's great name (τὸ μέγα τῆς Ῥώμης ὄνομα) by its widespread fame (δόξη διὰ πάντων κεχωρηκός), as due to the Pelasgians, who in their wanderings overpowered many people (ἐπὶ πλεῖστα τῆς οἰκουμένης πλανηθέντας ἀνθρώπων τε πλείστων κρατήσαντας) and named the city where they settled after their military strength (διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ῥώμην)<sup>241</sup>.

It is the same tradition referred to the Athenians by Hyperochus. The difference, however, is only apparent, because, before the arrival of Jon, son of Kreousa daughter of Erechtheus<sup>242</sup>, the Athenians<sup>243</sup> and Thespians – citizens of the city founded by the Athenian Thespis, son of Erechtheus<sup>244</sup>, who went from Sardinia<sup>245</sup> to Latium – were *Pelasgoi*<sup>246</sup>. The Sikyonians were also *Pelasgoi Aigialeis*<sup>247</sup>, who were the inhabitants of *Aigialeia*<sup>248</sup>, which had changed its name with the arrival of Sikyon, son of Metion. The latter was the son of Erechtheus and brother of Daedalus<sup>249</sup>.

The myth of the Pelasgian origins of Rome is elaborated once the *Urbs* acquires a great *impe-rium*. Rome then needs to relate to the *archaiologia* of the Greek world, no longer through (its) Trojan origins, but through the Pelasgian tradition.

Rome has become the city of ἐπαρχία<sup>250</sup>: according to Pseudo-Scymnus, its name, ἐφάμλλον τῇ δυνάμει, is comparable to “a constellation covering the world” (ἄστρον τῆς οἰκουμένης)<sup>251</sup>. This tradition arose between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries and was consolidated in the age of Sulla and Pompeius: its echo is first found in 133 BC, in a speech by Tiberius Gracchus who defines the Romans as κύριοι τῆς οἰκουμένης<sup>252</sup>. As for the name of *Valentia*, the first echo is in the works of Athenian grammarian Ateius

Philologus, master of Sallustius<sup>253</sup>, brought to Rome as a prisoner at the time of the war against Mithridates, in 86 BC. Hyperochus expresses the trends of the Roman-Cumaean environment near Naevius in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century, but even more, those of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, related to Blossius (and Apollo's tears), the reconstruction of the Sibylline Books, and the oracles of Phlegon. The relationship with Avernus reappears in Virgil, a pupil of Ateius Philologus himself: the poet attributes to Daedalus the foundation of the temple of Apollo<sup>254</sup> and introduces the themes of the quest for the Golden Fleece and the *katabasis*<sup>255</sup>, deriving them from Orphic-Pythagorean rituals or the cultic practices related to the *rex Nemorensis* at Aricia.

The Kymaean Sibyl is connected to the Avernus as a *Amphrysia vates*<sup>256</sup> being related to the Amphrysus river<sup>257</sup> in Phthiotis and to Apollo who is the *pastor ab Amphryso* as the *hippoboukolos* of Admetus, father of Eumelos<sup>258</sup>.

The Sibyl is the daughter of Glaucus, worshipped in Anthedon in Euboea<sup>259</sup> as the *hypostasis* of Poseidon: through this genealogy, she can be compared to the Sibyl Maliaca of the Phthiotis, daughter of Poseidon and Lamia<sup>260</sup>. This identification is confirmed by the name Deiphobe which is attributed to her: “the one who terrifies the enemy”, like her mother Lamia who terrifies children<sup>261</sup>. The Kymaean Sibyl is called to assist Aeneas in the descent into Hades where Anchises will illustrate the imperial destiny of Rome and the hero will learn about the Roman mission of *regere imperio populos, debellare superbos*<sup>262</sup>. Martianus Capella attributes to her the significant name of Symmachia, “the ally in the war”<sup>263</sup>, which can be

<sup>241</sup> PLUT., *Rom.*, I, 1.

<sup>242</sup> HES. F 10 a M-W.

<sup>243</sup> HDT. I, 56, 3.

<sup>244</sup> DIOD., IV, 29, 1-4. PAUS., IX, 26, 6. Cf. ARISTOT., *Vesp.*, 700.

<sup>245</sup> PAUS., X, 17, 5.

<sup>246</sup> PAUS., IX, 26, 6. The Athenian Pelasgians were Boeotian Pelasgians: EPHOR. 70 F 119; D.H., I, 18; STRABO, IX, 2, 3, 401.

<sup>247</sup> HDT. VII, 94.

<sup>248</sup> HDT., V, 68, 2; VII, 94. Cf. STRABO, VIII, 6, 25, 383; 7, 1, 384; PAUS. I, 5, 3; II, 1, 1; 5, 6; VII, 1, 1; 1, 4; HESYCH. s.v. Αἰγιαλεῖς; STEPH. BYZ., s.v. Αἰγιαλός.

<sup>249</sup> PAUS., II, 6, 5. Cf. COPPOLA 1995, 69 ff.

<sup>250</sup> HYPEROCH. 576 F 3; PLUT., *Rom.*, I, 1; SOLIN., I, 1; IO. MAL., *Chron.*, 168, 1.

<sup>251</sup> PS. SCYMN. 234 f.

<sup>252</sup> PLUT., *Tib. Gracch.*, 9, 6 = 34 F 3 Malcovati. Cf. *comm. ad loc.*

<sup>253</sup> SUET., *Gramm.*, 10.

<sup>254</sup> VERG., *Aen.*, VI, 14 ff.

<sup>255</sup> VERG., *Aen.*, VI, 136-148; SERV., *Aen.* VI, 136. Cf. PARATORE 2001, 230 ff.

<sup>256</sup> VERG., *Aen.*, VI, 398.

<sup>257</sup> STRABO, IX, 5, 8, 433; 5, 14, 435; DIONYS. MYTH., F 2 FHK II 7: STEPH. BYZ., Δημήτριον. Cf. ARG. ORPH., 189.

<sup>258</sup> VERG., *Geo.*, III, 2 ed. schol. Cf. CALLIM. *H. ad Ap.*, 48; OV., *Met.*, I, 580; STAT., *Silv.*, I, 4, 105.

<sup>259</sup> DETIENNE 1967, 17 ff.

<sup>260</sup> EUMEL. F 8 Be.; EURIP. TGF 312a Snell; CHRYSIPP., SVP II, 348, F 216; PLUT., *Mor.*, 398 C; PAUS., X, 12, 1; CLEM. ALEX., *Strom.*, I, 15, 70, 4; LACT., *Div. Inst.*, I, 6, 8; *Suid.* s.v. Σίβυλλα.

<sup>261</sup> DURIS 76 F 17; DIOD., XX, 41, 2; *schol.* ARISTOPH., *Av.*, 102; *Pax.* 758.

<sup>262</sup> VERG., *Aen.*, VI, 853.

<sup>263</sup> MART. CAP., II, 159.

compared to the name of Nicostrata of the Cimmerian Sibyl, mother of Evander<sup>264</sup>.

The “Cimmerian” version has a clear purpose: to transfer the original prophecy of Aeneas’ future from a Trojan Sibyl to a Campanian one, who directly prophesized to the hero just arrived the struggles he will have to face once he arrives in Latium and then, through the *katabasis*, the future empire<sup>265</sup>. A new Sibyl was necessary. The Trojan origin of the Sibyl, her names, the relations with Mount Ida and the local Apollo, were added to the original Aeolian-Cumaeian memories, which also involved the Sibyl: all the aspects which the *Sibylline* books conveyed, *fata et remedia*, in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC after the tradition of Aeneas had been revived by Rome<sup>266</sup>.

## 7. THE ANTIQUITY OF THE SIBYL

Apollo Smintheus legitimizes the settlement both in Aeolis and Campania; his role is also enhanced by the presence of the Sibyls. Ancient Chronographs tell that the Sibyls lived between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. Samia, present in the ancient *Annales* of the island, is unknown to Heraclides Ponticus (4<sup>th</sup> century BC); she is mentioned only later by Eratosthenes (3<sup>rd</sup> century BC) and placed between the XVII (712 BC) and XXVIII (666/5 BC) Olympics<sup>267</sup> by Eusebius and Hieronymus. Erythraea, according to Heraclides, is considered subsequent to Phrygia and coeval of Eumelus; like Gergithia<sup>268</sup>, she is connected to Iphitos and the birth of the Olympics<sup>269</sup>.

However, the oldest evidence of the Sibyls was given by *epos* and therefore by the Aeolian world. The Aeolian world is the motherland of the *epos*: Homer was born in Aeolian Smyrne<sup>270</sup> and Hesiod in Aeolian Kyme<sup>271</sup>. Terpander of Lesbos, according to

Heraclides Ponticus, played the verses of Homer<sup>272</sup> and according to Glaucus of Rhegion, he imitated Homer in poetry and Orpheus in music<sup>273</sup>. Both Sappho<sup>274</sup> and Alcaeus<sup>275</sup> are inspired by Homeric culture and in Lesbos there was a local tradition that transformed Priamus into Peramos<sup>276</sup>. Chios, which was the home of a famous Homeric school<sup>277</sup>, was a colony that boasted an Aeolian origin through Makar<sup>278</sup>.

There was a structural affinity between *epos*, *aoidoi* and Sibyls. In Hesiod’s *Theogony* the Muses, who are goddesses, know “the present, the past and the future” (τά τ’έόντα τά τ’έσσόμενα πρό τ’έόντα)<sup>279</sup>, transmit to the *aoidoi* the same knowledge<sup>280</sup> which Apollo grants to Calchantes<sup>281</sup> and the Muses to Hesiod<sup>282</sup>.

The responses of the Sibyls are the result of a trance that transfers to her the divine vision of the present, the past and the future: the Kymaeian Sibyl has the knowledge of the past (ὀπισθομαθῶν) and of the place destined for each one (τίν’έφυ πᾶς εἰς τόπον ἐλθεῖν); she knows all the terrible sufferings given by fate (ὅσσα τέρατα καὶ ὅσσα παθήματα δαίμονος Αἴσης) and weaves a plot (ιστός) in order to solve them<sup>283</sup>. The *aoidos* fulfills the function of a tribal encyclopedia in an oral society: he sings the past in the present; through the memory of the positive or negative effects of the heroes’ actions, he gives indications for similar situations in the future. In an Archaic society, *aoidoi* and Sibyls are therefore similar but different when solving common problems.

The way in which *aoidoi* and Sibyls express themselves is also common. The Sibyl is a θεσπιωδός<sup>284</sup> or rather a χρησμοδός<sup>285</sup>: she was

<sup>272</sup> PLUT., *de mus.*, 1132 C, 1135 C.

<sup>273</sup> PLUT. *de mus.*, 1132 F.

<sup>274</sup> SAPPH., FF 16; 17, 3-12; 44.

<sup>275</sup> ALC., FF 28; 42; 44; 298 Liberman.

<sup>276</sup> SAPPH. F 44, 16 Voigt.

<sup>277</sup> HYMN. III, 172. Cf. CASSOLA 1975, 79-104.

<sup>278</sup> About Makar, Chios and Aeolic traditions of the island: FEDERICO 2015, 44 ff.

<sup>279</sup> HES, *Theog.*, 31 f.

<sup>280</sup> *Il.* II, 484-486.

<sup>281</sup> HOM., *Il.* I, 70-72.

<sup>282</sup> HES, *Theog.*, 31 f.

<sup>283</sup> PLEG. 257 F 36 X A 1.

<sup>284</sup> NIC. DAM., 90 F 67; DIO. CHRYS., *Orat.* 37, 13, 2 = FAVORIN., *Corinth.*, 12 (Barigazzi 305-306).

<sup>285</sup> *Schol. Aristoph.*, Eq., 61 c; D.H. I, 55, 4; NIC. DAM., 90 F 67; PS. JUSTIN., *Cohor. ad gentil.*, 16, D, 6; PHILOSTR., *Imag.*, 10, 1.

<sup>264</sup> Cf. *Orac. Sibyll.*, Sect. P 39; OGRV, 1-2; SERV., *Aen.*, VIII, 51.

<sup>265</sup> VERG., *Aen.*, VI, 83-97. Cf. TIB., II, 5, 19 ff.

<sup>266</sup> SERV., *Aen.* VI, 36; VI, 321 (*fata*); VI, 72 (*fata et remedia*).

<sup>267</sup> ERATOST. 241 F 26 a.b. Cf. PARKE 1988, 43 f., 82.

<sup>268</sup> PHLEG. TRALL. 257 F2; Georg. Monach., v. 110, 268, 1.30.

<sup>269</sup> EUMEL. T 3 Bernabé = CYRILL., *Contra Julian.*, 1, 12 (OL. IX 704/3).

<sup>270</sup> STESIMB. TAS. 107 F 22; PROCL., 99 Allen; STR. XIV, 1, 37, 646. Cf. Homeric *Vitae*.

<sup>271</sup> HES., *Op.*, 636.

raised by the Muses of the Helicon<sup>286</sup>, she sings (ᾄδει μάλα μέγα)<sup>287</sup> her prophecies (τὰς μαντείας)<sup>288</sup> in epic verses (ἐπικῶς)<sup>289</sup> following the meter (διὰ μέτρων, ἐμμέτρως, ἐν μέτρῳ)<sup>290</sup>, can therefore win poetic competitions<sup>291</sup> and provide verses to Homer. Like the *aoidoi*, she is accompanied by a stringed instrument; she is even considered the inventor of one of the ancient instruments of the σαμβύκη<sup>292</sup>, provided with triangular and unequal strings<sup>293</sup> which have to be played not with a pick, but by plucking the strings. This instrument is of oriental origin<sup>294</sup> and in Lesbos the ancient sculptor Lesbothemis portrayed the Muse holding this instrument<sup>295</sup> and not the cithara<sup>296</sup>. In the Greek world, it was still in use in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC since Neanthes attributed its invention to Ibycus<sup>297</sup>.

The most ancient prophetesses are anchored to the Trojan and Aeolian world. The prophetic vision that Theoclimenus obtains on the imminent death of the Suitors<sup>298</sup> is a *unicum* in the Homeric Odyssey and recalls the vision that Cassandra has of her death and the killing of Agamemnon in Aeschylus<sup>299</sup>. In an even more explicit way, in the *Cypria*<sup>300</sup>, Cassandra's unheard prophecies are also attributed to the Sibyls, among whom, therefore, Priam's daughter is included<sup>301</sup>.

Cassandra has prophetic visions about the end of Troy at the moment of Helen's birth, Hecuba's dream, Paris's departure, Helen's arrival<sup>302</sup> and their absolute ineffectiveness is analogous to the prophecies of the Trojan Sibyl of Marpeso and

the Ionic Sibyl of Erythrae<sup>303</sup>. Cassandra or Tarsandra is inserted between the Sibyls and Lycophron making her a very similar creature: her name, Alexandra, recalls that of Alexandros, her brother, who was the first cause of the conflict, which she foresees. This conflict will eventually be ended by Alexander the Macedonian<sup>304</sup>.

Focusing on the epic traditions of the Archaic age, two Sibyls are related to each other in two interrelated cycles: the Argonautic and the Trojan. The union of Jason with Hypsipyle in Lemnos is remembered in the *Iliad*<sup>305</sup>, while in the Odyssey not only is there Kirke<sup>306</sup>, but there are encounters of the hero with Lestrigonians, Kirke, Sirens, and Planetai are borrowed from the Thessalian cycle<sup>307</sup>. The Sibyl daughter of Lamia, daughter of Poseidon<sup>308</sup> educated by the Muses on the Helicon<sup>309</sup> sings in hexameters<sup>310</sup>: she refers to the Argonautic tradition as she wins the poetic competition in the games for the dead Pelias<sup>311</sup>. This Sibyl was introduced, in the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, by Eumelus of the Bacchiads to legitimize the relationship he established between Ephrya, Poseidon, Helios, Medea, the Argonauts, Corinth and the Isthmic Games<sup>312</sup>.

The Sibylline phenomenon is involved in a privileged way with the Aeolian world; Varro proposed an etymology of the name as a combination between the term *siōs* "god" in the Aeolic dialect, and the Aeolic form βυλλα/βολλα for βουλά/βουλή<sup>313</sup>.

<sup>286</sup> PLUT., *Mor.* 398 C.

<sup>287</sup> DIO. CHRYS., *Orat.* 37, 13, 2 = FAVORIN., *Corinth.*, 12 (Barrigazzi 305-306.).

<sup>288</sup> *Schol. Soph., OT*, 1199.

<sup>289</sup> *Suid.*, s.v. Ἡροφίλα.

<sup>290</sup> PLUT., *Mor.*, 406 A; 566 D.

<sup>291</sup> ACESANDR., 469 F 7; PLUT., *Mor.*, 675 A-b.

<sup>292</sup> SKAMON 476 F 5.; Sem. Del. 396 F 1; *Suid.*, s.v. Σιβύλλα. Most of the documents come from ATHEN., see IV, 175 D, 182 E-F; XIV 633 F 634 A, 635 A, 637 B see *comm.ad loc.* in ATHEN. 2001.

<sup>293</sup> JUB. 275 F 15.

<sup>294</sup> ARISTOX. F 97 W; EUPHORION, F 181 Van Groningen; STRABO, X, 3, 17; *Suid.* s.v. Σιβύλλα. Cf. WEST 1992, 75.

<sup>295</sup> ATHEN. IV 182F.

<sup>296</sup> MYRSIL. METHYMN., 477 F 7.

<sup>297</sup> NEANTH. CYZ. 84 F 5.

<sup>298</sup> *Od.* XX, 350-357.

<sup>299</sup> AESCH., *Ag.*, 1090 ff. Cf. DODDS 1973, 64 ff.

<sup>300</sup> *Cypria*, *Arg.* 11 Bernabé. Cf. BACCHYL. F 2 Snell.

<sup>301</sup> PARKE 1988, 28-29.

<sup>302</sup> PIND., *Paeon.*, VIII; BACCHYL. F 23 Snell; CIC., *de div.*, II, 112.

<sup>303</sup> Apd. Epit., V, 17; PAUS., X, 12, 2, 5; *Orac. Syb.*, XI, 124

<sup>304</sup> LYC., 1464-5. See AMIOTTI 1984, 77 ff.; SUÁREZ DE LA TORRE 2007, 64 f.

<sup>305</sup> *Il.* VII, 467-469; XXIII, 745-747.

<sup>306</sup> *Od.* VIII, 448; X, 133-574; XII, 31-142.

<sup>307</sup> *Od.* XII, 39-72. Cf. WEST 2005, 39-64.

<sup>308</sup> PLUT., *Mor.* 398 C; PAUS. X, 12, 6; CLEM. ALEX., *Strom.*, I, 15, 70.

<sup>309</sup> PLUT., *Mor.*, 398 C.

<sup>310</sup> HERAC. PONT. F 130 W; PAUS. X, 12, 3.

<sup>311</sup> PLUT., *Mor.*, 398 C. Cf. ACESANDR., 469 F 7; PLUT., *Mor.*, 675 A-B.

<sup>312</sup> Cf. EUMEL. F 8 Bernabé. The arguments presented by AMATO 2002, 45-68, to contest the verses cited by Favorinus to Eumelus, are completely insufficient: the verse relating to Briareus, F 2 Bernabé, that Amato considers a pentameter from a metric viewpoint, turns out to be a hexameter not mentioned in its entirety. As for the prophecy in hexameters and the same verse about Briareus, a true condensation of what Eumelus had built to exalt Corinth, while it is not necessary to suppose that Favorinus should still have the complete work of Eumelus available to quote them, intermediate sources would have been enough, such as the *syngraphè* available to Pausanias.

<sup>313</sup> LACT., *Div. Inst.*, I, 6, 9; SERV., *Aen.* III, 445; VI, 12.



The ancient tradition features numerous Sibyls, distinguished by origin and name: Varro<sup>314</sup> had counted ten in the 1<sup>st</sup> century while Heraclides Ponticus<sup>315</sup> recalls only three in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. We have already mentioned the first Sibyl, the daughter of Lamia who was older than Orpheus. She is Phrygian and then Asian, according to Heraclides Ponticus;<sup>316</sup> Maliacan, then Thessalian, passing through Delphi<sup>317</sup>, according to Plutarch; Libyan according to Varro<sup>318</sup> and Pausanias<sup>319</sup>.

In Lesbos a Sibyl is related to Makareus according to Alcaeus and Myrsilus<sup>320</sup>. Arrianus, on the other hand, maintained that the Idaean Sibyl was the first one, daughter of Nesò and Dardanus (but also Nymph)<sup>321</sup> eponymous of an *insula* on Mount Ida<sup>322</sup> connected to Aeneas and because it was located between two rivers, called an isle<sup>323</sup>.

This Sibyl was connected like Gergithia to Apollo Smintheus: she was *neokoros* of his temple at Hamaxitos and Alexandria Troas and in Gergithe was buried in the sacred wood of Smintheus<sup>324</sup>. According to Varro, the Erythraean Sibyl gave the Greeks the prophecies about the Trojan War<sup>325</sup>, but Pausanias said that it was the Sibyl of Marpeessos under the name of Herophile who made predictions to the Trojans about Helen and Hecuba's dream<sup>326</sup> as Cassandra does, according to another tradition, on Helen<sup>327</sup> and in particular on the dream<sup>328</sup>.

So, the Sibylline prophecies were an integral part of the epic heritage of settlers who came to the West.

## 8. AEOLIAN SETTLEMENTS AND SIBYL

The Sibyl's prophecies were visions from the past, which came to the present and passed on to the future. According to Heraclitus, the Sibyl composed her verses during a momentary trance (μαινομένωι στόματι φθεγγομένη), thanks to the god (διὰ τὸν θεόν). Her prophecies could not have the same grace as the verses of Sappho and had no time constraints as her vision exceeds a thousand years (χιλίων ἐτῶν ἐξικνεῖται τῇ φωνῇ)<sup>329</sup>. The Sibyl is long-lived by her nature and her prophecies about the Trojan War relate to both immediate results, such as the returns of the heroes, and to those further in the future, such as the fate of the Trojan dynasty and of the lands that belonged to it: the place to be assigned to the Aeneades; the arrivals of Greek colonists, led by the heirs of the Atrides or Neleus; the future fate of the Trojans. Lycophron's *Alexandra* and much later the books of the *Oracula Sibyllina* were the epilogue.

The nature of the Sibyl's song offered the possibility of intervening in existing traditions. At the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, Alcaeus, as Eumelus did for the traditions of the Bacchiads, guaranteed with the help of the Sibyl the most ancient Lesbian tradition, which attests the divine origin, such as the work of Hephaestus, and the antiquity of the bronze lion, that Makareus, son of Aeolus, reported as the guarantor of the island's safety<sup>330</sup>. In a similar way, the second Sibylline oracle mentioned by Phlegon supports the tradition relating to the future foundation of a temple of Hera immediately after the arrival of the colonists in Kyme<sup>331</sup>.

The traditions regarding the Sibyls were expressions of local interests, both of the Teucrians

<sup>314</sup> We find it in LACT., *Div. Inst.*, I, 6, 2-3. For bibliography see BULTRIGHINI – TORELLI 2017, 320-323.

<sup>315</sup> FF 130-131 W.

<sup>316</sup> HERAC. PONT. F 130 W.

<sup>317</sup> PLUT., *Mor.*, 398 C; CLEM. ALEX., *Strom.*, I, 70.

<sup>318</sup> LACT., *Div. Inst.*, I, 6, 8. Cf. EURIP. F 922 N = *Schol. Pl. Phaedr.*, 244 B.

<sup>319</sup> PAUS., X, 12, 1.

<sup>320</sup> ALC. F 306 A.

<sup>321</sup> ARRIAN., 156 F 95. Cf. HES., *Theog.*, 261.

<sup>322</sup> Cf. VARRO *apud* D.H., I, 55, 4; SERV., *Aen.*, VI 36, 72.

<sup>323</sup> D.H., I, 49 (Enea a Nesò in Arcadia).

<sup>324</sup> PHLEG. 257 F 2; PAUS., X, 12, 5-6; JO. LYD., *de mens.*, 4, 47; ST. BYZ. s.v. Γέργης; *Suid.* s.v. Χαλδαία.

<sup>325</sup> VARRO *apud* LACT., *Div. Inst.*, I, 6, 9.

<sup>326</sup> PAUS., X, 12, 2 (Elena), 5 (Ecuba's dream).

<sup>327</sup> SERV. ASE., II, 246.

<sup>328</sup> PIND., *Paea*. VIII, A 10 ff.; EUR., *Androm.*, 293 ff.

<sup>329</sup> 22 B 92 DK = 119 Diano-Serra. The last statement, relating to the thousand years, since Plutarch quotes the fragment by contrasting the unpleasantness of the Sibyl's words with the grace of Sappho's, was rejected by Schlaiermacher himself and others in Heraclitus based on the belief that the philosopher was interested in the form but not in the accumulation of events and in the extension of the space covered by the oracles. But limiting the opposition to Sappho's poems to merely formal facts seem clearly reductive: considering their subject matter, not even Apollo's oracles, which neither said nor hid but gave meanings (HERACL. 22 b 93 DK = 120 Diano-Serra), could possess the grace of Sappho's poems.

<sup>330</sup> ALC. F 306 Ea Liberman.

<sup>331</sup> PHLEG. TRALL., 257 F 36 X B 53-56.

and the Greek colonists who came after them: the prophecies, inspired by the god, offered the possibility to correct and integrate pre-existing traditions. The Sibyls repudiate Apollo and become the spokesperson of Artemis as the only faithful interpreter of Zeus' will<sup>332</sup>; they disprove Homer<sup>333</sup>, using the investiture received from the Muses to declare the current traditions as lies similar to the truth<sup>334</sup> and they create an *archaiologia* of Corinth like Ephrya and the land of the Heliades. Consequently, Eumelus uses the prophecy of the Sibyl, daughter of Poseidon, to legitimize the dominion of the Bacchiads<sup>335</sup>.

The Greek colonists and the local lordships in Asia Minor and the Troas shared the same needs that had to be confirmed by the Sibyls. The Glaukides, *basileis* of the Ionians<sup>336</sup>, based their privileges on their descendants from Glaucus and Bellerophon, already present in Lycia at the time of the Trojan War<sup>337</sup>. The Scamandrides claimed their origin from Skamandrios son of Hector, and, as Aeneads, were the founders of Arisbe and Scepsi<sup>338</sup>. In Aeolis the descendants of Orestes and Agamemnon were legitimized by the conquest of Agamemnon to deny Athens the Sigeum<sup>339</sup>. In Ionia, the *basileis* Neleides, descendants of Nestor, were legitimized by the Achaean victory over the Trojans. Songs and prophecies were called upon to confirm all this.

In the Iliad, as referred by Poseidon, and in the Hymn to Aphrodite, as referred by the Goddess<sup>340</sup>, an oracle ensures the survival of a Trojan dynasty by the survivor Aeneas and his descendants. A similar concern is hidden behind the story of Skamandrios, son of Hector, named by his father<sup>341</sup> after the Skamander River, while the other Trojans called him Astyanax. In the Epic Cycle, Arctinus attributes the

killing of Astyanax to Ulysses<sup>342</sup>, the Lesbian Lesche of Pyrrha to the willingness of Neoptolemus<sup>343</sup>.

Hellanicus of Mytilene, son and father of a Skamon, author of *Peri Eurematon* where he cited the Sibyl, mentions another version, according to which Askanios and Skamandrios founded a series of localities of the Trojan Aeolis including Gergithe, that, as we have seen, is related to the Trojan Sibyl<sup>344</sup>. Skamon, a diminutive connected with the name of the Skamander, celebrated the Sibyl as the inventor of musical instruments<sup>345</sup>. Before him, Sappho, daughter of a Scamandronimus<sup>346</sup>, called her own daughter Kleis and thus demonstrated her connection with the Kleanattides, descendants of the *oikistes* Argive Kleuas<sup>347</sup>. The poetess composed an *epithalamion* in which she celebrated the welcome reserved for Andromache, who arrived in Troy as a bride destined for Hector<sup>348</sup>.

The space of the Athenians, on the other hand, derives from the involvement of the Theseides in the division of the booty: admitted by the Milesian Arctinus<sup>349</sup> and denied by Lesches of Mytilene<sup>350</sup>, it reflects in the myth the contrast between the Athenians and Mytilenians on the possession of the Sigeum<sup>351</sup>.

In all these traditions, a role attributed to the Sibyl by the Aeolians can be read in her connection with the fate of Troy. Ancient authors underline the truthfulness of the Sibyl<sup>352</sup>: regarding Makareus in Alcaeus<sup>353</sup>; her connection with the Apollo Smintheus; the god's connection with Killeus and Pelops<sup>354</sup>, attested by Scamandronimus, son of Hellanicus<sup>355</sup>. We can presume that references to the Aeolian foundations were not missing

<sup>332</sup> CLEM. ALEX., *Strom.*, I, 21, 108.

<sup>333</sup> APOLLOD. ERYTHR., 422 F 1; DIOD. IV, 66; VARRO *apud* LACT., *Div.Inst.*, I, 6 (Herophile).

<sup>334</sup> HES., *Theog.*, 23-27.

<sup>335</sup> EUMEL. F 8 Be.

<sup>336</sup> HDT. I, 147.

<sup>337</sup> *Il.* II, 876; VI.129 ff. and so forth.

<sup>338</sup> HELL. 4 F 31; CONON. 26 F1,46; *Schol. Il.* XXIV,7 35; *Schol. EUR., Andr.*, 10 (Dionysius of Chalcis); 224 (ANAXICRATES 307 F 1); STRABO, XIII, 1, 52, 607.

<sup>339</sup> HDT. V, 94, 2; STRABO, XIII, 1, 38.

<sup>340</sup> *Il.* XX, 306-308; *Hymn.Ven.*, 196-201.

<sup>341</sup> *Il.*, VI, 402-403.

<sup>342</sup> *Il. Exc.*, arg.20 and F 5 Be.

<sup>343</sup> *Il. parva* F 21 Be.; PAUS. X, 25, 9.

<sup>344</sup> HELLAN. 4 F 31; *Schol. EUR., Androm.*, 10.

<sup>345</sup> SCAMON. 476 F 5.

<sup>346</sup> HDT., II,135,4; *Ael.*, VH XII, 19; *schol. PL. Phaedr.* 235 C; *Suid.*, s.v. Σαπφώ.

<sup>347</sup> SAPPH., F 98, b, 1; 132, 2 Voigt.

<sup>348</sup> SAPPH. F 44 Voigt.

<sup>349</sup> ARCTIN., *Il.Exc.* F 6 Be.

<sup>350</sup> LESCH. F 6 Be.

<sup>351</sup> HDT. V, 94,2; STRABO, XIII, 1, 38 (Mitilaeen Archeanaktas fortified the Sigeion with the stones of Troy).

<sup>352</sup> LACT., *Div.Inst.*, I, 6, 9 (Erythraea). Cf. DIOD., IV, 66, 6; SOLIN., 2,18.

<sup>353</sup> ALC. F 306 A Liberman.

<sup>354</sup> THEOP. 115 F 350; STRABO, XIII, 1, 64, 613.

<sup>355</sup> SCAMON.476 F 5. The name is a diminutive of Scamandronimos or Scamandrios.

in the prophecies of the Sibyls as they were not lacking in the poems of the Trojan cycle: an epigram attributed to Homer cites the foundation of Aeolian Smyrne by the knights of Cumae Phrikonnis<sup>356</sup>; another prophecy is about the foundation of a Cumaean colony in Kebren on the peaks of Mount Ida, where iron would never fail<sup>357</sup>. In the West, Sibylline traditions on the legitimacy of their settlement could certainly not be missing.

## 9. THE LYRA PLAYER

The Sibylline oracles in Cumae are attested in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC: Aristodemus used *theopropia*<sup>358</sup> such as the Peisistratids in Athens<sup>359</sup>, Kleomenes<sup>360</sup> and Dorieus in Sparta<sup>361</sup>.

Tradition has it that the transfer of the Sibylline books to Rome was at the time of Tarquinius Priscus<sup>362</sup> or rather of the Superbus<sup>363</sup>: perhaps it reflects real events because their acquisition as well as their first use<sup>364</sup> refer to a person with a bad reputation such as the Superbus, and their consultation in 504 BC is attributed to a person of great importance such as Valerius Publicola<sup>365</sup>.

In the Sibylline Books there were not only the *remedia* but also the *fata* of Rome<sup>366</sup> which was founded by Aeneas. The tradition of Aeneas' arrival in Latium took place in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. The departure of Aeneas from Mount Ida towards the West was a long-standing conviction<sup>367</sup>, but originally his destination was not specified: the Sibyl simply ordered him to sail towards the sunset<sup>368</sup>. The tradition of the hero's departure from the burning city begins to be

represented only from the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century<sup>369</sup>. The *heroon* of Aeneas in Lavinium is dated at the same chronological level. In the area where Dionysius of Halicarnassus, following Timaeus, places the *heroon* of Aeneas, a burial mound dated back to 680 was discovered. This was covered by a small temple after 338 BC: this tomb, belonging to an indigenous prince, was equipped with new offerings in 580/70 and at least from that date identified as the *heroon*<sup>370</sup>.

In the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, Stesichorus brings Aeneas to Campania,<sup>371</sup> and at the end of the same century, Hecataeus refers Kapua as a foundation of the Trojan Kapys, uncle of Aeneas<sup>372</sup>.

Colonists brought the Sibylline traditions with them from the very beginning of Kyme. They had come from a city of ancient origins and rich in Homeric traditions, which was born in the Protogeometric period (10<sup>th</sup> century BC): during the 8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>373</sup>, it became the colonial metropolis of Smyrna<sup>374</sup> in Aeolis, Side in Pamphylia<sup>375</sup>, Kebren in Troas<sup>376</sup>, and Ainos in Thrace<sup>377</sup>. Aeolic Kyme entered a relationship with Midas through the king Agamemnon, whose name recalled the Argive right to that land: Kymaeen Agamemnon, just like his namesake, had a daughter Laodike/Damodike, who married Midas<sup>378</sup>.

In the West, Kymaeans were led by Apollo and Eumelus in a place rich in epic traditions, where Odysseus had met Kirke<sup>379</sup>, Kalypso<sup>380</sup> and Nestor, who symbolized the consumption of wine<sup>381</sup>. The aristocratic *hegemones* of the colony are homologated, in their

<sup>356</sup> V.H.H. 14,175-179. The city was later conquered by the Ionians: MIMNERM. F 9 W= 3 G-P.

<sup>357</sup> V.H.H., 285-286.

<sup>358</sup> D.H., VII, 9, 1.

<sup>359</sup> HDT. VII, 6, 3-4.

<sup>360</sup> HDT., V, 90,2.

<sup>361</sup> HDT. V, 43.

<sup>362</sup> VARRO *apud* LACT., *Div.Inst.*, I, 6, 10-11; *Orac. Sibyll.*, 26 Kurf.; *Suid. s.v. Σίβυλλα*; ISID., *Or.*, VIII, 8,6.

<sup>363</sup> D.H., IV, 62, 2; PLIN., *N.H.*, XII, 88; GELL., *NA.*, I, 19; SERV., *Aen.* VI, 72; JO.LYD., *de mens.*, 4, 47 (Superbus) and so forth.

<sup>364</sup> FEST. 478 L.

<sup>365</sup> PLUT., *Popl.* 21,2 f.

<sup>366</sup> SERV., *Aen.*, VI,72.

<sup>367</sup> ARCTIN., *Il.exc.*, arg.,9-10; F 1 Bernabé. Cf. LESCH., *Il. parv.*, F 22 Bernabé.

<sup>368</sup> D.H., I, 55, 4.

<sup>369</sup> Oinochoe in the National Library of France- Paris (Painter of the bearded Sphinx); scarabeus with Aeneas and Anchyses, end of 6<sup>th</sup> century (Coll. De Luynes); black-figured vase from Vulci with an identical scene, 470/460 BC Cf. CANCIANI 1981,186-188.

<sup>370</sup> SOMMELLA, 1971-1972, 47-74; GIULIANI – SOMMELLA 1977, 357-372, more specifically 367-368; DURY – MOYAERS 1981, 121-127; TORELLI 1984, 173 ff., 189 ff.; ZEVI 1979, 247 ff.

<sup>371</sup> STESICH. F 28 PMG. Cf. MELE 2014a, 38 ff.

<sup>372</sup> HEC. F 62.

<sup>373</sup> FRASCA 2017, 75 ff.; COLELLI 2017, 59 ff.

<sup>374</sup> EPHOR., 70 F 19; V.H.H., 2; 38 (Smyrne).

<sup>375</sup> STRABO, XIV, 4, 2 (Side).

<sup>376</sup> EPHOR., 70 F 10; V.H.H.20, 282-287 (Kebren).

<sup>377</sup> EPHOR., 70 F 39 (Ainos).

<sup>378</sup> MELE 2005, 393 ff.; MELE 2016, 229 ff.

<sup>379</sup> HES., *Theog.*, 1011-1016. Cf. *schol. vet. LYC.*, 44: EUSTATH., *Od.* 1379, 20; DP 78; SERV., *Aen.*, VIII, 328; TZ. LYC., 44, 702; *Et.M.*, s.v.

<sup>380</sup> C. DIO. 48, 50, 4-51, 5; PHILOSTR., V Ap., 8,10,5-7. Cf. PS. SCYMN., 228-230; SERV., *Aen.*, III,171; *schol. AR IV*,553 FEST. s.v. *Ausoniam*; ST. BYZ., s.v. Αὐσονίων; *Et.M.* s.v.; EUSTATH., DP 78.

<sup>381</sup> CERCHIAI 2009, 484 ff.

funerary ritual, to Achilles and Patroklos<sup>382</sup>; their conduct was inspired by this epic heritage, which was the essence of their culture and identity, and of which Sibylline prophecy was an integral part. In this context, therefore, the offerings dedicated to Apollo in his temple on the acropolis and in particular the oldest ones, the bronze statuettes of the female lyre player and the warrior<sup>383</sup>, must be explained.

Regarding the lyre player, the musical instrument, her nakedness, the early Archaic chronology and the offering to Apollo, are all attributes that underline her superior status. The instrument is of an Oriental type, which brings us back to the origins of Greek music, linked to the Phrygian and Lydian worlds. Phrygian and Lydian instruments, such as the *barbitos*, *pektis* and *sambyke*, can be found in the hands of the Lydian Alcmænes<sup>384</sup> as well as those of the Aeolian Sappho and Alcaeus<sup>385</sup>. The *sambyke* was a harp with unequal strings, of very ancient origin<sup>386</sup>, whose invention was attributed to Sibyl by Skamon of Mytilene<sup>387</sup>. Lesbodemides, an Archaic sculptor of Lesbos, had placed it in the hands of one of the Muses<sup>388</sup>, whose task was ἄδειν καὶ κιθαρίζειν τὰς πράξεις τὰς παλαιὰς ἐμμελῶς<sup>389</sup>.

In the bronze figurine from Kyme, the instrument is a lyre with equal strings, which was held inclined and leaned against the body, and it was played while standing and not sitting like the cithara<sup>390</sup>. It was a prestigious instrument<sup>391</sup>: according to the Aeolian tradition, the lyre, invented by Orpheus<sup>392</sup>, ended up in Lesbos together with the poet's head and was delivered by fishermen to Terpander of Antissa and Cypion, his pupil and collaborator<sup>393</sup>.

The connection between the Sibyl, poetry and music is original. The Sibyl is *chresmodòs* and

*thespioidòs*; she sings using the hexameter and takes part in musical contests. In the first Isthmian Games, it was Orpheus<sup>394</sup>, the *aoidos* of the Argonauts, who won the competition, but in the funerary games for Pelias, the adversary of Jason, the victory had been of the Sibyl<sup>395</sup>, according to Stesichorus<sup>396</sup> and perhaps Ibycus<sup>397</sup>.

The Sibyl has a semi-divine nature. The Trojan Sibyl, daughter of an immortal nymph and a mortal, presented herself in Delos as Artemis, and in Delphi she was identified as Selene. The Erythraean Sibyl, her rival, is also the daughter of a nymph and a mortal<sup>398</sup>. She prophesied under the effect of a divine *mania* and under the same effect, Cassandra tore off her sacred vestments<sup>399</sup> a few moments before dying. Nakedness can find its ritual explanation within this context.

The presence of the Sibyl in the temple of Apollo Archegetes can be understood through the oracles of the birth of an *androgynè* quoted by Phlegon of Tralles. The *androgynè* is one of those τέρατα καὶ παθήματα δαίμονος Αἴσης from which the Sibyl can free the community<sup>400</sup>. It is a monstrosity, a sign of the lack of harmony with the gods, an ominous omen. According to Hesiod, such monstrosities represent the deterioration of social relations in the Iron Race: children who were born white-haired, being different from their fathers were alterations of the cycle of agriculture and human generations<sup>401</sup>.

Sacrifices will then have to be made to the divinities more directly linked to agrarian and human reproduction. In the oracle, the bulk of the interest goes to the deities responsible for agricultural wealth: *Demeter*, *Kore* and *Pluton*<sup>402</sup>. *Demeter* represents the earth as the mother; *Kore*, as the daughter kidnapped by her husband, and the earth, insofar as it receives the seed in its womb; *Pluton*, finally, by determining birth, grants wealth (*ploutos*) through the harvest.

<sup>382</sup> CERCHIAI 1995, 74-76; 1998, 117-124; CRIELAARD 1998, 43-52; 2016, 43 ff.

<sup>383</sup> CINQUANTAQUATTRO – RESCIGNO 2017.

<sup>384</sup> ALCMAN, F 472 P.

<sup>385</sup> SAPPH. FF 156; 176 L-P; ALC., FF 36; 70 L-P. Cf. LANDELS 1999, 47-49; 73-76.

<sup>386</sup> COMOTTI 2018, 68.

<sup>387</sup> SKAMON, 476 F 5.

<sup>388</sup> ATHEN. IV, 182 F; XIV, 635 A-B.

<sup>389</sup> MYRSIL. 477 F 7.

<sup>390</sup> SACHS 1940, 144-152.

<sup>391</sup> COMOTTI 2018, 66.

<sup>392</sup> TIMOTH., *Pers.*, 791, 221 ff. Page = Test. 46 Gostoli.

<sup>393</sup> TVA IV F 1, 11-22 Powell.; NICOM. GERAS., *Excerpta*, 266 Jan = TERPANDR., *Test.* 53 B Gostoli.

<sup>394</sup> FAVORIN. (= DIO CHRYS.), *Corinth.* 12, 305-306 Barigazzi.

<sup>395</sup> PLUT., 675 A.

<sup>396</sup> STESICH., FF 178-180 P.

<sup>397</sup> ATHEN. IV, 172 D.

<sup>398</sup> PAUS. X, 12, 7.

<sup>399</sup> AESCHYL., *Agam.*, 1265-1274; EUR., *Troad.*, 449-454.

<sup>400</sup> PHLEG. 257 F 26 X B 1-3.

<sup>401</sup> HES., *Op.* 181-182.

<sup>402</sup> HES., *Op.* 182-202.



In one of the oracles reported by Phlegon *Persephone* is indicated as Πλουτωνίς (A 24, 26); in the other, Pluton is defined *Aidoneus* (B 31), as the karst river on Mount Ida, linked to the Sibyl.

Through these relationships, Sibyl is connected to the welfare of the Cumaean community: the name of *Demophile* or its diminutive *Demò* is then applied to her.

Hera is evoked immediately afterwards in the oracle according to which: «when the inhabitants of the opposite islands not by deceit but by force will inhabit the land of Kyme, let those benevolent persons erect a statue and a temple to the divine Hera (σεμνῆς βασιληίδος)»<sup>403</sup>. Hera is the Potnia, the Queen; she has the gift of the *basileis timé*<sup>404</sup>, granted to Phoroneus<sup>405</sup> and promised to Paris<sup>406</sup>. The Goddess is Argive as she was brought by Aeolian settlers from a colony of Atreides. Argos next to Sparta and Mycenae was the city dearest to the goddess<sup>407</sup>, whose usual epithet is only Ἀργεῖη<sup>408</sup>.

In Argos she was the curotrophic divinity *par excellence*: on the female side, she supervised weddings and transitional rituals, as in the story of the Danaids sung by Bacchylides<sup>409</sup>; on the male side, she attends to the transitional rites for the acquisition of weapons by the young. Her function is proved by the attribute of *Hoplosmia*<sup>410</sup>, with which she is venerated both in Argos and in Lacinium<sup>411</sup> and by the prize of a bronze shield awarded to the winner of the Argive Heraia<sup>412</sup>. Phoroneus had become king of Argos thanks to Hera to whom he had offered the weapons he had first made<sup>413</sup>.

This ritual dimension is very clear also in the sanctuary of Cape Lacinium in the territory of Kroton. Hera *Hoplosmia* is there associated with youths who are significantly compared to the young trees (*phytā*) of the garden (*orchatos*) of

Thetis<sup>414</sup>. In the sanctuary, mourning for Achilles' death was practiced prior to the transfer of the hero to Leuke<sup>415</sup> and ritually alludes to the death and rebirth of young initiates.

The Sibyl is also linked to youths: she is named Φυτώ in Samos<sup>416</sup> where Hera is venerated as *Parthenos*<sup>417</sup> in a cult imported from Argos<sup>418</sup>. The establishment of Hera's cult in Kyme is thus accorded to an Argive model (πατρίοισι νόμοις) and therefore the rules are to be preserved for the safety of the community<sup>419</sup>. The Sibyl's relationship with the goddess can be seen in her name of *Herophile*, the "friend of Hera" who ensures the conservation of the community: this attribute is firmly linked to the Asian Sibyl, both in the Trojan and the Erythraean version. The Sibyl is thus associated with the Archegetes divinity due to the specific skills she embodies in the Aeolian tradition.

At Kyme, the archaeological documentation of her cult is consistent, particularly in the partially explored area of Fondo Valentino, where from the 7<sup>th</sup> century a temple dedicated to the goddess is documented<sup>420</sup>. In Campanian and Etruscan areas, cults of Juno similar to that of the Hera of Argos can be found in foundations attributed to Argive Pelasgians who arrived under the guidance of Halesus, the illegitimate son of Agamemnon: Nuceria<sup>421</sup>; Ager Falernus<sup>422</sup>; Falerii<sup>423</sup>; Veii<sup>424</sup>; Alsium near Caere, where the Argives disembarked<sup>425</sup>.

The goddess was worshipped as Juno Lucina, Curitis, Regina: her sphere of competence was comparable with the specificities of Aeolian Hera

<sup>414</sup> Cf. *Il.* XVII, 57, 438 with *Lyc.* 856-859.

<sup>415</sup> Cf. *Lyc.*, 856-651 with *Aithiopsis Arg.* 20-25.

<sup>416</sup> *ERATOST.*, 241 F 26; *Suid.*, s.v. Σιβύλλαι.

<sup>417</sup> In honor of Hera the island was originally named *Parthenis* or *Parthenia* (*ARIST.* F 571 R=589 Gigon; *CALLIM.*, *Hymn. Del.* 49; *EUPHORION* SH 431; *AR* I, 188; II, 872); *Parthenios* was the river near which the Goddess was born and where, as *Parthenos*, she lived until her marriage with Zeus (*PAUS.* VII, 4, 4); another name of the river was *Imbrasos*, from which the Goddess received the name *Imbrasia* (*CALLIM.* F 101 Pf.).

<sup>418</sup> *AETHL.* 526 F 3; *MENOD.* 541 F 1; *PAUS.*, VII, 4, 4.

<sup>419</sup> *PHLEGON.* 257 F 36 X B 51 e 56.

<sup>420</sup> *VALENZA MELE* 1991-1992, 52 ff.; *LA ROCCA et al.* 1995, 51-79.

<sup>421</sup> *CONON* 26 F 3.

<sup>422</sup> *VERG.*, *Aen.*, VII, 724; X, 352; *SERV.*, *Aen.*, VII 730.

<sup>423</sup> *CATO* F 47 P = II, 18 Chassignet; *D.H.*, I, 21; *Ov.*, F 73 s.; *Amor.*, III, 123, 31.32; *SERV.*, *Aen.*, VII, 695.

<sup>424</sup> *SERV.*, *Aen.* VIII, 285.

<sup>425</sup> *D.H.*, I, I, 20,5; *SIL.IT.*, VIII, 475.

<sup>403</sup> *PHLEG.* 257 F 26 X B.

<sup>404</sup> *Hymn. Orph.*, 16: 2, παμβασιλεια; 4, παντογένηθλε; 7, πάντων γὰρ κρατέεις μούνη πάντεσσι τ' ἀνάσσεις.

<sup>405</sup> *HYG.*, *Fab.* 274.

<sup>406</sup> *APD.*, *Ep.*, 3,2.

<sup>407</sup> *Il.* IV, 51s.

<sup>408</sup> *Il.* IV, 8; V, 908; *HES.*, *Theog.*, 12; *Phoronis* F 4,2.

<sup>409</sup> *BACCHYL.*, *ep.* XI.

<sup>410</sup> *MIMNERM.* F 22=17 G-P.

<sup>411</sup> *Lyc.* 856-858.

<sup>412</sup> *PIND.*, *N.H.* X, 22 and *scholl.*

<sup>413</sup> *HYG.*, *Fab.* 274.

πάντων γενέθλα, as it included births, war and power. In the same system, the tradition of the *Falisci* as *Chalcidiensium* colonists occurs<sup>426</sup>.

These are the undeniable signs of the importance of the cult of Hera for the penetration of the Kymaians throughout this area. The colonists rejected the earlier reference to Odysseus, Kirke and Kalypso, who had established a relationship of *xeinie* and *epigamie*<sup>427</sup> with Latins and Ausonians; with the strengthening of Kyme in the Campanian plain, the Aeolian-Argive model of the *bia* is imposed: the Pithecoussan model of the insular *emporia* up to Circeum is now obsolete<sup>428</sup>.

#### 10. THE BRONZE WARRIOR

The dedication of the bronze warrior in the temple of Apollo Archegetes highlights the role of weapons in the foundation of Cumae, also manifested in the mythical and religious traditions relating to the colony.

In the oracle of the foundation, the cult of Hera is related to the passage of the settlers from the “opposite islands” (not only from Pithekoussai) to the continent: an act which involves the exercise of violence, since inspired by the god were the prophecies of the Sibyl for Kyme must have been considered in conformity with reality.

The whole tradition confirms the forms in which the occupation of the Phlegraean plains took place: Gigantomachy as the archetype of all the struggles that took place to obtain its possession<sup>429</sup>; the armed march performed at night by colonists to the sound of cymbals marks the Kore’s and the harvest’s return<sup>430</sup> as for the Graikoi of Tanagra<sup>431</sup>; the audacity with which the settlers from the islands occupied the lands of the continent<sup>432</sup>; their *oikistai* Megakles and Hippocles, knights “of great strength”, like the Cumaeans settlers who, according to an oracle attributed to Homer, occupied Smyrna «beaten by the waves»

(ἀλιγείτονα ποντοτίνακτον)<sup>433</sup>, as well as the beach of Cumae<sup>434</sup>. They too were equally knights, who rode furious horses (μάργων ἐπιβήτορες ἵππων), fiercer than fire (ὀπλότεροι μαλεροῖο πυρὸς). At the same time, the Argives who occupied the Ager Falernus had to drive out the Aurunci/Auronissoi. They were warlike people, very intimidating because of their stature and the hardness of their gaze: a true counterpart to the giants who inhabited the Campanian plain<sup>435</sup>.

It was the political and economic relationship with the Orient, with Phrygia first, and Lydia afterwards – marked on one hand by the Phrygian gold and Demodike, daughter of a king Agamemnon, as Laodike-Electra of the Atrid, wife of Midias, king of the Phrygians<sup>436</sup>, and on the other hand, with the *basileia* as *megiste tyrannis* of Gyges<sup>437</sup>, the *megale archè* of Kroisos<sup>438</sup> – which is now the model for the Orientalizing *truphè* of the Kymaean aristocrats, who for their own wealthy tombs, adopted the heroic rituals performed for Achilles, Patroklos and Hector<sup>439</sup>.

The presence of the bronze warrior in the acropolis temple in Cumae is well explained in this context. The foundation of Cumae is, according to Velleius, at the same time led by Apollo Archegetes, and a nocturnal and armed occupation following Demeter<sup>440</sup>. According to Statius, it is conceived as a transfer of homeland divinities: *Apollo ductor populi* through *Eumelus*; *Demeter* with his nocturnal rites; the *Dioscuri*, who are linked to the Eumelidai and Neapolis in sports competitions<sup>441</sup>. Each of them has the task of protecting the earth and the people who inhabit it<sup>442</sup>: Apollo, Demeter and the Dioskuroi, deities responsible for the physical and military education of the citizens, are therefore in the DNA of the colony, which thanks to them, as Statius says, *auguriis magnis* were born.

<sup>426</sup> TROG. JUSTIN., XX, 1, 12.

<sup>427</sup> Cf. MELE 2017, 28 f.

<sup>428</sup> HES., *Theog.*, 1011-1016 (μάλα τῆλε μυχῶ νήσων ἱερῶν, «in the very far bottom of the divine isles»).

<sup>429</sup> TIM. F 98; POLYB., III, 91; 7,1; STRABO, V, 4, 4, 243.

<sup>430</sup> EUR., *Elen.*, 1341-1352. More details in MELE 2014a, 54 f.

<sup>431</sup> For Tanagra (ethnics *Tana-graios* e *Tana-graikos*): PAUS., IX, 20, 2. In the same space: Oropos = Graia: ARISTOT. F 613 = 406 Gigon.

<sup>432</sup> LIV., VIII, 22, 5-6.

<sup>433</sup> V.H.H. 14, 175-179.

<sup>434</sup> STRABO, V, 4, 4, 243.

<sup>435</sup> D.H., I, 21, 3 VI, 32, 3.

<sup>436</sup> Cf. MELE 2016, 18 ff.

<sup>437</sup> ARCHILOCH. F 19 West.

<sup>438</sup> HDT. I, 53; 86; 91.

<sup>439</sup> CERCHIAI 1995, 74-76; 1998, 117-124; CRIELAARD 1998, 43-52; 2016, 43 ff.

<sup>440</sup> VELL. PAT., I, 4, 1, compare with *Hymn. Cer.*, 59-61; *schol.* ARISTOPH. *Ach.*, 708 a2; 708c; *Et. Magn.* s.v. ‘Achaia’. See: MELE 2014a, 54 f.

<sup>441</sup> IGI Napoli, I, 52.

<sup>442</sup> STAT., IV, 8, 45-54.

## References

- AMATO 2002 E. AMATO, 'Su due improbabili citazioni di Eumelos (F 2. 8 Bernabé = 12 Davies)', in *Emerita* 70, 2002, 45-68.
- AMIOTTI 1984 G. AMIOTTI, 'Alessandro Magno e il troiano in Licofrone e nella tradizione occidentale', in M. SORDI (a cura di), *Alessandro Magno tra storia e mito*, Milano 1984, 77-85.
- ATENE0 2001 ATENE0, *I Deipnosophisti. I dotti a banchetto* (Prima traduzione italiana commentata su progetto di L. Canfora, introduzione di Ch. Jacob), vol. III, Libri XII-XIV, Roma 2001.
- BENASSAI 2002 R. BENASSAI, 'Due tombe capuane: contesto architettonico e committenza', in *RendNap* 2002, 1-10.
- BREGLIA 1983 L. BREGLIA, *Oracoli sibillini tra rituali e propaganda*, Napoli 1983.
- BULTRIGHINI – TORELLI 2017 U. BULTRIGHINI – M. TORELLI (a cura di), PAUSANIA, *Guida della Grecia, Libro X, Delfi e la Focide*, Milano 2017.
- CANCIANI 1981 F. CANCIANI, s.v. 'Aeneias', in *LIMC* 1, 1981, 186-188.
- CASSOLA 1957 F. CASSOLA, *La Jonia nel mondo miceneo*, Napoli 1957.
- CASSOLA 1975 F. CASSOLA, *Inni Omerici*, Milano 1975.
- CERCHIAI 1995 L. CERCHIAI, *I Campani*, Napoli 1995.
- CERCHIAI 1998 L. CERCHIAI, 'Le tombe "a cubo" di età tardoarcaica della Campania settentrionale', in *Nécropoles et Pouvoir*, 117-124.
- CERCHIAI 2009 L. CERCHIAI, 'Culti dionisiaci e rituali funerari tra *poleis* magnogreche e comunità anelleniche', in *La vigna di Dioniso: vite, vino e culti*, Atti del XLIX Convegno Internazionale di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 2009 (Taranto 2011), 483-514.
- CINQUANTAQUATTRO – RESCIGNO 2017 T.E. CINQUANTAQUATTRO – C. RESCIGNO, 'Una suonatrice di lira e un guerriero. Due bronzetti dagli scavi sull'acropoli di Cuma', in *MÉFRA* 129/1, 2017, 217-223.
- COARELLI 1993 F. COARELLI, 'Note sui *Ludi Saeculares*', in *Spectacles sportifs et scéniques dans le monde étrusco-italique*, Actes de la table ronde de Rome (3-4 mai 1991), *CÉFR* 172, Rome 1993, 211-245.
- COLELLI 2017 C. COLELLI, 'Appunti sull'età geometrica a Kyme eolica. Cenni di storia e cultura materiale', in *Studi su Cuma eolica VI*, 59-74.
- COLONNA 1992 G. COLONNA, 'Le civiltà anelleniche', in G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI (a cura di), *Storia e civiltà della Campania. L'evo antico*, Napoli 1992, 25-68.
- COMOTTI 2018 G. COMOTTI, *Storia della musica*, Milano 2018.
- COPPOLA 1995 A. COPPOLA, *Archaiologhía e Propaganda*, Roma 1995.
- CRIELAARD 1998 J.P. CRIELAARD, 'Cult and Death in Early 7<sup>th</sup>-Century Euboea: the Aristocracy and the Polis', in *Nécropoles et Pouvoir*, 43-52.
- CRIELAARD 2016 J.P. CRIELAARD, 'Living Heroes: metal Urn Cremations in Early Iron Age. Greece, Cyprus and Italy', in F. GALLO (a cura di), *Omero: quaestiones disputatae*, Ambrosiana Graecolatina 5), Milano – Roma 2016, 43-78.
- D'AGOSTINO – CERCHIAI 1999 B. D'AGOSTINO – L. CERCHIAI, *Il mare, la morte, l'amore*, Roma 1999.
- DE SIMONE 2019 C. DE SIMONE, 'Echi del culto nel mondo etrusco. L'evidenza epigrafica', in MELE *et al.* 2019, 89-94.
- DETENNE 1967 M. DETENNE, *Les Maîtres de vérité dans la Grèce archaïque*, Paris 1967.
- DETENNE 1990 M. DETENNE, 'Apollon Archégète. Un modèle politique de la territorialisation', in M. DETENNE (éd.) *Tracés de fondation*, Louvain – Paris 1990, 301-311.
- DODDS 1973 E.R. DODDS, *I Greci e l'irrazionale*, Firenze 1973.
- DURY – MOYAERS 1981 G. DURY – MOYAERS, *Enée et Lavinium*, Bruxelles 1981.

- ENGELMANN – MERKELBACH 1972-1973 H. ENGELMANN – R. MERKELBACH, *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*, Bonn 1972-1973.
- FEDERICO 2015 E. FEDERICO (a cura di), *Ione di Chio. Testimonianze e frammenti*, Tivoli (Roma) 2015.
- FRASCA 2017 M. FRASCA, 'Scavi e ricerche sulla collina sud di Kyme eolica', in *Studi su Cuma eolica VI*, 75-94.
- GIULIANI – SOMMELLA 1977 F. GIULIANI – P. SOMMELLA, 'Lavinium', in *PP* 32, 1977, 357-372.
- HEURGON 1950 J. HEURGON, 'D'Apollon Smintheus à P. Decius Mus: la survivance du dieu au rat, Sminth-, dans le monde étrusco-italique', in *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Preistoria e Protostoria Mediterranea*, 1950, 683 ff. (= *La nouvelle Clío* 3, 1951, 105-109).
- IGI Napoli* E. MIRANDA, *Iscrizioni Greche d'Italia, Napoli I-II*, Roma 1990-1995.
- JACOBY 1995 F. JACOBY, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, Erster Teil, Neudruck a Kommentar – Nachtrage nr. 1. 63, Leiden – New York – Köln 1995.
- LANDELS 1999 J.G. LANDELS, *Music in ancient Greece and Rome*, London – New York 1999.
- LA ROCCA *et al.* 1995 L. LA ROCCA – C. RESCIGNO – G. SORICELLI, 'Cuma: l'edificio sacro di Fondo Valentino', in M. CRISTOFANI – F. ZEVI (a cura di), *Studi sulla Campania preromana*, Roma 1995, 51-79.
- LUGLI 1960 G. LUGLI, *Mons Palatinus*, Roma 1960.
- MELE 2005 A. MELE, 'Cuma eolica nell'VIII secolo', in MELE *et al.* 2005, 393-410.
- MELE 2014a A. MELE, 'A proposito di Hesperia', in L. BREGLIA – A. MOLETI (a cura di), *Hesperia. Tradizioni, rotte, paesaggi*, Tekmeria 16, Paestum 2014, 35-52.
- MELE 2014b A. MELE, *Greci in Campania*, Roma 2014.
- MELE 2016 A. MELE, 'Cuma Eolica: ascesa e declino di un'oligarchia', in M. FRASCA – A. TEMPIO – E. TORTORICI (a cura di), *Archippe. Studi in onore di Sebastiana. Lagona*, Acireale – Roma 2016, 229-245.
- MELE 2017 A. MELE, 'Le popolazioni dell'antica Italia', in L. CICALA – B. FERRARA (a cura di), *Kithon Lydios. Studi di storia ed archeologia con Giovanna Greco*, Napoli 2017, 25-113.
- MELE *et al.* 2005 A. MELE – M.L. NAPOLITANO – A. VISCONTI (a cura di), *Eoli ed Eolide tra madrepatria e colonie*, Napoli 2005.
- MELE *et al.* 2019 A. MELE (a cura di), *Dalla Troade a Cuma Opicia. Gli Eoli, la Sibilla, Apollo Smintheo*, Quaderni di *Oebalus* 7, Roma 2019.
- MELE 2021 A. MELE, 'L'Apollo cumano: la Sibilla, il guerriero e l'aedo', in V. PARISI – C. RESCIGNO (a cura di), *La colomba di Apollo. La fondazione di Cuma e il ruolo del culto apollineo nella colonizzazione euboica d'Occidente*, Atti del Convegno internazionale (Santa Maria Capua Vetere, 16 novembre 2020), Napoli 2022, 25-34.
- Nécropoles et Pouvoir* S. MARCHÉGAY – M.-TH. LE DINAHET – J.-F. SALLES (éds.), *Nécropoles et Pouvoir. Idéologies, pratiques et interprétations*, Actes du colloque *Théories de la nécropole antique*, Lyon 21-25 janvier 1995, Lyon 1998.
- PARATORE 2001 E. PARATORE, *Virgilio, Eneide, vol. III (libri V-VI)*, Milano 2001.
- PARKE 1988 H.W. PARKE, *Sibyls and Sibylline Prophecy in Classical Antiquity*, London – New York 1988.
- POCCETTI 2019 P. POCCETTI, 'Gli *Smint(h)ii* nella documentazione etrusca e italica', in MELE *et al.* 2019, 95-142.
- RAGONE 2003 G. RAGONE, 'Aristonico tra Kyme e Cuma', in *Studi Ellenistici* XV, 2003, 25-113.
- RESCIGNO *et al.* 2016 C. RESCIGNO – R. SIRLETO – L. COSTANTINI – L. COSTANTINI BIASINI – F. PICA – L. SALARI – A. TAGLIACOZZO – M. CAPANO – F. TERRASI, 'Un apprestamento con resti organici dal pronao del tempio Superiore sull'acropoli di Cuma', in *Oebalus* 11, 2016, 7-66.
- RIX 2002 H. RIX, *Sabellische Texte*, Heidelberg 2002.
- RUTTER 1979 N.K. RUTTER, *Campanian Coinages, 475-380 BC*, Edinburgh 1979.
- SACHS 1940 C. SACHS, *Storia degli strumenti musicali*, Milano 1940.
- SOMMELLA 1971-1972 P. SOMMELLA, 'Heroon di Enea a Lavinium', in *RendPontAcc* 44, 1971-1972, 47-74.
- Studi su Cuma eolica VI* A. LA MARCA (a cura di), *Studi su Cuma eolica VI*, Università della Calabria, Rossano Calabro 2017.



- SUÁREZ DE LA TORRE 2000 E. SUÁREZ DE LA TORRE, 'La Sibila de Eritras: análisis de fuentes hasta el siglo II d.C.', in M. ALGANZA ROLDÁN – J.M. CAMACHO ROJO – P.P. FUENTES GONZÁLEZ – M. VILLENA PONSODA (eds.) *Epieikeia: Homenaje al Profesor Jesús Lens Tuero*, Granada 2000, 439-467.
- SUÁREZ DE LA TORRE 2007 E. SUÁREZ DE LA TORRE, 'Tradizione profetica, composizione poetica e identità nazionale: Asia ed Europa negli oracoli sibillini giudaici', in G. URSO (a cura di), *Tra Oriente e Occidente, Indigeni, Greci e Romani in Asia Minore*, Pisa 2007, 61-78.
- TORELLI 1984 M. TORELLI, *Lavinio e Roma. Riti iniziatici e matrimonio tra archeologia e storia*, Roma 1984.
- TÜMPPEL 1890 K. TÜMPPEL, 'Lesbiaka, 2. Chryseïs – Apriate', in *Philologus* 49, 1890, 89-120.
- VALENZA MELE 1991-1992 N. VALENZA MELE, 'Hera ed Apollo a Cuma e la mantica sibillina', in *RIASA*, s. III, XIV-XV, 1991-1992, 5-72.
- WEST 1992 M.L. WEST, *Ancient Greek Music*, Oxford 1992.
- WEST 2005 M.L. WEST, 'Odyssey and Argonautica', in *CQ* n.s. 55/1, 2005, 39-64.
- ZEVI 1979 F. ZEVI, 'Il mito di Enea nella documentazione archeologica: nuove considerazioni', in *L'epos greco in Occidente*, Atti del XIX Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 7-12 ottobre 1979 (Taranto 1980), 247-288.

BC research on pottery production has always been of major importance. In the case of Pithekoussai and Kyme, the artisans could count on an already established state of affairs, which allowed them to immediately start up successful workshops, and achieve a steadily developing production. In the earliest phase, the original cultural background is still much in evidence: it shows a strong Euboean influence but is already enriched by other inputs – Boeotian, Attic, Corinthian and from the Cycladic islands. Over time, contact and coexistence with different groups native to the land and/or newly arrived there lead to an eclectic production that becomes easily recognisable. Archaeometric analyses (NA) carried out on materials dating from the mid-first quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC until the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century – distributed between Pithekoussai, Kyme and the necropolises of the Valle del Sarno – now clarifies the origin of some of the most ancient pottery imports in the Phlegraean area, and so reveals and defines the complexity of the Pithe-cusan-Cumaeen pottery production and the manner of its consumption and diffusion.

TERESA E. CINQUANTAQUATTRO, BRUNO D'AGOSTINO, *The Context of "Nestor's Cup": New Considerations in the Light of Recent Anthropological Studies*

The so-called "tomb of Nestor's Cup" (T. 168) is one of the most representative contexts of the extraordinary intermediary role played by Pithekoussai between the Greek motherland and the Western world thanks to its eponymous vase which is the oldest direct source of the Homeric epic. The study and re-examination of the skeletal specimen by a team of anthropologists led by L. Bondioli and M. Gigante have provided new data indicating that the tomb assemblage did not in fact belong to one single burial and this calls into question its interpretation until now. The article re-examines the dynamics of the formation of the archaeological records, focusing on the "layer of burnt fragments" identified below the tumuli and interpreted as the result of a ritual action to which it is highly probable that a large part of the vases present in "context 168" can be attributed.

MAREK WĘCOWSKI, *The "Cup of Nestor" in Context. The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Culture*

The goal of this paper is to show that the Pithe-cusan "Cup of Nestor", as well as similar LG vessels adorned with convivial inscriptions and spanning the Mediterranean from Rhodes to Ischia, become our first witnesses to the rise of the Greek aristocratic culture. One of its main unifying mechanisms, or mobile hubs of this overarching network, were aristocratic symposia, or better, the cultural skills and competencies on which this social practice was based, featuring the alphabetic competences of their participants. This culture of the LG Greek "travelling elites" can be described as a main integrative force of early Greek civilisation – both in its social and its geographical dimension, thus matching and counterbalancing the fundamental (geographic and political) fragmentation of the Hellenic world.

### Cumae and Parthenope

ALFONSO MELE, *Kyme, Apollo and the Sybil*

Starting from recent archaeological investigations, which have led to a reassessment of the attribution of the upper temple of the acropolis, this article discusses the cult of Apollo Archegetes at Cumae, and his role in the foundation of the colony. The tradition of the cult of Aeolian Apollo in the Chalcidian colonies is examined, and the characteristics of the god worshipped with the epiclesis of *Smintheus* in different parts of the Greek world are discussed. As the latest research shows, the god is also present in Cumae with this connotation; the presence of the Sibyl is linked to his domain, which also includes the mantic sphere. This paper traces the various traditions on the Sibyls in Greece, in the Aegean area and in the West, focusing on the Cumaeen Sibyl, documented in the literary tradition since the Archaic age. The discovery on the acropolis temple of two bronze figurines, the first of which represents a lyre player identified with the Sibyl, and the second with a warrior, gives us the opportunity to reconsider the tradition of Apollo and his connections with the other cults of the early Cumaeen pantheon.

Finito di stampare nel mese di marzo 2024  
presso l'Industria Grafica Letizia, Capaccio (SA)  
per conto di UniorPress

# AION

Nuova Serie | 28



The intent of the *Euboica II* conference, *Pithekoussai e l'Eubea tra Oriente e Occidente*, held in Lacco Ameno (Ischia, Naples) from 14 to 17 May 2018, was to discuss the themes of colonization, how colonial realities became rooted in different areas of the Mediterranean, the specific traits of Euboean colonization, and forms of contact and relationship between the Greek element and local communities. These Proceedings are divided in two volumes, arranged geographically. They feature a dialogue between historians and archaeologists, with an emphasis on the new important contributions made over the last twenty years by field archaeology in Euboea and in colonial and Mediterranean contexts.

